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Bilingual life after school?

**Language use, ideologies and attitudes
among Gaelic-medium educated adults**

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Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2014

Declaration of authorship

I confirm that this thesis has been composed solely by myself, and that the work contained within it has neither previously been published nor submitted for another degree.

Stuart S. Dunmore

Abstract

Gaelic-medium education (GME) as it exists today started in 1985, when two classes offering instruction through the medium of Gaelic opened within primary schools in Glasgow and Inverness. GME grew rapidly throughout the first decade of its availability, and 1258 students were enrolled in the system by 1995. This thesis examines outcomes of this system in terms of the degree to which former pupils who started in GME during this period continue to use Gaelic in their daily lives, and provides an assessment of their language ideologies and attitudes. The 2011 census showed a diminution in the decline of Gaelic speakers in Scotland, but marginal growth of 0.1% was recorded in the number of speakers under the age of 20. Whilst this growth has been understood by politicians and policy-makers as evidence of the role of GME in revitalising the language, the census figures give a limited picture of the actual language practices of reported speakers, the extent to which they use Gaelic, or of their beliefs, feelings and attitudes regarding the language.

Internationally, little research appears to have been done on the life trajectories of adults who received a bilingual education through a minority language; that is to say, on the effect that the bilingual classroom has on such individuals' relationship to the language after formal schooling is completed. The first students to receive GME at primary school are now in their late 20s and early 30s, and prospects for the maintenance and intergenerational transmission of Gaelic by this group are currently unknown. The principal research questions of this investigation comprise the following:

- What role does Gaelic play in the day-to-day lives of former Gaelic-medium students who started in GME during the first decade of its availability; how and when do they use the language?
- What sets of beliefs and language ideologies do these Gaelic-medium educated adults express in relation to Gaelic?
- How do these beliefs and ideologies relate to their actual language practices, to their attitudes concerning the language, and to future prospects for the maintenance of Gaelic?

Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, I provide an assessment of Gaelic use, language ideologies and attitudes among a sample of 130 Gaelic-medium educated adults. A thematic, ethnography of speaking methodology is employed to analyse qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with 46 informants. Additionally, responses to an electronic questionnaire are evaluated by statistical analysis using Spearman's rank order correlation co-efficient to investigate the relationships between non-parametric variables of reported language use, ability, socialisation and attitudes. The results are discussed with reference to extensive research literatures on language, culture and identity, language revitalisation in the international context, and the perceived limitations of GME which have previously been identified with regard to the revitalisation of Gaelic.

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Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to my doctoral supervisors at the University of Edinburgh for their professional guidance in bringing this doctoral thesis to completion, and especially to Professor Wilson McLeod, whose unwavering confidence in this project was a source of great encouragement. My thanks are also due to colleagues within Soillse for their support and thoughtful comments throughout the research cycle. In particular, special thanks are owed to Dr Nicola Carty for the constant motivation – and much-needed distraction – she has provided, as well as to Professor Kenneth MacKinnon for his friendship, support and encouragement over the past five years. I am extremely grateful to my parents, sister and brother, for supporting and helping me through the most difficult stages of the process, and to Kirsty Gibbins, for her boundless patience, love and kindness. Tha mi nur comain uile, a chàirdean còire.

Transcription conventions

(for further detail see section 4.3.3)

[words]	overlapping speech
(.)	perceivable pause (< 1s duration)
(2.2)	perceivable pause (>1s duration)
=word	latched speech, no pause
–	self-interruption
(word)	uncertain transcription
(x)	unintelligible
xxx	name omitted
/word/	atypical/nonconcordant usage
((word))	analyst's comments
[...]	material omitted
::	elongation
<u>word</u>	emphatic speech
boldface	codeswitch
<i>italics</i>	translated text
?	question intonation
!	emphatic intonation
'words'	reported speech

1. Introduction

Gaelic in Scotland: Bilingual life?

Gaelic-medium education (GME) in Scotland as it exists today (*cf.* HMIE 2011) started in 1985, when two classes offering instruction through the medium of Gaelic opened within primary schools in Glasgow and Inverness. GME grew rapidly throughout the first decade of its availability, and 1258 students were enrolled in the system by 1995 (MacKinnon 2005: 7–8). This thesis examines outcomes of the system in terms of the manner and degree to which former pupils who started in GME during this period continue to use Gaelic in their daily lives, and provides an assessment of their language ideologies and attitudes. The 2011 census showed a diminution in the decline of Gaelic speakers in Scotland, and for the first time marginal growth of 0.1% was recorded in the number of speakers under the age of 20 (National Records of Scotland 2013).

Crucially, this growth has been understood by policy-makers such as Bòrd na Gàidhlig – the statutory agency charged with the promotion of Gaelic – as evidence of the role of GME in revitalising the language (*cf.* Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2013, 2014). For example, Bòrd na Gàidhlig chief executive John Angus MacKay recently claimed of the 2011 census results that “the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland has almost stabilised since the census of 2001. This is mainly due to the rise in Gaelic-medium education... [and] shows that within the next ten years the long term decline of the language could be reversed” (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2014). Yet the census figures give only a limited picture of the actual language practices of reported speakers, the extent to which they use Gaelic, or of their beliefs, feelings and attitudes regarding the language, a shortcoming which is typical of census data in other countries and is by no means limited to the context of Gaelic in Scotland. Internationally, little research appears to have been done on the life trajectories of adults who received a bilingual education; that is to say, on the long-term effects that systems of bilingual education may have on such individuals’ relationship to the minority language after education (at school, college and/or university) is “over and done with” (Fishman 2001b: 470).

The first students to receive GME at primary school are now in their late 20s and early to mid-30s, and prospects for the maintenance and intergenerational transmission of Gaelic by this group are currently unknown. The principal research questions of this investigation comprise the following:

- What role does Gaelic play in the day-to-day lives of former Gaelic-medium students who started in GME during the first decade of its availability; how and when do they use the language?
- What sets of beliefs and language ideologies do these Gaelic-medium educated adults express in relation to Gaelic?
- How do these beliefs and ideologies relate to their actual language practices, to their attitudes concerning the language, and to future prospects for the maintenance of Gaelic?

Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, this thesis provides an assessment of these overarching questions among a sample of 130 Gaelic-medium educated adults. A thematic, ethnography of speaking methodology is employed to analyse qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with 46 Gaelic-medium educated adults, which were conducted between December 2011 and December 2012. Additionally, 112 responses to an electronic questionnaire are evaluated through statistical analysis using Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient to investigate the relationship between non-parametric variables of language use, ability, socialisation and attitudes. The results are discussed with reference to extensive research literatures on the nexus of language, culture and identity, language revitalisation in the international context, and the limitations of GME in relation to its perceived impact on the revitalisation of Gaelic. The first section of this introductory chapter (1.1) will introduce the current sociolinguistic situation of Gaelic in Scotland, in relation both to its historical decline and to revitalisation efforts from the latter half of the twentieth century. In section 1.2, I introduce and conceptualise current ideas on language revitalisation, drawing attention to Fishman's ideas concerning reversing language shift (RLS), and some of the major critiques of his theories. Finally, section 1.3 sets out the overall structure of the thesis.

1.1. Gaelic language and culture in Scotland

Gaelic speakers constitute a minority linguistic community in modern Scotland. In the 2011 census, 57,602 people over the age of 3 were reported as being able to speak Gaelic, approximating to 1.1% of the total population of Scotland (National Records of Scotland 2013). This figure amounted to 1050 fewer speakers than were recorded in the 2001 census, a 2.2% decline in speaker numbers from ten years previously (as against a decline of 11.1% between 1991 and 2001). Language shift is an increasingly common phenomenon in the international context; as Fishman (1991, 2001b, 2013) has consistently observed, many minority language communities across the world are currently attempting to maintain and revitalise their traditional modes of communication and cultural practices. Over 90% of the world's estimated 7105 languages are thought to be spoken by fewer than one million first-language speakers, with almost 50% spoken by fewer than 10,000 (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013: 496–7).

Not all small languages are considered to be 'endangered', however. The *Ethnologue* listing of world languages identifies 906 of a total of 7105 languages to be 'dying' at present (12.6%), with a further 1481 (21%) thought to be 'in trouble'. 377 languages are reported to have become extinct since the first *Ethnologue* estimates were made in 1950, a global language loss rate of 6 per year (www.ethnologue.com/world). Some scholars have been considerably more pessimistic than this estimate would suggest, however, with some fearing that as many as 50% of the world's languages are no longer being "reproduced" among children, and that a further 40% are threatened or endangered at present (Baker 2011: 44). On this basis, Krauss (1992) suggested that by the end of the current century as many as 90% of the world's languages could be either extinct or moribund, though the plausibility of accurately extrapolating current patterns over a century into the future is clearly limited. Nevertheless, language endangerment is a concern of increasing importance to scholars, activists and institutions of various kinds (*cf.* Nettle & Romaine 2000). The United Nations, for example, has acknowledged the value of linguistic diversity through its educational, scientific and cultural organisation UNESCO (2003a, b), a

position that Nic Craith (2007: 180) has linked to a greater appreciation and promotion of cultural diversity among international organisations generally.

The figure of 57,602 reported Gaelic ‘speakers’ in the 2011 census may go some way to providing an estimate of the size of the Gaelic speech community in Scotland. As Romaine (2000: 36) points out, however, census data will often “yield quite a different perspective” on questions of language use to that which might emerge from more fine-grained analyses. It is essential to bear in mind the distortions that ‘self-reporting’ can have on data regarding language competence in surveys such as the national census, whether through over-reporting of language skills by individuals of limited proficiency, or under-reporting of skills by speakers lacking confidence (Wray & Bloomer 2006: 166-7). Romaine (2000: 41) notes, in any case, that in many instances “it may not be clear to community members themselves who is or is not a proficient speaker” in minority language contexts.

Gaelic has been in a state of language decline in Scotland for close to a thousand years. The generally accepted account holds that Gaels (Old Gaelic: *Goídil*; Latin *Scotti*) from the kingdom of Dál Riata in north-eastern Ulster first began to settle in Argyll, in the west of modern Scotland, sometime around the beginning of the sixth century (Ó Baoill 2010; Clancy 2011). The Gaels (or ‘Scots’) extended their political and cultural influence across the mainland of northern Britain over the next five hundred years, their language expanding over time as they did so at the expense of Pictish and Brythonic varieties that had previously been spoken within that territory (Dumville 2002). Ó Baoill (2010: 8) has observed that the decline of the Picts, their language and society from written records by the end of the ninth century reveals the scale and degree of Gaelicisation (or ‘Scotticisation’) that occurred during the early medieval period, though Woolf (2007: 17) has cautioned that “textual evidence for social history of Scotland is appallingly slight” for this period. Nevertheless, the preponderance of Gaelic placenames over much of the south of modern Scotland indicates the furthest extent of the Kingdom of Alba in the early medieval era. Notably, however, Gaelic names are sparse in south-eastern districts, which had been predominantly settled by Anglian peoples whose language—‘Inglis’—became

established in that region, while the Gaels continued to expand their kingdom from the west (Barrow 1989; Woolf 2007; Clancy 2011).

The institutions of the Gaelic Kingdom of Alba appear to fade rapidly from historical record around the early years of the twelfth century, increasingly being replaced by the families and institutions of the ascendant Anglo-Norman nobility (Barrow 1989: 70; MacKinnon 1991: 34). Subsequently, the combination of a French-speaking aristocracy and the increasing importance of the market burghs (where Northumbrian ‘Inglis’ varieties predominated) to Scotland’s economic development effected what Barrow (1989: 70) has described as “a gradual transition from membership of a Gaelic-speaking essentially kin-based society to that of a Scots-speaking feudal society”. In the later middle ages, Gaelic was increasingly replaced by ‘Inglis’ as the language of social prestige and vernacular speech in lowland districts, the latter becoming increasingly known as ‘Scottis’ from c.1500, while Gaelic was referred to as ‘Erse’ (‘Irish’; MacGregor 2009: 37). This dichotomy is partly paralleled in the Gaelic distinction between the Highlands (*Gàidhealtachd*; approximately: ‘Gaelic-speaking area’) and Lowlands (*Galltachd*; ‘foreign area’). To both groups, then, the Highland/Lowland divide first expressed itself in terms of a primarily (ethno-) linguistic distinction, and as a result of language shift (MacKinnon 1991; Withers 1984, 1988).

After the mid-sixteenth century Scottish reformation, hostility to Gaelic on the part of the crown became connected to policy to extirpate rebellious and resistant elements from the kingdom. Developments throughout the seventeenth century, starting with the 1609 Statutes of Iona, are regarded by Withers (1988: 157–8) as constituting an early wave of the processes of ‘improvement’ and Anglicisation which instigated language shift from Gaelic to English in its Highland and Island strongholds. The Statutes consisted of a series of measures aimed at undermining the effective autonomy that Highland and Island chiefs exercised over the region. Crucially, the Gaelic chiefs’ heirs were required subsequently to be educated in Lowland schools, with the express intention that they should henceforth be able to speak, read and write the English language (MacGregor 2006: 145).

As a consequence, the centuries-old link between the clan chiefs, their tenant vassals (tacksmen) and subordinate followers was severely disrupted. Processes of cultural transformation had therefore begun even a century before the onset of more explicit moves toward ‘improvement’ in the eighteenth century. Policy in this connection was linked in large part to notions of civilisation and enlightenment, particularly after the 1707 Union (Withers 1984, 1988). A central concern of philosophical enquiry in the eighteenth century, reflected in the thoughts and writings of philosophers such as Rousseau, Herder and von Humboldt, was the relationship of reason and culture as the distinguishing features of humanity – and the absolute centrality of language to these notions (Glaser 2007: 37). The Romantic, Herderian view of the nation drew upon the notion of a people’s “shared spirit” (*Volksgeist*), which was chiefly manifested in their language and culture (Reicher and Hopkins 2001: 8). Yet, crucially, the conception of language that Romantic philosophers privileged in their enquiries pertained to varieties that were perceived to be of benefit for wider communication, such as French, German, and English (*cf.* section 2.1, below, on Romanticism, language and identity). The English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1991 [1861]: 431) insisted that:

Nobody can suppose that it is not more beneficial to a Breton, or a Basque of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of ideas and feelings of a highly civilised and cultivated people ... than to sulk on his own rocks, the half-savage relic of past times... The same remark applies to the Welshman or the Scottish highlander [sic] as members of the British nation.

Gaelic was perceived to be a barrier to the economic, moral and cultural development of Highlanders, and its extirpation (and replacement with English) was seen to be a necessary goal of improvement (Withers 1988: 58). Additionally, Withers (1988: 58) identifies the SSPCK (*Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge*) as an important instrument in this regard during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the dominant educational institution at work in the Highlands, an explicit goal of which was to civilise the region through the propagation of English and Protestantism (*cf.* section 3.3 on Gaelic in education). Processes and ideologies of improvement in the Highlands came into fierce conflict with notions of *dùthchas* (‘heredity’, ‘tradition’, ‘heritage’) and Highland (/Gaelic) understandings of what society was, and how it had always operated (MacKinnon

1991: 64-5). In particular, the cultivation of industry in the Highlands was actively encouraged by Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith, who denounced traditional Highland society as an example of all that was worst about patriarchal, feudal society (Withers 1988: 58).

Landowners became increasingly concerned with economic re-organisation, in the belief that harnessing markets and cultivating industry would impart civilisation and cultural development in Highland Scotland (Withers 1988; Macleod 2010). The landed gentry, increasingly absorbed within the British aristocracy, took an ever greater interest in production and profit on their estates, exacting higher rents from tenants and developing the large-scale pastoral farming of sheep and cattle (Glaser 2007: 65). Faced with increasing economic pressures and loss of traditional livelihoods, Highlanders began to emigrate as early as the 1730s (Devine 1994: 16). Harvest failures in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries exacerbated hardships for middle-class tacksmen and rural workers alike, and drove ever greater numbers to emigrate to the urban Lowlands, England, or the new world (Glaser 2007: 65). Hunter (1976) has estimated that in 1803 alone up to 20,000 people may have left the Highlands for North America. Highlanders were increasingly encouraged or compelled to emigrate, in a process of land reorganisation and mass displacement that has become known as the Clearances (Withers 1984; Glaser 2007; Richards 2007).

McLeod (2005: 178) has stated of the relationship between the Clearances and language shift in the Highlands and Islands that “the dislocation and disruption caused by clearance... seem to have contributed to longer-term trends by which Gaelic was devalued and gradually abandoned”. The activities of the SSPCK and Gaelic Schools Societies in connection to their use of Gaelic for elementary tuition (in effect, to promulgate English) tended to reinforce general trends toward bilingualism in the Highlands (Durkacz 1983: 219–22; MacKinnon 1991: 64; *cf.* section 3.3.1, below). Responsibility for education that had previously been administered by SSPCK, Church and Gaelic Schools Societies was transferred to local school boards with the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, which made no mention of Gaelic (MacLeòid 2007; Macdonald 2010; McLeod 2005).

Where schools had made provision for Gaelic prior to 1872, its use declined as a consequence of the Act (Durcacz 1983: 223–4; MacKinnon 2009: 588), although the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act required education authorities to make adequate provision for Gaelic to be taught in “in Gaelic-speaking areas” (MacLeod 2007: 1). Events in the next decades would further contribute to this decline, and the First World War in particular had a major impact on Gaelic-speaking communities in the Highlands and Islands. Macleod (2010: 29) notes that the especially high proportions of young men who never returned from the trenches often exacerbated and rapidly hastened the decline of Gaelic in many such communities.

Although a “complete social history” of Gaelic in the twentieth century is currently lacking (Macleod 2010: 30), various researchers have traced initiatives related to the revitalisation of Gaelic from the 1960s developing in tandem with the ongoing decline of Gaelic in Highland and Island communities (MacKinnon 1977; Dorian 1981; Macdonald 1997; Oliver 2002; McEwan-Fujita 2003, 2010c; *cf.* table I, below). In particular, Macdonald (1997: 6) has referred to greater institutionalised provision for Gaelic since the early 1980s, as well as a general “growth of interest” in the language in Scotland, as a “Gaelic renaissance”. McLeod (2014: 6) relates this growth both to greater perception of Gaelic “as a national language”, and “the increasing emphasis on Scottish political and cultural distinctiveness in general”, particularly since 1999.

**Table I: Gaelic speakers in Scotland 1806–2011
(Source for 1806-1991: MacKinnon 1993;
2001-2011: National Records of Scotland 2013)**

Date	Total Gaelic speakers in Scotland	% of total Scottish population
1806	297,823	18.5
1891	254,415	6.3
1951	95,447	1.9
1981	79,307	1.6
1991	65,978	1.3
2001	58,652	1.2
2011	57,602	1.1

In spite of developments related to the Gaelic renaissance, the language enjoyed no formal legislative protection prior to the passing of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 (Dunbar 2006). Gaelic development agency Comunn na Gàidhlig had campaigned for legislative support for Gaelic since the Welsh Language Act 1993 was passed, which stipulated that Welsh and English should be treated on “a basis of equality” in Wales (Jones & Williams 2009: 697). In post-devolution Scotland, the MacPherson Taskforce was set up in 1999 to look into possible legislation for Gaelic, followed by the establishment in 2001 of the Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (MAGOG; Dunbar 2006: 16). The MAGOG recommendations included the establishment of an Executive/Government unit dedicated to Gaelic affairs along with a language board, and the formulation of a language act conferring official status; the broad recommendations of the MAGOG were followed up in 2005, when the Act was passed unanimously in the Scottish Parliament (MacKinnon 2009: 644). The act established the national language promotion agency Bòrd na Gàidhlig on a statutory basis, requiring it to produce a National Gaelic Language Plan every five years, and conferring upon it the authority to require public bodies to produce Gaelic language plans, with a view to securing the status of Gaelic as “an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect with the English language” (Walsh & McLeod 2008: 35).

McLeod (2014: 6) states that this expression of the language’s position in society constitutes the “most significant formal statement of Gaelic’s status as a national language”. Yet the wording of the phrase “equal respect” has come under criticism on the grounds that it has “no clearly recognised meaning in law” (Walsh & McLeod 2008: 35), and the legal requirements involved in securing “equal respect” were intended to be less demanding than those in the Welsh Language Act’s “basis of equality” (ibid). Dunbar (2006: 17) argues that it is rather unclear where the status of “equal respect” derives from, since it is by no means obvious that the act itself confers such status. He regards this as an important failing, since it is by means of this sort of statutory legislative provision that status is ordinarily conferred on (‘national’) languages. The 2005 Act is nevertheless seen as a “historic step forward for the language” (Walsh & McLeod 2008: 35), even though in international terms it is a “relatively weak” enactment (ibid).

Crucially Walsh & McLeod (2008: 24) argue, while the availability of service provision through the language has an important role to play, the goal of stimulating language use relies ultimately on the intrinsic motivations of speakers to do so, often involving “aspects of identity and ideology”. While the Gaelic language has long been regarded as a facet of an expressly Highland identity, positive attitudes to the language’s place in Scottish identity more generally have been revealed in surveys undertaken in recent years. For example, the 2012 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey found that 76% of a representative sample of of the Scottish population (N=1180) regarded Gaelic as “very important” (30%) or “fairly important” (46%) to Scottish culture and heritage (Paterson *et al.* 2014: 10). Similarly, 87% of participants (N=1229) felt that Gaelic should be encouraged, either “throughout Scotland” (32%) or in areas “where it is already spoken” (55%; Paterson *et al.* 2014: 11; *cf.* Bechhofer & McCrone 2014).

On the basis of these findings, Paterson *et al.* (2014: 18) conclude that Gaelic is regarded as a “core part of Scottish life and identity” (*cf.* section 6.3.4, below). Macdonald (1997: 256) argued on the basis of anthropological fieldwork conducted from 1983-1986 that Gaelic had “come to be accepted as a symbol of Scotland’s distinctiveness”, as a result of shifting perceptions linked to the Gaelic renaissance, and the effects of the increased visibility of Gaelic in Scottish popular consciousness. Gaelic speakers have therefore found themselves to be increasingly regarded as the repository of an important national resource (Macdonald 1997: 63), and the bounded and quasi-ethnic understanding of Gaelic as the language of the traditional Highlander is seen to have weakened (Oliver 2002, 2006). In the 2011 census, 48% of all Gaelic speakers were recorded to be living outside of the traditional heartland areas in the Highlands and Islands (National Records of Scotland 2013). Yet the historic perception of the Highlands and Lowlands as distinct cultures still persists in certain quarters (Macdonald 1999: 106; Glaser 2006: 170), and Macdonald (1997: 131-2) notes that the link between the language and a specific sense of place remains strong in heartland communities.

Oliver (2002, 2005, 2006) observed that conceptions of Gaelic as a bounded language indexing an identity that is restricted in both geographical and cultural

terms to areas where the language is widely spoken had weakened in the later twentieth century, giving way to broader understandings the language's place at a national level. The contrast is defined by Oliver (2005: 5; following Fishman 1972) in terms of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, conceived of as a distinction between “community” and “society”. Yet Oliver (2006: 161) elaborated that the evolution of the *Gesellschaft* approach is often inhibited by the persistent association of Gaelic with the “traditional”, and asserted that the language is more frequently perceived as a marker of a specifically Gaelic identity than of Scottish identity in a wider sense (Oliver 2005: 9, 2006: 162).

In recent decades increasing numbers of people from a range of different cultural backgrounds have chosen to learn Gaelic, and the language's role as a marker of identity among different Gaelic speakers today is seen to be far from straightforward (Glaser 2007: 247; McLeod *et al.* 2014: 27). The hybrid nature of many learners' identifications with Gaelic has often tended to be treated with suspicion and scepticism in traditional (*Gemeinschaft*) contexts in the Highlands and Islands (MacCaluim 2007: 78-82), whilst being regarded as an advantage in the formation of emerging *Gesellschaft* identities in the *Gàidhealtachdan ùra* (new Gaelic-speaking communities) of the urban Lowlands (Glaser 2007: 258). At the same time, however, some have questioned the importance of the language to either Scottish or Highland identity (Rogerson & Gloyer 1995). Nevertheless, Dorian (2011: 468) has argued that revitalisation efforts on behalf of Gaelic have led to the “revalorization of a language that was once disdained”, with knock-on benefits for the psychological wellbeing and “self-regard” of traditional speakers.

In spite of these benefits, Dorian (2011: 468) states that the long-term success of efforts to revitalise Gaelic remains to be seen; losses to speaker numbers from older speakers dying “still far outstrip gains in new speakers via home transmission and Gaelic-medium schools”, she argues, concluding that “the relatively favourable current position of Gaelic is very precarious”. Edwards (2013: 13) argues that a qualitative distinction may be required between bilingual speakers in Gaelic ‘heartland’ areas and those “in Glasgow [...] or Edinburgh [who] have more formally set themselves (or been set) to become bilingual”. He argues that classifying

speakers within these two groups “under a single ‘bilingual’ rubric”– irrespective of language practices and abilities – “might give a rather inaccurate picture of the state of health of [...] Gaelic” (Edwards 2013: 14). Indeed, Bòrd na Gàidhlig’s (2014) recent claim that an apparent diminution in the decline of Gaelic speakers in the 2011 census “is mainly due to the rise in Gaelic-medium education” – and its statement that “within the next ten years the long term decline of the language could be reversed” – must be carefully considered in light of current theory on language revitalisation.

1.2. Theoretical foundations: Language revitalisation and the role of education

Dunbar (2001: 234) states that a chief concern for linguistic minorities in contexts of language shift is often “the maintenance of their minority linguistic group identity”, in addition to that of their “distinctive language community”. The relationship between language and ethnic identity lies at the core of Fishman’s (1991, 2001b, 2013) model for the maintenance and revitalisation of threatened languages, or reversing language shift (RLS; *cf.* section 2.1). Whilst his ideas and theoretical stance have been critiqued by scholars in various fields (*cf.* Baker 2011; Edwards 2009, 2010; Romaine 2006; Williams 1992), Fishman’s theories continue to influence much discussion of language revitalisation. He states that RLS efforts often have “a stress on real and putative ethno-kinship... and identity (re)formation” (1991: 383); crucially in this respect, Fishman argues that relevant group boundaries must be maintained in RLS efforts. The revitalisation of minority (“Xish”) language and culture, he argues (1991: 394), rests largely on the “premises that Xmen are not Ymen and that Xish culture... is not Yish culture”. It is seen as imperative that “ideological clarification” of these fundamental premises “must not be skipped over” if RLS initiatives are to succeed (Fishman 1991: 394; *cf.* section 2.1, below, on contemporary notions of language and identity). Fishman (1991: 395) argues that “prior clarification” is also required from the language community in terms of the aims and intended outcomes of RLS processes. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 62) have argued that since such prior ideological clarification is in fact rarely achieved as a first step to revitalisation initiatives, considerable disparities often

develop between speakers' explicit goals in favour of RLS on the one hand, and deep-seated beliefs and feelings that continue to contribute to language decline on the other.

Subsequent to the theoretical “ideological clarification” of group boundaries and rationales for RLS among ‘Xmen’ or ‘Xians’ (the traditional and ethnically defined minority community), Fishman’s (1991: 395) paradigm is based on winning back linguistic domains for the threatened ‘Xish’ language. The first stages of his model, the “Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale” (GIDS) involve the “reassembly of Xish” (through corpus planning *etc*) to whatever extent is necessary, and the attainment of diglossia, through concerted efforts in the “home-family-neighbourhood” level to re-establish intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991: 395). Fishman’s most recent formulation of GIDS, which is designed to be read from the bottom up, is as follows (2001b: 466; emphasis added in bold):

1. Educational, work sphere, mass media, and (quasi-)governmental operations in Xish at the highest (nationwide) levels.
2. Local/regional mass media and (quasi -)governmental services in Xish.
3. The local/regional (i.e., supra-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.
- 4b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
- 4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
- B. *RLS efforts to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment*
5. Schools for Xish literacy acquisition, for the old and/or for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6. **The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home–family–neighbourhood-community: *The basis of Xish mother–tongue transmission.***
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community–based older generation (beyond the age of giving birth).
8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL [Xish as a Second Language].
- A. *RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)*

Stage 6 of Fishman’s GIDS, with its emphasis on the transmission of Xish within the home-family-neighbourhood sphere, is regarded as the absolute focus and “dynamic fulcrum” of his theory; if this stage is not “attained and vigorously retained”, all efforts concentrated at higher levels will be effectively undermined in bolstering the maintenance of Xish (Fishman 2001b: 485). Crucially, Fishman (2001b: 470-71) stresses that school-based RLS (stages 4b-4a) “will fail unless the minority language has a society in which it can function, before school begins, outside of school, during

the years of schooling and afterwards, when formal schooling is over and done with”. Indeed, he states categorically that “[w]ithout intergenerational mother tongue transmission... no language maintenance is possible. That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained” (1991: 113).

Yet Fishman’s views have subsequently been critiqued by a wide variety of theorists across various disciplines, including linguistics, sociology and psychology.

Sociolinguist Suzanne Romaine, for instance, has commented that it may be necessary, in light of the enduring fragility of home transmission in many instances of language shift, to “reconceptualize what it means for a language to be maintained and survive without intergenerational mother tongue transmission” (2006: 443). John Edwards (2010: 67) has concurred with this view, observing that the maintenance by bilingual speakers of “one language for home and hearth, another for the world beyond one’s gate” is often extremely difficult in situations of language shift.

Elsewhere, however, Romaine (2000: 54) has agreed in principle with Fishman’s theoretical premise, observing that it is the “inability of minorities to maintain the home as an intact domain for the use of their language” that has often proved decisive in language shift. Similarly, Nettle and Romaine (2000: 189) highlight that emphasising bottom-up initiatives to secure intergenerational transmission in the home is indeed the most crucial goal of language maintenance, rather than (as has often been assumed) persuading policy-makers and governments to act on behalf of the threatened language. These observations parallel Fishman’s emphasis on the difficult task of focusing on ‘lower order’ goals – such as securing Xish as the language of the home – and the failure to do so contributing in large part to the failure of RLS (Fishman 1991: 406). Yet it is chiefly in relation to diglossia, and Fishman’s approach to winning back domains on a ‘low-to-high’ basis, that Romaine (2006, 2013) has raised concerns.

Diglossia is said to have been attained when each linguistic variety in a multilingual community has a specific function, and is often regarded in sociolinguistic literatures to reflect a relatively stable situation (Romaine 2000: 46). Romaine (2000: 46-8) observes that a classic example of the paradigm (which can be extended to discrete “languages” functioning in this way in multilingual societies) is the differentiation of

domains occupied by “colloquial” Egyptian Arabic (the “lower” [L] variety which dominates in the home), and “standard” Arabic, the language of formal and public communication and of writing (the “higher” [H] linguistic domains). Romaine (2000: 55) states that some minority languages “may never emerge from diglossia”, but may equally be in no danger of language death, as long as functional differentiation has been firmly established. Fishman (1991: 406) stresses that even where higher order domains within the spheres of education, work, and the media are secured for the minority language, “they must be translated into the lower order processes” of use in the home and inter-generational transmission. Cultural autonomy within the “institutions of modernity”, he argues, will do little for the minority language that has not been reproduced organically in the home (Fishman 1991: 406). Yet Romaine (2006) has questioned the utility of this approach for restoring minority varieties to the condition of being fully sufficient for interaction. She stresses that conceptions of languages in bilingual communities are often “ideologically linked to and entangled with other dualities” that contribute to and reinforce patterns of language shift (Romaine 2006: 445). This point emphasises the importance of language ideologies in situations of language shift (*cf.* section 2. 2, below); respective competing varieties may be ideologically associated with modernity or the past; tradition or wider functionality. Edwards (2010: 57) identifies various related dichotomies that have been theorised to encapsulate the tension between the “benefits and disadvantages of mobility”, whether parochialism versus intercourse, roots vs. options, tribalism vs. globalism, or even *Gemeinschaft* vs. *Gesellschaft*.

Following Fishman’s logic, Romaine (2006: 445) cautions that by seeking to reinforce the ideological associations of a minority variety with the traditional and parochial domains of the home-family-neighbourhood, activists on behalf of language revitalisation might ironically reinforce ideologies that contributed to instigating language shift in the first instance. In any case, Romaine (2013: 454) has recently argued, appropriate language use within proper domains often becomes complicated in bilingual contexts, so that “domains become unclear and setting and role relationships [in interaction] do not combine in the expected way”. Monica Heller (2007b: 9) has argued that whilst on the one hand Fishman’s theoretical approach appears to view domains as “primarily connected to social activities” which

are often institutional or connected “to power and status differences”, it nevertheless tends to underplay the importance of such differences.

As Romaine observes (2013: 463), “conflicts involving language are not really about language, but about fundamental inequalities between groups”. Pierre Bourdieu (1991: 57) argued that “those who seek to defend a threatened language... are obliged to wage a total struggle. One cannot save the value of a competence unless one saves... the whole set of political and social conditions of production”. Edwards (1984b: 304, 2004: 452, 2010: 4) has consistently argued that community language decline and attrition are symptoms of social contact and unequal power distribution, and as such, are extremely difficult to tackle in isolation, without at least in some manner unpicking the existing social fabric. Yet language maintenance efforts, he argues, generally have an emphasis on social evolution, not revolution (Edwards 2010: 24). One of Fishman’s chief detractors in this regard has been Glyn Williams (1992), who critiqued Fishman’s theories as being essentially conservative in nature, downplaying the importance of differential power relations and political struggle by the minority group, whilst emphasising consensus, integration and cohesion in the pursuit of minority language rights. Indeed, rather than advocating a radical approach to redistributing power for minority language communities, Fishman (1991: 387) insisted that minority language activists are in fact “change-agents on behalf of persistence”.

A further, related criticism of Fishman’s model offered by Edwards (1984b: 304) is that language shifts “reflect powerful social changes, most of them economic. Appeals for revival or restoration”, he argues, “will not be successful if they are based essentially on cultural grounds.” In Fishman’s (2001a) follow-up to *Reversing Language Shift*, Ó Riagáin (2001) argued, on the basis of the Irish experience, that economic incentives are often needed to persuade parents that intergenerational transmission is worthwhile, and to provide a rationale for using the language themselves. In this regard, Brian Barry (2001: 75) has argued that whilst linguists and anthropologists “may well have professional regrets” if a given language or culture declines, this in itself is “surely not an adequate basis on which to force people to perpetuate the language... against their own judgement as to where the

advantage lies”. Barry’s emphasis here on speakers’ “own judgement” may again downplay the importance of power relations in minority language contexts, and how these can cause people to understand their options in certain ways. Alexandra Jaffe (2007b: 51) remarks that “the term ‘language shift’ de-emphasizes language practice and human agency”, suggesting that judgement and choice in minority language use often are important. From a sociolinguistic perspective, and based on observations from years of extended fieldwork in Corsica, Jaffe (2007b: 51) argued that “the very notion of language shift [...] is linked to ideological constructs”; both that regarding *language* as a fixed entity, and that of *shift* as “a community transferring its allegiances and completely transforming its practices”. In reality, she suggests, the picture is often considerably more complex.

An additional critique that Edwards has levelled against Fishman is that, in his view, he “implicitly and explicitly endorses a view of applied linguistics as both scholarship and advocacy” (2010: 34), arguing that the two “do not always make happy partners” (2010: 5). Researchers debated best practice in relation to minority languages in the journal *Language* over twenty years ago. In a series of exchanges, Peter Ladefoged (1992) advocated a more detached, scholarly approach whilst Nancy Dorian (1993) responded that researchers of language revitalisation necessarily influence the communities they study regardless of their stance, and as such, have a responsibility to advocate on their behalf. Dorian’s stance is explicitly promoted by some scholars (*cf.* Fishman 1991, 2001a, b; Nettle & Romaine 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, 2000). In part, this approach was informed by the ‘ecology of language’ paradigm formulated by Einar Haugen, which conceived of society – by analogy with biological diversity – as the “true environment” of language, which could in turn be more or less hospitable to linguistic diversity (Haugen 1974: 325). In one recent example of the linguistic ecological paradigm, Romaine (2008: 19) argued that since linguistic and cultural distinctiveness have often served as “the basis for defining human identities [...] they are vital parts of local ecologies”. Edwards (2009: 238) has objected to such views on the basis that they tend to lack “a strong logical base” since, ultimately, “language is not organic”, and never actually lives or dies (2009: 232).

As Ó hIfearnáin (2013a: 349) has recently observed, the various critiques of Fishman's (1991, 2001a, b) theories do not recommend abandoning intergenerational transmission as a focal point for language revitalisation, but rather emphasise that the notion is still rather poorly theorised, and understood inadequately by researchers and activists for either to support it sufficiently. Various other models have been proposed to aid linguistic revitalisation since Fishman's (1991) paradigm was published. Edwards' (2010: 100) own 33-item typology for the classification of minority languages draws on 11 overarching disciplinary perspectives (from demography to linguistics, psychology and media), and the three criteria of speaker, language and setting, to provide what he regards as a richer conceptual starting-point for the analysis for minority language health than the 'Richter scale' of Fishman's GIDS.

In somewhat less precise terms, David Crystal's (2000: 141) *Language Death* theorised that an endangered language "will progress" if its speakers can:

- increase their prestige within the majority community, and simultaneously maintain a strong group identity which can resist the influence of the dominant culture;
- can increase the domains of use for their language;
- have a critical mass in demographic terms at the community level;
- if the language has a presence in schools and literate speakers, and;
- if it can be used in electronic communication.

Miquel Strubell (1999) hypothesised that governments and policy-makers can support minority language maintenance through the provision of services in the threatened language, thereby extending the potential number of sociolinguistic domains available, and stimulating greater language use. Strubell's (1999: 240-241) 'Catherine wheel' model theorised that competence in a minority language leads to greater use of it, which in turn stimulates demand and provision for services and products in the language, leading to greater language learning and increasing competence, and so on. Edwards (2004: 457, 2009: 62) has argued that securing "domains of necessity" – those pertaining to the home, certainly, but also those of the school and workplace – is absolutely critical for language maintenance efforts, since each of these are tied closely to "the most central aspects of people's lives".

In a recent rejoinder to some of the critiques discussed above, Fishman (2013: 486–7) re-emphasised his earlier assertions on the role of formal education in RLS, insisting that whilst schools “can serve to further motivate and protect Stage 6, [the latter] must be alive and well for such motivation and protection to emerge”. In comparison with prevailing socio-economic circumstances two decades previously, Fishman (2013: 487) considers various processes linked to “postmodernization” to have “served to render the school–home continuity relationship more tenuous than ever before” (cf. Duchêne & Heller’s 2012 considerations re bilingual practices in “Late Capitalism”). Activists on behalf of language revitalisation “may safely focus on the school, on the place of worship, or on the workplace”, Fishman (2013: 493) argues, “if specific non-mother-tongue functions are being aimed at” (ibid); yet none of these constitute a substitute for the key focus of home-family-neighbourhood processes by which children are primarily socialised in a language. He further suggests that the inadvisability of supposing otherwise is revealed in the Irish experience of RLS, and the perceived focus on formal schooling in revival efforts there (Fishman 2013: 497).

Partly in response to the apparent extent of intergenerational disruption in Scotland generally (see *e.g.* Mac an Tàilleir 2010; National Records of Scotland 2013), and even in the Western Isles communities where Gaelic is most widely spoken (Munro *et al.* 2010), increasing attention has been paid in the development of national language policy to GME as a means of developing the language (cf. Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b: 22-3). GME is “prioritised” as a development area in the second *National Gaelic Language Plan*, which aims to double the annual intake of pupils entering the system to 800 by 2017 (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b: 22). Ó hIfearnáin (2011: 104) states that while the “emphasis on immersion [education] as the most effective way to create new speakers” in diverse contexts of language shift is understandable, in international perspective “it is rare for schooling to lead to revitalisation or revernacularisation”. Whilst stressing the relative inadequacy of focusing on the school at the expense of the home in RLS efforts, Fishman (1991: 410) does allow that the school has a crucial role to play in “child socialization and identity-commitment formation”.

1.3. Concluding remarks and thesis structure

There are a variety of paradigms and principles in the literature that are important to bear in mind in respect of the present investigation, including the implications (and limitations) of social variables such as identity, language socialisation and ideology, and the limitations of bilingual immersion education in processes of language revitalisation. In the following chapters, I firstly situate and contextualise the project within the wider research fields it draws upon (chapters 2-3), before introducing the research design and methodology (chapter 4), and lastly, present empirical analyses of the data themselves (chapters 5-7). In chapter 2, I build on the review of theoretical literatures introduced in this chapter, examining the notional relationship of language and identity (section 2.1), as well as conceptualising the fields of language ideologies (2.2) and language socialisation (2.3). Following on from this, chapter 3 reviews research literatures on language acquisition and attrition in immersion education (section 3.1.1-2) and immersion education in the international context (section 3.2), before tracing the development of Gaelic-medium education in Scotland (section 3.3.1) and considering major findings of research that has been conducted on various aspects of the system to the present day (section 3.2-3)

Chapter 4 outlines the research design and mixed methods employed to investigate the principal research questions of the study, while chapter 5 provides a qualitative analysis of interviewees' Gaelic language use, abilities, and socialisation experiences. Chapter 6 analyses the language ideologies that informants related (both explicitly and implicitly) in interviews, within the three overarching themes of Gaelic language use, policy, and social identities. Chapter 7 provides a quantitative analysis of questionnaire responses in respect of Gaelic language use, abilities and attitudes, employing statistical correlations from Spearman's rho to investigate the relationships between non-parametric variables in order to cross-check and contextualise results from the qualitative analyses. Lastly, chapter 8 draws together conclusions from the three empirical chapters, and relates these findings back to the theoretical literatures discussed in chapters 1-3.

2. Language, culture and identities: Theoretical perspectives

This chapter is structured into three overarching sections. Section 2.1 will set out the wider theoretical framework surrounding the interrelationship of language, culture and identity, reviewing perspectives on these issues from the literatures of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language, social psychology and linguistic anthropology (section 2.1.1). In particular, this section will seek to define a conceptual framework for drawing together the interplay of language, culture and sociocultural identity by addressing the symbolic value that languages are thought to possess (section 2.1.2), essentialist conceptions in this respect (2.1.3), and relatedly, the relationship between language and nationalism (2.1.4). Section 2.2 introduces the concept of language ideologies, and conceptualises theoretical understandings of how speakers' culturally constituted beliefs and feelings about language, as revealed in interaction, can be seen to impact upon the ways a linguistic variety is used by its speakers from day to day. Section 2.3 addresses language socialisation, with a view to considering how the issues discussed previously might be reflected in the retrospective accounts and responses of participants. Lastly, section 2.4 draws together considerations of language and identity, language ideologies and socialisation in order to conceptualise how these matters can help to frame and inform the present doctoral study.

2.1. Theorising the relation of language, culture and identities

Over the past fifty years, researchers in the fields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and the sociology of language have established that the interplay of language, culture and society is both complex and context-specific. As an initial point of departure, Romaine (2000: 26) has stated that although there is “no necessary one-to-one relationship” between language and society, there are unlikely to be any contexts in which the two have no impact on one another. Yet the meanings of either of these terms are far from universally agreed upon in contemporary scholarship. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have argued that the popular notion of language as a bounded, finite and standardised entity ultimately stem from state attempts to legitimate and consolidate political power and control linguistic practices, and they advocate a less rigid approach to conceptualising language. In this regard

García (2009: 40) has stated that commonly held, persistent “assumptions” about what language is must be constantly challenged in light of how speakers use language within its social context. Similarly, Heller (2007b: 9), has argued that the very concept of language cannot be defined without reference to the speakers who use it and the social context in which they do so, since empirical studies in sociolinguistics and anthropology have consistently shown that language is an inherently social notion. A more fluid approach may account more directly for speakers’ linguistic *use*, for instance by taking account of research on multilingual speakers’ flexible use of multiple linguistic resources across disparate sociocultural contexts (*cf.* García 2009; García & Wei 2014).

Monica Heller (2007b: 9) has noted that research on bilingualism has increasingly encouraged researchers “to question the nature of language itself”, and considerations of this kind were clearly at the forefront of theorists’ and researchers’ considerations when the field of sociolinguistics first developed over fifty years ago (*cf.* Trudgill 1974). Fishman (1972: 153-4), for instance, challenged what he regarded as a tendency on the part of many psychologists and sociologists to view bilingualism as an “unnatural” and transitory occurrence, arguing instead that bilingualism was a “(possibly) stable and widespread phenomenon in its own right”. In the same period, Haugen (1974: 325) sought to integrate and conceptualise linguistic diversity within its societal “environment” as part of his “ecology of language” paradigm.

Within the field of linguistic anthropology, researchers often position their work on language and culture within one of three theoretical frameworks, respectively concerning the inter-relationship of language and identity (Kroskrity 2000a, c; Echeverria 2003) language ideologies (Kroskrity 2000a, 2004; Silverstein 2000) and language socialisation (Friedman 2010; McEwan-Fujita 2010). While the three frameworks have distinct research traditions, there is considerable overlap between them. I return to this third notion in section 2.3, below, but draw attention firstly to the large and multidisciplinary literature on language and identity, before introducing the principal literature concerning language ideologies (2.2). The school constitutes one of a wide variety of contexts in which social and linguistic identity is formed and

moulded across an individual's lifespan (Woolard 2007: 617-9). Correspondingly, identity may play an extremely important role in bilingual education and students' socialisation in and acquisition of language (García 2009: 82; *cf.* section 2.3, below).

2.1.1. Language and ethnic identity: (Socio)linguistic, anthropological and sociological perspectives

Edwards (2009: 15) has noted that studies of identity within the human and social sciences have come increasingly to the fore in recent decades, partly as a consequence of psychological models of the self in the twentieth century, and the subsequent impact of these considerations on popular understandings of identity and the self. From an anthropological viewpoint, Glaser (2007: 30) argues that the possession of identities has become an essential concomitant of an individual's social and psychological existence in the contemporary world. She notes a mid-twentieth century shift in theoretical orientations to identity, from examinations of personal identity based primarily within psychology, toward social scientific approaches that tended to privilege considerations of "symbolism and imagination" (2007: 32; *cf.* Anderson 1991). Reicher and Hopkins (2001: 33) explain 'social identity theory' as a conceptualisation of the processes by which individuals make the "psychosocial shift" required to integrate one's personal identity – glossed as "the idiosyncratic characteristics which distinguish us from other individuals" – with a social identity, derived from appreciation of "our membership of social groups". Whereas personal identity draws on distinguishing features at the level of the individual, social identity is therefore based on differences and similarities across groups. La Fontaine (1985) and Krombach (1995) theorised that these processes draw on notions of 'otherness', viewing identity formation as the result of overcoming internal and external differences in social life. Taylor (1989: 376) commented that "expressive individuation" – that is, the affirmation and expression of one's personal individuality in society – "has become one of the cornerstones of modern culture".

The huge theoretical literature on the interrelationship of language and identity demonstrates its complexity and contestedness, and debate on the nexus is ongoing (see, for example, Fishman 1991, 2001b, 2010, 2013; Eastman 1984; Edwards 2009, 2010a, 2013). In the most straightforward terms, Joseph (2004: 20) has stated that

language and identity are “ultimately inseparable”, since “language is central to the human condition, and... many have argued that it is the most salient characteristic of our species”. While Joseph’s study also addressed the connection between language and national and religious identity, this review will limit its considerations chiefly to the relation of language to ethnic identity. Edwards (2009: 162) suggests the following as a definition of ethnic identity: “allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links”. In reference to ongoing academic disputations regarding the relevance of language in this connection, May (2012: 135) asserts that whilst language is not generally regarded as an “essential”, “primordial” or “determining” feature of ethnic identity by contemporary researchers, a large body of evidence suggests that it nevertheless remains significant in many instances.

Indeed, Williams (2008: 74), has stated that as “one of the chief components of group identity”, language (with its social correlates) has become “one of the most sensitive issues of the contemporary world”. Much anthropological and linguistic thought in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (also referred to as ‘linguistic relativism’), which, building on the ideas of Franz Boas, proposed that speakers of languages with different grammatical systems experience the world in different ways, according to the limitations of these linguistic frames of reference (Makihara 2010: 32–4; Silverstein 2000: 85–6). Whorf (1956 [1940]: 221) summarised the principle, observing that speakers of different languages “are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations”, thereby arriving at “different views of the world”. In a collection of essays published posthumously, Sapir (1962: 68) described language as a “guide to ‘social reality’ [that] conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes”.

Such ideas impacted upon scholarly understandings of the relationship between language and identity, but have since generally fallen out of academic favour. The possibilities of translation, bilingual language practices, and social diversity among speakers of the same languages (especially those with large numbers of speakers) tend to indicate that language does not in fact constrain the ways people think or

identify (Kramsch 2004: 239). Ochs (1993: 288) has argued that since social identity is rarely grammaticalised or otherwise explicitly encoded in language, the relationship between the two is in fact “a sociolinguistically *distant* one” (emphasis in original). Rather than a direct association, therefore, the relationship of language to identity is viewed as being mediated through interlocutors’ shared understanding of social conventions (Ochs 1993: 289). This conception frames the language-identity nexus in terms of speakers’ respective *positionality*, a principle to which I return below (*cf.* Bucholtz & Hall 2004, 2005). The essence of Ochs’ argument is that since both language and identity are fluid and in constant flux, a given language variety or structure “cannot neatly be assigned to one pure view of one or another social identity” (Ochs 1993: 297).

Nevertheless, Romaine (2000: 164) states that the “relative discreteness of languages/ varieties... as markers of distinct ethnic identities” can have important effects on the way people think about themselves as group members, and about the groups they belong to. Interactionist developments in sociolinguistic studies of bilingualism have increasingly addressed the ways in which linguistic resources can creatively and profitably be used “in the construction of social meaning”, especially in relation to displays of “ethnolinguistic identity” (Heller 2007b: 13). In terms of the role of language in its communicative sense, Mendoza-Denton and Osborne (2010: 113–4) note of bilingual communities that the social meanings of each language used may differ substantially, providing multiple resources for speakers to produce and interpret identities. In a similar vein, Romaine (2000: 163) remarks that the meaning of identity and ethnicity “can change according to context”, especially in minority communities under societal and political pressure, such as in contexts of language shift. The role and relevance that speakers attach to spoken varieties in the social life of bilingual communities is therefore often both contested and complex.

Fishman (2010: xxiii) has observed that identity “depends essentially on circumstances and contrasts that play upon it, modify it, and create or recreate it”. As such, he states that the interwoven lifecycle of language, identity and ethnicity “is an unending process” (Fishman 2010: xxxiv). Edwards (2010a: 4) states that language shift itself must be understood as a “symptom of social interaction”, inseparable from

its sociocultural context. He argues that a shift in the language a community uses in the intimate settings of “hearth and home” generally implies a correspondingly important shift of “social and psychological significance” for that community (Edwards 2010a: 26). In large part, this reflects the enduring popular understanding of language as “one of the most important constituents of group identity” in the contemporary world (Edwards 2010a: 35).

Williams (2010: 238) notes that ancestral languages are often regarded by minority groups in the modern world as a vital and necessary means of “communicating shared ideas, values, significant experiences and literature” (*cf.* section 1.2, above). Concern vis-à-vis the preservation and maintenance of group languages for these reasons is by no means only expressed by minority groups, however, and majority (inter)national languages such as French and English are feared by some to be under threat, particularly from migration patterns and resulting multilingual practices in the contemporary, globalised economy (*cf.* Moïse 2007; Schmidt 2007). A language shared by members of a group “serves as a powerful force” in building associations of group identity, especially through institutions of education and the media (Makihara 2010: 37). Yet such associations, Makihara (2010: 42) argues, “are socially constructed and change over time”, depending on the linguistic awareness and attitudes of group members. In this regard, and on the basis of diverse perspectives analysed by researchers in the two-volume edition of his *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, Fishman (2010: xxix) has stated that ethnic identity and group consciousness of it “are not evenly spread” throughout contemporary societies.

Rather than pre-existing social categories (of which an individual may or may not be aware), however, social constructivist approaches in interactional sociolinguistics and anthropology have suggested that identities are both projected and shaped by group members through language, a principle referred to as *emergence* (Ochs 1993: 289–90; Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 605; Schilling-Estes 2004: 190). In this conception, identity is regarded of as a “product of unfolding talk”, which emerges through interaction (Schilling-Estes 2004: 190). Schiffrin (1996: 169) states that an individual’s conception of the self “neither pre-exists all conversation nor arises just

from interlocutors' responses"; rather it arises within interaction, as his or her identities are practiced and repeated in sociocultural communication. This principle of *practice* is in turn inhibited by the concept of *partialness*, that an identity construction "may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual", and therefore below the level of consciousness (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 606). In other words, an individual may in some cases be only partly aware of the identities he or she displays in communication. On the other hand, García (2009: 82) notes that language often has "a rhetorical function" to construct and display identities, tying in with Bucholtz and Hall's (2004: 380) point that identity is also expressed in language through *performance*, a "highly deliberate and self-aware social display". Sociolinguistic performance of identity highlights and exaggerates "ideological associations" with language use, which individuals may regularly employ in "interactional moments throughout daily life" (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 380–1).

In addition to these four concepts, Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 380–1) theorise that individuals' *positionality* in identity constructions can vary from interaction to interaction, depending on the identity of one's interlocutor. Ochs (1993: 290) explains this principle in terms of individuals' linguistic use of "different kinds of acts and stances" to construct their various identities. Such a conception views identity as "inherently relational", dependent on social interaction and the individual's position within this. Social constructivist approaches therefore view the communicative functions of language, and the various manners in which they form and display identity in interaction, as key to understanding the "ebbs and tides" of identity construction from day to day, and across the lifespan (Ochs 1993: 298). Rather than a fixed, *a priori* category, therefore, a given identity may be viewed as contextually dependent and constructed through social interaction (Schiffrin 1996: 199). It has therefore been widely suggested that the relation of identity to language (in its communicative sense) is complex and conditional.

2.1.2. The symbolic value of language

In addition to its communicative function, Edwards (2013: 19) states that language also acts as a conduit of tradition, culture, and "group narrative". Apart from the instrumental sense in which language may be used to construct and perform identity,

languages often also have a semiotic and symbolic function in the negotiation of group identities. In this regard, Makihara (2010: 43) has argued that language often serves “as an important symbolic resource” for community conceptions of identity (cf. Fishman 1991, 2001a, b). In contrast to several other perspectives reviewed here, however, Edwards (2010a) goes further than this, arguing that in situations of language shift a community will not necessarily experience the associated cultural shift that would be hypothesised in various theories of language obsolescence. Rather, he suggests, “the social and psychological cohesion of the group as a unique entity may be predicted to last for some considerable time” (Edwards 2010a: 6). The language that a group no longer uses in the course of daily life may still play a role “in the maintenance of group boundaries” in a symbolic capacity (Edwards 2010a: 6).

Edwards (2009: 60) therefore sees a key distinction between language in its “mundane communicative aspect” and its symbolic significance for the maintenance and negotiation of group identities. He argues that it is possible – and may often be desirable for individuals in contexts of language shift – for the latter to remain important to a community in the absence of the former. While the instrumental function of a group’s language may be intertwined with its symbolic value in one community, Edwards (2009: 56) insists that the “two aspects of language *are* separable”, and may not be interwoven in the same way elsewhere. Jones (1998) has stated that the death of a language does not necessarily entail the death of the ethnicity with which it has traditionally been associated, while Williams (2008: 88) notes that “manifestations of identity often continue long after a group’s language declines”, maintaining that “no necessary correspondence exists between linguistic reproduction and ethnic [...] identity” (cf. Ó Riagáin 1997; Edwards 2009, 2010a).

On the other hand, the relationship between language – in its instrumental, communicative sense – and ethnic identity lies at the core of Fishman’s (1991) model for the maintenance of threatened languages or ‘reversing language shift’ (RLS; cf. section 1.2, above). He states that RLS efforts are often predicated on a “sentimental” bond between speakers, and a “stress on real and putative ethno-kinship, an aspiration toward consciousness and identity (re)formation” (1991: 383).

Yet, crucially, in addition to Edwards' (2009, 2010a) observations, other researchers have identified obstacles to the feasibility of assigning a central and enduring position to language as a communicative medium in such contexts. Hoare (2000), for instance, suggests that the relationship between ethnic identity and language is often one of association rather than actual use or competence, a view also propounded by Cole and Williams (2004) and Jones (1998). Similarly, May (2012: 134) avers that where language is considered crucial to identity, it is the "diacritical significance" attached to it, rather than the actual language *per se* that is often regarded as essential.

In a strong assertion of this argument, Eastman (1984: 274) stated that "there is no one-to-one correspondence between language and ethnic identity", since the two constitute complex but discrete entities. Where there is an association of a given ethnic identity with a particular language, knowledge of that language is not always considered necessary for the expression of that identity (Eastman 1984: 259). Ethnic identity, unlike linguistic knowledge, "only develops once cultural differentiation takes place", and as such, represents an altogether different kind of "social fact" to language (Eastman 1984: 267). Yet in certain contexts the relationship between the two may be more heavily accentuated than in others. Edwards (2013: 23) notes that while the connection between the communicative functions of language and its symbolic role is often taken as a benign and simplistic one by monolingual, majority language speakers, matters of language and identity are often more immediately foregrounded and problematic for minority language groups.

2.1.3. Essentialist perspectives on language & identity

Fishman's (1991) theory of RLS relies on a more straightforward and fundamental association between language and culture in minority language contexts than that hypothesised by the theorists cited immediately above, and, indeed, makes a strong distinction between the minority, "Xish" language and culture and majority "Yish". Although Fishman's (1991) model rests in large part on this type of ideological contrast, such sharp distinctions lack the nuance of much contemporary sociological and anthropological research on language shift (*e.g.* Heller 2006, 2010). He states, for instance, that "[t]he premises that Xmen are not Ymen and that Xish culture [...]

is not Yish culture must not be skipped over, no more than the premises that Xish culture is worth maintaining” (Fishman 1991: 394). More recently, he has described this proposition in terms of developing a rationale for the maintenance of a community’s “own language” (as opposed to the less personal [Yish] language of wider communication), whether grounded in religious, ethnic or cultural distinctions (Fishman 2013: 473). In certain respects, however, Fishman’s models of language and ethnic identity sit uneasily with contemporary conceptions which problematise *essentialist* perspectives in social research (cf. Jaffe 2007a). Writers and researchers frequently distance themselves from positions of essentialism, which hold that members of a given identity category are “both fundamentally similar to one another and fundamentally different to members of other groups” (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 374).

Jaffe (2007a: 58) notes that from an essentialist perspective, “both ‘language’ and ‘identity’ and their iconic relationships are seen as fixed, ascribed/natural and unproblematic”, in contrast with much modern scholarship on language and culture. Instead, Jaffe (2007a: 70) advocates approaches to language and identity “that acknowledge the political and social character of all identity claims and that leave room for the multiple forms of language practice”, without positing any direct and necessary relationship between the two. Elsewhere in the social sciences, and particularly within Feminist studies, theorists have called into question the very concept of identity categories, viewing social life as too fluid and complex “to make fixed categories anything but simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences” (McCall 2005: 1773).

Similarly, universalist theories of social life often reject identity categories as inadequate. Political philosopher Brian Barry (2001: 305), for instance, has framed the issue of essentialism in rather different terms to scholars such as Jaffe, arguing that the accommodation of cultural and linguistic minorities within modern, liberal and multicultural societies has its intellectual basis in cultural essentialism, overstating the importance of cultural identity at the expense of universalist objectives. Multiculturalism, he argues, “rewards the groups that can most effectively mobilize to make claims on the polity”, privileging the “ethnocultural political

entrepreneurs who can exploit it for their own ends” (Barry 2001: 21). Minority groups’ maintenance of their linguistic and cultural practices, he advises, should rather be a voluntary initiative, pursued in the private domain, whilst public life should foster the active participation by minority groups in a unifying “civic nationality” (Barry 2001: 80; *cf.* Eastman 1985; Edwards 1985, 2009, 2010a).

By contrast, much research on language revitalisation is conducted within contexts in which “an essential relationship between language, culture and identity is posited as a given” by community members themselves (Jaffe 2007a: 74). In such cases, Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 376) argue, essentialist perspectives should not be altogether discounted as long as they have “salience in the lives of the speakers we study”. Bourdieu (1991: 221) commented that contested definitions of ethnic identity and the nature of its “reality” can be understood “only if one includes in reality the *representation* of reality” (emphasis added). Drawing on this conception, Joseph (2010: 12) has argued that whilst identity categories may “essentialize what are actually arbitrary divisions among peoples”, and as such are not ‘real’, they become meaningful, and socially ‘real’, when speakers make use of them as “mental representations” of reality. Similarly, Jaffe (2007a: 57) advises against interpreting essentialist outlooks “as detachable from meaningful practice”; where an essentialist position is reflected in the language ideologies and social identities professed by informants, it may be interpreted as a significant and socially meaningful construction. Nevertheless, to appreciate the social reality of essentialist perspectives in various communities’ conception of language and identity does not necessarily mean assuming such a perspective in one’s own theoretical approach (Bucholtz & Hall 2004, 2005). Indeed, Dorian (2010: 89) cautions that the situated and contextual realities that actually link language and identity are in fact “rarely so straightforward” as essentialist conceptions would envisage, and that essentialist assumptions on the researcher’s part should therefore be avoided.

2.1.4. Language and nationalism

Makihara (2010: 36) states that one reason why essentialist perspectives which posit a simplistic and unproblematic association between language and identity are often assumed is because of the perceived usefulness of language in the “construction of

national identities” within modern states. A large sociological literature on nationalism addresses the conceived relevance and role of language to considerations of national identity in various ways. Anderson (1991: 6), for instance, notes how the concept of the nation as an ideologically constituted and “imagined political community” relied heavily on conceptions of language in the nineteenth century, an approach that Pujolar (2007: 71) describes in terms of “one language/one culture/one nation”. Heller (2007b: 4) states that whilst the imagined centrality of language to national identity “did not emerge fully-formed” at this time (having been particularly current in countries such as Spain in preceding centuries), the origins of its enduring relevance to linguistic considerations can be traced to the emergence of the modern nation-state from the end of the eighteenth century (*cf.* Nairn 1997).

At this time, language was regarded as vital to Romantic nationalist understandings in two key senses (*cf.* section 1.1, above). Firstly, Anderson (1991: 76) argues, the importance of *written* language in the emergence of print capitalism at that time was key to raising “national consciousnesses” among the literate classes. Whereas the pre-capitalist ruling classes had cohered chiefly around extra-linguistic notions of imagined community, (written) language and literacy were instrumental to the emergence and imagined solidarities of the industrial bourgeoisie in Western European cultures (Anderson 1991). Hroch (1985: 150) argues that the peasantry, on the other hand, while initially rather averse to nationalist aspirations, were indispensable in the next stage of national movements’ development, being presented as the “natural repositories” of national languages and cultures. Secondly, Anderson (1991: 144) argues that the “primordialness” of shared languages offered a continuous, almost ancestral connection to an imagined national heritage, being “rooted beyond almost anything else” in contemporary societies. Yet this conception of language, he argues, is not without problems, since many national languages are shared across multiple nations and states, while in others only a small proportion of inhabitants actually use the national language in interaction (Anderson 1991: 46). Anderson (1991: 133) thus regards nationalist conceptions of languages “as *emblems* of nation-ness” as somewhat problematic.

In certain contexts – such as that of either Scottish (Nairn 1997; McCrone 2001) or English nationalism (Kumar 2003) – language is regarded as much less significant a factor by nationalists than in others. Gellner (2006: 43) notes that nationalist movements not centred on language (such as Scottish nationalism), instead tend to allude to arguments of precedent, shared history and culture over linguistic considerations. Although frequently invoked (alongside religion and other cultural artefacts) as a signifier of national identity in nationalist thought since the eighteenth century, language, McCrone (1998) argues, cannot define a nation. Romantic nationalist philosophers such as Herder, von Humboldt and Fichte depicted language as absolutely central to national identity formation in Western Europe, especially Germany (Kramsch 2004; Edwards 2009). Herder (1960 [1772]: 100) reasoned that every nation on earth “speaks according to the way it thinks and thinks according to the way it speaks”. In terms prefiguring stronger formulations of linguistic relativity (Whorf 1956; Sapir 1962), von Humboldt (1988 [1836]: 60) argued that “there resides in every language a characteristic world-view”.

In the present day, May (2012: 135) has argued that “linguistic nationalism” of this kind, which conceives of the nation as a natural and linguistically determined entity, tends to be viewed as “little more than sociological (and linguistic) nonsense”. In this connection, Reicher and Hopkins (2001: 8) have argued that “the idea that a nation needs its own language doesn’t live up to even the most superficial scrutiny”, since linguistic definitions of nationality may in fact present obstacles to national unity. More generally, Eric Hobsbawm (1992) and Ernest Gellner (2006) have critiqued nationalist conceptions of the natural, fundamental centrality of nations to social life. The supposed naturalness and primacy of the nation as a basis of human organisation and power, it is argued, is instead an ideological proposition (Smith 2010: 25). Gellner (2006: 54) states that nations, as a natural means of classifying people “are a myth [...] It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round”. Meanwhile Hobsbawm (1992: 54) states that national languages are “the opposite of what nationalist mythology supposes them to be, namely the primordial foundations of national culture [...] [instead being] attempts to devise a standardized idiom out of a multiplicity of actually spoken idioms”. Tracing the problematic relationship of English to national identities, for instance, Kumar (2003: 9–10) notes that when the

word 'English' first occurred in varieties of Old English, "it had already lost its etymological sense, 'of or about the Angles'", and was subsequently used to refer not only to the language spoken by English people, but also that used in parts of Scotland. In the modern era, the multinational use of the language and the internationalisation of world English(es) counts against its being regarded "as a badge of a specifically English national identity" (Kumar 2003: 11; in this regard see also Kachru 1990; Bolton 2004, on the growth of World Englishes as a distinct area of sociolinguistic study).

Anthony Smith (2010: 11) includes language in a list of "objective" factors frequently invoked by nationalist philosophers in the definition of the nation, together with religion and customs. Smith's (2010: 13) own suggested definition explicitly leaves language out of the question of what constitutes the nation; he proposes "a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture, and common laws and customs for all members". Ideologically nationalistic rhetoric can "authenticate" a language variety associated with a given national identity, with the result that the language in question "comes to index particular ways of being in and belonging to the nation-state" (Bucholtz & Hall: 2004 385). Makihara (2010: 37–8) notes that a shared national language can come subsequently to be a "powerful tool" for building shared associations within a potential nation-state, as well as "emblem of one's national identity". In this way, Jaffe (2007a: 58) states, language becomes "a tool used to naturalize and legitimate political boundaries" (cf. Edwards 2009, 2010a, on the symbolic value of language). The ideological processes behind these phenomena, particularly in relation to the ideological *iconisation* of a language as emblematic of identity, are further discussed in section 2.2, below.

As emergent national identities coalesced around national (print) languages in the Romantic era, Fishman (1991: 389) describes how writers such as John Stuart Mill "equated tradition with unhappiness" in their ideas concerning social development; by contrast, nationalists promoted the use of languages of wider communication on the basis that they offered progress. The various dichotomies that have been used to conceptualise this distinction – 'roots' vs. 'options', 'parochialism' vs. 'intercourse',

Gemeinschaft vs. *Gesellschaft* – betray the significant attention it has commanded across disciplines (Edwards 2004, 2010a). Conceptions of ethnic group identity that sat uneasily with nationalist aspirations were criticised by advocates of the latter as inhibitive to the progress of human conditions; Fishman (1991: 393) argues that the concept of ethnicity has often been seen as a problem as a result – regarded as “anti-intellectual, irrational, anti-progressive and anti-civil” (cf. May 2012). Edwards (2009: 162), however, sees close ties between the two, interpreting nationalism as a kind of “self-aware” ethnicity, and awareness of ethnicity as a state of “pre-nationalism”, since both nationalism and ethnicity rely on boundaries between groups for categorising identities (Edwards 2009: 157). Languages may serve as emblems of identity for both majority, national and minority, ethnic groups. One reason why Edwards (2009: 205) problematises Fishman’s (1991, 2001b) model (with its insistence on the connection of ethnic identity and language) is that the fluid, changing nature of group language *use* means there is no necessary connection between the maintenance of a traditional or ancestral language and the continuation of group identity.

2.2. Language Ideologies

Considerations of language and identity relevant to the foregoing discussions are frequently at play in sociolinguistic and anthropological research on language ideologies. A large sociological literature on *ideology* generally tends to address its importance in the exercise of social power. Theoretical and empirical work on ideology in political science tends to address the production and reproduction of ideologies – as beliefs, myths and doctrines held by different social groups – and the manner in which they are contested by those groups in society (cf. Lukes 2005; Hearn 2008, 2012). Whilst sharing a focus on the manner in which perceptions and beliefs can influence behaviour, the use of the specific phrase ‘language ideology’ has a distinct history, having gained increasing currency in linguistic anthropology and the sociology of language since the 1990s (cf. Schiefflin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998).

In an early deployment of the term *linguistic* ideologies (more frequently language ideologies in subsequent works), the anthropologist Michael Silverstein (1979: 193)

defines them as the “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use”. A wide variety of definitions have since been used to explicate the term ‘language ideology’, however. These range from the most open and unspecific, such as the wide-ranging “beliefs or feelings about languages” (Kroskrity 2004: 512), to the more precise “cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989: 255). The usefulness of the concept in approaching questions of language use and identity is reflected in Makihara’s (2010: 41) definition of language ideologies as speakers’ “cultural sensitivities [...] about language, its use, and its users”. As Heller (2007b: 14-5) notes, speakers’ ideas about the language(s) they use are not neutral; the ways in which people make sense of the ways in which they draw upon their “linguistic resources in the situations they find themselves in” are often, in fact, “a matter of language ideology”. Indeed, the inter-relationship of linguistic practice and language ideologies is a central concern in much linguistic anthropological research.

Building on this perspective, Cavanaugh (2013) has recently discussed the development of the framework as a means of conceptualising speaker perceptions of language within the wider study of language use. She argues that the framework of language ideologies “enables an analytical unpacking of how speakers understand, view, and use language” through its dual focus on speaker awareness of language, and the non-referential functions of language (such as its relation to social identities; Cavanaugh 2013: 46). Crucially for the considerations of this study, Makihara (2010: 44-5) states that language ideologies have an important role in determining “the direction of changes in languages and speech ways” by either motivating or militating against processes of language shift and loss. In purposely glossing language ideologies in the broadest terms as “beliefs or feelings” about language, Kroskrity (2004: 512) explains that he seeks “to capture a wide range of analytical possibilities” in terms of methodological approach. In similarly broad terms Gal & Woolard (1995: 130) defined language ideologies as “cultural conceptions of the nature, form, and purpose of language”. Nevertheless, a more precise definition of the term may be more beneficial for the investigation in hand. Elaborating further, Boudreau and Dubois (2007: 104) offer the following:

Language ideologies are usually defined as a set of beliefs on language or a particular language shared by members of a community [...] These beliefs come to be so well established that their origin is often forgotten by speakers, and are therefore socially reproduced and end up being ‘naturalized’, or perceived as natural or as common sense, thereby masking the social construction processes at work. Ideologies become political when they are embedded in the social principles on which a community organises itself institutionally.

It is the systematicity of language ideologies as cultural products, and their reproduction within social context, that is of greatest relevance here. Rumsey’s (1990: 346) definition of language ideologies as “shared bodies of common sense notions about the nature of language in the world” captures this dimension, but takes little account of variation in language ideological conceptions between and within groups. In this respect, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 58) have noted that the development and construction of language ideologies is “a process involving struggle among multiple conceptualizations”. As such, language ideologies are often found to be a source of conflict in social life. The multiplicity and contestedness of language ideologies have been investigated at length in various contexts, including the minority language situations of German in Hungary (Gal 1993), Corsican (Jaffe 1999, 2009), Arizona Tewa (Kroskrity 2000c) and Gaelic in the Highlands and Islands (Dorian 1981; McEwan-Fujita 2010a, 2010b). King (2000: 168) distinguishes between language attitudes and language ideologies, explaining that whilst the former are usually expressed “as a specific response to certain aspects of a particular language”, the latter tend to be articulated as sets of beliefs concerning that language. Furthermore, beliefs of this kind are often advanced by speakers as attempted rationalisations for their language practices (Kroskrity 2004: 496).

The more attitudinal aspects of the present research project are examined through an online questionnaire (see chapter 7, below), while the more qualitative focus using semi-structured interviews (outlined in chapters 4–6, below), allows for an examination of how informants’ language ideologies relate to their actual language use, and how the interplay of these issues contributes to the negotiation of social identities (Kroskrity 2000b). Crucially for the methodological orientations of the current research, Kroskrity (2004: 496) notes that whilst speakers relate language ideologies through explicit assertions, they are also “embodied in communicative

practice”; that is to say in the manner in which speakers communicate. Language ideologies are therefore also reflected in the linguistic choices speakers make and the languages they use in daily intercourse, as well as in the content of what they articulate. When examining speakers’ openly articulated language ideologies, therefore, it is also important for researchers to be aware of ideologies that may be inferred from speakers’ actual language practices. Research methods are discussed further in chapter 4.

The increasing prevalence of the language ideologies framework since the 1990s reflects the notion’s perceived usefulness as a means by which to link linguistic practices to wider sociocultural considerations (García 2009: 84). In particular, Valdés *et al.* (2008: 107) view ideologies of language as socially mediated processes that “enact ties of language to identity”, while García (2009) has noted that the perception that ties necessarily exist between the two is a language ideology in its own right. Woolard (1998: 3) sees language ideologies as central to “the very notion of person and the social group”, and as the means by which the two are discursively linked through interaction. Just as sociocultural identities are conceived of as multiple, contested and contextual (*cf.* section 2.1.1), language ideologies which enact ties to them tend to be viewed within a social constructivist framework. In formulating language ideologies and producing ties of language to identity categories, speakers attribute values to particular languages and constructions through the related processes of *indexicality* and *iconisation*, terms originally derived from Pierce’s (1955) work on semiotics.

When certain linguistic practices become identified or associated with a particular sociocultural group, we may speak of their ‘indexing’ aspects of that group’s social life, while iconisation is seen as the representation of language usages and varieties as “pictorial guides to the nature of groups” (Kroskrity 2004: 507). For example, the identification of certain linguistic features perceived to typify the variety of English spoken in Pittsburgh as distinctively “Pittsburghese” may be seen to exemplify indexicality (Johnstone *et al.* 2006). Likewise, the semiotic relationship of an individual’s speaking Gaelic to their identification, traditionally, as a ‘Gael’ can be conceptualised as an indexical one. By contrast, the tradition of aligning language,

nation and state within European Romantic nationalism (*cf.* sections 2.1.2-4) may be seen as example of overt iconisation. Conversely, the inchoate iconisation of Gaelic as a symbol of Scottish identity (*cf.* Macdonald 1997; Oliver 2002; McEwan-Fujita 2003) may be viewed as a somewhat more covert example. Whereas indexical processes may indirectly enact ties of language and identity (either consciously or unconsciously) through interaction and social practice, iconisation is seen as the ideological association of a language or feature as “formally congruent with the group with which it is associated”, irrespective of that group’s actual language practices (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 380). Language ideologies which iconise linguistic varieties are seen by Irvine and Gal (2000: 37) to transform the symbolic relationship between language and group identities, as if the language “depicted or displayed a social group’s inherent nature or essence” (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 380; *cf.* sections 2.1.3-4, above).

The relevance of the foregoing considerations to the present investigation are apparent in Valdés *et al.*’s (2008: 108) identification of the education system as an important site for “the legitimization of particular ways of speaking”, whilst devaluing others. Macleod (2010) argues that the marginal place occupied by Gaelic in Scottish education had a powerful effect on the orientation of language ideologies within the Gaelic-speaking community (*cf.* section 3.3.1, below, on Gaelic education). Jaffe (2009) distinguishes between ideological production and reproduction in multilingual educational settings, noting that bilingual schools, as sites of language ideological *production*, act to ideologise pupils’ language use by attributing different values to different languages. By contrast, she argues, ideological *reproduction* refers to “how students experience and interpret the language ideological content of their education”, and as such, may differ substantially from the intended ideological goals of the bilingual classroom (Jaffe 2009: 395). Building on this, she describes how pupils’ “experiences of school as an institution act as an ideological filter for [...] the nature and status of languages in the bilingual program” (Jaffe 2009: 402). These concepts are of crucial importance for framing the objectives of the current research, *viz.* the manner in which former-GME students’ language ideologies and identities, shaped and constructed through myriad sites of interaction and language socialisation (both within and beyond GME) relate

to their language practices and use of Gaelic in the present day. These considerations bring us to the next notion I consider here.

2.3. Language Socialisation

A rapidly growing research literature on socialisation is concerned chiefly with the acquisition by children and other novices of what French sociologist Bourdieu (1990: 59) has termed *habitus*, defined as the “system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditionings”, which “produces individual and collective practices” (1990: 54). The theoretical bases of *language* socialisation, initially formulated in the 1980s (see Schiefflin & Ochs 1986b), focus on the specific roles of language(s) in these processes. Language socialisation concerns both the role of language as the medium through which practices are produced in the wider sense, and socialisation to use language(s) *per se* (Schiefflin & Ochs 1986a: 163; Garret & Baquedano-López 2002: 339; Kulick & Schiefflin 2004: 349). Duff (2010: 172) sums up the theoretical premise of the framework, defining language socialisation as an ongoing process of explicit mentoring and/or instruction by which individuals learn the “appropriate uses of the language [as well as] the worldviews, ideologies, values, and identities of community members”. The language socialisation framework therefore provides a useful conceptual link from issues of language and identity discussed in section 2.1 to the notions of language acquisition and attrition discussed in the following chapter (*cf.* section 3.1, below). Research on language socialisation generally has a wider remit than that on language acquisition, which Schiefflin and Ochs (1986a: 167) define as the examination of “processes that underlie and strategies that organize language comprehension and production” over time (*cf.* section 3.1.1). Peters and Boggs (1986: 80) note that these two are closely interrelated, but emphasise the wider social correlates of language socialisation in stressing that this process involves “teaching children to participate in speech events [in order] to inculcate cultural values”.

The overarching goals of language socialisation research are therefore to understand the roles of language in the processes by which individuals become proficient members of social groups (Schiefflin and Ochs 1986a: 167), as well as how they are socialised into particular language practices (Kulick & Schiefflin 2004: 365). In

relation to the former, Ochs (1993: 292) has described how mothers socialise infants through displays of affective stance, “into how they should think about people around them”. An early focus within the paradigm generally pertained to the language socialisation of children by primary caregivers in the home-community context, as exemplified in Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo’s (1986) research in the Solomon Islands, or Crago *et al.*’s (1993) study of difficulties in maintaining the home as an intact domain for socialisation in Inuktitut in northern Quebec. The framework has since broadened, however, to take account of socialisation experiences over the life cycle, and Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 378) suggest that language socialisation “is not a one-time event but a phenomenon that happens throughout our lives”. Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002: 341) consider how young children and older novices acquire practices that allow them to become competent members of a community from interactions with more experienced – though not necessarily older – individuals. Furthermore, Garrett stresses (2007: 233) that the ongoing acquisition of “communicative competence” (after Hymes 1972) proceeds not only through novices’ interactions with older or more experienced persons but generally also through interactions with peers.

Therefore the home, school, college and workplace – any site of habitual interaction in fact – can all be conceptualised as important potential contexts for language socialisation. The importance of these contexts as sites for language socialisation tends to be foregrounded in multilingual settings (Garrett 2007: 234), since the use of one variety rather than another often has important consequences for socialisation experiences. Bayley & Schecter (2003b: 6) report that young people’s experiences in bilingual and multicultural settings provide a rich research site for investigating issues of cultural and linguistic hybridity, since young multilinguals often define their identities in terms of newer, multilingual affiliations rather than more fixed, traditional categories. Researching Gaelic language socialisation in the Western Isles, McEwan-Fujita (2010b: 30) regards language shift to English there as a phenomenon which is “perpetuated by linguistic socialization of children and adults”. Indeed, she argues, attempts to reverse language shift often aim to socialise both adults and children in new linguistic practices that may promote use of the minority language (McEwan-Fujita 2010b: 30). The Gaelic-medium classroom, as a site for the

socialisation of young people in Gaelic, may thus be either undermined or bolstered by language use in social spaces such as the home, playground, neighbourhood, or (subsequently) workplace or even the pub. Will's (2012) recent doctoral research on Lewis schoolchildren in primary GME documented obstacles to Gaelic socialisation through the school system, particularly where home socialisation in the language was weak (as was generally reported of the community she studied).

For the purposes of the present study, informants' retrospective accounts of Gaelic socialisation through the home and school environments will be crucial to framing the analysis of their language use, ideologies and identities today. The language socialisation framework will be beneficial for conceptualising how these issues relate to theories of language acquisition and attrition which I address in the following sections (3.1.1-2). Duff (2010: 173) states that as language learners' aptitudes increase through the continual process of socialisation, they gain insight into "cultural knowledge about ideologies, identities or subjectivities" specific to the language community. It is an ongoing process, and conceptions of such knowledge change over time. As will be seen in the following sections, however, the capacity for formal language education to address such fundamental socio-cultural considerations may be undermined by various factors.

2.4. Researching language and culture: Concluding remarks on language, identities, ideologies, and socialisation

Theoretical approaches to the relationship of language and identities (outlined in section 2.1) draw on a large and multidisciplinary literature, and research in (socio)linguistics, anthropology, psychology and sociology has consistently demonstrated that the nexus of language, culture and identity is profoundly complex. In addition to the ways in which language is used to convey, communicate and construct identity (section 2.1.1), it is also theorised to have an important and quite separate role as a symbol of group identity (sections 2.1.1-4). A language may therefore be regarded as potentially important to a community or individual irrespective of its continued use in social context. From sociolinguistic and anthropological perspectives, beliefs and values attached to language in this respect are often examined within the language ideologies framework, as suggested in

section 2.2. Theoretical and applied work on language ideologies offers a valuable avenue for conceptualising the relationship between the communicative and symbolic functions of language, and for relating considerations in respect of identity to individuals' actual language use.

Lastly, theoretical and empirical work on language socialisation has demonstrated that the ways and degrees to which children and other novices are exposed to and immersed in language throughout the lifespan can have important impacts on the ways they view, use and relate to particular languages (section 2.3). The relationship of these three issues, as examined through the qualitative and quantitative approaches adopted in the empirical chapters of this thesis (*viz.* 5-7), will be of particular importance for investigating the principal research questions. The potential importance of students' identities in determining prospects for language socialisation and acquisition in bilingual immersion programmes is discussed further indicated in sections 3.1-2 of the following chapter.

3. Minority language revitalisation and bilingual education: Evidence from the international and domestic contexts

Internationally in recent decades, bilingual education has assumed an increasingly prominent position in language planning and revitalisation initiatives (Ferguson 2006; Hornberger 2008). This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature, firstly considering research on language acquisition and attrition, especially in relation to bilingual education in minority language situations (section 3.1). Section 3.2 reviews literature on examples of bilingual and immersion education in Europe, North America and Australasia, while section 3.3 provides an overview of GME in Scotland specifically, particularly its development in historical context (section 3.3.1), expectations and experiences of the system in its earliest years (section 3.3.2) and problems and limitations that researchers and policy-makers have identified in GME over the past three decades (section 3.3.3).

3.1. Language acquisition and attrition in bilingual immersion education

Colin Baker's research has documented diverse contexts of bilingualism and bilingual education over the past thirty years (*cf.* Baker & Griffith 1983; Baker & García 2007; Baker 1992, 2007, 2011). I would like to draw attention initially to research specifically on language acquisition and attrition in immersion education settings, however (sections 3.1.1-2). Skutnabb-Kangas (1988, 2000) distinguishes between four kinds of bilingual education, namely mother tongue maintenance education, immersion education, segregation and submersion education. The first two of these (both of which are embraced within GME) are described as examples of *additive* bilingual education which contribute toward the maintenance of students' linguistic abilities in both their first and second languages, while the latter two constitute forms of *subtractive* bilingual education, in that they tend to diminish students' abilities in a particular language, while promoting (only) those in another (Wright 2013: 606). Gardner (1982: 28) has observed that additive and subtractive approaches also have important consequences in students' formation of identities and attitudes, a point to which I return shortly (section 3.2). Firstly, however, sections

3.1.1-2 provide a synthesis of relevant research from the fields of language acquisition and attrition.

3.1.1. Language acquisition and immersion education

Lambert and Tucker (1972: 225) first coined the expression “immersion” education, describing students’ experience of bilingual education in a pioneering French programme for Anglophone children in the city of St Lambert near Montreal as “immersion in a ‘language bath’”. Baker (2011: 239) notes that some researchers have argued that programmes of this kind were already in existence elsewhere in Canada by this time, however, though the St Lambert example is the best-known. In the St Lambert context, parents who were unhappy with existing provision for both English- and French-medium education campaigned for the establishment, in 1965, of a system of primary education that would “lead to bilingualism by the end of elementary school, with no deficit in the mother tongue” (Lambert & Tucker 1972: 231). The model that was introduced in St Lambert was characterised by full immersion in French until second grade, when English-medium instruction was first introduced, and then gradually increased until the proportion of languages used for instruction was 50/50 by the sixth grade.

The scheme was generally considered a huge success and French immersion education expanded throughout the country as a consequence; in 2011 over 5% of Canadian elementary school pupils (some 300,000 children) were enrolled in French immersion programmes (Baker 2011: 240). Wright (2013: 611) explains that the perceived success of this bilingual immersion system led to its being replicated in diverse contexts internationally (*cf.* section 3.2, below). In Scotland GME developed on the basis of this model (largely via the experience of Welsh-medium education), and as a consequence, functions both to instruct a majority of children’s second language acquisition, and to aid a minority of Gaelic-speaking students’ first language development (*cf.* HMIE 2011; section 3.3, below). While the structure and aims of bilingual immersion programmes may vary considerably according to context, Swain and Johnson (1997) note that they tend characteristically to include the use of a second language (L2) as the principal medium of instruction by bilingual teachers, a parallel curriculum to that used in equivalent, dominant first language

(L1) medium classes, support for the development of additive bilingualism in L1 and L2, with exposure to the L2 largely limited to the classroom (*cf.* Baker 2011; García 2009).

Various models have been proposed to represent the processes by which individuals acquire a second language. Krashen's (1982) 'input model' conceived of acquisition as a subconscious process which is guided by innate psycholinguistic mechanisms through exposure to comprehensible language input. Building on this, Long's (1985) interaction hypothesis posited that language acquisition from comprehensible input is most likely to occur through social interaction, in which context guides individuals' meaning-making. On the basis of research on French immersion education in Canada, which showed that even considerable exposure to comprehensible input does not always lead to the acquisition of perfect grammatical accuracy, Swain (1995) argued that the input hypothesis alone provides an insufficient explanation of the process. Rather, encouraging learners' linguistic *output* was deemed necessary for stimulating productive skills in speech and writing, and to make learners more aware of grammar and structure that was not needed for comprehension; this has been termed the 'output hypothesis'. Canale and Swain (1980) developed Hymes' (1972) notion of communicative competence in their theories of second language acquisition. Language learners, they argued, need not only to acquire linguistic competence – that is to say knowledge of syntax, vocabulary, phonology and so on – but also pragmatic competence to *use* language, in the sense of conveying and interpreting meaning in real speech and accounting for the full range of meaning-making possibilities that arise through day-to-day interaction (Canale & Swain 1980). Building on this, researchers have added the goals of discourse competence, to engage in and manage conversation and extended writing, and sociolinguistic competence, to use language appropriately according to the domains, contexts and cultural understandings of the language community (Littlewood 2004; Butler 2013).

Ellis (2004) has observed that the speed of an individual's second language acquisition and eventual attainment can vary greatly depending largely on social, cognitive and affective factors. Age is considered to potentially affect cognitive factors but not to be a factor in and of itself; Birdsong (2009) has observed that the

influence of age in second language acquisition is still relatively unclear, with earlier formulations of the ‘critical period hypothesis’, which posited a relatively brief opportunity for optimal second language acquisition ending in adolescence, having subsequently been challenged. Whilst citing a wealth of evidence that tends to go against the hypothesis (*e.g.* Flege 1999; Flege *et al.* 1999; Bialystok & Miller 1999; Hyteltam & Abrahamsson 2000; Birdsong & Molis 2001; Mitchell *et al.* 2013), Birdsong (2004, 2009) nevertheless allows that age-related decline in language learning aptitude may nevertheless play some role in inhibiting second language acquisition.

Edwards (2013: 19) argues that immersion classrooms constitute a unique context for examining the interplay of these social, cognitive and affective factors in second language acquisition, and Johnstone’s (2001) review of bilingual immersion internationally suggested that immersion programmes are generally highly effective in producing students with bilingual competences. Johnstone’s (2001) review nevertheless reported differences in attainment in productive and receptive skills as a frequent finding in research on immersion education. In Canada, for instance, Swain (1997) found that French immersion students’ listening and reading skills in French was equivalent to those of native speakers in many respects, but that their productive skills in speaking and writing lagged behind (L1) Francophone children. An earlier study by Harley and Swain (1984) found that many Canadian French immersion students gained fluency in communicating within the classroom but failed to master aspects of the grammar that were not needed for the kinds of interaction entailed in this. Swain and Johnson’s (1997) review of Canadian immersion programmes similarly found that students tended to acquire native-like abilities in reading and listening by their completion of primary school, but were less successful in acquiring equivalent abilities in the productive skills of speaking and writing. Both studies drew attention to the potential for the target language, within bilingual immersion education, to become associated with school and used seldom beyond the classroom.

On the basis of various meta-analyses of the effectiveness of French immersion education in Canada, Edwards (2010b: 261) notes that in spite of their greater command in the target language, immersion pupils generally appear not to seek out

opportunities to use their second language to a greater extent than, for instance, students studying it as a subject. As Baker (2011: 265) phrases it, there is always a chance that “[p]otential does not necessarily lead to production; skill does not ensure street speech” (*cf.* Fishman 1991, 2001a). On this point, Potowski (2007) and Dressler (2012) both found low social use of target languages (Spanish and German) among students in bilingual programmes in the USA and Canada respectively, with students expressing a marked preference for use of English with peers in both contexts. Importantly, however, Dressler (2012) reported varied social identifications with the target language (*i.e.* German in Alberta, Canada), including strong feelings of association by students who identified with it for reasons of heritage and ancestry. The degree of social identification with the target language appeared not to be an important variable in greater use of it.

Baker (1992: 31-2) explains the distinction between instrumental and integrative motivations in learning language, with positive instrumental attitudes reflecting “pragmatic, utilitarian motives”, such as perceptions of socio-economic advantage to be gained by learning a language, while integrative motives concern “attachment to, or identification with a language group and their cultural activities”. Issues of cultural identification often take on particular significance in bilingual programmes, which Baker (2011: 250) states can aid children in the “establishment of a more secure identity”. Individual attitudes toward the language community and personal motivation to integrate with it have been observed, particularly in Canada, to play an important role in determining second language acquisition outcomes (Gardner & Lambert 1959, 1972), if not in promoting actual use of the target language. Integrative motivation of this kind has been described as reflecting the “sincere and personal interest in the people and culture” associated with the target language (Gardner & Lambert 1972: 132). Yet recently Edwards (2013: 19) has observed that the development of competence in additional languages may in reality involve widely varying degrees of socio-psychological identification with the language communities in question.

On the basis of much of his early work with Lambert, which appeared to demonstrate the primacy of integrative motivational factors in second language acquisition,

Gardner (1985) had initially argued that instrumental factors played a less significant role in learner motivation. Recently, however, he has modified this view, acknowledging that instrumental motivations are extremely (if not equally) important in many contexts (Gardner 2010). In addition to these two central motivational factors in second language acquisition, Kruidener and Clement (1986) added considerations such as travel to, friendship within and familiarity with the target language community, along with the degree of prestige attached to it, though arguably, each of these issues could be subsumed within Gardner and Lambert's (1959, 1972) instrumental and integrative motivations.

An individual's orientations and motivations in second language acquisition may change substantially over time, and in response to ongoing research on integrative motivations, Dörnyei (2005) has advocated a reconceptualisation of language learners' social identifications with the target language in terms of the "L2 Motivational Self System", accounting for learners' idealised representations of themselves and their language learning aspirations. Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009: 1) state that motivations for L2 learning are consistently in the process of being "reconceptualised and retheorised" in response to contemporary conceptions of personal and social identities (*cf.* section 2.1), while Edwards (2013: 21) proposes that the deeper a learner of an additional language delves into the target language and culture, the greater the impact on their identities is likely to be. Nevertheless, he cautions against "lumping together" the bilingualism of children who acquire fluency in Gaelic in the home setting with that of children who become bilingual through the education system in Edinburgh or Glasgow (Edwards 2013: 14). Butler (2013: 116) observes that a further complication in examining bilingual repertoires of these divergent groups arises from the fact that "the bilingual profile [*i.e.* the degree to which an individual retains and makes use of their two languages] is constantly changing". This point will be examined further in the next section.

3.1.2. Immersion education and language attrition

As with second language acquisition, issues of language attrition – the loss of linguistic skills and structures by an individual – are widely thought to be inseparable from their wider social context (Edwards 2004). Schmid and de Bot (2004: 210) note

that the process of language attrition has often been considered to be a direct reversal of language acquisition (*cf.* Andersen 1982), whereby a “lack of contact leads to a reduced level of proficiency” in an individual’s linguistic repertoire. Recent research on the phenomenon has suggested that attrition is more complicated than this, however (*cf.* Schmid 2013), with important variables including linguistic factors – such as influence from the dominant language, frequency and quality of input, loss of register differentiation and morphological complexity – as well as extralinguistic factors like age of speaker, initial level of proficiency, length of time without input and attitudinal motivation for language maintenance (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer 2010: 2).

Language attrition tends therefore to be regarded as a complex phenomenon that develops in a non-linear fashion over time (Schmid, Köpke, & de Bot 2013). Crucially, speakers’ opportunities and choice to use an attriting language subsequent to the onset of attrition play an important role in rates of maintenance and loss; whereas the former may be out of a speaker’s control, Schmid and de Bot (2004: 221) observe that the latter tends not to be (*cf.* section 6.1.5, below, on ideologies of opportunity and choice). A threshold question and contentious issue in relation to the study of language attrition is whether the process involves the “total loss” of linguistic structures from an individual’s memory, or if the problem is essentially one of access and the “restimulation” of knowledge that may be retained on some subconscious, psycho-linguistic level (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer 2010: 2).

As with language acquisition, various models of language attrition have been proposed to describe the phenomenon. Adherents of the ‘regression hypothesis’ propound the view described above, that the process of language attrition is “the mirror image” of acquisition (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer 2010: 3); *i.e.* that what is learned first is lost last (Andersen 1982). Related to this conception is the “critical threshold hypothesis”, which maintains that linguistic features that are learnt best (rather than earliest) are least vulnerable to attrition and are thus maintained longest (Lambert 1989: 7), while the ‘interference’ or “interlanguage hypothesis” holds that attrition results directly from the influence of the dominant language (Köpke & Schmid 2004). An offshoot of this paradigm – the “linguistic features hypothesis” –

posits that L2 features that are linguistically more distant from their L1 equivalents are more vulnerable to attrition than those that are similar (*cf.* Andersen 1982). Highly divergent, as well as less frequently occurring, features of the attriting language have similarly been shown to be vulnerable to loss (Murtagh 2003: 29). Additionally, Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer (2010: 6) define the “simplification hypothesis” as a “catchall” term to conceptualise the manner in which processes of morphological and syntactic restriction appear to occur after situations of prolonged lack of linguistic input (*cf.* Andersen 1982). The “dormant language hypothesis”, on the other hand, proposes that remnants of linguistic knowledge may be maintained at some subconscious level within the mind, even if they appear to be irretrievable (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer 2010: 8).

Second language attrition studies have often focused on the school summer break as a common interruption period in the language development trajectories of immersion pupils. Cohen (1975), for example, found that Spanish immersion students in a United States bilingual programme lost grammatical contrasts that had been acquired recently in the preceding academic year, even over the relatively modest interruption of the summer vacation period. Similarly, Clark and Jordan (1984: 16) reported language attrition among first-year students of Japanese to be “almost total” after a comparatively short period away from the classroom during the summer. Yet it is also noted in the same study that support for the ‘dormant language hypothesis’ is often found among more experienced learners with higher aptitudes in Japanese, a finding also replicated in Russel (1999; *cf.* Clark & Jordan 1984). Second language attrition has been found generally not to proceed uniformly across all areas of grammar and lexicon, with the productive skills of speaking and writing being lost faster than receptive skills, and vocabulary being lost faster than grammatical structures (Lambert 1989; Lambert & Freed 1982).

Importantly, most studies of student experiences of attrition in an additional language have been conducted following a relatively short period of interruption to input. For instance, Snow (1982) investigated rates of L2 retention and attrition among graduates of a seven-year Spanish immersion programme in a California elementary school by the time they started in high school, suggesting that the motivations of

successful Spanish retainers were pivotal to their retention of productive abilities. A subsequent paper (Snow *et al.* 1988) concluded that the continued study of Spanish after primary level immersion courses had terminated had no immediate impact on vocabulary maintenance; whilst some students exhibited attrition soon after the end of the programme, significant differences in the language proficiencies of those who had continued to receive Spanish exposure and those who hadn't did not develop until later in high school. Attitudinal and motivational factors were found to influence retention of productive, but not receptive skills within the cohort investigated, and the study concluded that without continued exposure to an L2 beyond primary school "the opportunity to maintain [second language] skills... is lost" (Snow *et al.* 1988: 195–6). Johnstone's (2001) comprehensive review of research on immersion education internationally found the extent of attrition after the completion of immersion programmes to be widely variable. As suggested by Snow *et al.* (1988) for Spanish immersion in the US, attitudes to the learning process and target language itself have often been found to be important for retention of the target language by French-immersion students in Canada (Lambert & Tucker 1972; Harley & Swain 1984; Harley 1994). Positive attitudes, both toward the target immersion language and to research participants' own language and culture, were a common finding for rates of target language retention in each of these studies.

In terms of target language use after the completion of immersion, the picture appears even more mixed. Harley's (1994) meta-analysis of language practices among former French immersion students in Canada (again, only shortly after they had graduated from high school) reported substantially greater use of listening skills (notably through engagement with French-medium television and radio) than of reading, speaking or writing. MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) investigated the language use of former French immersion students, all of whom were either in employment or graduate education when the research was conducted. While most had anticipated high levels of French language use in their future careers and daily lives while at school, the majority in fact reported low levels of French use in the present day. Similarly, Nix-Victorian's (2010) research among graduates of an elementary school French immersion programme in a Louisiana primary school reported very low levels of target language use by the time they started college. It is

worth noting that this decline in language use was observed even where the target variety is a relatively prestigious world language. By comparison, research on former immersion students' use of minority and Indigenous languages (the latter adjective often capitalised as a term of respect to denote Aboriginal and First Nations peoples) subsequent to leaving school appears relatively sparse in the international literature. As discussed in section 3.2, below, research on revitalisation immersion education in Europe, North America and Australasia tends to deal with other aspects of the system's impact, such as consequences for students' heritage and identity. Notable exceptions to this are to be found in the studies of Murtagh (2003), Woolard (2007) and Hodges (2009), however.

Murtagh's (2003) longitudinal study focussed on post-school attrition of Irish, a minority language that nevertheless enjoys high formal status as the 'national' and first 'official' language in the Republic of Ireland (Ó Riagáin 1997, 2001). Recognising the role that attitudes may play in L2 retention, Murtagh (2003) employed a methodology adapted from studies on French teaching in Canada (Gardner & Lambert 1959; Gardner 1985) to assess motivations among 59 former-students who had studied Irish in primary and secondary school (including 11 who had received Irish-medium education). An earlier study (Harris & Murtagh 1999) had found that final-year secondary students expressed generally positive integrative attitudes toward the Irish language itself and the Irish-speaking community. By contrast, attitudes to the learning process and levels of commitment that students were prepared to invest in learning Irish were generally less positive. An important finding in this regard was that use of Irish at home had an important impact on pupil motivation, with even moderate use in that context affecting both motivation scores and achievement in Irish (Harris & Murtagh 1999).

Another factor found by Harris and Murtagh (1999) to influence rates of language retention was the density of an individual's social network (*cf.* Milroy 1987) and peers' use of Irish within it. Stoessel (2002) found rates of language maintenance by immigrant communities in the USA to be heavily influenced by the number and quality of contacts outside of an individual's family network, and Murtagh (2003: 165) similarly found denser networks to impact on rates of speakers' language

retention. She therefore postulated that the access to Irish-speaking networks that Irish-medium education was regarded to offer was crucial for this group's retention of language skills.

Murtagh (2003: 107) also related relatively high levels of retention among 11 graduates of Irish-medium programmes to the high levels of comprehensible input and output that are characteristic of bilingual immersion. Yet she also suggested that sufficient time might not have elapsed between the two data collection times in her longitudinal study (20 months), in order to sufficiently analyse rates of language attrition among this group. Nevertheless, it is notable that only 45.5% of former Irish-medium students claimed to have 'native-speaker' abilities at Time 2 (while enrolled in undergraduate study), compared with 72.2% at Time 1 (whilst sitting the final year of the Irish Leaving Certificate). As in Harley's (1994) study, listening was the skill respondents at Time 2 reported exercising most frequently in the present day, writing the least. While over half of all respondents at Time 2 indicated the feeling that their language abilities had declined since school, results of tests administered to students failed to find significant evidence of attrition. This is a fairly common finding in much L2 attrition research, since longitudinal surveys tracing changes in the bilingual repertoire over a longer period of interruption are often difficult to administer (*cf.* Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer 2010). While Murtagh (2003: 147–8) explains that the interval between Times 1 and 2 was probably "too short to yield decisive patterns of change" among the sample of former Irish students, significant limitations were nevertheless found in relation to former students' language use, and two of the 11 former Irish-medium pupils reported "hardly ever" using Irish at Time 2.

Hodges' (2009) investigation of Welsh language use among former Welsh-medium students in south Wales similarly found relatively low rates of Welsh language use in the present day, even among informants from Welsh-speaking homes. An important exception to this was found within the sphere of employment, with that formal domain constituting an important site for Welsh language use for several of her informants. As a qualitative case study of only 8 informants, however, the

generalisibility of these findings to Welsh-medium students throughout Wales is clearly limited, though this was not an objective of the study.

Similarly Woolard's (2007) analysis of five graduates of a Catalan-medium high school in metropolitan Barcelona may be limited in terms of generalisibility, but nevertheless offers a unique and seminal insight in relation to longer-term outcomes of minority language immersion education. Contrary to expectations Woolard (2007: 641) had formulated on the basis of observations from a case study she conducted in 1987, a large proportion of the twelve informants she subsequently contacted twenty years later reported using Catalan extensively in the present day. In 1987, a number of first-language Castilian speakers in the Catalan-medium high school in which she conducted her study were reticent and even hostile to using Catalan, but the participants she was able to get in touch with in 2007 displayed considerable development in their Catalan abilities, due in large part to their engagement with and use of the language subsequent to leaving the school. As noted in section 3.2.1, below, the Catalan context represents a rather distinct example of language revitalisation, as Catalan is very widely used across most public domains in Catalonia. As such the Catalan context presents a highly divergent environment from that of either Welsh or Irish, and constitutes one of only three of Fishman's (1991: 287) "success stories" for reversing language shift internationally; the unusual status of Catalan in this respect brought increased opportunities (and in some cases obligations) for use of the language in the post-Franco period. Woolard's (2007) study nevertheless highlights the potential for unexpected changes in the development of the bilingual's engagement with different languages over the lifespan.

Potential rates of language attrition, and the longer-term outcomes of immersion programmes, currently appear relatively unclear, and their implications for the linguistic practices, language ideologies and sociocultural identities of participants are not easy to gauge on the basis of the existing literature. In particular, there appears to be a notable shortage of investigations of attrition rates following a longer period of interruption after the completion of immersion education. In light of research on bilingual immersion education in Canada discussed above, however, it

would come as a surprise to find that the majority of adults who started in GME during the first decade of its availability – and who ended their formal contact with the language up to 15 years ago – maintain the same degree of engagement and identification with Gaelic in the present day as might have been true after completing primary school. A number of issues specific to the context of GME in Scotland further suggest that a conclusion of this kind is unlikely to be reached over the course of the present study. I discuss these in greater detail in section 3.3, below, but firstly draw attention to research literatures on revitalisation through education on three continents.

3.2. Principles from overseas: Immersion revitalisation education in Europe, North America and Australasia

Language use in the context of minority language education often has important functions beyond communication (Weiyun He 2010; McCarty 2003, 2013), and Friedman (2010: 193) notes that education is often viewed in such contexts as a primary vehicle for “legitimizing cultural identity”. Dorian (1987: 64) has discussed the value of language promotion efforts “which are unlikely to succeed”, noting greater community self-confidence, increased understanding of traditional knowledge and heritage, and economic development as potentially beneficial by-products of maintenance efforts. If the school is regarded as an important site for identity and (language) ideology formation, however, the extent to which socio-psychological factors such as strong identities and supportive attitudes will impact upon actual language use is unclear. Kendal King (2000, 2001) has argued that in many contexts of language revitalisation, it is common for minority language speakers to hold positive attitudes to the revitalisation of their variety, yet simultaneously make little use of the endangered language in their daily lives (*cf.* Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998). Such inconsistencies, she argues, “can best be understood when the broader notion of language ideology is taken into account”, insofar as overtly expressed pro-revitalisation attitudes “may only reveal one of several existing language ideologies” which influence linguistic behaviour (King 2000: 168–9; *cf.* section 2.2, above). Within contexts of language shift, the picture is often further complicated by sharp contrasts in linguistic ideologies and beliefs

among learners on the one hand, and traditional speakers on the other (McEwan-Fujita 2010a, b).

Bale (2010: 60) observes that researchers in diverse contexts have often concluded that “formal schooling cannot be the lone site” of language revitalisation for minority, heritage and Indigenous varieties (*cf.* Fishman 1991, 2001a, b), and prospects for the maintenance and revitalisation of minority languages through education alone seem to be limited (Hinton & Ahlers 1999; McCarty 2003; Cochran 2008; Will 2012; Landgraf 2013). Kondo-Brown (2010: 24) has noted that much research on Indigenous (denoting autochthonous and First Nation varieties, especially in North America and Australasia) heritage and minority language education has focused on immersion pupils’ academic achievement in comparison with mainstream pupils, rather than students’ language use, “maintenance or development per se” (2010: 28). On the basis of the literature reviews presented below, the maintenance of bilingual abilities by former immersion pupils does indeed seem to be a crucial lacuna in research on minority and Indigenous language education internationally (but *cf.* Hodges 2009; Woolard 2007). In the interests of conciseness, I limit my discussion here to examples of “immersion revitalisation” (García 2009: 128) from (western) Europe, North America and Australasia. While research outlined in sections 3.2.1-2 often appears to support Fishman’s views concerning the limited effectiveness of education in reversing language shift, it has also often been acknowledged that bilingual education plays an important role in efforts to revitalise endangered languages and cultures.

3.2.1. European perspectives: The Celtic world and Iberia

In Europe, McLeod (2007) has noted that developments in Wales and the Basque country in particular, and Ireland and Brittany to some degree, have demonstrated the impact that bilingual education can have on numbers of potential speakers of threatened languages (if not on creating day-to-day users). In Wales, Newcombe (2007: 5) has described education as having been “[a]rguably, the most important influence” in the revitalisation of Welsh during the twentieth century, and the Welsh Assembly Government’s (2010) strategy for Welsh, *Iaith Fyw* (‘A Living Language’) identified supporting learners in Welsh-medium education to attain

fluency as a key focus of language policy. Some 63,192 primary school pupils (23.9% of the total) and 37,692 secondary students (19.7%) were enrolled in Welsh-medium education in Wales in 2012-13 (Statistics for Wales 2013), whilst in the remainder of schools, Welsh is a compulsory subject up to the age of 16. In particular, the growth in the late 20th century of Welsh-medium education in Anglicised parts of the country raised the hopes of language activists for a revival of Welsh in those areas (Williams 2003: 7; Coupland *et al.* 2005: 2). Edwards and Newcombe (2005: 303) for example, observed that almost two thirds of primary school pupils who were reported as fluent in Welsh in the 2001 census came from English-speaking homes (although the results of Welsh language use surveys have demonstrated that such pupils' use of the language outside of school may be severely limited; *cf.* Welsh Language Board 2008).

Disappointingly for Welsh language activists, however, the 2011 census recorded a 20,000 fall in the total number of Welsh speakers to 562,000, and 73.3% of the population were reported to have no Welsh language skills (Statistics for Wales 2014: 15). The census also revealed, however, that 40% of 5-15 year-olds in Wales could speak Welsh, the largest proportion of any age group (Statistics for Wales 2014: 15). A large proportion of this 5-15 age group might not be expected to progress to fluency in adulthood, however, since 40% of Welsh-medium primary pupils are currently reported to progress to English-medium secondary schools (Statistics for Wales 2013: 5). Studies by Edwards and Newcombe (2005: 300) and Coupland *et al.* (2005: 16) both suggested that interactional use of the language by Welsh-speaking teenagers declined over time, particularly where it is not the language of the home, a finding that Baker (1992) had reported over twenty years ago.

Conversely, Selleck (2013: 23) has argued that the education system in Wales promotes an unrealistic "monolingual ideal" of Welsh use that fails to recognise Welsh-speaking students' bilingual repertoires, and the bilingual (or English-dominant) environments in which they live. She argues that this approach contrasts with the stated objective of creating functional bilinguals, and advocates a more flexible approach to bilingualism in Welsh schools to reflect this objective (2013:

23–4). The degree to which such a flexible approach would facilitate students' acquisition of and socialisation in Welsh would appear limited, however, in light of what Baker (1992), Edwards and Newcombe (2005) and Coupland *et al.* (2005) report in respect of pupils' Welsh use even within Welsh-medium schools (where they are actively encouraged to use the language). Indeed, Thomas and Roberts (2011) have suggested that Welsh-medium pupils' reliance on English use is perpetuated by a tendency to view the latter as the inclusive variety in social interaction, a belief which children acquire from a young age. As noted above (section 3.1.2), Hodges' (2009) case study of Welsh-medium high school graduates reported low social use of the language in the first five years after leaving school.

Murtagh (2003) and Ó Riagáin (1997) chart the 20th century decline and rise of Irish-medium education in the Republic of Ireland. From the 1920s onwards the government promoted Irish-medium education throughout the 26 counties, which reached a peak in the 1940s when around 30% of schools were Irish-medium. Following government criticism and a popular backlash against the system in the 1960s, a grassroots campaign to develop 'all-Irish' schools from the 1970s (initially outwith the state education system) led to the growth of the *Gaelscoileanna* in non-Irish-speaking areas. Meanwhile, all schools in the Gaeltacht, the legally designated Irish-speaking areas, were made entirely Irish-medium from 1922 onwards (although *cf.* Mac Donnacha *et al.* 2005; Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007; Ó hIfearnáin 2007, 2008 on the reality of language use in Gaeltacht communities). In both the Republic and Northern Ireland, Irish-medium education as it currently exists developed from grassroots parental initiatives to establish it (Coady & Ó Laoire 2002; Ó Baoill 2007). 35,710 primary and 9,663 secondary pupils were enrolled in Irish-medium schools in both jurisdictions in 2012-13 (Gaelscoileanna Teo 2013). Of these, 3,172 primary pupils and 773 secondary pupils were enrolled in Irish-medium education in the six counties of Northern Ireland, where, Ó Baoill (2007) argues, the system has been absolutely central to language revitalisation efforts since its establishment by six West Belfast families in the 1970s.

Fleming and Debski (2007) reported low levels of Irish use outside school by pupils in both *Gaelscoileanna* in English-speaking areas and Irish-medium schools in

Gaeltacht areas. Students in *Gaelscoileanna* were found to be more likely to speak Irish to friends within school, while Gaeltacht pupils reported greater use of the language outside of the school. Ó Riagáin (1997, 2001) has nevertheless observed that Irish-medium schools have often had important consequences beyond the realm of education, impacting on home use of the language, attitudes and optimism about the future of Irish. Coady and Ó Laoire (2002: 150) found that 66% of students attending Irish-medium schools outside the Gaeltacht came from English-speaking homes, and only 9% came from homes in which Irish was “often” or “always” spoken, with 25% from backgrounds in which it was used less frequently at home. They found that Irish-medium teachers in these schools had come to see revival of language use through Irish-medium schools as unrealistic; they regarded their job as providing “quality education and [fostering] Irish-language proficiency” (Coady & Ó Laoire 2002: 154).

Moriarty (2010) compared the language practices and attitudes of university students in the contexts of Basque and Irish. While not all the informants in the Irish context were educated in Irish-medium schools, findings from this study have implications for post-school language use where the language is taught as a compulsory subject. High levels of attrition were reported in the years subsequent to compulsory education in both cases, with higher degrees of competence and medium of instruction found to be the first and second most predictive variables for L2 retention in the Irish context. Ó Baoill (1999) raised issues concerning the types of Irish speakers that are produced, and the cultural values that are promoted through *Gaelscoileanna*, questioning the assumption that Irish learners in *Gaelscoileanna* want to integrate in any serious way with Gaeltacht Irish speakers. Gaeltacht communities, he argued, often seem distant, remote and largely irrelevant for students in urban-based Irish-medium schools, and Irish speakers in these areas are therefore unlikely to constitute a social and linguistic model for pupils’ integrative orientations (Ó Baoill 1999). Ó Duibhir (2009: 114) tested the linguistic accuracy and compared attitudes and motivations of Irish-medium students in Northern Ireland and the Republic, reporting positive attitudes and motivations in both contexts to derive in large part from the fact that pupils “see [Irish] as an important part of Ireland and the Irish people”. Yet he notes that pupils in both polities seem to be

“less concerned about their oral language accuracy when conversing with peers”, and that the favourable attitudes they professed do not seem to be sufficiently strong “to motivate them to learn to speak Irish with greater accuracy” (2009: 115).

Just under 20% of all 45,400 pupils in Irish-medium education were based in Gaeltacht areas in 2011-12, with the remainder based in *Gaelscoileanna* in areas where the language is less widely used in the community (Gaelscoileanna Teo 2013). In spite of this apparent distinction, Ó hIfearnáin (2007: 512) has stated that a dominant ideology among policy-makers is that the Gaeltacht is Irish-speaking, when often “this is not actually the case” when considering actual language use. Ó Muircheartaigh and Hickey (2008) found that the possibility of entering Irish-medium education at any stage has implications for outcomes, with late-joining immersion students lagging behind early immersion students in terms of Irish ability, and showing higher levels of classroom anxiety. Notably, Ó hAineiféin (2008) has advocated an increase in partial immersion programmes in order to improve relatively poor outcomes of compulsory Irish teaching (in non-Irish-medium education) and supplement the all-Irish *Gaelscoileanna*.

Breton-medium education is currently provided within three distinct systems, comprising bilingual classes in public schools (supported by the *Div Yezh* association), bilingual classes in private Catholic schools (*Dihun*), and independent, *Diwan* immersion schools (Ó hIfearnáin 2011, 2013b). The Breton language office’s (Ofis ar Brezhoneg) *Brezhoneg 2015* language plan outlined the goal of increasing the number of students in the three systems to 25,000 by 2015, on the grounds that new speakers created through education might thereby replace the 10 to 15,000 elderly Breton speakers who die each year (Ó hIfearnáin 2013b: 123). As Ó hIfearnáin (2013b: 123) goes on to explain, however, the number of new speakers the education systems produce – or even if this is an explicit goal of the schools themselves – is unclear. There is an important difference, he notes, “between children acquiring competence in the language and those same children necessarily becoming active speakers outside the classroom” (2013b: 123). Ó hIfearnáin (2011: 105) conducted interviews with two graduates of *Diwan* schools who were among first cohorts to enter the system, and are now in their 30s. These informants reported

that they would use Breton with old school friends, some of whom were acutely conscious of limitations in their language abilities, having “never had the opportunity or inclination” to use the language within the Breton-speaking community.

Broudic’s (2010: 34–38) research in Breton-medium schools demonstrated that pupils’ language use is dominated by French outside the classroom, and that teachers struggle to encourage the use of Breton among peers in the schools. In spite of this, Ó hIfearnáin (2011, 2013b) found evidence that some school leavers do continue to make frequent use of their Breton, particularly those who received an immersion education through the independent *Diwan* schools. Elsewhere in France, research by Roquette (2005) and Alén Garabato and Boyer (2005) has suggested that graduates of the *Calandretas*, Occitan immersion primary schools, made limited use of the target language – and in some cases exhibited limited mastery of it – in later life.

The Catalan language occupies quite a distinctive sociolinguistic space compared to other contexts discussed in this chapter, being spoken by over 80% of the population of Catalonia, and just under 50% as a first language (Woolard 2007). Additionally, the linguistic distance between Catalan and the other, ‘majority’ language used here (Castilian), is relatively minor compared to other most contexts discussed in this section (McPake *et al.* 2013: 19). Catalan is used as a medium of instruction in most schools at all levels, and as a consequence, knowledge of the language among young people is “extremely high”, though actual use of Catalan by this group is considered by Woolard (2007: 620), on the basis of several decades of fieldwork in Catalan schools, to be “lagging considerably behind”. Yet in contrast with other Catalan-speaking regions in Spain, the language is in a comparatively stronger position (*cf.* Huguet & Llurda 2001). As noted above, Woolard’s (2007) case study of twelve past Catalan-medium students found extensive use of the language even among first-language Castilian-speakers, contrary to her expectations, though may be limited in terms of generalisability.

In the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), bilingual education began with the creation of the Basque-medium *ikastolak* in the 1960s (Cenoz 2001, 2009; Elorza & Muñoa 2008). Azurmendi and Martínez de Luna (2011: 327) comment that education “is the sphere that is mostly responsible” for the language’s revival in this

region. In 2011, 32% of the population of the BAC were reported to be Basque-speakers, with a further 17.4% of the population passive bilinguals (Eusko Jauriaritza 2013: 67). Basque-medium pupils account for 79% of all primary and 61% of all secondary school students in the BAC (compared to 25% of school students after the *ikastolak* first started; Cenoz 2001: 51). Nevertheless, Elorza and Muñoa (2008: 86) have suggested that achievement and proficiency in Basque at school tend not to translate to informal use “outside or even within the school itself”. Echevierria (2003) reports that Basque-medium students use the language when addressing the teacher or each other in the presence of the teacher, but often switch to Spanish when the teacher leave the room, and Azurmendi and Martinez de Luna (2011: 329) have suggested that “the symbolic value of Euskara is greater than the pragmatic one” at present (*cf.* Elorza & Muñoa 2008; Zalbide & Cenoz 2008).

3.2.2. Indigenous language education in North America and Australasia

Indigenous minority language revitalisation efforts in the US and Canada (as elsewhere) often place a particular emphasis on wider goals of Indigenous cultural survival, self-determination and the (re)assertion of cultural identity (De Corne 2010; Henze & Davis 1999; McCarty 2003, 2013; McCarty *et al.* 2008). Internationally, one of the most celebrated contexts of revitalisation immersion education is that of Hawai’i, although McCarty’s (2003: 152) identification of Hawai’ian immersion education as arguably “the most dramatic language revitalisation success story to date” must be set against Wong’s (1999: 94) assertion of the need to evaluate the degree to which “increased numbers of speakers and expanded domains of use” in education alone can be regarded as progress. McCarty (2003: 154) concedes that (as has been seen elsewhere) use of the language “is still largely restricted to the domain of schooling”.

Although accurate estimates of speaker numbers are problematic, McCarty (2013) explains that the Navajo language, with between 100,000 and 180,000 speakers in the US, constitutes the largest Indigenous American language north of Mexico (*cf.* McCarty *et al.* 2008). Although it does not enjoy official state support in the same way that Hawai’ian does, there is a widespread belief among the Navajo nation that community control of formal education “can advance and help them maintain their

identities”(Manuelito 2005: 73-4). This has led to the growth of Navajo bilingual and immersion education programmes in the southwest United States, though data from schools has tended, again, to show school-based efforts “must be joined by family- and community-based initiatives” to influence young people’s actual language practices (McCarty 2003: 157). In particular, McCarty (2013: 182) argues that community elders’ support is needed to help young school leavers develop their “communicative repertoires and linguistic identities in terms of success... rather than [focusing on] limits and attrition” in their language skills. For Californian Indigenous languages, no longer reproduced in the home or school, several tribes have turned to ‘Master-apprentice’ language-learning schemes, whereby older native speakers and younger tribe members are partnered and interact for up to 20 hours a week (Hinton & Ahlers 1999: 59).

Research on Indigenous languages in Canada has suggested that intergenerational transmission of Canadian languages is severely disrupted at present, and minority groups have increasingly turned to bilingual education to maintain their languages, cultures and identities (Dementi-Leonard & Gillmore 1999; Duff & Li 2009; De Corne 2010), though it is clear that limits to what is possible in terms of formal (immersion) education vary considerably from one context to the next. Conversely, studies by Wright *et al.* (2000) and Usborne *et al.* (2009) have suggested whilst Inuktitut in Nunavik (northern Quebec) remains a relatively vibrant and functional language in the private sphere, access only to dominant language-medium or transitional education seems to promote patterns of subtractive bilingualism among Inuit children. Both studies therefore suggest that home use in the absence of additive bilingual provision in the classroom appears insufficient to safeguard language maintenance among children in certain contexts, providing a compelling counterpoint to the above examples of provision in the school outstripping language support in the home and community.

In Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, very different levels of provision have been made for minority Indigenous languages in the education systems, with scant provision in Australia often viewed as serving to proliferate rates of subtractive bilingualism (Baldauf 2005; De Courcy 2005; Nicholls 2005). In Aotearoa/New

Zealand, the 2013 census recorded 125,352 people able to hold conversations in Māori, around 20% of the total Māori population (Statistics New Zealand 2013: 11). The 2001 Māori Language Survey suggested that in fact, only 22,000 could be regarded as “highly fluent” at that time; conversely, only 58% of Māori adults could speak the language “beyond a few words or phrases” (May 2012: 313). In contrast to the policies in Australia, however, the Māori language is an official language here, used as a medium of instruction in almost 300 schools (May 2005; Harrison & Papa 2005). Bilingual and immersion education has been used to bring the language back from a situation where it had declined from being the mother tongue of 96.5% Māori schoolchildren in 1930, to 26% in 1960 (May & Hill 2005: 367; May 2012: 311). By 2001, 25,580 Māori students (17%) were enrolled in Māori-medium education, of whom 87% were in primary school (May 2005: 368). A further 8000 children were enrolled in bilingual education at this time, and May (2012: 314) reports that numbers in bilingual and Māori-medium programmes have “held relatively constant” since then.¹

May and Hill (2005: 379) state that Māori-medium education typically recognises no distinction between L1 and L2 students – in spite of the fact that “that most students currently in Māori-medium education are actually L1 speakers of English”.

Ironically, the widespread parental preference is for English-medium education at secondary level, based on the “misplaced assumption [...] that 2-3 years [of immersion] is ‘sufficient’”, and that students subsequently require English-medium education to ensure acquisition of English (May & Hill 2005: 396). Whilst Māori-medium education receives a great deal of attention in the international literature, little research appears generally to have addressed the language practices of past students, as has been noted of the various other contexts discussed above. It is therefore possible to identify an apparent lacuna in the literature, *viz.* the long term outcomes of immersion revitalisation education, and of second language immersion education generally (section 3.1.2), in relation to past students’ language use (section

¹ A distinction is made in Aotearoa/New Zealand between Māori-medium (immersion) and bilingual education, with 4 levels in operation: Level 1 (Māori-medium) is 81-100% through Māori; Level 2 is 51-80%; Level 3 is 31-50%; and Level 4 is 12-30% (May & Hill 2005: 378).

3.2). With a view to filling this lacuna, section 3.3 reviews the situation of GME in Scotland.

3.3. GME: Past, present and revitalisation prospects

This section introduces the context of GME in Scotland specifically, considering its historical development (section 3.3.1), the expectations and experiences of parents and policy-makers with regard to GME in the earliest years of its availability (section 3.3.2), and reviewing research on the system's limitations in respect of revitalising Gaelic (section 3.3.3).

3.3.1. The development of GME in Scotland 1872-1985

This section outlines the history of provision for (and exclusion of) Gaelic in the Scottish education system, with particular reference to the growth of GME in the latter decades of the twentieth century. As I describe below, we may trace the roots of GME as it exists today to the Western Isles Bilingual Education Project (1975–81), the establishment of *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich* (the Gaelic Pre-School Council) in 1982 and the opening of two primary GME classes in 1985. Yet the origins of the system's development can be traced a long way further back than this. While Gaelic was used as a teaching medium to some extent by various voluntary organisations in the preceding decades of the nineteenth century, the Education (Scotland) Act 1872 made no mention of—or provision for—the Gaelic language, despite its still being spoken by over a quarter of a million people in Scotland (MacKinnon 1977; Dunbar 2006).

Importantly, however, Paterson (2003: 45) has argued that “official views were not systematically hostile to Gaelic” at this time but rather, that they were generally unenthusiastic. He regards policy-makers' somewhat indifferent attitude to Gaelic in 1872 as typical of educational policy at the time, arguing that a less interventionist approach was common, and that curricular matters, including provision for Gaelic, were left to individual school boards rather than prescribed at a national level. O'Hanlon (2012: 38) locates this approach within a legislative tradition for Scottish education which she describes as being “permissive rather than prescriptive”. The overtly antagonistic attitude to Gaelic that some writers have subsequently attributed

to contemporary policy-makers (*cf.* Mulholland 1981; Thompson 1985) may not therefore be an accurate portrayal of the background to the 1872 Act. Rather, a sense of “benevolent neutrality” – to use a phrase used by the Scottish Education Department itself at a later stage – might better reflect authorities’ treatment of the language in education at this time, an approach which became more “benevolent” over time (Dunn & Robertson 1989: 44; *cf.* Withers 1984).

Nevertheless, a notable consequence of the 1872 Act was that the various charitable institutions that had previously provided Gaelic-medium instruction to Highland pupils were increasingly replaced with English-medium public schools. In the years preceding the 1872 Act, organisations including the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the Inverness Society for Gaelic Schools sponsored provision for Gaelic-medium education (Durkacz 1983: 178), but were increasingly disenfranchised as public education was established. Dunbar (2006: 4) states that the development of a generally English-only system of education in the Highlands and Islands had “a significant and highly negative impact” on the maintenance and transmission of Gaelic at that time, having “undoubtedly contributed to its long-term demographic decline”.

In spite of this impact, Gaelic continued to be taught as a subject and used as a teaching medium to a limited extent after 1872, and a number of concessions were subsequently made at the petition of the Gaelic Society of Inverness and a number of other campaigning organisations (Durkacz 1983: 178). The Education Code itself permitted the testing of Gaelic-speaking students’ attainments through the medium of Gaelic from 1875, the employment of Gaelic-speaking teachers in schools wherein the majority of pupils spoke Gaelic at home, and bestowed status on Gaelic as a grant-earning ‘specific subject’ (Durkacz 1983: 173). Examinations in Gaelic were only permitted after 1905 (Durkacz 1983: 178-9). These provisions, and official encouragement of transitional approaches to Gaelic use were largely motivated by authorities’ concern that Gaelic-speaking pupils acquire English proficiency, however. As a result of campaigning activity, particularly by *An Comunn Gaidhealach* (The Highland Association), the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act

required education authorities to make adequate provision for the “teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas”, but failed to specify what “teaching of Gaelic” meant, or which “Gaelic-speaking areas” should be encompassed within this (McLeod 2003: 121). Such issues were instead left at the discretion of education boards, and as a consequence, use of the language as a teaching medium remained rare until the 1960s (MacLeod 1963; McLeod 2003; Dunbar 2006). Again, therefore, the lack of specific definition in the 1918 Act was consistent with the “permissive rather than prescriptive” approach that O’Hanlon (2012: 38) has described previously, rather than reflecting overt opposition to provision for Gaelic. Indeed, O’Hanlon (2012: 41) regards the concession in the 1918 Act as representing a “formal, and symbolically important, acknowledgement of the needs of Gaelic-speaking children”, which set a historical precedent of official support for Gaelic in the Scottish education system.

Eighteen years after the enactment of this ‘Gaelic clause’, *An Comunn Gaidhealach* investigated the extent to which Gaelic was being taught in schools and recorded 7,129 primary school pupils and 864 secondary pupils studying Gaelic as a subject, chiefly in Gaelic-speaking areas (An Comunn Gaidhealach 1936: 12).

Acknowledging that the use of Gaelic as a teaching medium at primary level was “confined principally to... Nature Study, Geography, Gardening, Music and History”, the report recommended increased provision for Gaelic both as a teaching medium in Gaelic-speaking areas, and as a subject in secondary schools across Scotland (1936: 9-10). The Scottish Education Department’s 1950 primary curricular memorandum provided a flexible vision of Gaelic as teaching medium (SED 1950), while its 1951 annual report recommended a greater emphasis “on oral expression and the use of Gaelic as a medium of instruction” (SED 1951: 20-21). These documents contributed to greater official provision for use of Gaelic as a teaching medium in 1960, when the Inverness-shire Gaelic Education Scheme was introduced (MacLeod 1963).

The Inverness-shire Gaelic Education Scheme enacted the teaching of Gaelic in Skye and parts of the Western Isles that fell within the authority’s jurisdiction (*i.e.* Harris, Uist and Barra; HMIE 1989: 2). The scheme was later extended to mainland districts of the county, embracing schools in Inverness, Lochaber and Badenoch as well

(MacLeod 2009: 229). The SED's 'Primary Memorandum' in 1965 advised that it was "the duty of the primary school to maintain and develop Gaelic as a means of communication and expression", and recommended that schools should "use it functionally when appropriate as a means of instructing Gaelic-speaking pupils in other subjects" (SED 1965: 199-201). Crucially, the Memorandum stated it was important that "Gaelic should be treated as a living language", and as such, that pupils should have the opportunity to improve their proficiency in it (SED 1965: 200). Taken together, these developments instigated an important change in the place of Gaelic within the education system.

In spite of these developments, however, Robasdan (2006: 88) has described it as a matter of shame that almost a century transpired after the foundation of state education before the use of Gaelic as a teaching medium became commonplace in the language's heartland areas, with the advent of the Western Isles Bilingual Education Project. The regionalisation of local authorities in 1975 established the Islands Council (*Comhairle nan Eilean*) as an all-purpose local authority with responsibility throughout the Western Isles (MacLeod 2004a: 199). The *Comhairle* established the Bilingual Education Project in the same year, with the stated aim of letting the Gaelic language "flow across the curriculum" at the primary school level, and placing an emphasis on promoting oral skills in the language (HMIE 1989: 5). M. MacLeod (2004a, 2004b) has documented teachers' experiences of curriculum change in the Western Isles subsequent to the Project's inception, stating that a key emphasis was to establish a curriculum that bore "some relevance to the child's social and physical environment" (MacLeod 2004a: 199). D. J. MacLeod (2009: 230) refers to this principle in terms of making teaching "more pupil-centred", and establishing links with the community and natural environment. In this way, it was intended that the Project would contribute to validating pupils' lives in their local communities, as well as producing speakers "who were equally fluent" in English and Gaelic by P7 (MacLeod 2009: 230).

In hindsight, the Project has generally been regarded as highly successful in terms of the wider social aims it set out, but less effective in relation to this last, linguistic objective (*cf.* Murray & MacLeod 1981; Murray & Morrison 1984). M. MacLeod

(2004a: 213) has argued that a “distinctive mindset” among teachers, who had grown up within a cultural and educational system that downplayed the importance of their own decision-making and creative skills, tended to militate against the Project’s objectives. In particular, Dunn and Robertson (1989: 48) note that teachers involved in the project had “no formal training” in the principles of bilingual education, and that it is likely in fact that some had “little or no experience of Gaelic in... their own formal education”. Concerns were raised as to the system’s efficacy in promoting bilingualism among children in the Western Isles in a 1987 Scottish Office-funded assessment of the Bilingual Education Project (Mitchell *et al.* 1987; Mitchell 1992). MacLeod (2009: 230) notes that numbers of school-age Gaelic speakers continued to decline apace in the Western Isles in spite of the Project, stating that the form of bilingual education offered through the system “simply wasn’t robust enough” to counteract the various effects of language shift that militated against the language at the time.

The relative lack of specificity in the phrasing of the 1918 Act was carried forward in subsequent legislation, including the 1980 Education (Scotland) Act, which remains in effect. In a pamphlet published at the start of the 1980s, Mulholland (1981: 12) advocated a more immersive approach to learning Gaelic, requiring “serious, intensive teaching and intensive use” of the language. GME as exists today emerged in the 1980s from the grass-roots initiatives of parents who campaigned for its establishment (CnaG 1989: 6; Dunbar 2006: 4). I examine the motivations and aspirations of parents who were involved in establishing GME in greater detail in the following section (3.3.2). *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich* (CNSA), The Gaelic Pre-School Council was established in 1982, and in its first seven years oversaw the growth of Gaelic-medium pre-school provision to 44 playgroups throughout Scotland, including 18 in the Scottish Lowlands and one in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia (HMIE 1989: 8).

Fraser (1989: 149) describes the work of CNSA in the 1980s as “seminal”, its having grown from beginnings as a small-scale effort to co-ordinate previously scattered, voluntary provision of pre-school care through Gaelic to become a nationwide body. One of the key figures in the organisation’s development relates its

genesis to parents' pressing concern that only 738 children under 5 were reported able to speak Gaelic in the 1981 census (Scammell 1985: 21). Scammell (1985: 21) describes how Welsh-medium pre-school playgroups provided the archetypal model for the *sgoiltean àraich*, explaining that children of Gaelic-speaking and English monoglot parents alike are "more likely to grow up bilingual" if they can relate the target language to experiences of fun. In this way he argued that the CSNA playgroups provided a suitable means for children to acquire Gaelic "naturally" (Scammell 1985: 24). Under the organisation's co-ordination, parental demand for the continuation of Gaelic-medium provision into school years (*cf.* Scammell 1985: 27) led to the foundation, in 1985, of Gaelic-medium units within two primary schools in Glasgow and Inverness (CnaG 1989: 6; Dunbar 2006: 4).

Crucially at this stage, pressure from campaigners and local authorities prompted the Scottish Office to introduce the Grants for Gaelic Language Education (Scotland) Regulations 1986 – entailing grant allocation specifically for Gaelic education – led to a considerable degree of cooperation between regional councils, which, Fraser (1989: 151) argues, essentially amounted for the first time to a degree of "national policy-making or language-planning" in respect of GME (*cf.* HM Government 1986; CnaG 1989). Nevertheless, the Gaelic development agency Comunn na Gàidhlig's (1989: 6) progress report described developments in GME during the early 1980s as having proceeded in a "piecemeal" fashion, meaning that by the end of that decade "several different definitions or practices" of Gaelic-medium provision were in place in primary schools. Indeed, O'Hanlon (2010; O'Hanlon *et al.* 2012) has observed this inconsistency to endure to the present day in Gaelic-medium classrooms across Scotland (*cf.* section 3.3, below). In particular, Comunn na Gàidhlig's (1989: 12) report identified an emerging "crisis" in respect of a perceived "imbalance in the provision of, and demand for, Gaelic linguistic skills" among teachers. The rapid growth of parental demand for GME was identified as a key factor in this disparity, and, as discussed below, demand for Gaelic-speaking teachers continues to be a major challenge in GME provision (section 3.3.3).

In its first two decades of availability, primary GME provision grew from 24 students in the Glasgow and Inverness units in 1985/86 to over 2000 by 2004/05

(MacKinnon 2005: 8, *cf.* Table II, below). As may be seen, the growth of GME as it exists today is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon, though the system's rapid growth in its first 13 years slowed dramatically from 1998/99 (*cf.* Robertson 2001; McLeod 2003; MacLeòid 2007).

Table II: Growth of GME 1985-2005
Primary GME provision by area (MacKinnon 2005)

Academic year	Argyll & Bute	Western Isles	Highland Council	Other Scotland	Total
1985/86	n/a	n/a	12	12	24
1986/87	n/a	4	31	29	64
1987/88	4	19	44	44	112
1988/89	8	20	75	66	169
1989/90	14	51	127	94	286
1990/91	26	107	178	120	431
1991/92	36	189	234	155	614
1992/93	47	272	328	187	834
1993/94	57	365	425	233	1080
1994/95	54	457	472	275	1258
1995/96	61	555	528	312	1456
1996/97	66	629	577	315	1587
1997/98	73	605	633	365	1736
1998/99	70	643	703	400	1816
1999/2000	82	599	718	432	1831
2000/01	100	589	704	469	1862
2001/02	115	563	678	503	1859
2002/03	127	542	707	552	1928
2003/04	149	503	717	603	1972
2004/05	152	491	730	635	2008

3.3.2. Expectations and experiences of GME: 1980s-1990s

Dunbar (2006: 4) has asserted that GME became “one of the main foci” for revitalisation efforts in Scotland during the late twentieth century. I draw attention in this section to the hopes, expectations and experiences of parents, teachers and policy-makers who were involved in the early years of GME in Scotland,

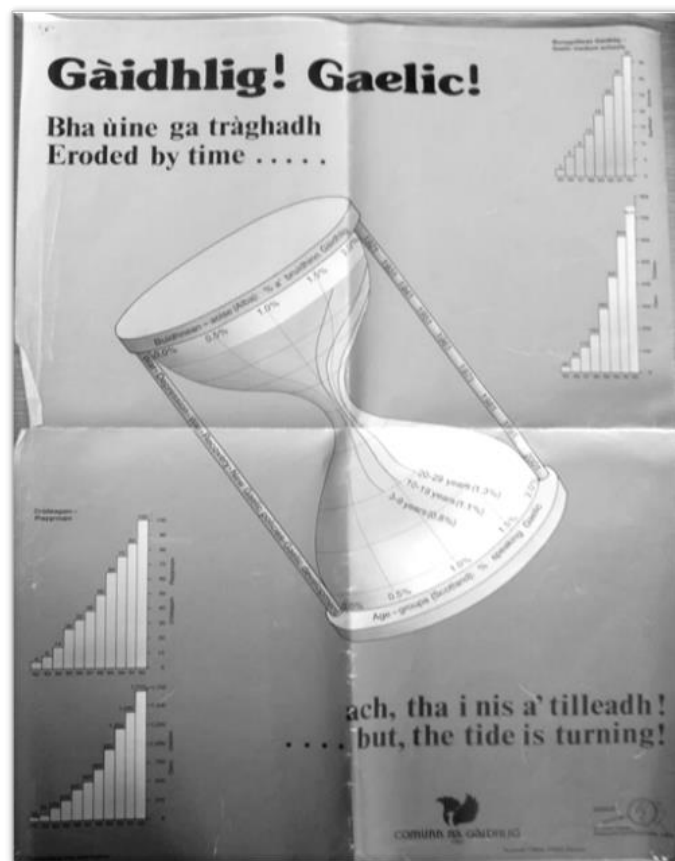
particularly in relation to the system's perceived role in revitalising Gaelic. On the basis of research that encompassed 91% of all children in GME at the time, Fraser (1989: 1) maintains that the first GME units were each initially established "in response to lobbying by predominantly Gaelic-speaking parental groups anxious to maintain their children's identity as Gaelic speakers" (cf. Grant 1983). Iain MacIlleChiar (1985: 28), who was himself heavily involved in campaigning for GME in the 1980s, argued that second language teaching of Gaelic as a subject had "been a singular failure", and regarded limited exposure to the language it offered as wholly insufficient, while bilingual education in the Western Isles had not been replicated elsewhere in Scotland. MacIlleChiar (1985: 31) argued that GME, by contrast, offered the opportunity for children to become "fully aware of their language, history, culture and environment".

On the day that GME started in Glasgow in 1985, Brian Wilson – founding editor of the left-leaning *West Highland Free Press* newspaper and (later) government minister – wrote in the *Glasgow Herald* that it was a crucial development for the long-term future of the language in Scotland. It was expected that pupils entering the Glasgow class, "whose parents want them to grow up as Gaelic speakers" would subsequently take the language forth into their adult lives, thereby "ensuring that Gaelic lives into future generations as a mainland, as well as island language" (Wilson 1985: 14). In this regard, it was a clear expectation of policy-makers and parents that pupils in GME would become fully-fledged, fluent Gaelic speakers, with both the ability and inclination to use the language in daily interaction, to pass it on to their own children in the future, and to be counted within demographic projections for the anticipated reversal of language shift in Scotland.

A visit to the Glasgow GME unit by Ford Spence, chairman of the Gaelic Language Promotion Trust, was reported in the *Glasgow Herald* later in the same year, with Spence quoted referring to the unit as "a dream come true" for language activists fighting to safeguard the future of Gaelic (Lowe 1985: 14). Reflecting the hopes and expectations of such activists, Spence is quoted as asking a young pupil: "Do you promise to speak Gaelic when you grow up and take the language into the next generation?", to which the child dutifully replied "Yes" (Lowe 1985: 14). Further

reflecting policy-makers’ expectations of GME in its early years, the following figure depicts a poster designed by Comunn na Gàidhlig in 1992. It displays graphs charting the growth of Gaelic-medium playgroups (*cròileagain*) and primary schools, and an hourglass-shaped graph showing the decline of proportions of age-groups under 30 speaking Gaelic, tipped slightly so as to reflect an imminent change in the direction of flow. The caption explains the hopes and expectations of Gaelic activists in the first decade of GME in Scotland: Gaelic was “Eroded by time... but the tide is turning!”

Figure I: 1992 CnaG poster—“the tide is turning”:



Fraser’s (1989: iv) research was informed by language use questionnaires distributed to all families with children enrolled in GME, as well in-depth interviews with parents and teachers, and the 133 families represented in her sample accounted for 91% of all children in GME in April 1989, when the survey was conducted (1989: 214). She notes that parents of the first cohorts of GME students often regarded the system as a means to support Gaelic language maintenance in the home and

community, and as a way of encouraging habitual use of the language among children they were attempting to raise with Gaelic (Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998). By the end of the decade, however, Fraser (1989: 1) states that non-Gaelic speakers constituted the majority of participant parents enrolling children in GME units in urban settings (*cf.* Trabelsi 1998: 181-2). Fraser (1989: 2) regards parents' expectations and motivations in choosing GME to be of potentially great import in defining what may be expected both in terms of the "potential functions for the pupils' bilingual skills" – their future usage of the language – as well as their engagement with the "wider terms of national Scottish identity", a view also reflected MacGregor's (2009) retrospective account of the foundation of the Edinburgh Gaelic unit at Tollcross Primary School.

The significance of contemporary parents' and stakeholders' expectations to the assessment of former students' present engagement with Gaelic is exemplified in a recent quote from Finlay MacLeod of CNSA, cited in Timms (2012):

We never imagined that our children in GME would grow up and want to be lawyers. We never imagined that they would choose not to use it with their children. (Timms 2012: 78)

As discussed by Trabelsi (1998: 343), it is clear that some parents' expectations of GME as a major (and sometimes sole) focus of Gaelic language socialisation were unduly optimistic at times, particularly in terms of advancing their children's use of Gaelic outside of the classroom. Fraser (1989: 152) observes that the GME unit in urban settings was expected to function simultaneously as an aid to Gaelic language maintenance among children who were already bilingual, and as a means of teaching the language as a second language to the majority of other pupils. The 1989 report on the growth of GME by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education notes the "complete lack of previous models to draw on" in Scotland, coupled with a "lack of teacher expertise in this very specialised area of work, and the lack of purpose-made materials" for teaching through the medium of Gaelic (HMIE 1989: 11). Indeed, it states, "many of the resources used within the Gaelic-medium units have been devised or adapted by teachers [...] working independently" (HMIE 1989: 11).

In addition to teachers' dedication, parental enthusiasm and support for GME was also instrumental to the fledgling system's success in urban settings (*cf.* Campbell

1983). If attitudes to the new system among parents who chose GME in urban settings such as Edinburgh and Glasgow were often highly enthusiastic (*cf.* Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998; MacGregor 2009), many parents in the Western Isles expressed rather more uncertain feelings about the system in its earliest years (Fraser 1989; Roberts 1991). Roberts (1991: 268) indicates that whilst 71% of the 329 Western Isles parents who filled in his questionnaire were broadly in favour of the development of GME, many were nevertheless “not ready for the general application of something which is still experimental”. The concerns of some such parents were clearly voiced in the interview material which Roberts analysed, a number expressing concern in respect of taking a step into the unknown with GME.

In contrast to Western Isles communities with GM units at this time, however, Fraser (1989: 169) notes of pupils within units in the central Lowlands that “the school is the *only* source of Gaelic input for the majority of children”. The results of a use and attitudes questionnaire Fraser distributed among 133 families emphasised the predominance of English use at home in urban settings, and she comments on the limited opportunity most GME pupils had to use Gaelic outside the classroom as “the most striking feature of the data” (Fraser 1989: 230). In-depth interviews she conducted with families of various linguistic make-ups provide a more qualitative picture of parental expectations and experiences of GME. Families in which both parents spoke Gaelic tended to report something of a disparity between their expectations and experiences of GME in urban contexts, while more linguistically mixed families seemed to regard GME as something of a substitute for socialising children through Gaelic at home, and parents’ experiences of the system in this regard are reported again to be out of step with expectations (Fraser 1989: 292-301). Within non-Gaelic-speaking families, motivations for the choice of GME tended to pertain to issues of cultural identity rather than Gaelic use (1989: 313-4). On this point, Fraser (1989: 179) concludes that GME in urban contexts therefore appeared to be “more successful as regards general cultural enrichment than language acquisition”, interpreting “a degree of implicit disappointment” among parents whose expectations from the system pertained to their children’s bilingual development (1989: 266). If in future, it were to transpire that the majority of parents choosing GME were satisfied with their children’s educational progress within the

system regardless of “the apparent lack of change” in their Gaelic abilities, Fraser (1989: 266) noted this would have crucial implications for its future.

3.3.3. Limitations of GME in Gaelic language revitalisation

Johnstone (2001) has argued that there are limitations as to what can be expected in terms of the benefits of L2 immersion education, particularly when it takes place within schools in which most pupils are taught exclusively through the majority L1 (as is often the case with GME, particularly in urban contexts). MacCaluim (2007: 15) notes that the development of GME has “tended to be viewed in a vacuum” by policy-makers, without adequate attention at the home-community level. Building on the relatively early identification of problems by researchers in the 1980s and 1990s, recent contributions have both addressed enduring obstacles and indicated fresh challenges to the further development of the system (section 3.3.2). Stockdale *et al.*'s (2003) study of GME uptake in the Western Isles found that many Gaelic-speaking parents continued to lack confidence in the system, echoing findings from the early years of the system's availability (*cf.* Roberts 1991). Müller (2006: 136) found that in households in Skye where both parents spoke Gaelic, where “communication in Gaelic would theoretically be possible”, GME pupils almost always used English at home with siblings (*cf.* Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998).

Primary GME in language revitalisation: Obstacles within the system

Both the 2007-12 and 2012-17 National Gaelic Language Plans, developed by Bòrd na Gàidhlig, focus to a significant degree on the importance of developing GME in Scotland as a means of maintaining and revitalising the language. The Council of Europe's (2014: 35) Committee of Experts recently stated of Gaelic education, in its most recent report in respect of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, that the position of the language “remains fragile”, especially with regard to the shortage of teachers, materials and buildings. The 2012-17 National Plan emphasises its aims for primary GME in terms of “doubling the current annual intake to 800 by 2017”, as well as targeting “an expansion in the availability of Gaelic-medium subjects in secondary schools” (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b: 22). It also pledges to make “incentives available to teachers considering working in GME and to ensure teachers are placed and retained in agreed posts”, in order to target

resources at staffing problems (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b: 23). Yet the obstacles these policies are designed to address are by no means new. A chronic shortage in staffing and the inability to train sufficient numbers of qualified Gaelic-medium teachers is described by Dunbar (2006: 5) as having been the “greatest single obstacle” to the survival of the system in the early years of this century (*cf.* Nic a’ Bhàird 2007; Pollock 2010), while MacKinnon (2005: 30) states that problems recruiting teachers impeded the growth of GME in its first 15 years, with the “initial impetus” having levelled off by the end of the 1990s (*cf.* table III, above). Highlighting the enduring scale of this issue, enduring problems in respect of understaffing and a shortage of teaching materials were recently highlighted in Landgraf’s (2013) investigation of obstacles and strengths in GME.

The 1993 Gaelic 5-14 Curriculum guidelines stated that schools providing primary Gaelic-medium education “should produce a policy for language which embraces both Gaelic and English [and] allows for the development of all the language skills in both languages by the end of P7” (SOED 1993: 6). This guidance allowed for some flexibility in teaching practice, and MacNeil (1994: 248) identified three discernible models in GME; the first characterised by “total [Gaelic] immersion” throughout primary school, the second by a “strongly Gaelic-dominant bilingual phase” with a gradual shift to teaching in English after two years of immersion, and the third by pupils “merging with the rest of the [English-medium] school” after the two-year immersion phase (*cf.* O’Hanlon 2010). O’Hanlon *et al.*’s (2012) analysis of teaching models in GME found a great deal of diversity in teaching practices, building on O’Hanlon’s (2010: 112) recommendation that a re-classification of the existing taxonomy would benefit the system. In this regard, HMIE (2011: 6) has recently recommended that national guidance be made available advising of “best practice” in the delivery of GME by teachers, as no such guidance currently exists (Landgraf 2013: 343). The Scottish Government is currently undertaking a consultation on a draft Gaelic-medium education bill with a view, partly, to clarifying this (Scottish Government 2014).

Explicating the results of a small-scale investigation of Gaelic language abilities among primary GME pupils in Highland schools, MacLeod (2009: 233) reports that

children without home backgrounds in Gaelic “can use ‘basic order’ grammar without difficulty [but] have difficulty with ‘higher order grammar’” such as that required for formal language; additionally, he states “their vocabulary tends to lack variety [and] they lack a range of idiomatic expressions”. In respect of this last observation, it has been noted elsewhere that GME is set to face additional obstacles in coming years as many current teachers approach retirement age (Pollock 2010). Pollock (2010: 118) argues that the linguistic competences of teachers, particularly those who learn Gaelic as an L2, may have “potentially negative consequences for the children’s language development”, and for the transmission of idiomatically rich Gaelic in the classroom.

Three recent studies in particular have documented limitations in GME students’ language acquisition and linguistic production (*cf.* Landgraf 2013; Nance 2013; MacLeod *et al.* 2014). Landgraf (2013) and Macleod *et al.* (2014) observed systematic shortcomings in the Gaelic language abilities of current GME pupils, particularly among learners with no home background in Gaelic. In a short conference paper, MacMillan (2012) reported that former-GM students enrolled on undergraduate Gaelic courses at Glasgow University consistently produced grammatical errors and atypical usages in their spoken and written Gaelic. Whilst not employing systematic linguistic analyses of substantial numbers of students, researchers in these studies observed frequent and unmarked use of non-native-like features in GME students’ syntax, morphology and phonology, both through ethnographic observations in the classroom and individual interviews. Similarly, Landgraf (2013), Nance (2013) and MacLeod *et al.* (2014) all recognised the enduring shortage of opportunities for primary pupils to use Gaelic outside of the classroom as a significant shortcoming in terms of developing pupils’ competences, although varying degrees of social identification with Gaelic were observed in different settings.

O’Hanlon (2012: 207) found P7 pupils’ reported use of the Gaelic language both within and outside of the classroom setting to be consistently lower than their Welsh-medium counterparts’ use of Welsh, even prior to leaving the primary school. She also notes a statistically significant difference between primary Gaelic-medium

and Welsh-medium pupils' Celtic language use with peers, with Welsh-medium pupils reporting consistently higher levels of use (O'Hanlon 2012: 282). This may in part reflect the fact that GME – in contrast to Welsh-medium education – continues to be based principally within larger English-medium schools. Research by Will (2012) recently recognised the enduring shortage of opportunities for primary pupils to use Gaelic outside of the classroom as a significant shortcoming in terms of revitalising the language. O'Hanlon (2012: 248) states that during secondary school, GME pupils' language practices “shift further towards English” than those of their Welsh counterparts, both with fellow pupils in informal settings at school and with their siblings in the home. Research by Stradling and MacNeil (2000: 23), which drew on 63 parental accounts of GME pupils' home language use, suggested that home exposure to Gaelic tended to correlate with higher abilities in the language. Cochran (2008: 122), however, found that 58% of the 362 GME pupils in her survey reported using little or no Gaelic in the home, while a further 17% used the language for less than a third of the time. Arguing that Gaelic-speaking parents' choice of GME for their children “does not necessarily imply that they will use the minority language” with them (Cochran 2008: 44), she found that 48% of students who reported little to no use of Gaelic at home claimed to have a parent with at “least some Gaelic”, while a further 37% had a parent who knew Gaelic either “fairly well” or “fluently” (2008: 22). The pattern that emerges gives an impression of the scale of intergenerational disruption in the homes of GME students from ‘Gaelic-speaking’ backgrounds.

Conversely, Landgraf (2013: 324) noted that whilst only a very small group of primary GME students she surveyed throughout Scotland could realistically be classed as fluent Gaelic speakers, in respect of their mastery of Gaelic grammar (and limited production of errors) all of these came from backgrounds in which the language is used at home. Even among students with this background, however, Will's (2012) research among Gaelic-medium pupils in the Western Isles found low levels of Gaelic language socialisation at home and in school. Identifying a “communicative impasse” between primary GME pupils and adult speakers of the language in the Lewis community she studied, Will (2012: 222) argues that whereas GME is increasingly the principal site of Gaelic language socialisation for children

in these areas, older traditional speakers tend to believe the variety of Gaelic that they acquire is too different from their own to attempt conversation with them. It is likely that this belief, whether grounded in actual experience or not, reflects a particular ideology of language use in the community Will studied (*cf.* section 6.2, below).

Cochran (2008: 74-5) noted that positive language attitudes “co-existing with patterns of falling use” was a common theme in much research on young speakers of Gaelic. Indeed, Müller (2006: 130) identifies the positive impact that GME appears to have on many students’ language attitudes of as one of the chief ways in which the system impacts upon the lives of young people. Her study of 84 GME pupils and 203 non-GME pupils in Skye and Lochalsh found attitudes to Gaelic, particularly in relation to its value for career aspirations and identity construction, to be consistently more positive among GME students than those taught through the medium of English (2006: 136). Yet Müller’s study also suggested that GME had no impact on students’ attitudes to using English with each other, a practice that was generally well-accepted among students. Avoiding Gaelic was “much easier to achieve” than using it, even at schools where many pupils received their classes through Gaelic (Müller 2006: 136). She concludes that in spite of the positive effects of GME on students’ attitudes to Gaelic, the system’s impact on their language *use*, at least within the Skye community she surveyed, was “not especially encouraging” for the revitalisation of the language there (Müller 2006: 135).

Morrison’s (2006a, b) research in the Western Isles similarly found that whilst a large proportion of GME students viewed learning the language as something that was valuable for job opportunities and reasons of identity, their Gaelic use outside of school was weak. Therefore, whilst the impact of GME on students’ language attitudes may be seen as a relatively positive development, this in itself appears insufficient to promote actual language maintenance (Morrison 2006a: 151). She argues that while it would be encouraging to see Gaelic increasingly regarded as “complementing and enriching Scottishness”, this will not in itself reverse declining use and transmission of the language (Morrison 2006a: 154). On this point, McLeod *et al.* (2010) suggest that GME is extremely unlikely to succeed in creating new

generations of speakers unless it is accompanied by a range of targeted strategies at the community level. While GME may indeed have a role to play in realising the wider goals of Gaelic language revitalisation in Scotland (*cf.* Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b: 22), Cochran (2008: 193) concludes that GME will not succeed in this regard without a “social impetus to shore up the home-community” network more generally (*cf.* MacCaluim 2007). MacLeod (2009: 235) states that “many of the first GM pupils are now themselves of child-rearing age”, but expects that the system’s main consequence for this first wave of former-students is likely to be a “diaspora” of young potential speakers, scattered throughout the country, and “linked by virtual networks, if at all” (MacLeod 2009: 235).

Discontinuity in provision: Secondary pupil identities and disuse of Gaelic

The relative lack of continuity between primary and secondary level—both in the past and today—is thought to present a serious challenge to the success of GME in revitalising Gaelic, and this gap in transition has recently been investigated at length by O’Hanlon (2012). McLeod (2003: 126) states of GME that pupils generally “reach an end to their education through Gaelic at the conclusion of their primary schooling and [must] then switch to English-medium for most subjects”. In the few schools where it is available at all currently, GME is not generally offered in subjects other than Gaelic at secondary level, and where it is, options are usually restricted to subjects such as History, Geography or Religious Studies (*cf.* HMIE 2011; Scottish Government 2011; Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012a). Overwhelmingly during the period in question for the present investigation, the first cohorts of pupils left primary GME without the opportunity to continue their bilingual education in subjects other than Gaelic itself (MacKinnon 2005; O’Hanlon 2012).

Indicating the potential weight of these considerations to the present study, Cochran (2008: 185) has argued that since “no one assumes that a P7 level of education in English is sufficient for their future success”, it would be unreasonable to assume that balanced bilingualism at the age of 12 would necessarily “mean balanced bilingualism at 16 or at 35”. Past discontinuity in the provision of GME after primary school, in contrast to relatively well developed secondary provision in contexts such as Wales and Ireland, may therefore have crucial implications for the present study.

O’Hanlon (2012: 7) argues that the dearth of continuity in GME provision when the first primary GME cohorts were progressing in the 1990s was “due in part to a lack of political agreement to provide Gaelic-medium education” at secondary level. Crucially, this was demonstrated in a 1994 statement from the HMI to the effect that “the provision of Gaelic-medium secondary education in a number of subjects, determined by the vagaries of resource availability”, as had happened in the early 1990s “is neither desirable nor feasible in the foreseeable future” (SOED 1994: 3).

Negative views about speaking Gaelic were widely reported in Trabelsi’s (1998) study of secondary school Gaelic students in Glasgow, who reported very low levels of Gaelic use outside of the more formal context of school, in which use was generally restricted to Gaelic lessons alone. Similarly, MacNeil and Stradling (2000: 9) reported low levels of Gaelic use by secondary Gaelic-medium pupils, especially in contexts lacking the “authoritative back up” of teachers or parents, such as within English-medium classes, in the playground, or outside of school. They argue that a “proactive” engagement with Gaelic, built upon a strong identification with the language, is required to bolster Gaelic-medium students’ use of the language with peers and friends (MacNeil & Stradling 2000: 15). In terms similar to those later reported by many of Oliver’s (2002) 45 interviewees, participants in Trabelsi’s study often expressed ambivalent attitudes towards the relevance of Gaelic in their local area, with one commenting “I don’t bother [using Gaelic]... we speak Glaswegian in Glasgow” (1998: 265).

In terms of the motivations of such students’ parents, Johnstone (2001) noted that many parents who enrol their children in GME have a strong sense of Gaelic’s importance for heritage and identity even if they do not speak the language themselves, a finding also reported by Fraser (1989), MacGregor (2009) and O’Hanlon *et al.* (2010). For secondary students who received primary GME themselves, Oliver (2002) found that the language often retained a degree of salience in the local and regional identity claims of island (Skye) pupils, as well as in the wider, national identity constructions of pupils, particularly (but not exclusively) within the Glasgow school he researched. Oliver (2005, 2006, 2010) conceptualised these two levels of identification with Gaelic in terms of *Gemeinschaft* (‘intimate

community’) and *Gesellschaft* (‘impersonal society’), building on Fishman’s (1991: 6) emphasis on the vital importance of the former to RLS initiatives. By comparison, it is notable that pupils’ self-identification with the label ‘Gael’ (*/Gàidheal*), or with the bounded, quasi-ethnic associations of that word was much weaker in Oliver’s (2002) study (*cf.* Macdonald 1997). The symbolic significance attached to the language by former primary GME pupils in their identity constructions they did make—particularly in the wider terms of *Gesellschaft*—was therefore a key finding of his investigation.

Researching these issues among 362 P7-S4 pupils, Cochran (2008: 60) stated that Scottish identity is “not necessarily definable as either an X or a Y” in Fishman’s terms, while not all Gaelic speakers would even agree that the label ‘Gael’ signifies an ‘Xish’ identity. She reports of respondents who referred to identity when reporting their attitudes to Gaelic that “[t]hree times as many participants mentioned Scotland or Scottishness as mentioned a local identity”, and no single participant used the word Gael/*Gàidheal* (Cochran 2008: 175). Importantly, however, respondents generally did not link Gaelic to a specific identity when describing the language. Limited identification with the label ‘Gael’ among GME pupils, as reported in Oliver (2002) and Cochran’s (2008) research, has further implications for the applicability of Fishman’s models of language and identity to Scotland. MacLeod (2009: 236) notes that lasting “language loyalty”—the commitment to use and maintain a language like Gaelic through life—often relies on a belief “that a language embodies, or symbolises, part of their personal or ethnic identity” (*cf.* Dorian 1981). Yet O’Hanlon (2012: 248) has observed that in both the Welsh- and Gaelic-medium contexts she examined, primary pupils tend to express an “institution-related” identification with their Celtic language, associating it chiefly with aspects of their identity relating to family, school or cultural institutions.

Müller’s (2006) survey of language use and attitudes among 287 secondary pupils in Skye and Lochalsh (including 84 GME students) also found that medium of instruction may have an important effect in this regard, reporting attitudes to Gaelic – particularly in relation to the language’s relevance to identities – to be much more positive among GME students than those who are taught solely through English.

Research conducted by Morrison (2006a: 149-50) in the Western Isles found that a large proportion of Gaelic-medium students there viewed learning the language as something that made them “feel more Scottish”. Similar findings were also reported in MacKenzie’s (2013) research on the identities of former GME students, who again related a strong sense of the language’s symbolic importance in Scottish identity independently of its use (*cf.* Macdonald 1997; McEwan-Fujita 2003). Yet in spite of widespread appreciation among his participants of the language’s symbolic significance to their identities at different levels, Oliver (2002: 168) emphasises generally low levels of Gaelic use by former primary GME students outside of the Gaelic classroom in both Skye and Glasgow, particularly with peers and friends. Observing a distinction between the Gaelic use of rural/island pupils and that of urban/Lowland participants, he reflects that where “there is no commitment to Gaelic from parents then there is probably only a limited opportunity for a young person” in GME to acquire fluency in the language (Oliver 2002: 169). An ‘iconic’ association with Gaelic as a symbol of identity by pupils (*cf.* Irvine & Gal 2000; Bucholtz & Hall 2004) may, therefore, be insufficient to promote the type of language loyalty to which MacLeod (2009) and Dorian (1981) refer.

Trabelsi (1998: 346) reported use of Gaelic among her informants to decrease across advancing year-groups in the secondary school she surveyed in 1996, a finding also reported by MacNeil & Stradling (2000). This offers a riposte to the HMIE’s 1994 statement that the study of Gaelic as a subject at secondary level would be sufficient to bolster and “extend” pupils’ language abilities, and to develop their “self-confidence as Gaelic speakers” (SOED 1994: 3). 11 years after the 1994 report, HMIE (2005: 36) stated that Gaelic-medium provision at secondary school was “insufficient to maintain and develop fluency in a range of domains” (a view also reflected in the current National Gaelic Language Plan; Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b). Building on a research literature dating from the first two decades of GME (Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998; Oliver 2002), however, a wealth of recent research on GME (Pollock 2010; O’ Hanlon 2012; Will 2012; Landgraf 2013; MacKenzie 2013) has suggested the potential shortcomings the system may have in terms of former students’ potential engagement with Gaelic after completing school. The continuing limitations of GME in changing the linguistic habits of students outside of the

classroom, and in turn, in revitalising Gaelic, have been widely documented in the literature discussed in sections 3.3.2-3, above. In the last section of this chapter (3.4) I bring these considerations to bear on the doctoral project in hand, and suggest how it may contribute to filling a critical lacuna in the literature.

3.4. Concluding remarks: Bilingual education and language revitalisation

MacLeod (2009: 228) has noted that in spite of a growing literature on GME, “there has not been much critical analysis [...] of its impact as yet”. Indeed, this seems true of bilingual and immersion education outcomes internationally; whilst research findings in the fields of language acquisition (section 3.1.1) and attrition (3.1.2) seem to suggest that use of target languages by former bilingual and immersion students tends to decline after schooling is completed, there is an apparent dearth of research on longer-term outcomes. Similarly, whilst research on the role of bilingual and immersion education in Europe (section 3.2.1), as well as North America and Australasia (3.2.2) has often demonstrated limitations of education in terms of promoting bilingual language use among pupils outside of school, relatively few studies have addressed the period after this (although *cf.* Murtagh 2003; Woolard 2007; Hodges 2009). Internationally, therefore, the current investigation contributes to filling an apparent lacuna in the research literature.

In Scotland, disparities between parents’ and policy-makers’ expectations of GME and their experiences of the system were identified in the first decade of its availability (*cf.* sections 3.3.1-2; Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998). Later research (discussed in section 3.3.3) demonstrated the complexity of GME pupils’ identities in relation to Gaelic (Oliver 2002), as well as the limited impact this social dimension appeared to have on their actual use of the language (Morrison 2006a, b; Müller 2006; Cochran 2008). Subsequent researchers highlighted enduring problems in the system in relation to creating functionally bilingual students who are likely to continue to use the language after school (Landgraf 2013; O’ Hanlon 2010, 2012; Pollock 2010; Will 2012; Macleod *et al.* 2014). Nevertheless, the reality of past pupils’ engagement with Gaelic in adulthood, several years after completing formal education, has not as yet been assessed in any detail.

The emphasis that policy-makers continue to place on GME for the revitalisation of Gaelic in Scotland (*cf.* Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012b) poses important questions about actual outcomes of the system among adults who received their education through it. In this connection, MacLeod (2009: 242) stated that the “oldest of the new generation of Gaelic speakers which has been created (in the main) by GME are now approaching 30 years of age [...] The main evidence that the GME-led Gaelic revival has ‘taken’ will be that their children are raised as mother tongue Gaelic speakers”. By and large, it is still too early to answer this particular question, though as I shall explain in the following empirical chapters (*viz.* 5–8), participants’ current patterns of Gaelic language use shed some light on the situation. In the next chapter, I outline the research methods that I make use of in order to compile the dataset and conduct the analyses.

4. Research design and analytic methods

This chapter will outline the research methods I have adopted to investigate the primary research questions identified in previous chapters. Section 4.1 summarises the overall design of the research, which makes use of a combination of methods. I use both in-depth, semi-structured interviews and an online questionnaire on language use and attitudes in order to facilitate the triangulation of results. In section 4.2 I define the pool of participants among whom the research is conducted, and describe the various methods used to contact this group and analyse the quantitative dataset. Section 4.3 discusses the analytical approach taken toward qualitative data from the interview corpus, drawing on approaches taken to investigating language use, ideologies and identities. The method of transcription, qualitative analysis and the methodological frameworks adopted will be described and explained in relation to the data. Attention will additionally be drawn to the data-collection process in the field and the reflexive approach to data analysis I adopt, addressing my own role in producing interactional data in combination with research participants. Section 4.4 draws together these considerations before I introduce the following empirical chapters.

4.1. Research design: Mixed methods and data triangulation

The methodological foundations of this study are based on the notions of mixed methods and data triangulation in social research. Various scholars have emphasised the importance of multiple approaches in studies of language, culture and identity. Ricento (2006b), for example, emphasises that best research practice for studies investigating language policy and planning involves the use of an array of techniques and methods in order to obtain the most valid results possible. Qualitative and ethnographic methods, he states, are useful for investigating “grand narratives” concerning culture and identity and “the role of language(s) in the lives of people” affected by language policies, while quantitative approaches to language use and attitudes also provide a useful mechanism for cross-checking data on these issues (Ricento 2006b: 130). Fetterman (1998: 93) defines data triangulation as “testing one source of information against another to strip away alternative explanations and prove a hypothesis”, using multiple perspectives to focus on a particular issue.

Through this approach, cross-checking and comparing results, it is possible to improve both “the quality of data and the accuracy” of research findings (Fetterman 1998: 95; *cf.* Saville-Troike 2003). In this way researchers may formulate hypotheses from qualitative analyses according to the principles of grounded theory, generating hypotheses through the continuous analysis of data rather than positing *a priori* theories (Glaser & Strauss 1967), whilst cross-checking these against quantitative findings to minimise erroneous interpretations.

A mixed methodological approach has been strongly and consistently advocated by researchers in sociolinguistics and the sociology of language. Edwards (2010a: 66) has recently made “a plea for disciplinary and methodological triangulation” in research on minority languages and identities, while Baker (2006: 213) has described the value of using semi-structured or open-ended interviews in combination with quantitative methods for researching outcomes of language policy and planning. On this point, Fishman (2010: xxx) has argued that “every approach to data collection always necessarily involves a degree of error” that can never be entirely overcome by any single method. The combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches may come closest to minimising this, however.

Pauwels (2004: 723) notes that questionnaires have been a prominent tool in language maintenance research, particularly in studies investigating “language use patterns of bi- or multilingual persons in specific contexts (domain analysis), their language proficiency, and their attitudes”. Baker (2006: 211) has similarly observed that quantitative scales measuring language attitudes and use “across a long list of contexts and interlocutors” have been profitably used in investigations of the same issues. As an initial point of departure, the proximity of these concerns to those of the present investigation suggests the suitability of this approach for the study, and attitudinal and motivational data are important sources of empirical evidence for the current investigation (*cf.* section 3.1, above).

Edwards (2010a: 96) characterises much language attitudes research as being concerned with the “attempt to provide relative weightings for variables – relating factors to language shift or maintenance outcomes”, and the quantitative analysis presented in chapter 7 adopts a similar approach (*cf.* section 4.2.2, below). In the

present study, quantitative data were collected between 2011 and 2013 on informants' language use and attitudes, via an online questionnaire which was developed partly on the basis of the 1994 Euromosaic survey of Gaelic communities (MacKinnon 1994; *cf.* Appendix A & B). Dorian's (1981) seminal study of language shift and obsolescence among Gaelic speakers in East Sutherland employed a language attitudes survey which also informed the development of this questionnaire. The analytical procedures and statistical tests used to analyse the questionnaire are discussed further in section 4.2.2, below.

Baker (1992: 19) cautions against an over-reliance on quantitative approaches as the sole means of investigating language attitudes, however, suggesting that respondents may tend in such surveys – whether consciously or unconsciously – to provide answers they perceive to be better or more desirable in the investigator's eyes. He further states that questions posed in such questionnaires are often “ambiguous [and] sometimes leading”, and that answers and opinions offered are too often “not contextualized”, leaving findings open to misinterpretation (Baker 2006: 223-4). In any case, Canagarajah (2006: 154) suggests that positivist approaches aimed at the objective assessment of “language allegiance, linguistic identity, and linguistic attitudes” have often fallen short, since these issues are “not necessarily rational, pragmatic or objective. They are ideological” *cf.* section 2.2, above). As such, he argues that qualitative, ethnographic methods may be more useful for investigating matters of this kind (2006: 154–5).

The semi-structured interview I employ (*cf.* section 4.3, below) forms the principal research method I use to investigate the manner of informants' linguistic engagement with Gaelic, their language ideologies in relation to it, and the ways in which their ethnocultural identities may relate to these issues. Laihonen (2008: 670) notes that the study of language ideologies draws largely upon the interpretation in speech of either metalinguistic (language about language) or metapragmatic (language about language use) discourses. Much of the qualitative data analysed in chapters 5 and 6 draw on metalinguistic and metapragmatic discourse of this kind. Yet while an over-reliance on quantitative research methods in language attitudes research has been critiqued, researchers have equally noted the limited generalisability and validity that

in-depth but small-scale qualitative surveys may allow (*cf.* Hamel *et al.* 1993; Yin 2009). Triangulation using mixed methods, as already noted, provides a means to minimise these effects, and the larger-scale, quantitative analysis of participants' language use and attitudes presented in chapter 7 provides a useful means to cross-check and substantiate the qualitative results.

For studies focusing on language use and social identities, Schilling-Estes (2004: 190) has advocated methodological approaches combining “the broad approach of the quantitative sociolinguist and the in-depth approach of the discourse analyst/interactional sociolinguist”, a research practice that she states has become increasingly common in sociolinguistic research. With regard to the interactional approach Schilling-Estes refers to here, the present study makes particular use of Hymes's (1974) ethnography of speaking, discussed in greater detail below (section 4.3.2). A fully ethnographic methodology was deemed impractical for the purposes of the present study, informants for which are dispersed widely throughout and beyond Scotland. As Forsey (2010: 566) notes, spending extended periods conducting participant observation with informants in developed, urban contexts is often neither practical “or even desirable”. Instead, semi-structured and ethnographically oriented interviews, employing a schedule of questions but allowing participants to develop themes in interaction, constitute the principal qualitative research tool I utilised for developing knowledge of the situation, and generating insights into the complex issues of language use, ideologies and identities.

I explain my approach to obtaining qualitative data, and the process employed for their analysis in sections 4.2-3, below. The quantitative and qualitative approaches discussed here have different advantages and limitations, and they can be used in tandem with one another to triangulate data on the principal research questions I address. Different approaches offer different perspectives on the same issues, allowing for a more precise conceptualisation of the broader patterns and narratives that emerge in the data. Issues of language ideology, use and socialisation will be critical to understanding the role that Gaelic plays in informants' day-to-day lives and identities, and in turn, to prospects for the intergenerational transmission and long-term survival of the language.

4.2. Sample design and questionnaire analysis

This section firstly describes the methods and procedures adopted to define and contact the informant pool for the present research (section 4.2.1), and reflects on the response rates to the various approaches I adopted to elicit the datasets I analyse in chapters 5-7, below. Section 4.2.2 outlines the quantitative methods used to analyse questionnaire responses, while section 4.2.3 explains the ways in which qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews I carried out between December 2011 and December 2012, and provides an overview of the interview schedule I employed to structure interactions with interview participants. The discussion provided in this section frames the overall data corpus and sets up the following discussion of methods I adopt to analyse the qualitative data (section 4.3, below). Finally, section 4.4 draws together these methodological considerations before the empirical chapters are introduced.

4.2.1. Defining and accessing the informant universe

As discussed in section 3.3, above, GME developed from two units in Glasgow and Inverness in 1985 and grew rapidly throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, before slowing in the late 1990s. The system's growth during this period is shown in table III, below (MacKinnon 2005). In a sense, this table delimits the maximum potential 'universe' of research participants for the present study, showing the total numbers of GME pupils in primary education during the first decade of the system's availability. As may be seen, the total number of individuals in this potential universe is relatively small, particularly those who started in GME during the 1980s (N=286). The initial 24 GME pupils who started in 1985/86 were joined by a further 40 in 1986, followed by another 48 in 1987, 57 in 1988, and 117 in 1989. Over the next five years, total numbers of pupils increased by 145, 183, 229, 246, and 178 respectively, meaning that a much larger universe of informants now in their early twenties exists than that of those in their late twenties and early thirties. It was nevertheless vitally important to include in the survey as many informants at the upper end of this age-range as possible, in order to capture the fullest range of experiences across the first ten years of GME.

**Table III:
Primary pupils in GME 1985-1995 (MacKinnon 2005)**

Academic year / Area	85/ 86	86/ 87	87/ 88	88/ 89	89/ 90	90/ 91	91/ 92	92/ 93	93/ 94	94/ 95
Argyll & Bute			4	8	14	26	36	47	57	54
Comhairle nan EileanSiar		4	19	20	51	107	189	272	365	457
Highland Council	12	31	44	75	127	178	234	328	425	472
Rest of Scotland	12	29	44	66	94	120	155	187	233	275
Total	24	64	112	169	286	431	614	834	1080	1258
Age: 31/6/2012	31- 2	30+	29+	28+	27+	26+	25+	24+	23+	22+

Potential participants' places of origin are scattered to a considerable degree in the universe delineated in table III. Alongside the three council areas of Argyll and Bute, *Eileanan Siar* (the Western Isles) and Highland, the 'Rest of Scotland' category includes GME pupils in the urban central belt, north-eastern Scotland, and peripheral Highland areas outwith these three councils (such as Perthshire). In light of these considerations, a purposive sampling method was used to access potential participants. Practical considerations were therefore most influential in arriving at this method. Qualitative research using criteria-based, purposive sampling aims to achieve representation of the informant pool by including a diverse range of individual experiences and characteristics within the dataset (Ritchie *et al.* 2003).

As a first step, I started to compile a database of potential respondents from existing acquaintances in summer 2011, and maintained this as a spreadsheet using a 'snowball' method to gather names and suggested means of contact from these initial participants, as well as from colleagues and friends in my university. An online questionnaire was designed to survey former Gaelic-medium students' reported language abilities, use, and attitudes using the Bristol Online Survey Tool (BOST) in July 2011. This was piloted in August 2011 before a final draft was uploaded in September 2011. Gaelic and English versions of the questionnaire were designed, and bilingual invitations to the corresponding web links were subsequently dispatched to potential respondents via email, Facebook or Twitter, with participants

offered the choice of completing the questionnaire in whichever language (Gaelic or English) they felt more comfortable with.

Potential questionnaire and interview participants were contacted systematically by various means, whilst I continued to maintain and update the contact database. A catalogue of 210 individuals was eventually collated, and invitations to participate were issued up to a maximum of three times if no response was received after several weeks. I made use of both conventional and new media in order access potential respondents, using direct emails and Facebook messages, Twitter, a targeted Facebook advertisement, letters to editors of local newspapers, as well as a television and radio interview. The Facebook advertisement provided links to the questionnaire and was designed to target users of the right age range, whose profiles contained a number of 'target' words. Bilingual 'retweets' of a shortened participant invitation with links to the questionnaire and searchable hashtags #gaelic, #gaidhlig, and #GME, #FMG [Foghlam Meadhan Gàidhlig] were also forwarded to a wider audience on Twitter by the '@GaelicTweets' and '@Soillse' user accounts. Additionally, letters were posted to editors of five local newspapers in the areas where GME was first established. The published letters contained the same invitation to participate that I distributed elsewhere, in order to maximise the number of potential participants. Finally, an interview I arranged with a BBC journalist in May 2012 was subsequently broadcast on Radio nan Gàidheal's *Aithris na Maidne* ('The Morning Report'), as well as evening news programme *An Là* ('The Day') on television channel BBC Alba (with a subsequent article on the BBC news website).

Through this multi-platform approach to accessing the informant pool, it is likely that dozens of other potential informants, in addition to the 210 I contacted personally, received information about the research, and were provided with my contact details. Although I employed a wide variety of approaches for making contact with potential participants, by far the most successful medium for eliciting responses (perhaps unsurprisingly) was the use of personalised emails, followed by Facebook messages. In addition to web links to the bilingual questionnaires, these messages contained an appeal for potential interview participants to contact me personally by replying to the email address or Facebook account I provided. Potential respondents were also

requested to forward this invitation to any schoolmates (and other relevant contacts with whom they were in touch) via email, Facebook and other social media. In addition to the purposive ‘snowball’ method I employed, a further 117 invitations were distributed to former-GME students by an acquaintance of the author who was involved in the organisation of GME during the early years of its availability, and had been employed in the Gaelic education sector since then.

A total of 112 questionnaire responses were elicited, representing a response rate of 53.3% to the 210 invitations I distributed personally. This response rate would be smaller if the additional 117 invitations are factored into this total, though there may well have been some overlap between the two groups. If we assume that a total of 327 personalised invitations were received, the questionnaire response rate would be 34.3%. By comparison, I conducted and recorded 45 interviews (with 46 participants) between December 2011 and December 2012, representing a response rate of 21.9% to the 210 invitations I sent, or 14.1% to the putative total of 327.² Although all 46 interview participants were invited to complete the questionnaire, only 28 (60.9%) in fact did so, despite further prompting of the remaining 18 by the author. 25% of the 112 questionnaire participants were also interviewed, therefore. To account for a possibly distorting effect from the 28 interviewees’ questionnaires, these responses are also disaggregated from the full dataset and analysed separately in appendix C (which shows no such effect; *cf.* section 7.2). Therefore the total sample size (using both analyses) was 130.

4.2.2. Questionnaire design and analysis

The online questionnaire contained 30 questions, spread over three overarching sections on social background, language use and ability, and language attitudes (*cf.* appendix A & B). The questionnaire design drew broadly on the Euromosaic (MacKinnon 1994) and Welsh language use surveys (Welsh Language Board 2008), and was also partly informed by Dorian’s (1981) questionnaire on language attitudes as part of her research on East Sutherland Gaelic. In the first section of the online

² In one instance, the informant I had arranged to meet also invited her flatmate, who had been in the same GME class at primary school. We proceeded as normal and the ensuing interaction generated some extremely rich data, though in the interests of uniformity, this was the only interview I conducted with a dyad of speakers.

form, questions were asked about the date of birth, sex, occupation, current location and home town of participants, as well as their continuation with GME beyond primary school, and with the study of Gaelic generally (*cf.* section 7.2). Additional questions in this section were asked on participants' further and higher education attendance, the proportions of languages that were used in their childhood homes and surrounding communities, and change in relation to Gaelic language practices and skills since leaving school. In addition to the social variables of age, sex and occupational class, therefore, data were elicited in the first portion of the questionnaire on the social geography and linguistic socialisation of informants during childhood, including their continuation with GME after primary school. Each of these variables is examined in relation to language use, abilities and attitudes in chapter 7.

The second section of the questionnaire asked participants to report their passive and active abilities in English as well as Gaelic, in order to facilitate a comparison of professed abilities in relation to reading, writing, speaking and understanding both languages (*cf.* section 7.3). Respondents were next asked to quantify the overall frequency of their Gaelic language use at present, to identify which members of their immediate family were *able* to speak Gaelic, and to indicate the relative proportions of Gaelic and English that they currently use at work or university, at home, and in interactions with close family and friends (*cf.* section 7.4). Lastly in this section, informants were asked to indicate what languages they use in the pursuit of leisure activities and when socialising, taking account also of their language practices in relation to internet and social media use. Respondents were next invited to indicate their principal national identities, and to respond to 18 attitudinal statements using a 5-level level Likert scale (*i.e.* 'Strongly agree'/'Agree'/'Neither agree nor disagree'/'Disagree'/'Strongly disagree'). These 18 propositions concerned the place of Gaelic in Scottish society, its relevance to personal and cultural identity, the Gaelic community, and the role GME in revitalisation efforts generally (*cf.* section 7.5). Finally, questionnaire respondents were invited at the end of the form to provide any comments they wished, providing a body of qualitative data to supplement the principal datasets (*cf.* section 7.6; Appendix D).

In order to investigate and quantify the relationships between the different variables discussed in the preceding paragraphs, analysis using the correlational statistical test Spearman's *rho* was conducted on the dataset in SPSS. In light of the self-selected, purposive sample analysed in this thesis, establishing causality in the relations of these variables to one another was not an objective. Additionally, the nonparametric ranks used on the questionnaire form to elicit responses to questions on social background, language use, abilities and attitudes made the dataset unsuitable for analysis using parametric correlational tests such as the Pearson product-moment correlation. Instead, Spearman's rank order correlation co-efficient (referred to as 'Spearman's *rho*') was used to examine relationships between the ranked social and linguistic variables. This test calculates a value (ρ , or 'rho') to represent the correlation between two ranked sets of data, and is therefore used to investigate the relationships between different variables in the questionnaire dataset (*cf.* chapter 7). Again, since self-selection bias was a clear factor in the elicitation of responses to the questionnaire, the results of this test are not discussed in relation to statistical significance. Rather, particularly noteworthy correlations are displayed in bold typeface within tables and discussed in light of what they may indicate (*cf.* sections 7.2-5).

4.2.3. Conducting interviews in the field

Over the data collection period I travelled throughout Scotland, wherever possible conducting face-to-face interviews that I arranged with informants beforehand via email or Facebook. I met personally with 22 interview participants at locations in the urban Lowlands, mainland Highlands, islands in the Inner and Outer Hebrides, and in England. Skype and telephone interviews were used for informants based farther afield (*e.g.* North America), however, or when informants themselves indicated a preference for this option; 24 interviews were recorded in this way. Digital recordings of the 45 interviews (with 46 participants) constitute a corpus of over 20 hours of speech, corresponding to some 24,000 lines of text and just under 240,000 words. This corpus was transcribed in full by the author, according to conventions that will be discussed below (sections 4.3.2-3). At each stage of the data collection process I was keenly aware of my own agency in interaction, both as interlocutor and

research instrument, and the ways in which I might influence informants' responses in these capacities. The principal analytic methods I adopted in relation to the interactional data (discussed in sections 4.3.2-3, below) go some way to addressing these concerns, as I explain in the following sections.

The location of our meeting was left to the discretion of the interviewee and arranged before we met. The 21 face-to-face interviews I conducted were generally conducted either in cafes or in participants' places of work during their lunch hour. In two instances interviews were carried out in participants' homes. Although I tried hard to accommodate informants' preferences as to when the interview would be conducted, time constraints were often a concern for participants and as a consequence, the duration of interviews varied considerably. This also depended a great deal on the amount of detail participants were willing to go into, and in large part, on their continued engagement with Gaelic in the present day (*cf.* sections 5.1.1-4, below). The shortest interview, for instance, was with an informant who made little use of Gaelic at present and offered few opinions in response to most of my questions. This particular interview lasted only 12 minutes, while the longest lasted over an hour and ten minutes. Generally speaking, however, most interviews lasted for approximately half an hour; the mean duration is 27 minutes 42 seconds.

The language in which the interview was conducted was also directed principally by the preference of the informant before we met, although linguistic negotiation and code-switching often occurred subsequently. 25 speakers (54%) chose English as the medium of interaction for the interview, while 21 chose Gaelic (46%). It is noteworthy in this regard, however, that the 25 interviewees who chose English overwhelmingly used only English in the interview, whereas the 21 interviewees who chose Gaelic tended to alternate their language use (although to different degrees; *cf.* section 5.1, below). In accordance with ethics guidelines for interview research within Edinburgh University, oral consent for the recording and analysis of the interview material was obtained from each informant at the start of every interview, whether over Skype, phone or in person. At this stage I informed participants of the broad objectives of the study, gave assurances that their

anonymity would be protected at every stage of the research process, and informed speakers of their right to withdraw from the research at any stage.

20 interviewees disclosed that they had no Gaelic-speaking parents, 15 claimed both their parents could speak Gaelic, and a further 11 had one parent who could speak Gaelic. As will be shown, parents' linguistic abilities do not necessarily match informants' home exposure to Gaelic, however, and I describe informants' Gaelic socialisation experiences in detail in sections 5.3-4, below. Of the 46 interviewees, 12 reported growing up in the mainland Highlands, 17 were raised in island communities (10 of whom came from the Western Isles), and another 17 came from communities in the urban Lowlands.³ 31 interviewees were female (67%) and 15 male (33%). In the interview excerpts presented in the following two analytic chapters, informants are identified by a unique code signifying place of origin ('H' denoting Highlands, 'L' Lowlands, and 'I' islands), gender ('M/F') and a number, reflecting the order in which interviews were collected. HM04 therefore corresponds to the fourth male informant from the mainland Highlands, IF05 the fifth female interviewed from the islands, and LM01 the first Lowland male.

The interview schedule I employed to facilitate and direct the semi-structured interviews contained the following topics for discussion. Interviews did not necessarily develop in the exact order presented here, nor did all participants provide equal amounts of detail when responding to my questions. Nevertheless, the following topics were included in the schedule as a rough guide to direct the interview, while interaction was allowed to unfold and develop as naturally as possible. Interviewees were encouraged to elaborate on any aspects of their relationship to the Gaelic language that they felt strongly about, as well as prompted in relation to matters in which they provided more guarded or circumspect responses.

Interview schedule

- Location(s) of birth and childhood
- Gaelic-speaking family members
- First exposures to Gaelic in childhood
- Informants' experiences of Gaelic acquisition and socialisation

³ In the interests of anonymity, and particularly in light of the small size of the informant universe, further breakdown of participants' places of origin is not provided.

- Levels of continuation with Gaelic study in/after school
- Current living arrangements and occupation
- Self-assessment of abilities in Gaelic and degree of ‘fluency’
- Present-day engagement with and use of the language
- Contexts in which Gaelic is used by the informant
- Extent of Gaelic use with family members
- Social use of Gaelic with friends and peers
- Membership of Gaelic organisations generally
- Engagement with and evaluation of Gaelic media
- Relationship of participant ability in Gaelic to their use of the language
- Impressions of impact GME had on informant
- Past use of Gaelic at school and socialisation experiences in GME
- Satisfaction with and enjoyment of school experiences
- Attitudes to GME and levels of support for its growth
- Opinions on future prospects for Gaelic
- The regional and/or national relevance of Gaelic
- Importance of Gaelic to personal identity
- National and cultural identities of informants: British, Scots, Gaels?
- Notions and descriptions of the ‘Gael’
- Importance of Gaelic language to Scottish, British, and Gaelic culture

The degree to which the structure contained within this schedule was adhered to generally varied depending on the manner in which interaction unfolded in the interview, with certain informants needing more questions and prompting than others. In this sense it is difficult to quantify the degree to which interviews were or were not structured, and I use the term ‘semi-structured’ to refer to the method by which the interviews were collected. This approach provided a large amount of data for analysis, and I describe in the following section the principal methods which I adopted to this end.

4.3. Qualitative methods and the ethnography of speaking

A large number of methodological and instrumental approaches to analysing qualitative data exist in social research, and I have used a combination of principles from qualitative research to analyse the discursive data. While it does not neatly exemplify any one particular analytical technique, I argue that the composite approach I employ has clear advantages for analysing the dataset. Principally, a combination of content-based, thematic analysis (Silverman 2006) drawing on Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) seminal ‘grounded theory’, together with Hymes’s (1974) ethnography of speaking, is employed to analyse the qualitative dataset. While

Glaser and Strass' (1967) work was extremely influential in the development of the qualitative research methods within the social sciences, Hymes's (1974) ideas have had significant consequences in the orientation and development of interactional sociolinguistics. Additionally, epistemic principles from discourse and conversation analysis and ethnomethodology have been extremely useful for formulating the analytic approach adopted vis-à-vis the interview corpus, as I discuss in the following sections.

4.3.1. Methodological and epistemic foundations of qualitative research

Lazaraton (2003: 2) describes qualitative research as an umbrella term for a large number of research methods which draw upon a wide range of techniques for data elicitation. One such technique, the research interview, makes use of what Silverman (2006: 112) has termed "mundane skills" – the ability to hold a conversation, adhering to communicative and cultural norms, *etc* – in order to access data. Researchers using qualitative methodologies often characterise the research interview as distinct from naturally occurring conversation, although the constructivist understanding that both interviewers and interviewees "are always engaged in constructing meaning" emphasises the centrality of social interaction to the interpretation of interview data (Silverman 2006: 118).

An increasingly pervasive view in qualitative research holds that the interview itself is an opportunity for interviewees "to construct versions of reality" rather than merely to supply researchers with objective data (Gubrium & Holstein 2002b: 14). Under such a conception the researcher seeks "to uncover an emic (inside) perspective on the culture in question", even though the researcher's own positionality may influence this (Lazaraton 2003: 3; *cf.* section 2.1.1, above). Ewing (2006: 99) similarly sees the interview as a context for "creating meaning in interaction" on the part of both interviewer and interviewee. The epistemic basis of qualitative interviewing therefore tends in the present day toward a more constructivist view, with informants regarded as "meaning makers" in collaboration with the interviewer, rather than disinterested sources of objective information in their own right (Warren 2002: 83). A reflexive approach to analysing interactional

data of this kind, taking account of the researcher's agency and influence, is therefore of considerable import to the analytic process (*cf.* section 4.3.2, below).

Ricento (2006b: 131) suggests that the ethnographically oriented researcher must "engage in reflexive rethinking of his or her own and the informant's positions", moving beyond passive listening and reporting of speakers' discourses. Critical reflection on qualitative data is required here, acknowledging complications such as power differences, researcher bias and influence, and inconsistencies in informant accounts. Canagarajah (2006: 157) explains that issues of this kind "cannot be explained away and [must be] negotiated" in the analysis of data subsequently; I attempt to address such complications in relation to informant accounts used in chapters 5-6. Talmy (2010: 143) advocates a similar approach to the interview in response to a perceived tendency, in some qualitative studies, to take informants' accounts at face value, "with no problematization of the data themselves or the respective roles of interviewers and interviewees". Rather than relying on "decontextualized, stand-alone quotes of respondents' answers", analyses should treat the research interview as a social practice in its own right, with data jointly produced by the informant and researcher (Talmy 2010: 136).

While a reflexive approach to the process of interpreting qualitative data is therefore of uppermost importance, Gubrium and Holstein (2002b: 8) state that the principal aim of the qualitative interviewer is to access informants' beliefs and opinions "as objectively as possible". The degree to which this *is* possible will vary according to context and the nature of the question under investigation, and a tension between aiming for objectivity and directing discussion is an ever-present reality in qualitative interviewing (*cf.* chapters 5-6). Allowing informants to develop themes and relate experiences within the relatively flexible, semi-structured interview is one strategy to address this tension, but it is important that the subsequent identification of emergent themes in the data recognise and reflect the role of the interviewer (Silverman 2006).

Researchers employing methodologies informed by grounded theory pay attention to these concerns at the data collection and transcription stages, as well as during the coding and notation stages of the analysis proper (Lazaraton 2003; Glaser & Strauss 1967). Recognising and conceptualising themes that both describe and organise data

for analysis through sensitive and implicit reflection allows researchers to initiate the cycle of data analysis which generates theory (Silverman 2006; Glaser & Strauss 1967). A content-oriented analysis of qualitative data allows researchers to interpret and analyse the interview transcripts themselves, and to examine the social processes that may be at play therein (Charmaz 2002). As I hope to demonstrate in the following section, however, analytic principles which pay attention to *instrumentalities*, or how language is used to deliver content, can also be profitably applied to more content-based analyses of discourse.

Building on Hymes's (1974) ethnography of speaking (*cf.* section 4.3.2, below), Ewing (2006) advocates an analytic approach which accounts for pragmatic considerations of *how* information is conveyed, in addition to the semantic detail of what is actually said. Limiting the interpretation of interview material to the "content of utterances", he argues, confines the analysis to the semantics of lexical content alone (Ewing 2006: 90). Although there is no unproblematic way to "map meaning" onto pragmatic cues such as pitch, intonation, pauses and gesture, Ewing (2006: 92) argues that researchers cannot simply "limit themselves to the lexical content of the utterances... as their only reliable source of data". Paying attention to pragmatic aspects of the interaction, in addition to its semantic content, provides analysts with a further set of data to access informants' opinions, beliefs and attitudes (Ewing 2006: 116). These wider analytic principles – considering both the form and content of spoken language – are integrated into the transcription and analysis presented in this thesis with particular reference to Hymes' influential (1974) model.

4.3.2. Analysing language and culture in interaction: The ethnography of speaking⁴

Rather than an entirely content-focused approach to analysing the interview data, an analysis making particular use of the 'ethnography of speaking' framework (*cf.* Hymes 1974) provided a more suitable means to investigate the research questions at hand. Duranti (1997: 8) has stated that ethnographers of language need "the

⁴ The approach described here is also known within linguistics, anthropology and the sociology of language as the 'ethnography of communication', in order to account for research conducted on non-spoken (e.g. sign) languages in this area (Saville-Troike 2003).

instruments to first hear and then listen carefully to what people are saying [...and then] to learn and understand what the participants in the interactions we study are up to, what counts as meaningful for *them*” (emphasis in original). As Fetterman (1998: 9) observes, however, long-term continuous fieldwork is often neither possible nor appropriate, making it preferable for researchers to “apply ethnographic techniques... rather than to conduct a full-blown ethnography.” It is in this sense that ethnographic methods are employed in the present research, through the adoption of what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 230) describe as an ethnographic mentality; a “particular mode of looking, listening and thinking” that avoids formulating hypotheses prematurely, seeking instead to understand informants’ perspectives on the issues in question. Warren (2002: 98) argues that sensitivity to the interviewee’s thoughts, feelings and outlooks may often be as important as asking questions and listening in reaching an apprehension of “the social world” an informant inhabits. Cameron (2001: 54) describes the ‘ethnography of speaking’ as the application of ethnographic methods of this kind specifically to language use in its sociocultural context. The genesis of the phrase ‘ethnography of speaking’ is associated chiefly with the sociolinguist and anthropologist Dell Hymes, who advocated a greater emphasis in those fields on performance and “communicative competence”, focusing on interactional norms and rules of speaking.

Hymes (1974: 119) described bilingual education as “a sociolinguistic subject par excellence”, insofar as a central goal of education generally “is to enable children to develop their capacity for creative use of language as part of successful adaptation of themselves”, within a wider sociocultural context. In order to adequately investigate such considerations, Hymes (1974: 4) therefore argued that it is necessary to “take as context a community, or network of persons, investigating its communicative activities as a whole”. A central premise in the ethnography of speaking is the conceptualisation of spoken interaction in terms of the speech situation, speech event and, at the most minute level of analysis, the speech act (Hymes 1974: 52). A speech situation, firstly, can be understood as the type of interaction a particular setting represents; overwhelmingly in my own dataset the speech situation analysed is that of the semi-structured interview. Nevertheless, interviews conducted in person, via the telephone or online via Skype each represent distinct kinds of speech situation.

At the next level down, the speech event encompasses different kinds of interactive process, for example, questions, answers, stories or jokes. At the most fundamental level, the speech act – seen as “distinct from the level of the sentence” – constitutes actions such as greeting, apologising or saying goodbye (Hymes 1974: 52). These three levels of analysis form the central bases of the ethnography of speaking; as Saville-Troike (2003: 3) explains, Hymes emphasised that what constitutes a language “cannot be separated from how and why it is used” in terms of speech situations, events and acts (*cf.* Schiffrin 1996; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; García 2009).

A further central tenet of the ethnography of speaking holds that “[m]essage form and message content [...] often cannot be separated in description and analysis” (Saville-Troike 2003: 120). Meaning is derived not only from the content of verbal and nonverbal production, but also from the paralinguistic content of speech in interaction. Analysis within the ethnography of speaking framework may pay particular attention to such (interrelated) phenomena as code-switching or the interrelationship of language and identity (*cf.* Dunmore and Smith-Christmas, forthcoming). Saville-Troike (2003: 55) notes that code-switching in interaction “may be as meaningful... as the referential content” of a given speech act.

In the context of my own interviews, code-switching may reflect a real lexical need and lack of vocabulary on the interviewee’s part; in other places it may be understood to signify processes of greater social significance. For instance, language alternations of this kind may well in fact reflect particular ideological positions in interaction, as I discuss in greater detail in chapter 6. Code-switching and linguistic mixing may also reflect the construction and negotiation of new, hybrid and dynamic identities (*cf.* Oliver 2002, 2006; Dunmore & Smith-Christmas, forthcoming). The use or disuse of a particular language variety by individuals with a (more-or-less) bilingual repertoire can be affected by the significance that language is ascribed as a marker of a desirable or stigmatised social identity. For instance, speakers in my own interview corpus (particularly those from the urban Lowlands) sometimes make use of Scots forms in English-medium interviews, possibly to emphasise aspects of their (Lowland) Scottish identity. Similarly in interviews carried out mostly in Gaelic,

speakers would often switch to English to emphasise their bilingual ability and identity, particularly when discussing aspects of the Gaelic community they view as undersirable (*cf.* section 6.1). On this point, Saville-Troike (2003: 198) argues that the extent to which linguistic identities are regarded as criteria for group membership is “central to the ethnographic description of a speech community” (*cf.* chapter 2, above; Edwards 2009, 2010).

In order to account for such diverse considerations, beyond the mere content of speech, Hymes (1974) introduced the mnemonic SPEAKING for the analysis of interaction within the ethnography of speaking. This abbreviation signifies a typology which lays out the contextual features that analysts may choose to pay attention to. Not all of these features need to feature in an analysis of speech events, but each may be of relevance in different situations:

S refers to the “setting” and “scene” of an interaction. Hymes (1974: 55–6) distinguishes setting, which “refers to the time and place of a speech act and, in general, to the physical circumstances”, from scene, which constitutes the “‘psychological setting’ or ‘cultural definition’ of a scene, including characteristics such as range of formality and sense of play or seriousness”. While the physical *setting* represented by the research interview may vary for each informant, therefore, the psychosocial *scene* it constitutes is likely to be comparable in each.

P denotes the “participants” in a particular speech situation, that is to say the speaker/sender/addressor as well as the hearer/receiver/audience/addressee. The specific addressee may not be the same individual as another participant who is nevertheless part of the interaction, for example a wider audience, or other informants in the context of a focus group. The single interview I conducted with *two* informants represents one context in which attention to the *participants* of particular speech acts will be analytically significant.

E signifies the “ends” of a particular speech event, defined by Hymes (1974: 56) as the “[c]onventionally recognized and expected outcomes” of such an event.

Generally, my questions, prompts and suggestions were recognised by informants to

require responses, and my own role in this regard will be important for the analysis of interviews.

A is the “act” sequence, defined as the form and content or order of the event. In this sense sequence and order are loosely controlled by the researcher in the environment of the semi-structured interview, though this did vary from one interview to the next.

K denotes “key”; the context-based clues that can be utilised in order to establish the “tone, manner, or spirit” in which a speech act is intended (Hymes 1974: 57). Pauses, sighs, laughs, politeness cues and emphasis may all provide the key to a particular speech act. Hymes (1974: 58) clarifies that when the key is recognised to be “in conflict with the overt content of an act, it often overrides the latter”, as can be inferred from sarcasm for example. Laughter may denote various manners of delivery, including nervousness and uncertainty, in addition to humour, and it will be crucial to take account of this in analysing data from interviews.

I refers to the “instrumentalities”, or “channels and forms of speech” that participants make use of in producing speech acts (Hymes 1974: 60). Such considerations pertain to the linguistic resources, in terms of languages, varieties and dialects – as well as alternation between these resources and the use of code-switching – that participants may utilise in the speech situation. As well as Gaelic and English forms, it is notable that interviewees sometimes make use of Scots forms when conveying their ideas and beliefs about Gaelic in the qualitative dataset, and these were transcribed accordingly.

N signifies the “norms” of interpretation of a particular speech act and event, including the social rules that govern the actions and reactions to a certain speech event in a particular community. Hymes (1974: 61) gives the example of the use of ‘fillers’ such as “uh”, “um” *etc* as unmarked discursive markers in white middle-class speech, contrasting with repetition of the previous utterance in African-American speech.

G refers to the “genre”, or type of speech act or event. Such an event may for example constitute a poem, story or saying, for either entertainment or to illustrate a point of instruction (Hymes 1974: 61). Generally speaking, whilst some interviewees

made use of anecdotes when narrating past experiences, diverse genres of speech were not elicited in the interviews in this study.

Attending to considerations such as these, which contextualise the content of speech produced in interactional settings such as the research interview, will enrich the qualitative analysis. A combination of thematic content analysis and Hymes's ethnographic typology will form the basis of the analysis presented in chapter 5 and 6. Various transcription conventions have been used to reflect the criteria encapsulated in Hymes's SPEAKING mnemonic, especially *keys* to the tone or attitude of a particular speech act, and the use of sociolinguistic *norms* and *instrumentalities* by interviewees, which may further reveal information of social significance not apparent in the content of utterances alone.

4.3.3. Transcription: Approaches and application

In general terms, the principal aim of transcription in social research is to reflect in visual form the content of the primary data source, that is to say, the audial recording of interaction itself. Deborah Cameron (2001: 33) makes the crucial point that writing in its usual forms “is not a direct representation of speech”, but often an idealised model of language, which thereby influences speakers' perceptions of what a particular language – and language generally – ought to be. She argues that the written model of language can affect the ways in which qualitative researchers analyse our data, and has the potential to influence our interpretation. Whilst it may suffice—or even be preferable—in certain instances, to use standard written conventions and punctuation to represent speech, such as when analytic attention is focused purely at the content-level of interpretation, Cameron (2001: 37) observes that the meaning of spoken data “may lie in prosodic and paralinguistic features as much as in words”. As noted by Hymes (1974: 58), the context of an utterance and the manner in which it is articulated can be as important as the semantics of its content in interpreting qualitative data. All (spoken) language users make use of features such as pitch, stress, volume and voice quality to communicate their meaning and provide keys to its interpretation (Hymes 1974; *cf.* Silverman 2006).

Eleanor Ochs (1979) noted some of the difficulties that researchers face in separating norms of written language when applying transcribed representations to real speech, and attempting to accurately reflect non-verbal cues that enrich our understanding of the pragmatic meaning of qualitative data. As an aid to researchers attempting to overcome this methodological obstacle, she set out a series of detailed tables describing transcription conventions to represent paralinguistic features to various degrees of complexity, ranging from the use of symbols in the body of the transcript to represent pragmatic cues, to sub- and superscript annotation to describe verbal- as well as non-verbal signals. The application of more detailed conventions will depend on the depth of detail required in the analysis, and upon the selection and availability of appropriate recording equipment (video recorders etc) that researchers using a conversation analytic methodology often employ for the collection of data. As Poland (2002: 639) argues, however, “[t]here is a limit to the degree of painstaking attention to detail that can be demanded of a transcriber” in formulating and applying an elaborate system of codes to represent speech (*cf.* Cameron 2001). Crucially, however, he argues that transcripts as verbatim records of spoken interaction “should not be edited or otherwise ‘tidied up’” to improve or simplify their appearance on the page (Poland 2002: 641).

For my own transcription of the interview corpus, which used the time-aligned transcription package ELAN (‘EuDiCo Linguistic Annotator’; developed as part of the European Distributed Corpora Project at the Max Planck Institute in the Netherlands), a number of conventions from Ochs’ (1979) taxonomy were adopted. ELAN allows .WAV files (which may easily be converted from MP3 files on media applications) to be imported directly into a time-aligned annotation system, in which portions of recording can be highlighted, and text inserted into sections of the annotation. This makes for an efficient means by which to transcribe recordings, as particular utterances can be transcribed while the recording plays simultaneously. The resulting time-aligned transcript is fully searchable and can be used, in tandem with the .WAV recording, to double-check transcription quality subsequently. Transcripts can then be imported directly into Microsoft Word for coding and analysis. Whilst not all of the transcription conventions outlined by Ochs (1979) were adopted for the analysis in hand, a number which were deemed appropriate

(inasmuch as they help to contextualise the pragmatic meaning of an utterance) were adhered to throughout the transcription process. As such, the following list of symbols and conventions were applied to transcripts in ELAN, with further elaboration added subsequently in MS Word.

[words] Overlapping speech

Square brackets are used to indicate overlapping speech on consecutive lines of the transcript, such as where the interviewer or informant began speaking before the other interlocutor had completely finished their turn. Ochs (1979) indicates that such phenomena can be of relevance to analysis by indicating both speakers' sensitivity to turn taking rules and utterance length, and in places indicating either agreement with or rejection of an interlocutor's suggestion or line of questioning.

= Latched speech

The '=' symbol is used to indicate latched speech between turns, where no pause is discernible between two interlocutors' utterances. This might correspond to the boundary of an information unit, indicate an interruption, or point towards an emphatic response to a particular idea or utterance.

– Self-interruption

The dash symbol indicates a self-interruption mid-utterance. The pragmatic effect of a self-interruption may be to communicate a number of possible meanings: difficulties in interaction, re-phrasing of a certain idea, self-correction in light of a previous utterance, or adaptation of an utterance to better suit an interlocutor's understanding of events or ideas that are being related.

(.) Perceivable pause (<1s duration)

This symbol is used to indicate the presence of a perceivable pause in mid-utterance that lasts for less than one second. The specific length of the pause was not measured for durations of less than this. A pause of this kind could specify the boundary of an information unit, difficulties in interaction or a short hesitation, for instance.

(2.4) Perceivable pause (>1s duration)

Where a pause was identified as lasting longer than at least one second, its exact duration was measured and recorded to one tenth of a second. The rationale for this was that longer hiatuses of this kind could indicate considerably greater difficulties in interaction, such as lack of vocabulary or the possibility of distress, or a more

extended period of thought and reflection. The negotiation and communication of more complex or problematic language ideologies may initiate a longer pause of this kind, for instance. Pauses in interaction at the end of an interlocutor's turn, marking the conclusion of a sentence, were not recorded; rather only pauses in mid-utterance were thought to be salient for these reasons.

(word) Uncertain transcription

Brackets were used to indicate an uncertain transcription of a word or phrase. Several of the interviews were conducted in rather noisy environments, such as busy city cafes, in which some recorded data was difficult to transcribe, but an attempt could be made to identify the intended utterance from context.

(x) Unintelligible

In some cases an utterance may have been too difficult to interpret, due to a noisy environment or interference on the digital recording. The (x) symbol is used to mark such instances.

xxx Personal/place name omitted

In the interests of anonymity, personal names were excluded from the transcripts where used by either interlocutor, as were specific place names when these were deemed to threaten anonymity. Such concerns are of particular relevance in such small communities as that of the specific cohort of Gaelic-medium-educated adults investigated here.

/focal/ Atypical/nonconcordant usage

Angled parentheses were adopted as a means to record atypical, nonconcordant or erroneous usages of Gaelic grammatical forms within interviews conducted partly or entirely in Gaelic. It should be stated that this convention is by no means advocated by Ochs, and I am extremely hesitant to refer to such usages as 'mistakes' or 'errors' in the analysis. Nevertheless, details of this kind may in certain instances be notable enough to deserve further analytic attention.

((word)) Analyst's comments

Comments on the speech style adopted for a particular utterance were inserted to the body of the transcript inside double brackets. Comments corresponding to contextual cues were inserted in full rather than with the shorthand (often rather complicated) symbols that Ochs (1979) suggests, as there were not a huge number of such styles

that arose in the interviews that I regarded as particularly salient. Comments used include such examples as the following, which provide cues as to how the utterance is intended or communicated: ((laughing)) ((sighs)) ((mock drunk voice)) etc

:: Elongation

Elongation of the sound immediately preceding this symbol may indicate a number of pragmatic stances, whether emphasis, uncertainty or change of topic mid-utterance. The length of a particular elongated sound is indicated with different numbers of colons- , :: or even ::: for particularly enlongated sounds.

word Emphatic speech

Words that carry particular stress to indicate emphasis are underlined to mark this.

boldface Code-switch

A code-switch to English or Gaelic for a particular word or utterance may signal any number of ideological or linguistic meanings, whether lack of vocabulary, emphasis or the ‘double-voicing’ of particular ideas within utterances (*cf.* Bakhtin 1986; Dunmore & Smith-Christmas, forthcoming). Such language alternation is marked in bold text within the transcript.

? ! ‘ ’ Intonation/ reported speech

Punctuation marks ? and ! are used on the transcripts to indicate particular moods and intonations, while reported speech is recorded using single quotation marks. For reasons discussed above, these are the only punctuation marks used in transcripts, as they are easy enough to apply without assuming or double-guessing the intended meanings of pauses or self-interruptions, for example. English translations of Gaelic extracts are provided in italics directly underneath the speech event depicted. As already indicated, a number of more detailed transcription systems used in research traditions such as Conversation Analysis were avoided for the purposes of this project, and the detail provided in the above conventions was deemed sufficient. As Cameron (2001: 39) observes, “there is never a point when your transcript becomes the definitive, ‘full and faithful’ representation of your data”. As I hope to demonstrate in the following section, the various conventions that *were* adopted to transcribe the qualitative interviews were chosen to render transcriptions suitable for analysis within an ‘ethnography of speaking’ and thematic content methodology,

which pays analytic attention both to the semantic content of interactional data, as well as the pragmatic context in which utterances are produced.

4.3.4. Qualitative data analysis procedure

Coding of qualitative data is a critical stage of the analysis, in that it that allows the researcher to progress from merely describing toward conceptualising and explaining themes as they emerge in the data (Charmaz 2002). As outlined above, close attention to both the content and form of transcripts is required to draw out the emerging themes in a corpus of semi-structured interviews, and it is the transliteration of raw qualitative data in transcript form into thematic, codable categories that forms the crux of the qualitative analysis. After performing an initial review of transcripts for general impressions of the dataset, salient and recurrent themes throughout the dataset were subsequently coded by the author, as I identified them through careful and repeated reading of the transcripts. This was an extremely time-consuming process, and the analysis and revision of the 45 coded transcripts lasted for the best part of six months, at which point the coding systems I had developed were double-checked in consultation with my academic supervisors. At the conclusion of this complex coding process I had developed of an initial system of six overarching, thematic codes, which encompassed the following six overall categories:

- metapragmatic discourses pertaining to present-day Gaelic language use and ability, including the sub-categories of:
 - o degrees of overall present Gaelic language use
 - o language practices and the ways in which interviewees reported using the language most often
 - o active and passive Gaelic language skills
- narratives of language socialisation and the acquisition of Gaelic in childhood, comprising:
 - o home use of Gaelic in childhood and parental language practices
 - o acquisition of and linguistic socialisation in Gaelic at school
 - o socialisation in Gaelic, Highland and island cultures generally
- ideologies of language use, and sets of beliefs about Gaelic, including:

- attitudes to and perceptions of the Gaelic community
- beliefs and ideas about the Gaelic language and how it is used
- beliefs and ideas about how it *should be* used
- ideologies relating to the revitalisation of Gaelic in modern Scotland, including:
 - the role of education (GME and GLE) in the revitalisation of Gaelic
 - perceptions of mismanagement in Gaelic language policy and planning
 - ideas and beliefs about how revitalisation might better be achieved
- ideologies concerning Gaelic and sociocultural identities at various levels:
 - the role of Gaelic in conceptions of personal identity and distinctiveness
 - the relevance of Gaelic to regional and cultural identities, including (lack of) association with the category ‘Gael’
 - the importance of Gaelic to Scottish culture and identity
- narratives describing informants’ own experiences of GME and attitudes to the system generally:
 - benefits of the system in social, educational and developmental terms
 - experiences of negative affect in GME
 - ideas about how best to develop GME in Scotland

Subsequently, I made further detailed readings of each transcript, which allowed me to code the text in order to represent and label the emerging themes that I discerned in the dataset. These were further organised by category, examined for the most strongly emerging qualities, and labelled accordingly. At this stage the data were also examined for consistency and marked differences across the corpus, and the corresponding sub-categories were coded accordingly. Upon examining these thematic sub-categories I decided that codes within the sixth theme identified above could further be divided into narrative accounts describing experiences of Gaelic socialisation in GME, and attitudes to the system as a means of language revitalisation generally. For analytic purposes these two additional categories were then subsumed within the second and fourth thematic categories, to give the following five themes:

- Language use and ability in the present day;
- Gaelic language socialisation and acquisition at home and in school;
- Ideologies of Gaelic language use;
- Ideologies relating to the revitalisation of Gaelic;
- Ideologies of Gaelic pertaining to sociocultural identities.

Finally, I wrote up the coded data by translating the principal findings into narrative accounts detailing my own analytical interpretation of the data, according to the sub-themes and diversity of opinions and feelings as they emerged. The first two overarching categories of data I identify above are discussed in chapter 5, pertaining to informants' varying degrees of engagement with Gaelic, both in the past and the present day. The remaining three thematic categories are analysed in chapter 6, which examines the multiplicity and contested nature of language ideologies among Gaelic-medium educated adults.

4.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the investigation, discussing the advantages of mixed methods and outlining fundamental concepts in social and sociolinguistic research, as well as the specific transcription conventions employed in collating and analysing the qualitative dataset. The principal methods employed to access the datasets analysed in the following three chapters were discussed in detail, as were response rates to each of these. Lastly, a number of qualitative traditions have been discussed, with particular attention to Hymes's ethnography of speaking, and thematic content analysis. In combination with one another these methods have beneficial application in the following analysis of semi-structured interview data (chapters 5-6). I then return in chapter 7 to the quantitative analysis of questionnaire responses in order to triangulate findings from the qualitative analysis. Finally, chapter 8 draws together the principal research findings from these two approaches, relating these back to the literature reviews presented in chapters 2-3.

5. Gaelic language use and socialisation among Gaelic-medium educated adults

In the first chapter of the qualitative analysis presented here, I draw attention to interviewees' self-reports regarding their day-to-day use of Gaelic and past experiences of socialisation in the language. Firstly, I assess the degree to which participants claim to use Gaelic at home, at work and socially, as well as the ways in which they do so with different interlocutors (section 5.1). Section 5.2 addresses interviewees' self-reported abilities in the language, while section 5.3 draws attention to social and attitudinal aspects of interviewees' Gaelic language socialisation in the context of the home-community-neighbourhood (*cf.* Fishman 1991, 2001a, b). Finally, section 5.4 considers interviewees' accounts of socialisation in Gaelic through GME at school. Accounts provided by interviewees in the second, third and fourth sections of the chapter may contribute to our understanding of the social correlates underlying patterns of present-day use discussed in section 5.1.

Throughout the analytic chapters, the qualitative ethnography of communication method of analysis discussed previously is employed, paying close attention to the way in which information is conveyed, in terms of salient *keys* to speech acts (*cf.* Hymes 1974) where this is clearly important to the interpretation of an utterance's meaning. I argue that the various thematic categories discussed below contribute to our understanding of the ways in which the experience of Gaelic-medium education may have impacted on the later linguistic trajectories of former GME students.

5.1. Reported Gaelic Language Use

I draw attention in the first part of this chapter to the varying degrees to which interview participants claim to use the Gaelic language in the present day. As I outline below, three discernible categories of use are apparent in interviewees' accounts (sections 5.1.1-3). I subsequently consider two particular categories of Gaelic use that are frequently reported within the interview corpus (sections 5.1.4-5).

5.1.1. 'High' reported use of Gaelic and the role of Gaelic employment

I firstly consider the cases of the relatively few interviewees who report high use of Gaelic in their day-to-day lives (10 out of the 46 interviewees). Importantly,

interviewees in this category were generally much more inclined to carry out the interview itself through Gaelic than interviewees in other categories, all ten speakers opting to do so. Interviewees in this group generally reported high levels of Gaelic language use at work, with some additionally reporting high social use, as in the following extract from an interview with a Gaelic professional who uses the language every day at work:

- HF03 Bidh mi a' cleachdadh [Gàidhlig] co-dhiù a h-uile latha em agus fiù 's Disathairne is Latha na Sàbaid - bidh mi ga cleachdadh gach latha obrach em co-dhiù (.) agus air an deireadh-sheachdain cuideachd
I use [Gaelic] at least every day em and even Saturday and Sunday- I use it every working day anyway (.) and at the weekend as well
- [...]
- SD Agus a bheil Gàidhlig aig do charaidean as fhaisge?
And do your closest friends speak Gaelic?
- HF03 Aig cuid dhiubh- cuid mhath dhiubh [...] tha mi a' smaointinn- feadhainn a tha ag obair tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, tha sinn nas buailtiche a bhith a' bruidhinn na Gàidhlig
Some of them- a good few of them [...] I think- those that work through the medium of Gaelic, we're more likely to speak Gaelic

This extract partly demonstrates the importance that working through Gaelic may have on promoting frequent use of Gaelic, a discourse theme that other interviewees in this category also expounded on. Certain interviewees made reference to particular family members with whom they speak Gaelic in addition to working with the language each day, as in the following excerpt:

- SD [A]m bi thu a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig gu math tric san latha a th' ann?
Do you use Gaelic quite often in the present day?
- LM06 Uh huh
- SD An lùib d' obrach mar eisimpleir?
In the course of your work for example?
- LM06 **Yeah** tha mise ga cleachdadh (.) cha mhòr a h-uile latha aig m' obair [...] is (.) 's ann anns a' Ghàidhlig a bhithinn bruidhinn ma 's e 's gu bheil Gàidhlig aig an duine no boireannach ris am bi mi a' bruidhinn em (.) agus cuideachd (1.9) eh: uill 's e- 's e Gàidhlig a bhios againn còmhla ri (1.3) mo sheanmhair an-còmhnaidh a-nist

Yeah *I use it (.) almost every day at my work [...] and (.) I'd speak Gaelic if the man or woman I'm speaking to can speak Gaelic (.) and also (1.9) eh: well it's- it's always Gaelic we speak with (1.3) my grandmother now*

Some participants reported high degrees of Gaelic use at home as well as at work or with extended family members, though only a few of them indicated that they used Gaelic frequently with partners, housemates or other peers. The following passage exemplifies one such occasional reference; the home environment that the informant describes is extremely specific as the first 'all Gaelic' flat-share scheme in the Scottish university system. This unique environment is seen by the participant to promote his use of Gaelic outside of the university:

- | | |
|------|--|
| SD | [D]è cho tric agus cuin a bhios tu a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig?
<i>How often and when do you use Gaelic?</i> |
| HM01 | Tha mi a' fuireach ann an Taigh na Gàidhlig so ga cleachdadh a h-uile latha gu ìre mh/ath/
<i>I'm living in the Gaelic House so using it practically every day</i> |
| SD | Direach
<i>Exactly</i> |
| HM01 | Eh bidh an nàbaidh agam a' coinneachadh (x) "A bheil thu ag iarraidh cupan?" is mi fhìn ag ràdh "O tha gu dearbh!" Ach eh (.) aidh bidh mi ga cleachdadh a h-uile latha eadar- eadar an roinn agus taobh a-staigh seo
<i>Eh my neighbour meets (x) "Do you want a cup [of tea]?" and I'll say "Oh yes indeed! "But eh (.) aye I speak it every day between- between the department and at home here</i> |

Participation in Gaelic-medium employment or higher education therefore appears to accompany higher levels of day-to-day use of the language, and to increase the number of opportunities to speak the language that are available outside of those more formal contexts (*cf.* Macleod 2008). The availability of work within the Gaelic labour market may therefore be a vital means of continued support for the language after formal schooling is completed. Yet only a small proportion of the hundreds of children to have started in GME in its first decade would have gone on to find employment within that niche labour market (*cf.* Campbell *et al.* 2008). Only 10 of my 46 interviewees worked in such an environment, each reporting varying but still relatively high levels of use outwith the workplace. It is likely, furthermore, that the

percentage of interviewees working in Gaelic-medium environments (21.7%) is higher than in the full cohort of GME-leavers (*cf.* Campbell *et al.* 2008: 10), as interviewees in this group were relatively easier to contact, and were often able to suggest names of other colleagues who had undertaken GME. In this sense the number reflected here should not be considered as representative of all adults who started Gaelic-medium education in the first decade of its availability in Scotland.

5.1.2. Intermediate to limited use: Family and peers?

A slightly larger group of participants reported Gaelic use that can be described as ranging from ‘intermediate’ to ‘limited’; 12 of the 46 interviewees (26.1%) described use that I have interpreted and categorised in this way. Whilst their reported use of Gaelic is not as frequent or wide-ranging as that of interviewees in the first group (5.1.1), a meaningful engagement with the language is described nevertheless.

Varying degrees of Gaelic use with family members tend to be related by interviewees in this group, whether with parents, partners or siblings. Some interviewees described making limited use of the language with their children, as exemplified in the following two passages:

- | | |
|------|---|
| SD | How often would you say that you use Gaelic? |
| LF01 | Em: probably a few times a week, not daily em: and not weekly (.) so in between |
| SD | Yeah |
| LF01 | So a few times a week cos I'll (.) um do my son's reading with him in Gaelic, and sort of very basic conversation- I wouldn't class that as sort of using Gaelic cos it's not a full conversation but it's still= |
| SD | =Yeah but it's speaking it isn't it? |
| LF01 | Yeah |
| SD | [D]o you speak it at all with your kids? |
| LM05 | A little bit |
| SD | Uh huh |
| LM05 | A little bit of conversation (.) I mean they don't really respond to it but they will watch Gaelic cartoons [...] I <u>do</u> tend to listen to Gaelic radio on occasion (.) maybe once a week em [...] |
| SD | so outside of the house you wouldn't particularly- would you still use it with your mum? |
| LM05 | Yeah probably the only people would be er my mum |
| SD | Uh huh |

LM05 Or- not for lengthy conversations or anything (.) only shorter type things

Limited use of Gaelic with children in this way clearly has implications for the inter-generational transmission of the language, and for the socialisation of children into certain patterns of language use. Nevertheless, Gaelic is regarded by these two interviewees as something which they may use with children, whether in support of GME (as in the former example) or at pre-school age (as in the latter; see section 6.1.2, below). As such, the above extracts reflect the language's continued – if relatively limited – importance to both speakers. Use of Gaelic with one or more parent, as related by the second informant above, is another context frequently mentioned by this group:

1. SD [W]ould you still speak Gaelic with your family- your parents?
2. LM08 Yeah yeah occasionally- not all the time but=
3. SD =Yeah=
4. LM08 =e:m (.) yeah I try and speak it (.) as much as I can
[...]
5. SD So you use it fairly regularly do you these days?
6. LM08 E:m y:eah well I'd speak it to family yeah
7. SD Yeah
8. LM08 Y:eah (.) and when I'm home but (.) not really when I'm (.)
like- well my friends don't really speak it

9. SD Do you find you use much Gaelic in the course of your work
with people- with people- or?
10. IM04 Well:: ((sighs)) not (1.1) not regularly but saying that um
certainly a number of people here do speak Gaelic um [...]
an:d I speak Gaelic outside of here
11. SD Mm hmm=
12. IM04 =with- say with my parents (.) funnily enough not so much
with my brother or sister even though they both have fluent
Gaelic as well
13. SD Right okay
14. IM04 That's a bit of a weird one

The two above interviewees – both from home backgrounds in which Gaelic was used in their youth – express a degree of doubt when I ask (in turns 5 and 9) about their regular use of Gaelic. Informant LM08 indicates this sense of uncertainty by elongating the initial sounds of ‘em’ and ‘yeah’ (turn 4), and IM04 produces a very drawn-out final /l/ in ‘well’ before pausing to sigh (turn 10). Both go on to explain

that their parents are generally the principal interlocutors with whom they speak Gaelic in the present day and informant IM04 even states explicitly that while both his siblings are fluent Gaelic speakers, he doesn't use the language much when speaking to them. Limited use with peers of a similar age is also described here by informant LM08, whose friends are reported not to speak Gaelic. Use of the language with peers and friends of the same age-group is clearly an important context for the considerations of this investigation. An even more crucial context in relation to the maintenance and reproduction to bilingualism relates to Gaelic-medium educated adults' use of Gaelic with partners or spouses. In the interview dataset, use of Gaelic in the home environment is understandably weak where the spouse does not speak Gaelic at all, as reported in the following passage from the interview with a Gaelic professional based in the Lowlands. The introduction of the participant's non-Gaelic speaking husband to the participant's Gaelic-speaking family is also reported to have impacted on language use in her parents' home:

- IF02 Uill taobh a-muigh m' /obair/ 's e Beurla a bhios mi a' cleachdadh (.) chan eil Gàidhlig aig an duine agam [...] 's e Beurla a th' aig na caraidean a th' againn ri chèile **you know mutual friends** 's e Beurla a th' aca le- em- nuair a tha esan còmhla rinn a's an teaghlach 's e Beurla a bhios againn
Well outside my work I use English (.) my husband doesn't speak Gaelic [...] our friends use English together you know mutual friends it's English they speak with- em- when he's with us in my family we speak English
- SD Mm hmm [...] còmhla ri do phàrantan am bi thu fhathast a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig (.) fad an t-siubhail no?
Mm hmm [...] with your parents do you still use Gaelic (.) all the time or?
- IF02 Bidh sinn a' bruidhinn an dà chuid
We speak both
- SD An dà chuid?
Both?
- IF02 Erm chanainn an-dràsta gur e Beurla a bhios sinn a' cleachdadh a' mhòr-chuid den tìde [...] **you know** bidh Gàidhlig ann cuideachd ach 's dòcha gum bi **sixty-forty split** (.) agus gur e Beurla a chanainn a bhios againn **sixty per cent!**
Erm I would say just now that we use English most of the time [...] you know Gaelic will be in there too but maybe it will be a sixty-forty split (.) and I'd say that we'd speak English sixty per cent!

In fact this picture of limited home Gaelic use is not limited to relationships in which one partner doesn't speak the language. In the following extract, a female informant originally from the Western Isles – who uses the language every day at work – reports rather limited use of Gaelic with her husband. This is despite the fact that he is a fellow islander, and speaks Gaelic as well:

- SD [A]m bi thu eh a' cleachdadh mòran Gàidhlig? An lùib (.) [do bheatha làitheil?]
Do you use much Gaelic? In the course of (.) [your daily life?]
- IF11 [Em uairean-] (.) cha bhi:: san fharsaingeachd ach tha Gàidhlig aig an duine agam cuideachd
[Em someti-] (.) no:: not generally but my husband can speak Gaelic too
- SD Uh huh
- IF11 Em aidh 's ann à xxx ((W. Isles)) a tha esan cuideachd so (.) uaireannan bidh sinn a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig ri chèile [em]
Em aye he's from xxx as well so (.) sometimes we speak Gaelic together [em]
- SD [Uh huh] [...] ach a's an fharsaingeachd 's e Beurla a bhios (.) eadaraibh
but generally it's English between you
- IF11 'S e: ma tha mi (.) ma tha mi a' dol a xxx ((W. Isles)) bidh mi ga cleachdadh le (.) le- leis an teaghlach agam=
Yes: if I'm (.) if I'm going to xxx I use it with (.) with my family=
- SD =Uh huh=
- IF11 =le mo phàrantan is le (1.7) eh: mo mhàthair 's m' athair-cèile uaireannan [...] tha Gàidhlig aig an duine agam mar a (1.4) chan eil- cha bhi sinne daonnan a' bruidhinn [Gàidhlig] ri chèile
=with my parents and with (1.7) eh: my mother- and father-in-law sometimes [...] my husband can speak Gaelic as (1.4) we don't- we don't always speak [Gaelic] together

Similarly, in the following example, a Gaelic professional working in an administrative post in a Gaelic-dominant environment reports contrasting use of Gaelic in the workplace compared with home use of the language with her husband:

1. IF09 Tha Gàidhlig aig an duine agam- 's ann- thàinig esan à xxx ((Urban Lowland))
My husband can speak Gaelic- he's from- he came from xxx
2. SD Seadh

- Yeah*
3. IF09 Gu xxx is rinn e ceum (.) sin far an do thachair mi ris, ach ged a tha an dithis againn fileanta chan eil sinn a' cleachdadh cus Gàidhlig a-staigh
To xxx and he did a degree (.) that's where I met him, but although we're both fluent we don't use much Gaelic at home
4. SD Nach eil? [...] Dè cho tric 's a bhios tu a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig san latha a th' ann (.) dìreach cha mhòr fad na h-ùine [aig obair] an e?
Don't you? [...] How often do you use Gaelic these days (.) just almost all the time [at work]?
5. IF09 An ìre mhath fad na h-ùine **yeah**
Pretty much all the time yeah
6. SD Seadh
Yeah
7. IF09 Cha bhi uiread san taigh ach: mar a thuirt mi bidh nuair a thig pàist'
Not much at home but: as I said we will when a baby comes
8. SD Bidh (.) [bidh sin math]
Yes (.) [that will be good]
9. IF09 [Tha mi dìreach-] tha e annasach (.) oir chan eil mo phàrantan a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig [ri chèile]
[I'm just-] it's strange (.) because my parents don't use Gaelic together
10. SD [Nach eil?]
[Don't they?]
11. IF09 Ach 's e Gàidhlig a th' aca rinne fad na h-ùine
But they speak Gaelic to us all the time
12. SD 'S e
Yes
13. IF09 Bidh daoine an-còmhnaidh ag ràdh “**that's really weird!**”
People always say “that's really weird!”

This particular extract highlights two important considerations. Firstly, the informant states that while her husband *can* speak Gaelic, the couple rarely *do* speak the language to each other at home (turns 3/7), a situation she relates to her parents' language practices, which mirror their own. She switches to English in turn 13 to highlight just how strange a situation this is perceived to be by others. Secondly, the interviewee (who was pregnant when the interview was conducted) states in turn 7 that she and her husband *will* use more Gaelic with each other when the child they are expecting arrives. This intention, whilst clearly a more important and pressing consideration for expecting parents than for individuals speaking theoretically,

proved to be quite pervasive in the dataset as a whole and forms part of an ideology of language use to which I will return in the next analytic chapter (*cf.* section 6.1.2).

In the following extract informant IM01, who works in Gaelic development in the mainland Highlands, describes mixed language use in the workplace, depending on the kinds of work that come into the office (turn 2). Coupled with this mixed picture at work, he describes weak home use of Gaelic; although his wife can speak the language, the couple rarely speak it to one another:

1. SD Am bi thu a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig tric (.) an lùib d' obrach an-dràsta?
Do you use Gaelic often (.) at work just now?
2. IM01 Bidh- bidh bho àm gu àm (.) tha e a rèir dè an suidheachadh anns a bheil mi ag obair- tha e a rèir dè tha tighinn a-/staigh/dhan oifis agus dè seòrsa faireachdainn a th' againn agus dè cuspair a th' ann
Yes- I do from time to time (.) it depends what situation I'm working in- it depends what comes into the office and what sort of feeling we have and what the subject is
[...]
3. SD A bheil Gàidhlig aig do bhean?
Does your wife speak Gaelic?
4. IM01 Tha **yeah** tha
Yes yeah yes
5. SD Uh huh 's am bi sibh cleachdadh na Gàidhlig aig an taigh mar sin?
Uh huh so do you use Gaelic at home then?
6. IM01 Cha bhi (.) 's e seo- **no** seo fìor (.) airson adhbhar air choreigin cha bhi sinn a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig ro thrìc [...] tha sinn a' bruidhinn ma dheidhinn bho àm gu àm air carson [...] tha sinn smaoinichadh air 's dòcha teaghlach a thòiseachadh agus **you know** bhruidhinn sinn mu dheidhinn “uill am bu chòir 's dòcha dhuinn a bhith a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig?”
No (.) that's- no that's true (.) for some reason we don't speak Gaelic very often [...] we speak about why from time to time [...] we're thinking about maybe starting a family and you know we spoke about “well should we maybe speak Gaelic?”

Crucially, in turn 6 the participant describes how he and his wife have previously discussed home language policy, specifically asking “should we maybe speak Gaelic?” in the constructed dialogue he relates at the end. In doing so he appears to imply that instituting a particular policy of Gaelic use in the home is desirable, or

even necessary, for the successful transmission of the language (*cf.* section 6.1.2, below). Given that he is a professional working in Gaelic language development, some familiarity with the theoretical literature concerning language revitalisation (especially the ideas of Fishman [1991, 2001a, b] and his strong emphasis on intergenerational mother-tongue transmission) can perhaps be inferred. This second group of interviewees, characterised by intermediate to limited Gaelic language use, vary considerably in their language practices. Outwith the workplace, use of Gaelic with older generations (particularly parents) is often reported as one of the principal settings for language use by interviewees from backgrounds in which the language was used at home. Similarly, the idea that the language should be passed on to the next generation is frequently expressed by this cohort (see section 6.1.2 below, for further discussion). Yet use of Gaelic with peers in the same age-group – whether friends, siblings or partners – is reported to be relatively weak. It remains to be seen how successfully the language may be transmitted to future generations by members of this group.

5.1.3. Low use of Gaelic

The final group I discuss here comprises former Gaelic-medium students who claim to use Gaelic only very rarely in the present day. I have identified 24 of the 46 interviewees (52.2%) as belonging in this group. Passing the language on to children (at present or in the future) is not felt to be a concern by interviewees in this category, in contrast to interviewees in the previous group (5.1.2) who often reflected at least on their *wish* to transmit Gaelic to the next generation, and of possibly changing their current language practices in order to do so. This general lack of interest in passing on the language is demonstrated by informant LF07 (raised in the Lowlands without Gaelic at home) below:

- | | |
|------|--|
| SD | Your partner doesn't speak Gaelic does he? |
| LF07 | Nope nope |
| SD | Okay (.) do you speak Gaelic to the baby at the moment or? |
| LF07 | Baby- no I don't I don't= |
| SD | =Uh huh= |
| LF07 | =My wee brother- he's at the Gaelic [school] so that's the only member of the family that I would speak to now |
| SD | Right okay [...] how would you describe your sort of relationship with Gaelic these days? |
| LF07 | Oh [...] not too much <u>now</u> (.) it'd be more like (.) hobby-like |

As this interviewee has no familial connection to Gaelic or peers with whom to speak the language (apart from her younger brother, currently in GME) she describes her interest as “hobby-like”. Yet even as a “hobby”, her engagement with Gaelic is very limited today; her partner doesn’t speak it, and she appears to have little interest in passing the language on to her newborn child. It is apparent that in this case, GME as a context of language socialisation – without the support of Gaelic use at home – has had little impact on the participant’s later language use (see section 5.4, below). Yet even where Gaelic language socialisation *is* reported in the childhood home, continued use of the language should not be assumed:

- IF14 [M]y parents are both fluent Gaelic speakers and it was Gaelic that was predominantly spoken in the house [...] before I went to school and that- so it was kind of- and it was Gaelic kind of playgroup and nursery and that that I went to [as well so]
- SD [Mm hmm yeah] (.) **a bheil thu cofhurtail gu leòr cumail a' dol sa Bheurla?**
are you comfortable enough continuing in English?
- IF14 **A's a' Bheurla- tha** yeah please! ((laughs))
In English- yes
- SD No problem that's fine!
- IF14 It's- my Gaelic is em- I guess it's kind of like anything when you don't use it very often it kind of em (.) I guess these days the only time I really speak Gaelic is to my grandfather ((laughs))
 [...]
- SD Are your parents still around?
- IF14 Yeah [...] they'd probably speak to me in Gaelic ((laughing))
 [and I'd answer back in English!]
- SD [You'd answer in English uh huh] yeah yeah
- IF14 It's just habit I guess um [...] my fiancé doesn't speak Gaelic at all
- SD Does he not no?
- IF14 Em: (.) but he's kind of quite keen to- well he understands it

Having unexpectedly discovered that Gaelic was the language of this speaker’s primary socialiation in childhood (her previous email interaction with me having been entirely through English) I switch to Gaelic to ask if she would nevertheless be comfortable conducting the interview in English. She is prompt to reply that she would indeed like to do so, explaining that her use of Gaelic is very limited today. The interviewee in fact identifies her grandfather as the only person to whom she

might speak Gaelic in the present day, although her parents are reported regularly to speak the language to her. Similarly, the following participant describes a comparable situation, having grown up with Gaelic-speaking parents in the urban Lowlands:

- SD How often would you say you do- I mean do you speak it with your family these days?
 LF06 Och now and again to [...] my granny maybe now and again but
 SD Aye
 LF06 She mostly speaks tae me in Gaelic ((laughs)) [...] none of the people (.) that I'm ages wi that I kinda talk to- none of them kinda [use Gaelic any more]
 SD [Yeah mm hmm]
 LF06 Not unless we're drunk! ((laughs)) My dad's up there ((W. Isles)) [...] we start off with great intentions ((laughs))
 SD ((laughs)) Uh uh yeah
 LF06 Maybe start "Hello **ciamar a tha thu?**" (*how are you?*) and things like that and then it would just turn into our English conversation [...] we'll kinda lose the words you know? [...] Or run out of energy ((laughs))

Again, a grandparent is described as the main interlocutor with whom the participant might sometimes speak Gaelic, and her peer group in the city where she lives are reported not to use the language. Although she also refers to unsuccessful attempts to speak Gaelic to her father, it is evident that the informant makes little active use of the language today (unless, as she jokes, when drinking). Occasional use with family members is mentioned by some in this group, as in the first of the two extracts below, but a common theme throughout is the lack of Gaelic-speaking friends and peers, and consequently, of any real use of the language socially:

- SD [S]o have you spoken Gaelic much in the last month would you have said?
 LM03 E:m a little (.) just as I say sorta sometimes on Skype to my parents
 SD Yeah on the phone to your parents
 LM03 But that's about it [...] I think in all honesty if I had friends who spoke Gaelic I possibly would do to some extent, em: (.) but it's just a fact of em (.) in terms of back home I don't really have any friends who speak Gaelic e:m these days (.) so
 SD Yeah exactly
 LM03 So it's a function of that- it's not something that I use

1. IF13 Are we gonna do it in English?
2. SD Uh **uill 's ann sa Ghàidhlig ma tha thu ag iarraidh?**
well in Gaelic if you like?
3. IF13 Eh no- to be honest [I've]
4. SD [Okay] that's fine yeah
5. IF13 ((laughs)) barely spoken it in the last few years [which you might want to]
6. SD [That's absolut-]
7. IF13 include in your research
8. SD Yeah that's absolutely fine
9. IF13 I'm quite **lapach** ('rusty') [...] I ca- I do speak in Gaelic but (1.1) I think I'm quite **lapach** because (.) I don't really have anybody that I speak it to regularly

As in the case of informant IF14, above, IF13 appears anxious in turns 1 and 3 to ensure that the interview will continue in English rather than Gaelic, and replies in English to my attempted code-switch to Gaelic. Ironically, in turn 9 she twice uses Gaelic to describe feeling *lapach* ('faltering', 'lame' – or in this context approximating to 'rusty') when speaking the language, as she has relatively little contact with other Gaelic speakers today. Similarly, in the following excerpt, informant HF06 refers to being still “loosely” in touch with schoolfriends – some of whom she believes continue to use Gaelic – but again states that since the friends she sees socially tend not to speak Gaelic, her own use of the language is weak:

- | | |
|------|---|
| HF06 | I think again some of the people that I've loosely kept in touch with from that time- I think some of them still use it- their Gaelic (.) and others are probably like me that they don't really have the opportunity to use it |
| SD | D'you think you'd- if you'd ever be communicating with them you'd use= |
| HF06 | =English [...] just through the sort of peer-group that I've ended up with none of my friends speak Gaelic (.) so [I] don't really use it |

Uncharacteristically of this group, one informant – who grew up with Gaelic at home in a Gaelic-speaking island community – chose to do the interview entirely in Gaelic. Nevertheless, she reports very low use of Gaelic socially or professionally, or even with her family in the present day. She attributes this pattern of weak use to her tendency to associate the language with her early childhood, and consequently, expresses a certain difficulty in expressing herself through the language as an adult:

SD	Dè cho tric mar sin 's a bhios tu a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig? Air a' fòn agus mar sin? <i>So how often do you use Gaelic? On the phone and so on?</i>
IF07	Cha bhi tric idir <i>Not often at all</i>
SD	Nach bi? <i>No?</i>
IF07	Cha bhi tric idir [...] tha mi ceangal Gàidhlig gu mòr ri bhith beag- ri bhith òg [...] tha e duilich dhomh mi-fhìn a chur an abairt sa Ghàidhlig mar inbheach <i>Not often at all [...] I really associate Gaelic with being small- with being young [...] it's difficult to express myself in Gaelic as an adult</i>

Social use of Gaelic at present is therefore reported to be somewhat fragile across the qualitative dataset, and especially among participants whom I have grouped in the second and third categories discussed here. The relatively few interviewees in the first category (of 'high' use) are a possible exception to this pattern, and such individuals' participation in Gaelic-based employment or postgraduate study seems to encourage social use of the language outside of these formal domains.

Nevertheless, the discourses I have highlighted here as characteristic of the three categories reflect the state of Gaelic language use among the interview cohort as whole; generally speaking, day-to-day use of Gaelic is reported to be limited to contexts such as work and speaking to parents or grandparents, with social interaction and the present-day home environment seemingly dominated by English. Yet as I discuss in sections 5.1.4-5, below, certain discourses produced by participants across all three categories reveal certain ways in which the language currently *is* reported to be used.

5.1.4. Language practice I: Gaelic as a 'secret code'

Participants from each of the three categories speak at times of using Gaelic in such a way as to prevent others from understanding their conversations – a language practice I refer to as use of Gaelic as a secret code. Although a further twelve interviewees described using Gaelic in this fashion, I draw attention here to six excerpts that encapsulate participants' descriptions of this particular language practice. In the first, the informant describes how the possibility of speaking

privately without others understanding provides a motivation for him and his wife to use Gaelic together:

- IM01 [A]irson daoine aig a bheil Gàidhlig, feumaidh [...] adhbhar eile a bhith ann (.) tha deagh adhbhar ann uaireannan eadar mi fhìn 's mo bhean- chan eil daoine eile a' tuigsinn na Gàidhlig **so** faodaidh tu
For people who have Gaelic, there has to be [...] another reason [to use Gaelic] (.) my wife and I have a good reason sometimes- other people don't understand Gaelic so you can
- SD **Yeah**
- IM01 conaltradh a dhèanamh thall thairis no fiù 's ann an Alba agus tha- làn fhios agad nach bi- chan eil teans mòr gum bi daoine sam bith eile gad thuigsinn
communicate abroad or even in Scotland and you know very well that they won't- there's not much chance that anyone else will understand you

Although this particular interviewee reports generally low levels of Gaelic language use with his wife at home (see section 5.1.2 above) the possibility of communicating privately through Gaelic provides a context in which the couple do use the language together in the present day. Other speakers discuss use of Gaelic as a secret code with other family members, as the following participant describes with his father:

- SD [A]nd do you still speak it with [your father] today?
- LM07 Uh occasionally generally when we're in uh awkward social situations
- SD ((laughs)) Right okay
- LM07 ((laughs))
- SD Yeah yeah
- LM07 You know if I'm trying to get him to leave or he's telling me to stop being rude to people!

Aside from this rather specific context of use, informant LM07 reports using Gaelic very rarely today. In fact, speaking privately to his father in front of others so that they don't understand is stated to be the principal context in which he would do so. Similarly, while reporting generally higher levels of Gaelic use with her family, informant HF01 describes her family's use of Gaelic as a secret language while on holidays together:

- HF01 Tha mi a' smaointinn gum bi sinn a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig cha mhòr fad na h-ùine nuair a tha sinn air saor-làithean ann an

dòigh- airson 's gu bheil e math a bhith a' bruidhinn gun daoine a tha timcheall ort=

I think we use Gaelic pretty much all the time when we're on holiday in a way- because it's good to be able to speak without people around you=

SD =Tha e math **yeah!**=

=It is good

HF01 =Agus tha fhios againn nach eil daoine eile a' tuigsinn!

=And we know that other people don't understand!

Some interviewees also refer to speaking Gaelic as a secret code outside of the family, whether meeting friends in a café environment, or socialising at a gig, as in the following two examples. The first speaker, informant IF14, even expresses some degree of shame when reflecting on the practice, noting that it “sounds awful” in turn one and laughing in turn 3, partly out of embarrassment, partly out of sheer delight at being able to use the language in this way:

1. IF14 [I]t sounds awful but you know if you're sitting in a place like this and you're just talking you're having a private conversation=

2. SD =Yeah=

3. IF14 =and you want it to be private you would kind of- you know [talk in Gaelic kind of] ((laughs))

4. SD [Exactly yeah] ((laughs))

SD [A]re you still in touch with friends from school and stuff that you'd speak Gaelic with?

LM09 Yeah

SD Yeah?

LM09 It's like I share a flat with a guy I went tae school with [...] when we don't want people tae know what we're talking about

SD Yeah exactly yeah

LM09 we'll speak Gaelic [...] It's like last night we went tae a gig [...] we were at the Black Keys (.) and because we didnae want people to know what we were talking about we were just (.) standing at the bar talking in Gaelic

Few interviewees reported living with schoolfriends from GME classes at present, but it is telling that in the above extract, informant LM09 claims mostly to speak Gaelic to his flatmate, an old schoolfriend from GME, outside of the home environment in order to keep conversations private. In another rare example of participants who went through primary GME together and remained close friends many years later, the following two participants describe speaking Gaelic to each

other firstly as “banter” in their shared flat (in turns 2-3), and then as a “code” when outside (turns 4-8):

1. SD Do you ever use Gaelic together like in the flat?
2. IF03 Yeah as banter
3. IF04 Banter- yeah we do (.) that's (x)
[...]
4. IF03 Yeah we use it for like code
5. SD Like a secret code yeah
6. IF03 ((laughing)) All the time (.) yep ((laughing)) all the time
7. IF04 ((laughs))
8. IF03 And you do feel like it's something that you have and no one else can hear what I'm saying (.) which is quite exciting

The fact that the use of Gaelic as a secret language was referred to so frequently by interviewees across the three use categories seems significant, and the ways in which metalinguistic comments on secret code Gaelic are related is quite telling. Most of the six extracts discussed here are interspersed with laughter, and it is clear that interviewees in the cohort generally enjoy using Gaelic as a code that others can't understand. Ironically, many of the interviewees are more inclined to use Gaelic as a code to keep public conversations secret than they are to speak it to their peers when together in private; indeed, some report this to be the *only* way in which they use the language today (*cf.* LM07, above).

5.1.5. Language practice II: Code-switching and ‘informal’ Gaelic

Another language practice reported frequently throughout the corpus is code-switching between English and Gaelic and “informal” mixing of the languages. I was interested to see whether interviewees thought that this ‘counted’ as using Gaelic, or what their ideas about the phenomenon were in general. As in the last extract quoted above, flatmates IF03 and IF04 refer to quite specific instances in which they would switch to using Gaelic together, IF04 again mentioning “speaking behind someone's back” or using the language in “banter” (turn 10):

1. IF03 I mean there'd be phrases like “**a bheil thu ag iarraidh cupa tì?**” (*do you want a cup of tea?*) or something like that you know- that you'd just throw in in the middle of an English sentence in English chat- don't know I just kinda throw things in there
2. SD Yeah

3. IF04 Yeah (.) is that not code-switching?
4. IF03 “Where's my **brògan?**” (*shoes*) “I don't know”
5. SD Yeah exactly yeah
6. IF04 I just learnt that [the other day]
7. IF03 [What d'you call it?] What did you?=
8. IF04 =Code-switching
9. SD Code-switching
10. IF04 The way I unders- and correct me if I'm totally wrong- but like the way in conversation that you switch between languages [...] yeah we definitely do a lot of that but probably for (.) yeah kind of ((laughing)) speaking behind someone's back (.) or in banter rather than having general conversations [...] that's true that's what we do
11. SD Yeah so you do use Gaelic then- you know you=
12. IF04 =Yeah (.) in an informal way=
13. IF03 =Yeah in an informal way yes I suppose I do still speak Gaelic

Informant IF03 provides both examples of code-switching to Gaelic, offering constructed dialogues in turns 1 and 4 as illustrations of the practice. IF04 demonstrates some fairly detailed metalinguistic awareness of the phenomenon in turns 3 and 10, while it's clear in turn 7 that her friend has never heard of code-switching. She recognises that this does characterise their Gaelic language use, however, and both flatmates describe this as an “informal way” of speaking Gaelic. The linguistic make-up of these kinds of interactions referred to by interviewees is clearly dominated by English, however, in contrast with the forms of language alternation demonstrated by older Gaelic-English bilinguals in Skye and Harris, as documented and analysed by Smith-Christmas (2012, 2013). By contrast, many of my own interviewees describe using the occasional Gaelic word in conversation, as discussed below:

- SD You still see some friends from school do you?
LF07 Uh huh yeah no (.) my best friends they're all- they had like Gaelic families you know so they're quite central to it
SD Right [okay]
LF07 [Yeah]
SD And would you speak Gaelic with them much?
LF07 Yeah like on occasion it [just depends]
SD [On occasion yeah]
LF07 It's like Galinglish we call it we'll just like (.) put in a wee Gaelic word now and then uh huh

In total five other interviewees described this kind of bilingual interaction as ‘Ganglish’ (or in Gaelic interviews, as *Gàinglis*) and reported speaking in this way

with old schoolfriends on the rare occasion of meeting up with them. Yet it again seems clear that this kind of interaction is qualitatively different from the patterns of code-switching displayed by bilinguals in Gaelic-speaking environments; the following informant even alludes to this more fluent kind of language alternation as the hallmark of a native speaker, such as her father:

- IF05 Because I learnt Gaelic in such a way that it's always been through school
 SD Yeah
 IF05 I have to put myself into the mindset to do it
 SD Of course- right (.) so is it=
 IF05 =So I can't- I'm not like a normal speaker of any other language
 SD ((laughs))
 IF05 I can't switch back and forth like my father can in Gaelic [...] I would use it in the house for certain things like “**Dùin an dòras!**” (*Shut the door!*) or “**Bi sàmhach!**” (*Be quiet!*)

This participant makes reference to having acquired Gaelic *in school* and as such not feeling like a “normal speaker” of the language, something she clearly regards her father to be. She gives two examples of short phrases in imperative mood to illustrate how she tends to use Gaelic today. Once again, this kind of use seems qualitatively distinct from what is generally reported of bilingual conversation elsewhere, such as that observed in bilingual communities in Africa, or among diasporic minority groups in Europe (*cf.* Gafaranga 2007, 2009). In the following extract, informant LM03 refers to language use that we may think of as being more representative of conversational code-switching generally:

- LM03 Speaking to my parents is a bit mixed- sometimes we speak in Gaelic, sometimes in English (.) sometimes a strange mix of the two!((laughs))
 SD Yeah
 LM03 The only times I would tend to really have a conversation with them fully in Gaelic is when if there's other people either em (.) around me or when I'm on the phone or similarly in person if we're out somewhere we'll speak in Gaelic all the time
 SD Yeah
 LM03 But if we're in the house it tends to be a bit of a mix of the two

While Gaelic generally functions as his family's out-of-home language when they are together, the interviewee reports mixing Gaelic and English within the home.

Unlike informant IF05, above, this participant was raised primarily through Gaelic, which both his parents speak. As such his description of the home language as “a strange mix of the two” seems to recall IF05’s description of the ability to “switch back and forth” as characteristic of native speakers generally. Thus while interviewees’ depictions of code-switching and “informal” Gaelic use of this kind tend generally to pertain to the occasional use of Gaelic words embedded in English conversation, the more commonly held conception of code-switching as a language practice *is* reported by some of my speakers. Such speakers constitute a minority in the informant cohort, however, and the kinds of code-switching most frequently referred to are distinct from the ‘mixed-medium’ interactions Gafaranga (2007, 2009) describes in his research, for example.

5.2. Interviewees’ Gaelic use and reported ability

Both the extent and manner of present Gaelic use reported by former Gaelic-medium students in interviews have therefore been shown generally to be rather limited. Only ten of the 46 interviewees reported the high levels of use that I discuss in section 5.1.1, above – notably those who work in the Gaelic sector or study the language at postgraduate level (since younger students were below the target age-group) – while a further 12 reported intermediate to limited levels of Gaelic language use today (5.1.2).⁵ This second group is the most heterogeneous in terms of the extents of Gaelic language use that are discernible, but it seems appropriate to state that *social* use of the language with peers, partners or children by this group is generally reported to be low.

Table 1. Reported Gaelic use and ability (total N=46)

Ability/ Use	High ability⁶	Intermediate ability	Low ability	Total
High use	10	0	0	10
Intermediate use	10	2	0	12
Low use	2	4	18	24
Total	22	6	18	46

⁵ As noted of the first category in section 5.1.1, it is likely that the proportion of interview informants who are employed in Gaelic-medium workplaces far outstrips that of GME graduates nationally.

⁶ A further three informants initially reported high levels of ability, as discussed below, but have been grouped in the preceding ‘intermediate’ category on the basis of what they later said, about feeling less fluent.

Nevertheless, some significant engagement with Gaelic is still reported by interviewees in this second category, whether they describe using the language with colleagues, family or friends. As a general rule the same cannot reasonably be said of the largest category, in which interviewees report weak use levels at present (5.1.3). As shown in table 1 (above), there is a slight but identifiable incongruence between the numbers of interviewees grouped in the three use categories discussed above, and the interviewees' reported abilities in Gaelic. Possible reasons for this disparity in reported use and ability are discussed below.

5.2.1. High reported ability

One of the possible reasons for the apparent mismatch in reported Gaelic language ability and use may be the uncertainty that a number of interviewees expressed over what it means to be a fluent speaker of the language. As exemplified in the following extract, there is a somewhat nuanced distinction between the Gaelic words *fileanta*, meaning 'fluent' (with literary connotations 'eloquent', 'poetic', 'melodious' etc) and *siùbhlach*, again meaning 'fluent' but derived instead from the verb *siubhal* 'to move, travel':

- | | |
|------|---|
| IM01 | Chanainnsa gu bheil mi siùbhlach sa Ghàidhlig- chan eil mi cinnteach gu bheil mi fileanta- chan eil mi a' tuigsinn dè th' ann am fileantas
<i>I would say I'm fluent in Gaelic- I'm not sure I'm fluent [/eloquent]- I don't understand what fluency [/eloquence] is</i> |
| SD | Direach uh huh
<i>Exactly uh huh</i> |
| IM01 | Tha mi fhathast- chan eil mise fileanta sa Bheurla [a bhith a' bruidhinn (x)]
<i>I'm still- I'm not fluent [/eloquent] in English [to speak (x)]</i> |
| SD | [Chan eil no mise] sin e- aidh
<i>[Neither am I] that's it- yeah</i> |
| IM01 | Sin an rud, ann an dòigh I mean deagh cheist a tha seo- 's urrainn dhomh bruidhinn airson (.) tòrr ùine [...] 's urrainn dhomh bruidhinn sa Ghàidhlig glè mhath, 's urrainn dhomh deasbad sa Ghàidhlig fìor mhath feumaidh mi a ràdh ((laughs))
<i>That's the thing, in a way I mean it's a good question- I can speak for (.) a long time [...] I can speak in</i> |

*Gaelic very well, I can argue in Gaelic very well I
have to say ((laughs))*

I would class IM01 as a fluent Gaelic speaker, but his own reflections reveal a degree of uncertainty over exactly what fluency means to him. This sense of ambiguity is apparent throughout the interview corpus, and where some speakers may under-report their Gaelic language abilities (as informant IM01 appears to do), others tend to overplay them. This may of course arise in part from the fact that interviewees are not entirely sure how their abilities may have changed, having not spoken the language much for a period of several years:

1. LF01 Um I would say I'm fluent but because I don't use it daily um: when I'm using it conversationally it can take a while to sort of come back again
2. SD Hmm sure
3. LF01 But still I would describe myself as fluent [...] I still can speak it fluently so I think that even if there's not the opportunity to use it regularly, it's still a good thing to speak it
4. SD Hmm yeah [...] **a bheil thu cofhurtail cumail a' dol sa Bheurla no am b' fheàrr leat Gàidhlig a chleachdadh?**
are you comfortable continuing in English or would you rather use Gaelic?
5. LF01 Eh bhiodh e math /a' cleachdadh/ Gàidhlig [...] tha mi smaoini' gu bheil sin- /na/ clann agam- tha iad a' dol /ag/ ionnsachadh/ Gàidhlig- /tha/ sin an rud as motha a tha: tighinn bhuaithe airson /mi fhìn/ [...] nuair a bha mi /ann an/ sgoil sin (.) um- tha mi a' dol a chleachdadh Beurla cuideachd
Eh it would be good /to/use Gaelic [...] I think that- my child/ren/ they are going /to/ learn Gaelic- that /is/ the biggest thing that: comes from it for /myself/ [...] when I was in /a/ school there (.) um- I'm going to use English as well
6. SD O na gabh dragh idir **yeah that's fine**
Oh don't worry at all

As she had previously reported fairly low use of Gaelic today, I was surprised to hear this speaker describe herself as fluent in turns 1 and 3 and I subsequently initiated a switch to Gaelic (turn 4). Crucially, she indicated that it would be good (“*bhiodh e math*”) to use Gaelic, and whilst acquiescing to my code-switch and continuing in Gaelic for a time, it was clear that she was struggling to express herself. I have tried to indicate this communicative difficulty with angled brackets to denote the atypical and nonconcordant usages she produces. This extract highlights the ambiguity that

surrounds the concept of fluency for many of the interviewees. The participant consequently pauses and initiates a switch back to English, to which I comply in turn 6. For these reasons I have classed the previous and following speakers in the intermediate ability category in table 1. Speaker LF04 displays a similar set of hesitations and atypical usages when replying in Gaelic:

1. SD [H]ow would you describe your abilities in Gaelic today- would you say you're a fluent speaker?
2. LF04 ((sighs)) Uh y:es- or like I could be a bit rusty when I- when I come back to it (.) I think so um [...] I definitely- I'm definitely fluent in it
3. SD Uh huh
4. LF04 and it's just a case of (.) not using it
[...]
5. SD **Am biodh tu cofhurtail beagan Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn dìreach an-dràsta?**
Would you be comfortable speaking a bit of Gaelic just now?
6. LF04 Um (.) ceart ma-tha!
Um (.) okay then!
7. SD A bheil sin ceart gu leòr?
Is that all right?
8. LF04 Mm hmm [...] uh nam/ /beachdsa /tha/ Gàidheal cuideigin a tha (.) um (.) bhon/ /àitean de/ /Alba a tha: ah ((sighs)) a tha- [...] far an robh Gàidhlig (1.5) /a' bruidhinn/ an toiseach [...] ma tha thu (1.1) ma tha thu erm (1.7) airson eh eh dèanamh rudan a tha (.) um (2.5) oh ((sighs)) an/ /Gàidhlig agam cho sgrathail a-nis! ((laughs))
Mm hmm [...] uh in /my/ opinion a Gael /is/ someone who (.) um (.) from /places/ of/ /Scotland ((sighs)) that- [...] where Gaelic was (1.5) speaking [sic] initially [...] if you (1.1) if you erm (1.7) want to do eh eh things that (.) um (2.5) oh ((sighs)) /my/ Gaelic is so terrible now! ((laughs))

Again, I initiate a switch to Gaelic after being surprised to discover that the interviewee regards herself as fluent and she is willing to continue in Gaelic, trying to explain what the label 'Gael' means to her. Once again, however, it is clear that she is struggling to express herself, as indicated by the extended pauses, sighs and nonconcordant usages she produces in turn 8. She states at the end of the extract that her Gaelic skills are "terrible" (*sgrathail*) now.

5.2.2. Intermediate reported ability

Although only a relatively small number of interviewees (6 of 46) reported their Gaelic language abilities to be short of ‘fluent’ but still above the level of feeling ‘rusty’, the reflections of those that did so are enlightening nevertheless. For example, the following speaker describes the decline she perceives in her own Gaelic language skills when I ask if she would say that she is fluent:

- SD An canadh tu gu bheil thu fileanta sa Ghàidhlig?
Would you say you're fluent in Gaelic?
- IF01 Em (.) ((laughs)) tha lis- tha fhios 'am nach eil mi cho fileanta anns a' Ghàidhlig ach an-dràst' tha caran de (.) erm: (.) Gàidhlig **revolution** – sin 's a tha mi ag ràdh ri/ /h-uile duine – pearsanta agam an-dràst' **you know** [...] a chionn 's nach eil a' Ghàidhlig agam cho fileanta ach nuair a tha mi a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig tha mi a' cuimhneachadh faclan [...] chan urrainn dhomh sin eh (.) fhreagairt- freagairt- fhreagairt **really** a chionn 's gu bheil mi a' smaoinich gu bheil e cho brònach gu bheil mise a' dol /ag/ ràdh nach eil mi fileanta – agus 's e caran a' chiad chànan agam a bh' ann **you know?** ((laughs))
*Em (.) ((laughs)) I- I know I'm not so fluent in Gaelic but at the moment I'm having a sort of personal Gaelic **revolution**- that's what I say to everyone- **you know** [...] because my Gaelic isn't so fluent but when I speak it I remember words [...] I can't (.) answer- answer that **really** because I think it's so sad that I say that I'm not fluent and it was kind of my first language **you know?** ((laughs))*

Informant IF01 therefore refers to her recent experience of using the language as a “Gaelic revolution”, reflecting on the manner in which she is increasingly able to remember words when she actually speaks the language. She describes it as sad (*brònach*) that her first language has declined in this way, demonstrating some of that attrition when she displays uncertainty over whether to lenite the initial consonant of *freagairt* in the syntactically inverted phrase “chan urrainn dhomh sin a fhreagairt” (*I can't answer that*). The idea that it is possible to re-develop Gaelic language abilities that have declined is also expressed in the following extract:

- IF05 My ability in Gaelic is em (.) ((sighs)) (.) I would say if you're putting it in comparison to another lot of other speakers of Gaelic may be quite good but em the problem is that because I'm not using Gaelic an awful lot em [...] I can use it- I went

to a job interview and I managed to use it for a presentation for about em (.) forty five minutes I was up there speaking fluent Gaelic
SD Yeah
IF05 Or what I consider fluent Gaelic- I can get back into the mindset of being a fluent speaker

Again the idea that Gaelic language skills are retrievable is expressed here; according to this speaker it is a case of re-acquiring the right “mindset” to speak it. Therefore although a majority of the interviewees report that their linguistic abilities have attrited due to limited use since leaving school, many nevertheless entertain the impression that it is possible that such abilities will be recoverable in future. Furthermore, it is notable that interviewees even in the last category discussed here, those with low reported ability, expressed this belief.

5.2.3. Low reported ability

As in the previous extract, many of the interviewees who reported relatively weak abilities in Gaelic described feeling as if the language was still accessible somewhere in their minds. Many reported passive abilities understanding the language, but expressed difficulties retrieving structures and words when speaking it. This experience is a common finding in the large literature on language attrition generally (*cf.* Schmidt 2011 for example) and on attrition in the Gaelic context specifically (e.g. Dorian 1981). The feeling that the language is still ‘in one’s head’, albeit somewhat difficult to access in conversation, is clearly described in the following excerpt:

SD How would you describe your abilities today in the language?
LF05 In my head I can speak it much better than in real life
SD Uh huh=
LF05 =so like I can have conversations with myself in my head
SD Right okay so it's like it's- it's still there but=
LF05 =Oh yeah [...] if somebody speaks to me in Gaelic fluently like (.) I can understand it you know what I mean [sit there]
SD [Yeah]
LF05 nodding along and then they ask you a question you're like (.) I know how to answer and how I should answer this [but it's just finding the words]
SD [((laughs))] Yeah

Although interviewees in this group tend not to refer to their own Gaelic language abilities in very positive terms, they often do report passive ability in the language, particularly if the co-conversant doesn't speak "too quickly", as the following participant describes:

- SD [H]ow would you describe your current abilities in Gaelic?
 HF06 Oh, not very good (.) I just don't use it enough any more (.) m:
 I think my: I think I can read Gaelic better than I think I can
 SD Okay
 HF06 Em: and spoken Gaelic I can understand (.) if it's spoken not
 too quickly
 SD Okay
 HF06 Em: but I don't
 SD You wouldn't call yourself fluent?
 HF06 Not any more no

While by no means feeling fluent in the language, this interviewee implies having had such competence in Gaelic in the past, and states that her reading ability is generally better than she would imagine after having used the language so seldom in recent years. Having the language stored somewhere in one's mind in this way is explained by the following interviewee as an ability "to pick up" again on previous abilities:

- SD [W]ould you still consider that you have the ability to speak
 Gaelic? Or to sort of re-develop that ability?
 LM05 Eh [I think I've got the ability to em (.)]
 SD [Would you call yourself a Gaelic speaker?]
 LM05 to pick up where I left off in the past
 SD Yeah uh huh
 LM05 Like em (.) so I'd probably describe myself as a previous
 Gaelic learner
 SD Yeah yeah (.) and it sort of gives you a base level to work off
 LM05 It's sort of dormant at the moment

The informant's description of himself as a "previous Gaelic learner" and of his Gaelic language skills as "dormant" is crucial to our considerations here. Speakers within the interview corpus who report low abilities today often frame their language skills in these terms, but it is unclear that 'picking up' the language again is actually an objective that many will actively pursue in the future, and none of the informants indicated any specific plans or strategies they had in order to re-develop their Gaelic language skills in the future. Some insight in this regard is available from the analysis of interviewees' language ideologies regarding Gaelic use in chapter 6.

Firstly, however, I consider how interviewees' accounts of Gaelic language socialisation may contribute to our understanding of participants' current language use (sections 5.3-4, below).

5.2.4. Reported use and ability in Gaelic: Some conclusions

Interviewees throughout the corpus generally report low levels of Gaelic language use, especially in the informal “home-community-neighbourhood” domains that are often regarded as crucial for intergenerational transmission and reversing language shift generally (*cf.* Fishman 1991, 2001a, b). Gaelic employment may bolster such informal social use but actual prospects for intergenerational transmission by those employed within that labour market are unclear from the accounts discussed in section 5.1.1. Two language practices commonly referred to by interviewees throughout the corpus – use of Gaelic as a secret code, and language mixing between Gaelic and English – reveal the fairly limited role that the language continues to play in the lives of most. Although low-to-intermediate levels of ability in Gaelic are only reported by a slight majority of interviewees, it seems likely that some of the self-reports of high ability were exaggerated. As I have indicated in section 5.2.1, it was possible to discern that this was the case in the case of several interviewees. Furthermore, uncertainty over exactly what ‘fluency’ denotes abounds in the dataset as a whole. If the general picture that emerges, then, is of relatively weak Gaelic language use and widely varying abilities among Gaelic-medium educated adults, we may turn our attention to the possible factors underlying this pattern. As I hope to demonstrate in the following two sections of the present chapter, interviewees' descriptions of language socialisation – both in the home and at school – can contribute greatly to our understanding of this situation.

5.3. Gaelic language socialisation at home

In the remaining sections of the present chapter I draw attention to interviewees' accounts of their experiences of Gaelic language socialisation (*cf.* section 2.3), both at home (section 5.3) and in the school system (section 5.4). Gaelic language socialisation of primary pupils in GME in the Western Isles has recently been investigated by Will (2012; *cf.* section 3.3.3). Nevertheless, the picture of language

socialisation she describes is likely to be somewhat different to the experiences of GM pupils who started primary school in the Western Isles over twenty years ago. Gaelic-medium educated adults' accounts of childhood language socialisation can inform our picture of their current use patterns (as discussed above) and contribute to our understanding of the motives underlying them. 15 of the 46 interviewees (32.6%) reported growing up in homes in which both parents – or single parents without a partner – spoke Gaelic to them, while 20 (43.5%) grew up in homes in which neither parent did. In between these two categories, 11 (23.9%) participants reported growing up in homes where one parent spoke the language to them, of whom 7 had a Gaelic-speaking mother and 4 a Gaelic-speaking father.

Table 2: Interviewees' home linguistic backgrounds (N=46)

Both parents/ single parent spoke Gaelic	15
Mixed: Mother spoke Gaelic	7
Mixed: Father spoke Gaelic	4
Neither parent spoke Gaelic	20

5.3.1 Gaelic socialisation by both/single parents at home

Most of the interviewees with higher levels of Gaelic language use and ability in the present day reported socialisation in Gaelic by both parents at home, or by a single parent. A total of 15 interviewees reported Gaelic socialisation of this kind, nine of whom were raised in Gaelic-speaking areas in Skye and the Western Isles. It should nevertheless be noted that five interviewees who described such socialisation experiences chose not to do the interview itself in Gaelic. As such, various linguistic trajectories can be identified among individuals in this category. In the following extract the participant describes using Gaelic most of the time at home and school in the Lowland city he grew up in:

- SD Does your dad speak Gaelic as well or is it just your mum?
 LM03 No- no my dad does [...] when I was growing up that was the language we spoke in the house
 SD Right okay yeah (.) so you spoke Gaelic before you started school?
 LM03 Yeah I spoke Gaelic before I spoke English actually [...] when I was kinda [in the] Gaelic-medium education system we used

to speak in Gaelic pretty much all the time [...] For that part of my life I was probably speaking English less than I was Gaelic

The informant therefore emphasises his language practices in childhood, stating that Gaelic was the principal language spoken at home when he was growing up, stressing that he and his family “used to speak in Gaelic pretty much all the time” in those years. Gaelic use in the home was bolstered by Gaelic-medium education and vice versa during his childhood, and as such relatively high levels of Gaelic language exposure and socialisation during his early years can be inferred. Yet this contrasts with his present-day relationship to the language; the informant reported lacking confidence to speak the language today to anyone but his parents, and chose to do the interview in English. Others in this category expressed a slight degree of uncertainty over exactly which language could be considered their ‘first’ language, as both English and Gaelic were used at home:

- IM04 [M]ost of my education's been bilingual
SD Yeah
IM04 U:m (.) but I was- I was a fluent Gaelic- my first language is probably Gaelic
SD Mm hmm
IM04 I'm not actually sure about that but quite likely that it was [um]
SD [So probably] before you started school you'd have- you'd [have (x) yeah]
IM04 [Yeah] most likely because my parents both speak Gaelic and I think they were trying to- trying to eh (.) make sure that we [*i.e.* the interviewee and his siblings] spoke Gaelic

Although this informant was raised in the Western Isles, the uncertainty he expresses – drawing out the first syllable of ‘probably’ – is a clue to his bilingual upbringing. Nevertheless, he states that his parents tried to ensure he and his siblings spoke the language at home. Other interviewees from the Western Isles expressed no such uncertainty in identifying Gaelic as the first language of their childhood, however. Whilst using Gaelic only rarely today, the following participant reports having been socialised in the language through complete immersion in the language during early years in the home and community, as in the following excerpt:

- SD [An] robh Gàidhlig aig do theaghlach bho thùs?
Did your family speak Gaelic originally?
IF07 O bha=
Oh yes=

- SD =Glè mhath=
=Very good=
- IF07 =Bha bha- 's e (.) tha mo mhàthair 's m' athair (.) tha- (.) tha iad a' creidsinn gu mòr ann an Gàidhlig, tha iad beò gu mòr ann an Gàidhlig- cha robh Beurl' agam gus an robh mi::
=Yeah yeah- it's (.) my mother and father (.) are- (.) they believe very strongly in Gaelic, they live very much through Gaelic- I didn't speak English until I::
- SD Nach robh?=
Didn't you=?
- IF07 =Chaidh mi dhan a' sgoil às aonais Beurla [...] mo mhàthair 's m' athair agus bha boireannach ag obair a's an taigh againn- **nanny**- Gàidhlig a bh' aicese [...] **pals** mo phàrantan, fear a' phuist, fear a bha tighinn timcheall leis na **vans** eh: na **pals** againn fhìn, a h-uile duine (.) cha robh Beurla timcheall
*I went to school without English [...] my mother and father and there was a woman who worked in our house- a **nanny**- she spoke Gaelic [...] my parents' **pals**, the postman, the man who came around with the [grocery] **vans** eh: our own **pals**, everybody (.) English wasn't around*

Several of the 15 interviewees in this first category similarly describe having grown up in communities where English was seldom heard. In the above account the interviewee speaks of Gaelic being at the heart of social life within the family home and with friends, as well as with individuals providing services in the community, such as childcare, postal and sales workers. While language socialisation experiences of this kind would probably be rare today, even in the statistically most strongly Gaelic-speaking communities (*cf. Munro et al. 2010*), several interviewees described such experiences when recalling their childhoods in the 1980s and early 1990s. The following informant describes a similar upbringing; although her father was an English monoglot, he died when she was young and the environment in which she was subsequently raised by her mother is reported to have been strongly Gaelic speaking:

- IF12 Uill em chaochail m' athair nuair a bha mi beag [...] 's e Beurla a bh' aigesan (x) ach eh (.) 's e Gàidhlig a bh' aig mo mhàthair [...] 's e Gàidhlig a bh' aig a h-uile duine air ais ann an shin **you know** [nuair a bha]
*Well em my father died when I was young [...] he spoke English (x) and eh (.) my mother spoke Gaelic [...] everyone spoke Gaelic back then **you know** [when]*

- SD [An e? Hmm]
[Did they? Hmm]
- IF12 thu a-mach sna bùithtean agus em (.) dìreach air feadh
 an àite- na caraidean agam em: (.) cuideachd **you know** 's e
 Gàidhlig a /chleachdainn/ còmhla seach gun robh sinn a's an
 sgoil còmhla 's bhiodh sinn a' cluich às dèidh sgoil
*you were out in the shops and em (.) just all over the
 place- my friends em: (.) also **you know** I'd/ use
 Gaelic together because we were in school together
 and we'd play after school*

The interviewee mentions in this extract that her father died when she was young but that her mother spoke Gaelic in the home and, indeed, that everyone around her spoke the language on the island 'back then' (*air ais ann an shin*) whether in shops or when she and her friends were out playing together after school. Overall therefore, relatively high levels of Gaelic language socialisation in childhood can be inferred from the interviewees' accounts I have outlined here. Having both parents speak the language in the home appears to have been a very important factor in this. Generally speaking, those informants who reported using Gaelic relatively often in the present day experienced high levels of language socialisation in the home, particularly in island communities where the language was part of everyday life, but not all those who experienced such socialisation make frequent use of the language today.

5.3.2. Socialisation by one Gaelic-speaking parent at home

Eleven of the 46 interviewees reported growing up with one parent who spoke Gaelic and another who did not. Early bilingual socialisation in English and Gaelic, in contrast to some of the examples outlined in 5.3.1 of monolingual Gaelic socialisation, may not have encouraged home Gaelic use to the same degree. In some cases interviewees reported that their parents could understand the language but not actually speak it, as in the following excerpt:

- IM02 [M]y dad's (.) probably say [a] native speaker but my mum's
 not from- she's from xxx ((Lowlands)) [...] she's sort of a
 learner and she can- she knows more than she'll speak (.) if
 you know what I mean
- SD Right okay
- IM02 Eh and then my brothers and my sisters can all speak Gaelic
 eh
 [...]

- SD Did you speak it with your dad?
 IM02 I kinda thought that I did but my mum- my mum's told me that I didn't really speak much at all before I went to school [...] and then I got into doing it all the time and cos you're that young you can pick it up straight away
- SD Yeah
 IM02 I can't remember not being able to speak it if you know what I mean

For this particular informant, born and raised in a Western Isles community, active use of either Gaelic or English before starting in GME is reported to have been limited. He describes being unable to remember specifically when he acquired Gaelic, however, having used the language “all the time” after that. While a certain degree of home socialisation in support of GME may be inferred, therefore, it is not clear that the informant was significantly socialised in the language by his father before school. Yet where IM02 expresses some degree of uncertainty on this point, claiming not to remember learning Gaelic in school, it is clear in the following informant’s account that Gaelic language socialisation during his childhood in the urban Lowlands did not occur to any great degree:

- LM02 Well my mum's from- eh from xxx ((W. Isles)) and eh (.) and so they- my mum moved down eh (.) to xxx ((Urban Lowlands)) with my dad before myself and my brother were born (2.1) so my mum speaks Gaelic em (.) I spose I was brought up with Gaelic
- SD Yeah [...] she spoke Gaelic to you when you were a baby did she?
- LM02 Eh she- she eh (.) I think she did a bit aye, but she- it wasn't major cos I think she was conscious that we lived in xxx as well [...] I do remember learning Gaelic at school rather than having a sort of a more developed em (.) position than others

Despite stating that he was “brought up” with the language by his mother, therefore, the above informant remembers acquiring Gaelic mostly at school. His mother’s uncertainty about raising her two sons through Gaelic in the Lowlands is apparent in the interviewee’s mention of her being “conscious” that they were not growing up in a community where Gaelic was widely used, as she had done herself. As such, home Gaelic socialisation for this interviewee in his own words “wasn’t major”. I interviewed the elder brother of the above informant, and asked him about his

linguistic relationship with his mother today, and thereby gained additional information on language acquisition processes within this particular family:

- SD Do you still speak it [i.e. Gaelic] with your mum?
LM01 I can't speak it to my mum but I can speak it to somebody beside her
SD Yeah (.) okay
LM01 For some reason I can't speak it to my mum
SD Right okay that's interesting
LM01 She thinks it's because we all spoke English when we were babies

In the case of these two interviewees, then, Gaelic language socialisation did not occur to a significant degree in the family home. As a consequence, at least for the elder of the two siblings, English is the default code choice for interaction with his Gaelic-speaking mother, that linguistic relationship having been established from an early age. There are examples within this category of successful Gaelic language socialisation by one Gaelic-speaking parent, however, as described in the following two extracts:

- IF04 My: (.) my mum speaks Gaelic but my dad doesn't (.) em: but my mum learnt Gaelic- my mum is from xxx ((Urban Lowlands))
SD =Mm hmm=
IF04 =of Highland parents but born and brought up in xxx and she was of the generation that her parents never spoke to her [...] so my mum learnt it and then when she- I'm one of four so as we were growing up she then felt the confidence speaking it with us and stuff so we were brought up bilingually in the house
- HF01 Bha Gàidhlig aig mo sheanair ach chaidh m' athair a thogail gun Ghàidhlig (.) cha robh Gàidhlig idir air taobh mo mhàthar agus ghluais mo theaghlach air ais a dh'Alba gus am b' urrainn dha m' athair Gàidhlig ionnsachadh aig Sabhal Mòr Ostaig
My grandfather spoke Gaelic but my father was raised without Gaelic (.) there was no Gaelic on my mother's side and my family moved back to Scotland so that my father could learn Gaelic at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig
- SD **Okay**
HF01 Agus erm fhad 's /gu robh/ esan ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig bha e a' teagasg mi-fhìn agus mo bhràthair
And erm while he was learning Gaelic he was teaching myself and my brother

- SD Seadh [...] agus mar sin an robh Gàidhlig idir agad mus do thòisich thu ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig?
 Yeah [...] so did you speak any Gaelic before you started in Gaelic-medium education?
- HF01 Er bha [...] tha mi a' smaoinichadh gu robh mi fileanta
 Er yes [...] I think I was fluent

It is important to note that in both of the above excerpts the parents who successfully socialised their children in Gaelic were learners who acquired the language as adults, neither having been socialised in the language by their own Gaelic-speaking parents. The importance of members of this generation in becoming ‘new speakers’ and passing the language on to their own children is an area in need of further research (*cf.* McLeod *et al.* 2014; see section 5.3.3, below). It should also be noted that both of the above interviewees continue to speak Gaelic with family members today, despite now being based in the urban Lowlands. Some of the most successful cases of Gaelic language socialisation by one parent within a linguistically mixed home therefore came as the result of new speakers’ commitment to recovering a heritage language.

5.3.3. No Gaelic at home

For the third group discussed here, the earliest experience of Gaelic socialisation is reported to have occurred within the education system. Interviewees in this category reported growing up in homes in which neither parent or other immediate caregiver spoke Gaelic. In some cases, at least one of the informant’s parents could speak some Gaelic, but for whatever reason chose not to do so in the home. For example, in contrast to the above accounts of socialisation by parents who learned Gaelic themselves and then passed the language onto their children, interviewees’ parents in both of the following extracts are described as having learned Gaelic (to varying degrees), but not using the language at home:

- IF06 [M]y mum and dad like both moved to xxx- they're both English and they moved there like twenty- thirty years ago
- SD Right okay
- IF06 Em and my dad (.) taught himself Gaelic and he's quite involved in all the cultural, music and Gaelic-ky stuff
- SD Oh brilliant
- IF06 Em (.) but yeah it's definitely not- we don't like- we don't really speak it at home ((laughs))

- IF10 [M]y parents both went to learner Gaelic cos they're both English
- SD Oh right okay
- IF10 Em (.) and then my dad just dropped in wee phrases in Gaelic here and there that- if you- he knows about three phrases [...] and then my mum doesn't really use her Gaelic particularly [...]
- SD So you wouldn't have had much Gaelic anyway before you started school?
- IF10 No apart from the year at **cròileagan**- a bit of Gaelic from that

Informant IF10's first reported experience of acquiring Gaelic therefore came through attending the local Gaelic-medium pre-school, rather than from her parents who had learned the language. IF06's father is considered to have picked up an interest in Gaelic partly through his involvement with traditional music, subsequently teaching himself the language. As in-migrants to the island communities they grew up in, these interviewees' parents made some effort to learn Gaelic. Yet for whatever reason neither interviewee's parents spoke the language in the family home. Whereas in both these examples, the families involved moved into Gaelic-speaking areas from England, the following informant's mother learned Gaelic as a heritage language, having not acquired it fully in childhood. Unlike the new speakers discussed in section 5.3.2, however, she did not speak Gaelic to her children at home:

- LM09 My mum- my mum speaks it but em (1.6) she- she went back to eh (.) school and did it when she was older
- SD Oh she did? Uh huh
- LM09 But em my gran- like my grandparents are fae ((W. Isles)) [...] it was quite important (.) to my family
- SD Sure yeah (.) did your mum speak Gaelic to you before you started school do you think?
- LM09 No ((laughs)) my mum's got terrible Gaelic
- SD Oh really? ((laughs))
- LM09 She's got really bad Gaelic (.) she tries her best

Whilst the language was important enough to this informant's family to motivate his mother to start learning again Gaelic as an adult, his description of her language skills as "terrible" may reflect her inability to attain the higher stages of competence in Gaelic necessary to pass the language on. The choice of parents with some Gaelic

not to pass the language on is not limited to learners with limited proficiency in the language, however, as demonstrated in the following extract:

- SD Do any of your family members speak Gaelic?
IF05 Em yes my father speaks fluent Gaelic [...] and my:: mother speaks a lovely hybrid between Irish and Gaelic
- SD Oh fantastic!
IF05 Because she spoke fluent Irish before [...]
- SD So did you- did you speak Gaelic or sort of um Irish- Irish- and-Gaelic before starting school?
IF05 Em I didn't actually- my dad was an English teacher (.) em no we're generally an English-speaking household that I grew up in [...] the way I learnt Gaelic- I can use it in a school situation and therefore it's (.) it's very taught but it doesn't feel natural to me

Although both her parents were speakers of Gaelic languages before she was born, therefore, neither socialised their daughter in Irish or Scottish Gaelic, instead using English as the language of the household, in spite of the fact that they were located in the Western Isles for the majority of the informant's childhood. She offers her father's profession as an English teacher as a possible explanation for the generally English-only home environment, and it is largely as a result of this that informant IF05 sees Gaelic as a "taught" language – an adjective on which she puts particular emphasis – that she associates strongly with school. As such she states that the language doesn't feel "natural" to her in the present day (*cf.* section 6.1, below, on ideologies of use). Of the twenty interviewees reporting no home socialisation, sixteen use the language very seldom in the present day. I turn now to consider some of the rather more exceptional cases of adults who were not socialised in Gaelic at home, but who do use the language regularly today, and chose to conduct the interview through the language.

No Gaelic at home: New Speakers

Of the four remaining interviewees without a home background in Gaelic, two were raised in urban communities, while two grew up in rural Highland communities where the language was spoken to some extent. The latter two reported the use of Gaelic in the wider community to have had an important impact on their childhood socialisation in the language. All four could be described in the present day as 'new

speakers’ of the language, using Gaelic on a daily basis in their professional and social lives. The genesis of the ‘new speaker’ concept in minority language contexts is relatively recent, having originated in research on users of Galician, Basque and Catalan who did not have an immediate family connection to those languages. O’Rourke and Ramallo (2011, 2013) have used a definition of the new speaker as a person who chooses to use a language other than their language of primary socialisation in the course of their daily lives. Clarifying further, McLeod *et al.* (2014: 1) have defined new speakers of Gaelic as people who did not acquire Gaelic within the home in childhood, “but have nevertheless acquired Gaelic to a significant degree of competence and are now making active use of the language in their lives”. It is this definition I adopt in respect of the four speakers I discuss here, with a key emphasis on “active use” of Gaelic. Informant HM01, below, is one of the former two participants raised in the city without Gaelic at home:

- SD Agus a bheil Gàidhlig aig do phàrantan mar sin?
 And can your parents speak Gaelic?
- HM01 Eh cha /robh/
 Eh no they /couldn’t/
- SD Nach robh?
 Couldn’t they?
- HM01 Tha- och- facal no dhà aig an dà chuid
 They- och- both can speak a word or two
- SD Hmm [...] **so** an robh Gàidhlig agad mus do thòisich thu ann
 am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig?
 ***so** did you speak Gaelic before you started in Gaelic-
 medium education?*
- HM01 Eh bho thùs? [...] Chan eil cuimhn' agam feumaidh mi
 aideachadh oir bha mi cho beag ach: cha bhithinn fileanta
 mura deach mi dhan (bhun-sgoil) mar eisimpleir
 *Eh originally? [...] I don't remember I have to admit
 because I was was so small but: I wouldn't be fluent if
 I hadn't gone to (primary school) for example*

This speaker claims that he wouldn’t be fluent without doing Gaelic-medium at primary school, although he can’t remember exactly when he learned Gaelic. As one of the interviewees I categorised in the ‘high use’ group in the first section of this chapter (5.1), informant HM01 speaks Gaelic with his Gaelic-medium-educated siblings and with his grandmother, as well as using it socially and professionally in the Lowland city where he is now based. Notably the other city-raised new speaker

also had a Gaelic-speaking grandmother, though neither informant reported being socialised in Gaelic by grandparents in childhood. I should emphasise that only four of the 20 interview participants with no immediate family background in Gaelic continue to use it regularly at present. Furthermore, only two who continue to do so were raised in an urban context. By contrast the following extract highlights the role that the Gaelic-speaking community played in the early lives of new speakers from more rural locales in the Highlands:

- HF07 Is ann à Earra-Ghàidheal a tha mi ach thogadh mi ann an xxx
 ((Highland town))
I'm from Argyll but I grew up in xxx ((Highland))
- SD Inntinneach aidh (.) **so** co ris a tha an dà sgìre coltach mar sin?
Interesting yeah (.) so what are the two areas like then?
- HF07 Tha an dà dhiubh anns a' Ghàidhealtachd (.) tha mi a'
 smaoinneachadh gu bheil an cultar aca Gàidhealach- an dà [...] bha mi air mo chuirteachadh le Gàidhlig fad mo /h/-ùin'- mo-
 m' àrach
Both of them are in the Highlands (.) I think their culture is Gaelic- both [...] I was surrounded by Gaelic throughout my /time/- my- my upbringing

The fact of having grown up in part of the mainland Highlands where Gaelic was used is therefore regarded by this interviewee as an important characteristic of her upbringing; indeed she even describes having been “surrounded” (*air mo chuirteachadh*) by Gaelic language and culture from an early age. Reported immersion in Gaelic from childhood is clearly an important aspect of her socialisation in the language, and I continued on this point, asking whether she spoke Gaelic before school:

- SD An canadh tu gu robh Gàidhlig agad mus do thòisich thu ann
 am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig?
Would you say you spoke Gaelic before you started in Gaelic-medium education?
- HF07 Cha chanainn- chanainn (.) gu- thòisich mi cho òg- bha mi
 dìreach trì bliadhna a dh'aois, em (.) bha fios agam gu robh
 Gàidhlig ann, ach: [...] chan eil fhios 'am- bha mi òg, òg (.)
 chan eil cuimhne agam air beatha às aonais Gàidhlig
No- I would say (.) that- I started so young I was just three years old, em (.) I knew Gaelic existed, but:[...] I don't know I was very young (.) I don't remember life without Gaelic

Again, as in the case of the previous interviewee, informant HF07 reports having imprecise memories of exactly when she first acquired Gaelic, having done so from a very young age in the rural community where she was raised. This would appear to be a very rare experience, reported by only two of the 46 interviewees. Given the changed nature of language socialisation within communities that appear at least in census returns to be ‘Gaelic-speaking’ (cf. Munro *et al.* 2010; Will 2012), it is likely that such experiences of socialisation will become even rarer in future. By comparison with the late 1980s when this informant was a young child, there are now even fewer communities – especially in the mainland Highlands, but also even in ‘heartland’ island locales – where children might have the opportunity to be immersed in Gaelic language and culture from an early age (see Munro *et al.* 2010).

Across the categories discussed in section 5.3, therefore, at least three degrees of reported Gaelic language socialisation in the home domain are discernible. In homes where both parents, or a single parent without a partner, spoke Gaelic, high levels of socialisation in the language are typically reported. Participants’ self-selection to volunteer for interviews may of course have a role in distorting this picture. Crucially for the analysis presented here, however, individuals who reported such experiences of home Gaelic language socialisation tend generally to report higher levels of Gaelic use today than those not socialised in the language. Reported degrees of language socialisation are much more mixed among interviewees with just one Gaelic-speaking parent, and children of a new speaker, whether father or mother, report generally higher levels than those of parents who were native speakers in relationships with non-speakers. Low levels of language socialisation in the home and community are reported by interviewees in the last category, except in the cases of two of the four new speakers mentioned at the end of section 5.3.3, who grew up in communities that were at least somewhat Gaelic speaking. These four continue to use the language frequently in the present day, in contrast to the sixteen others in this category, who generally report doing so very rarely. The role of socialisation in Gaelic at home among former-GME students therefore appears to have an important impact on language practices later in life. I would like in the remaining section of

this chapter to consider interviewees' accounts of socialisation in Gaelic within the school setting.

5.4. GME and Gaelic language socialisation

In the final section of this chapter I consider narrative accounts of language socialisation within the Gaelic-medium education system (*cf.* section 2.3). These narratives are arranged into the following three categories: firstly accounts dealing with acquiring and using Gaelic at school, secondly with accounts relating to the role of GME in socialising students in Gaelic culture, and lastly narratives describing experiences of negative affect in the socialisation of former-GME students at school.

5.4.1. The role of GME in Gaelic language socialisation

Interviewees appear to attach varying degrees of significance to GME as a means by which they were socialised in the language, depending a great deal on whether or not they were also socialised in Gaelic at home. On the other hand, clear distinctions in accounts of school socialisation are apparent even between interviewees who were socialised in Gaelic by their two parents at home, as demonstrated in the following two accounts:

- HF03 [T]ha mi a' smaointinn gum biodh e gu bhith gu math doirbh dha mo phàrantan a bhith em (.) a' toirt mo chuid Gàidhlig gu ìre (.) na=
I think it would have been quite hard for my parents to em (.)bring my Gaelic on to such a degree (.) the=
- SD =Mura [robh foghlam Gàidhlig agad]
If [you hadn't had Gaelic-medium education]
- HF03 [mura robh foghlam tro mheadhan] na Gàidhlig ann agus mura robh comas ann a bhith (.) uh (.) gam oideachadh tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig 's a' faighinn Gàidhlig a's an sgoil [...] ach aig a' cheart àm tha mi smaointinn- foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig leis fhèin, nach biodh e air uiread de bhuidh a thoirt orm- mura bithinn air a bhith ga fhaighinn aig an taigh cuideachd
[if Gaelic-medium education hadn't] existed and if there hadn't been the chance to (.) uh (.) educate myself through Gaelic and get Gaelic in the school [...] but at the same time I think- Gaelic-medium education on its own, it wouldn't have had such an effect on me if I hadn't got it at home as well

In this first extract, therefore, informant HF03 attributes an important role to GME in support of socialisation in Gaelic and intergenerational transmission of the language at home. The following informant, however, similarly socialised in Gaelic by both parents at home, is much less appreciative of the role of GME in her acquisition of Gaelic and her socialisation in the language:

- IF07 A dh'innse na fireann (.) chan eil mi smaoineachadh gun
d'fhuair mi buannachd sam bith=
To tell the truth (.) I don't think I got any benefit at all
- SD =Hmm
- IF07 bho bhith am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig
from being in Gaelic-medium education
- SD Seadh
Yeah
- IF07 Ach: (.) nam bithinns' air mo thogail ann an taigh eile far nach
robh na leabhraichean agus a' Ghàidhlig um ri fhaighinn- mar
a bha san taigh againne, /dh'fhaodadh/ mi /ag/ ràdh rud gu
math eadar-dhealaicht'
*But: (.) if I'd been raised in another house where the
books and the Gaelic weren't um available- as they
were in our house, I would maybe say something
different*

Informant IF07 is consequently much more doubtful about the benefits of GME as a support for home socialisation, having enjoyed access to Gaelic books, language and literacy in the family home as well. The availability of these things in school is subsequently seen to be of significantly less importance. A phonologically highly proficient Gaelic speaker with a native, islander accent, she regards home socialisation in the language to have been much the more important for her learning Gaelic. In the following excerpt, informant LM07, who was partly socialised in Gaelic by his father, a traditional speaker from the Western Isles, similarly sees GME as having had little impact on him:

- SD [I]s it something you reflect positively on these days? Would
you say you enjoyed your experience of school?
- LM07 Um I mean: no- I always view anyone who claimed to enjoy
school with a fair amount of suspicion=
SD =Exactly yeah yeah ((laughing))
[...]
- LM07 I don't really look at it as that significant (.) a:n influence on
my life [...] you know I would say that [GME was significant]
and now that I think about it it's not really the case ((laughs))

Rather than a bulwark of intergenerational transmission and home socialisation, therefore, this informant sees his experience of GME neither as something he enjoyed nor as something that significantly influenced his life. He rarely speaks Gaelic today and as such concludes “it’s not really the case” that the system had any significant effect on him. A very different account is provided in the following narrative, in which interviewee IM01, a ‘new speaker’, reflects on his experience of Gaelic socialisation through GME.

IM01 [T]ha cuimhne agamsa mus do thòisich foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig ged-tà um (.) thàinig tidsear a-staigh dhan an sgoil gach seachdain agus dh'ionnsaich sinn (x) òran 's mar sin 's chòrd e rium gu mòr (.) dh'ionnsaich mi e gu math luath chan eil fhios 'am carson, cha robh mi math air dad sam bith san sgoil ((laughing)) [...] sin mar a dh'ionnsaich mi Gàidhlig-'s e dìreach **immersion** a bh' ann [...] cha do dh'ionnsaich mi cànan dìreach /ri/ bhith leughadh leabhar neo coimhead air structar gràmair no **sentence structure**

*I remember before I started Gaelic-medium education though um (.) a teacher came into school every week and we learned (x) a [Gaelic] song and so on and I enjoyed that a lot (.) I learned it quite quickly I don't know why, I wasn't good at anything in school ((laughing)) [...] that's how I learned Gaelic- it was just **immersion** [...] I never learned a language from just reading a book or looking at grammar or **sentence structure***

As was the case with certain other interviewees, this interviewee started in P1 the year before GME was available, and subsequently started his Gaelic education after already having begun his primary education in English. His earliest memory of Gaelic is therefore of learning songs with a visiting teacher before GME started in his area, something he states he enjoyed a great deal. When he started in GME after this, he learned Gaelic rapidly by being fully immersed in the language. For informant IM01, then, Gaelic immersion at school was extremely important to his socialisation in Gaelic – and especially to his exposure to the language – and subsequently had a major impact on his future relationship to it. Nevertheless, other participants tended to draw a stark distinction between certain GME pupils' language use in the classroom and the playground:

- HF06 I remember us being told we had to use Gaelic in the classroom
- SD Sure
- HF06 Unless we were doing English- doing English reading, in the playground it probably varied (.) across my class there was a real (.) variety of kids who had Gaelic in the sense that they: spoke it before they went to primary school
- SD Yep
- HF06 Or kids like me that (.) that didn't really and I suppose (.) with those kids we probably spoke more English

Having received GME in the Highland Council area, this interviewee describes a variety of linguistic backgrounds among pupils, with those who spoke Gaelic before school being more likely to use the language outside of the classroom. Those without this kind of home socialisation in Gaelic, such as herself, are reported to have been less likely to do so. In the following account, however, informant HF02 reports less of a distinction between different pupils' language use in the playground:

- HF02 [T]ha cuimhn 'am- cha robh sinn a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig **you know** eadar na- na h-oileanaich- cha robh iad a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig ri chèile **you know** b' e dìreach Gàidhlig leis an tidsear agus fiù 's san latha an-diugh nuair a bha mi a' dol a-steach eh:: dhan eh sgoil Ghàidhlig xxx
*I remember- we didn't speak Gaelic **you know** between the- the students- they didn't speak Gaelic to each other **you know** it was just Gaelic with the teacher and even these days when I was going into eh:: to eh xxx Gaelic School*
- SD Mm hmm
- HF02 Cha bhi iad a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig **like you know** ri chèile- **so** san sgoil em no sa **playground** em 's e dìreach an tidsear
*They don't speak Gaelic **like you know** together- **so** in school em or in the **playground** em it's just the teacher*

This interviewee, having attended GME classes in the same council area as the previous speaker, therefore draws a parallel between pupils' language use when she attended school and in the present day. Use of Gaelic by GME pupils, then as now, is reported to be restricted to interactions with the teacher alone (*'s e dìreach an tidsear*) and students are said not to use the language socially. The concept of GME units as sites of full immersion in the language, therefore, is not one that is frequently related across the corpus (*cf.* also O'Hanlon 2010; O' Hanlon *et al.* 2012 on GME

teachers' classroom language practices, and Nance 2013 on GME pupils' linguistic production). Instead a variety of language practices in the school are more commonly referred to by interviewees, with social use of Gaelic outside the classroom being only occasionally mentioned.

Interviewees therefore expressed various opinions on the relevance of GME to their language socialisation experiences. For the first two speakers analysed above, GME was viewed either as a support to home socialisation (though perhaps inadequate on its own) or as entirely irrelevant. This latter position is also articulated by the third speaker, while the last two speakers' depiction of Gaelic use being largely restricted to the classroom is frequently observed in the corpus. Experiences of Gaelic socialisation through GME are therefore somewhat mixed among former-GME students, but very few report being socialised in the language through the education system alone.

5.4.2. GME: Socialisation in Gaelic culture?

Apart from the question of being socialised as bilingual speakers through GME, many interviewees raised the issue of becoming socialised into Gaelic culture through school. Various understandings of Gaelic culture are identifiable, with a number of interviewees conveying an understanding which pertains chiefly to traditional music and the arts, as in the following extract:

- HF06 Em (.) it was also like- it wasn't just the language it was just- it was very cultural cos- maybe this was just my school, but we'd do lots of Gaelic singing and music and (.) like all the you know all the stories that we listened to and told we were all Gaelic folklore-y type things
- SD So it's the culture as well as just being taught=
- HF06 =Yeah it was the culture as well as just the language

As such, informant HF06 regards exposure to Gaelic music, song and folklore as an important aspect of GME. A large number of interviewees made reference to this cultural aspect of the system, many reflecting on their continued musical ability as the legacy of GME for which they were most grateful. A large proportion stated that while their linguistic ability in Gaelic may have declined since school, they

continued to pursue an active interest in traditional music, which they attributed chiefly to the cultural components of GME.

- LM05 [O]ne thing I guess- I don't think I've mentioned in our talk is probably my relationship with music
- SD Right
- LM05 Em it grew (.) I was always interested in music but it probably grew quite a lot with the opportunities afforded during Gaelic-medium education [...] and that's continued and stuck with me [...]
- SD Yeah exactly, so there was a sort of a cultural component [not just the language]
- LM05 [Yeah, I think yeah]
- SD Yeah
- LM05 Yeah so to me that's probably one of the strongest kind of links yeah

As such, the above informant regards the cultural content of GME and his continued engagement with music as one of the strongest connections to the language he has in the present day. In the following excerpt, informant LF04 makes similar reference to feeling more “connected” to Gaelic and Scottish culture from having been exposed to traditional song and dance through GME:

- LF04 I really appreciate having been in Gaelic-medium I think I- I dunno (.) it kinda gives me a sort of connection to a whole sort of- even though my direct family haven't been (.) connected to- to Gaelic along with the Gaelic comes a whole lot of (.) other sort of (.) more (.) kind of cultural things [...] to do with singing and dancing and (.) all these different things to do with that sort of (.) Scottish culture and things

In addition to continued engagement with traditional arts and music after school, broader conceptions of Gaelic culture pertaining to the region in which interviewees grew up are visible in certain interviewees’ accounts of socialisation at school. (I return to these considerations in greater depth in section 6.3 of the following chapter on Gaelic and identities.) The “connection” to Gaelic and Scottish culture that informant LF04 refers to in respect of having done GME, and in the absence of any family background in Gaelic, was mentioned quite frequently by interviewees of a similar profile.

- IF10 I think- like- this might not be true at all but I feel like (.) because my parents are English and moved up here

SD IF10	<p>Hmm</p> <p>so are essentially incomers to the place, em (.) going through Gaelic-medium gave me more of a connection to the place [...] I felt like I had more of a connection to sort of Highland culture and things than my friends that went through the English-medium [...] I always felt kind of lucky in that respect</p>
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A sense of “connection to the place” and to the culture of the Highlands more widely is seen by this participant as an important and enduring legacy of GME for her, particularly compared to friends and peers who received their education through English. Again, I return to these questions in greater detail in the following chapter, but it is important to note the wider sense of Gaelic culture that interviewees employ in narratives of this kind. If accounts of socialisation in the Gaelic language through GME are somewhat mixed (section 5.4.1) many interviewees did create the impression that socialisation into the Gaelic culture through GME had a more lasting impact on their lives than the language itself.

5.4.3. Negative affect in school language socialisation

Finally, in this chapter, I provide an analysis of certain interviewees’ accounts of negative affect in GME. Such experiences may be expected to have a profound impact on the future relationships of interviewees to Gaelic and the ways in which they engage with the language after school. Importantly, experiences of negative affect in GME were only described by interview participants who reported making little use of Gaelic in the present day. Although it is clear that no causal relationship can necessarily be inferred here, negative experiences may contribute to our understanding of the motives underlying such interviewees’ current usage patterns. The speaker in the following extract, raised with Gaelic at home in a Western Isles community, describes feelings of “segregation” while in GME toward the end of primary school:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1. SD | What do you think was the- the main effect that it had on you- doing Gaelic at school? |
| 2. IF14 | I:: ((sighs)) (2.3) it was quite difficult <u>in</u> primary school we were very much kind of (.) segregated [...] there was such a clear division- I actually found it quite difficult (.) when we got to primary seven we did (.) two days a week we did the mainstream class (.) a:nd em (.) I still remember clear as |

- anything there was a table at the very front of the room and that's where we had to sit [...] it was kind of like- it was the Gaelic table (.) that's what it was called
3. SD Yeah
4. IF14 And little things like that they kind of like ((laughing)) they stick with you
5. SD It's very stigmatising in a way [isn't it? Uh huh]
6. IF14 [It is yeah] absolutely but (.) I don't think it was done in any kind of tra- deliberately trying to make us different [...] it was to encourage us to speak Gaelic but we weren't- it wasn't being done and in the process of that happening you were separated from all the other- all your- your peers in the same year-group

This participant's feeling of being "segregated" didn't develop until P7, at which point Gaelic-medium students were put into the same class as English-medium pupils, but were grouped together on the "Gaelic table" at the front of the classroom. She understands in hindsight that this may have been to encourage GM students to continue using Gaelic, but at that age the feeling she describes of being "separated", "different" (turn 6) and "segregated" (turn 2) militated against their doing so. In Hymes's (1974) terminology (*cf.* section 4.3.2), 'keys' to the informant's stance and communication of negative affect are visible in turn 2, with elongation of 'I', sighing and a long pause (2.3 seconds) at the start of the speech act, followed by frequent, shorter pauses throughout the following utterance. Laughter in turn 4 when describing the stigmatising effects of the "Gaelic table", and hesitation and self-interruptions at the end of turn 6 also provide the key to a sense of negative affect conveyed in these speech acts. Similar sentiments are also expressed by an informant from the urban Lowlands in the following extract:

- LF06 I don't know:: I don't know- I just think- we'd- when we went to school it was Gaelic- there was a Gaelic (.) and an English (.) unit [a Gaelic unit and an English unit so]
- SD [Aye it was just the unit, uh huh]
- LF06 that kinda divided us right away
- SD Yeah=
- LF06 =D'you know what I mean? Fae a young age [so:]
- SD [Right]
- LF06 I don't know if that was maybe a big factor
- SD Right
- LF06 Cos then that (.) put us different fae other people [...] I don't know: and then maybe a lot of us didnae really want to be different [...] it was actually quite different see but I'm talking

to you but it was actually quite a difficult time ((laughs)) [...] we were away up the stairs
 SD Right
 LF06 Out of everybody else's road kinda thing! ((laughs))

Again describing a sense of being “divided” and “different” from other students, informant LF06 provides keys to her stance with elongation of certain sounds, hesitation and laughter when recounting “a difficult time” in her life. Frequent use of the phrase “I don’t know” – perhaps expressing uncertainty over how such criticism of GME will be received by me, as a Gaelic researcher – is also notable. It is clear, therefore, that certain aspects of the GME experience continue to be a source of some discomfort for certain former students. In the following extract, two interviewees from the Inner Hebrides further describe the sense of stigmatisation that has already been alluded to:

IF03 I know what it was like growing up and being in school and being the Gaelic class it was horrendous because everyone was like “oh yeah it's a dying language” and you'd be like “no it's not- it's absolutely not a dying language” and then they'd go “well how many people speak it?” about 2- 250 ((laughs)) max (.) other people took [exception to it]
 IF04 [We got called] Gaelic aliens in school! ((laughs))
 SD Did you really? Yeah?
 IF03 ((laughing)) [Yeah!]
 IF04 [Yeah!] ((laughing)) “Don't play with them, they're Gaelic aliens” ((laughs)) but they're our friends now
 IF03 They still think it's a dying language

The first informant, LF03, describes the experience of defending Gaelic as not being “a dying language” when goaded by English-medium pupils at school as “horrendous”. The use of “Gaelic alien” as a term of abuse by the latter group – even in the partly Gaelic-speaking community where these speakers grew up – resonates with the feelings of stigmatisation and separation that have been described by previous interviewees. Although the second participant, IF04, mentions now being on friendly terms with these former English-medium students, IF03 interjects that their opinions on Gaelic and its supposed obsolescence have not changed, emphasising a continued sense of alienation. Perhaps the most striking sense of this, however, is related by a native speaker from a Western Isles community. Rather than

any experience of bullying that the previous speakers described, it is this speaker's own feelings of embarrassment and "shame" that are most striking:

- SD [A]m biodh sibh a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig a's a- a's a' **playground?**
*Did you (pl.) use Gaelic in the- in the **playground?***
- IF07 Uill bhiodh- cha robh Beurla againn! [...] Tha e **insular** is tha thu an uair sin faireachdainn car **embarrassed** a dhol a-mach sa **phlayground** agus gu bheil thu (.) chan eil fhios 'am a bheil e ceart um (.) sin a (x) gu bheil thu- mar gu bheil thu ann an clas: **a sort of- sort of special needs** ann an dòigh air choreigin
*Well yes- we couldn't speak English! [...] It's **insular** and then you feel a bit **embarrassed** to go out to the **playground** and that you are (.) I don't know if it's right um (.) that (x) you- as if you are in **a sort of- sort of special needs** class in some way*
- SD Seadh
Yeah
- IF07 Mar gu bheil thu seòrs' de **remedial**- agus fhios agad fhèin nach e **remedial** a tha thu ach nuair a tha thu a' nochdadh às aonais comas a th' aig a' mhòr-chuid dhen a' chlann sa **phlayground** tha thu faireachdainn **remedial** [...] chan eil fhios 'am dè a' Ghàidhlig a th'air **sh:ame** ach tha rudeigin mar sin na lùib dhòmhs'
*As if you are sort of **remedial**- and you know yourself that you're not a **remedial** but when you turn up without an ability that most children in the playground have you feel **remedial** [...] I don't know the Gaelic for **sha:me** but there's something like that connected to it for me*

Therefore the experience of attending school alongside English-medium peers without any ability to communicate in English is reported to have had a negative affective impact on this informant. She reports feeling as if the Gaelic-medium unit she attended was a "remedial" or "special needs" class when surrounded by English-speaking pupils in the playground, using English terms to communicate this sense. Her use of the English words "insular", "embarrassed" and "shame" to emphasise her experience of negative affect is also very salient in this excerpt, and may again constitute instances of adopting an "other" voice when relating difficult and potentially controversial views (see Dunmore & Smith-Christmas, forthcoming). The impact of these kinds of experience on later language practices is a crucial consideration for the analysis, and I return to some of these issues in the following

chapter, considering interviewees' language ideologies in relation to Gaelic use, revitalisation and identities.

5.4.4. Gaelic language socialisation experiences: Some conclusions

Levels of socialisation in Gaelic reported by former-GME students in interviews, both at home and in school, therefore vary to a considerable degree, depending a great deal on parents' use of the language during childhood. Without this input, the school is rarely described as having been an important site for Gaelic language socialisation, although some participants express a sense of assimilation and connection to Gaelic culture through having received GME. Generally higher levels of socialisation in the language at home were reported by speakers who make greater use of Gaelic today. The four new speakers whose accounts I describe above may be considered notable exceptions to this pattern. Even in instances where significant home socialisation in Gaelic is reported, however, high levels of use in the present day do not necessarily result, and it seems that experiences of negative affect in relation to Gaelic at school may play a key role in this dynamic. Further research will be needed to address this question adequately. I return to some of these issues in greater depth in the next empirical chapter, which provides an analysis of speakers' language ideologies in relation to Gaelic use, revitalisation and language policy generally, and the relevance of Gaelic to their own social and cultural identities.

6. Gaelic language ideologies among former GME students

Gaelic language use among former-GME students—both the degree and ways in which interviewees claim to use the language—were analysed in chapter 5. I subsequently discussed how the reported socialisation experiences that interviewees reported may have contributed to the picture of present Gaelic language use that emerges from participants' accounts. It is the concern of the present chapter to consider the role that interviewees' ideological positions with regard to Gaelic may also play in their current language practices. In the following sections I provide an analysis of interviewees' language ideologies in respect of Gaelic use, language policy, and the perceived role of Gaelic in the construction and negotiation of socio-cultural identities. Where the previous chapter examined participants' present-day and past use of the language, it is anticipated that the analysis of language ideologies presented in this chapter, considering the attitudes, ideas and beliefs that interviewees express in relation to Gaelic, will contribute to our understanding of the reasons underlying these general patterns of Gaelic language use.

6.1. Ideologies of Gaelic I: Language use

The first section of analysis presented in this chapter deals specifically with ideologies of Gaelic language use, while the following two sections consider participants' ideological stances vis-à-vis the revitalisation of Gaelic and the relevance of the language to sociocultural identities. In respect of the first section, five discursive themes are discernible in the dataset as a whole, and I address each of these in turn. Section 6.1.1 considers interviewees' ideologies of regret and 'guilt' with regard to their current Gaelic use, while the following section analyses ideologies apropos the intergenerational transmission of Gaelic (section 6.1.2). The remaining three sections concern perceptions of linguistic 'snobbery' in Gaelic use (section 6.1.3), ideologies of disuse and language loss (section 6.1.4) and of opportunity and choice to use Gaelic (section 6.1.5). I argue that these five discursive themes of Gaelic use can contribute in various ways to our understanding of the language use patterns that were presented in chapter 5 of this thesis; crucially, the language ideologies related by interviewees in this connection have a role in rationalising and explaining their current language practices.

6.1.1. Desire to use Gaelic differently: Regret/‘guilt’

The first category of ideas discussed consists of interviewees’ beliefs concerning how the language is used or *ought* to be used. I firstly address various participants’ view that they should – or would like to – use Gaelic differently to the way in which they currently do. This can be conceived of as an ideology of *regret* or *guilt* that many interviewees express when considering their engagement with the language in the present day. When stating a desire to use Gaelic differently, some participants therefore describe “missing” the language in their daily lives:

LF03 I do miss it actually- the (.)
SD Yeah=
LF03 =the Gaelic input
SD Uh huh
LF03 For (.) every- well maybe not everyday use but for at least sort
 of for regular (.) regular use [...] it's the kind of thing that I
 don't want to lose [...] But ((sighs)) do you know- I would
 like to do something and (.) e:m if there was events sort of
 locally that I could (.) that I you know- maybe I'm just not
 looking hard enough really

A certain sense of regret at not using the language frequently in the present day is communicated by informant LF03 in the above account, although she admits the possibility that there may be opportunities to speak it more, that she simply hasn’t looked hard enough for. In any case she states that “everyday use” as such is not something she would aspire to. This mild and rather vague sense of regret has therefore not been sufficient to motivate the speaker to actually seek such opportunities. This lack of motivation is similarly referred to in the following extract:

LF04 I suppose it's a bit of a sad story really [...] I'm sure there are
 people in xxx ((England)) around who speak Gaelic and it you
 know might be (.) I had in my head that at some point it might
 be nice to have something where you can meet up with other
 people that did but uh it's just a lack of eh (1.1) lack of- not
 quite enough motivation to actually organise something like
 that

As such, the speaker’s reflection on the “sad story” of her current disuse of Gaelic contrasts somewhat with her lack of “motivation” to pursue the idea of seeking out other Gaelic speakers in the English town where she now lives. As such the relatively mild expression of regret commonly expressed in accounts of this kind is notable in

the sense that it fails to provide sufficient incentive for speakers to actually change their current language practices. A stronger form of the ideology is visible in the following participant's reference to feeling a potent sense of "guilt" at her disuse of Gaelic:

- SD [N]ot using it you know- not having the opportunity to speak it, you become rusty and [...] it's not so easy to do
 IF05 No it isn't it's really, really hard (.) and I- but the thing is then I feel really guilty
 SD Hmm
 IF05 I feel really guilty that I- my Gaelic isn't good and then I feel really guilty when I go home and I can't speak to my next-door neighbour and I answer in English [...] I'm sorry for sounding so negative, I'm really not as negative as I sound (.) I just- the guilt factor's massive for me

At the start of this excerpt my reflection on my own experience of language attrition after spending time away from the Gaelic language community, and now living outside of Scotland, prompts speaker IF05 to comment on her own feelings of guilt at this situation. She refers three times to feeling "really guilty" at her inability to speak in Gaelic, highlighting problems she faces trying to speak the language to her neighbour back home in the Western Isles. In contrast to the vague expression of this feeling described above, therefore, the palpable sense of negative affect in this extract, combined with the attrition of her Gaelic abilities, may even militate *against* the speaker's greater use of Gaelic. She apologises for what she regards as being overly "negative" in this connection, and her claim that the "guilt factor's massive" clearly reflects the strong feeling to which she refers here. In the following two accounts, by contrast, Gaelic speakers who make little use of Gaelic in their social lives absolutely reject the same ideology of guilt:

- IM01 [B]ha daoine ag ràdh "O! Am faca tu *Dè-a-nis* a-raoir?" **No!** Chan fhaca mi *Dè-a-nis* a-raoir! A bheil fhios agad dè bha mi ris a-raoir? Bha mi anns an taigh seinnse- **you know-**
People would say "Oh did you see Dè-a-nis [Gaelic children's TV show] last night?" No! I didn't see Dè-a-nis last night! Do you what I was doing last night? I was in the pub- you know-
 SD ((laughing)) Dìreach **yeah** sin e!
Exactly yeah that's it!
 IM01 fealla-dha ri mo charaidean, cha robh mise coimhead prògram air BBC2 airson clann aig aois

bhun-sgoil' [...] chan eil mise taghadh BBC Alba airson Gàidhlig ionnsachadh neo a bhith cluinntinn Gàidhlig [...] **you know** mura h-eil thu a' toirt adhbhar do dhaoine, **you know** ceòl traidiseanta no ge b' e a th' ann ach mura h-eil adhbhar ann airson Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn-
will- you know- they have to have the will=

fun with my friends, I wasn't watching a programme on BBC2 for children of primary school age [...] I don't choose BBC Alba to learn or to hear Gaelic[...] you know unless you give people another reason, you know traditional music or whatever it is but unless there's a reason for speaking Gaelic- will- you know- they have to have the will=

SD =Mm hmm
 IM01 **Or want to speak it**

The above informant's engagement with Gaelic can be characterised as chiefly professional; he makes little use of the language socially, outside of work (*cf.* the speaker IM01's extract in section 5.1.2), and rejects the idea that he should make greater use of Gaelic for its own sake. In this narrative he recounts a past discussion with fellow undergraduate students of Gaelic about watching the children's television programme 'Dè-a-nis?' ('*What now?*'). He relates his own rather disdainful reaction to this, stating that speakers "have to have the will" to use the language, rather than simply seeking out all opportunities to gain greater exposure to it (even those targeted at the wrong age-group). His outright rejection of this implicit ideology of guilt for not using the language more, and of the supposed implication of others that he should use Gaelic for its own sake is therefore stated. We touch here on questions of language policy, and of the need to stimulate "will", or desire to speak Gaelic among potential users of the language. I return to these issues in greater detail in the following section (6.2). Such issues are again at play in the following speaker's rejection of the ideology referred to here, and of the the idea that speakers *should* use Gaelic more:

IF07 [C]ha chleachdainn-sa barrachd Gàidhlig nam biodh (x) ann- can an-dràsta- nam biodh cuideigin shìos an staidhre 's nan robh cothrom agamsa cofaidh a /dh'/òrdachadh ann an Gàidhlig
I wouldn't use more Gaelic if there were (x)- say just now- if there was someone downstairs and if I had the opportunity to order a coffee in Gaelic

SD Hmm
 IF07 Chan eil sin a' ciallachadh càil dhomh

	<i>That doesn't mean a thing to me</i>
SD	Chan eil
	<i>No</i>
IF07	Ma tha mi a' siubhal a dh'àiteigin agus 's urrainn dhomh na soidhnichean a leughadh ann am Beurla no ann an Gàidhlig (.) chan eil sin a' ciallachadh càil sam bith [...] chan eil fhios 'am dè a' Ghàidhlig a th' air tokenism , ach ma tha thu faicinn nan soidhnichean ann am Beurla 's ann an Gàidhlig tha mi smaoinich' " oh come on! "
	<i>If I go somewhere and I can read the signs in English or in Gaelic (.) that doesn't mean a thing [...] I don't know what the Gaelic is for tokenism, but if you see the signs in English and Gaelic I just think "oh come on!"</i>

The opportunity to use more Gaelic in the Lowland city where this speaker now lives, for example when ordering a coffee in the local café in which we meet, is likened to the “tokenism” she sees in bilingual signage. The informant states that such banal use of Gaelic has no meaning for her (“*chan eil sin a' ciallachadh càil dhomh*”). She does not regard the availability of such services as a matter of importance to her, as a bilingual speaker from the Western Isles now living in the city, and would not choose to use Gaelic in such instances even if she could do so. Again, therefore, the ideology discussed above of feeling as if one *should* use Gaelic more is rejected out of hand by this speaker. Awareness of this particular ideology of use – that speakers should use Gaelic in any situation in which the opportunity exists – is demonstrated frequently across the corpus, whether interviewees express that feeling in its stronger or weaker forms, or reject it out of hand. Yet even in cases where the ideology is conveyed in the strongest terms, it seems not to contribute to speakers’ actual intentions to use more Gaelic. In some cases, feelings of negative affect such as regret or guilt seem instead to militate against increased use. Other speakers react against this ideology, arguing, as in the latter two examples above, that different motives to speak the language must be found, or that “tokenistic” use of the language is meaningless. In its various forms, therefore, this first set of beliefs and ideas of Gaelic use seems not to encourage greater use of the language.

6.1.2. Intergenerational transmission and Gaelic use

A second set of beliefs concerning how the Gaelic language should be used is reported by interviewees in respect of intergenerational transmission, and speakers’

anticipation that their desire to pass the language on to children may increase their use of Gaelic in future. Many participants voice the belief that speakers of Gaelic have a responsibility to pass on the language on to their children, as expressed in the following extract, for example:

- SD Would you be keen in theory to pass the language on to your kids in future?
IM02 Yeah definitely
SD Uh huh
IM02 I would if I got the opportunity like um (.) yeah I would be up for it, definitely [...] I still think that if you've got the- if you've got it then you sort of have a duty to pass it on like

While not using Gaelic regularly today, informant IM02 states that he would nevertheless try to pass the language on to children in the future, asserting that he feels “a duty” to do so. The following informant similarly reports wanting to raise her children with Gaelic in the future, whilst reflecting on how her current use of Gaelic compares with this aspiration:

- SD [W]ould you be keen that your children would speak Gaelic, or?
LF03 Yeah no- I would definitely like to and I would- I (.) I hope (.) I mean I'm not sure (.) I suppose now because I do feel a bit (.) rustier ((laughing)) than I was with it em I would probably- if that was the case I would probably want to um (.) definitely brush up on it you know to make sure that I wasn't (1.0) em that I was- that if I was doing that that I was doing it properly

The speaker reflects that she would definitely want to “brush up on” her Gaelic language skills in order to pass the language on to her children, having at first hesitated when thinking about her current abilities. Doing so would obviously be easier for some participants than others, depending to a large degree on home linguistic background, having a Gaelic-speaking partner, wider family connections, and so on. For the following speaker, raised in the Western Isles with Gaelic at home, brushing up on Gaelic skills might therefore come more easily than for participants in other circumstances:

- IF14 Like (.) if I had children they would be [able to speak Gaelic]
SD [You'd like to do that?]

- IF14 Yeah absolutely I do think it's important and I: (.) em you know maybe when we were in school we didn't like it kind of thought it [was a bit]
- SD [Hmm]
- IF14 I don't know old-fashioned and that [but]
- SD [Uh huh]
- IF14 I think it's really important to keep it [...] it is something that you can pass on (.) em: as there are fewer and fewer people speaking it then it's something you can pass on to your (.) family and [kind of]
- SD [Yeah]
- IF14 your children if you have them and that and I do think that's an important thing- it's something I would like to do (.) definitely [...] I know if I was to use it more it would come flooding back

Informant IF14, then, clearly entertains the belief that she will be able to pass Gaelic onto any future children, stating that it's "important to keep" the language and that it would come "flooding back" to her in such circumstances, after several years of relative disuse. Crucially, however, she reports elsewhere that her current partner is not a Gaelic speaker; we may recall that relatively low levels of Gaelic socialisation were reported by interviewees with only one Gaelic-speaking parent in section 5.3.2 of the previous chapter. Yet even for relationships in which both partners speak the language, speakers' use of Gaelic at home may be weak at present. In such instances, discussions or even decisions on future use of Gaelic and intergenerational transmission of the language are often reported, as in the following two excerpts:

- IF09 Tha Gàidhlig aig an duine agam [...] ged a tha an dithis againn fileanta chan eil sinn a' cleachdadh cus Gàidhlig a-staigh
My husband speaks Gaelic [...] although we're both fluent we don't use much Gaelic at home
- SD Nach eil?
Don't you?
- IF09 Ach tha mi trom an-dràsta **so** tha sinn an dùil gum bi sinn a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig leis a' phàist'
*But I'm pregnant at the moment **so** we expect that we'll use Gaelic with the child*
- SD Glè mhath
Very good
- IF09 Nuair a thig e no i! ((laughs))
When he or she arrives!

- IM01 Tha sinn aig an àm nar beatha far a bheil sinn smaoinichadh air 's dòcha teaghlach a thòiseachadh agus **you know** bhruidhinn sinn mu dheidhinn- “uill am bu chòir 's dòcha dhuinn a bhith a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig?” **You know** oidhirp a dhèanamh, feuchainn ri 's dòcha tionndadh gu Gàidhlig cho tric 's a ghabhas airson 's gum bi seòrsa
We're at the time of our lives where we're thinking about perhaps starting a family and you know we spoke about it- "well should we maybe speak Gaelic?"
You know make an effort, try to maybe switch to Gaelic as often as possible so that there will be a sort of
- SD Seadh=
Yeah=
- IM01 =suidheachadh Gàidhlig aig an taigh ach 's e misneachd a th' ann- tha e glè cheart
=Gaelic context at home but it's a confidence thing- it's very true

For both of the above speakers, therefore, the matter of intergenerational transmission has recently been discussed with partners, with the first speaker currently expecting a baby and the second reporting having spoken to his wife on the issue. Speaker IF09 reports that she doesn't currently use Gaelic at home with her husband, but that they expect to do so when the child she is currently expecting is born. IM01 reflects on a discussion with his wife in which they spoke about switching to Gaelic at home to create a Gaelic environment before starting a family. Yet he raises the point that confidence (“*misneachd*”) is a major consideration here, a lack of which is seen partly to explain why the couple don't currently use Gaelic together at home. As the following speaker states, however, introducing such a home language policy after a couple has become accustomed to using another language together may not be so straightforward:

- IF12 [M]a dh'fhàsas tu faisg (.) /le/ cuideigin anns [*sic*] an aon chànan (.)
If you grow close (.) to someone in one language (.)
- SD Hmm
- IF12 **You know** tha- mar gum biodh em (.) **you know bond in a language** mar gum biodh [...] seach gu bheil leanabh beag againn tha sinn feuchainn ri barrachd Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn (.) ach a-rithist nuair a thòisich sinn ri chèile 's e Beurla a bh' againn agus tha mi smaoinichadh g' eil e tòrr nas nàdarra dhuinn a bhith bruidhinn Beurla
You know there's a- as it were em (.) you know bond

in a language as it were [...] because we have a little child we're trying to speak more Gaelic (.) but again when we started going out together we spoke English and I think it's much more natural for us to speak English

After a “bond in a language” has been cemented, it may in fact be somewhat difficult to make the kind of switch to which interviewees IM01 and IF09 referred previously, especially since neither reported having successfully made such a change before the arrival of children (*cf.* De Houwer 2007). Speaking with the benefit of experience, informant IF12 describes how it remains “much more natural” (*tòrr nas nàdarra*) for her and her husband to use English together, even as they try to raise and socialise their young child in Gaelic.

Across the interview corpus, therefore, participants often report the belief that they should at least try to pass the language on, even if they themselves use the language only rarely today. The overall ideology maintains that this is the duty of adults with Gaelic, and many interviewees report their desire and intention to do so. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the pervasiveness of this belief would translate in most cases to substantially greater use of the language in future. The few interviewees who are currently raising children rarely report successfully implementing such a change in home language practices, though there is a relatively widespread belief among interviewees that such a shift in use will inevitably follow with such a life-changing experience as having a child; 12 interviewees voice this ideology in its different forms. It appears from the above participants' accounts, however, that this anticipated change in language practices should not be assumed.

6.1.3. 'Judgement' and 'snobbery' in the Gaelic community

The third set of beliefs concerning Gaelic language use I consider here concerns interviewees' perceptions of judgemental attitudes and linguistic “snobbery” inside the Gaelic community. The expression of such ideas was a theme described frequently throughout the corpus. Participants generally attribute behaviour of this kind to some ‘other’ kind of speaker, whether a native speaker or learner, that they may have observed exhibiting such snobbery. Thus informant IF03, for example, described judgemental behaviour of this kind as being possibly “a generation thing”:

IF04 I would rather people just used it in any way
SD Yeah=
IF04 =And not feel pressurised to
SD Yeah (.) or monitored or scrutinised?
IF03 Maybe there's a generation thing [...] we're in this sort of world with Gaelic and it's a bit controversial but you know it's very much like "oh she speaks terribly" or "listen to her"=
IF04 =Oh there's a huge snobbery in it [...] I think you just hit the nail on the head when you were saying that it's wrong and what you said earlier about there being a snobbery and it being=
SD =Yeah
IF04 judgemental- it's like that is very true in Gaelic which is something that actually really, really frustrates me about Gaelic

IF03 offers constructed dialogues as examples of the denigrating comments of speakers that she objects to, comments which her flatmate (IF04) then characterises as being "judgemental" and reflecting "snobbery". The latter states at the start of the extract that she would rather see people use the language "in any way", without feeling pressured to do so correctly. This sentiment is similarly expressed in the following account:

HM01 [I]s beag orm e is tha e cur dragh orm 's ann nuair a tha daoine (.) eh:: (.) fhios agad a' ceartachadh luchd-labhairt ach chan ann ann an dòigh chuideachail ach ann an dòigh [...] ag ràdh "obh obh rinn thu mearachd an-sin 's tha mi a' sealltainn dìreach dè cho glic 's a tha mi 's a bhith sealltainn gun do rinn thu mearachd!"
I hate it and it bothers me when people (.) eh:: (.) you know correct speakers but not in a helpful way but in a way [...] saying "oh dear you made a mistake there and I'm showing just how clever I am and showing that you made a mistake!"

SD Dìreach
Exactly

HM01 Eh: tha sin dìreach a' cur sìos /na/ daoine 's a' cur sìos /am/ misneach aca [...] chan eil cothroman aca a bhith a' cleachdadh a' chàinain ann an- caran- suidheachaidhean neo-bhreithneachail nuair nach eil daoine ag ràdh "o chleachd thu an tuiseal ginideach ceàrr a-sin, blah!" 's mar sin
Eh: that's just putting people down and decreasing their confidence [...] they don't have opportunities to use the language in- sort of- unjudgemental situations when people don't say "oh you used the genitive case wrong there, blah!" and so on

Showing up others' mistakes in their Gaelic language use is seen as characteristic of certain types of speaker in the above extract, and the informant states that speakers often lack opportunities to use the language in environments where they won't be judged on the quality of their language. He cites the example of the Gaelic genitive case as one particular aspect of the language where people's use is often criticised, lampooning such reproaches with the word "blah" in his constructed dialogue.

Informant IM01 is similarly disdainful of such judgemental interventions:

IM01 Mura h-eil thu air a bhith gu Sabhal Mòr Ostaig cha bhi fios agad no tuisge agad gu dearbh dè seòrsa daoine a tha a' frithealadh an /t/-àite sin agus an seòrsa (.) dè am facal airson **judgement?** [...] fhios 'ad **the judgement look-** "chleachdadh an tuiseal **instead of this tuiseal and blah blah blah**" **you know** na Gàidhlig **police- you know** na **grammar police** [...] **you know** "it's not aspirated" rudan eile- **you know actually** tha mise caran coma uaireannan

Unless you've been to [Gaelic college] Sabhal Mòr Ostaig you won't know or indeed understand what sort of people attend that place and the sort of (.) what's the word for judgement? [...] you know the judgement look- "used the case instead of this case and blah blah blah" you know the Gaelic police- you know the grammar police [...] you know "it's not aspirated" other things- you know actually sometimes I'm a bit indifferent

This speaker switches with striking frequency to English in the above extract, mixing languages even at the morpho-syntactic level as in the phrase "na Gàidhlig **police...** na **grammar police**" to emphasise his objection to such judgemental practices. At the same time, his use of language mixing here may again have a role in adopting an "other" voice when relating potentially controversial views (*cf.* Dunmore & Smith-Christmas, forthcoming). We again see the use of the speech device "blah blah blah" to scorn individuals who are perceived to engage in unwelcome corrections of others' Gaelic language use. His example of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic college on the Isle of Skye (a key site for the instruction and socialisation of many learners), as an environment where judgements of this kind occur, reflects his impression of the scale of the problem. Indeed the detrimental effects of this kind of judgement are even reported to have been observed in the GME classroom:

LF08	[S]omebody was doing an interview
SD	Mm hmm

- LF08 e:m for the radio or something (.) and em (.) and it was very (.)
Glasgow Gaelic if you like
- SD Oh right uh huh
- LF08 And when we were listening to it on the radio the (.) whoever-
the kid that was getting interviewed (.) kinda got knocked
afterwards by the teacher saying “oh that was very Glasgow
Gaelic” and I think that really sort of knocked their confidence

The damage to speakers’ confidence that comments of this kind can inflict is frequently referred to by interview participants, and these kinds of ideas and perceptions of the Gaelic community are described by speakers who reported widely varying Gaelic language use, ability and socialisation. The issue is described as an even more fundamental issue in the following excerpt:

- IF09 Em tha beàrn mòr an-dràsta eadar (.) **you know** na seann
Ghàidheil aig an robh a' Ghàidhlig o thùs
*Em there's a big divide at the moment between (.) you
know the old Gaels who are native speakers*
- SD Tha
Yes
- IF09 Agus Gàidhlig an là an-diugh [...] tha: tòrr nach eil deònach a
bhith a' bruidhinn ris an luchd-ionnsachaidh [...] em (.) **you
know** tha gu leòr eile ann ag ràdh “och, dè am feum ann a
bhith a' bruidhinn na Gàidhlig?” neo “dè a' Ghàidhlig
(neònach) a th' agad?” Em **so** tha **tensions** an-sin tha mi a'
smaoineachadh
*And present-day Gaelic [...] there's: lots who aren't
willing to speak to learners [...] em (.) you know
there's lots of others who say “och, what use is there
in speaking Gaelic?” or “what (strange) Gaelic you
speak!” Em so there are tensions there I think*

Rather than merely relating a perception of linguistic snobbery, speaker IF09 describes the phenomenon as a major divide (*beàrn*: ‘fissure’, ‘gap’) between some traditional speakers of Gaelic whom she refers to as “*na seann Ghàidheil*” (literally ‘old Gaels’) and the modern community of speakers. The constructed dialogues which she attributes to native speakers of this kind are not only judgemental but negative generally, questioning the value of speaking Gaelic at all. Whilst not all interviewees refer to such a fundamental divide in the Gaelic world, ideas concerning perceived linguistic snobbery and judgementalism in the language community are described frequently throughout the corpus. Whether or not such beliefs about Gaelic speakers generally are accurate or not, issues of ideology that are at play here clearly

impact on the confidence of less-experienced speakers to actually use the language. In this way, the ideology of snobbery and judgement in the Gaelic community is replicated, at least among former-GME students, and with it perceptions of negative affect with regard to *using* the language are spread.

6.1.4. Disuse, loss and ‘having’ Gaelic

Two competing ideologies of language use in relation to the attrition of Gaelic language skills were reported by interviewees in interviews. Firstly, a large proportion of participants reported feeling that their abilities in Gaelic had declined because of their limited use of the language in past years, while a smaller number stated the belief that using the language frequently had prevented such attrition. By contrast, other interviewees reported feeling that ‘having’ Gaelic, without necessarily speaking or using it in their day-to-day lives, was valuable to them in and of itself. Firstly, therefore, the following two extracts exemplify the belief of various speakers that attrition of Gaelic language skills arises because of disuse:

1. IF13 I think I'm quite **lapach** (*rusty*) because (.) I don't really have anybody that I speak it [*i.e.* Gaelic] to regularly
 2. SD Uh huh
 3. IF13 Like you know if you're not using it it does kind of like (.) it's probably- it would be fine if I started speaking- speaking it right now but I wouldn't feel very confident [kind of thing]
 4. SD [Yeah that's the thing-] just a question of confidence I suppose
 5. IF13 I think (.) I probably- I probably sh:ould go along to stuff ((laughs)) [...] I know if I don't use it then (.) I'll lose it kind of thing
- IF06 If you have a language but you never use it then you don't really have the language (.) whereas at least if you have the opportunity then you can (.) I dunno- learn it or make an effort or something [...] like if you don't speak for three years then I'm just ((laughs))
- SD Yeah
- IF06 I go home and the old grannies try and talk to me I'm just- it's really embarrassing

Both above participants report feeling less fluent in the language than they used to be, a situation they blame on having limited opportunities to use the language. Participant IF13 claims in turn 1 that she is “*lapach*” or rusty in the language because of a lack of Gaelic-speaking peers and interlocutors with whom she could use it. IF06

questions the idea of ‘having’ a language but not using it, maintaining that this is an untenable situation. It is notable that both speakers express a sense of culpability in the decline of their language abilities, recalling the first ideology described in section 6.1.1. Firstly informant IF13 states in turn 5 that she “probably should go along” to Gaelic events, placing particular emphasis on and elongating the initial consonant of ‘should’ – and laughing. Meanwhile participant IF06 states that one should “make an effort” to maintain one’s language skills, in contrast to her own lack of Gaelic use and subsequent embarrassment when unable to speak it. The idea that using the language prevents attrition, or even helps to improve one’s language skills, is advanced in the following excerpt:

- | | |
|------|---|
| SD | A bheil thu a' creidsinn g' eil (.) cleachdadh làitheil air neo um (.) cunbhalach na Gàidhlig cudromach dhutsa?
<i>Do you think that (.) daily or (.) regular use of Gaelic is important to you?</i> |
| LM06 | Em:: (.) tha ((laughs))
<i>yes</i> |
| SD | ((laughs)) |
| LM06 | Tha (1.9) Siud an dòigh as fheàrr a bhith fàs nas fheàrr=
<i>Yes (1.9) That's the best way to get better</i> |
| SD | =Uh huh |
| LM06 | a bhith cleachdadh=
<i>to use=</i> |
| SD | =Ann a bhith ga cleachdadh?=
<i>=Through using it=?</i> |
| LM06 | =cleachdadh làitheil (.) em (.) is toil leam gun urrainn dhomh sin a dhèanamh
<i>=daily use (.) em (.) I like that I can do that</i> |

Informant LM06 therefore considers the opportunity that he has to use Gaelic regularly as the best way to improve his own abilities in the language. The complement to this point is made in the following extract by a speaker raised with Gaelic in the urban Lowlands but who is now based in the Western Isles:

1. LM04 Mura bheil Gàidhlig làidir agad cha bhi thu ga cleachdadh
Unless you have strong Gaelic you won't use it
2. SD Cha bhi
No
3. LM04 As dèidh **so** (.) tha mi (.) 's dòcha eagallach mura /bhios/ (.) **you know** Gàidhlig /m/ath aig daoine a tha a' fàgail an' /sgoil [...] shuas an-seo airson a' /mhòr-

chuid tha Gàidhlig eh (.) och dè /an/ Gàidhlig airson em **you know 'less important'?**

Afterwards so (.) I am (.) maybe fearful if people who leave school don't have good Gaelic [...] up here for most people Gaelic is eh (.) och what's Gaelic for you know 'less important'?

4. SD Dìreach- chan eil e cho cudromach, air neo?
Exactly- it's not as important, or?

5. LM04 **Yeah** chan eil e cho cudromach [...] dè /G/àidhlig airson- tha mi (.) **yeah** ((sighs)) er '**interest**'?
Yeah *it's not so important [...] what's Gaelic for- I am (.) yeah* ((sighs)) er '**interest**'?

Intriguingly, the language that this informant uses to describe decline resulting from disuse provides a number of metalinguistic cues to the nature of this phenomenon. Up to this point the interview had proceeded in English, as the informant reported using the language only rarely himself. He nevertheless acquiesced to speak Gaelic towards the end of the interview following my invitation to do so. Yet he is clearly struggling in this excerpt to communicate his meaning in Gaelic, as I have tried to indicate with angled brackets for atypical and nonconcordant usages, such as use of incorrect verbal and case forms in turns 1, 3 and 5. The Gaelic equivalents for 'less important' and 'interest' also escape his memory, while his constant pauses and sighing at the end of turn 5 reveal a relative lack of fluency at present. As such, his point in turn 1 – that unless speakers have a good standard of Gaelic they are unlikely to use it – seems well made.

'Having' Gaelic

In contrast to the above extracts, which exemplify speakers' belief that disuse leads to language decline – and that use should thus be encouraged – various interviewees expressed a rather different view. Interviewees in the following accounts voice the belief that possessing abilities in the language and 'having' Gaelic without necessarily speaking it has value in and of itself:

IF13 You know I really should speak it a wee bit more (.) em: [...] I think it's really nice to have Gaelic and I think it has helped me- obviously I did it at uni which was good and if I'd wanted I probably could've gone on and got a job

- LF01 Um I think that if you learn to speak it even if you don't have the opportunity to use it every day that (.) it's still there
 SD It's still there- and you can access it again?
 LF01 I mean personally after I left school I'd say there was about (.) two or three years when I didn't speak any Gaelic [...] even if there's not the opportunity to use it regularly, it's still a good thing

Although she has not pursued job opportunities that speaking Gaelic may have afforded after studying it at university, and therefore feels that she “should speak it a wee bit more”, informant IF13 nevertheless regards Gaelic as something which is “nice to have”. Likewise, the second speaker above sees the language as a resource that is “still there” even if she has not used it regularly. Informant IF03 expounds on this belief in greater detail in the following account. Whilst the force with which she does so is unusual in the dataset more generally, what is most remarkable is the way in which she convinces her friend (IF04) of how reasonable and common-sense this position is:

- IF03 I like knowing that I have got the language
 SD Okay yeah
 IF03 It's not important for me to be able to speak it every day and I don't know if I want to have it in my world every day
 SD Yeah
 IF03 Maybe it's because I know it's so separate and so cliquey that I just wouldn't want to be part of that kind of thing anyway [...] But it doesn't- it wouldn't bother me- I wouldn't be fussed about using it every day in everyday language [...] I have it and I like having it cos it's like a little personal thing that you have that not everybody has
 [...]
 IF04 I haven't thought of it like that before- I guess there's so much pressure and so much kind of learning it to use it in a Gaelic world you know?
 SD Yeah
 IF04 And stuff- but you know what's wrong with just having it?

Informant IF03 therefore appears to regard it as a matter of pride to “have” Gaelic as an icon of personal identity and a “little personal thing” that distinguishes her from others (*cf.* section 6.3.1, below, on Gaelic and personal identities). The language is not especially seen as being useful for “every day” communication, and in fact she states that she “wouldn't want to be part” of the Gaelic community because of its

perceived ‘cliquiness’ (see section 6.1.3). In response, informant IF04, her friend and flatmate, seems to be persuaded by her reasoning, and defends the position of “just having it”, as opposed to using the language “in a Gaelic world”. In this way it may be seen that certain language ideologies appear to spread rather surreptitiously, taking root through discursive constructions even as they are negotiated by speakers (cf. Kroskrity 2000b; Boudreau & Dubois 2007); this extract may exemplify this phenomenon. The apparent common sense of this ideology of language, however, positing that using Gaelic is less important than ‘having’ the language in the first place, is called starkly into question by the speaker in the following account:

- IF01 Tha mise ag ràdh gu bheil mi caran fileanta (.) gu bheil mi (.)
 comasach Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn (.) ach chan eil mi ga
 cleachda' **so** mar sin chan eil mi **really** fileanta, no chan eil
 really comas agam [...] Tha daoine ag ràdh gum b' urrainn
 dhaibh Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn (.) mar na bràthraichean agam-
 ach chan eil iad ga cleachdadh- tha- is urrainn dhaibh
 /leughadh Gàidhlig/ ach **you know** dìreach mar mi-fhìn tha
 iad air faclan eh (.) tha iad air /diochuimneachadh /faclan ach=
 I say that I'm kind of fluent (.) that I am (.) able to
 speak Gaelic (.) but I don't use it so I'm therefore not
 ***really** fluent, or I don't really have ability [...]* *People*
 say that they could speak Gaelic (.) like my brothers-
 *but they don't use it- they can read Gaelic but **you***
 ***know** just like me they've- they've forgotten words but*
 SD =Mm hmm
 IF01 chan urrainn dhaibh a cleachda' (.) chan urrainn
 dhòmhsa **really** /g/a cleachdadh **either** erm (.) cuideachd
 *they can't use it (.) I can't **really** use it **either** erm (.)*
 either

Despite stating that she often claims to be a fluent speaker, informant IF01 reports that she forgets words, as do her brothers, from having used the language so seldom. As such, people who say they can speak Gaelic but who don't actually use it, she argues, will find themselves in the same position, unable to use the language when they wish to do so. The above extracts exemplify two competing discourses advanced by different speakers in the interview corpus. Some participants readily associate the attrition of their Gaelic language skills with their disuse of the language. Among others, however, the discourse of ‘having Gaelic’ appears to militate against the belief that using it regularly is important to them for maintaining abilities in the language. Yet even among those who subscribe the former viewpoint,

regular use of the language is only reported occasionally. Many of those who advanced this position blamed this on a lack of opportunity to speak Gaelic. This question brings us to the final ideology of Gaelic language use that I discuss here.

6.1.5. 'Opportunity' and choice in Gaelic use

The last set of positions I would like to consider in relation to Gaelic use concerns the complementary ideologies of *opportunity* and *choice* to use the language. Firstly, therefore, we may discern an ideology of opportunity in interviewees' accounts of their present-day use of Gaelic.

LF08 I've no:t got the opportunity if you like to speak it as much
 SD Yeah [uh huh]
 LF08 [Em] (.) which is a shame because (1.7) you know I do kinda miss (1.1) miss em (1.8) being able to do- to speak it to outside people in different environments [...] it's a shame that I don't get to (.) to use it as often as I would like

In the above excerpt, lack of opportunity to use Gaelic is considered the chief cause of the informant's disuse of the language. Her description of this scenario as a "shame" and her feeling of "missing" it resonate to some degree with the ideology of regret or guilt discussed above (section 6.1.1). Yet any sense of personal culpability or guilt is absent from this excerpt; rather, it is the lack of opportunity to speak Gaelic that is seen to account for the situation. In the following extract, speakers' lack of opportunity to speak the language is identified as a key deficiency in the Gaelic community:

IF02 [B]u chòir comas a bhith aig daoine ach às aonais na cothroman (.) cha bhi comasan aig daoine
People should have ability but without the opportunities (.) people won't have abilities
 SD Hmm
 IF02 Tha mi smaoinichadh gu bheil (.) sin a dhìth- tha tuilleadh chothroman a dhìth air daoine gus a' Ghàidhlig a chleachdadh fiù 's dhèanainnsa feum air cothroman Gàidhlig a chleachdadh [...] chan eil uimhir dhe chothroman ann 's dòcha a' dol dhan a' bhùth 's bruidhinn ri daoine ann an Gàidhlig (.) ach tha mi smaoinichadh 's dòcha gun tig na cothroman a tha sin san àm ri teachd
I think that (.) that's lacking- more opportunities for people to use Gaelic are lacking- even I could use [more] opportunities to use Gaelic [...] there aren't

IF07 [Seach air adhart] agus a' dol air ais (.) 's dòcha a dh'àiteigin nach- b' fheàrr leat gluasad air adhart no b' fheàrr leat a bhith nad inbheach- tha mi smaoinichadh
[Instead of forward] and going back (.) perhaps to somewhere you don't- you'd prefer to move on or you'd prefer to be an adult- I think

Using Gaelic only rarely in the present day is therefore referred to very clearly as a choice on the part of this participant, who strongly associates using Gaelic with being a child. The long pause (3.0s) and sigh she produces at the start of the utterance betray a sense of negative affect for the speaker, who describes that she would rather 'move on' (*gluasad air adhart*) from such childhood language practices. As such, the decision not to use Gaelic in the present day is depicted as a rational choice for informant IF07. In a similar manner, informant IF04 – who currently uses Gaelic frequently in her working life – nevertheless states that continued commitment to using the language is dependent on her own future choices and decisions:

IF04 I personally have no qualms in saying I: I want to do with my life what I want to do and I'm not gonna stay within the Gaelic world just [for the sake of Gaelic]
 SD [For the sake of Gaelic yeah]
 IF04 I won't- (.) my interests- at the moment I'm doing Gaelic primary teaching (.) and (2.5) I won't hide the fact that I don't necessarily want to be a Gaelic primary school teacher- I'm not doing it because (.) because I feel so passionately about working in Gaelic and keeping Gaelic alive although it's very important to me (.) but I'm far more interested in music and things so if that comes up I'm gonna go- I'm not gonna stay in something just for the sake of Gaelic

As such, choice is again seen as a key factor in the participant's engagement with the language, at present and in the future. Her current chosen career path is just that – a choice – and she therefore states that her commitment to using Gaelic in a professional context may not be permanent. IF04's future use of Gaelic is subject to other choices and opportunities that may present themselves in future. The unpredictability of how a Gaelic speaker's relationship to the language can change over time is a central theme in the following excerpt:

IF09 [C]ha do shaoil mi riamh gum bithinn ga cleachdadh feumaidh mi aideachadh- bha mi dìreach airson /an /eilean fhàgail agus (.) **you know 'get me out of here'!**

*I never thought that I would be using it I have to admit-
I just wanted to leave the island and (.) you know ‘get
me out of here’!*

- SD Seadh dìreach
 Yeah exactly
- IF09 Em agus cha robh beachd sam bith agam Gàidhlig a
 chleachdadh, agus aig an àm sin chan e rud, em (.)
 tarraingeach a bh' ann [...] dh'fhàg mise /an /eilean 's cha robh
 dùil sam bith agam=
 *Em and I had no intention of using Gaelic, and at that
 time it wasn't, em (.) an attractive thing [...] I left the
 island and I didn't at all expect=*
- SD =Seadh
 =*Yeah*
- IF09 Gàidhlig a chleachdadh [...] **so** tha mo bheachd air
 atharrachadh gu tur! ((laughs))
 to use Gaelic [...] so my opinion has changed entirely!

Having left the island community in which she was raised with no intention of using Gaelic in her future career, this speaker subsequently found herself back on the island, having made the deliberate choice to work in a professional Gaelic-medium environment. Future linguistic trajectories after leaving school are not necessarily unidirectional, therefore, although interviewees scarcely ever report returning to regular Gaelic use in adulthood after a period of not doing so. The active choice to use Gaelic extensively after school seems restricted to individuals raised with the language at home, or in Gaelic-speaking communities. Many former-GME students report prioritising other life choices over Gaelic, as described by the following informant:

- LM02 [P]riorities have come- have come into my life in terms ae (.)
 like at the moment my work's kind of (.) full [...] I don't think
 we'll ever get to the level which would make it easy for an
 individual to leave Gaelic-medium education (.) and to
 maintain (.) eh, the need to- to need to have the language [...]
 But I mean to be honest it needs people like me to decide
 against all the priorities I've got
- SD ((laughs))
- LM02 to do it (.) and it doesn't sound like I'm going to be
 doing that any time soon

Questions of *priority* and *need* are therefore central to this account of Gaelic language use in the present day. Choices that this informant has made after school in terms of his professional life have been made with little consideration of Gaelic, and

he maintains that the “need to have the language” has fallen away since school. The participant states making Gaelic an important aspect of his day-to-day life would mean choosing to go “against all the priorities” that he now has in his adult life. Questions of choice and opportunity are therefore central to the ideologies of Gaelic language use that interviewees express while explaining and rationalising their current language practices. I argue that each of the ideological themes that I have outlined above concerning Gaelic use tend to reinforce rationales pertaining to speakers’ *limited* use of Gaelic, and to militate against more meaningful engagements with the language in day-to-day life.

6.2. Ideologies of Gaelic II: Language policy and revitalisation

The second section of this chapter concerns interviewees’ ideologies in relation to Gaelic language policy in Scotland, and the revitalisation of the language generally. Four thematic categories are discernible in interviewees’ accounts, and I draw attention to each of these in turn. The first identifiable ideological theme relates to the role of GME itself in revitalisation efforts (section 6.2.1) while the second deals with the perceived benefits of the system in ways not related to language policy. Section 6.2.3 regards various speakers’ beliefs that developing Gaelic-learner education (GLE) as an objective of language policy may be more beneficial, while the fourth subsection concerns interviewees’ impressions of ‘waste’ in spending on Gaelic, and the perceived need for greater ‘focus’ in Gaelic language revitalisation (section 6.2.4). As ideologies of Gaelic use were seen to have a possible impact upon language practices by rationalising and reinforcing current use, beliefs concerning revitalisation in general terms similarly form a set of beliefs that may also have an effect on these matters .

6.2.1. GME in discourses of Gaelic language revitalisation

The first set of ideologies I consider here concerns interviewees’ beliefs in relation to GME as an instrument of language revitalisation in Scotland, and how its role in this respect is regarded vis-à-vis the system’s perceived benefits generally. Interviewees’ attitudes to the role of GME vary considerably. On the one hand, certain interviewees

expressed the belief that Gaelic-medium education was one of the best ways to create new speakers of the language:

- HF01 Erm 's e an dòigh as fhasa a th' ann barrachd [daoine]
Erm it is the easiest way to get more [people]
- SD ['S e hmm]
[Yeah hmm]
- HF01 a thoirt a-steach gu bhith bruidhinn na Gàidhlig agus eadhon mura tèid a h-uile duine aca tro bheatha mheadhan na Gàidhlig 's nach bi iad cho fileanta co-dhiù bidh na h-àireamhan a' fàs nas motha [...] tha mi a' smaoinich' gu bheil rudan a' coimhead glè mhath air a shon leis na sgoiltean ùra a' fosgladh agus leis na sgoiltean sin dìreach a-mhàin a' teagasg tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig
to speak Gaelic and even if every one of them doesn't go through life [through] the medium of Gaelic and aren't so fluent the numbers will be growing greater anyway [...] I think things look very good for it with the new schools opening and those schools just teaching only through the medium of Gaelic

Participant HF01 is rather optimistic about the role of Gaelic-medium education in getting greater numbers of people to speak Gaelic, arguing that even if they don't use the language in their day-to-day lives after school, numbers of speakers will still be increasing in official terms (e.g. on census returns *etc.*). The relatively recent growth of separate Gaelic-medium schools (in Glasgow, Inverness and since 2013, Edinburgh) is seen as an important contributory factor in increasing speaker numbers. Nevertheless, notably few participants expressed this particular belief in relation to GME; at least not without making crucial caveats regarding its usefulness in revitalising Gaelic:

- HM02 [T]ha feum againn barrachd oidhirpean- barrachd oidhirp gus airgead a chur air foghlam [...] 's e an duilgheadas a th' againn nach eil na tidsearan againn
We need more efforts- more of an effort to spend money on education [...] the problem we have is that we don't have the teachers
- SD 'S e
Yes
- HM02 U:m chan eil gu leòr ann- tha e cho sìmplidh sin [...] chan eil fiù 's àrd-thidsear againn airson /an/ aon sgoil Gàidhlig ann an Inbhir Nis [...] sin dìreach **organisation** agus: agus (x) mus urrainn dhaibh toiseach/ (.)

*U:m there aren't enough- it's as simple as that [...] we don't even have a headteacher for the Gaelic school in Inverness [...] that's just **organisation** and: and (x) before they can start (.)*

SD	Seadh <i>Yeah</i>
HM02	It's gonna collapse!
SD	Hmm
HM02	Cho sìmplidh sin <i>Simple as that</i>
SD	Sin e <i>That's it</i>
HM02	<u>No</u> management

Informant HM02 therefore sees a number of problems with GME as a means to reverse language shift in Scotland. Whilst he states that more money needs to be spent on education as a policy priority – arguing that there are insufficient numbers of teachers – he also notes a more fundamental problem in the system, criticising what he regards as a lack of “organisation” in the system. The interviewee switches to English to emphasise his sense of pessimism regarding the future of GME, exclaiming “it’s gonna collapse” and emphatically stating his belief that there’s “no management” within the system. Similarly doubtful prospects are reported in the following informant’s account reflecting on the potential future growth of GME in Scotland:

1. SD Do you think that more schools should teach in Gaelic in Scotland?
2. LM07 ((sighs)) um I d:on't know er if- if there's enough people that want to be taught in Gaelic=
3. SD =Uh huh=
4. LM07 =then yes ((rising intonation)) (.) um if there isn't that much interest then it would be crazy to spend money on it

Keys to the tone of these speech acts are provided by the informant sighing, pausing to release the initial consonant in “don’t” in turn 2, and placing a rising, questioning intonation on “yes” in turn 4. These keys each reflect the participant’s uncertain and somewhat critical view of GME, with this intonation on “yes” perhaps conveying the speaker’s sense that his answer in the affirmative is dependent on a big ‘if’. He therefore appears doubtful that demand for GME will grow sufficiently to warrant further growth in the system, and the speaker’s belief that spending further money in

such circumstances would thus be “crazy” touches on the ideology of ‘waste’ discussed further in section 6.2.3, below. Interviewees’ attitudes to the system generally therefore vary to a considerable degree, although such negative opinions on GME are expressed only rarely. Few interviewees appear to regard GME on its own as a realistic means of creating and sustaining large numbers of new speakers of Gaelic, however, with several participants acknowledging that growth in GME must be supported by other measures to shore up numbers of speakers in the future. One issue that several speakers in the corpus reflect upon is socialisation in and intergenerational transmission of Gaelic at home, as described in the following extract:

- HF07 [B]idh na- (2.0) bidh an/ /clann agamsa a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig agus chan (.) chan eil- 's dòcha gum bi um (.) uill dithis againne a tha fhathast a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig gu math tric (.) agus uh 's dòcha gum bi- ma tha **you know** dithis a-mach à seachd ann/ a h-uile clas a' tighinn a-mach agus ag ràdh “**right** bidh Gàidhlig aig an/ /clann agamsa”
*My (2.0) my own children will speak Gaelic and it's not (.) not- maybe there's um (.) well two of us who still speak Gaelic quite often (.) and uh perhaps there'll be- if **you know** two out of seven in every class come out and say “**right** my own children will have Gaelic”*
- SD Seadh
Yeah
- HF07 Sin gu leòr (.) chan fheum e a bhith **hundred percent**, chan fheum e a bhith **fifty percent success rate** feumaidh e a bhith (.)
*That's enough (.) it doesn't have to be a **hundred percent**, it doesn't have to be a **fifty percent success rate** it has to be (.)*
- SD Hmm
- HF07 Deich air fhichead
Thirty

Speaker HF07 therefore argues that potential rates of Gaelic transmission to future generations by former-GME students needs to be thirty percent for the system to be considered a success, giving the example of 2 people out of the 7 in her own GM class who continue to speak the language today. She is determined and confident that any future children of her own will speak the language at home, but as outlined in section 6.1.2, rates of Gaelic transmission even among Gaelic-speaking couples may

not be as certain as her own convictions in this regard suggest. In the following two excerpts, interviewees who *don't* use the language regularly in the present day reflect on the importance of GME to their own future intentions to pass the language on:

- SD Would you put your little girl through Gaelic-medium as well?
LF07 Yeah definitely yeah
SD Definitely? Uh huh
LF07 Yeah [...] every now and then I try and (.) refresh myself you
 know try and get back (.) with it a wee bit
SD Yeah uh huh
LF07 Cos I'd hate to see it (.) you know (.) like die kinda [...] I
 would definitely (.) you know (.) without saying 100% but it's
 as close as that my daughter (.) will [be going]
SD [Yeah] you'd be keen to do that?
LF07 Yeah definitely definitely
- LM09 [If I ever have kids I would send them to the Gaelic school
SD You would do aye?
LM09 Yeah I would make sure that they got that kind of education
SD Yeah do you reckon you'd try to speak Gaelic to them at home
 as well?
LM09 (2.1) Aye- well aye I would like I'd speak Gaelic as much- as
 much as possible
SD Yeah
LM09 Cos it's hard in your day-to-day life but (.) generally (.) it's like
 I'm a big believer in (.) Scottish culture and Gaelic

Both the above participants are therefore keen to enroll their children in GME, LF07 voicing her intention to do so when her baby daughter is old enough, and informant LM09 keen to do so should he ever have children. Both appear slightly more doubtful in their intentions to raise children through Gaelic at home, however; the first interviewee stating that she sometimes tries to “refresh” her Gaelic, and LM09 reflecting after a long pause (2.1 seconds) that he would try to speak Gaelic “as much as possible” to any future children. This condition perhaps indicates that this goal would not be easily achieved, since he states that “it's hard in your day-to-day life” to do so. For both of these speakers, then, GME is expected to form a major part of their attempt to pass the language on to children, with future use of Gaelic at home likely to be rather limited. Overall, participants hold mixed beliefs and ideas regarding the importance of GME to revitalisation efforts, with some considerably more optimistic than others. Nevertheless, strong support for the system generally

was reported throughout the interview corpus. Crucially, however, the reasons that participants articulated for that support rarely pertained to the revitalisation of Gaelic itself, or to the relevance of the language to “Scottish culture” as mentioned by LM09, above.

6.2.2. Benefits of GME not related to revitalisation

Rather than stating support for GME because of its perceived benefits for the future of Gaelic, interviewees frequently reported being appreciative of the high-quality education that they received, and of the opportunities that this afforded them subsequently. Discourses of this kind are advanced in the following two excerpts, for example:

- | | |
|------|---|
| LM08 | [D]efinitely I think the more it can grow (.) the better [...] a lot of non-Gaelic speakers' families will want to send their children there because (.) they'll see that it's actually just a good school |
| SD | That's right uh huh yeah |
| LM08 | So (.) yeah they'll- they'll begin to send (.) eh: children there and I think that will (.) eh: sort of be taken up by government |
| | |
| HF06 | I had my education through that [<i>i.e.</i> Gaelic] and I've done very well (.) so [...] we benefitted from small class sizes em which I wouldn't have had even at the time I went to primary school in xxx ((mainland Highlands)) the Gaelic (.) school was a Gaelic-medium unit within another school |
| SD | Yeah |
| HF06 | And the class sizes were smaller in comparison to the English-medium |

GME is regarded by the above two speakers as providing a good education in general. Informant LM08 hopes that greater numbers of non-Gaelic speaking parents coming to regard GME as “just a good school” will influence the government to promote it, while HF06 attributes success in her education and career partly to the smaller class sizes in GME compared to English-medium classes. This view of GME as providing an elite education is voiced frequently throughout the corpus. As informant HF06 describes having “done very well” after completing GME, so the following informant explains that former-GME classmates tend to succeed professionally:

- IF05 I had a brilliant education
SD Hmm
IF05 I had a:- I was one of a class of six I was one of only two girls and most of these people have gone onto- (.) em in primary school have gone on to really good careers [...] You can't buy- you cannot buy the type of education I've had
SD No I think that's right yeah
LON_F01 People go out and spend an absolute fortune on private education [...] And I don't know looking back- was that a class thing? Was that because we were all from- mainly educated- well we [had] educated parents [...] we had ((laughs)) so much money flung at us it was amazing!

Participant IF05 is therefore highly appreciative of the quality of education she received through GME, reflecting on issues of class size, resourcing and social class when she states emphatically that “you cannot buy” the kind of education she had. This view of GME as an elite system of education is again related in the following excerpt:

1. IF04 If you were to have kids though would you put them through Gaelic?
2. IF03 Yeah I know why you've asked this [...] I think the education's better (.) it's smaller (.) it's (3.2) what am I saying here? (.) Might sound like the idiot
3. IF04 Go on
4. IF03 It's a bit more s::
5. IF04 Oh I know what you mean- no you'd be surprised are you gonna talk about (.) ((hushed)) class? Social class?
6. IF03 No not about social class no (.) I just think it's a little bit more select [...] but not because I would want them to be Gaelic-speaking

Interestingly, speaker IF03's hesitation when describing the perceived benefits of GME – noticeably pausing in turns 1 and 3 – is interpreted by her friend and flatmate as an indication that she might say something controversial about the social class of GME pupils. In reply she states that she is not in fact discussing class, but GME as a “select” system (although the significance of the term “select”, which often has class overtones, is not made fully clear). Certainly, she states that her choice to put children into GME wouldn't stem from any desire for them “to be Gaelic-speaking”. Overall support for the Gaelic-medium system throughout the corpus may therefore be attributed to various things. It is notable, however, that the benefits of the system as an instrument of language policy are only rarely referred to by participants; rather,

the advantages of the education system *per se* are more frequently mentioned in interviews. Perhaps surprisingly, the cognitive and educational benefits of bilingualism—often promoted by language planners in Scotland as a major advantage of GME—are absent in interviewees’ accounts of the benefits attached to GME.

6.2.3. (Mandatory) Gaelic learner education

A second area of ideologies surrounding Gaelic language policy concerns Gaelic learner education (GLE) – whereby the language is taught to as a school subject rather than used as a medium of instruction – and the suggestion of participants that this be increased in Scotland as an explicit policy aim. Often this was suggested in direct response to questions on the growth of *Gaelic-medium* education, and I had not at first anticipated support for developing GLE to be so widespread throughout the cohort. Indeed, various former-GME students even regard growth of GLE as a potential alternative policy to expanding GME, as hinted at in the following extract:

- | | |
|------|---|
| SD | Am bu chòir barrachd sgoiltean a bhith a' teagasg tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig nad bheachdsa?
<i>Should more schools teach through the medium of Gaelic in your opinion?</i> |
| HF09 | E:m bhiodh e math nan robh iad a' teagasg Gàidhlig- you know- mar /G/àidhlig do luchd-ionnsachaidh
<i>E:m it would be good if they taught Gaelic- you know-like Gaelic for learners</i> |
| SD | Hmm yeah |
| HF09 | Ach an-dràsta tha mi smaointinn gur e an rud a tha ceàrr (.)
chan eil gu leòr tidsearan ann
<i>But at the moment I think that the thing that's wrong (.) there aren't enough teachers</i> |

The above participant therefore advocates increasing GLE in response to my question on *Gaelic-medium* education, though she describes the perceived shortage of qualified staff for this) as a potential obstacle (as recalled from informant HM02’s statement in respect of GME in section 6.2.1. Many interviewees similarly mentioned potential growth of GLE as an area of language policy to which they would like to see more attention paid, particularly in comparison with perceived provision for other modern languages:

- LF06 [S]ee instead of this French (1.2) nobody uses French- Spanish- people use Spanish but see instead of French (.) they should be taking the French out and (.) putting Gaelic in=
 SD =Yeah
 LF06 to all all secondary schools in Glasgow- all of them- all the secondary schools in Scotland [even]
 SD [Yeah] yeah=
 LF06 =Because if you can fit the French in (.) and whatever else the German and whatever else you learn in primary
 SD Uh huh
 LF06 I mean (.) they must be able tae fit an hour of Gaelic in

Indeed a considerable proportion of interviewees advocated the mandatory teaching of Gaelic in Scottish schools, and the adoption of a GLE policy analogous to situations in Wales and Ireland:

- LF07 I don't see a lot of (.) (x) stuff about Gaelic to try and get people to learn it you know [...] you know how like in Ireland or I don't know if it's in (.) Wales as well it's like pretty much (.) you get taught it regardless
 SD Yeah that's right yeah everyone has to do lessons
 LF07 Yeah (.) maybe they should have an element of that in school
- LM02 [I]f they were able to create a situation like what- I think like in Ireland and Wales,
 SD Yeah
 LM02 Where: eh (.) I don't know if you looked at that- do they:? It seems like Welsh is spoken a lot more (.) than Gaelic [...] to the extent that it would need to- I think for it to actually become a legitimate language [...] start putting it into the education system and then kids who are five start coming in and that's all they know, then (.) then it will develop

Various levels of support for mandatory GLE are therefore discernible in interviewees' accounts. Speaker LF07 suggests above that "an element" of compulsory Gaelic would benefit Gaelic revitalisation by increasing numbers of learners. Informant LM02 goes further than this, proposing that the development of Gaelic as "a legitimate language" will be aided by the introduction of the language into other parts of the education system, suggesting mandatory Celtic language teaching in Wales and Ireland as examples of how this could be done. Similarly, in the following account speaker LM09 sees compulsory Welsh in Wales as an example to follow in the case of Gaelic:

- LM09 It's like if you see Wales- Wales (.) everybody gets taught Welsh when they're in Wales
- SD That's right
- LM09 At an early age it's like mandatory
- SD Yeah uh huh
- LM09 But in Scotland it's not [...] up to like Primary 4 they should teach like Gaelic
- SD Uh huh
- LM09 Like the basic- basic Gaelic so that everybody- everybody in the country knows their own language

Speaker LM09's argument in relation to Gaelic, that all Scottish students should know "their own language" touches on considerations central to my examination of Gaelic and identities in section 6.3, and I return to these considerations in greater detail there. A considerable degree of support for expanding GLE was reported by interview interviewees, many contrasting the perceived need here to the situation in Ireland and Wales, where greater numbers are often believed to speak Celtic languages chiefly as a result of mandatory learner education.⁷ Widespread support for increasing GLE as a policy aim contrasts with the more mixed picture of support of GME as a tool of RLS outlined in section 6.2.1.

6.2.4. Focus and efficiency: Criticism of Gaelic language policy

Interestingly, positive judgements concerning current language policy to maintain and revitalise Gaelic in Scotland are largely absent in participants' accounts; rather, interviewees more frequently level criticisms at the way in which language policy and planning for Gaelic is perceived to be (mis-)managed. Two lines of discourse are employed by various interviewees in their critiques of language policy in Scotland. The first I draw attention to concerns participants' belief in the need for greater focus in revitalisation efforts. Such ideological positions may pertain either to policy objectives generally, or to paying greater attention to specific geographical areas. The second theme of discourse concerns interviewees' impressions of the need for more efficient public spending on Gaelic revitalisation. In the first extract discussed

⁷ Furthermore, it is worth noting that this belief in the supposed benefits of mandatory language learning sits uneasily with the picture of language use and competence that emerges from the sociolinguistic literature in Ireland and Wales, the two contexts to which speakers most often refer as examples in this regard (*cf.* Murtagh 2003; Ó Riagáin 1997; Price 2013; Williams 2008, 2014).

below the speaker argues, somewhat cautiously, that language activists' current objectives may be overly ambitious:

- LM02 I mean my mum's obviously involved in development of Gaelic
SD Yeah (.) yeah
LM02 And she doesn't love some of my opinions on it in terms of eh: she was probably afraid I was gonna say some of them just now but- but it's ((laughs)) I just think it's a bit of a tough- (.) I think we're doing a lot to maintain it and I don't think we should stop (.) trying to keep the culture
SD Hmm
LM02 I just think that some aims are a bit ambitious [...] I don't think we'll ever get to the level which would make it easy for an individual to leave Gaelic-medium education (.) and to maintain (.) eh, the need to- to need to have the language

Informant LM02 hesitates several times when introducing his belief that some objectives of Gaelic language policy “are a bit ambitious”. He firstly states that his mother, who is involved in Gaelic professionally, might not approve of what he seems to regard as rather critical views on the matter. Self-interruptions and pauses perhaps suggest his attempt to be diplomatic in stating his view, and he may be consciously trying not to sound overly critical in front of me. Nevertheless, his belief that “we are doing a lot to maintain” Gaelic is stated clearly, whereas he casts doubt on the idea that maintaining speakers’ “need to have” Gaelic is a realistic goal. Similar doubts concerning current language policy are expressed in the following extract:

- HF02 [B]ha mi a' faicinn- **you know** bha tòrr **like-** a' feuchainn ri tòrr rudan a dhèanamh
I used to see- you know there was lots of like- trying to do lots of things
SD Hmm
HF02 Agus bha mi a' smaointinn gur e sin an trioblaid **you know** bha iad a' feuchainn ri cus a dhèanamh ann an dòigh- neo bha e ro fharsaing [...] chan eil **foundation** ann a thaobh a' chànan a chleachdadh [...] Tha tòrr rudan bunasach ann a feuma/dh/ a dhèanamh fhathast
And I thought that that was the problem you know they were trying to do too much in a way- or it was too broad [...] there's no foundation in terms of using the language [...] There are lots of basic things that still need to be done

- SD Tha
 Yes
- HF02 Ach a' feuchainn ri togail air stuth nach eil ann? Em “**the wise man built his house upon the sand**” or ge b’ e dè a th’ann
 But trying to build on stuff that’s not there? Em “the wise man built his house upon the sand” or whatever it is

Insights from working in Gaelic development appear to lead this informant to the conclusion she articulates here, that too much is being attempted too fast, and that foundations in terms of language *use* ought be laid before anything further is attempted. In this sense, she advocates a greater focus on what she sees as the more fundamental issue of promoting use as a policy priority. Similarly, a perceived need for greater focus, clarity of purpose and “vision” in Gaelic revitalisation is advanced in the following excerpt:

- IF07 [U]aireannan bu mhath leam faighneachd /air/ daoine a tha a' strì airson Gàidhlig “dè dìreach a tha sibh- dè an/ amas a th’agaibh, dè an **vision** a tha sibh=
 *Sometimes I would like to ask the people who are striving for Gaelic “what exactly are you- what is your objective, what **vision** do you=*
- SD =Dìreach
 =*Exactly*
- IF07 a tha sibh a' faicinn?”
 do you see?”

Elsewhere, interviewees’ suggestions in respect of priority and focus in Gaelic revitalisation centre on questions of geography, and specifically the perceived heartlands of the language:

- LM04 I mean it's not something that I would say should be kept to the- like the Western Isles [...] I mean it ((sighs)) (2.2) (x) places like (.) here ((W. Isles)) you're gonna get the opportunity to use it more
- SD That's right yeah
- LM04 Em (.) and I mean I'm all for- you know- the language being taught elsewhere
- SD Mm hmm
- LM04 But em you know (.) probably a bit of prioritising it just like you know where it's gonna be more beneficial

While claiming not to suggest that the promotion of Gaelic should be confined to the Western Isles, this informant therefore goes on to argue that “a bit of prioritising” in

parts of the country where more opportunities to use the language exist would be more “beneficial” for the language. This belief touches on issues of where best to target resources in revitalising Gaelic, both in terms of geography and sociolinguistic domain. As far as the following speaker is concerned, there is a “limit” to how much should be done for the language:

- LM07 I mean there is a limit to: how much should be done to save anything that's (.) you know (1.0) naturally (.) would otherwise go out of use
- SD What do you think is likely to happen in the future with the Gaelic- do you think it's something- that Gaelic will just sort of naturally die out?
- LM07 (2.4) Um I mean ((sighs)) it's been a while since I took a: (.) cursory interest in the statistics (of the language)
- SD Yeah yeah=
- LM07 =but (.) as far as I understand the trajectory is very much that you've got this huge uh sort of (.) bulge in the distribution at the sort of (1.1) seventy to eighty-five age group [...] once they go that's a huge number of the Gaelic-speakers and (.) pretty much all the native speakers [...] I don't think you're at the point of preserving it any more=
- SD =Yeah
- LM07 It's going to go beyond life [and] you're talking about building it up again

Speaker LM07 clearly states not only that there is a limit on what *can* be done to save a language with an aging population, but on what “should” be done since use of Gaelic is perceived to be dying out “naturally”. The informant views “native speakers” as a particularly vulnerable demographic in this regard, and in his view, the time for “preserving” the language has already passed. In the following account the participant describes how opposition to spending money preserving Gaelic may be affected by the current economic climate:

- IF12 [T]ha teaghlach agam em (1.0) taobh m' athar- tha iad fuireach ann an Inbhir Nis agus tha iadsan gu tur an aghaidh (.) rudan mar sin [soidhnichean 7c] [...] tha iad faicinn (.) gu bheil iad feumach air airgead ann an (.) diofar (.) dòighean ann an Inbhir Nis- chan e dìreach airson cànan nach eil aig mòran (.) is /t/uigeadh tu sin cuideachd airson (.) tha cùisean gu math teann an-dràsta [agus]
- I have family em (1.0) my father's side- they live in Inverness and they're completely against (.) things like that [i.e. Gaelic signage etc] [...] they see (.) that they*

need money in different (.) ways in Inverness- it's not just for a language that not many people speak (.) and you'd understand that as well because (.) things are quite tight at the moment [and]

SD [Tha]

Yes

IF12

ma tha thu faicinn cus air/ead a' dol gu cànan (1.1)/t/uigeadh tu carson a tha iad an aghaidh sin [...] **you know** tha comhairlean 's dòcha feuchainn ri sin- **you know** ìomhaigh (.) an/ /cànan a thogail

*if you see too much money going on a language (1.1) you'd understand why they are against that [...] **you know** councils are perhaps trying to- **you know** raise the language's image*

SD

Uh huh

IF12

Ach dh'- **you know** dh'fhaodadh tu airgead (1.3) **you know** an t-uabhas airgead a chosg ach fhathast (.) feumaidh gum bi i aig na daoine [...] aig na òi- na h-òigridh a tha em a' fàs an-dràsta 's ma nach eil e aca (1.2) chan eil soidhne Ghàidhlig dol a dhèanamh dad ris a' chùis

*But it- **you know** you could spend money (1.3) **you know** a huge amount of money but still (.) people have to be able to speak it [...] the yo- the young people who are growing up just now and if they can't speak it (1.2) a Gaelic sign isn't going to do anything for it*

In this account, therefore, speaker IF12 criticises Gaelic signage in Inverness, even if it may raise the image of the language there. Again recalling previous interviewees' beliefs that greater focus on more fundamental issues is required, interviewee IF12 states that Gaelic signage will contribute nothing in relation to the number of people speaking it. Signage was often perceived by interviewees to be an expensive but poorly targetted use of money, a belief that contributes to the overall ideology discussed here. In the following excerpt the speaker identifies research as another expensive area of spending on Gaelic language policy:

HM02

[B]idh sin [sic] caran **controversial** ach cha tèid mise faisg air saoghal na Gàidhlig a-rithist

*This will be quite **controversial** but I won't go anywhere near the Gaelic world again*

SD

Hmm

HM02

No way u:m tha e dìreach troimh-chèile is:: chan eil- (.) chan eil fios aig duine sam bith aig (.) àite nas àirde [...] chan eil iad deònach gus atharrachadh 's chan eil iad ag èisteachd ri daoine /òg/ (.) na daoine a tha a' tighinn tro/ /foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig- chan eil iad airson èisteachd (.) tha

iad dìreach airson airgead agus airgead agus airgead a chosg
air barrachd is barrachd rannsacha/dh/

*No way u:m it's just confused and:: it's not- (.) no one
at all at (.) higher levels [...] they're not willing to
change and they don't listen to young people (.) the
people who come through Gaelic-medium education-
they don't want to listen (.) they just want to spend
more and more money on more and more research*

SD

Hmm

HM02

Agus: tha sin math dha-rìribh ach- math gu leòr ach: (.) dè tha
rannsachadh a' dol a dhèanamh airson adhartachadh na
Gàidhlig?

*And that's great but- that's all right but: (.) what is
research going to do to promote Gaelic?*

Having previously worked in Gaelic development for a time, this participant blames lack of judgement, confusion and wasteful spending on the part of his former superiors in explaining that he would never go anywhere near such a job again. Research is identified as the chief culprit in terms of excessive spending in this account, and informant HM02 questions exactly how such expenditure will contribute to Gaelic revitalisation. Speakers' beliefs in respect of Gaelic language policy and revitalisation are therefore varied, but many draw in different ways on the ideology of efficient spending, and the need for greater focus in targeting funds efficiently, when expressing their opinions on the subject.

6.3. Ideologies of Gaelic III: Language and identities

The third section of this chapter presents an analysis of informants' beliefs and ideas in respect of the perceived relationship between Gaelic and their own socio-cultural identities. Five main themes can be discerned in the dataset as a whole: the first concerns the relevance of Gaelic to participants' sense of individuality and personal identity (section 6.3.1.), while the second deals with Gaelic identity *per se*, and with informants' associations with the label 'Gael' (*Gàidheal*; section 6.3.2.). The third section analyses participants' ideas and beliefs concerning Gaelic as a more bounded and regional, 'Highlands and Islands' language, while the fourth deals with ideologies of Gaelic as a national language of Scotland. The final category is concerned with discourse on the relation of Gaelic to the wider political context of Scotland within Britain, and to the question of independence in the run-up to the

historic referendum, held in September 2014 (section 6.3.5.). Ideologies relating the Gaelic language to informants' identities at various discrete but overlapping, and interconnected, levels may therefore be interpreted in the interview corpus.

6.3.1. Gaelic and personal identity

The first theme discussed here concerns the role and relevance of Gaelic to speakers' negotiation of personal identity, and the importance of the language to participants' senses of individuality. Even without necessarily using Gaelic frequently in their day-to-day lives, many informants maintain that the language continues to be an important facet of their personal identity. This is often reported by informants to be a rather vague and intangible identification with the language, partly reflected in the ways in which participants relate their beliefs and feelings in this regard, and *keys* to speech acts such as hesitation and emphasis (Hymes 1974: 57):

LM03 I think for me anyway it's an important- (.) an important thing to be able to- to speak Gaelic and it kinda em (.) forms a quite a large part of you in some way [...] It played a huge part in terms of my own background in terms of growing up and I suppose the person that I am now

Hesitation is indicated with self-interruption and pauses toward the start of the speech act, whilst the informant reflects on the importance of the language to him personally. Although he may in fact use Gaelic only rarely today (*cf.* extract in section 5.1.3), informant LM03 states that having the ability to speak the language is important in itself, and that as such it “forms quite a large part” of him. This belief in the continued importance of Gaelic to personal identity draws partly on the ideology of ‘having’ Gaelic discussed in section 6.1.4 of this chapter. Yet the informant’s use of the phrase “in some way” reflects the rather vague sense in which the language continues to be an important aspect of his personal identity. While he states that it “played a huge part” in terms of his background, he is more circumspect in respect of the continued extent of this in the present day; use of the phrase “I suppose” perhaps adds to the sense of qualification here. The juxtaposition of the definite and continued importance of Gaelic to personal identity with relative disuse at present is also apparent in the following two extracts from another interview:

- LF05 It's (.) a very important part of me- I would always put that above (2.4) anything [...] it's something that I'd definitely say (2.2) [defines me]
- SD [Yeah]
- LF05 Not defines me but is: part of who I am and my day-to-day life
-
- SD Would you have said personally that Gaelic's an important part of your sense of self- your personal identity?
- IF05 Yes it is actually
-
- SD Uh huh
- IF05 I always considered it quite important even if I don't use it that much (.) because it's a way to distinguish myself

The specific emphasis placed on “always” and “anything” in the first extract conveys a definite sense of continued importance for Gaelic in the informant’s life; indeed she even states that the language “defines” her in this way. Yet the long pauses she produces in reporting this (2.4s and 2.2s), and her immediate retraction of the latter point may reflect an apparent sense of paradox in reporting only limited use of the language, but claiming it as central to one’s sense of self. Similarly, speaker IF05 draws attention to this paradox when she states that Gaelic remains important to her as “a way to distinguish” herself, even though she doesn’t use it “that much” in the present day. The impact of other people’s impressions of Gaelic as a distinctive feature of a speaker’s identity is expounded on in the following account:

- SD Do you think that Gaelic's an important part of your personal identity and your sense of your self?
- LF03 (2.1) Yes I do actually I think I- I mean I'm really proud that I've got Gaelic- and that I've got understanding (.) em people are always- they always (.) like it when you know they find out you can speak it [they're like]
- SD [Yeah]
- LF03 “Oh really? Oh that's really interesting”

The participant’s 2.1 second pause in response to my question may similarly reflect this paradoxical sense of relationship to a language she doesn’t use, and her hesitation in reflecting that she is proud of her “understanding” of the language – rather than more active skills – may display this further. Yet the pride she feels in having an “understanding” of Gaelic, and at other people’s appreciation of her having the language is clear. A sense of pride in having the language and at other

people's approval of this is further expounded upon in answer to my question in the following excerpt:

- SD [A] bheil thu pròiseil gu bheil a' Ghàidhlig agad?
Are you proud that you can speak Gaelic?
- LF02 O gu dearbh fhèin tha- tha um (.) 's e: aon dha na rudan as inntinn/each/ mu mo dheidhinn tha mi a' smaoin eachadh- nuair a tha mi a' bruidhinn ri cuideigin bidh mi ag ràdh "tha Gàidhlig agam" fhios 'ad- "o tha sin dìreach sgoinneil!"
Oh indeed yes- yes um (.) it's: one of the most interesting things about me I think- when I'm speaking to someone I say "I speak Gaelic" you know- "oh that's just brilliant!"

For many informants, therefore, the Gaelic language is a source of pride and personal distinctiveness in adulthood, whether or not they speak the language frequently in the present day. Yet the paradox referred to above is described in slightly different terms by the following informant, who is elsewhere rather critical of Gaelic generally:

- SD [D]o you feel any attachment to the language in the sense that it was your father's uh mother tongue (.) or do you feel more alienated- not involved, not interested?
- LM07 I mean it sort of sounds hypocritical to say that (.) I do have an appreciation for the romance of the thing given the absolutely risible attention I have paid to it and the neglect I've treated it with um you know despite being given a free language basically um (.) along with the (x) (.) uh but I mean yeah sure (.) it (1.2)
- SD It's- it's=
- LM07 =I feel it's a part of my heritage in spite of the fact that I've mistreated it and I view- well what I've got left with some pride

Having used the language only very rarely in recent years, this participant reflects that it may be somewhat "hypocritical" to claim, as he does, to still appreciate the "romance" of Gaelic. Although this informant's use of the term 'romantic' may be no more than a vague or colloquial usage, it might also refer to the historic tendency within romantic thought to emphasise the connection between language, nation, culture and ultimately, identity (*cf.* section 6.3.4, below). Stating that he has treated the language with "risible attention" and "neglect", he claims to view what remains of his Gaelic "with some pride", emphasis here reflecting the rather limited degree to which he may feel this. Nevertheless, it is notable that he continues to appreciate

Gaelic as part of his own heritage, whilst being somewhat less supportive of the language than was generally true of interview informants. Another, rather specific aspect of conflict and dissonance in the relation of Gaelic to personal identity is described in the following account, however:

- IF07 'S e xxx ((Gaelic form of name)) a t-ainm a th' orm gu laghail
xxx is my name legally
- SD Uill dìreach [...] is a bheil thu faireachdainn gur e xxx
((English name)) a th' annad mar sin- mar: ainm ris a bheil thu
cleachdte?
*Well exactly [...] and do you feel that you are xxx then-
as a name you're accustomed to?*
- IF07 'S e (.) tha e caran àraid gu bheil cuid a dhaoine- mo
phàrantan- cuid dhe dhaoine a tha gu math eòlach orm bho xxx
((W. Isles)) tha iad a' diùltadh xxx ((English name)) a thoirt
orm
*Yes (.) it's quite strange that some people- my parents-
some people who know me quite well from xxx (home)
they refuse to call me xxx (English name)*
- SD Hmm
- IF07 Agus tha sin caran duilich [...] chan e m' ainm (ceart) a th' ann,
tha sin caran (.) caran àraid [...] airson adhbhar air choreigin
chan eil iadsan a' gabhail ris an taghadh a rinn mi [...] Tha e
duilich grèim a chumail air cò /tha/ sinn a-nis agus tha e gu
math duilich a bhith a' dol **back**- a bhith a' dol air ais gu cò th'
annainn agus tha Gà- tha mise faireachdainn g' eil a' Ghàidhlig
a' dèanamh sin fiù 's nas làidire
*And that's quite hard [...] it's not my (real) name, it's a
bit (.) a bit strange [...] for some reason they don't
accept the choice I've made [...] It's difficult to keep
hold of who we are now and it's quite hard to go **back**-
to go back to who we are and Gae- I feel that Gaelic
makes that even stronger*

Informant IF07, based in the urban Lowlands now but raised in a Gaelic-speaking community in the Western Isles, therefore describes a sense of alienation and negative affect in respect of Gaelic and her personal identity. Preferring the English form of her name – which she uses all the time in the present day – she struggles with issues of personal identity when relatives and friends from the community in which she was raised refuse to call her by this form of her name. She states that it's hard to keep hold of who we are (“grèim a chumail air cò tha sinn”) returning to the community one is raised in, and that the Gaelic language makes this sense of conflicted identity even more intense. Various roles are assigned to Gaelic as a facet

of personal distinctiveness, therefore, with many former-GME students claiming that it remains important in this way even in the absence of regular use of the language. But such feelings are generally described in a somewhat intangible and imprecise manner, with discernible hesitation and uncertainty in their accounts perhaps reflecting the difficulties that speakers experience when negotiating this apparently paradoxical aspect of their identity. Similarly paradoxical positions are apparent in informants' discussion of Gaelic in relation to their identification – or lack thereof – with the term *Gael/Gàidheal*.

6.3.2. Gaels?—*Gàidheil*? Gaelic identity, culture and heritage

Informants who make little to no use of Gaelic in the present day tended not to use the term '*Gael/Gàidheal*' – traditionally used in Gaelic to refer to someone who not only speaks the language but typically also claims ethnic and cultural identification with it (*cf.* McCoy & Scott 2000) – when describing their relationship to the language. As in the following two excerpts, the discursive negotiation of the term only proceeded upon my own explicit prompt:

- | | |
|------|---|
| SD | Would you call yourself a Gael? |
| IF06 | Um wow um: (.) yeah I guess so |
| SD | Yeah |
| IF06 | I- it's not something I would ever call myself but if I was asked the question I guess so yeah |
| SD | Yeah, but otherwise not specifically |
| IF06 | It's not something that I really stro- I don't go around saying ((confrontational voice)) "oh I'm a Gael" kind of thing |
| SD | Do you consider yourself a Gael for instance? |
| LM04 | Eh (.) ((sighs)) och I mean (4.8) well kind of yeah |
| SD | Mm hmm |
| LM04 | Em you know (.) I kinda come from that kinda heritage |
| SD | Yeah in terms of heritage uh huh |
| LM04 | And I kind of (.) you know I've got more kind of (island links) the majority of like say my family [...] I would count myself primarily as Scottish |
| SD | Yeah |
| LM04 | Em and (.) I don't know if I'd include Gaelic as part of that |

Both the above participants express degrees of surprise and uncertainty when I broach the issue of being a 'Gael' with them; it does not appear to be a category of

identity with which they commonly associate, yet both answer tentatively in the affirmative having reflected on the question, before going on to qualify and clarify this point. The first speaker states that she'd never refer to herself in this way, appearing to view the label in rather defensive and confrontational terms. Similarly, while speaker LM04 claims the requisite "heritage" to identify with the term, he sees himself "primarily as Scottish" and appears rather uncertain as to how Gaelic relates to this identity category (*cf.* section 6.3.4, below). For both these speakers, who make little use of the language at present, association with the label 'Gael' appears to be somewhat problematic, though both initially answer "yes" to my explicit question on this issue. Yet uncertainty and ambivalent association with the term is not only reported by participants who use Gaelic only rarely; in both the following accounts respondents express a degree of uncertainty over the word, though both use Gaelic frequently in their day-to-day working lives:

- SD [A]n e Gàidheal a th' annad mar sin?
So are you a Gael then?
- HF02 Dè th' ann an Gàidheal? ((laughs))
What is a Gael?
- SD Sin a' cheist aidh
That's the question yeah
- HF02 Chanainn gur e (.) ach: em (.) **yeah** 's dòcha- chanainn gur e (.)
mus deach mi dhan t-Sabhal Mhòr **you know** cha robh mi a'
smaointinn orm fhìn mar Ghàidheal [...] feumaidh sinn an
definition dè th' ann an Gàidheal 's dòcha a mhìneachadh an
toiseach agus feumaidh sinn sin a fhreagairt tha mi smaointinn
*I would say so (.) but: em (.) yeah perhaps- I would
say so (.) before I went to Sabhal Mòr you know I
didn't think of myself as a Gael [...] we perhaps have
to explain the definition what is a Gael at the start and
we have to answer that I think*
- LM06 [G]ed a rugadh mise ann an Sasainn (.) tha mis' gam fhaicinn
fhìn mar Albannach gun teagamh (.) dìreach tha an teaghlach
agam ann an sheo- sin far a bheil an (.) an dachaigh againn
*Although I was born in England (.) I definitely see
myself as a Scot (.) just my family is here- that's where
(.) our home is*
- SD **So** chan eil thu a' faireachdainn Sasannach idir
So you don't feel English at all
- LM06 **No** chan eil chan eil
No no no

- [...]
 SD [A]n e Gàidheal a th' annad mar sin?
Are you a Gael then?
 LM06 ((laughs)) Chan e uill ((laughing)) cha chanainns' gur e
 Gàidheal a th' annam idir **no** (.) 's e Gall a th' annam
 ((laughs)) *No well ((laughing)) I wouldn't say I'm a
 Gael at all no (.) I'm a Gall [Lowlander]*

The first of the two speakers above therefore answers my question with another question, asking ‘what is a Gael?’ (“*dè th' ann an Gàidheal?*”) in response to my prompt, before concluding tentatively that she is a Gael, but that further clarification of the term is needed generally. By contrast, speaker LM06 rejects the label outright, emphasising his identity as an *Albannach* (Scot) and *Gall* (Lowlander) while playing down any sense of affiliation with the terms *Gàidheal* (Gael) or *Sasannach* (English person). In both cases, however, discussion of the term ‘Gael’ is prompted by myself as the researcher; it is not clear that either speaker would have even referred to the label without my own explicit mention of it. By contrast, a few speakers broached the issue independently of my own questioning, approaching and unpacking the term in different ways. In the following extract, speaker IM03 – a bilingual speaker raised in Gaelic in the Western Isles – provides a relatively simple definition of the term:

- IM03 'S e Gàidheal a th' annad ma tha Gàidhlig agad ['s e]
You're a Gael if you can speak Gaelic you're
 SD ['S e]
Yes
 IM03 Gall a th' annad ma nach eil a' Ghàidhlig agad
a Gall if you can't speak Gaelic
 SD Uh huh
 IM03 Um (.) tha e - 's dòcha gu bheil e caran- 's e ceist caran duilich
 a th' ann 's dòcha ma tha thu a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn
 daoine- uill- 's dòcha a tha air Gàidhlig ionnsachadh
*Um (.) it's- maybe it's a bit- it's perhaps a bit of a
 difficult question if you're talking about people
 who've- well- perhaps learned Gaelic*
 SD Hmm
 IM03 U:m gun a bhith ga /bh/ruidhinn mar chànan màthaireil (.) um
 ach aith tha mi a' smaointinn /g' eil/ sin an aon um (.) aon
definition eachdraidheil agus an fhear as (.) fhurasta a th' ann
really 's e- 's e Gàidheal a th' ann an duine sam bith aig a
 bheil a' Ghàidhlig agus ceangal ri- ri cultar nan Gàidheal
*U:m without speaking it as a mother tongue (.) um but
 yeah I think that's the only um (.) only historical
 definition and the (.) easiest one really it's- a Gael is*

anyone who has Gaelic and a connection to- to the culture of the Gaels

Exhibiting considerably less uncertainty over the meaning of the term than other interviewees, speaker IM03 states that a Gael is anyone who speaks the Gaelic language, before making the qualification that it may not be quite so straightforward for learners, and clarifying that a connection to Gaelic culture as well as the language also implicit in the term. It may therefore be easier for this informant – as a fluent traditional speaker from the Western Isles – to understand and explicate the term than it is for the majority of interviewees, and he is eager to do so without being prompted. In the following account, the label Gael is again discussed without my asking an overt question, but the term is rejected out of hand by the informant:

- IM01 San obair seo /tha/ mise (.) ann an dòigh (2.0) **you know** an ginealach ùr
In this job I'm (.) in a way (2.0) you know the new generation
- SD Hmm
- IM01 Ged nach eil mise a' smaoinichadh orm mar Ghàidheal airson tha seòrsa **stigma attached** a tha mise faicinn
Although I don't think of myself as a Gael because there's a kind of stigma attached that I see
- SD Tha [...] an canadh tu mar sin gu bheil a' Ghàidhlig na pàirt chudromach de do chuid fhèin-aithne? (.) Nist thuirt thu nach robh thu a' faireachdainn mar Ghàidheal- mar gur e Gàidheal a th' annad=
Yes [...] would you say that Gaelic is an important part of your identity? (.) Now you said that you didn't feel like a Gael- that you are a Gael=
- IM01 =**No** tha mi a' tuigsinn a' cheist- tha- tha aig deireadh an latha cha /bhiodh mise/ a' faireachdainn mar- gum b' urrainn dhomh an obair seo a dhèanamh mura robh ceangal agamsa ris a' Ghàidhlig [...] **I mean** aig deireadh an latha chan e **evangelist** a th' annam anns a' Ghàidhlig [...] cha do smaoinich mi riamh gum bithinn nam oifigear leasachaidh na Gàidhlig agus ma bhruidhneas tu ris na tidsearan a bh' agam chanadh iad an aon rud [...] a thaobh fèin /aithneachadh/ tha mise smaoinichadh- chan e Gàidheal a th' annam idir idir
=No I understand the question- yes- yes at the end of the day I wouldn't feel like- that I could do this job unless I had a connection with Gaelic [...] I mean at the end of the day I'm not an evangelist in Gaelic [...] I never thought I'd be a Gaelic development officer and if you speak to the teachers I had they'd say the

same thing [...] in terms of identity I think- I'm not a Gael at all

Therefore whilst seeing himself as belonging to a new generation (“*ginealach ùr*”) of Gaelic speakers, participant IM01 rejects the term Gael, stating that neither he nor his GM teachers ever imagined that he would get the job he currently has in Gaelic, and that he doesn't regard his work in Gaelic development as making him or requiring him to be an “evangelist” for the language. Crucially, he states that he sees a kind of “stigma” connected to the label ‘Gael’. Although he doesn't explain explicitly what he explains by this, it is clear that this feeling militates against his identification with the category. A feeling that the phrase denotes a stigmatised identity is further described in the following account:

- SD Would you say you have a Gaelic identity- do you associate with the label Gael?
- HF06 (3.2) Probably not cos when I was little I always thought of Gaels as (.) old ladies and **bodachs**
- SD Yeah
- HF06 So I sort of- I associate the term Gael with being like (.) my friends' grandparents or something [...] when I was a child, because I was one of the only kids whose- like my- I told you [...] my grandfather xxx is from xxx ((England)) for me going to the Mòd and singing Gaelic songs you were asked where you were from
- SD Yeah
- HF06 And eh and Fèises as well you were asked and so friends that I knew were originally from Lewis or Barra or something
- SD Yeah
- HF06 They were real Gaels (.) but I wasn't

Whilst the label ‘Gael’ is therefore seen to signify a specifically older identity, a sense of alienation at not being a “real” Gael is clearly described in this excerpt. The speaker associates the term with elderly women and “bodachs” – old men – and particularly the grandparents of her school friends. Not having that kind of Gaelic heritage herself, the speaker relates a sense of negative affect when, as a child, she was asked where she was from at Mods and other traditional music events. Although both her father and grandfather can speak the language, the family's immediate origins in England, rather than island communities such as Lewis or Barra, seem to have been a source of stigma for HF06 when performing at Mods and Fèisean as a child. In any case, the term ‘Gael’ is seen again to denote something ‘other’ to the

informant's own identity, and no affiliation with the label is reported. By contrast, the following speaker does relate a sense of identity as a 'Gael', though again only on being prompted by my question:

- HF03 Tha mi smaointinn dìreach- (.) tha a' Ghàidhlig mar phàirt chudromach dhen /a' f/èin-aithne agam fhìn- tha mi ag obair tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, tha mi a' bruidhinn na Gàidhlig gu math tric ach:: tha an sealladh agam air an t-saoghal gu math eadar-nàiseanta
I just think- (.) Gaelic is an important part of my own identity- I work through Gaelic, I speak Gaelic quite often but::I have quite an international outlook on the world
- [...]
- SD **So** an e Gàidheal a th' annad a's a' chiad àite?
So are you a Gael first and foremost?
- HF03 'S e 's e- tha mi creids' gur e (2.2) **yeah** tha mi creids' gur e em:: ach tha e a rèir 's cò ris a tha mi a' bruidhinn agus cà' bheil mi [...] tha mi a' dol a xxx ((South America)) Diluain ò agus ann an xxx am bi mi a' faireachdainn Gàidhealach? Cha chreid mi gum bi
Yes yes- I believe so (2.2) yeah I believe so em:: but it depends on who I'm speaking to and where I am [...] I'm going to xxx((S. America)) on Monday oh and in xxx will I feel Gaelic? I don't think so

Gaelic is therefore described as an important part of this informant's identity as she uses it at work, speaks it often, and grew up with both parents speaking the language at home. Yet her Gaelic identity is nested within others; crucially she refers here to her outlook ("sealladh") on the world being international, and the lessened sense of Gaelic identity she anticipates feeling on a forthcoming holiday to South America. Overall, therefore, very few informants relate a strong sense of identification with the label 'Gael', many expressing uncertainty over the meaning of the term, and most only making reference to the word when prompted by my own question in this respect. Indeed, a particularly fervent rejection of the identity is related by one of the speakers in the following account:

- SD What about the label Gael is that something you identify with?
- IF03 "Oh I'm a Gael" no I'm not a Gael
- IF04 You could never say that! ((laughs))
- IF03 Oh no
- IF04 Oh! Em:

IF03 Does anyone call themselves that- “I’m a Gael”? [...] I don’t know what constitutes that (3.1) in the Gaelic world ((laughs)) Planet Gael! [...] I quite like ‘Teuchter’ though
SD You like that one?
IF03 I like that yeah- I’m a Teuchter “yeah you’re a bit teuchie” (.) I am a bit teuchie sometimes, I quite like that
SD ((laughs))
IF03 Gael’s a bit (.)
IF04 You do know it’s a derogatory term?=
IF03 =plaid and what do you call that big sword?=
SD [=Claymore?]=
IF04 [=Sword?]=
IF03 =Claymore- that’s what Gael reminds me of (.) big tartan plaid in a battle

While struggling to believe that anyone would identify with the term ‘Gael’ – associating it with the stereotype of the Highland warrior – speaker IF03 is rather more positive about the terms ‘Teuchter’ and ‘teuchie’. Historically these have been pejorative terms of abuse for Highlanders in the Lowlands – as is pointed out here by her friend. Interestingly, four informants in total referred positively to using this term as a descriptor of themselves, and none used it in a pejorative sense. The formerly negative connotations therefore seem to have less force in the present day. While such vigorous rejection of the identity category ‘Gael’ is rare, a sense of ambivalence and uncertainty surrounding the term is discernible throughout the corpus. Neither do speakers in the dataset readily self-identify as ‘Gaelic-speakers’, and again, the picture that emerges of Gaelic’s role in informants’ identity constructions is somewhat imprecise.

6.3.3. National or regional language?—‘Highlands and Islands’ identity?

In contrast to the intangibility described above, many informants expressed the belief that Gaelic indexed a principally regional identity, conveying an ideology that associates the language strongly with the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Such beliefs and feelings are broadly in line with attitudes to Gaelic at a national level, which were clearly reflected in the findings of the 2012 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (Paterson *et al.* 2014; *cf.* West & Graham 2011). In particular, attitudes to Gaelic speakers’ right to use the language in “Gaelic-speaking areas” were consistently and significantly more positive than those regarding provision and entitlements to use Gaelic in Scottish public life generally (Paterson *et al.* 2014: 11).

In Gaelic-medium accounts within the dataset analysed here, participants often conveyed a sense that unnamed individuals were pushing or forcing (“a’ putadh”/“a’ sparradh”) the language on people in areas of Scotland with no Gaelic heritage or connection to the language. In similar terms the belief that Gaelic is strongly rooted, and therefore more important, in a particular part of Scotland is advanced frequently throughout the corpus, as it is in the following excerpt:

- IF01 [T]ha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e (.) er (.) gu bheil e gu math cudromach anns na: (.) sgìrean (.) far a bheil- far an robh Gàidhlig anns an eachdraidh aca (.) agus tha mi a' smaointinn gum biodh e math /air/ Alba air fad ach chan eil mi a' smaointinn gum bu chòir dhaibh Gàidhlig a phuta' air na h-àiteachan (.) nach eil er (.) a' faireachdainn gu bheil iad ceangailte ris a' chànan [**you know?**]
*I think that it's (.) er (.) that it's quite important in the: (.) areas (.) where it's- where Gaelic was in their history (.) and I think that it would be good in all of Scotland but I don't think that they should force Gaelic on the places (.) that don't er (.) feel that they're connected to the language [**you know?**]*
- SD [Aidh]
[Yeah]
- IF01 Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e math (.) rudan a dhèanamh ach aig an aon àm (.) chan eil sinn ag iarraidh a bhith a' putadh Gàidhlig **you know**
*I think that it's good (.) to do things but at the same time (.) we don't want to be forcing Gaelic **you know***

The speaker is mindful of a lack of connection to the language felt in parts of Scotland and argues that activists should therefore avoid forcing Gaelic (“a’ putadh Gàidhlig”) on these areas. This particular idea, of ‘pushing’ or ‘forcing’ Gaelic on parts of Scotland that are not perceived to have an historical connection to the language, is advanced more frequently by informants who opted to conduct the interview in Gaelic than in English. While it was expressed in different terms during English-medium interviews (such as “keeping” Gaelic to where it was spoken historically, *etc*), this particular trope – a’ putadh/sparradh [na] Gàidhlig – “forcing Gaelic” on English (/Scots) speakers (as I outline in the paragraphs below), is notable by its prevalence in Gaelic interviews.

1. SD [B]heil thu coimhead air a' Ghàidhlig mar chànan nàiseanta mar sin?

- Do you see Gaelic as a national language then?*
2. IF11 (2.4) Em:: (.) ((sighs)) hhh- (.) ann an d:òigh tha [...] tha e gu math furasta dhòmhsa a ràdh- tha mise à xxx ((W. Isles)) tha mi às na h-Eileanan an Iar-
Em:: (.) ((sighs)) yyy- (.) in a w:ay yes [...] it's quite easy for me to say- I'm from xxx I'm from the Western Isles
3. SD Tha
Yes
4. IF11 Tha mi ag obair air a' Ghàidhealtachd [...] tha Gàidhlig gu math (.) cudromach ann an shin- a's na h-àiteachan sin **so** tha e [gu math]
I work in the Highlands [...] Gaelic is quite important there- in those places so it's [quite]
5. SD [Tha]
[Yes]
6. IF11 furasta dhòmhsa a ràdh “**oh yeah** tha Gàidhlig uabhasach cudromach” ach nuair a tha mise air a dhol sìos dhan a' Ghalltachd [...] chan eil (.) inbhe cho mòr aig a- aig a' chànan [...] ma tha sinne a' putadh a' chànan (.) air a' mhòr-chuid de dh'Alba chan eil iad dol a thuigs'
easy for me to say “oh yeah Gaelic is very important” but when I've gone down to the Lowlands [...] the language doesn't have as much status [...] if we force the language (.) on the majority of Scotland they're not going to understand

This participant is therefore seen to be noticeably hesitant in reflecting on the status of Gaelic as a national language in turn 2 of the extract; she produces a long pause (2.4s duration), elongates the consonant of “em”, sighs and pauses again immediately after elongating the word-initial aspiration of “tha” (yes) as “hhh-”. She proceeds to make the qualification in turns 4 and 6 that she adopt this position with relative ease in the Highlands and Islands, but senses the language’s more limited status in the Lowlands. She concludes in turn 6 that people in such places – constituting the majority of Scotland (“a' mhòr-chuid de dh'Alba”) – won't understand if the language is forced on them by Gaelic speakers. Reservations and qualifications in attributing “national language” status to Gaelic are similarly apparent in the following English excerpt, though the trope of ‘forcing’ the language is not used:

SD [I]s it a national language d'you think?

- IF13 (1.3) A national language? Hmm: (.) no
SD No
IF13 I wouldn't say- I mean I think it should be- it is is it not? It is the national- it is the national language but I think a lot of people- I think at home you think “oh yeah it is- everybody speaks it”
SD Uh huh
IF13 But down here ((Lowlands)) I think so many people (1.1) are just like (.) ugh- not impressed or not- you know convinced

Again, the idea is expressed here that it's easy to imagine Gaelic to be important at the national level when one is in Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland, but that its lack of visibility elsewhere may count against a widespread appreciation of this.

Similarly, the informant again hesitates when answering my question on whether Gaelic is a national language, pausing and initially responding “no”, before stating her belief that it should enjoy such status and wondering aloud whether it currently does so. Nevertheless, an appreciation of Gaelic as strongly indexical of a regional identity – and a perception that this position is comparatively straightforward and unproblematic– is discernible in the corpus as a whole. The following extracts highlight these two points:

- IM02 I think it [*i.e.* Gaelic] is definitely a Highlands and Islands [identity really]
SD [Yeah- that's how you see it?]
IM02 But then you've got people spread throughout the place [...] I think it gives you- you've got a real identity cos it's something different from where you're from
SD Yeah
IM02 You know (.) you've got your identity with the Highlands and Islands and that
- LM02 [B]y putting it just in the isles that's an acceptance of it just being a (.) a language for (.) sort of the isles and not for the country
SD Yeah exactly
LM02 So that would be a symbolic (.) a danger of a symbolic gesture that we're giving up in Glasgow [...] compared to the Western Isles I think Glasgow's a really difficult one to (.) to get into, in terms of (.) the politics

The symbolic “danger” of restricting the cultural relevance of Gaelic for people's identities to a particular region (as the first speaker seems to do here) is therefore a

key point in the second account provided here. The second speaker nevertheless acknowledges that a context like Glasgow may politically be “a really difficult” one in which to promote a more ‘unbounded’ conception of Gaelic (*cf.* Oliver 2002). In their own words, interviewees often described the potential reasons for such political difficulties in terms of the perceived prevalence of the Scots language in contexts such as this. Further such ideological positions are exemplified in the following accounts.

Scots/Albais: A national linguistic identity?

A degree of uncertainty is often expressed by informants reflecting on exactly where Gaelic was spoken in Scotland historically, yet many entertain the impression that the language was traditionally confined to the Highlands and Islands, with the Scots language (“*Albais*” / “*Beurla Ghallda*”) being widespread everywhere else. In contrast with the previous speaker’s warning of the symbolic “danger” of limiting Gaelic in this way, the belief that Gaelic is better conceived of as a language of a specific region is advanced in the following account:

- LM04 [Y]ou know it would probably be good to keep Gaelic to where it was- well- where it was traditionally spoken I would say
- SD Mm hmm yeah
- LM04 I mean there's parts of the country- I mean I'm not 100% sure about Gaelic history but there's probably parts of the country where Gaelic was never spoken [...] I don't think of Gaelic as being a (.) you know a kind of (.) eh you know like the Scottish national language in a way
- SD No exactly
- LM04 You know it's one of our- you know- there's other kinda- there's Scots and things as well [...] I'd say to kind of keep [Gaelic] to where it was traditionally spoken or where it was spoken in the past

While being unsure of exactly where Gaelic was traditionally spoken – not being “100% sure about Gaelic history” – this informant expresses the belief it would be beneficial “to keep Gaelic” to such locales. Part of the reason that he doesn’t regard Gaelic as “the” (only) national language is the presence of “Scots and things” elsewhere in the country. Similarly, the perceived strength of the Scots language is

regarded by the following speaker as a reason not to promote Gaelic as a national language, again employing the ideological trope of ‘a’ sparradh’ (forcing) Gaelic:

- HF03 [T]ha mi smaointinn g' eil sgìrean ann far a bheil Albais ga bruidhinn agus far nach eil 's dòcha Gàidhlig cho cudromach [...] cha chreid mi g' eil e ciallach a bhith eh a' sparradh (.) eh a' Ghàidhlig a's na h-àiteachan sin
I think there are areas where Scots is spoken and where Gaelic is perhaps not as important [...] I don't think it's sensible to be eh forcing [...] eh Gaelic in those places
- SD [...] An e cànan nàiseanta a th' anns a' Ghàidhlig sa chiad àite? No an e cànan roinneil- a tha a' buntainn ris a' Ghàidhealtachd is dha na h-Eileanan?
Is Gaelic a national language principally? Or is it a regional language- that belongs in the Highlands and Islands?
- HF03 Tha mi smaointinn (.) gu bheil sin aig cridhe trioblaidean na Gàidhlig agus tha mi a' smaointinn leis a sin
I think (.) that that's at the heart of the difficulties facing Gaelic and I think therefore
- SD Mm hmm=
 HF03 =Tha mi a' smaointinn mas e cànan nàiseanta a bh' ann nach biodh sinn anns an t-suidheachadh a's a bheil sinn an-diugh (.) agus mar sin feumaidh mi a ràdh nach e- 's tha mi smaointinn g' eil sin gu mòr uh an lùib poileataigs na cùis cuideachd [...] thathar a' faireachdainn gum bu chòir cànan nàiseanta a bhith ann ach cha chreid mi gu bheil e fìor
=I think if it were a national language that we wouldn't be in the situation we're in today (.) and so I have to say that it's not- and I think this is very much connected to the politics of the thing as well [...] it is felt that there should be a national language but I don't think it's true

Whilst the informant argues that it's unwise to ‘force’ Gaelic on parts of Scotland where Scots is spoken, therefore, she appears conversely to regard the fact that Gaelic is not currently a national language as a major cause of its current predicament. Yet, conversely, the belief that there *should* be a national language – not explicitly attributed to a specific individual or group – is rejected as not being true, and speaker HF03 seems also to argue that accommodating and respecting Scots in areas where it is spoken is sufficient reason *not* to promote Gaelic as a national language. The experience of actually offending Scots speakers by describing Gaelic

in these terms was never referred to by informants, yet many appear eager to avoid such potential conflicts. By contrast, the following participant describes feeling a heightened sense that Gaelic *is* a national language, having been confronted by a Scots speaker's anti-Gaelic attitudes:

- SD Do you think of Gaelic as a national language?
 LM01 (3.0) Yeah, well I did when I was talking about it with an- like a Scot person- somebody who speaks Scots
 SD Hmm
 LM01 And they're totally against Gaelic
 SD Yeah
 LM01 But there's a lot of like names are Gaelic and
 SD Yeah that's right a lot of placenames and people's [surnames]
 LM01 [Surnames]

Having paused to consider the question and his own feelings toward Gaelic – in response to a Scots speaker's negative view – the informant states his belief (after a long pause; 3s duration) that Gaelic is a national language on the basis of the prevalence of Gaelic in Scottish placenames and personal names. This rather controversial view of the two languages vying for status as national language was only referred to by this speaker, however, and more nuanced understandings were generally conveyed. The following speaker expounds on the importance of both the Gaelic and Scots languages to a subjective sense of “being Scottish”, for instance:

- HF06 [H]aving the Gaelic experience is part of being Scottish for me, but (.)
 SD Yeah=
 HF06 =It might not be for other people
 SD Exactly
 HF06 There are people who might associate more with Scots (.) or for me it's both [...] Scots isn't seen to be being promoted in the same way and [...] whilst Scots- Scots is a language in its own right- it's sort of permeated (.) our: English language to such an extent or even the other way [vice versa]
 SD [Or is it vice versa?] It's both isn't it?=
 HF06 =And it's (.) well I don't know anything about this but I get the impression that Scots in its own right isn't spoken (.) as widely or if at all and what people actually speak is English with varying degrees of Scots influence [...] when you're talking about Gaelic even if it is it is just in small pockets, it is still spoken as a distinct language

Participant HF06 avoids assuming an essentialist outlook on the importance of Gaelic to Scottish identity, therefore, stating that some people may perceive Scots as being more relevant to their national identity. I return to the avoidance of an essentialist outlook on language and identity in greater detail in section 6.3.4, below. Yet the speaker's doubts as to the completeness and linguistic integrity of Scots is a reservation expressed elsewhere in the corpus; even, in the following account, to the extent that the variety is referred to as "slang":

- LM02 [T]here's people that have a different idea of what Scottish language is and that's more related to slang
 SD Yeah
 LM02 Em but I don't know about that kind of language, I hear people speaking it but no I think [...] Gaelic is (.) kinda seen more as a (.) Scottish identity because it's- it's a complete language in itself

Any potential conflict over the status of Gaelic as a Scottish language in comparison with "slang" is dismissed on the basis of the perceived 'completeness' of Gaelic as a language, by contrast with the latter. As noted in chapter 1, less circumscribed *Gesellschaft* conceptions of Gaelic and its role in Scottish identity may well be more widespread than was true in the past (*cf.* Oliver 2002, 2006, 2010; Paterson *et al.* 2014). Nevertheless, an ideology that Gaelic may be conceived of more comfortably as a *regional* language, rooted strongly in the Highlands and Islands, is clearly discernible in the discourse of many speakers in the interview corpus. Many informants appear conscious of opposition to Gaelic among various groups in Scotland, and perceive a need to be sensitive to this and not to 'force' or 'push' the language on such groups. As such, the contested nature of the Gaelic language's place in Scotland is a theme that is frequently touched upon by participants. In the following section, I consider the role that informants attribute to Gaelic in Scottish identity specifically.

6.3.4. Gaelic and Scottish identity: Language, nation and culture

The close association of language, nation and culture, a notion dating largely from the Romantic movement of the 18th and 19th centuries (*cf.* sections 1.1; 2.1.1), is entertained by certain informants in respect of Gaelic in Scotland. Yet, a larger proportion of participants view the relationship in more problematic terms, recalling

the perceived opposition to Gaelic of various groups discussed in section 6.3.3, above. Many interviewees frame this more problematic relationship within a discourse of inclusiveness, avoiding essentialist perspectives on the relevance of Gaelic to Scottish culture and identity; I return to this subtheme of discourse below. Firstly, however, I draw attention to views that give expression to romantic conceptions of the relationship between language and nation’.

- LF06 [T]he whole of Scotland should be speaking Gaelic [uh huh]
 SD [Yeah you think so?] Uh huh
 LF06 Oh definitely (.) I do think every- everywhere in (.) Scotland should be speaking in Gaelic yeah [...] you go to Spain and when you go tae France and when you go tae any other of these places that've got other languages or two languages [...] we're so English
 SD That's right yeah
 LF06 How's the Gaelic ever gonnae come out if everybody's only saying it in English you know?

Speaker LF06 alludes here to the perceived normality of bilingualism in continental Europe while envisaging a bilingual society across the entirety of Scotland. The use of additional languages in these contexts is contrasted with perceived English monolingualism in Scotland, a situation that is regarded as militating against Gaelic development. Furthermore the speaker uses the romantic association of language and identity to describe this supposed dependence on the English language in terms of being “English” as a consequence (“we're so English”). The view of Gaelic as the language of the Scots is expounded in similar terms in the following two accounts:

- LM09 I'm a big believer in (.) Scottish culture and [Gaelic]
 SD [Yeah]
 LM09 and keeping our culture you know? [...] You need tae speak your own language- every country in the world (.) speaks their own language
 SD Exactly- that's true
 LM09 And Gaelic's our language
- HF06 I play fiddle and do a lot for ceilidh bands and like I do Gaelic singing and that's such a big part of the whole musical heritage
 SD Yeah of course
 HF06 And I guess Gaelic's a part of that- like you couldn't have the music without the language so: [...] I think it's really important (.) every country needs its own language you know?

In both these extracts, therefore, the Gaelic language is described as being Scotland's "own language", and both speakers refer to the "need" of every country to have such a national tongue. The rhetoric used in both cases is therefore strikingly similar, and both allude to the importance of "Scottish culture" in expressing the romantic ideology that language, culture and nation are inherently linked (*cf.* section 2.1.4). Again, the appreciation of one's "own culture" at a national level, and a sense of frustration that Gaelic is not widely recognised in this way, is a central theme in the following account:

- LF05 It's a Scotland-wide- it is a national language of Scotland
SD Uh huh
LF05 Em when I've had conversations with people in the past they've been quite (1.6) passionate about not having it [...] so many people in Scotland love the Irish culture it's like "why don't you love your own culture?"
SD Yeah uh huh
LF05 And (.) every time you sing a song in a pub or whatever and they'll go "That's amazing, how do you speak Gaelic?" it's like "Cos I learned it!"
SD Yeah
LF05 It's not closed off (.) it's on your doorstep

A sense of exasperation at popular indifference and ignorance of Gaelic is therefore palpable in this extract; the speaker contrasts a perceived enthusiasm for Irish culture among Scots with a sense of wonder when they encounter Gaelic song and their "own culture" in social situations. Yet, this particular ideology, positing the supposedly intrinsic relation of Gaelic to Scottish culture, is only advanced by a relatively small number of informants. At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, alternative beliefs as to the place of the language in Scotland are expressed:

- LM07 I mean I: don't think that Gaelic is a national language cos you know it's not it's- it's Irish
SD Hmm
LM07 A bunch of Irish people came and settled the west coast
SD Yeah
LM07 I mean that's fine er I'm happy for it to: be- well I was- yeah I mean I'm happy for it to be on the Scottish Parliament website or whatever=
SD =Yeah

LM07 But you know let's not pretend that it's a real loss that
 Edinburgh is not speaking Gaelic [...] that was never the case
 and it doesn't make sense to pretend otherwise

Such views of the marginal role of Gaelic in Scottish culture—and indeed of its supposed status instead as “Irish”—are related only very rarely in the interview corpus. Nevertheless the expression of such relatively extreme views by an adult who was educated primarily through the language may come something of a surprise. The prevalence of such beliefs should not be overstated, therefore, and the majority of informants expressed generally positive views as to the connection of Gaelic to Scottish national identity. Yet, as I outline below, informants tend to avoid perspectives that posit a straightforward connection between the language and their national identities.

Culture, nation & language: Avoiding essentialism?

With reference to the overall question of language and national identity, interview participants generally express ideas and beliefs that lie somewhere between the two positions outlined above, seeing it neither as a simple, one-to-one connection nor as a tenuous and largely irrelevant relationship. More nuanced language ideologies are generally reflected in the dataset, participants frequently observing that Gaelic remains important as “part” of Scotland’s identity:

SD [J]ust to ask a bit about how Gaelic relates to Scottish culture
 generally(.) sort of- how (.) significant a part do you think it
 plays?
 LM08 I think it's massive
 SD Hmm
 LM08 I think (.) eh: (.) I think it's underestimated how important (.) it
 is to (.) tourism and things like that [...] I think I would like it
 to be more national but (.) just now it's- I mean it's definitely
 more west coast isn't it so [...] It doesn't make me more like (.)
 more Scottish it's just (.) part of Scotland

In this way the speaker avoids assuming an essentialist stance on the importance of Gaelic to Scottish identity; while seeing the language as a “massive” part of Scottish culture and important to the tourist industry, he associates the language with the western periphery and denies that his own relationship to the language makes him in any way “more Scottish”. The informant states that he would like the language to “be more national”, however, and informants frequently convey a sense that Gaelic is

deserving of wider recognition and celebration as part of Scottish culture than it currently enjoys:

- HF06 I don't know if [all Scottish people would see it as part of their culture]
SD [I suppose it's quite subjective isn't it?]
HF06 I think it should be an important part of Scottish culture and we should (.) em: try and give it as much prominence so that people can understand that it's part of Scottish culture

Whilst not assuming that all Scots would regard Gaelic as important to their culture, speaker HF06 therefore considers that greater prominence should be given to the language in order that more people should be made aware of its significance. The avoidance of essentialist ideologies in relation to Gaelic and Scottish culture is indicated even more explicitly by certain other interviewees, however.

- IF01 Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil [Gàidhlig] gu math cudromach a chionn 's gu /bheil e/ pàirt dhen eachdraidh againn erm [...] tha e cudromach ach (.) san latha an-diugh tha (.) **you know** tha a h-uile sìon eile cudromach cuideachd [...] **so** tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e gu math cudromach ach tha mi (.) dìreach cho erm (.) eagallach nach eil e 'dol a bhith an (.) **what's the word?** (.) **kinda** (.) **I dunno fit in- fit in correctly with all the other cultural things that have happened since then**
- I think Gaelic is quite important because it's part of our history erm [...] it is important but (.) in the present day (.) **you know** everything else is important too [...] so I think it's quite important but I'm (.) just so erm (.) worried that it's not going to be (.) **what's the word?** (.) **kinda** (.) **I dunno fit in- fit in correctly with all the other cultural things that have happened since then***
- SD **Yeah okay**
IF01 **Because it's constantly evolving isn't it?**

Informant IF01 therefore relates a sense of anxiety that Gaelic may be promoted as a facet of Scottish culture to the exclusion of other aspects of modern Scotland's multicultural society. She switches to English to convey her fears that the language might not "fit in correctly" with more recent additions to that culture, and appears to associate the language strongly with history. Her use of code-switching in this way may represent an example of "double-voicing" through language alternation, using English to relate a potentially controversial or problematic ideology in an "other

voice” (*cf.* Bakhtin 1986; Dunmore & Smith-Christmas, forthcoming). The speaker states that the language remains important as an aspect of Scottish heritage, while simultaneously contrasting the supposed historical significance of Gaelic with the situation in the present day (“*an latha an-diugh*”) and relating this to the constant evolution of culture. Whereas a more essentialist position might attribute a pre-eminent and straightforward role to Gaelic in Scottish culture, the above informant is eager to avoid such a stance, switching to English to explain her sense of unease in this respect. Similarly, both informants in the following two accounts appear intent on avoiding essentialist stances, whilst reflecting on the potential benefits of recognising Gaelic as a national language:

- SD Would you see [Gaelic] as a national language ever? How do you think about that?
- LF08 I would like to think so I'm quite envious of Wales [...] I'm not sort of small-minded enough to think that everyone thinks that way
- LM05 [T]he history with Gaelic and its place in Scotland is quite mixed (.) and its place (.) I don't know (.) I see it as- yeah it definitely goes into the- the big pot of Scottishness [...] It's not a pre-requisite to being Scottish- I think there's- there are various factors that go in there
- SD Sure
- LM05 But it's- yeah it counts for quite a lot [...] it's not as straightforward as just a comparison with Welsh

Both speakers allude here to the Welsh context, where the language is perceived to enjoy a “straightforward” and uncontroversial relationship to national identity. In both above cases, essentialist perspectives on the importance of Gaelic to national identity in Scotland are sidestepped, with Welsh regarded as a more “straightforward” example. In the following account this sense is again reflected with regard to both Welsh and Irish, which is initially referred to as ‘Gaelic’ (with the initial vowel pronounced as [e]):

- IF05 [I]f it was considered more of a whole of Scotland thing it would stand more of a chance [...] well that's what G[e]lic's done [*i.e.* Irish]
- SD Yeah
- IF05 like- Irish, so why can't they do it here? [...] I think Gaelic is important to the Scottish culture but I don't think it's

so important that to go independent- that that would be a major selling point (.) it's not like Welsh in Wales or Irish in Ireland- it doesn't have the same standing

SD It doesn't, no
IF05 Em (2.5) ((sighs)) Gaelic is an important part of (.) Gaels' identity and the Gaels are part of Scotland (.) that's the only way I can put it

Once again therefore, the informant appears eager to avoid assuming an essentialist ideological position on the importance of Gaelic to Scottish culture; rather, the language is seen to be layered within Scottish identity, being important to the identities of Gaels, who in turn are “part of Scotland”. In this way Gaelic in Scotland is not seen to have “the same standing” as Irish in Ireland or Welsh in Wales, where each are felt to be uncontroversial facets of national identity. In truth, the status of Welsh and Irish as national languages may be significantly more ideologically contested in those contexts than informants in these excerpts may appreciate (*cf.* Ó Riagáin 1997, 2001; Williams 2008, 2014). Nevertheless, it is important to note that interviewees take care not to state a straightforward connection between Gaelic and Scottish national identity, largely because the situation here is *believed* to be more complicated. Rather, the Gaelic language is more generally held to be a “part” of Scotland that may retain some symbolic value, as discussed in the following extract:

HF03 [T]ha mi smaointinn gur e- leis gu bheil tòrr cultar agus dualchas (.) an cois na Gàidhlig a tha na bhuannachd do dh'Alba [...] tha mi smaointinn gu bheil e cudromach do dh'Alba air fad mar shamhla (.) mar a tha thu air ràdh agus: eh mar phàirt de /f/èin-aithne Alba air fad
I think it's- because there's lots of culture and tradition (.) attached to Gaelic that's beneficial to Scotland [...] I think it's important to all of Scotland as a symbol (.) as you've said and: eh as a part of of all Scotland's identity

SD [...] [A] bheil na Gàidheil – aig a bheil a' Ghàidhlig – nas Albannaiche na an fheadhainn aig nach eil Gàidhlig, an canadh tu?
Are the Gaels- who can speak Gaelic- more Scottish than those who can't would you say?

HF03 Cha chanainn air dòigh sam bith
No I wouldn't at all

SD Mm hmm (.) chan eil
Mm hmm (.) no

HF03 **Absolutely not** chan eil
no

This speaker therefore feels that Gaelic retains a degree of importance as a symbol of Scotland's identity – and as a repository of culture, heritage and tradition – at the national level. Yet, my intentionally essentialist suggestion that Gaelic-speaking Gaels may be considered more Scottish (“*nas Albannaiche*”) than anyone else is rejected emphatically, with the informant switching to English to underscore her opposition to this proposition. Throughout the interview corpus, informants generally appear anxious to sidestep more essentialist ideologies and discourses that attribute a predominant role to the Gaelic language in the discussion of Scottish identity. While a few do express an ideology asserting the language's value in this regard, a majority of informants frame the discussion in terms of inclusiveness and the heterogeneity of modern Scottish culture, with Gaelic commonly regarded as a part of this. In this way, Gaelic appears to be *iconised* in speakers' ideologies as a symbol of Scottish identity in the discourse of many former-GME students (*cf.* Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 380; Kroskrity 2004: 507), whilst not being clearly *indexical* of this identity (*cf.* section 2.1).

6.3.5. Gaelic, national identity and Scottish independence

Finally, I would like to consider various informants' senses of British identity, and how they viewed this in relation to the Gaelic language. A strong feeling of British identity was generally rejected by most informants, though a minority appear to identify more readily with 'British' than other categories such as 'Scottish' or 'Gael'. Speakers often refer specifically to Gaelic when relating their *lack* of association with the term 'British', however; in the first extract, below, the label is rejected outright:

- | | |
|------|--|
| LF01 | I've never felt British (.) and I'm not sure if that's- maybe that is a lot to do with doing Gaelic at school |
| SD | So do you have maybe a greater sense of Scottish identity? |
| LF01 | Yeah because you know they focus on a lot of history you know- Gaelic wasn't allowed to be spoken when you were a child you know- learning about the Highland Clearances, it does influence you [...] I always thought of Scotland as a different coun- I don't feel British |
| SD | Hmm |
| LF01 | And then you know I would add to that you know the sort of learning that I do now- I mean I don't really feel British |

The speaker considers the experience of Gaelic-medium education, and of her ongoing studies (as a student of Scottish literature at university) to have been important factors militating against her association with the term ‘British’. She adds that she has “always thought of Scotland as a different coun[try]”, connecting this sentiment to learning about the history of Gaelic and the Highlands in GME. Certain other informants similarly attributed a specific role to Gaelic in explaining their lack of a British identity:

- LF02 [C]hanainns' gur e /luchd/-labhairt na Gàidhlig a th' annam 's tha mi smaoineachadh gu bheil e cudromach /ris/ an **identity** Albannach cuideachd
*I would say that I'm a Gaelic speaker/s/ and I think it's important to the Scottish **identity** too*
- SD Hmm
- LF02 Um airson/ /bidh mise a' smaoineachadh orm fhìn mar Albannach agus chan eil mar **British so** /tha/ a' Ghàidhlig pàirt cudromach ann an sin [...] seach gu bheil mi cho um (.) pròiseil de cheòl traidiseanta agus de Ghàidhlig tha e dìreach (.) um (.) tha mise faireachdainn Albannach
*Um because I think of myself as a Scot and not as **British so** Gaelic is an important part in that [...] because I'm so um (.)proud of traditional music and of Gaelic it's just (.) um (.) I feel Scottish*

The Gaelic language and its musical heritage is seen as an important part of this participant's sense of being a Scot; interestingly she uses the Gaelic term “*Albannach*” (Scot) to convey this point, but switches to English to reject any feeling of “British” identity. While Gaelic is not widely regarded to be an essential component of Scottish identity therefore (*cf.* section 6.3.4) it is often referred to in speakers' rejection of British identity. In a few more exceptional cases, however, the language is regarded as contributing to a sense of British identity:

- LF03 I would probably put myself as (.) as British actually [...] generally speaking I would say British
- SD How important do you think Gaelic is to Scottish culture? (.) Or even British culture for that matter?
 [...]
- LF03 I do think so I mean it's- it's (.) em: (.) part of our history and (.) em I think it's a shame to lose anything that's you know (.) that's em (.) brought us to the point that we're at now
- SD Hmm
- LF03 So I think it is very important yeah

Informant LF03 reflects on the potential loss of Gaelic as detrimental to national culture more widely, regarding it as something that contributes to a sense of shared heritage that has “brought us” to the present. Again, therefore, history and heritage are identified as reasons why Gaelic remains important in the present day. As stated previously, self-identification as ‘British’ in this way was reported relatively rarely in interviews, though some informants regarded the labels ‘Scottish’ and ‘British’ to be complementary to one another, as in the following account:

- IM03 A bhith nam Albannach chanainn gur e sin ceist a tha
ceangailte ri **ethnicity**
*To be Scottish I would say that’s a question linked to
ethnicity*
- SD Hmm
- IM03 Ach Breatannach uill chanainn- cha chanainn gu bheil mi a'
faireachdainn làidir mu dheidhinn ach 's e Breatannach a th'
annam
*But British well I’d say- I wouldn’t say I feel strongly
about it but I am a Briton*
- SD 'S e
Yes
- IM03 Direach ceist um- **citizenship** [...] aidh chanainn g' eil mi
Albannach, chanainn g' eil mi Breatannach cuideachd 's tha mi
smaoineach' gur e diofar rudan a th' ann'
*Just a question um- **citizenship** yeah I’d say I’m
Scottish, I’d say I’m British too and I think that
they’re different things*
- SD Seadh
Yeah
- IM03 Fhios agad **ethnicity** air an aon làmh agus **citizenship** air an
taobh eile
*You know **ethnicity** on the one hand and **citizenship**
on the other*

For the above speaker, therefore, discrete questions of ethnicity and citizenship are at play in the discussion of Scottish and British identity; the two are in no way mutually exclusive. Questions of identity may have been an important consideration leading up to the referendum on Scottish independence in September 2014 and it is notable that interview informants generally reported feeling Scottish before British, if indeed they identified with the latter at all. These attitudes closely parallel weak feelings of British identity reported in recent, quantitative surveys of Scottish national attitudes, and in particular are comparable to results reported in the Scottish Social Attitudes

Surveys (*cf. Paterson et al. 2014*). While only a few interview participants referred explicitly to the referendum at the time fieldwork was conducted (December 2011-December 2012), the remarks of some who did so are instructive in relation to the role of Gaelic in this:

- | | |
|------|---|
| HM02 | [B]idh mi a' cur a-steach airson Yes - airson neo-eisimeileachd
<i>I'll vote for Yes- for independence</i> |
| SD | Glè mhath
<i>Okay</i> |
| HM02 | Em I mean tha mi a' tuigsinn nam buannachdan a th' againn a bhith nar pàirt dhen (RA) e:m (.) ach tha mi a' smaoinich' gun dèan sinn a cheart cho math nar /aonar
<i>Em I mean I understand the benefits we have being a part of the (UK) e:m (.)but I think we'll do just as well on our own</i> |
| SD | Direach [...] a bheil a' Ghàidhlig na pàirt chudromach de chultar na h-Alba?
<i>All right [...] is Gaelic in important part of Scottish culture?</i> |
| HM02 | O tha- tha tha (.) chan eil- tha: Sasainn agus a' Bheurla cho /fh/aisg tha feum agad air a h-uile dòigh as urrainn dhut lorg airson diofar a dhèanamh
<i>Oh yes- yes yes (.) there's not- England and English are: so close you need every way you can possibly find to make a distinction</i> |

The importance of Gaelic as a symbol of Scottish distinctiveness – and as a means to differentiate it from that of England – is therefore central to this account. While few speakers alluded explicitly to this dimension of Gaelic in the independence debate, others made reference to it more tacitly, as in the following extract:

- | | |
|------|--|
| IF04 | You can go down the who::le subject of the (.) you know it used to be a Gaelic-speaking nation |
| SD | Yeah |
| IF04 | At least for most of the country- you know there were pockets that didn't ever speak it [...] I genuinely am pro-that but I am also very well aware that there's a <u>huge</u> political agenda behind it in this day and age (.) for reviving Gaelic [...] I think there's a massive political agenda |

The relevance of Gaelic to the debate around Scottish independence was not something that most interviewees mentioned, though in certain accounts the potential *symbolic* importance of the language is described. Importantly, speaker IF04's reference in the above account to a “huge political agenda” behind reviving Gaelic

implies a perceived appropriation of the language as a symbol of distinctiveness. Yet while some significance may be attached to Gaelic in informants' rejection of British identity generally, most speakers see the role of the language in less overtly political terms (*cf.* Paterson *et al.* 2014). The weak feeling of British identity generally reported in the corpus may or may not therefore pertain to Gaelic, and the relevance of the language to identity constructions in this regard is again somewhat difficult to pinpoint. In common with the other categories discussed above, the Gaelic language appears once again to occupy a somewhat unclear and intangible position in informants' negotiation of their identities.

6.4. Ideologies of Gaelic: Some Conclusions

The fourteen thematic categories of language ideologies that I have discussed in this chapter can be seen to contribute in various ways to understanding the picture of language use presented in chapter 5. In section 6.1, I outlined some of the ideologies of Gaelic language use that are apparent in participants' accounts. There appeared to be an incongruence between the ideologies speakers conveyed in terms of using more Gaelic in their day-to-day lives, and the language practices they reported in chapter 5. Section 6.2 concerned four categories of ideology concerning Gaelic language policy and revitalisation that were related by informants. Mixed feelings to the way language policy is targeted in Scotland were widely reported, and many interviewees felt that greater focus on GLE rather than GME, and on specific regions of Scotland, would be beneficial for the language. Finally, ideologies in respect of Gaelic and identities were often reported in a rather imprecise and intangible manner.

While the language was regarded as important at some levels of informants' identities, a generally weak association with the label 'Gael/*Gàidheal*' was reported. A belief that Gaelic indexes a regional 'Highlands and Islands' identity more meaningfully than a national 'Scottish' identity was widely expressed, with many informants clearly eager to avoid being perceived as essentialist in their outlook on the importance of the language to Scotland as a whole. Overall, the rather mixed picture of language ideologies among former-GME students that emerges tends to

rationalise and reinforce accounts that informants reported pertaining to their limited use of Gaelic in chapter 5. To further refine these findings, I turn in chapter 7 to the quantitative analysis of online questionnaires that informants completed, in order to bring a measure of data triangulation to bear on the results discussed here.

7. Questionnaire analysis: Gaelic ability, use and attitudes

The results of the online questionnaire are outlined in sections 7.1–5 of this chapter. The combination of this quantitative approach together with qualitative results from interviews provides a means to triangulate the overall findings of the investigation in the following, concluding chapter. Statistical outputs from the non-parametric correlational test Spearman's rho are displayed and discussed in each section in order to illustrate and explore the relationships between the various social, linguistic and attitudinal variables discussed. Additional qualitative data which were elicited from questionnaire respondents' comments are introduced in section 7.6, and further discussed in Appendix D.

7.1. Survey design and data collection

An online questionnaire was designed to survey former Gaelic-medium students' reported language abilities, use, and attitudes using the Bristol Online Survey Tool (BOST) in July 2011. The questionnaire was piloted among Gaelic students at the University of Edinburgh in August 2011 (*cf.* chapter 4), and after a small number of modifications based on this piloting exercise were made to the electronic form, the questionnaire was uploaded to the internet in September 2011 (Appendix A-B). Gaelic and English versions of the survey were designed, and bilingual invitations to the corresponding web links were subsequently mailed to potential respondents via email, Facebook or Twitter, with participants offered the choice to complete the questionnaire in either English or Gaelic (*cf.* section 4.2). The survey also included questions on the age, occupation, current location and home town of participants, as well as their continuation with GME beyond primary school, and with the study of Gaelic generally. A database of potential respondents was maintained using a 'snowball' method to gather names and suggested means of contact from existing acquaintances, such as interview participants. A catalogue of 210 individuals was compiled, and potential questionnaire participants were contacted systematically by various means (response rate=53.3%; *cf.* section 4.2.1). Although all 46 interview participants were invited to complete the questionnaire, only 28 in fact did so.

7.2. Social background variables

Of the 112 questionnaire respondents, 73 were female (65.2%) and 39 were male (34.8%), perhaps reflecting the self-selected nature of respondents in the dataset. 49 of the questionnaires were returned via the Gaelic version of the survey (43.8%), while 63 were completed in English (56.2%). As indicated previously, 28 of the 112 questionnaire respondents were also interviewed, representing 25% of the total. In order to ensure that these responses were not significantly out of proportion to the other 75%, they are also disaggregated from the full dataset and analysed separately in appendix C (which in fact shows no such distortion). In terms of age-group, individuals in the 24-32 age-bracket were initially targeted in email invitations so as to ensure coverage of respondents who started in GME between 1985 and 1992, the first eight years of the system's availability in Scotland. The oldest participant, aged 34 as of 30th June 2012, reported starting in GME two years into his primary education, and as such, was older than the anticipated maximum age of 32. The full age range of questionnaire respondents, as of 30th June 2012 (the midpoint of data collection) is shown together with the mean value in table 3, below:

Table 3: Age (30/6/2012)

Age	N
17	2
18	5
19	3
20	2
21	5
22	5
23	10
24	17
25	17
26	10
27	11
28	5
29	4
30	6
31	6
32	3
33	0
34	1
Mean	25.1

A measurement of social class was applied to the respondent cohort based on reported profession and degree of education. As can be seen from table 4, below, high levels of college or university attendance were reported throughout the survey, with only 7 respondents reporting that they had never attended either further or higher education (table 4, below). These very high levels of reported further and/or higher education attendance are clearly out of proportion to national averages. The 2011 census showed that 36% of Scots report holding a level 3/4 qualification (equivalent to FE/HE), with 37% reporting secondary education qualifications as highest attainment (level 1/2), and 27% reporting no qualifications (National Records of Scotland 2013)⁸:

**Table 4:
Further/Higher education attendance**

University/College	105 (93.8%)
None	7 (6.3%)

The assessment of occupational class based on informants' current employment (table 5, below) may provide a better indication of respondents' social class. A scale was devised based on the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification. In the first category, reported occupations such as 'doctor', 'solicitor', and 'senior engineer' were ranked in the first, 'traditional professional' class category. Occupations such as 'broadcast journalist', 'teacher', 'nurse' and 'clerical officer' ranked in the second bracket as 'modern professional'. Routine manual and retail occupations such as bar staff, hospitality and shop assistants were classed in the third category, while respondents who are currently in education or training were ranked in the fourth category. Finally, respondents who indicated they were currently unemployed and not in education or training were grouped in the fifth category. By way of comparison, the 2011 census demonstrated that 5% of adults reported being unemployed, and 4% being in education or training, again clearly out of proportion to the figures displayed in table 5a (National Records of Scotland 2013). Of course, age is also an issue in this respect, although it is likely that many of the 30.4% of respondents currently in education or training will progress to occupations in the first

⁸ Available online: <<http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-visualiser/#view=educationChart&selectedWafers=0&selectedColumns=0,1,2,3,4&selectedRows=0,7,12,16>> [accessed 2.12.2013].

two categories after graduating. As can be seen in table 5, the traditional and modern professional class categories account for 56.2% of all participants, again reflecting self-report bias in the sample.

**Table 5:
Occupational class:**

Class assessment	N	%
1) Traditional professional	24	21.4
2) Modern professional	39	34.8
3) Routine manual/service	13	11.6
4) In Education/Training	34	30.4
5) NEET/Unemployed	2	1.8
Total	112	100

The current location of questionnaire respondents is shown in table 6, below. As may be seen, a majority (54.5%) of informants now live in the urban Lowlands of Scotland, whether in Glasgow (36.6%), Edinburgh (11.6%) or in and around the north-eastern cities of Dundee and Aberdeen (6.3%). By contrast, 39.2% report living in the Highlands and Islands region (comprising the three council areas of Highland, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar and Argyll & Bute), while 6.3% are now based outside of Scotland:

**Table 6:
Current location**

	N	%
Lowlands:	61	(54.5)
<i>Glasgow</i>	41	(36.6)
<i>Edinburgh</i>	13	(11.6)
<i>NE Scotland</i>	7	(6.3)
Highlands and Islands:	44	(39.2)
<i>Inverness</i>	14	(12.5)
<i>Skye and Lochalsh</i>	11	(9.8)
<i>Other Highlands</i>	10	(8.9)
<i>Western Isles</i>	9	(8.0)
England:	4	(3.6)
Overseas:	3	(2.7)

A large minority of informants in table 6 are now based in the Highlands and Islands (39.2%), though almost a third of these live in or around the city of Inverness. Of the remaining seven informants, four now live in England, and three are based overseas. When we compare the above picture of a largely urbanised cohort to the location of participants' primary (Gaelic-medium) education – shown in table 7, below – the

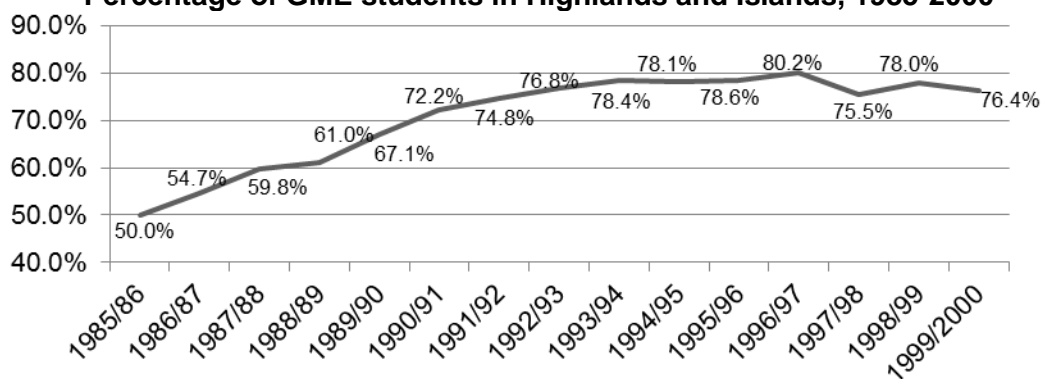
situation is almost reversed. 84% of participants report having grown up in the Highlands and Islands; by contrast, only 16.1% report growing up in Lowland cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen). The corresponding out-migration patterns that may be interpreted from tables 6 and 7 – that is, from rural areas where Gaelic may have been used as a community language to urban locations with less dense concentrations of Gaelic speakers – are relatively clear.

**Table 7:
Location of primary school**

	N	%
Highlands and Islands:	94	(83.9)
<i>Western Isles</i>	32	(28.6)
<i>Skye and Lochalsh</i>	24	(21.4)
<i>Inverness</i>	22	(19.6)
<i>Other Highlands</i>	16	(14.3)
Lowlands:	18	(16.1)
<i>Glasgow</i>	12	(10.7)
<i>Edinburgh</i>	4	(3.6)
<i>Aberdeen</i>	2	(1.8)

Although the above figures are very unrepresentative of the overall Scottish population, of which only 6.6% were living in the Highlands and Islands in 2011 (*cf.* National Records of Scotland 2013), they correspond broadly to figures on the numbers of GME students in various areas between 1985 and 2000. All 112 respondents would have started in GME during this 15 year period, at which time the majority of GME students lived in the Highlands and Islands (for present purposes, the three council areas of Highland, CNES and Argyll & Bute), particularly after the academic year 1990/91 (*cf.* figure 1; MacKinnon 2005):

**Figure 1:
Percentage of GME students in Highlands and Islands, 1985-2000**



Tables 8-10 display informants' reported continuation with the study of Gaelic and other languages after completing GME at primary school. As can be seen from table 8, continuation with Gaelic-medium instruction in subjects other than Gaelic is greatly reduced at secondary level compared to primary school uptake, reflective of limited secondary provision at this time. Less than a third of respondents (32.1%) studied two or more subjects through Gaelic at secondary school. A further quarter (24.1%) studied one subject, but the largest group (42.0%) studied only Gaelic itself:

**Table 8:
Continuation with GME at secondary school**

GM subjects at secondary	N	%
None	2	1.8
Gaelic only	47	42.0
1 other subject	27	24.1
2 other subjects	17	15.2
3 other subjects	9	8.0
4 other subjects	6	5.4
> 4 other subjects	4	3.5
Total	112	100

By contrast, levels of continuation with Gaelic as a *subject* are relatively high, with only two informants reporting that they ceased to study Gaelic at the end of primary school (category 9; see table 9, below). 55 further respondents (49.1%) reported continuing Gaelic study until some point in high school (categories 5–9), while the same number again continued to study Gaelic at college or university level (categories 1-4). Of the latter group, 38 went on to gain an undergraduate qualification in Gaelic, amounting to just over a third (33.9%) of all questionnaire respondents (categories 1-2). This proportion is likely to be far higher than that among all former Gaelic-medium students, although data on this issue is not currently available. The Scottish Funding Council's (2007: 13) report on Gaelic education suggested that the number of students studying Gaelic to degree level within five HE institutions was small but rising. If 33.9% of all GME-leavers in the period 1985-95 had gone onto HE Gaelic study, the figure would amount to a considerable number of Gaelic graduates in these years; this appears extremely

unrealistic from data presented in the SFC report (2007: 13–4). Again, therefore, the self-selected nature of the informant cohort should be born in mind when interpreting subsequent data.

**Table 9:
Continuation with Gaelic study**

Level of study	N	%
1. Postgraduate degree	2	1.8
2. Undergraduate degree	36	32.1
3. Some university (HE)	10	8.9
4. Some college (FE)	7	6.3
5. Advanced Higher	5	4.5
6. Higher Grade	29	25.9
7. Standard Grade	14	12.5
8. Some High School	7	6.3
9. Primary School	2	1.8
Total	112	100.1

Next, participants were asked if they could speak any additional languages apart from Gaelic and English, with the results displayed in table 10, below. The languages reported to be spoken most frequently are the major European languages that tend to be taught in Scottish high schools, namely French, German and Spanish. Although the total tally for languages reported to be spoken was 41, only 31 of the 112 respondents reported that they spoke an additional language (27.7%), with ten participants speaking more than one (see section 7.5, below, on attitudes to GME and learning other languages).

Table 10: Other languages spoken

French	19	Italian	1
Spanish	7	Swedish	1
German	6	Norwegian	1
Irish	2	Swahili	1
Chinese	2	Latin	1

Lastly in the portion of the questionnaire dealing with participants' social backgrounds, respondents were asked about the languages that were used in the home and community in which they grew up, as well as their fluency levels at the end of primary GME and their changing language practices since leaving school. Responses to these questions are shown in tables 11-13, below.

Table 11: Reported socialisation in Gaelic

Language	What languages were used in the home in which you were raised?	What languages were used in the wider community?
	N (%)	N (%)
Only English	29 (25.9)	40 (35.7)
More English than Gaelic	42 (37.5)	45 (40.2)
Equal amounts of English and Gaelic	12 (10.7)	11 (9.8)
More Gaelic than English	24 (21.4)	16 (14.3)
Other languages	5 (4.5)	0 (0)
Total	112 (100)	112 (100)

As may be seen from the above table, 36 questionnaire respondents reported growing up in homes where Gaelic was used to at least an equal degree as English (32.1%), while 42 report greater use of English than Gaelic (37.5%) and 29 report English only (25.9%). More Gaelic use was reported of respondents' homes than communities; this is likely to be at least partly attributable to the responses of informants raised in the Lowlands. It is conceivable that the largest category here – respondents who report “more English than Gaelic” – is also the broadest in terms of language practice, ranging from the odd word or phrase in Gaelic while completing homework, to quite substantial use of the language in conversation. It is unfortunately impossible to know from these data, but if we take into account some of the more limited kinds of Gaelic language use that were most frequently described by interview participants in section 5.1 of this study, it seems likely that some respondents' included more limited Gaelic language practices in this category. This was again the largest category reported for languages used in the wider community that respondents were raised in, with 45 reporting “more English than Gaelic” and 40 “only English”.

In spite of the overall reported preponderance of English use in the childhood home and community, however, relatively high levels of ability in Gaelic at the end of primary school GME were reported by the majority of respondents, as shown in table

12. Almost two thirds (64.3%) reported having about the same level of fluency in Gaelic and English at the end of primary school, while over a quarter (26.8%) reported being more fluent in English, and only 8.9% reported being more fluent in Gaelic:

Table 12: Language ability after school
“What language were you more fluent in at the end of primary school?”

Language	N	%
Gaelic	10	8.9
English	30	26.8
About the same in both languages	72	64.3
Total	112	100

Finally in the social background section, respondents were asked to select from a list of options reflecting changed language practices since leaving school, and were invited to select all options that corresponded to their own experience (with the choice of leaving any option blank, to reflect language practices that may not have changed substantially). As such the total responses shown in table 13 do not add up to the full 112:

Table 13: Change in language practices
“How has the extent to which you use Gaelic changed since leaving school?”

Language practice	Speak more G.	Read more G.	Write more G.	Use more G. media
N (%)	41 (36.6)	26 (23.2)	33 (29.5)	55 (49.1)
Language practice	Speak less G.	Read less G.	Write less G.	Use less G. media
N (%)	61 (54.5)	68 (60.7)	62 (55.5)	38 (33.9)
Total	102	94	95	93
N (%)	(91.1)	(83.9)	(84.8)	(83.0)

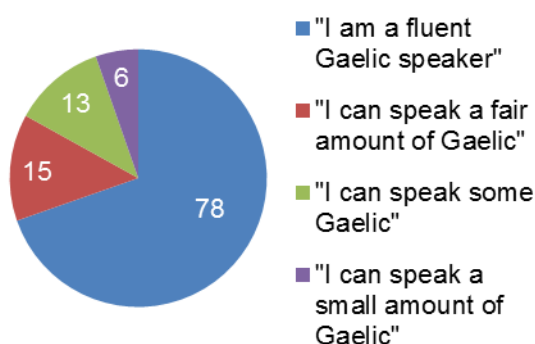
The most frequently reported changes in language practice since leaving school are therefore reading less Gaelic (reported by 68 respondents), writing less Gaelic (62), speaking less Gaelic (61) and using more Gaelic media (55). It is likely that this last

finding reflects the greater availability and output of Gaelic television since the establishment of BBC Alba in 2008, and increased airtime for BBC Radio nan Gaidheal. 15.2% more respondents report using more Gaelic media than report using less. For speaking, reading and writing, by contrast, the proportions of respondents who report greater use of Gaelic is consistently and considerably lower than those reporting lower use. In the case of speaking this disparity is 17.9%, while for reading it is 37.5%, and for writing it is 26.0%. While a large majority of respondents answered for each of the four language skills listed, the somewhat lower response rate to questions on reading, writing and media use compared to speaking may reflect the perceptions of a minority that their language practices in relation to these haven't substantially changed since school (*cf.* section 5.1.1).

7.3. Reported abilities in Gaelic

In the second portion of the questionnaire, high abilities in Gaelic were reported by a majority of participants (*cf.* section 5.2.1-2, above). When asked to choose one of five statements that best reflect their current abilities in Gaelic, 78 respondents claimed that they were “fluent” Gaelic speakers (69.6%), while a further 15 stated that they could “speak a fair amount of Gaelic” (13.4%), as shown in figure 2, below. 13 reported that they could speak “some” Gaelic (11.6%) and 6 claimed to be able to “speak a small amount of Gaelic” (5.4%). No single participant selected the final statement “I can hardly speak Gaelic at all” to reflect their abilities in the present day.

Figure 2: Reported Gaelic language abilities (n)



In part, the very high levels of Gaelic fluency reported by questionnaire respondents may again reflect self-selection bias in the survey, since speakers who feel less confident and fluent in their Gaelic may well have been less inclined to answer the

questionnaire in the first place. At the same time, however, uncertainty over the exact meaning of “fluency” on the part of speakers (as described in section 5.2.2, above) may have played a role in increasing informants’ choice of “fluent” when describing current ability in Gaelic. Additionally, the fact that many questionnaire participants would have studied Gaelic for fluent speakers (*‘Gàidhlig – fileantaich’*) as a subject in high school may further impact upon perceptions of being a “fluent” speaker. Participants were next asked to locate their language competences in both Gaelic and English on a scale of 0-10; the results are displayed in tables 14a and 14b, below:

Table 14a: Competence in Gaelic

Ability scale	Speaking Gaelic N (%)	Reading Gaelic N (%)	Writing Gaelic N (%)	Understanding Gaelic N (%)	
L ↓ H	0	0 (0.0)	0 (0)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)
	1	2 (1.8)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	1 (0.9)
	2	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.6)	1 (0.9)
	3	2 (1.8)	3 (2.7)	7 (6.3)	1 (0.9)
	4	7 (6.3)	4 (3.6)	7 (6.3)	4 (3.6)
	5	7 (6.3)	9 (8.0)	8 (7.1)	3 (3.6)
	6	7 (6.3)	4 (3.6)	10 (8.9)	4 (3.6)
	7	9 (8.0)	7 (6.3)	13 (11.6)	7 (6.3)
	8	14 (12.5)	20 (17.9)	19 (17.0)	12 (10.7)
	9	29 (25.9)	24 (21.4)	15 (13.4)	25 (22.3)
H 10	35 (31.3)	39 (34.8)	26 (23.2)	54 (48.2)	
Total	112 (100)	112 (100)	112 (100)	112 (100)	
Mean	8.0	7.7	7.1	8.7	

Table 14b: Competence in English

Ability	Speaking English N (%)	Reading English N (%)	Writing English N (%)	Understanding English N (%)	
L ↓ H	0	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	1	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	2	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	3	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	4	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	5	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
	6	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)
	7	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	5 (4.5)	0 (0.0)

H ↓	8	3 (2.7)	5 (4.5)	9 (8.0)	0 (0.0)
	9	16 (14.3)	8 (7.1)	18 (16.1)	14 (12.5)
	10	93 (83.0)	98 (87.5)	79 (70.5)	98 (87.5)
Total		112 (100)	112 (100)	112 (100)	112 (100)
Mean		9.8	9.8	9.5	9.9

As can be seen from a comparison of the above tables, questionnaire respondents reported generally high levels of oracy and literacy in both Gaelic and English. The mean scores selected for competence in speaking, reading, writing and understanding Gaelic are consistently lower than for English, however, with respective differences of 1.8, 2.1, 2.4 and 1.2 in the mean scores chosen for each language skill. I discussed the possible relationship between professed Gaelic language abilities and actual usage practices from a qualitative perspective in section 5.2, and explore the same from a statistical viewpoint in greater detail in section 7.4, below. Firstly, however, table 15, below, displays outputs from Spearman’s non-parametric correlation coefficient (ρ) with regard to ability, social and educational factors. Throughout this chapter, correlations greater than (+/-) 0.5 are displayed in bold, and are discussed (along with other noteworthy correlations) in further detail subsequently:

**Table 15: Gaelic ability, social and educational variables
Spearman’s rho correlations**

Gaelic ability	Gaelic Socialisation	GME Cont.	Other lang?	Speak more Gaelic	Occ. Class	Gaelic Use
Reading	-.363	-.596	.047	.450	-.055	-.602
Writing	-.724	-.337	-.592	-.005	.497	-.122
Speaking	-.295	-.602	.084	.498	-.101	-.664
Understanding	-.312	-.549	.136	.441	.014	-.589

Several correlations are notable in table 15. Firstly, high levels of socialisation – corresponding to high reported Gaelic use at home in childhood (coded with lower values, thereby explaining the direction of correlations; *cf.* table 11, above) – correlate somewhat with Gaelic reading ability (-.363), speaking ability (-.295) and understanding ability (-.312), and particularly strongly with Gaelic writing ability (-.724). Similarly, continuation with GME after primary school tends to correlate with higher values for each language skill listed, at -.596 with Gaelic reading ability,

-.337 for writing, -.602 for speaking and -.549 for understanding. There are also notable correlations between ability in an additional language and Gaelic writing ability (-.592; *cf.* table 10), and between higher occupational class and writing ability (.497; *cf.* table 5a). Correlations between speaking more Gaelic since leaving school and writing ability (-.005; *cf.* table 13), and between present Gaelic use and writing (-.122; *cf.* table 16), are much weaker when compared to correlations with every other skill (.450 for reading; .498 for speaking and .441 for understanding). This apparently surprising finding may suggest that higher levels of Gaelic use at present do not necessarily include frequent writing of the language. There are further clues to this possible pattern of usage in the following section.

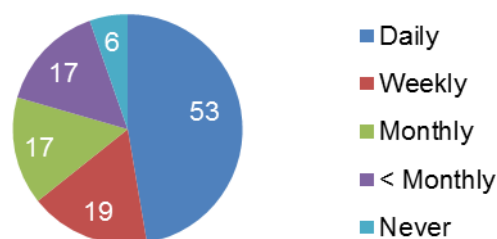
7.4. Reported Gaelic language use

In the third portion of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they spoke Gaelic at present, from a choice of five statements ranging from “at least one conversation a day” to “never”. The results are shown by percentage in table 16, and by number of responses in figure 3, below:

**Table 16: Frequency of Gaelic use
(Responses by percentage point)**

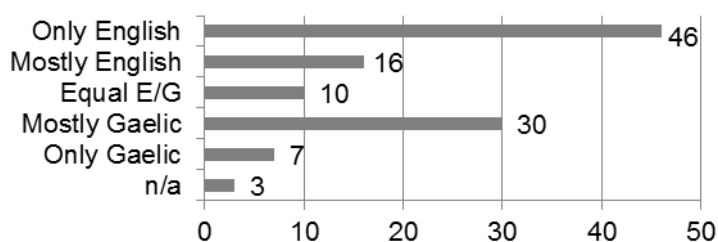
“How often do you speak Gaelic at present?”	%
“At least one conversation a day”	47.3
“At least one conversation a week”	17.0
“At least one conversation a month”	15.2
“Less frequently than once a month”	15.2
“Never”	5.4

Figure 3: Frequency of Gaelic use (N=112)



Almost half of all respondents (n=53) indicated that they currently held at least one conversation a day in Gaelic, the largest category overall (47.3%). Similar proportions claimed to speak Gaelic at least once a week (17.0%), once a month (15.2%), or less than once a month (15.2%), with only 5.4% indicating that they “never” spoke Gaelic at present. Over a third of respondents (35.8%) reported using Gaelic less frequently than once a month, therefore, while the category of informants who answered that they spoke Gaelic at least once daily may be extremely broad. In order to gain a more detailed picture of Gaelic language use, respondents were then asked to identify which language they would normally use in a range of settings, and with various interlocutors. The results are shown in figures 4-24, below, with figures 4-5 showing reported Gaelic use at work and at home, figures 6-14 detailing reported Gaelic language use with family members, 15-19 showing reported use with friends, and 20-24 reported Gaelic language use in leisure activities. In each instance, participants were asked to indicate “What language would you normally use in the following situations?”, on a 5-point scale of “Only English” to “Only Gaelic”, with a further option of “Not applicable”.

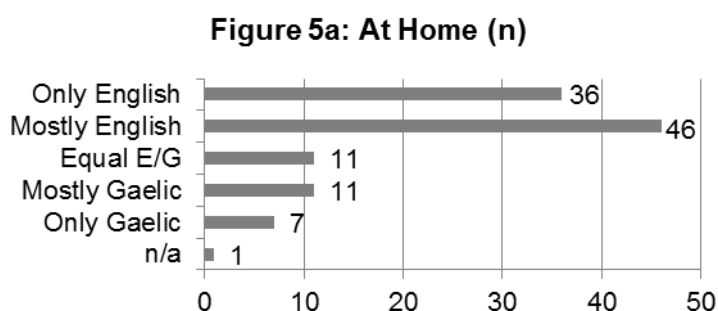
Figure 4: At Work or university (n)



As can be seen from figure 4, 46 respondents indicated that they normally used “only English” at work or university (13 of whom reported being in higher education currently), representing a proportion of 41.1%. At the same time, 41.9% claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic and English, with 10 claiming equal use (8.9%; 3 of whom are at university), 30 claiming to use “mostly Gaelic” (26.8%; 5 of whom are at university) and a further 7 claiming “only Gaelic” (6.3%; 2 of whom are at university). This would appear to be unrepresentative of GME-leavers generally, given the small size of the Gaelic labour market in Scotland (*cf.* Macleod 2008; Campbell *et al.* 2008). When these proportions are disaggregated from the responses of participants currently in education, the extent of this disparity is smaller, though

self-selection bias is, again, clearly at play here. High reported Gaelic usage levels at work and university may also partly explain the high levels of language ability and use reported above.

Yet when we compare reported language use in the more formal domain of work to that of the home (figure 5a, below), we see substantially lower levels of Gaelic use in that setting:



82 participants claimed to use “only” or “mostly” English in the home, amounting to 73.2% of the total. By contrast, just 25.9% claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic at home, with 11 informants indicating equal English and Gaelic use (9.8%), 11 reporting “mostly Gaelic” (9.8%), and 7 reporting “only Gaelic” (6.3%). Informal use of Gaelic within the home setting therefore appears at first glance to be rather weak. To clarify this issue further, respondents were firstly asked “What are your current living arrangements (figure 5b) and “Which members of your family *can* speak Gaelic?” (table 17a):

Figure 5b: Current living arrangements (N=112)

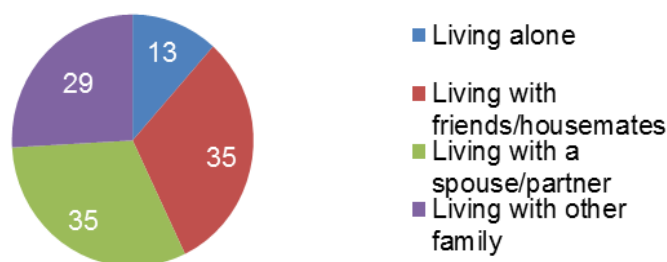


Figure 5b shows that 11.6% of respondents report currently living alone (n=13), 25.9% with family, while the same proportions reported living with friends or

housemates as reported living with a spouse or partner (31.3%; n=35). Over half of participants (57.2%) therefore reported living with either a partner/spouse or with other family members at present (n=64).

Table 17a: Reported Gaelic ability among family members

	Mother	Father	Spouse/ partner	Son/ daughter	Grandmother /-father	Brother/ sister	Other
n	46	40	12	9	30	68	15
%	41.1%	35.7%	10.7%	8.5%	26.8%	60.7%	13.0%

As can be seen in table 17a, the family members who were most often reported by respondents to be able to speak Gaelic were siblings (60.7%), followed by mothers (41.1%), fathers (35.7%) and grandparents (26.8%).⁹ Whilst 64 respondents (57.1%) reported having a spouse or partner (*cf.* figure 10, below), only 12 here report that their partner can speak Gaelic (=18.8%). The low proportion reporting Gaelic ability among their children here may be partly reflective of the age profile of respondents (*cf.* table 3, above); only 23 respondents in total reported having children (*cf.* figure 11). Conversely, the relatively low proportion reporting Gaelic-speaking grandparents in relation to parents may reflect death rates among older speakers (although the figure still appears low even allowing for this). Higher rates of ability in Gaelic reported for siblings compared to parents may reflect the role of GME, and the choice of parents who could not speak Gaelic to enrol all of their children in GME. To investigate this issue further, Spearman's rank order correlations were calculated in SPSS for reported Gaelic use (*cf.* figs. 3, 4 & 5, above) to socialisation, ability and the social variables of age, sex and class.

As can be seen in table 17b, consistent (though relatively weak) correlations were found between Gaelic language use and having parents who can speak Gaelic; noteworthy correlations are discussed in further detail subsequently. Ability on the part of mothers correlates somewhat with general frequency of Gaelic use ($=-.378$), work use ($=-.225$) and home use ($=-.355$), while that of fathers correlates with frequency of use ($=-.298$), work use ($=-.296$) and home use ($=-.376$):

⁹ 28 respondents reported that both their parents could speak Gaelic, meaning that a total of 58 participants had at least one Gaelic-speaking parent (51.8%).

**Table 17b: Reported Gaelic use, socialisation and ability
Spearman's rho correlations**

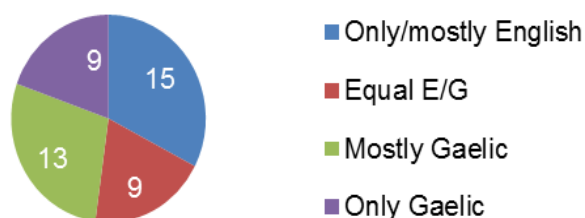
Gaelic Use	Mother ability	Father ability	Socialisation	GME Cont.	Speak Ability	Age	Sex	Occ. Class
Freq. of use	-.378	-.298	.344	.690	-.664	-.076	-.008	.209
Work use	-.225	-.296	.107	.630	-.582	-.038	-.016	.224
Home use	-.355	-.376	.452	.438	-.427	.035	-.014	.078

Weak correlations are similarly shown between high levels of socialisation (coded for here as high reported use in the childhood home; *cf.* table 11) and both frequency of Gaelic use (= .344), and high home use (= .452), though the corresponding correlation is weaker for high Gaelic use at work or university (= .107). (Positive correlations for 'socialisation', as with 'GME continuation' and 'occupational class' reflect the different coding systems used for these compared to other variables shown in table 17b.) High levels of Gaelic socialisation therefore appear to correlate consistently with higher levels of present-day use of the language in the home, as well as with general higher frequency of Gaelic use (*cf.* section 5.3). Similarly, continuation with GME and Gaelic study after school correlates strongly with general frequency of Gaelic use (= .690), use of the language at work (= .630) and, to a lesser extent, in the home (= .438). Higher levels of professed speaking ability also correlate with the same usage variables at .664, -.582 and -.427 respectively.

As suggested in chapter 5 of the qualitative analysis, the interrelationship of Gaelic use, ability and socialisation is key to understanding the patterns of present-day Gaelic use by former-GME students. Professed speaking ability correlates particularly strongly with use, while age and sex show no significant effects. Yet while Gaelic socialisation by parents in the childhood home correlates consistently with present Gaelic use, stronger correlations are shown for use and 'GME continuation' beyond primary school, highlighting the importance of this factor for continued Gaelic use in later life. Occupational class appears to correlate weakly with frequency of Gaelic use and use at work; this may reflect the disproportionately high number of Gaelic professionals in the dataset. Since Gaelic socialisation by parents therefore appears to bear a substantial relation to respondents' current use of the language generally (table 17b), it will be useful to consider participants' current

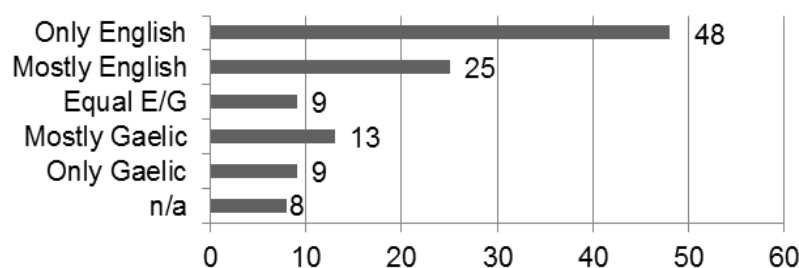
use of Gaelic with their parents in particular. Figure 6, below, displays responses for languages used with mothers who were reported to be able to speak Gaelic, while figure 7 shows language use with mothers of all participants:

Figure 6: Use with ‘Gaelic-speaking’ mother (N=46)



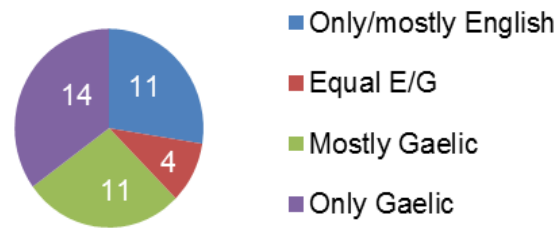
Although around a third (32.6%) of respondents with a mother who can speak Gaelic (*cf.* table 17a) therefore claim to use “mostly” or “only” English with them (n=15), 67.4% report using at least “equal” Gaelic and English (n=31). Furthermore, 9 of these 46 (19.6%) claim to use “only” Gaelic with them. Since 58.9% of all 112 respondents answered that their mother could not speak Gaelic, however, the figures for all 112 show appreciably less Gaelic use; 48 participants (42.9%) claim to use “only English” with their mother, while a further 25 (22.3%) claim to use “mostly English”, amounting to almost two thirds of all respondents (65.2%):

Figure 7: With Mother - All (n)



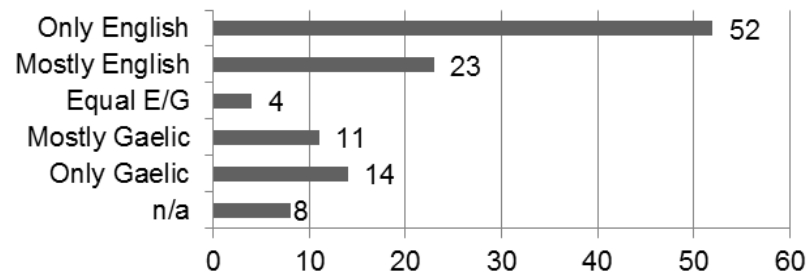
Turning now to consider respondents’ language use with fathers, we see in figure 8, below, that 29 (72.5%) of the 40 respondents who answered that their fathers could speak Gaelic (*cf.* table 17a) claim to use at least “equal” Gaelic with them, with 11 using (27.5%) “mostly” or “only English”. Use of Gaelic with Gaelic-speaking fathers was therefore relatively stronger than with mothers who were reported to be able to speak the language (*cf.* figure 6):

Figure 8:
Use with 'Gaelic-speaking' father (N=40)



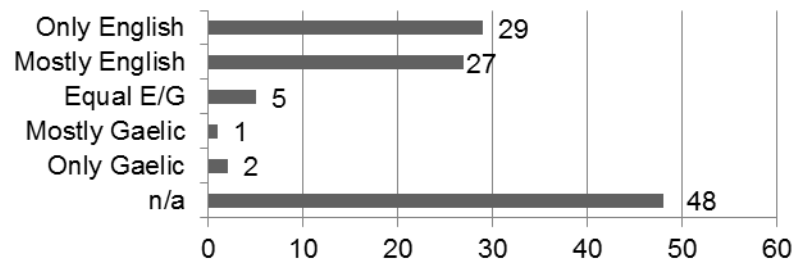
35.7% of all 112 questionnaire participants answered that their father could speak Gaelic (n=40; cf. table 17a). In light of this limited proportion, the figures for the full dataset again show reduced Gaelic use, with 52 using “only English” (46.4%), 23 “mostly English” (20.5%), and only 29 informants (25.0%) speaking at least “equal” Gaelic with him:

Figure 9: With Father - All (n)



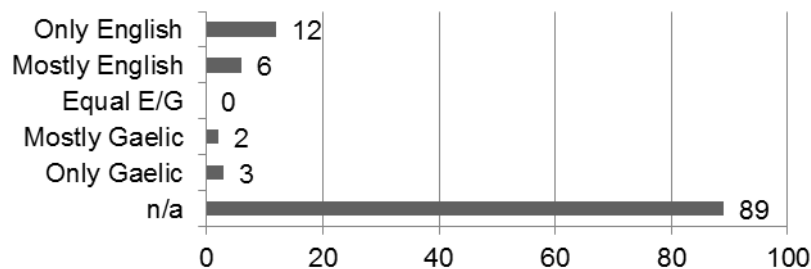
While interaction with parents who *can* speak Gaelic is reported to take place mostly through Gaelic, therefore, English language use dominates in this setting among the cohort at large. Yet, while Gaelic language use with a parent who cannot speak Gaelic is realistically not a matter of *choice* for a speaker, he or she may be thought to have more choice over their selection of a partner or spouse and the languages they speak to them (although of course many other factors may be more influential in an individual’s choice of partner). Respondents’ answers in this connection are displayed in figure 10, below; English language use here predominates to an even greater extent:

Figure 10: With Partner/Spouse (n)



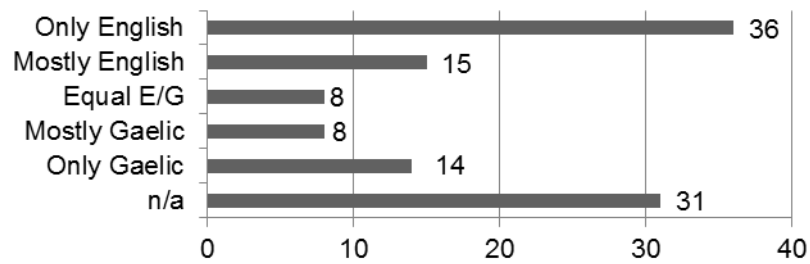
Therefore while 64 respondents (57.1%) reported that they were in a relationship, only 8 of these reported “equal”-to-“only” Gaelic use with their partner or spouse, amounting to just 12.5% of those in a relationship. As shown in table 17a, above, a total of 12 (10.7%) claimed to have a partner who *could* speak Gaelic, meaning that 4 of these use at least “mostly” English with their Gaelic-speaking partner.

Figure 11: With Son/Daughter (n)



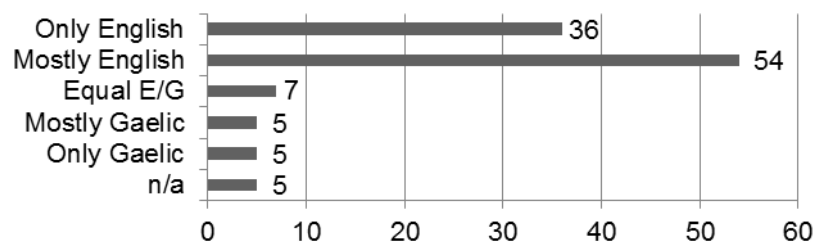
While 23 of the 112 participants (20.5%) responded that they had a son or daughter (figure 11, above) only 9 of these reported having a child who could speak Gaelic (table 17a, above). 5 of this 9 (55.5%) reported speaking at least “equal” Gaelic to their children, with the remaining 4 speaking “mostly” English. The fact that only 11 of the 23 respondents with children (47.8%) reported using any Gaelic with them is notable, however, particularly in light of the high overall usage and ability figures which were reported (figures 2 & 3). Furthermore, 4 respondents who reported speaking Gaelic to their children did not claim to do so with their partners. Therefore, whilst a large majority of questionnaire participants (79.5%) reported not having children at present, intergenerational transmission of Gaelic among the 20.5% who did so appears from the above data to be weak (*cf.* sections 5.1.2 & 6.1.2). This finding may therefore suggest that prospects for the intergenerational transmission of Gaelic to future generations by GME-leavers are currently limited, though more research would be needed to verify this suggestion.

Figure 12: With Grandmother/-father (n)



Higher levels of Gaelic language use—and indeed, Gaelic-only use—were reported with grandparents, with all 30 respondents who reported having a grandmother or – father who could speak Gaelic claiming to use at least “equal” Gaelic with them, and almost half of these (14; 46.7%) using “only Gaelic” (*cf.* table 17a). Overall, however, 36 participants (32.1%) reported using “only English” with grandparents. A further 15 reported using “mostly English” with them, indicating that either this, or the question discussed previously (presented in table 17a) was imprecisely answered by questionnaire respondents; only 30 informants reported having a grandparent who could speak Gaelic, but a further 15 claim in figure 12 to use “mostly English” with grandparents, suggesting they use Gaelic (or, conceivably, another language) for at least some of the time. It is of course possible that respondents answered this question retrospectively, with reference to grandparents who are already deceased.

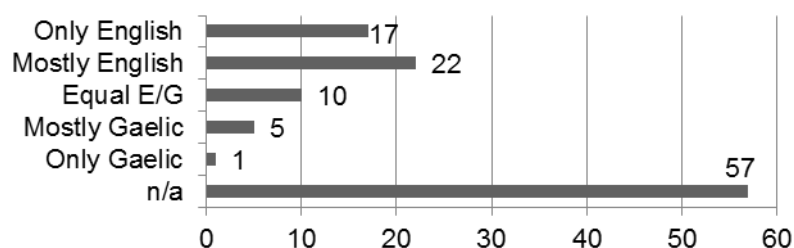
Figure 13: With Brother/Sister (n)



As was true for partners/spouses (*cf.* figure 10), low use of Gaelic was reported for interactions with siblings, as shown in figure 13 here. 36 of the 112 respondents (32.1%) claimed to use “only English” with their brother or sister, while 54 (48.2%) use “mostly English”. We may recall that siblings were the family relation most frequently reported to be able to speak Gaelic (table 14), and it is notable that only 17 of the 68 (25.0%) that reported having siblings who *could* speak it actually claim to use at least “equal” Gaelic with them, and only 5 of these use “only Gaelic” with

them (7.4%). Again therefore, low levels of Gaelic use with peers in the same age-group are clear from figure 13, in comparison with greater levels of use with parents and grandparents. These findings have clear implications for the maintenance of Gaelic by siblings in GME who were not socialised in Gaelic by parents at home, and potentially, for the limited prospects for intergenerational transmission of the language by this group. Lastly for family members, figure 14, below, displays responses for languages used with “other family” members, such as cousins, aunts and uncles:

Figure 14: With other family (n)



Among those respondents that didn’t respond “not applicable”, 17 reported using “only English” (15.2%) with “other” family members, while a further 24 used “mostly English” (21.4%). Again, however, this question appears to have been rather imprecisely answered by respondents; while 16 respondents claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic with other family, only 15 reported having other family members who *could* speak Gaelic (table 17a, above). It would therefore be a mistake to over-interpret these results, especially since interactions with “other” family members of this kind may be very infrequent. Table 17c displays Spearman’s rho statistics for family language use (after “n/a” responses have been removed), correlated with social and linguistic variables:

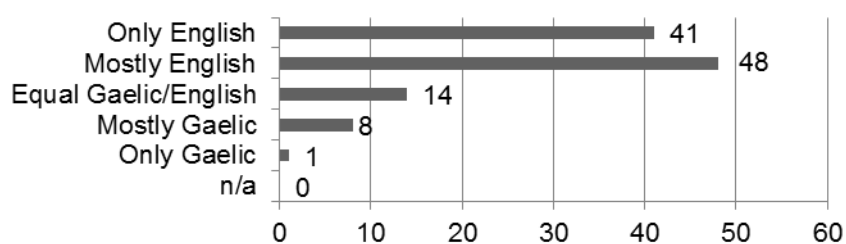
**Table 17c: Family Gaelic use—linguistic and social variables
Spearman’s rho correlations**

Gaelic use/ family member	Age	Sex	Occ. Class	Speaking ability	Socialisation	GME Cont.
Mother	-.161	.035	.161	-.396	.511	.362
Father	-.099	.015	.302	-.404	.502	.154
Partner/ spouse	-.108	-.117	-.010	-.386	.161	.416

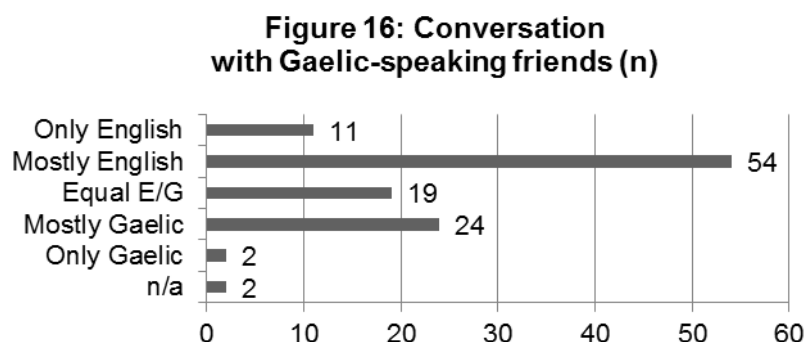
Son/daughter	-.145	.323	-.196	-.631	.669	.645
Grandmother /-father	.161	-.035	.052	-.496	.514	.465
Brother/ sister	.110	-.121	-.010	-.367	.238	.203
Other family	-.053	-.055	-.007	-.506	.319	.521

On the language use survey, lower scores correspond to higher reported Gaelic use, socialisation and continuation with GME beyond primary school, thus explaining the direction of correlations displayed in table 17c. Age, sex and occupational class tend not to correlate clearly with family language use in the table, with the possible exception of occupational class and Gaelic use with a father (= .302). Tellingly, higher levels of Gaelic speaking ability correlate somewhat with high present Gaelic use with parents (mothers = -.396; fathers = -.404), partners (= -.386), grandparents (= -.496), siblings (= -.347), other family (= -.506), and, strongly, with higher levels of use with sons or daughters (= -.631). High levels of Gaelic socialisation correlate consistently with high reported Gaelic use with mothers (= .511), fathers (= .502), grandparents (= .514) and, again, particularly strongly with present Gaelic use with children (= .669). These correlations highlight the importance of language socialisation to participants' continued use of Gaelic (*cf.* section 5.3, above), and potential ability to pass the language on. Importantly, however, relatively strong correlations are also observed between present Gaelic use with a son or daughter and higher professed levels of speaking ability (= .631), and continuation with Gaelic study (= .645), reflecting the importance of these variables to higher rates of intergenerational transmission of the language. Overall levels of family Gaelic use among the 112 participants (presented in figures 6 to 14, above) are low in comparison with English, though reported socialisation in the language tends to correlate with high levels of continued Gaelic use.

Figure 15: Conversation with all friends (n)



Next in the language use survey, participants were asked to identify the languages they use socially, firstly with all friends (figure 15) and secondly with friends who can speak Gaelic (figure 16). As can be seen in figure 15, above, use of Gaelic with all friends in a participant’s social network is low in comparison with English. A slightly different picture is apparent for conversation only with Gaelic-speaking friends:



While we see greater levels of Gaelic use specifically with friends who are able to speak Gaelic, with whom 40.2% of respondents report using at least “equal” Gaelic (n=45; figure 16) – compared to 20.5% with “all” friends (n=23; figure 15) – English use nevertheless predominates in both graphs. Understandably, English is used to a greater degree in interactions reported with all friends in a speaker’s social network (figure 15) than with “Gaelic-speaking” friends, with 79.5% of respondents using either “mostly” or “only” English across their full friendship group (n=89). With friends who can speak Gaelic (figure 16), 11 participants report using “only English” (9.8%), while 54 use “mostly English” (48.2%). Just two (1.8%) report using “only Gaelic” with such friends, however, the same number that indicate that they have no friends who can speak it (“n/a”). This finding is important from a language planning perspective, since peer use of the language even with friends who speak Gaelic is notably low. When we compare face-to-face conversation with friends who can speak Gaelic (figure 16) to communication via other means – such as phone, text or social media (figures 17, 18 and 19, below) – even lower levels of Gaelic use are reported:

Figure 17: Gaelic-speaking friends – Phone (n)

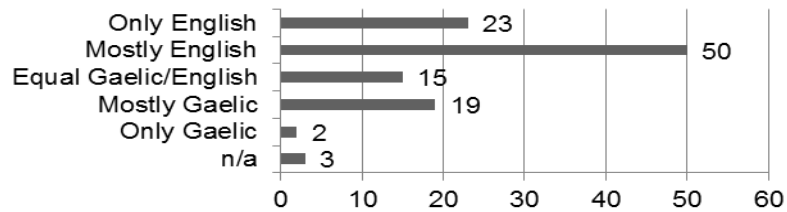


Figure 18: Gaelic-speaking friends – SMS/Text (n)

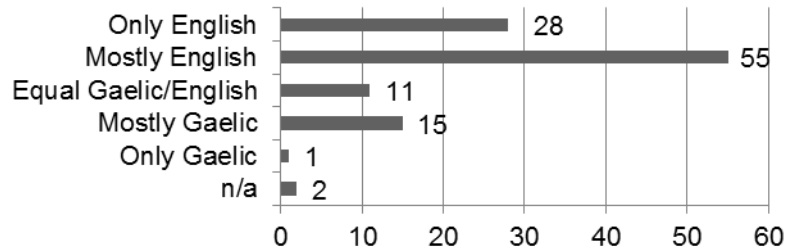
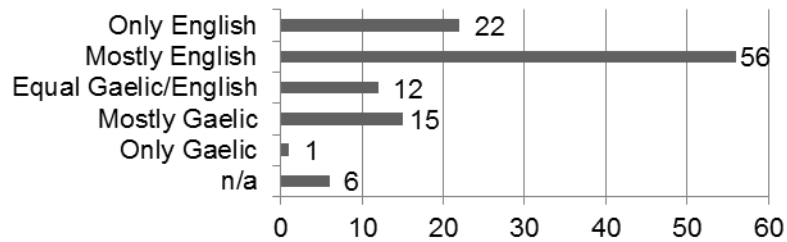


Figure 19: Gaelic-speaking friends – Social Media (n)



In figure 17, 36 respondents claim to use at least “equal” Gaelic in conversations with Gaelic-speaking friends on the phone, a proportion of 32.1%. The corresponding percentages are 24.1% for SMS/text message (figure 18) and 25.0% for interactions on social media. Since a greater proportion of social interaction now takes place via smartphones and social media apps than ever before, the low levels of Gaelic use reported here may have important implications. Next on the language use survey, respondents were asked to reflect on the languages they used in their leisure time generally. Use of Gaelic across five areas of language use in leisure activity is displayed in figures 20-24, below:

Figure 20: Lesiure - Listening to music/radio (n)

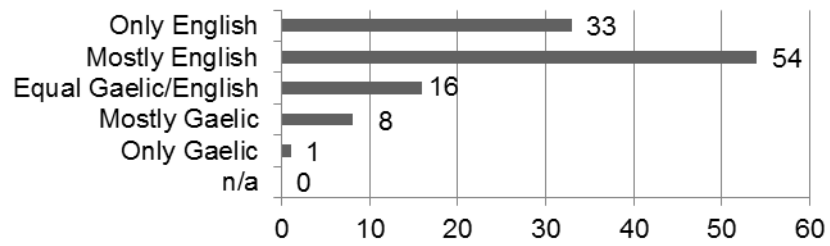


Figure 21: Leisure - Watching television (n)

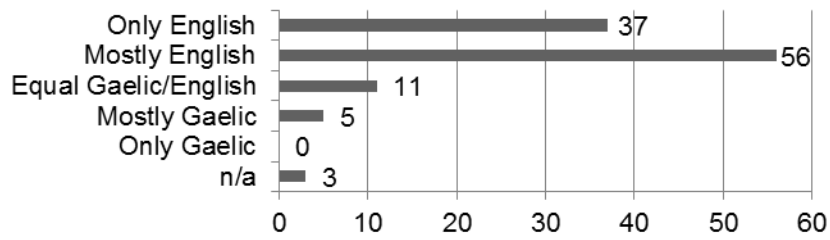


Figure 22: Leisure - Reading books (n)

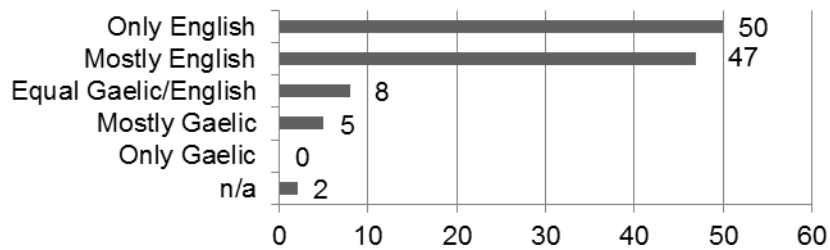


Figure 23: Leisure – Using social media (n)

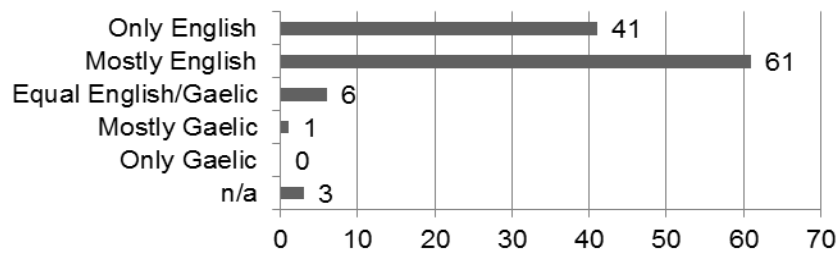
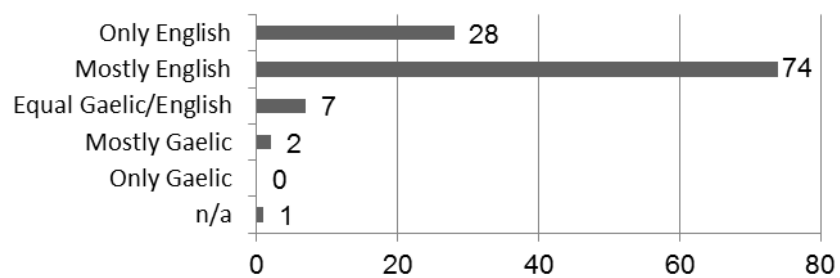


Figure 24: Leisure - Other internet use (n)



Use of English again predominates across the five leisure activities shown in figures 20-24, with 25 respondents making at least “equal” use of Gaelic when listening to music and radio during leisure time (22.3%) and 16 using at least “equal” amounts of Gaelic when watching television (14.3%), compared to 13 when reading (11.6%), 7 when using social media (6.3%), and 9 whilst using other internet sites (8.0%). Low engagement with Gaelic television compared to radio and music is notable in these data, as, again, is low use of Gaelic within the electronic domains of social media and the internet (*cf.* Crystal 2000: 141; section 1.2). Table 17d, below, displays correlations (again calculated with Spearman’s rho) between language use in these settings, as well as with friends, and social and linguistic variables discussed previously:

**Table 17d Social and leisure use, social and linguistic variables
Spearman’s rho correlations**

Social use	Age	Sex	Occ. Class	Social-isation	GME Cont.	Speaking ability
All friends	-.054	-.109	.139	.285	.570	-.486
Gaelic-speaking friends	.025	-.034	-.001	.170	.567	-.561
- Phone	.050	-.069	.013	.214	.630	-.609
- SMS/Text	.037	.001	-.081	.180	.485	-.426
- Social media	.051	.025	.025	.177	.512	-.384
Radio /music	.028	.000	-.017	.192	.533	-.478
TV	.019	-.084	.016	.188	.436	-.419
Books	.048	-.051	.020	.215	.495	-.359
Social media	.051	.025	.025	.177	.512	-.384
Internet	.039	-.009	.016	.265	.477	-.416

Notable correlations are displayed between GME continuation (*cf.* table 9) and high reported use of Gaelic with all friends (= .570), with Gaelic-speaking friends specifically (= .567), on the phone with Gaelic-speaking friends (= .630), on social media with Gaelic-speaking friends (= .512), as well as high use of Gaelic radio or music (= .533) and on social media generally (= .512), suggesting the importance of continuation with Gaelic study for access to Gaelic-speaking social networks.

Weaker but still considerable correlations are found between GME continuity and use of Gaelic in texts ($r=.485$), Gaelic television viewership ($r=.436$) and use of Gaelic on internet sites ($r=.477$). By comparison, reported levels of Gaelic socialisation seem to bear little relationship to the use of Gaelic in these contexts, in contrast to tables 17b-c (above). Correlations are relatively clearer with higher reported levels of Gaelic speaking ability, particularly in respect of respondents' Gaelic use with all friends ($r=-.486$), with Gaelic-speaking friends in person ($r=-.561$) and with Gaelic-speaking friends on the phone ($r=-.609$). Nevertheless, GME continuation is clearly a key variable, correlating most strongly with the use of Gaelic with friends and in leisure time.

7.5. Gaelic Language Attitudes

In the fourth section of the questionnaire, respondents were invited to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with 18 attitudinal statements concerning Gaelic. Nine statements concern the relevance of the language to sociocultural identities, three deal with perceptions of the Gaelic community, while the remaining six concern attitudes to GME itself. Responses to the 18 statements are shown in tables 19-22, below.

7.5.1. Identities and attitudes

As the first nine attitudinal propositions concern the perceived relevance of Gaelic to social identities, respondents were first asked to select all the national identity categories that they felt applied to them, out of a choice of 'Scottish', 'British', 'Irish', 'English' and 'Welsh', with a further option of 'Other', inviting participants to state which national identity they felt. Responses to this question are shown in table 18:

Table 18: National identity
"Which of the following best describes your national identity?"

National Identity	Scottish	British	English	Irish	Other: 'Gael'	Other: 'Eilean-ach'	Other: 'French'
N	105	22	2	2	4	3	1
%	83.8	19.6	1.8	1.8	3.6	2.7	0.9

In total, 95 of the 112 respondents (84.8%) selected only one national identity to reflect their affiliations, while 13 selected two identities (11.6%) and 4 chose three (3.6%). Of the 95 who chose just one, 88 selected only “Scottish” (78.6%), while 5 selected only “British” (4.5%). Additionally, one individual entered “Eileanach” (*Islander*) as their only national identity (0.9%), while another entered “Gael”. The remaining five (4.5%) who entered either “Eileanach” or “Gael” did so in combination with other national identities (*i.e.* Scottish or British), as did the five further respondents who selected “English”, “Irish” or “French”. Therefore a sense of Scottish identity was most strongly felt in the dataset, with 105 respondents indicating an affiliation with this national identity (83.8%), and 88 choosing it as their only national identity (78.6%). These findings parallel results reported in the 2012 Scottish Social Attitudes survey, which found that 69% of Scots chose “Scottish” as their national identity when forced to pick just one, compared to 20% who chose British (Park *et al.* 2013: 143-4). Responses to attitudinal statements concerning Gaelic and identities are shown in table 19:

Table 19: Attitudes to Gaelic & Scottish identity

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree or disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
“Gaelic is important for the Highlands & Islands.”	0 (0)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	15 (13.4)	95 (84.8)
“Gaelic is important for the whole of Scotland.”	3 (2.7)	7 (6.3)	7 (6.3)	31 (27.7)	64 (57.1)
“Scotland would lose its separate identity if Gaelic died out.”	10 (8.9)	13 (11.6)	9 (8.4)	30 (26.8)	50 (44.6)
“Gaelic is irrelevant to most people in Scotland.”	31 (27.7)	30 (26.8)	12 (10.7)	27 (24.1)	12 (10.7)

A strong sense of support for the first proposition shown here, that Gaelic is important for the Highlands and Islands region (at 84.8%) is therefore generally higher than for the second, which proposes that Gaelic is important for Scotland as a

whole (57.1%; cf. Paterson *et al.* 2014¹⁰). Attitudes reflected here recall a number of discourses that were most frequently related in interviews on the supposed relevance of Gaelic to regional, as opposed to national identity (cf. section 6.3). Nevertheless, overall support for both statements – as well as the third, concerning potential loss of Scotland’s identity – remains very high, at 98.2% , 84.8% and 71.4%, respectively. By contrast, only rather moderate disagreement is expressed for the fourth statement, that Gaelic is irrelevant to most Scots, with 54.5% disagreeing overall, but 34.8% agreeing. Responses to this proposition therefore recall expressions of reservation that were frequently expressed in interviews regarding the promotion of Gaelic throughout Scotland, and concerns about “pushing” (*a’ putadh/a’ sparradh*) the language on certain areas (cf. section 6.3.3, above). Similarly, in table 20 (below) some of the language attitudes expressed in questionnaires closely match language ideologies that were discussed in chapter 6 of this study.

Table 20: Attitudes to Gaelic and Scottish identity—linguistic and social variables
Spearman’s rho correlations

Attitudinal Statement	<i>“Gaelic is important for the Highlands & Islands.”</i>	<i>“Gaelic is important for the whole of Scotland.”</i>	<i>“Scotland would lose its separate identity if Gaelic died out.”</i>	<i>“Gaelic is irrelevant to most people in Scotland.”</i>
Age	-.144	-.106	-.182	.128
Sex	-.142	-.299	-.046	.109
Occ. class	.239	.310	.224	-.192
Gaelic Use	-.257	-.197	-0.152	0.069
Home Use	-.298	-.198	-.180	.116
Work Use	-.284	-.105	-.081	.041
Ability	0.012	.261	.244	-0.121
Socialisation	-.079	-.087	-.103	.080

As can be seen in table 20, whilst correlations between the first statement – concerning Gaelic’s importance to the Highlands and Islands – and social and linguistic variables were generally very weak, relatively noteworthy correlations were found between occupational class (= .239), high overall Gaelic use (-.237),

¹⁰ Findings from the 2012 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey reported in this study showed that 76% of Scots agreed that Gaelic was ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ important to the cultural heritage of Scotland as whole, compared to 86% who agreed that the language was important to the cultural heritage of the Highlands and Islands.

home use of Gaelic ($=-.284$) and work use ($=-.284$; recalling that low scores for language use correspond to high Gaelic use). Although these are rather weak correlations, this may suggest that respondents who make greater use of Gaelic in the present day are generally more inclined to agree that Gaelic is important for this region in particular, while the correlation with occupational class suggests that lower occupational classes agree more strongly with the proposition. Agreement with the second statement – on the importance of Gaelic throughout Scotland – correlates most strongly with sex ($=-.299$), occupational class ($=.310$) and professed ability ($=.261$), suggesting that women, respondents in lower occupational classes, and more fluent speakers are most inclined to agree with the statement. Weaker correlations are also seen for high general use ($=-.197$) and use at home ($=-.198$). Responses to the first two statements therefore suggest that more frequent Gaelic speakers are relatively more inclined to view Gaelic as important regionally, rather than nationally (*cf.* section 6.3). The third statement again correlates most notably with ability ($=.244$), and to a lesser extent with class ($=-.223$), but overall correlations are weaker, reflecting more divided opinions with regard to this proposition, as is the case with the fourth, for which no correlation stronger than .2 was found (*cf.* table 19). Further attitudes to Gaelic and identities are shown in table 21:

Table 21: Attitudes to Gaelic & personal, cultural and national identities

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree N (%)	Disagree N (%)	Neither agree or disagree N (%)	Agree N (%)	Strongly agree N (%)
"I am proud to be able to speak Gaelic."	0 (0)	2 (1.7)	0 (0)	14 (12.5)	96 (85.7)
"Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my own Scottish identity."	4 (3.6)	4 (3.6)	7 (6.3)	23 (20.5)	74 (62.5)
"Gaelic is only relevant to my identity as a Gael."	41 (36.6)	33 (29.5)	23 (20.5)	11 (9.8)	4 (3.6)
"No real Scot can oppose the promotion of Gaelic."	19 (17.0)	19 (17.0)	23 (20.5)	27 (24.1)	24 (21.4)

“Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my British identity.”	30 (26.8)	7 (6.3)	21 (18.8)	16 (14.3)	38 (33.9)
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As can be seen in table 21, overall support for the first two statements displayed above is extremely high, at 98.2% and 86.6% respectively, although strong agreement with a sense of pride in Gaelic (85.7%) outstrips that for Gaelic’s perceived relevance to informants’ Scottish identity (62.5%). A sense that Gaelic is only important for respondents’ identity as Gaels is rejected by the majority; 66.1% disagree with this statement overall, while 13.4% agree and 20.5% express no opinion. Indeed, low levels of agreement with this proposition may recall mixed and largely ambivalent attitudes to the label ‘Gael’ that were reported in interviews (*cf.* section 6.3.2). Respondents are more evenly split with regard to the fourth statement, that no “real” Scot can oppose Gaelic promotion, with 33.9% agreeing and 44.5% disagreeing; a proportion of 20.5% again express no opinion. Divided responses to this statement once again recall some of the ideologies discussed in chapter 6, particularly that of not ‘pushing’ Gaelic on parts of Scotland where people are felt to be against it (section 6.3.3).

Lastly in table 21, attitudes appear to be fairly divided on the question of Gaelic’s significance to British identity, with 18.8% of no opinion either way, 33.0% disagreeing that Gaelic is important for this and 48.2% agreeing. But relatively high levels of support for this proposition should be interpreted in combination with most informants’ stated lack of British identity, as reported in table 18; we may compare the fact that over a third of participants (33.9%) *strongly* agreed that being a Gaelic speaker was important to their British identity with the proportion who indicated they had a British identity (19.6%). Therefore, strong agreement with this statement by 33.9% may indicate that Gaelic is important for some speakers’ *rejection* of British identity. Indeed, this was explicitly stated to be the case by one respondent, who commented at the end of the survey “q30f: I don’t believe I have a British identity. I am Scottish foremost” (*cf.* Appendix D). The correlational relationship of responses to this statement to social and linguistic variables is shown below:

Table 22: Attitudes to Gaelic and identities—linguistic and social variables
Spearman's rho correlations

Attitudinal Statement	<i>"I am proud to be able to speak Gaelic."</i>	<i>"Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my own Scottish identity."</i>	<i>"Gaelic is only relevant to my identity as a Gael."</i>	<i>"No real Scot can oppose the promotion of Gaelic."</i>	<i>"Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my British identity."</i>
Age	-.194	-.104	-.021	-.194	-.079
Sex	-.134	-.267	.097	-.086	-.197
Occ. class	.085	.193	-.110	.229	.168
Gaelic Use	-.317	-0.093	0.164	-.223	-0.052
Home Use	-.297	-.141	.183	-.292	-.042
Work Use	-.314	-.066	.087	-.131	.030
Ability	.469	.257	-0.12	.338	0.152
Socialisation	-.265	-.027	-.017	-.210	-.009

High reported use of Gaelic correlates somewhat with support for the first statement, concerning pride in being able to speak Gaelic, with high overall use correlating at -.317, work use doing so at -.314 and home use at -.297. Similarly, high reported ability (= .469) and childhood socialisation in the language (= -.265) correlate slightly with high levels of pride in the language. High reported ability again correlates relatively clearly with the second (= .257) and fourth statements (= .338) in table 22, concerning the language and Scottish identity. For the second proposition gender also correlates at -.267, suggesting that women may generally be more inclined to agree that speaking Gaelic is important to their Scottish identity. High overall Gaelic use (= -.223) and home Gaelic use (= -.292) correlate slightly with agreement with the fourth statement, as do high reported socialisation (= -.210) and overall ability (= .338). Correlation of .229 with occupational class may suggest that speakers at the lower end of the scale were somewhat more inclined to agree that "no real Scot" can oppose Gaelic revitalisation. Weaker correlations for the third and fifth propositions may again reflect the relatively more divided responses that respondents gave to these statements.

Table 23: Attitudes to the Gaelic community

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree N (%)	Disagree N (%)	Neither agree nor disagree N (%)	Agree N (%)	Strongly agree N (%)
"Gaelic is a dying	20	28	13	36	15

language.”	(17.9)	(25.0)	(11.6)	(32.1)	(13.4)
“Gaelic is useful for job opportunities.”	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	41 (36.6)	70 (62.5)
“Gaelic speakers are inward-looking.”	34 (30.4)	18 (16.1)	31 (27.7)	24 (21.4)	5 (4.5)

As seen in table 23, respondents expressed agreement by a slight majority that Gaelic is “a dying language”, with 45.5% agreeing and 42.9% disagreeing. By contrast, agreement that Gaelic is “useful for job opportunities” is overwhelming at 99.1%, and 62.5% strongly agreeing. A higher proportion than anticipated—41.9%—of questionnaire respondents indicated that they used at least “equal” amounts of Gaelic at work in figure 4, above; the finding that very nearly all informants agree that Gaelic is “useful for job opportunities” is similarly unexpected. The figure may reflect a belief that recent developments in Gaelic revitalisation (such as the 2005 Act, 2008 establishment of BBC Alba and continuing recruitment drives for GME teachers) have greatly increased job opportunities in Gaelic, a view that was voiced by a minority of interviewees. Nevertheless, strong support for this attitudinal statement appears somewhat anomalous. By contrast, divided opinions on to the status of Gaelic speakers as “inward looking” – with 46.4% disagreeing, 25.9% agreeing, and 27.7% of no opinion – seems relatively easier to explain. The supposed cliquiness, judgmentalism and linguistic “snobbery” that some interviewees reported to exist is recalled in the finding that 53.6% of questionnaire respondents that do not disagree with this statement. The high proportion of unsure responses may indicate that the sweeping statement that “Gaelic speakers are inward-looking” is too general to elicit high levels of explicit support, but may alternatively indicate implicit agreement with the general sentiment.

**Table 24: Attitudes to Gaelic community—linguistic and social variables
Spearman’s rho correlations**

Attitudinal Statement	<i>“Gaelic is a dying language.”</i>	<i>“Gaelic is useful for job opportunities.”</i>	<i>“Gaelic speakers are inward-looking.”</i>
Age	-.024	-.098	.013
Sex	.029	-.328	-.028
Occ. class	-.134	.068	-.178
Gaelic Use	-0.036	-.312	-0.147
Home Use	-.107	-.278	-.129
Work Use	-.098	-.311	-.194

Ability	0.933	.357	.249
Socialisation	-.195	-.022	.012

The clearest correlations in table 24, though still rather weak, are shown between the second statement, that Gaelic is useful for job opportunities, and high reported overall Gaelic use ($=-.312$), work use ($=-.311$) and ability ($=.357$). This may reflect appreciation for GME on the part of the relatively high proportion of informants who work in Gaelic employment at present (*cf.* fig. 4, above). High reported ability also correlates weakly (.249) with the third statement, that “Gaelic speakers are inward looking”, suggesting that ideologies and of linguistic “snobbery” in the Gaelic community may not be restricted to less proficient speakers (section 6.2.2, above).

Table 25: Attitudes to GME and intergenerational transmission

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree N (%)	Disagree N (%)	Neither agree or disagree N (%)	Agree N (%)	Strongly agree N (%)
“GME was a valuable experience for me.”	1 (0.9)	4 (3.6)	1 (0.9)	18 (16.1)	88 (78.6)
“GME is important for creating new generations of speakers.”	0 (0.0)	4 (3.6)	2 (1.8)	24 (21.4)	82 (73.2)
“In the future I would consider enrolling my own children in GME.”	4 (3.6)	0 (0.0)	5 (4.5)	13 (11.6)	90 (80.4)
“In the future I would consider raising my own children through Gaelic at home.”	3 (2.7)	8 (7.1)	10 (8.9)	14 (12.5)	77 (68.8)
“It is more important for Gaelic-speaking parents to pass their language on to children than to send them to GM schools or units.”	7 (6.3)	15 (13.4)	22 (19.6)	26 (23.2)	42 (37.5)
“GME made it easier for me to learn other languages.”	4 (3.6)	7 (6.3)	22 (19.6)	32 (28.6)	47 (42.0)

Finally, on the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate their level of support for six statements pertaining to GME generally. As can be seen in table 25, agreement with the first two propositions – that GME was a valuable experience for the respondent personally, and is important for creating new speakers generally – is overwhelming, at 94.6% in both cases. Similarly, support for the third and fourth statements – that respondents would consider GME for their own children, and

would also consider raising them through Gaelic at home – is extremely high, at 92.0% and 81.3% respectively. Very high levels of support for the system generally may therefore be interpreted from these data, a situation which is again mirrored closely in the interview corpus, particularly in relation to informants’ discourses on the benefits of GME *not* related to language revitalisation (*cf.* section 6.2.2, above). Support for potentially enrolling children in GME was also expressed frequently in interviews, although *strong* agreement here that GME is important for creating new generations of speakers—at 73.2%—is rather different from the more nuanced sense of the system’s role that was more commonly related in interviews (section 6.2.1).

A total of 60.7% agreed with the fifth statement in table 25, that “it is more important for Gaelic-speaking parents to pass their language on to children” than to rely on GME. While strong agreement was lower than for other statements on GME – at 37.5%, with 19.6% neither agreeing nor disagreeing, and the same proportion again disagreeing – overall support is nevertheless very high. A higher level of support was expressed in relation to the final statement, that GME made it easier for former students to learn other languages, although 19.6% of respondents again expressed no opinion. Overall agreement with the statement, at 70.5%, is again very high, especially when we recall that only 31 individuals (27.7%) claimed to be able to speak an additional language (table 10, above). It therefore seems possible that respondents may have answered this question in relation to the perceived (and well documented) benefits of GME in its most general terms, rather than their own personal experiences.

**Table 26: Attitudes on GME/IGT—linguistic and social variables
Spearman’s rho correlations**

Attitudinal Statement	<i>“GME was a valuable experience for me.”</i>	<i>“GME is important for creating new generations of speakers.”</i>	<i>“In the future I would consider enrolling my own children in GME.”</i>
Age	-.226	-.210	-.201
Sex	-.318	-.348	-.146
Occ. class	.124	.177	.125
Gaelic Use	-.330	-.249	-.280
Home Use	-.240	-.132	-.324
Work Use	-.249	-.115	-.264
Ability	.340	.255	.318
Socialisation	.027	.073	-.204

Attitudinal Statement	<i>"In the future I would consider raising my own children through Gaelic at home."</i>	<i>"It is more important for Gaelic-speaking parents to pass their language on to children than to send them to GM schools or units."</i>	<i>"GME made it easier for me to learn other languages."</i>
Age	-.128	-.041	-.155
Sex	-.146	.113	-.029
Occ. class	.085	.086	.062
Gaelic Use	-.619	0.022	-0.174
Home Use	-.503	.006	-.144
Work Use	-.497	.017	-.246
Ability	.544	0.035	.215
Socialisation	-.282	-.204	-.022

High overall Gaelic use and ability correlate to some degree with support for the first (= -.330; .340), second (= -.249; .255), third (= -.280; .318) and fourth statements (= -.280; .318) displayed in table 26, suggesting that somewhat greater support for GME and for potentially transmitting the language exists among the most fluent and frequent users of Gaelic. Further possible support for this hypothesis is found in weak correlations between high Gaelic use at home and work with the first (= -.240; -.249), third (= -.324; -.264) and—especially—fourth statement (= -.503; -.497). Further correlations regarding the fourth statement are found with high reported socialisation (= -.282) and ability (= .544), suggesting that respondents who were themselves socialised in the language at home, who profess higher abilities and make greater present use of Gaelic, tend to express greater support for the idea of transmitting the language to their own children in future. Women seem more inclined to agree with the first (= -.318) and second statements (= -.348), that GME was a valuable experience, and is important for creating new speakers, but noteworthy correlations with sex are absent for responses to other propositions. Younger speakers appear somewhat more inclined to agree with the first (= -.226), second (= -.210) and third (= -.201) propositions, but age tends not to correlate clearly with other statements in table 26. Higher reported general abilities in Gaelic (= .215) and high work use (= -.246) appear to correlate somewhat with the sixth statement, that GME made learning other languages easier.

7.5.2. Questionnaire respondents' comments

Finally, respondents were invited to make comments at the end of the questionnaire should they wish to do so; the comments themselves are discussed in Appendix D. 18 participants provided comments in the relevant part of the questionnaire, a response rate of 16.1%. These data tend to be somewhat cursory, adding little new material to the analysis. In social research, generally, response rates to 'closed questions' on questionnaires – with a prescribed choice of responses – tend to be much higher than response rates to 'open-ended' items, such as sections inviting further comment (Andrews 2005; Geer 1988). Other researchers have suggested that lower rates of satisfaction with the issue under investigation tend to invite higher rates of response in open-ended comments, a phenomenon typically referred to as the 'non-response bias' in survey research (*cf.* McNeely 1990). In the interests of conciseness, and since the overall themes of the comments closely parallel those discussed in the empirical chapters, the comments themselves are discussed further in appendix D.

7.6. Summary of principal findings

The results of the sociolinguistic questionnaire generally lend support to the principal findings reported in chapter 5, that is to say, low levels of overall Gaelic use were found – particularly with peers, friends and partners – coupled with varying levels of professed abilities in the language. There is clearly a consistent relationship between higher levels of ability and use in the present day, as there is between generally high levels of Gaelic use and past socialisation in the language, as well as continuation with GME beyond primary school. Generally positive attitudes to Gaelic were reported in response to the 18 attitudinal statements, which again tended to correlate somewhat with higher levels of Gaelic use, ability, socialisation and GME continuation. Nevertheless, relatively greater support for Gaelic as an important part of Highlands and Islands identity rather than Scottish national identity more generally clearly recalls language ideologies discussed in chapter 6. The overarching findings of the three empirical chapters (5-7), and the triangulation of conclusions from the qualitative and quantitative analyses are summarised in the final, concluding chapter.

8. Conclusions

This final chapter draws together the principal research findings presented in chapters 5-7, above, providing a synthesis of key conclusions in respect of the overarching research questions initially outlined in section 1.1. Additionally, the discussion presented will relate these findings to previously formulated theories of language revitalisation, and the possible role of education in reversing language shift (as discussed in chapters 2–3). We may recall that the principal research questions of this investigation, as outlined at the beginning of the study, comprise the following:

- What role does Gaelic play in the day-to-day lives of former Gaelic-medium students who started in GME during the first decade of its availability; how and when do they use the language?
- What sets of beliefs and language ideologies do these Gaelic-medium educated adults express in relation to Gaelic?
- How do these beliefs and ideologies relate to their actual language practices, to their attitudes concerning the language, and to future prospects for the maintenance of Gaelic?

Each of the principal research questions has been addressed in the qualitative and quantitative analyses presented, and the triangulation of these two datasets provided an invaluable means by which to cross-check the validity of conclusions made through each analytic approach. The three sections of this final analytic chapter correspond broadly to the three principal research questions listed above. In response to the first, overarching research objective – assessing the role that Gaelic may play in former GME students’ lives at present, and in particular how and when they use the language – I provide a summary in section 8.1 of informants’ present-day Gaelic use (section 8.1.1). This section also summarises participants’ reported abilities in the language (section 8.1.2), as well as their various experiences of Gaelic language socialisation during childhood (section 8.1.3). These two factors – current ability and past socialisation – appeared to correlate most closely with participants’ present engagement with Gaelic, in both the qualitative and quantitative analyses presented. In response to the second principal research question – concerning former GME

students' beliefs and language ideologies – section 8.2 draws together findings from the qualitative and quantitative analyses on informants' ideologies and attitudes in relation firstly to Gaelic language use (section 8.2.1), secondly to language policy generally (8.2.2), and lastly on the relation of Gaelic to sociocultural identities (section 8.2.3). Finally, section 8.3 draws together the principal conclusions summarised in sections 8.1-2 and provides a concise summary of the study's overall conclusions, with a view to assessing the ways in which participants' beliefs, attitudes and ideologies concerning Gaelic relate to their current language practices, and to future prospects for the maintenance of Gaelic in Scotland.

8.1. Language use among Gaelic-medium educated adults: Past, present and future prospects

This section summarises the principal findings concerning Gaelic language use by participants in the investigation, considering the picture of participants' present-day Gaelic use (section 8.1.1), reported abilities (8.1.2), and experiences of Gaelic language socialisation during childhood (8.1.3) that is provided by the qualitative and quantitative analyses. As demonstrated in the empirical chapters above, these three issues are clearly closely related, and seem to be interconnected in various ways in the analyses presented. While these secondary issues of abilities and socialisation experiences shed light on the question of Gaelic language use, I draw attention in the first section of discussion presented here to the issue of precisely how and when participants in the sample use the Gaelic language at present.

8.1.1. Present Gaelic language use

The majority of participants' social use of Gaelic, particularly with peers such as friends, siblings and partners, is reported to be limited across the interview and questionnaire datasets (*cf.* sections 5.1, 7.4). In the qualitative analysis, participants who were not socialised in Gaelic within the home during childhood reported particularly limited Gaelic use, providing support for Fishman's (1991, 2001b, 2013) theoretical cautioning about the limitations of the school environment in reversing language shift, and for fostering minority language use outside of the formal domain of education. 36 of all 46 interviewees described making low to limited use of Gaelic

at present (5.1.2), two thirds of whom (24) reported low Gaelic use (5.1.3). Interview participants within the limited-to-intermediate group tended not to use the language regularly or to a substantial degree in social interaction, although this group constituted the broadest category in terms of the heterogeneity of language practices that interviewees reported.

Revealingly, two Gaelic language practices that were frequently related across the interview corpus were the occasional use of Gaelic, in informants' own words, as a 'secret code' – so as not to be understood by strangers (section 5.1.4) – and 'informal' use of Gaelic, characterised as extensive code-mixing with English (5.1.5). As discussed in section 5.1, a relatively superficial and limited use of the language, in terms of participants' engagement with Gaelic in their day-to-day lives, was inferred from extracts describing these two language practices. In particular, the types of language alternation interviewees commonly referred to in section 5.1.5 appear qualitatively different to the kinds of code-switching observed in bilingual communities outside Scotland, and among traditional Gaelic speakers in heartland areas (*cf.* section 5.1.5; Gafaranga 2007, 2009; Smith-Christmas 2012, 2013).

The relatively few interviewees in the category of high Gaelic use are a notable exception to this general pattern of limited use. All 10 participants in this group use Gaelic in the course of their day-to-day work or studies, a finding that parallels Hodges' (2009) identification of Welsh-medium employment as a key domain for minority language use by individuals reporting generally higher levels of engagement with Welsh, after having completed Welsh-medium education. Notably in the present study, individuals' participation in Gaelic employment or study, and socialisation in Gaelic at home in childhood both correlate with higher social use of the language, such as with friends, siblings and partners outside of the more formal domains associated with work (section 5.1.1). The apparent importance of home Gaelic language socialisation during childhood to former-GME students' continued Gaelic language use lends support to Fishman's (2013: 486) recent reassertion of the limitations of school-based interventions on behalf of minority language maintenance. Yet, conversely, the key role that Gaelic employment appears to play in the day-to-day Gaelic language use of participants who reported a high overall level

of Gaelic use may challenge Fishman's (2013: 493) characterisation of the workplace as a higher-order context, largely detached from and irrelevant to those of the home-community-neighbourhood. Crucially in this regard, the access to social networks of (informal) Gaelic-speaking peer-groups that Gaelic workplaces may offer adults who were educated through the medium of Gaelic (*cf.* section 5.1.1) is a factor that may have a key bearing on future rates of intergenerational transmission among individuals who are employed in Gaelic professions. Nevertheless, that only 10 of the 46 interviewees reported being so employed currently gives further support to Fishman's (1991, 2001b) general theoretical premise concerning the limitations of education in ethnolinguistic reproduction, and prospective rates of intergenerational transmission by high users of Gaelic in that group are unclear at present. The issue of what will occur in subsequent social and linguistic stages of the bilingual lives of such high users presents an important problem for researchers seeking to address both applied and theoretical considerations of Gaelic language maintenance and regeneration.

A much greater proportion of questionnaire respondents than interviewees reported using Gaelic at work or university, with 41.9% claiming to use at least "equal" Gaelic and English in these contexts (and 6.3% claiming "only Gaelic"). While a similar proportion (41.1%) claimed to use "only English" at work or university, the proportion claiming to work or study (at least partly) in Gaelic clearly outstrips that within the interview corpus, in which only 10 individuals (21.7%) reported doing so (section 7.4). In this connection, we may recall Edwards' (2009: 62) emphasis on the importance of "domains of necessity" – including the school and workplace – for minority language maintenance efforts, since they tend generally to embrace the most central aspects of speakers' day-to-day existences.

Further analysis of questionnaire participants' language practices tends to support Fishman's cautious approach to the workplace as a focus of language regeneration efforts, however. Here we may recall his assertion that provision for endangered minority languages within the "institutions of modernity" will do little for languages that are no longer reproduced organically in the home (1991: 406). The formal domains associated with work appear to predominate in questionnaire respondents'

Gaelic use generally, with the language used considerably less in the home-family context. Although 47.3% of questionnaire respondents claimed to speak “at least one” Gaelic conversation every day (17% claiming to do so weekly, and 35.8% less than weekly), this is clearly not a very demanding criterion of use. More detailed questions on the contexts in which respondents claimed to use Gaelic revealed a less encouraging picture from a language revitalisation perspective (section 7.4). For example, 73.2% of questionnaire respondents claimed to use “only” or “mostly” English in the home, casting rather more doubt on the extent to which participants use Gaelic at present. Crucially, correlations were consistently observed between Gaelic language use scales and reported levels of childhood socialisation in Gaelic at home, as well as continuity with GME and Gaelic study generally.

Overall, however, questionnaire informants’ present use of Gaelic with family members was reported to be low, due firstly to the fact that only 41.1% claimed to have a mother who could speak Gaelic, while 35.7% had a father who could do so, and 26.8% had grandparents who could (*cf.* section 7.4). Secondly, respondents who reported having Gaelic-speaking family members reported varied levels of Gaelic use with them. For instance, a third (32.6%) of respondents with a Gaelic-speaking mother claimed to use only or mostly English with her, while 27.5% of those with a Gaelic-speaking father used mostly or only English with him. By contrast, all participants with Gaelic-speaking grandparents claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic with them, perhaps indicating a preference for older generations to speak Gaelic. Crucially in this respect, whilst 60.7% claimed to have siblings who could speak Gaelic (likely indicative of family choice of GME), only one quarter of these (25.0%) claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic with them, with the rest using “only” or “mostly” English. Even more revealingly in terms of respondents’ social use of Gaelic – and likely prospects for intergenerational transmission of Gaelic by graduates of GME – a mere 10.7% claimed that their partner or spouse could speak the language. Furthermore, 41.7% of this group reported using “only” or “mostly” English with their Gaelic-speaking partner. Crucially for the prospects of transmission of Gaelic by this group, only 9 of the 23 questionnaire respondents with children reported using any Gaelic with them (39.1%), and four of these respondents reported using “mostly” English with their child.

Low levels of social use of Gaelic are further confirmed by the finding that only 20.5% of questionnaire informants reported using at least “equal” amounts of Gaelic in conversations with their friends. Although 40.2% claimed to use at least “equal” amounts of Gaelic with friends who *can* speak the language, it is nevertheless clear that English predominates in participants’ social interactions. Relatedly, whilst telephone conversation, internet and social media use each play an increasingly prominent role in social communication today, only 32.1% of respondents claim to use at least “equal” Gaelic and English with Gaelic-speaking friends in phone conversations, 25.0% in social media exchanges, and 24.1% for SMS/text messages. Gaelic use is even lower in terms of participants’ use of passive skills in leisure time, 22.3% claiming to make at least “equal” use of Gaelic when listening to music and radio, and 14.3% using at least “equal” amounts of Gaelic when watching television. This is lower still, at 11.6% when reading books, 6.3% on social media, and 8.0% on other internet sites.

Nevertheless, the finding that Gaelic continues to be used, even to these relatively limited degrees, as a communicative medium in the private and personal lives of a minority of my sample of Gaelic-medium educated adults is a significant one. Romaine’s (2006: 443) assertion of the need, in many instances of language shift, to reconceptualise what we mean by language maintenance seems pertinent here. It may be that in seeking to address the titular and overarching question of “bilingual life” among former Gaelic-medium students, the present investigation arrives inevitably at questions of post-vernacular language use, and the significance attached to Gaelic as a language that is no longer spoken in the day-to-day existences of many past GME students. In a sense, therefore, the conclusions presented in chapters 5-7 may in fact pertain to degrees of bilingual *afterlife* subsequent to school for many speakers; it is clear that Gaelic *does* retain a role in the lives of a considerable proportion of informants, even if often only a symbolic one, or when viewed through the prism of past experience and the development of a sense of self (*cf.* sections 6.3.1 above; 8.2.3, below). Crucially in this regard, reported abilities in Gaelic appeared to pattern clearly with the degree to which participants’ bilingual (after-) life relied on their actual use of the language at present.

8.1.2. Language abilities

With important implications for participants' maintenance of bilingualism after school, consistent correlations were observed between reported Gaelic language use and abilities in section 7.4 of the quantitative analysis. Although in both analyses, self-reporting of Gaelic abilities after (in some cases) prolonged periods of relative disuse may limit the potential validity of the finding, high abilities in Gaelic were reported by 22 interviewees (47.8%), in contrast to the relatively low levels of Gaelic language use that were reported in interviews (*cf.* section 5.2.1). On the other hand, the fact that 21 participants (45.7%) chose to carry out the interview principally in Gaelic – irrespective of reported Gaelic use generally – may reflect genuinely higher levels of continued ability than use among the interview sample. Interviewees' responses in respect of their Gaelic language abilities – and the degree to which past linguistic proficiencies might be recovered in future – seemed to provide anecdotal support for the dormant language hypothesis (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer 2010: 8), though a great deal of detailed, formal linguistic research would be needed to shed light on the nature of speakers' actual proficiencies (which was not of course an explicit objective of the current study). In any case, the fact that the sample analysed was purposive and self-selected must also be born in mind here, and considerably lower levels of language ability might be found among a larger and more representative sample of Gaelic-medium educated adults.

Questionnaire respondents also reported generally high abilities in Gaelic (section 7.3). 69.6% of respondents reported that they were “fluent” in Gaelic, while a further 13.4% reported that they could “speak a fair amount”. At the lower end of the ability spectrum, 11.6% reported that they could speak “some” Gaelic, 5.4% claimed to be able to “speak a small amount of Gaelic”, while no single participant reported hardly being able to speak Gaelic at all. Most questionnaire respondents also reported high levels of Gaelic ability on a scale of 0-10 for each linguistic skill, with mean scores of 8.0 found for speaking, 7.7 for reading, 7.1 for writing and 8.7 for understanding the language. Nevertheless, it is notable that the equivalent scores for English were 1.8 points higher for speaking, 2.1 higher for reading, 2.4 for writing and 1.2 for understanding. Notable correlations were found between higher professed Gaelic

language skills and Gaelic use (except in relation to writing), as well as between reported abilities and continuation in GME, and abilities and socialisation in the language at home (section 7.3). The importance of these two issues in participants' maintenance of bilingual practices and abilities is an issue in need of further investigation, though insight from the qualitative analysis sheds further light, particularly in respect of Gaelic socialisation at home.

8.1.3. Language socialisation

Relatively high levels of Gaelic language socialisation were reported by many interviewees, providing a further possible explanation for their generally high levels of reported Gaelic ability. 15 of the 46 interviewees (32.6%) reported growing up in homes in which both parents – or single parents without a partner – spoke Gaelic to them, nine of whom were from Gaelic-speaking communities in Skye and the Western Isles. A further 11 (23.9%) reported growing up in homes where one parent spoke the language to them. Although 43.5% of interviewees (n=20) and 48.2% of questionnaire respondents (n=54) reported growing up in homes in which neither parent could speak the language, these proportions are likely to be considerably smaller than that among all students who started in GME during the period in question, again reflecting self-report bias in the purposive sample (*cf.* section 3.3.2). On the other hand, and crucially for the considerations of this survey, only four interview participants can be described as “new speakers” of Gaelic (*cf.* section 5.3.3); that is to say, speakers for whom Gaelic was not a language of socialisation in childhood, but who nevertheless use the language frequently in the present day (*cf.* O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013; McLeod *et al.* 2014).

The finding that only four of the 20 interviewees with no parental background in Gaelic continue to make substantial use of the language may have important implications for the practicability of creating new speakers through GME. This finding is particularly striking when it is considered that two of these four reported growing up in communities where the language was widely used during their childhood, in contrast to the situation in most communities today (*cf.* Munro *et al.* 2010; Will 2012). Many interviewees acknowledged the importance of GME as a way of supporting intergenerational transmission at home, and reported feeling more

connected to Gaelic and Highland culture through having received GME (section 5.4.2). Yet, conversely, interviewees who make limited use of Gaelic today often reported past experiences of negative affect in the system, particularly in respect of feeling “segregated” from English-medium peers at school (section 5.4.3). Whilst research on the social profiles and language practices of new speakers of Gaelic in urban central Scotland is ongoing (*cf.* McLeod *et al.* 2014) a good deal of work remains to be done on the (current and potential) role of new speakers, particularly from the perspective of national language policy. Not least in this regard, the connection of new Gaelic speakerhood and Gaelic-medium education, and the apparently somewhat limited role of the formal education system in creating new generations of Gaelic speakers (at least among this sample of adults who started school in the first decade of GME) is a question in clear need of further in-depth research.

Both analyses presented above suggest that professed socialisation in Gaelic at home during childhood tends to accompany higher reported levels of Gaelic use, although it should be noted once again that the proportion who reported such socialisation was likely to be larger amongst interviewees than in the wider population of Gaelic-medium educated adults. Similarly among questionnaire respondents, relatively high levels of socialisation in Gaelic at home and in the community were again reported. 21.4% claimed that more Gaelic than English was used in the home in which they were raised, with a further 10.7% claiming it was used to an equal degree. By comparison, 14.3% of respondents claimed that more Gaelic than English was used in the wider community they grew up in, and 9.8% claimed the languages were used equally. As interpreted from the qualitative analysis of the interview corpus, statistical analysis of the questionnaires confirmed notable correlations between socialisation and continued use of Gaelic, and between socialisation and abilities in the language, suggestive of the roles that home exposure to and immersion in Gaelic may play in GME students’ maintenance of the language in the long term. Fine-grained, ethnographic research into the nature of current Gaelic language socialisation practices will be of great import in investigating likely future language practices by young people currently being raised in areas of relatively concentrated Gaelic-speaking communities.

8.2. Language ideologies and attitudes

The second research objective identified in section 1.1 of the introductory chapter was to assess the sets of beliefs and language ideologies that Gaelic-medium educated adults express in relation to the Gaelic language. The language ideologies that were most frequently conveyed by interviewees provide invaluable data for understanding the language use patterns that were described in chapter 5 (*cf.* section 8.1, above). Similarly, questionnaire participants' responses to 18 attitudinal statements regarding the Gaelic language and community provide further important insights in this regard, and allow for cross-comparison with results from the qualitative analysis. Taken together, these two sets of data – the corpus of language ideological material from semi-structured interviews and quantitative attitudinal data – were used as a means to triangulate findings with a view to assessing the final research question, on the relation of participants' beliefs and ideologies to their professed Gaelic language use, and the implications of this relationship for the language's future prospects (*cf.* section 8.3, below).

8.2.1. Ideologies of Gaelic language use

In many cases, the language ideologies that participants expressed in interviews (*cf.* chapter 6, above) appeared to underpin or rationalise the language use patterns observed in chapter 5 (*cf.* Silverstein 1979: 193; Kroskrity 2004: 496). In light of the data presented in chapter 6, Makihara's (2010: 44-5) statement that language ideologies appear often to have an important role in determining the rate and trajectory of language shift in minority language contexts therefore seems particularly apt. At other times, however, the language ideologies that interview participants convey appear inconsistent with the usage patterns they described, a common finding in much research on language ideologies in contexts of language shift (*cf.* Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998: 62). For instance, interviewees frequently expressed a sense of regret and guilt concerning their present lack of Gaelic use, and a desire to use Gaelic differently in future (section 6.1.1). Nevertheless, beliefs and feelings of this nature appear, to this point at least, to have been insufficient motivation for participants to actually change their language practices in respect of using Gaelic. Language ideologies of this kind, reflecting a sense in which

informants feel they *should* speak more Gaelic are likely to derive at least in part from their experiences of Gaelic-medium education. As such, Gaelic-medium educated adults' reproduction of language ideologies of Gaelic use – mediated through their interpretation and experience of ideological content they may initially have encountered in the bilingual classroom (*cf.* Jaffe 2009: 395) – seems incongruous to their actual language practices currently.

Similarly, interviewees frequently described a desire to pass the language on to children in the future, conveying a particular language ideology that Gaelic speakers have a duty or responsibility to do so (6.1.2). In spite of this, none of the 10 participants in the first category of high overall Gaelic use currently have children (section 5.1.1), and those participants with children in the second, intermediate category of use tended generally to report only limited use of the language with their sons or daughters currently (5.1.2). This finding demonstrates the manner in which language ideologies and beliefs about the ways in which languages ought to be used are often culturally conditioned, and may not in fact be grounded in actual linguistic practice (*cf.* Boudreau & Dubois 2007: 104). Among questionnaire respondents, only nine of the 23 participants with children reported using any Gaelic with them at present (39.1%), and four of these nine respondents reported using “mostly” English with their child. In light of these findings, and from responses within the interview corpus, the prospect of interviewees' actually transmitting the language to children in the future seems somewhat unlikely, particularly given their present limited Gaelic language use, especially with their partners (section 5.1.2).

Two rather different language ideologies seemed to militate against interviewees' greater use of Gaelic. I drew attention in section 6.1.4 to a frequently stated belief that it was possible to have Gaelic, and to value the language as part of oneself without actually using it from day to day (*cf.* section 6.3.1). Relatedly, many interviewees expressed a complementary set of beliefs drawing on opportunity and choice to use Gaelic (section 6.1.5) when explaining their present lack of Gaelic use. Whilst describing a dearth of opportunity to use the language in their lives on the one hand, speakers also described the choice (not) to use the language as a decisive factor in this regard, with many claiming to have important priorities over speaking Gaelic

at present. Interviewees often described a sense of discomfort with the “snobbery” and judgement that they felt to exist in the Gaelic community (section 6.1.3), and a widespread belief that Gaelic speakers – whether learners or older, traditional speakers – tended to look down on others’ Gaelic was a clear theme that emerged in the interview corpus.

Crucially in this connection, Romaine’s (2006: 445) emphasis on the ways in which linguistic perception in bilingual communities is often ideologically enmeshed with other (sociocultural) perceptions provides valuable insight. Whether or not the kinds of linguistic snobbery and judgmentalism to which participants referred are in fact as widespread within the Gaelic community as sometimes suggested in interviews, it is clear that these traits are widely perceived within the sample to be characteristic of the language community. This appears to impact in turn upon the willingness of former Gaelic-medium students to interact with that community, or to use the language generally. Divided attitudes to the Gaelic community were also reflected in the responses of questionnaire respondents to the suggestion that “Gaelic speakers are inward looking”, with only 46.4% disagreeing. By comparison, 25.9% agreed, with 27.7% of no opinion. Although quite general, the wording of this statement was quite strong compared to others on the questionnaire, and the finding that 53.6% of respondents did not disagree with it is noteworthy. The supposed judgmentalism and “snobbery” that some interviewees reported to exist in the Gaelic language community may underlie the divided attitudes reflected here, although further research would be required to inform this hypothesis.

8.2.2. Gaelic language policy, GME and revitalisation in Scotland

In the interview corpus, respondents’ references to GME tended to focus on the benefits of the system as a distinct and valuable form of education, rather than as an instrument of language policy and revitalisation. Although support for GME as a system was strong amongst interview participants (as described in section 6.2.1), few interviewees mentioned the benefits that GME might have for revitalising Gaelic. By comparison, questionnaire respondents expressed overwhelming support (94.6%) for the proposition that “GME is important for creating new speakers” of the language. Interviewees often tended instead to emphasise the potential benefits of developing

Gaelic Learner Education (GLE) for increasing speaker numbers (section 6.2.3) rather than expanding GME, with many suggesting that the language should be a mandatory subject in primary school. More generally, interview informants often appeared dissatisfied with current policy in respect of Gaelic language revitalisation, and a clear theme that emerged was a sense of frustration at perceived levels of waste and lack of focus in present Gaelic language policy in Scotland (section 6.2.4). In the quantitative analysis, divided opinions as to the success of revitalisation efforts appear to be reflected in divided responses to the proposition that “Gaelic is a dying language”, with 45.5% agreeing and 42.9% disagreeing. Reported advantages of the system not related to revitalisation were analysed in section 6.2.2, with the quality of education, small class sizes and advantages for future career choices being cited frequently. Relatedly, support for the idea of enrolling children in GME was generally high among interviewees.

High levels of support for the system generally are also mirrored in questionnaire responses (section 7.5). Support for the statement that “GME was a valuable experience” for the respondent was overwhelming at 94.6%, while 92.0% of respondents also agreed that they would consider GME for their own children (compared to 81.3% who would consider raising children through Gaelic at home). Informants’ belief in the benefits of GME is also reflected in the overwhelming (99.1%) agreement with the statement that “Gaelic is useful for job opportunities”, which may appear once again to reflect self-report bias in the purposive sample, though further research would be needed to confirm this. Nevertheless, 60.7% agreed that “it is more important for Gaelic-speaking parents to pass their language on to children than to send them to GM schools or units”, with 19.6% neither agreeing nor disagreeing, and the same proportion again disagreeing. This general support for the idea of passing Gaelic on therefore seems to parallel language ideologies in the interview corpus that expressed a sense of responsibility to transmit the language to children in future and, simultaneously, to conflict with the Gaelic usage patterns reported by the minority of respondents with children at present (*cf.* sections 7.4). This kind of mismatch between language practices and ideologies recalls theoretical approaches to the definition of language ideologies outlined in section 2.1 (*cf.* Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998: 62; Boudreau and Dubois 2007: 104).

8.2.3. Gaelic and sociocultural identities

The qualitative analysis demonstrated that participants considered Gaelic to bear an important relation to their identities at several layers of their social lives and cultural identifications. Firstly, the significance of the language for participants' personal identity was commonly conveyed throughout the corpus (section 6.3.1). Likewise, questionnaire respondents agreed overwhelmingly that they were "proud to be able to speak Gaelic," with 98.2% agreeing, and 85.7% agreeing "strongly". The importance of Gaelic to the Highlands and Islands was also frequently related in interviews, and an ideology among participants that Gaelic may be conceived of more comfortably as a regional language, rooted strongly in this area specifically was clearly discernible (section 6.3.3). This sense was often framed within the frequently occurring trope of not forcing or pushing Gaelic (*putadh/sparradh na Gàidhlig*) on people and areas without a connection to the language. In this regard, it was telling on the questionnaire that only 33.9% of respondents agreed that "No real Scot can oppose the promotion of Gaelic", with 44.5% disagreeing.

More generally, interviewees often appeared eager to avoid discourses that attribute a predominant role to Gaelic in the conceptualisation of Scottish identity, with many expressing awareness of Scots and a perceived need for sensitivity to speakers of that language in the discussion of national identity (6.3.4). Uncertainty over the status of Gaelic as a national language was also reflected in the finding that 84.8% of questionnaire respondents agreed that "Gaelic is important for the Highlands and Islands", compared to 57.1% who agreed that "Gaelic is important for the whole of Scotland". Nevertheless, 71.4% agreed that "Scotland would lose its separate identity if Gaelic died out", and only 34.8% agreed that "Gaelic is irrelevant to most people in Scotland." Results from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses are therefore comparable to positive attitudes to Gaelic in Scottish identity found among the wider public, such as those recently reported in recent iterations of the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (*cf. Paterson et al. 2014*). By way of comparison, and in contrast to these (and other) surveys of the general public, 86.6% of questionnaire respondents agreed that "Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my own Scottish identity" (62.5% agreeing "strongly"). Questionnaire informants, in common with

interviewees, were therefore considerably more comfortable attributing a role to Gaelic in their own Scottish identity, rather than suggesting it was a national language for all of Scotland. In the long term, the goal of fostering a more self-confident identification with the Gaelic language among GME students may rest in large part upon better communicating the importance of the language to Scottish heritage and identity generally (*cf.* section 1.1) though clearly this objective touches on issues of ideology at the level of national policy-making.

Conversely, the qualitative analysis found widespread indifference to the label ‘Gael’ in interview participants’ identity constructions, and whilst a vehement rejection of the identity category Gael was rare (though notably present) in the corpus, a sense of ambivalence and uncertainty surrounding the term is clearly discernible (section 6.3.2). On the questionnaire, 66.1% of respondents disagreed that “Gaelic is only relevant to my identity as a Gael”, with only 13.4% agreeing. These findings are broadly comparable to results in James Oliver’s research in respect of high school students’ self-identification as Gaels (2002, 2006). 48.2% of questionnaire participants agreed that “Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my British identity”, with 33.0% disagreeing. In the interview data, many informants appeared to attach some significance to Gaelic in their rejection of British identity, though most regarded the language in less overtly political terms (*cf.* section 6.3.5). The weak feeling of British identity generally reported in the interview corpus may or may not relate to Gaelic, and the relevance of the language to identity constructions in this regard remains a question in need of further research.

The beliefs and language ideologies that interview participants expressed in relation to Gaelic therefore pertained to three overall thematic categories, respectively touching on language use, language policy, and sociocultural identities. The attitudinal propositions that were designed to elicit responses on the online questionnaire similarly drew mostly on these three overarching themes. The combination of the qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches represented an invaluable means by which to cross-check and triangulate research findings in response to the second research question outlined in section 1.1 of the thesis. Whilst a number of the ideologies of Gaelic language use that were reported

in interviews appeared to rationalise and reinforce the language use patterns that were observed, other sets of beliefs that participants expressed seem contradictory to these. Strong support for the system of GME in both analyses was accompanied by uncertainty over how successful an instrument of language policy it might in fact be, or even over whether language policy is currently being managed successfully in Scotland. Lastly, the specific place of Gaelic in Scottish national identity – the category of cultural affiliation that informants were much the most comfortable professing – seems to be a matter of some debate for participants, with many reluctant to assign a straightforward role to the language in the discussion of Scottish identity. Conversely, a weak association with or even hostile attitude toward the label ‘Gael’ predominated in many interviewees’ discussions of their cultural identities, and the relevance of Gaelic to contemporary speakers’ identities beyond the idiosyncrasies of personal distinctiveness is a question in need of further in-depth research.

8.3. Final summary: Bilingual life after school?

The final research objective outlined at the start of the present investigation was to address the issue of how participants’ beliefs and ideologies may relate to their actual language practices, attitudes, and, crucially, to future prospects for the maintenance of Gaelic. A thorough discussion of the apparent relationships between informants’ language practices and ideologies, and between language ideologies and attitudes has been provided in the preceding section (8.2). Whilst certain language ideologies that were expressed in interviews seemed to rationalise and thereby reinforce the language use patterns that most informants reported (section 5.1; *cf.* Silverstein 1979: 193), others – such as the ideology of guilt at current disuse, or of having a responsibility to speak more Gaelic – seemed somewhat contradictory to those patterns (*cf.* Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998: 62). By contrast, the language ideologies that were most frequently advanced by the 46 interviewees generally corresponded closely to language attitudes reflected in responses by the 112 questionnaire participants to 18 propositions concerning Gaelic language policy, community and culture.

I draw attention in this final section to the prospects for Gaelic language maintenance and, in turn, intergenerational transmission amongst research participants that may be inferred from the analyses presented in chapters 5-7. A key finding of the current investigation is the relatively low levels of Gaelic language use reported by the majority of participants in both the qualitative and quantitative analyses. This was particularly true of social use of Gaelic with peers – notably friends, siblings and partners – which was weak throughout the interview corpus and questionnaire dataset. The linguistic composition of speakers’ social networks is a key consideration here, and as suggested in section 5.1, the access to Gaelic-speaking social networks that Gaelic-centred employment appears to offer participants in the category of high present use may play a crucial role. In themselves, current patterns of reported Gaelic use with peers can hardly be theorised to directly reflect likely prospects for language maintenance in the future, or, indeed, for the potential transmission of the language to children. In the absence of large numbers of current parents in either the qualitative or quantitative datasets, it is difficult currently to offer a concrete conclusion in respect of this latter question.

Nevertheless, one might infer from the generally low levels of Gaelic language use that most participants reported – and the limited use with children reported by (the relatively few) parents in both datasets – that the majority of participants might struggle to provide a Gaelic-rich home environment for potential children in future, in spite of their best intentions in this regard (*cf.* section 6.1.2). As Ó hIfearnáin (2013a: 349) has indicated, whilst the relevance of Fishman’s (1991, 2001a, b) principal theoretical stance regarding the centrality of intergenerational transmission to language revitalisation initiatives remains largely unchallenged, the nature of intergenerational transmission processes *per se* remain relatively poorly understood. In order to address this limitation adequately in respect of former-GME students under investigation here, longitudinal and ethnographic research charting the subsequent language practices of participants would be required, considering potential changes in participants’ language practices as greater numbers of individuals in the sample start families of their own. In spite of this, it may perhaps be stated that the prospects for intergenerational transmission by the majority of the 130 informants in both analyses currently appear limited.

For participants who reported higher levels of Gaelic language use in their day-to-day lives, employment or study in the language appeared crucial, and the more formal domains associated with work predominated in their Gaelic use. The qualitative analysis nevertheless demonstrated that participation in Gaelic employment or study appeared to facilitate access to networks in which the language is used socially. The 10 interviewees within this group therefore seem to be the most likely potential sources of intergenerational transmission amongst the cohort under investigation here, though none of them have children of their own as yet. Further characteristics of participants who reported higher levels of current Gaelic use in both analyses were higher professed levels of Gaelic ability, and reported experiences of socialisation in the language at home. The relation of both of these factors to higher levels of Gaelic language use was substantiated in the statistical analysis, which found frequent correlations attesting to their inter-relationship. Additionally, the statistical analysis demonstrated that continuation with GME in secondary school, and with study of the language after school, was linked to higher levels of present-day Gaelic use. Higher levels of ability, socialisation and continuation with Gaelic study therefore appear to accompany greater use of the language, as might be expected. Nevertheless, the influence of each of these factors on former GME students' Gaelic use, and the relationship of each to the other, are questions in clear need of further research. In particular, fine-grained ethnographic and longitudinal research would yield invaluable data on the relationship of these variables to Gaelic language use in school years, after GME, and further along, when greater proportions of GME leavers have started families of their own.

While generally positive attitudes to Gaelic – and very supportive attitudes to GME – were reported by informants in both the qualitative and quantitative portions of the investigation, language ideologies that emerged in the semi-structured interviews go some way to explaining the low levels of Gaelic language use reported by the majority of participants in the survey. Certain language ideologies expressed in this regard appeared contradictory to participants' current language practices, however, particularly those that indicated a sense of guilt and regret at reported lack of Gaelic use, and a sense of responsibility to pass the language on to the next generation. By contrast, widespread perceptions of the existence of linguistic snobbery in the Gaelic

community, a sense of appreciation for ‘having’ the language whilst not regularly speaking it, and having other compelling life priorities over Gaelic each seemed to rationalise informants’ limited use of the language. Widespread disillusionment with current language policy in respect of Gaelic was also reported in interviews, and appeared to be reflected in attitudes reported in questionnaire responses. In spite of this, participants conveyed a strong sense of pride in speaking Gaelic in both datasets, and the importance of the language to informants’ personal identity was clear from both analyses. Association with the traditional identity category ‘Gael’ appeared weak throughout, however, and the continued salience of a distinctive Gaelic identity to young Gaelic speakers’ social lives is a question in need of further research. Looking to the future, the centrality of secure ethnic group membership and identity to language revitalisation initiatives, as envisaged in much of Fishman’s (1991, 2001b, 2010) scholarship, may be less applicable to Gaelic in Scotland than might previously have been true. Conversely, perceptions of Gaelic as a national language were conflicted, and its relevance to Scottish identity was widely questioned in both interviews and questionnaire responses.

In many respects, the conclusions presented in this thesis in respect of limited present Gaelic use may come as little surprise to other researchers who have investigated the delivery and impact of GME since the late 1980s. Certainly, the majority of research participants themselves claimed informally not to expect many of their old classmates to speak the language in the present day. Fishman’s (1991, 2001a, b, 2013) theories of reversing language shift would predict exactly this outcome, and from that perspective, the results may come as little surprise to researchers who adopt a similar theoretical stance to Fishman. Significantly, however, this thesis provides concrete evidence for the first time of the likely longer term social and linguistic outcomes, not only of GME, but perhaps also of minority language “immersion revitalisation” education (after García 2009: 128) in comparable contexts throughout the world. In that respect, this thesis represents an important contribution to the fields of applied and educational linguistics, and the sociology of language more generally. For parents, teachers and policy-makers who initially campaigned for the system’s establishment, who were responsible for its delivery over the past 30 years, or who continue to promote the development of GME as a means of creating

new speakers, the generally limited Gaelic language use that former-Gaelic-medium students report in this investigation will likely be a source of disappointment and frustration.

Nevertheless, the findings of this study should be beneficial for the development of evidence-based language policy in Scotland, as well as in other contexts of language shift internationally. In policy terms, an over-reliance on the education system as a means of creating new speakers of minority languages – who will use the language extensively in later life and transmit the language to their children without difficulty – should clearly be avoided. The analyses presented above have provided substantial evidence for the first time that the fact of receiving Gaelic-medium education *per se* (at least in the framework of GM units that existed exclusively during the period in question; section 3.3) is unlikely to bolster students' frequent use of the language outside of the classroom setting subsequently, when formal schooling is “over and done with” (Fishman 2001b: 470). Nevertheless, the finding that continuation with GME into secondary level education (and with Gaelic study subsequent to this) tends to correlate with higher levels of reported Gaelic use and ability should demonstrate to policy-makers the crucial importance of securing continuity in the provision of bilingual education throughout the education system (*cf.* O’Hanlon 2012). The results outlined in the empirical chapters of this thesis also lend support to Edwards’s (2013: 13) re-assertion of the need to recognise a qualitative distinction between the bilingual profiles of adult speakers who were socialised into Gaelic in households and communities where the language was widely spoken, and those who may not have had that opportunity, and who acquired Gaelic either mostly or entirely through the education system.

The results outlined above provide substantial evidence for the first time of longer term social and linguistic outcomes among adults who received GME, both in relation to their current and potential future engagement with the language socially, and the values and beliefs they hold in relation to it. This evidence should be of value for the development of policy in relation both to the provision of GME as an education system, and for creating new spaces for the use of Gaelic in society at large. As Dorian (2011: 468) has observed, the long-term success of current efforts to

revitalise Gaelic in Scotland remains in large part to be seen, and the evidence provided in the present thesis tends to support her view that the relatively favourable position of the language – in terms of institutional support and linguistic (re)production – is precarious at present. The evidence-based appraisal of the effectiveness of GME for securing the revitalisation of Gaelic that this thesis has provided should impact on official understandings and policy priorities for language maintenance at home and abroad. In particular, the research has demonstrated the limited degree to which the education system can be relied upon for equipping and enabling students to lead a truly bilingual life after school.

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9. In total how many years did you spend in Gaelic-medium education?

10. When did you begin Gaelic-medium education?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Croileagan/Sgoil-Araich |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | P1 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | P2 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | P3 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Above P3 |

11. Did you study Gàidhlig (Fileantaich) or Gaelic (Learners) as a subject in secondary school?

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Yes - Gàidhlig (Fileantaich) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Yes - Gaelic (Learners) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | No |

If yes, please indicate the highest level to which you studied the course (e.g. S2, Standard Grade, Higher): _____

12. Did you study subjects through Gaelic at secondary school Yes / No

If yes, please indicate which subjects: _____

13. Have you ever attended, or do you currently attend, a university or college? Yes / No

a) If yes, please indicate your highest level of attainment (degree title):

b) Did you study Gaelic, or any subjects through the medium of Gaelic, at university or college? Yes / No

i. If yes, please indicate the number of years you studied the subject(s): _____

Language background and ability

14. Which of the following do you think best describes your current ability speaking Gaelic?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | I am a fluent Gaelic speaker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | I can speak a fair amount of Gaelic (/most conversations) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | I can speak some Gaelic (/parts of conversations) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | I can speak a small amount of Gaelic (/sentences & words) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | I can hardly speak Gaelic at all |

15. What languages were used at home when you were growing up?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Only English |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | More English than Gaelic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | About the same amount of English and Gaelic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | More Gaelic than English |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (specify): _____ |

16. What languages were used in the wider neighbourhood in which you grew up?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Only English |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | More English than Gaelic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | About the same amount of English and Gaelic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | More Gaelic than English |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (please specify): _____ |

17. On a scale of 0-10, how would you rate your current abilities in Gaelic?

(0 = no ability at all , 10 = excellent ability)

Reading:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Writing:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Speaking:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Understanding:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

18. On a scale of 0-10, how would you rate your current abilities in English?

(0 = no ability at all , 10 = excellent ability)

Reading:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Writing:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Speaking:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Understanding:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

19. Do you know any other languages apart from English and Gaelic?

Yes / No

If yes, please specify which languages, and when and where you learned them:

20. At the end of primary school were you more competent in:

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Gaelic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | English |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | About the same in both |

(Continue)

Language usage

21. How has the extent to which you use Gaelic changed since you left school?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Speak more Gaelic
<input type="checkbox"/>	Speak less Gaelic
<input type="checkbox"/>	Read more Gaelic
<input type="checkbox"/>	Read less Gaelic
<input type="checkbox"/>	Write more Gaelic
<input type="checkbox"/>	Write less Gaelic
<input type="checkbox"/>	Use more Gaelic media (e.g. TV, radio, online)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Use less Gaelic media

22. How often do you speak Gaelic at present?

<input type="checkbox"/>	At least one conversation a day
<input type="checkbox"/>	At least one conversation a week
<input type="checkbox"/>	At least one conversation a month
<input type="checkbox"/>	Less frequently than once a month
<input type="checkbox"/>	Never

23. Which members of your current family/household can speak Gaelic?

<input type="checkbox"/>	None
<input type="checkbox"/>	Partner/spouse (if applicable)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Son/daughter (if applicable)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Grandparents
<input type="checkbox"/>	Father
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mother
<input type="checkbox"/>	Brother/sister
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify)

24. Please select a number to indicate the language you would normally use in each of the following situations:

(1 = Always Gaelic, 2 = Mostly Gaelic, some English, 3 = Equal Gaelic/English, 4 = Mostly English, some Gaelic, 5 = Always English, **n/a** = not applicable)

At home:	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
At work/uni/college:	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
With family (in person or via phone etc.):						
Partner/spouse (if applicable)	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Son/daughter (if applicable)	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Grandparents	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Father	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Mother	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

Brother/sister	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Other	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

25. Please select a number to indicate the language you would normally use with friends who know Gaelic:

(1 = Always Gaelic, 2 = Mostly Gaelic, some English, 3 = Equal Gaelic/English, 4 = Mostly English, some Gaelic, 5 = Always English, n/a = not applicable)

Talking in person	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Talking on phone/ Skype	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Using SMS text	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Using email/social media	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

26. Please select a number to indicate the language you would normally use when relaxing:

(1 = Always Gaelic, 2 = Mostly Gaelic, some English, 3 = Equal Gaelic/English, 4 = Mostly English, some Gaelic, 5 = Always English, **n/a** = not applicable)

a. Socialising with friends/ colleagues	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
b. Listening to music/radio	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
c. Using social media (Facebook etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
d. Using other internet sites	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
e. Watching television	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
f. Reading books	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
g. Other activities (please specify)	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

27. National identity

Which of the following best describes your national identity:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Scottish
<input type="checkbox"/>	British
<input type="checkbox"/>	Welsh
<input type="checkbox"/>	Irish
<input type="checkbox"/>	English
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify):

Language attitudes

For each of the following statements please select a number to indicate your attitude:

(1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree)

28. Utility:

Gaelic is important for the Highlands & Islands.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic is a dying language.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic is important for whole of Scotland.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic is irrelevant to most people in Scotland.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic is useful for job opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic speakers are inward-looking.	1	2	3	4	5

29. Identity:

Being a Gaelic-speaker is an important part of my Scottish identity.	1	2	3	4	5
Scotland would lose its separate identity if Gaelic died out.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic is only relevant to my identity as a Gael.	1	2	3	4	5
No real Scot can oppose the promotion of Gaelic.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be able to speak Gaelic.	1	2	3	4	5
Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my British identity.	1	2	3	4	5

30. Gaelic-medium education:

Gaelic-medium education was a valuable experience for me.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic-medium education is important for creating new generations of speakers.	1	2	3	4	5
It is more important for Gaelic-speaking parents to pass their language on to children than to send them to Gaelic-medium schools or units.	1	2	3	4	5
Gaelic-medium education made it easier for me to learn other languages.	1	2	3	4	5
In the future I would consider enrolling my own children in Gaelic-medium education.	1	2	3	4	5
In the future I would consider raising my own children through Gaelic at home.	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for taking part in this survey. If there are any comments you would like to make in relation to these questions or anything else, please do so here:

Appendix B – Ceisteachan Gàidhlig

Foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, cleachdaidhean cànan agus beachdan

Fàilte!

Tha an ceisteachan seo a' coimhead air cleachdaidhean cànan agus beachdan air a' Ghàidhlig am measg inbhich a fhuair foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig. Tha e air a chur ri chèile airson faighinn a-mach dè an dàimh a th' aca ris a' chànan san latha an-diugh.

Bidh na toraidhean air an cumail gu tèarainte aig an rannsaiche fhèin a-mhàin, agus cha bhi fiosrachadh pearsanta air a ghlèidheadh. Cha toir an ceisteachan ach 20 mionaid air fad, agus faodar freagairtean a shàbhaladh fhad 's a tha sibh ag obair air na ceistean. Bidh na toraidhean air an cleachdadh ann am pròiseact PhD a thathar a' dèanamh aig Oilthigh Dhùn Eideann.

(Continue)

Fios bunaiteach

1. Ainm : _____

2. Latha breith: _____

3. Gnè: Fireannach Boireannach

4. A bheil thu : Ag obair làn-ùine
 Ag obair pàirt-ùine
 Ann am foghlam/trèanadh
 Gun obair

Ma tha obair agad an-dràsta, sgrìobh an tìotal-obrach agad:

5. A bheil thu a' fuireach: Nad aonar
 Ann an dachaigh còmhla ri caraidean
 Ann an dachaigh còmhla ri bramair/bean/duine
 Ann an dachaigh còmhla ri càirdean/teaghlach eile

(sgrìobh cò:) _____

6. Baile anns a bheil thu a' fuireach an-dràsta (ainm): _____

Foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig

7. Càite an deach thu dhan bhun-sgoil? (ainm a' bhaile): _____

8. Càite an deach thu dhan àrd-sgoil? (ainm a' bhaile): _____

9. Cò mheud bliadhna a bha thu ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig (uile-gu-lèir)?

10. Cuine a thòisich thu ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Croileagan/Sgoil-Araich
<input type="checkbox"/>	P1
<input type="checkbox"/>	P2
<input type="checkbox"/>	P3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ìre nas àirde na P3

11. An do rinn thu Gàidhlig (Fileantaich) no Gaelic (Learners) mar chuspair san àrd-sgoil?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Rinn - Gàidhlig (Fileantaich)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Rinn - Gaelic (Learners)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cha do rinn

Ma rinn, sgrìobh an ìre as àirde a ràinig thu (m.e. S2, Ìre Choitcheann, Àrd Ìre m.s.a.a.):

12. An do rinn thu cuspair sam bith eile tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig san àrd-sgoil?

Rinn / Cha do rinn

Ma rinn, sgrìobh na cuspairean: _____

13. An deach thu do dh'oilthigh no colaiste idir, no a bheil thu a' frithealadh oilthigh no colaiste an-dràsta?

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

Chaidh/Tha

Chan eil/ cha deach

Ma chaidh/tha, sgrìobh ainm do cheuma: _____

An do rinn thu Gàidhlig, no cuspair sam bith eile tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, aig an oilthigh/ aig a' cholaiste? Rinn / Cha do rinn

i. Ma rinn, sgrìobh dè cho fada 's a bha thu ga(n) dèanamh:

Comasan cànan

14. Dè an seantans, à measg na leanas, as fhreagarraiche a thaobh do chomasan sa Ghàidhlig?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Tha mi fileanta
<input type="checkbox"/>	'S urrainn dhomh a' mhòr-chuid de chòmhradhean a chumail sa Ghàidhlig
<input type="checkbox"/>	'S urrainn dhomh pàirtean de chòmhradhean a chumail sa Ghàidhlig
<input type="checkbox"/>	'S urrainn dhomh beagan sheantansan/fhaclan a ràdh sa Ghàidhlig
<input type="checkbox"/>	'S gann gu bheil Gàidhlig agam idir a-nis

15. Dè na cànan a bha air an cleachdadh aig an taigh anns an deach do thogail?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Beurla a-mhàin
<input type="checkbox"/>	Barrachd Beurla na Gàidhlig
<input type="checkbox"/>	An dà chànan aig an aon ìre
<input type="checkbox"/>	Barrachd Gàidhlig na Beurla
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cànain eile: _____

16. Dè na cànan a bha air an cleachdadh sa choimhearsnachd anns an deach do thogail?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Beurla a-mhàin
<input type="checkbox"/>	Barrachd Beurla na Gàidhlig
<input type="checkbox"/>	An dà chànan aig an aon ìre
<input type="checkbox"/>	Barrachd Gàidhlig na Beurla
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cànain eile: _____

17. Dè cho comasach, bho 0 gu 10, 's a tha thu anns a' Ghàidhlig a thaobh gach sgil a leanas?

(0 = Chan eil mi idir comasach , 10 = Tha mi fìor chomasach)

Leughadh:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sgrìobhadh:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labhairt:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Tuigsinn:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

18. Dè cho comasach, bho 0 gu 10, 's a tha thu anns a' Bheurla a thaobh gach sgil a leanas?

(0 = Chan eil mi idir comasach , 10 = Tha mi fìor chomasach)

Leughadh:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sgrìobhadh:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labhairt:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Tuigsinn:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

19. A bheil cànan sam bith eile agad a bharrachd air a' Ghàidhlig 's a' Bheurla?

Tha / Chan eil

Ma tha, sgrìobh dè na cànan, is càite an do thog thu iad:

20. Aig deireadh na bun-sgoile, an robh thu na b' fhileanta:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Anns a' Ghàidhlig
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anns a' Bheurla
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bha mi a cheart cho fhileanta san dà chànan

(Continue)

Còmhla ri màthair	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Còmhla ri athair	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Còmhla ri bràthair/piuthar	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Eile	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

25. Dè an cànan a cleachdas tu còmhla ri caraidean aig a bheil Gàidhlig? Tagh àireamh: **(1 = Gàidhlig a-mhàin, 2 = Gàidhlig sa mhòr-chuid, beagan Beurla, 3 = G/B co-ionnan, 4 = Beurla sa mhòr-chuid, beagan Gàidhlig, 5 = Beurla a-mhàin, n/a = not applicable)**

Ann an còmhradh	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' bruidhinn air a' fòn	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' cleachdadh SMS/teacsa	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' cleachdadh meadhanan sòisealta	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

26. Dè an cànan a cleachdas tu nad ùine shaor?:

(1 = Gàidhlig a-mhàin, 2 = Gàidhlig sa mhòr-chuid, beagan Beurla, 3 = G/B co-ionnan, 4 = Beurla sa mhòr-chuid, beagan Gàidhlig, 5 = Beurla a-mhàin, n/a = not applicable)

Còmhla ri caraidean	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Ag èisteachd ri ceòl/radio	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' cleachdadh meadhanan sòisealta	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' cleachdadh an eadar-lìn	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' coimhead air an T.Bh.	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
A' leughadh leabhraichean	1	2	3	4	5	n/a
Eile (sgrìobh dè)	1	2	3	4	5	n/a

i. _____

Fèin-aithne Nàiseanta

Dè na facail, à measg na leanas, as fhreagarraiche dhut a thaobh do chuid fhèin-aithne?:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Albannach
<input type="checkbox"/>	Breatannach
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cuimreach
<input type="checkbox"/>	Èireannach
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sasannach
<input type="checkbox"/>	Eile (sgrìobh dè): _____

Beachdan cànan

Tagh àireamh, bho 0 gu 10, mar fhreagairt ri gach abairt a leanas:

(1. Aontachadh gu tur 2. Aontachadh 3. Coma 4. Dol an aghaidh 5. Dol an aghaidh gu tur)

28. Feum:

Tha a' Ghàidhlig cudromach dhan Ghàidhealtachd 's dha na h-Eileanan.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha a' Ghàidhlig a' bàsachadh.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha a' Ghàidhlig cudromach do dh'Alba air fad.

1 2 3 4 5

Chan eil a' Ghàidhlig cudromach don mhòr-chuid ann an Alba.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha a' Ghàidhlig feumail a thaobh cothroman obrach.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig a' coimhead a-steach seach a' coimhead a-mach.

1 2 3 4 5

29. Fèin-aithne:

Tha e cudromach dhan fhèin-aithne Albannach agam, gu bheil a' Ghàidhlig agam.

1 2 3 4 5

Chailleadh Alba a fèin-aithne shònraichte gun Ghàidhlig.

1 2 3 4 5

Chan eil a' Ghàidhlig cudromach dhan fhèin-aithne agam ach mar Ghàidheal a-mhàin

1 2 3 4 5

Cha bhiodh fìor Albannach an aghaidh leasachadh na Gàidhlig.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha mi pròiseil gun urrainn dhomh Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha e cudromach dhan fhèin-aithne Bhreatannach agam gu bheil a' Ghàidhlig agam.

1 2 3 4 5

30. Foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig

Bha e luachmhor dhomh a bhith ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig..

1 2 3 4 5

Tha foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig cudromach a thaobh cruthachadh ginealach ùr de luchd-labhairt.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha e nas cudromaiche gum bi pàrantan a' toirt Gàidhlig dhan an cuid chloinne seach a bhith gan cur ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig.

1 2 3 4 5

Tha e nas fhasa dhomh cànan eile ionnsachadh air sgàth foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig

1 2 3 4 5

In the future I would consider enrolling my own children in Gaelic-medium education.

1 2 3 4 5

In the future I would consider raising my own children through Gaelic at home.

1 2 3 4 5

Ceud taing. Ma tha beachdan sam bith agad air a' cheisteachan seo, no air rud sam bith eile a tha ceangailte ri foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, nach sgrìobh thu an-seo iad.

Appendix C: Interview participants' questionnaire responses

As noted in sections 5.1 and 7.1, 28 of the 46 interviewees who participated in the research also completed the sociolinguistic questionnaire, amounting to 25% of all 112 questionnaire respondents. Since it might be expected that informants who volunteered for interview may make greater use of Gaelic and hold more positive attitudes to the language, it was felt that this self-selection bias may affect the quantitative dataset by making it more unrepresentative. The responses that these 28 participants gave are analysed separately in the following pages in order to account for this possibility, and as will be demonstrated, this was not in fact the case. The subset is broadly comparable to the full dataset discussed in chapter 7.

In the subset of 28 discussed in this appendix, 12 individuals filled in the questionnaire in Gaelic (42.9%) and 16 chose to do so in English (57.1%), comparing respectively to proportions of 43.8% and 56.2% in the dataset as a whole (N=112). 6 of the 28 are male (25%) and 26 female (75%), slightly out of proportion to the 34.8% of males and 65.2% of females in the full set. Since gender was shown not to correlate with professed Gaelic use, ability, socialisation or attitudes, as explained in section 7.4 (tables 17b-d;), this discrepancy does not skew the dataset. The mean age of the subset is 26.9, slightly higher than the mean of 25.1 for the full dataset (table 3; section 7.2). Again, since age did not correlate strongly with any other factor (tables 17b-d; 7.4), it may be concluded that this slight disparity has no adverse effect on the representativeness of reported language use in the full dataset:

Table C1: Ages of informants in subset

Age	N
24	9
25	1
26	4
27	7
28	0
29	1
30	1
31-4	5

Further and/or Higher education attendance rates for the subset of 28 is 96.4%, comparable to that of 93.8% in the full dataset (table 4; section 7.2):

Table C2: Higher/further education attendance

University/College	27 (96.4%)
None	1 (3.6%)

The assessment of occupational class is similarly broadly comparable to that in the dataset as a whole, with the exception that a greater proportion of informants in the full dataset reported working in positions classified in traditional professional class 1 (21.4% overall, compared to just 7.1% in the interview subset; *cf.* table 5.a, section 7.2). Again, as occupational class tended not to correlate strongly with language use, ability or attitudinal variables, we may conclude that this minor disparity did not skew the overall analysis of language use and attitudes:

Table C3: Occupational class

Class assessment	n	%	% Full dataset (N=112)
1) Traditional professional	2	7.1	21.4
2) Modern professional	13	46.4	34.8
3) Routine manual/service	5	17.9	11.6
4) In Education/Training	8	28.6	30.4
5) NEET/Unemployed	0	0	1.8
Total	28	100	100

There are some differences between the current locations of the 28 respondents analysed separately here and those of the full 112 – notably the higher proportions of the 28 now based in England, Inverness and Skye compared to the lower percentage Glasgow – which are shown in bold in the two following tables. Generally, however, proportions are comparable between the subset of 28 and the dataset as a whole (*cf.* tables 6-7; section 7.2):

Table C4: Current location

	N	%	% full dataset
Lowlands:	14	(50.0)	54.5
<i>Glasgow</i>	9	(32.1)	36.6
<i>Edinburgh</i>	3	(10.7)	11.6
<i>NE Scotland</i>	2	(7.1)	6.3
Highlands and Islands:	9	(32.1)	39.2
<i>Inverness</i>	4	(14.3)	12.5
<i>Skye and Lochalsh</i>	3	(10.7)	9.8
<i>Other Highlands</i>	2	(7.1)	8.9
England:	4	(14.3)	3.6
Overseas:	1	(3.6)	2.7

As shown in table C5, below, double the proportion of the 28 were raised in Glasgow compared to the full cohort (21.4% compared to 16.1%), and a higher percentage were raised in Inverness (25% compared to 19.6% in the full dataset). Conversely, fewer participants within the subset were brought up in the Western Isles (17.9% to 28.6%). In these respects the subset of interviewees therefore came from more urban (and potentially less Gaelic-speaking) communities than was true of the full dataset:

Table C5: Location of primary school

	n	%	% full dataset
Highlands and Islands:	20	(71.4)	83.9
<i>Western Isles</i>	5	(17.9)	28.6
<i>Skye and Lochalsh</i>	6	(21.4)	21.4
<i>Inverness</i>	7	(25.0)	19.6
<i>Other Highlands</i>	2	(7.1)	14.3
Lowlands:	8	(28.6)	16.1
<i>Glasgow</i>	6	(21.4)	10.7
<i>Edinburgh</i>	1	(3.6)	1.8
<i>Aberdeen</i>	1	(3.6)	1.8

In terms of the 28 interviewees' continuation with Gaelic study into secondary and tertiary education, proportions at each level are broadly comparable to the full dataset, except in relation to the higher percentage (n=6) in the subset of 28 interview respondents who stopped studying Gaelic after completing Standard Grade (21.4% rather than 12.5 in the full dataset; shown below in bold). Additionally, no single informant in the 28 reported ceasing Gaelic study at college (FE), early high school or at the end of primary school, which three categories account for the remaining 14.3% of the total in the far right column:

Table C6: Continuation with Gaelic study

Level of Gaelic continuation	n	%	Full set %
PG study	1	3.6	1.8
UG degree	9	32.1	32.1
Some University	4	14.3	8.9
Advanced Higher	2	7.1	4.5
Higher	6	21.4	25.9
Standard Grade	6	21.4	12.5
Total	28	100	85.7

By comparison with the full dataset, in which only 27.7% of respondents (N=31) claimed to speak additional languages to Gaelic and English (table 10; section 7.2), 16 of the 28 interviewees reported doing so, amounting to 57.1%, with 9 counts of French, 5 of German, 4 of Spanish, 2 of Chinese, and one each of Irish, Italian and Swedish. The most additional languages claimed by a single interviewee was 4, while 12 claimed not to speak any. Although the subset of 28 therefore appears considerably more ‘multilingual’ than was generally true in the full dataset, the relevance of this competence to their Gaelic use or attitudes is negligible, as will be demonstrated below.

Table C7: Additional languages spoken

Language	n
French	9
German	5
Spanish	4
Chinese	2
Irish	1
Italian	1
Swedish	1

The proportion of the 28 interviewees claiming to have been raised in homes and communities where “more Gaelic than English” was used are substantially lower than in the full dataset, 10.7% and 3.6% respectively (*cf.* table 11, section 7.2). Although the small numbers involved in the subset should be born in mind here, it is nevertheless clear that the reported home environments of informants in the subset of 28 were, on the whole, less Gaelic-rich than in the full dataset. In part this reflects the informants’ more urban home backgrounds (as shown in table C5, above), and demonstrates that the subset of respondents who were also interviewed do not constitute a more unrepresentative group. The 28 therefore do not skew the full dataset in terms of greater childhood socialisation in the language:

Table C8: Language socialisation in home/community

Language	What languages were used in the home in which you were raised? N (%)	% Full dataset (N=112)	What languages were used in the wider community? N (%)	% Full dataset (N=112)
Only English	7 (25.0)	25.9	11 (39.3)	35.7
More English than Gaelic	12 (42.9)	37.5	12 (42.9)	40.2
Equal amounts of English and Gaelic	3 (10.7)	10.7	4 (14.3)	9.8
More Gaelic than English	3 (10.7)	21.4	1 (3.6)	14.3
Other languages	3 (10.7)	4.5	0 (0)	0
Total	28 (100)	100	28 (100)	100

In spite of the disparities observed in the previous table, the proportions of informants' responses in respect of relative fluency in English and Gaelic at the end of primary school are closely comparable between the subset of 28 and full dataset of 112 (*cf.* table 12; section 7.2). A slightly greater proportion of the subset reported being about equally fluent in the two languages at the end of primary (67.9% compared to 64.3% in the full dataset); conversely, a smaller proportion reported being more fluent in Gaelic (7.1% compared to 8.9%):

Table C9: English and Gaelic fluency at end of GME
"What language were you more fluent in at the end of primary school?"

Language	N	%	% Full dataset
Gaelic	2	7.1	8.9
English	7	25.0	26.8
About the same in both languages	19	67.9	64.3
Total	28	100	100

Although reported changes in Gaelic use since leaving school are somewhat comparable in the subset of 28 to the complete dataset, the proportions of respondents reporting that they speak, read, and write more Gaelic are, respectively, 9.8%, 5.4% and 6.2% greater in the subset than in the full dataset (*cf.* table 13). Although the smaller numbers in question should again be born in mind here, it is

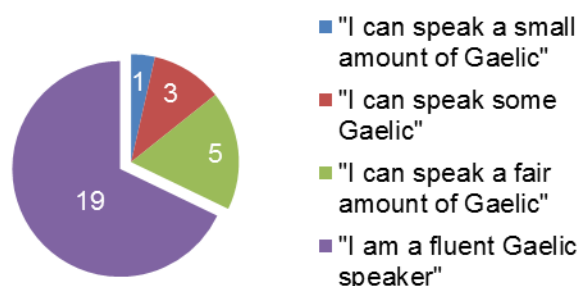
clear that greater proportions of the 28 – though still in a minority – reported using more Gaelic since leaving school when compared to the full dataset:

Table C10: Change in language practices
“How has the extent to which you use Gaelic changed since leaving school?”

Language practice	Speak more G.	Read more G.	Write more G.	Use more G. media
n (%)	13 (46.4)	8 (28.6)	10 (35.7)	14 (50.0)
% Full set	36.6	23.2	29.5	49.1

When we compare the following pie chart to figure 2 (section 7.3), showing reported overall abilities in Gaelic, the proportions are again broadly comparable between the subset of 28 and the full 112 respondents. 19 of the 28 reported being fluent Gaelic speakers (67.9%; 69.6% in the full dataset), 5 reported being able to speak a “fair amount” of Gaelic (17.9%; 13.4% overall), 3 reported being able to speak “some” Gaelic (10.7%; 13.4% overall), 3 reported being able to speak “some” Gaelic (10.7%; 11.6% overall), while only one reported being able to speak a “small amount” (3.6%; 6% overall):

Fig. C1a: Reported Gaelic language abilities (N=28)



Reported competences in each Gaelic language skill were also broadly comparable between the 28 interviewees and the full dataset of 112 (*cf.* table 14.a; section 7.3). Mean scores reported for speaking Gaelic (7.8 in the subset of 28; 8.0 overall), reading Gaelic (8.0; 7.7) writing Gaelic (6.6; 7.1) and understanding Gaelic (8.8; 8.9) are all comparable to the full dataset. Importantly in this respect, they are slightly lower in the subset than in the full questionnaire dataset, except in relation to reading Gaelic:

Table C11: Reported competences in Gaelic

Ability scale	Speaking (n)	Reading (n)	Writing (n)	Understanding (n)
0	0	0	0	0
1	1	0	1	0
2	0	0	2	0
3	1	2	0	1
4	1	1	0	1
5	0	0	4	2
6	2	1	4	0
7	6	4	6	0
8	5	7	5	3
9	4	6	2	6
10	8	7	4	15
Total	28	28	28	28
Mean	7.8	8.0	6.6	8.8

Reported scores for English language competences were even closer than for the Gaelic equivalents, with mean scores selected for speaking English (9.6 in the subset; 9.8 overall), reading English (9.6; 9.8) writing English (9.5; 9.5) and understanding English (9.9; 9.9) consistently very close to those reported in the full dataset (*cf.* table 14.b; section 7.3):

Table C12: Reported competences in English

Ability scale	Speaking (n)	Reading (n)	Writing (n)	Understanding (n)
0	0	0	0	0
1	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	1	0
7	0	1	1	0
8	3	2	3	0
9	4	3	2	3
10	21	22	21	25
Total	28	28	28	28
Mean	9.6	9.6	9.5	9.9

Responses to the question of Gaelic abilities within questionnaire respondents' families were also broadly comparable in the subset of 28 to those reported in the

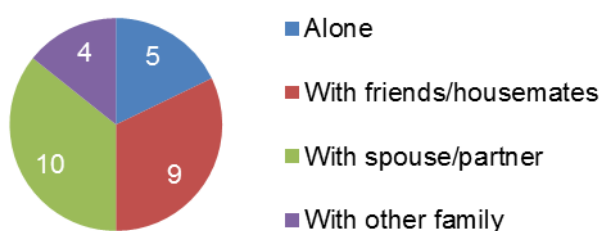
dataset as a whole, as demonstrated in the table below (*cf.* table 17.a; section 7.4). The notable exception is the proportion of the 28 interviewees who reported that their grandparents could speak Gaelic, at 60.7%, compared to 26.8% in the dataset at large. The low percentage reported by respondents in the dataset as a whole was remarked upon, in section 7.4, as being somewhat surprising since the proportion reporting Gaelic ability among grandparents was lower than among parents. It was nevertheless suggested that this lower proportion may in fact reflect death rates of older speakers in the full dataset. If this was indeed the case then the higher proportion reported here by the subset of 28 may be understood to include grandparents who have already died, or possibly, lower death rates among interviewees' elderly relatives:

Table C13: Reported Gaelic ability in family

	Mother	Father	Partner	Son/ daughter	Grand- parent	Sibling	Other
n	12	11	5	3	17	16	2
% Subset	42.9	39.3	17.9	10.7	60.7	57.1	7.1
% Full 112	41.1	35.7	10.7	8.5	26.8	60.7	13.0

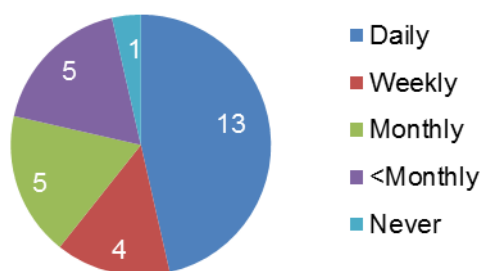
Figure C1b, below, shows that 17.9% (n=5) of the interviewees reported living alone currently, compared to 11.6% in the full dataset (*cf.* figure 5b; section 7.4). 32.1% report living with friends or flatmates at present, while 35.7% live with a spouse or partner (*cf.* 31.3% and 31.3% respectively in the full dataset). Lastly 14.3% (n=4) report living with other family members at present (*cf.* 25.9%). The relatively higher proportion of the interviewee subset living alone or with partners or spouses at present may reflect the higher mean age of participants in this subgroup (*cf.* table C1, above):

Fig. C1b: Current living arrangements (n)



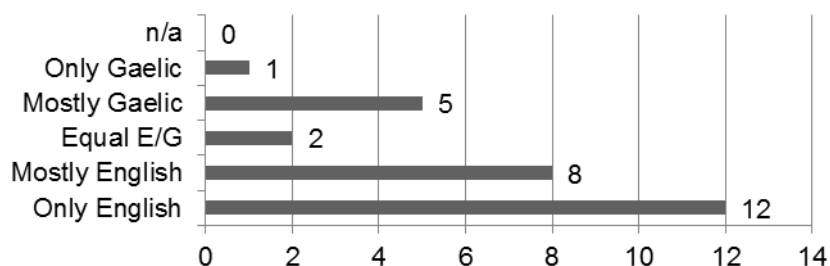
As in the dataset at large (*cf.* table 16/figure 3; section 7.4), a substantial minority of the 28 interviewees claim on the questionnaire to speak at least one conversation in Gaelic every day, with 13 of the 28 reporting doing so (46.5%; compared to 47.3 in the full dataset), as shown in the following chart. Four claimed to speak Gaelic weekly (14.3%; 17.0% in the full dataset), 5 monthly (17.9%; 15.2%), 5 less than once a month (17.8%; 15.2%) and one informant reported never speaking Gaelic (3.6%; 5.4%):

Fig. C2: Reported frequency of Gaelic use (n)



Reported use of Gaelic at work or university was lower among the subset of 28 interviewees than was the case in the questionnaire dataset overall (figure 4; section 7.4). 42.9% of the subset claimed to use “only English” (n=12; compared to 41.1% overall), with a further 28.6% claiming to use “mostly” English (n=8; as against 14.3% overall). 28.6% (n=2) claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic and English, considerably lower than the 41.9% who did so in the dataset as a whole:

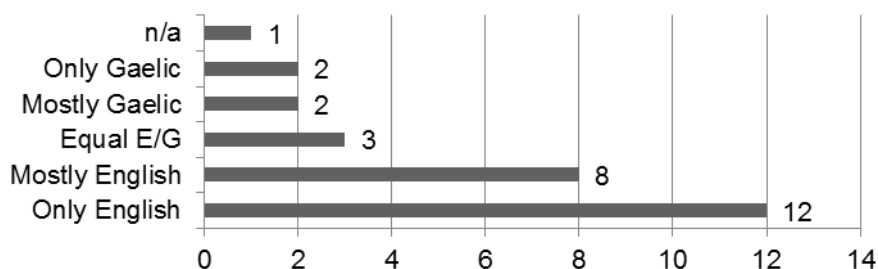
Fig. C3: Language use at work/university (n)



In relation to home use, there was very little divergence between the levels reported by the subset of 28 and the full set of questionnaire respondents. In the home, 71.4% of the interview subset claimed to use “only” or “mostly” English, as shown in the

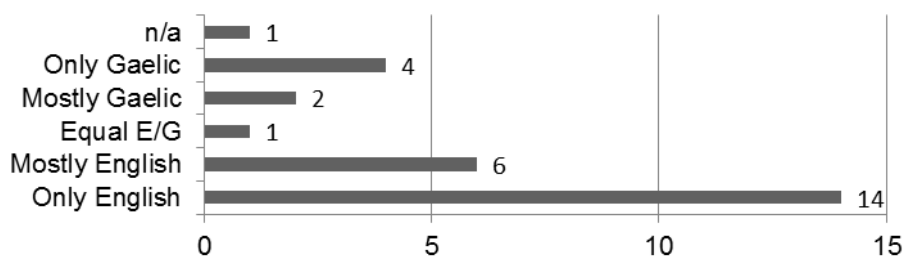
following figure. This compares to a proportion of 73.2% in the full dataset (*cf.* figure 5; section 7.4). Similarly, the proportion claiming to use at least “equal” Gaelic as English at home is 25.0% in the subset of 28 interviewees, and 25.9% in the full dataset.

Fig. C4: Language use at home (n)



71.4% of the interviewee subset reported speaking “only” or “mostly” English with their mother at present (n=20), compared to 65.2% in the dataset as a whole (figure 7; section 7.4). Conversely, only 25.0% (n=7) claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic as English with her, compared to 27.7% in the dataset as a whole. Therefore only 63.3% of the 11 participants in the subset who reported having a Gaelic-speaking mother (*cf.* table C13), reported actually using substantial Gaelic with her:

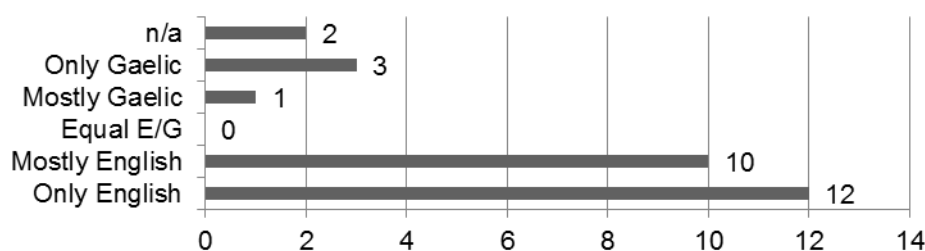
Fig. C5: Language use with Mother (n)



English use with fathers dominates again in the subset of 28 interviewees, with 78.6% (n=20) claiming to use “only” or “mostly” English, and only 10.7% reporting that they use at least “equal” Gaelic (in this case “mostly” or “only” Gaelic) with fathers (n=4). The corresponding proportions in the dataset as a whole are 66.9% for “only/mostly” English, and 25.9% for at least “equal” Gaelic (*cf.* figure 9; section 7.4), demonstrating that Gaelic use with fathers was even weaker within the subset of 28. This finding was reported in spite of the fact that 11 participants within the subset reported having a father who was able to speak Gaelic, meaning that only 36.4% of

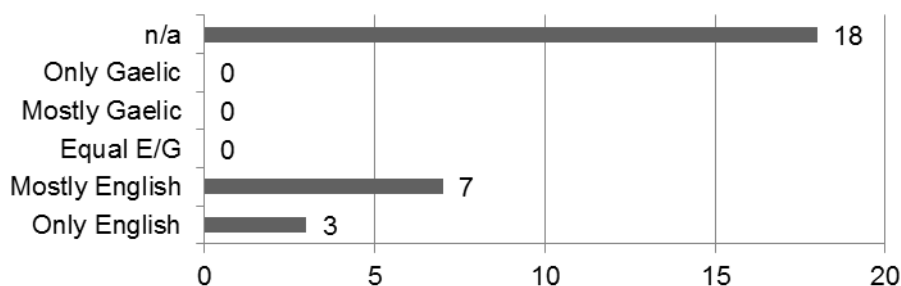
respondents with a Gaelic-speaking father (n=4) actually reported using the language with him:

Fig. C6: Language use with Father (n)



Although only 10 of the 28 interviewees in the dataset reported having a partner, none of them claimed to speak Gaelic to them, in spite of the fact that 5 respondents reported having a partner who was able to speak Gaelic (*cf.* table C13, above). In the full dataset, by comparison, 12.5% of the 64 questionnaire informants with a partner reported speaking at least “equal” Gaelic to them (*cf.* figure 10; section 7.4), while 87.5% of that 64 reported speaking “only English” or “mostly English” to them. Again, therefore, Gaelic use with partners – by all accounts a very important domain for language maintenance and reproduction – was considerably weaker in the subset of 28, with 100% reporting “only/mostly” English use:

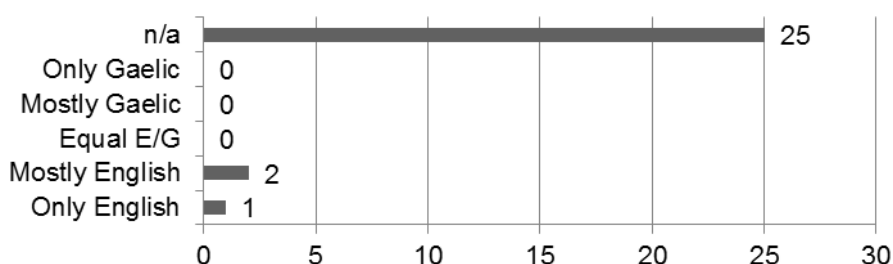
Fig. C7: Language use with partner (n)



Once again, respondents in the subset of 28 reported substantially lower use of Gaelic with children than was the case in the full dataset (fig. C8, below). Although only three of the 28 respondents who were also interviewed reported having a child, all three claimed to speak “only” or “mostly” English to them. By comparison, 21.7% (n=5) of the 23 respondents in the full dataset with a child claimed to speak at

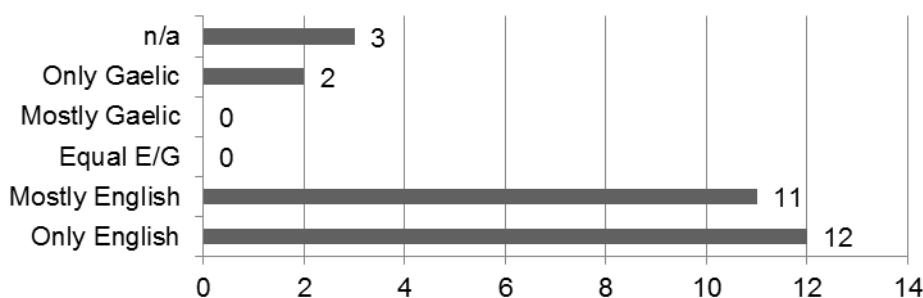
least “mostly Gaelic” to their son or daughter, while the remainder (78.3%) reported speaking “only” or “mostly” English to them (*cf.* figure 11; section 7.4):

Fig. C8: Language use with child (n)



Respondents in the subset of 28 interviewees overwhelmingly reported using English with brothers and sisters on the questionnaire, with only 2 reporting substantial (“only”) Gaelic use with siblings, and 23 reporting “mostly” or “only” English use (*fig. C9, below*). This finding comes despite the fact that 16 respondents reported having siblings could speak Gaelic (*cf. table C13, above*), meaning that 12.5% of those with the opportunity to speak Gaelic with siblings in fact to so to a substantial degree. This finding is again broadly comparable to the overall dataset of 112; 82.1% of the 28 claimed to speak “mostly” or “only” English with their siblings, compared to 80.4% in the full dataset (*cf. figure 14; section 7,4*). By contrast, 15.2% of the full cohort reported speaking at least “equal” Gaelic with siblings, compared to 7.1% (n=2) claiming “only Gaelic” in the subset of 28:

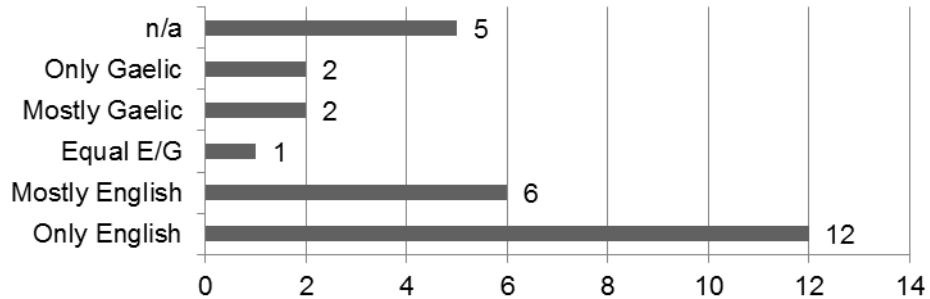
Fig. C9: Language use with sibling (n)



As in the full dataset generally (though to a lesser degree; *cf. figure 12, section 7.4*), Gaelic use with grandparents is shown in figure C10, below, to be somewhat higher than with peers or children within the subset, with 17.9% (n=5) of the 28 claiming to speak at least “equal” Gaelic to grandparents (*cf. 26.8% in the full dataset*), and

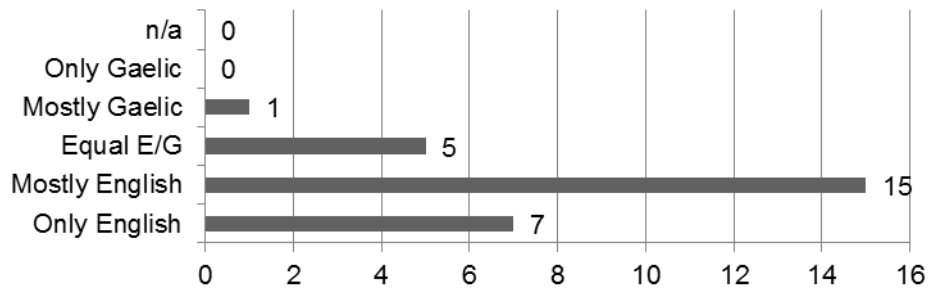
64.3% speaking “mostly” or “only” English to them (45.5% in the full dataset). Again, therefore, respondents within the subset of 28 reported making less use of Gaelic with grandparents than was the case in the full dataset:

Fig. C10: Language use with Grandparent (n)



In figure C11, below, reported use of Gaelic with all friends in conversations is shown to be closely comparable in the subset of 28 and full dataset. In conversations with friends in the 28 respondents’ full social network, 21.4% (n=6) of participants reported speaking at least “equal” Gaelic, with 78.6% (n=22) speaking “mostly” or “only” English. These proportions correspond respectively to 20.5% and 79.5% in the dataset as a whole (*cf.* figure 15; section 7.4).

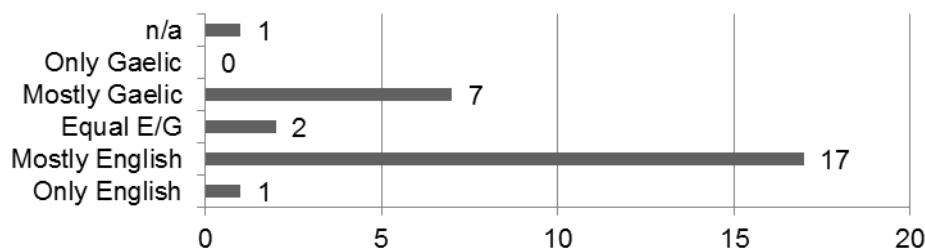
Fig. C11: Conversation with all friends (N=28)



Similar proportions to the full dataset are again found in relation to the 28 interviewees’ reported Gaelic use specifically in conversation with Gaelic-speaking friends, though in this instance Gaelic language use reported by the subset was slightly lower (figure C12, below). This demonstrates once again that the hypothesis proposed at the start of this appendix – that questionnaire respondents who had also been interviewed would be likely to use substantially more Gaelic than the rest of questionnaire respondents – was erroneous; in fact the opposite was generally true. 64.3% (n=18) of the 28 reported speaking “mostly” or “only” English in

conversations with friends who are able to speak Gaelic, compared to 58.0% in the full dataset (*cf.* figure 16; section 7.4). Conversely, 32.1% of the subset reported using at least “equal” Gaelic with Gaelic-speaking friends (n=9), compared to 40.2% in the dataset as a whole, showing once again that social use of Gaelic was reported to be weaker within the subset of 28 than in the full dataset:

Fig. C12: Conversation with Gaelic-speaking friends (N=28)



Similarly, in interactions with Gaelic-speaking friends conducted on via telephone or internet, respondents within the subset reported using somewhat less Gaelic than was the case in the full dataset, as shown in figures C13-15, below. 25.0% (n=7) of the subset claimed to use at least “equal” Gaelic with friends who were able to use Gaelic when speaking on the phone (*cf.* 32.1% overall; figure 17, 8.4), while 21.4% (n=6) reported at least “equal” Gaelic use in SMS texts (*cf.* 22.3% overall; figure 18), and 21.4% (n=6) report at least “equal” Gaelic use in social media interactions with Gaelic-speaking friends (*cf.* 25.0% overall; figure 19, section 7.4):

Fig. C13: On Phone with Gaelic-speaking friends (N=28)

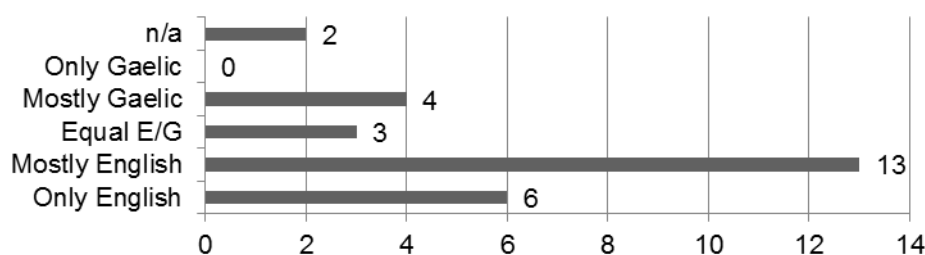


Fig. C14: SMS/Text with Gaelic-speaking friends (N=28)

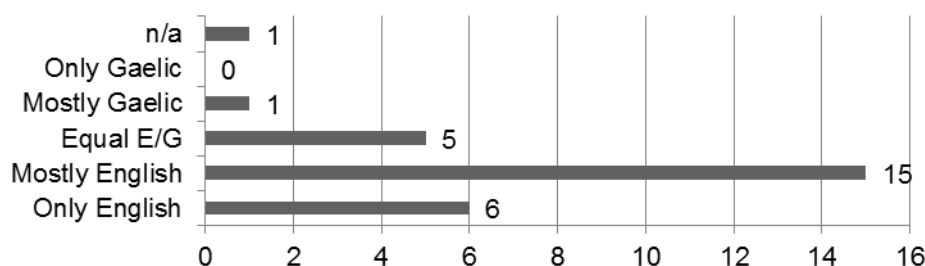
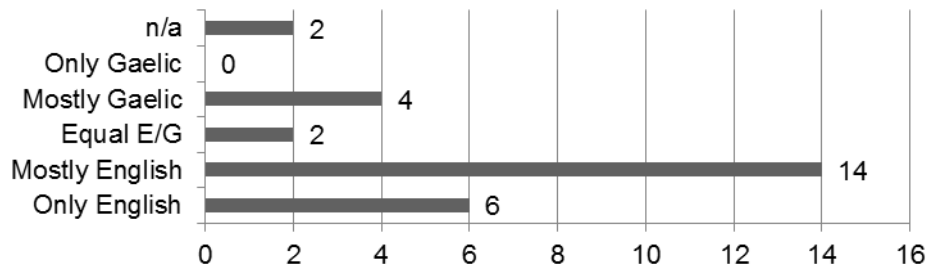


Fig. C15: Social media with Gaelic-speaking friends (N=28)



Comparable proportions to the overall dataset — are again found in relation to the 28 interviewees’ reported use of Gaelic during leisure time, though there are some notable divergences (figures C16-20, below). Participants within the subset of 28 report making similarly low use of Gaelic when listening to music or radio as was the case in the full dataset generally, with 21.4% (n=6) claiming to use at least “equal” Gaelic (*cf.* 22.3% overall; figure 20, section 7.4). By comparison, a substantially lower proportion of the subset (3.6%; n=1) reported using at least “equal” when watching television compared to 14.3% of informants in the full dataset overall (figure 21, section 7.4):

Fig. C16: Leisure: Music/radio (N=28)

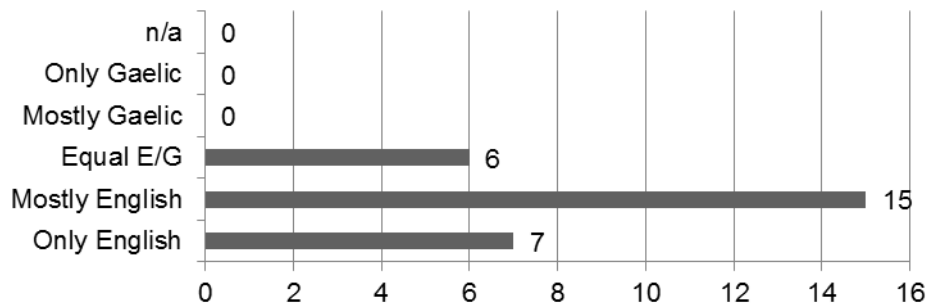
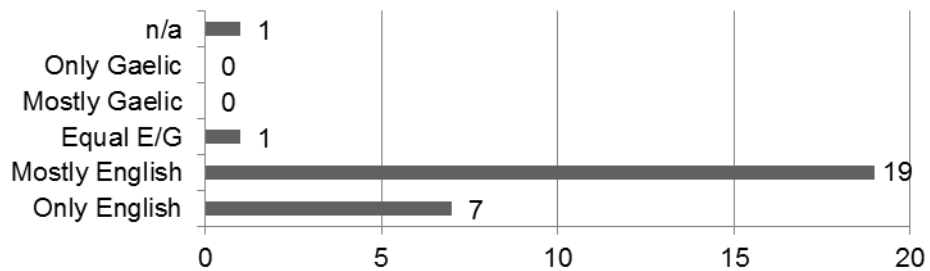


Fig. C17: Leisure: Television (N=28)



By comparison, 14.3% (n=3) of informants within the subset reported at least “equal” Gaelic use when reading books, slightly higher than was the case in the full dataset (11.6% overall; *cf.* figure 22), as shown in figure C18, below. In figure C19, it can be seen that a larger proportion of respondents within the subset reported using at least “equal” Gaelic when using social media, with 14.3% (n=4) claiming to do so (*cf.* 6.3% overall; figure 23). In figure C20, by contrast, just 3.6% (n=1) reported using at least “equal” Gaelic when browsing other internet sites, notably lower than the 8.0% who claimed to do so in the full dataset overall (*cf.*; figure 24, 7.4):

Fig. C18: Leisure: Reading books (n)

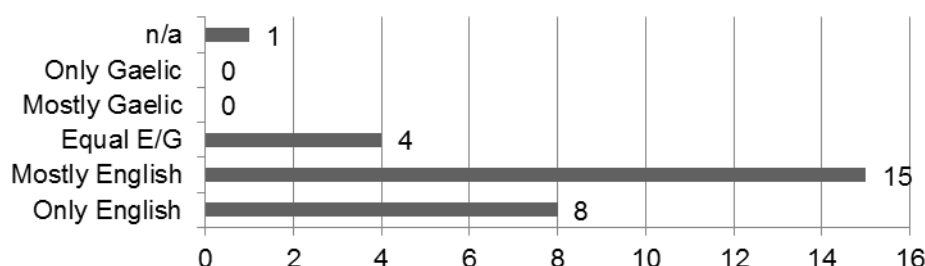


Fig. C19: Leisure: Using social media (n)

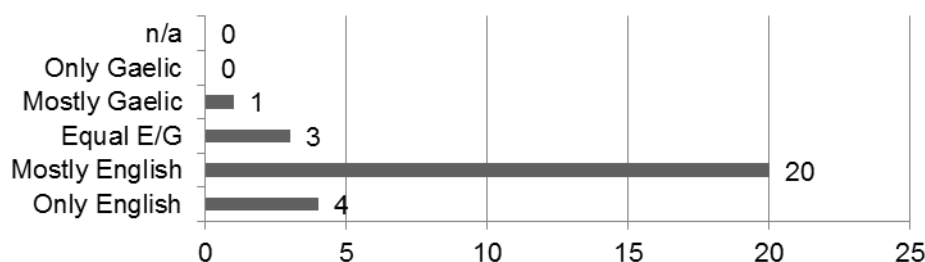
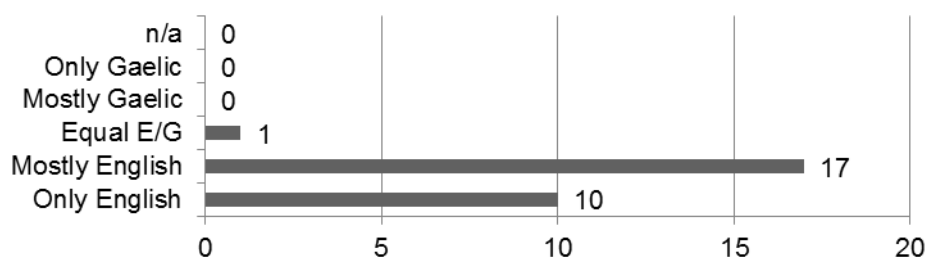


Fig. C20: Leisure: Other Internet (n)



Figures C3-20, above, display levels of Gaelic language use reported on the questionnaire by respondents within the subset of 28 interviewees. In general these graphs tend to demonstrate that participants within this subset report lower rates of Gaelic use than the majority of questionnaire respondents in the full dataset of 112.

Therefore, the hypothesis proposed at the start of this appendix – that questionnaire respondents who had also been interviewed would use substantially more Gaelic than the rest of questionnaire respondents, thereby distorting overall results in relation to Gaelic use – has been shown to be erroneous. In fact the opposite was generally true, but levels of Gaelic use were mostly comparable across the two datasets.

As language use within the subset was generally comparable with the full dataset, similar associations with national identity categories were reported by the 28 interviewees as in the dataset as a whole (*cf.* table 18; section 7.5). Overwhelmingly, “Scottish” was the label most commonly chosen to reflect the national identities of respondents in the subset, with 96.4% reporting this, an even higher proportion than that reported in the dataset as a whole (which was 83.8%). Conversely, 17.9% (n=5) selected “British” (*cf.* 19.6% overall), and one respondent each selected “English”, “Irish” and “Other: French”, reflecting a proportion of 3.6% (*cf.* 1.8%, 1.8% and 0.9% respectively in the whole dataset):

**Table C14: National identities:
“Which of the following best describes your national identity?”**

National Identity	Scottish	British	English	Irish	Other: 'French'
N	27	5	1	1	1
%	96.4	17.9	3.6	3.6	3.6

In relation to Gaelic language attitudes, proportions agreeing and disagreeing with the 18 attitudinal propositions are, again, broadly comparable among the 28 interviewees in the subset as in the full dataset. A number of noteworthy divergences are apparent between the two datasets, however, generally showing respondents in the subset to be slightly less “pro-Gaelic” than the majority of respondents in the full dataset. In the following four tables, the numbers and percentages of respondents in the subset are shown alongside percentages recorded in the full dataset of 112 (displayed in bold typeface). As demonstrated in tables C15-18, below, proportions of responses to each of the 18 attitudinal statements are generally similar to proportions in the dataset as a whole, and in some cases they are identical. Disparities are notable in relation to each of the attitudinal statements, though it is important to consider the small number of responses within the subset and the effect

this may have on anomalies here. In any case, attitudes to Gaelic do not appear to be unrepresentatively positive; that is to say, the 25% of questionnaire respondents who were also interviewed do not appear to be in any way more supportive of Gaelic than was generally true in the full dataset. As with Gaelic use, socialisation and abilities, therefore, the analysis of Gaelic attitudes among the full cohort are shown not to have been distorted by the inclusion of this subset within the main dataset.

Table C15, below, shows that attitudes to Gaelic and its place in Scottish culture generally were, for the most part, closely mirrored in the subset of 28 as in the full dataset. Substantial divergences are notable in relation to rates of strong agreement with the first statement (75% in the subset, 84.4% in the full dataset), and with the third statement (35.7% in the subset; 44.6% in the full dataset). Strong support for these two propositions – concerning the importance of Gaelic to the Highlands and Islands, and the loss of Scottish identity if Gaelic died out – is therefore lower among the subset of 28 than in the full dataset. Conversely, total agreement with the fifth attitudinal statement in table C15 – that Gaelic is irrelevant to most Scots – is 46.4% in the subset, and just 34.8% in the full dataset, again demonstrated that attitudes are less strongly pro-Gaelic among the subset:

Table C15: Attitudes to Gaelic & Scottish identity
(*cf.* table 19; 7.5)

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree or disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
“Gaelic is important for the Highlands & Islands.” % Full dataset	0 (0.0) 0	1 (3.6) 0.9	1 (3.6) 0.9	5 (17.9) 13.4	21 (75.0) 84.4
“Gaelic is important for the whole of Scotland.” % Full dataset	1 (3.6) 2.7	2 (7.1) 6.3	1 (3.6) 6.3	9 (32.1) 27.7	15 (53.6) 57.1
“Scotland would lose its separate identity if Gaelic died out.” % Full dataset	2 (7.1) 8.9	7 (25.0) 11.6	2 (7.1) 8.4	7 (25.0) 26.8	10 (35.7) 44.6
“Gaelic is irrelevant to most pple in Scotland.” % Full dataset	6 (21.4) 27.7	7 (25.0) 26.8	2 (7.1) 10.7	10 (35.7) 24.1	3 (10.7) 10.7

In table C16, below, notable differences in the language attitudes of respondents in the subset compared to the full dataset are apparent in responses to the third statement – that Gaelic is only relevant to informants’ identities as Gaels – with 78.5% of the subset in total disagreeing, compared to 66.1% in the full dataset. Likewise, a disparity is observed in responses to the fourth statement – that no real Scot can oppose promotion the Gaelic – with a total of 46.4% of the 28 respondents in the subset disagreeing, compared to just 34% in the full dataset. Similarly, a total 42.8% of respondents in the subset disagreed with the fifth statement in table C16 – that speaking Gaelic is important to the respondent’s British identity – compared to just 33.1% overall. Therefore, where responses of the subset of 28 interviewees deviate substantially from the full dataset of 112 in table C16, below, they are in fact less pro-Gaelic than those in the full dataset, once again going against the suggested hypothesis mentioned at the start of appendix C, that interviewees who also completed the questionnaire would hold unrepresentatively positive attitudes to Gaelic:

Table C16: Attitudes to Gaelic & personal, cultural and national identities

(cf. table 21; 7.5)

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree n (%)	Disagree n (%)	Neither agree or disagree n (%)	Agree n (%)	Strongly agree n (%)
“I am proud to be able to speak Gaelic.” % Full dataset	0 (0.0) 0	1 (3.6) 1.7	0 (0.0) 0	2 (7.1) 12.5	25 (89.3) 85.7%
“Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my own Scottish identity.” % Full dataset	2 (7.1) 3.6	1 (3.6) 3.6	0 (0.0) 6.3	7 (25.0) 20.5	19 (67.9) 62.5
“Gaelic is only relevant to my identity as a Gael.” % Full dataset	13 (46.4) 36.6	9 (32.1) 29.5	2 (7.1) 20.5	3 (10.7) 9.8	1 (3.6) 3.6

“No real Scot can oppose the promotion of Gaelic.”	9 (32.1)	4 (14.3)	4 (14.3)	5 (17.9)	6 (21.4)
% Full dataset	17.0	17.0	20.5	24.1	21.4
“Being a Gaelic speaker is an important part of my British identity.”	10 (35.7)	2 (7.1)	3 (10.7)	5 (17.9)	8 (28.6)
% Full dataset	26.8	6.3	18.8	14.3	33.9

Fewer notable divergences in responses to attitudinal statements are shown table C17, below, though where responses within the subset of 28 interviewees diverged substantially from the full dataset, they were less strongly pro-Gaelic. 39.2% of respondents in the subset agreed in total with the third statement – that Gaelic speakers are in-ward looking, compared to just 28.5% overall:

Table C17: Attitudes to the Gaelic community (*cf.* table 23; 7.5)

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree n (%)	Disagree n (%)	Neither agree or disagree n (%)	Agree n (%)	Strongly agree n (%)
“Gaelic is a dying language.”	3 (10.7)	8 (28.6)	6 (21.4)	7 (25.0)	4 (14.3)
% Full dataset	17.9	25.0	11.6	32.1	13.4
“Gaelic is useful for job opportunities.”	0 (0.0)	2 (7.1)	1 (3.6)	10 (35.7)	15 (53.6)
% Full dataset	0	0.9	0	36.6	62.5
“Gaelic speakers are inward-looking.”	5 (17.9)	4 (14.3)	8 (28.6)	9 (32.1)	2 (7.1)
% Full dataset	30.4	16.1	27.7	21.4	4.5

Lastly, substantial divergences in the responses of the 28 interviewees compared to the full dataset are only infrequently observed in table C18, below. Strong support for the first statement – that GME was a valuable experience – is higher in the subset (89.3%) than in the full dataset (78.6%), although total rates of agreement are closely comparable (96.4% in the subset; 94.7% overall). Similarly, whilst strong agreement with the second and third statements – that GME is important for creating new

speakers, and that respondents would consider it for their own children – is greater among the subset, total agreement with these statements is closely comparable between the subset and full dataset, at 92.8% and 100% in the subset, and 94.6% and 92% in the full dataset respectively. Slightly more pro-GME attitudes in the subset should not therefore be understood to distort overall rates of agreement with these propositions in the full dataset. Total agreement with the fifth statement in table C18 – that intergenerational transmission y parents at home is more important than GME – is substantially lower in the subset of 28 than in the full dataset, at 46.4% compared to 60.7%. This would appear again reflect the slightly more positive attitudes to GME held in the subset, with the 28 interviewees more unsure than the full 112 about the relative importance of GME compared to home transmission .

Table C18: Attitudes to GME and intergenerational transmission
(*cf.* table 25; 7.5)

Attitudinal statement:	Strongly disagree n (%)	Disagree n (%)	Neither agree or disagree n (%)	Agree n (%)	Strongly agree n (%)
“GME was a valuable experience for me.” % Full dataset	1 (3.6) 0.9	0 (0.0) 3.6	0 (0.0) 0.9	2 (7.1) 16.1	25 (89.3) 78.6
“GME is important for creating new generations of speakers.” % Full dataset	0 (0.0) 0	2 (7.1) 3.6	0 (0.0) 1.8	3 (10.7) 21.4	23 (82.1) 73.2
“In the future I would consider enrolling my own children in GME.” % Full dataset	0 (0.0) 3.6	0 (0.0) 0	0 (0.0) 4.5	3 (10.7) 11.6	25 (89.3) 80.4
“In the future I would consider raising my own children through Gaelic at home.” % Full dataset	0 (0.0) 2.7	3 (10.7) 7.1	3 (10.7) 8.9	5 (17.9) 12.5	17 (60.7) 68.8
“It is more important for Gaelic-speaking parents to pass their language on to children than to send them to GM schools or units.” % Full dataset	3 (10.7) 6.3	6 (21.4) 13.4	6 (21.4) 19.6	7 (25.0) 23.2	6 (21.4) 37.5
“GME made it easier for me to learn other languages.” % Full dataset	0 (0.0) 3.6	1 (3.6) 6.3	5 (17.9) 19.6	8 (28.6) 28.6	14 (50.0) 42.0

Appendix C has therefore served to demonstrate that the 28 interviewees' questionnaire responses were broadly comparable to the full dataset of 112 responses – and in many cases were strikingly similar to the latter. The inclusion of the 25% of questionnaire respondents who also completed the interview is shown not to have distorted the overall dataset, and it is clearly not the case that the subset of 28 reported using unrepresentatively greater amounts of Gaelic in their daily lives, having higher abilities in the language, being more extensively socialised in Gaelic in childhood, or holding more positive attitudes to the language. Indeed in certain cases the converse could be argued, with respondents in the subset of 28 reporting slightly lower rates of Gaelic use at home and at work or university than was the case in the full dataset.

Similarly, respondents within the subset of 28 reported somewhat lower levels of Gaelic use with family members, partners and friends than the majority of the 112 total questionnaire informants. Although considerable divergences in language attitudes were only occasionally identified between the two datasets, responses in the subset of 28 were generally less strongly pro-Gaelic than those in the full dataset. A notable exception to this was shown in responses concerning the importance of GME, with informants in the subset tending to provide slightly more positive responses than the majority of informants in the full dataset. In conclusion, however, the analysis presented in this appendix demonstrates that the inclusion of questionnaire responses from the subset of 28 interviewees within the main quantitative analysis did not distort the overall results by diverging substantially from the majority of responses. The hypothesis proposed above, that the inclusion of these 28 interviewees' questionnaire responses might skew or distort the overall picture by “double-counting” more Gaelic-speaking and more pro-Gaelic individuals in the dataset is therefore shown to have been erroneous.

Appendix D: Questionnaire respondents' comments

18 participants in total made comments at the end of the questionnaire, a response rate of 16.1%. The most commonly emerging themes of their observations are discussed in this section, divided into three overall categories. While these qualitative data contribute to the interpretation of the quantitative analysis provided above, all of them clearly parallel the language ideologies discussed in chapter 6 of the investigation, and as such, are discussed in this appendix rather than in the main body of the analysis. Few fresh insights are provided in these accounts, and five comments whose content was of limited analytical use (whether expressing general interest in the survey, or providing personal details to further aid the researcher) have been excluded from this appendix. Furthermore, the relatively few comments provided may not be representative of all 112 participants. In contrast to generally high response rates to 'closed questions', with a prescribed choice of responses on questionnaires, Andrews (2005: 3760) states that "non-response for open ended questions is comparatively high" in social research using questionnaires (*cf.* Geer 1988). Other researchers have suggested that lower rates of satisfaction tend to elicit higher rates of response in open-ended comments, a phenomenon typically referred to as the 'non-response bias' in survey research (*cf.* McNeely 1990).

Firstly, section D1 contains observations on the educational benefits of GME, while section D2 contains comments on the perceived deficiencies of GME as a tool of language policy and planning, and section D3 concerns participants' comments on change in language use over time, and the expression of regret in this connection.

D1. Educational benefits of GME

Firstly, a number of questionnaire participants commented on the perceived educational benefits of GME, the greater opportunities that the system was felt to have afforded them, and their appreciation for the system in this regard:

qr1_En: "Gaidhlig medium primary students do better in high school than their English medium counterparts in general."

qr13_En: "Learning another language and becoming fluent in it during childhood is beneficial in many more ways than just knowing another language: it means that the child is able to learn other languages more quickly, and even seem [*sic*] to excel in

general studies”

qr2_En: “Gaidhlig medium was an enormous help to my development both socially and academically. I got opportunities [*sic*] through Gaelic education that I would never have got otherwise.”

qr3_En: “I think everyone in Scotland should be put through gaidhlig medium until at least secondary age, it does no harm and gives more opportunities”

The four extracts presented here therefore closely parallel the discourses advanced by interviewees in section 6.2.2 of this thesis, concerning the perceived benefits of GME not related to language revitalisation.

D2. Language planning and deficiencies of GME

Awareness of the need for supporting GME with home use of Gaelic was demonstrated in a number of comments, as well as in response to attitudinal statements in table 24 (section 7.5, above). Yet in some cases, observations on the limitations of GME go further than this, as demonstrated below:

qr5_Gd: “Tha FTMG cudromach ach feumaidh Gaidhlig a bhith air a chleachdadh anns a choimhearsnachd agus anns an dachaigh cuideachd. Chan eil FTMG nan [*sic*] aonar gu leor idir.”

GME is important but Gaelic has to be used in the community and in the home as well. GME on its own is definitely not enough.

qr6_En: “GME does not encourage children to use the language outside of the school environment. Only those who have some sort of Gaelic within the family setting have continued to use Gaelic, unless they seek to gain work from the use of the language [...] Out of the 8 in our class, I'm the only one who has continued with G[aelic], in the form of further education. Although all my family can speak G[aelic], we only use English with one another as that was how we were raised. Likewise, my cousins, who all have G[aelic], they don't use the language at all. Gaelic is only seen as the language of the classroom. That is how Gaelic is seen with [*sic*] today's generation..... unless they've been brought up with G[aelic] in the home.”

In the above two extracts, therefore, the limitations of GME as a means of maintaining and revitalising Gaelic serve as the main focus of respondents' comments. In the following two comments, however, more fundamental concerns are related:

qr8_Gd: “I started in Edinburgh in the first intake - we were guinea pigs! GME was in its infancy when I went through it, which has coloured my view of it. GME has been created in a vacuum. It was and now with dedicated schools, is a bit of a ghetto [...] GME is a starting point, no more, no less.”

qr9_Gd: “Tha Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig a' ciallachadh gun tèid agam air mo chuid chloinne a thogail ann an àrainneachd Ghàidhlig rud nach robh agam fhèin. Ach aig an dearbh àm tha mi mothachail air sgoilearan a tha a' tighinn a-mach à FMG aig nach eil sgilean sa chànan a tha faisg air fileanta, mar sin dh'fheumainn beachdachadh fhèin air FMG”

Gaelic-medium education means that I will be able to raise my children in a Gaelic environment something I didn't have myself. But at the same time I'm mindful of students who come out of GME who don't have skills in the language that are close to fluent, therefore I would have reconsider GME [for my children] myself”

Starting in GME in the first year of its intake is likened by respondent qr8_Gd to being “guinea pigs”, and the system is described only to be a “starting point”. While these phrases were not exactly used by interview informants when describing their experiences of GME, the general sentiments behind them were related quite frequently (cf. section 5.2). Similarly, respondent qr9_Gd states above that he would have to think hard about GME for his children on account of the system's limitations in producing fluent speakers. While relatively few interviewees expressed this same degree of hesitancy when considering the system for their own children, a sense of the system's limitations was often conveyed in the interviews. The two following accounts relate these concerns in even stronger terms:

qr10_Gd: “Tha mi den bheachd gu bheil cruaidh fheum air **re-think** ri ciamar a tha Gàidhlig air a theagasg 's [sic] na sgoiltean [...] a-mach às na 7 a bha anns an aon chlas còmhla riumsa, chan eil ach dithis againn a tha a [sic] cleachdadh Gàidhlig gu laitheil is cha tèid an còmhradh nas fhàide na 'ciamar a tha thu' le [sic] na feadhainn eile air sàilleabh call sgillean cànan [sic] is cion-ùidh an-dèidh sgoil fhàgail. [...] Ma thèid sinn air adhart a' teagasg curraicealam Beurla tro mheadhan a [sic] Ghàidhlig cha bheir [sic] seo am piseach a tha air [sic] dhith airson 's gum bi a [sic] chànan seasmhach.”

*I am of the opinion that a **re-think** as to how Gaelic is taught in the schools is sorely needed [...] out of the 7 who were in the same class as me, only two of us use Gaelic daily and the conversation doesn't go further than 'how are you' with the others because of the loss of language skills and lack of interest after leaving school. [...] If we go forward teaching an English curriculum through the medium of Gaelic it won't provide the improvement that is needed so that the language is sustainable.*

qr11_Gd: “31.c +f: 31.c: tha mi a tuigsinn an argamaid gu bheil e nas cudromaiche gus teagaisg Gàidhlig 'sa dhachaigh [sic] agus mar sin bidh iad ga chleachdadh ann [sic] suidheachadh nàdurra, agus mar sin, bidh iad nas coltaiche gus an Gàidhlig [sic] a chumail a' dol, ach, leis an fhirinn innse, 'se

dòigh sean-fhasanta a tha sin, agus chan eil e air a bhith soirbheachail [...] f: 'Se Sasannach a th'anns a'bhramair agam agus mar sin chan eil facail de Ghàidhlig aice. Ach mu robh [*sic*], bhithinn a' 'CLEACHDADH' Gàidhlig 'sa dhachaigh [*sic*] còmhla riutha, ach cha bhithinn ga 'THOGAIL' tron Ghàidhlig [...] B' abhaist dhomh a bhith gu math taiceil gu a'ghàidhlig [*sic*], ach a-nis tha mi ga fhaicinn dìreach mar inneal airson obair agus fèin-leasachaidh. **Cold but true!**

*31.c +f: 31.c: [“It is more important for Gaelic speaking parents to pass their language on to children than to send them to GM schools or units”] I understand the argument that it’s more important to teach Gaelic in the home and therefore they will use it in a natural situation, and therefore, they will be more likely to keep their Gaelic going, but, to tell the truth, that’s an old-fashioned way, and it hasn’t been successful [...] f: My girlfriend is English so she doesn’t have a word of Gaelic. But if she did, I would ‘USE’ Gaelic at home with them, but I wouldn’t ‘RAISE’ them through Gaelic [...] I used to be quite supportive of gaelic, but now I just see it as a tool for employment and self-development. **Cold but true!***

D3. Change in language practices over time / Regret

Lastly, a number of questionnaire respondents commented on changed language practices over time and some reflected on a sense of regret at using less Gaelic in the present day, closely paralleling ideologies of Gaelic language use presented in section 6.1.1, above.

QR15_Gd: “Ged a fhreagair mi gu bheil mi a' bruidhinn/leughadh/sgrìobhadh Gàidhlig barrachd a-nis, às dèidh dhomh an sgoil fhàgail, chan ann mar seo a bha e an toiseach. Chaidh mi a-steach do saoghal [*sic*] na Beurla airson iomadh bliadhna gun mòran cothrom Gàidhlig a chleachdadh ach leis mo phàrantan a bha a' fuireach ann am baile eile.”

Although I answered that I speak/read/write more Gaelic now, after leaving school, it wasn’t like that at the start. I went into the English world for many years without much opportunity to use Gaelic except with my parents who lived in another town.

qr12_En: “I think it is a bit of a shame how little I am able to use my Gaelic. I think that a large part of this is that almost none of the people I have met since leaving Gaelic-Medium Education are Gaelic speakers”

qr13_En: “I have lost most of the ability I had to understand Gaelic because I didn't take an interest in the Gaelic media or culture [...] I wish that my high school had been better equipped to deal with Gaelic medium pupils than it was (severely understaffed in the Gaelic department) as then I might have continued a bit longer.”

The relatively few comments that questionnaire participants provided at the end of the questionnaire contribute in a number of ways to the analyses I present in chapters 5-7

of this thesis, though tend not to yield new data on the research questions under investigation. The three themes I discuss above closely parallel the overall findings discussed in the concluding chapter; namely, overall support for GME and the system's perceived advantages over English-medium instruction, combined with a clear expression of doubt about the system's role in revitalising Gaelic, and of regret in relation to informants' limited use of the language in the present day. This appendix has therefore demonstrated that, whilst the comments that participants contributed at the end of the questionnaire provide few novel perspectives on the questions in hand, they do tend to confirm findings made in the analytic chapters.