Why Kenny Can't *Can*:
The Language Socialization Experiences of Gaelic-Medium Educated Children
In Scotland

By

Vanessa Katharina Angela Will

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Doctoral Committee:

      Professor Judith T. Irvine, Chair
      Professor Bruce Mannheim
      Emerita Professor Lesley Milroy
      Associate Professor Barbra A. Meek

Dedication

To my family, and

To Domhnall Alasdair mac Dhomhnaill 'ic Alasdair 'ic Dhomhnaill Ruaidh 'ic Alasdair 'ic Anndra

Acknowledgements

One day, when I was a teenager, my mother opened my school atlas to the geophysical map of Europe and decided to find the best place to experience what she called the edge of the world for our summer vacation. Her only requirement was that we had to be able to drive there from our home in Berlin, Germany. She set her sights on the Outer Hebrides off the west coast of Scotland, which we reached after days of driving and several ferry rides. On the island of North Uist, we stayed in a private home providing bed-and-breakfast accommodation to tourists, and I was keenly aware of displacing the owner's children from their bedroom to cots on the floor of their parents' bedroom.

Our hosts diligently introduced us to all the sights that the flat and sparse landscape of the island had to offer, including the Gaelic-English bilingual road signs that had apparently been the cause of much debate and consternation among the island's residents when they appeared on island roads not long before. Although the spelling of the Gaelic words on these signs was baffling to me at the time, I found it difficult to understand why something as boring and ordinary as a road sign could cause such controversy. Nonetheless, this memory served as inspiration for field research I proposed to conduct as an undergraduate anthropology major at Vassar College. The maturation of this fledgling research into the study reported in this dissertation depended on the support and good-will of many individuals and organizations, which I wish to acknowledge here

On the Isle of Lewis, there are those that I can thank by name, and those who for the protection of their identity shall remain unnamed, though no less appreciated. Neil Galbraith and Alasdair Macleod at Comhairle nan Eilean Siar provided essential logistical support for the various iterations of my research project. The headmaster of Sgoil a' Chreaig, whom I will call Mr. Maciver, took me under his wings and, in addition to ensuring the success of my research taught me many of the necessities of Hebridean

life, including shepherding, peat cutting, ornithology, genealogy, and talking about the weather. His sudden and premature death was a huge loss to the district and the world of Gaelic scholarship. This dissertation is dedicated to him, in the hopes that it is an adequate exploration of the thoughts whose seeds he tried to plant in my head.

The teachers, staff and pupils at Sgoil a' Chreaig overwhelmed me with their generosity in sharing their time, experiences, insights and hospitality with me. A large number of families in the district of A' Chreag welcomed me to follow their daily lives as if having a recorder pinned to their clothes and a video camera perched in the corner of the room was the most natural thing in the world. Indeed, the grace with which all those who participated in my research accepted the intrusion into their daily routines that my research presented was probably the most humbling experience in conducting this research. I will be forever grateful for their help.

The Bartlett family of Brue provided an always-open door, much needed secular Sunday lunches (followed by tea, dinners, and puddings), and intellectual stimulation that rivaled the salons of European capital cities, all in the comforts of their home with a stunning view of the *machair*. Several other families also appreciated the difficulty that the dark and grey Hebridean Sundays present to incomers like myself, and provided antidotes of a social and culinary nature, but because they also actively participated in my research, they shall remain nameless. Their warmth and hospitality enabled me to continue my research while grieving the death of my mother. *Mòran taing*.

I owe much gratitude to the members of my dissertation committee not only for the contributions to my intellectual development, but also their patience and continued support. The chair of my dissertation committee, Judith T. Irvine, has appreciated my capabilities since our first meeting, often more so than I was able to discern them myself. I have benefited immensely from her uncanny ability to find something noteworthy in even the messiest of student contributions, and thank her for alerting me to the mental health benefits of focusing on form. I am grateful to Lesley Milroy for drilling me on the historical and social complexities of Scottish languages that form the backdrop against which Gaelic language revitalization efforts operate in Scotland. Barbra A. Meek raised critical questions and concerns regarding theories of language socialization. Bruce Mannheim provided inspirational sparks and essential insights that transformed my thinking at several points in my graduate school career. Despite these scholars' substantial contributions to my thinking, however, all shortcomings in interpretation of facts and conceptualizations of theory in this dissertation remain my own.

I am indebted to my fellow Hebridean researchers, Emily McEwan-Fujita and Julia S. Heath, not only for the sympathetic reception of my stories from the wet and windy trenches of fieldwork on the Western Isles, but also for periodic reminders that my observations were not just figments of my imagination. This dissertation would not have been completed without the intellectual, editorial and emotional support provided by Emily McEwan-Fujita, whose personal mission it has been to make it possible for her to cite my research and whose encouragement to forge ahead with the writing of this document has been unfaltering. If she were not engaged in important research of her own and attempting to reverse Gaelic language shift in Nova Scotia, she would make an excellent professional dissertation coach. I thank Julia S. Heath for lessons in the finer

points of Lewis Calvinism and the history behind consuming candy during church services.

I am grateful to several individuals for blending the intellectual and the personal in refreshing, eye-opening, and always humane ways during my years of study. At the University of Michigan, Cecilia Tomori and John Thiels have been my constant companions and unfailing cheerleaders in traversing the heights and depths on the long road called graduate school. Thank you for showing me that compassion, charity and kindness are as much part of the academic ethos as analytical incisiveness and perspicacious criticism. I thank the members of my cohort in the Department of Anthropology, especially fellow linguistic anthropologists Laura C. Brown, Sonia N. Das, Erika Hoffman-Dilloway, Simon J. Keeling, Tam E. Perry and honorary cohort-mate Katherine Chen, for forming an intellectual community in which I was able to grow and test my ideas. Thank you also to Rebecca S. Graff from the University of Chicago for her constant support and for literally seeing me through this process until the very end.

In my most recent home of Christchurch, New Zealand, I want to thank Jeannette King at the University of Canterbury for being a sounding board of my ideas and exposing me to a new perspective on minority languages born out of a very different historical and socio-political context.

Thank you to Jenny Dewar and Shannon Torres-Sharon for child-care and wet-nursing services at crucial times in the process of writing this dissertation.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family: to my mother, Juliane Will, whose linguistic playfulness and creativity I sorely miss to this day. To my husband, James Degnan, for unwavering support and never-ending patience for me in this endeavor. And to my children, Tess and Quinn Degnan, for putting it all in perspective.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

What does it take for an individual to learn a language? What does it take to reverse a seemingly inevitable shift toward language obsolescence? In the past three decades, language revitalization activists in Scotland have attempted to find answers to these two distinct, but ultimately interconnected questions in order to increase the number of speakers of the Scottish Gaelic language and halt or even reverse its centuries-long decline at all levels of usage. As the primary tool of their efforts, they have settled on classroom-based language education, including formal language instruction for adult learners and state-sponsored schooling for children in the form of Gaelic-medium education (GME) at the primary level.

Planners intend for GME to achieve two goals. Using initial total immersion and later partial immersion in the language, GME is ultimately supposed to boost the number of Gaelic speakers and the amount of Gaelic spoken in Scotland. Simultaneously it is meant to provide social, political and economic legitimacy for a language whose long decline is generally seen to be the result of centuries of institutional neglect and, at times, active persecution. Overall, graduates of GME have proven to be academically accomplished, often surpassing their English-medium educated counterparts in terms of formal academic achievement (Johnstone et al 1999), and challenging prevailing assumptions that bilingualism in general, and English-Gaelic bilingualism in particular, are detrimental to success in school and thus to socio-economic success. GM-educated students typically achieve a high standard of literacy, particularly writing skills, which cannot be found in any but the most educated adult Gaelic speakers. For the vast majority of Gaelic-speaking adults, however, literacy skills are limited to reading, and for the older generations, they are often restricted to the reading of particular texts, e.g. the Bible. As a

result, GM-educated children appear to possess a high degree of formal competence in Gaelic, and to be poised to form a new generation of speakers who are able to overcome the social and symbolic restrictions of the past on speaking Gaelic, and, more importantly, to pass the language on to a new generation, thus counteracting predictions of the language's obsolescence within the next few generations.

At the same time, with the progression of language shift and introduction of GME-based revitalization efforts, Scottish Gaelic language socialization has changed radically in recent decades from a home-based experience to a school-based educational enterprise. Due to demographic shifts and profound changes in language socialization patterns in Gaelic-speaking areas, the number of parents and other caregivers who are able and willing to communicate with young children in Gaelic has declined rapidly. As a result, GM-educated children rarely use Gaelic with adults outside of the school context. Adult Gaelic speakers who experienced their language socialization in the domestic context often resist speaking Gaelic to GM-educated children, even when they display evidence of linguistic competence in Gaelic, and instead habitually use English with them. When pressed on this matter, the adults tend to claim that the children either do not actually speak Gaelic, or that the Gaelic they do speak cannot be understood.

The source of the lack of comprehension, however, does not appear to arise from grammatical or referential divergence in a 'school' register of the language, but rather from the overall indexical marking of the children's way of speaking Gaelic for adult Gaelic speakers. At the same time, GM-educated children appear to remain largely ignorant of the nature of these communicative roadblocks, and do not develop the social-indexical dexterity required to navigate the politically charged linguistic terrain of Gaelic in Scotland. These phenomena raise the question of what kinds of social "input," broadly conceived, are crucial for an individual speaker not only to master the structure of a language, but also to successfully navigate the semiotic complexities of social interaction.

To investigate the question "why Kenny can't *can*", ie speak, this dissertation will examine the language socialization experiences of children enrolled in Gaelic-medium education in a primary school located in a rural district on the Isle of Lewis, which is part of the Outer Hebrides island chain located off the north-west coast of Scotland. This area is considered to be of the last autochthonous strongholds of the Gaelic language in the

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Highlands and Islands region of Scotland. I will argue that the kinds of linguistic and social input children receive when they experience the majority of their Gaelic language socialization in the GME classroom leaves them without some of the semiotic tools that are necessary for interacting with adult Gaelic speakers and for performing a range of social-linguistic tasks outside the context of the school. In addition to limiting (by necessity) the linguistic forms and types of language use children are exposed to and expected to acquire, GME also imparts to its pupils a specific conception of Gaelic speakerhood that is at odds with that held by many older Gaelic speakers.

As a result of these language socialization experiences, children who acquire their Gaelic language skills exclusively or predominantly in the context of Gaelic-medium education become unintelligible to older speakers of the language who do not subscribe to these same schemata. In the highly politicized context of a massive language shift away from Gaelic toward English in the last remaining strongholds of the language, the different ways that people of all ages use (and do not use) Gaelic have become contested and Gaelic speakers often use English as a medium of interaction in order to keep the social peace between members of the Gaelic language community. The consequences of this for language shift are that current language revitalization efforts often have the opposite effect of their intended goals: they reduce, rather than increase, the usage of the language among different generations of speakers and thus appear to create disruption, rather than continuity in its existence.

In this chapter, I will situate the research to be presented in the rest of the dissertation. I will first provide geographical and historical context of the research. I will then discuss the intellectual concepts, theories, and debates that have informed the research, and to which this dissertation contributes. I focus on previous attempts to answer the two central questions of this dissertation: What does it take for an individual to learn a language, and what does it take to reverse a seemingly inevitable trend toward language obsolescence and language shift? I will argue that the language socialization paradigm is particularly well-suited for understanding the development of communicative competence, processes of language shift, and the connection between the two.

Research Location

The Isle of Lewis is the largest and northernmost island of the chain of islands off the northwest coast of Scotland known informally as the Outer Hebrides, and informal administrative terms as Western Isles or *na h-Eileanan Siar*. Lewis is also themost populous of the Western Isles, with a total population numbering about 26,000. Lewis is marked by its stark and rocky landscape, which is interspersed with extensive, heather-covered boggy moors in its interior and grass-covered sand dunes of the *machair* along the sandy beaches lining most of its shores. Other parts of the coastline are rugged and marked by high cliffs and sheer drop-offs forming a formidable barrier against the waves rolling in from the Northern Atlantic. Strong winds coming from the Atlantic Ocean keep most vegetation that manages to take hold in the rocky soil low to the ground. A notable exception to the apparent barrenness is the grounds of the Lews Castle located in a relatively sheltered part of the main town of Stornoway. This nineteenth-century structure functioned as the residence of the last two owners of the island, Sir Matheson and Lord Leverhulme; it has now been converted to house Lews Castle College, which in turn is part of the growing University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI). Private ownership of the island came to an end in the years after World War I, when numbers of island residents who had served in the Armed Forces returned to the island having been promised land in exchange for their sacrifices on the battlefields. When no such provision materialized, successive raids on several farms established on the island forced Lord Leverhulme, the soap magnate who had acquired the island in 1917, to give up ownership (Macdonald 1978). The land that had been under private ownership was turned into crofts, which the estates that now owned the land rented to individual families under long-term lease agreements intended to encourage the tenants to make improvements to the land and ensure continuity in tenancy.

This reorganization had a visible effect on the landscape on the island that persists until this day. Most villages on the island are spread out along a main road as houses are built on individual crofts with a typical size of 2 to 5 hectares.[1] Like the vegetation, houses are usually built low, with the older "white houses" featuring one and one-half

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[1] In addition to their crofts, residents also have access to a common grazing area for their livestock.

stories[2], and more recent construction favoring single-story bungalow styles.[3] Although the immediate vicinity of the houses were often landscaped, most of the crofts were large expanses of grass, which grew quickly in the relatively mild weather conditions and thus required constant trimming. A few of the sheep served as lawn mowers for this purpose.

Figure 1: Sheep in front of typical Hebridean house

Once a major source of economic support on the island in addition to fishing, and a self-consciously unique way of life (Parman 2004), crofting has effectively become a leisure activity on today's island, subsidized by funding from the Scottish government and European Union (Macdonald 1997). While the national Crofters' Commission and the local grazing committees continue to be an important force in the distribution and use of land on the island, the actual number of crofters is in decline.

Today's island economy is dominated by administrative and commercial services as well as tourism. Although the Harris tweed industry has faced several economic crises and seen a decline in the number of weavers producing 'the cloth' (*an clò mòr*) on looms in small sheds on their crofts, the tweed industry continues to be of symbolic importance to the local economy as well, warranting periodic reporting of the reception of its products at fashion shows in London, Milan, and New York in the local newspaper, *The Stornoway Gazette*.

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[2] In contrast to the traditional "black" houses that derived their name from the layers of soot that collected inside them from the open peat fire.

[3] The construction of a few two-story homes in the district during the time of my research drew quite a few comments from the older residents of the district who found them to be an ostentatious display of wealth as well as a dangerous impediment to the strong winds blowing over the island every day.

The administrative and commercial center of Lewis, and informal capital of the Western Isles is the town of Stornoway (population 9,000), which has been home to *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (CNES, the Western Isles Council) since the region was created in the mid-1970s. In addition to a commercial harbor that was once home to a large fleet of fishing boats catching herring as far away as the Baltic Sea, Stornoway is also for the destination for a passenger ferry connecting the island with the port of Ullapool on the Scottish mainland, and a port of call for a small number of cruise ships, including the Queen's ship 'Hebridean Princess', every summer.

The town's airport was a long-time NATO outpost in a strategically important position in the Atlantic Ocean. Offering daily flights to Inverness, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, the airport is now considered a hub of lifeline services for the island's inhabitants. Before CNES made the controversial decision to permit commercial passenger flights on Sundays, a joke circulating on the island was that the only way to leave Lewis on a Sunday was by suffering a heart attack or another major medical emergency that could not be handled by the local hospital and would necessitate a medical evacuation flight to Glasgow.

Even with passengers and newspapers arriving[4] and the opening of some hotel-based restaurants at the time of the research reported here, Sundays on Lewis were still marked by the absence of commercial and other secular activity. The history of fundamentalist Calvinism among the island's population dating back to the early 19th century (MacAulay 1980) has created a pervasive Sabbatarian tradition that frowns upon all non-religiously-focused activity deemed non-essential to health and safety. Although interpretations of the fourth commandment at the heart of this tradition have undergone continuous readjustments along with technological innovation and social and demographic changes on the island, the prohibition of organized secular activities on Sundays continues to influence both policy and practice on the island as well as on the other islands under the jurisdiction of the CNES –much to the chagrin of the inhabitants

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[4] These newspapers have to be ordered personally and in advance to be picked up at the single gas station open for Sunday trading, in order to avoid offense to the deeply Sabbatarian family operating the local newspaper distribution service.

of who do not share this religious tradition, but still experience the restrictions imposed by it in the form of closed recreational facilities, limited transport options, etc.[5]

Most traffic seen on Lewis on Sundays is traveling either to or from churches, which offer, on average, two services on Sundays (in addition to another service on Wednesday and prayer group meetings). Playgrounds and sports field remain empty, as do the washing lines located next to nearly every house, no matter how conducive the weather conditions may be for outdoor recreation or drying of laundry (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Sign on gate of playground on Lewis

The district where I conducted research, which I will call *A' Chreag* (The Rock), is located within easy driving distance from Stornoway, and has thus become a popular home for those employed in the town. Passing through several smaller villages, a bilingual sign proclaiming "Welcome to The Rock" and "Please drive carefully" and featuring the official seals of the district and of the CNES marks the physical boundaries

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[5]When Caledonian MacBrayne expanded the ferry service to Sundays that link the Isle of Berneray and Leverburgh on Harris (which is physically connected to Lewis, but considered a separate island in term of both geography and local culture), followers of the local chapter of the Lord's Day Observance Society protested this break of commandment and tradition by posting signs around the port of Leverburgh to greet the arrival of the ferry. Keeping the Sabbatarian spirit prohibited them from being physically present to protest (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4890830.stm)

of the district, whose population numbers about 2000. Continuing along the main road and passing several side roads leading to small collections of houses takes one to the village of A' Chreag. The center of the district features a petrol station that also contains a small convenience store and post office, as well as a police station and a handful of other small business establishments. Located on a hill nearby, a large church belonging to the Free Church of Scotland is the visual sentinel providing a sweeping vista of the rest of the district located along a broad valley intersected by the main road that then continues further to another district located several miles away.

The school serving the district, Sgoil a' Chreaig, is located in the village of A' Chreag, not far from the church and petrol station. The school building, most of which is single-story, was first built in the 1970s and has been expanded and renovated several times since. The main entrance, where school buses and parents drop off pupils in the morning, is located at the center of the school. Glass doors etched with the school's seal lead to an open space decorated with wooden panels listing the 'dux' of the school each year and a glass cabinet displaying trophies won by pupils. From the central area, where the headmaster Mr. Campbell observes the students' arrival each morning, separate carpeted hallways lead to the office, teacher lounge and infant classrooms, the other primary classrooms, the library, gym and cafeteria, and the secondary department, respectively.

While the school building itself is older, renovations and updates have made the school look contemporary, utilizing the glass, wood, and articulated plastic hardware that have become part of a particular architectural style in schools and government buildings all over Lewis. As part of the most recent renovations, the walls of the hallways have been painted pink, to the chagrin of some of the male primary pupils. Student artwork, including posters advertising healthy eating habits and a series of self-portraits, are displayed next to the windowed doors leading into each classroom.

In addition to the paved school playground, which encompasses two sides of the school building, there is a large grassy playing field located behind the school building, as well as a fenced-in athletic court. The school grounds are separated from the road and the surrounding land by a high fence, while the drive-ways leading to the front entrance

and staff parking lot are protected from roaming sheep by cattle grids, which noisily announce the arrival of any vehicle in front of the school as it rolls over the grids.

Many of the rooms of the school have multiple functions. Teachers use the library for various lessons, while secondary students may be working on the computers located there. At lunch time, the school gym, which is recessed into the ground, but open to the rest of the school, is used by pupils for various athletic games and even competitions, such as badminton and basketball. The gym also functions as a space for assemblies, school concerts, and community events such as dances, while the cafeteria space becomes a stage when the folding wall separating the gym and the cafeteria is pulled to the side.

Sgoil a' Chreaig is identified as a bilingual school in terms of both the curriculum offered, and the use of Gaelic and English in the everyday life of the school. During the 2005-2006 school year, about half of the school's 200 pupils were enrolled in Gaelic-medium education, including some who traveled to the school from nearby villages whose primary schools did not offer Gaelic-medium education. In addition to the primary department, Sgoil a' Chreaig also offered the first two years of secondary education to pupils from the district and villages just outside the district before they began traveling to the Nicolson Institute, the island's central secondary school located in Stornoway, to receive the rest of their secondary education.

The choice of the district as well as the school as a location for my research was both fortuitous and, like most acts of fortune, largely out of my hands. As an undergraduate student contemplating potential sites for field research on Gaelic-English language contact, I requested assistance from several officials at the CneS. The Director of Education at the time arranged for me to spend the six months of my research project at Sgoil a' Chreaig under the supervision of its headmaster, whom I will call Mr. Maciver. Mr. Maciver took to my presence at the school and in the district with much enthusiasm, and facilitated my introduction to all aspects of life in the district to such an extent that I sometimes felt (with deep gratitude,) that he was almost conducting my research for me. My affiliation with the school, which occupies a central place in the social life of the community, facilitated the conduct of my research in several ways, not the least of which was that the institution offered a central location and predictable rhythm to the everyday routine of conducting ethnographic research.

My social affiliation with a well-respected and well-liked member of the community through the context of the school and, later, living with a member of his extended family, allowed residents of the district to place me socially. My activities and the length of my stay made me unfit for the identity category of tourist, and my age and lack of familial ties to the area made me an unlikely candidate for the category of 'incomer.' Despite this affiliation, however, I still struggled at times to clarify the purpose of my presence and research in terms that did not automatically activate residents' stereotypes of people who profess a liking of rural Hebridean life and an interest in the Gaelic language.

Sadly, Mr. MacIver passed away before I conducted the research reported here in 2005 and 2006, but returning to the district and the school was a decision that I made both for pragmatic reasons and the sense that I had only cracked the surface of the complex social-linguistic landscape of the district. Residents' memories of my previous stay in the district were advantageous: they took my return to be a sign of an interest and investment in the life of the community that surpassed that of the average tourist. Furthermore, the teachers and staff at Sgoil a' Chreaig were more than willing to welcome me back, generously supporting my proposed research in both word and deed.

Research Methodology

This dissertation is based on data collected over the course of approximately 15 months, including an entire school year at Sgoil a' Chreaig. Extensive observation, which was supported by audio- and video-recording, created the majority of the data. At Sgoil a' Chreaig, I circulated through the three Gaelic-medium classrooms each week, observing lessons and activities, assisting children with their work, and discussing my observations with teachers. I also tried to be of assistance with school events, projects, and field trips. Because the idea of helping me with my research by wearing a small recorder pinned to their shirts was exciting to most pupils, I tried hard to give everyone a turn to do so at least once in the course of the school year. However, I also followed a recording schedule that had me record two specific children at each class level, one of which was classified as being a 'native' speaker and one a 'learner' of Gaelic (I also tried to ensure equal

distribution of gender, but the demographics of some of the class levels made this difficult in some cases)

These children became the focus of my research outside of the school setting. At least once a month, I would visit each of these children at home and observe and record their activities and language usage with other family members and friends outside of the classroom. I also spoke extensively to their parents about my observations to get their feedback on the events I was observing and their approaches to parenting. In some families, I was able to accompany the children on a variety of outings and activities outside of the home, further expanding my exposure to the daily lives of children growing up in A' Chreag. These home visits also gave me a chance to engage in ongoing conversations with parents of children in Gaelic-medium education about the issues affecting their daily lives, ranging from nosy neighbors to current events.

In addition to my observations, I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with district residents of all ages. One set of these interviews were focused on collecting linguistic life histories in order to understand prevalent patterns in language socialization practices, and the changes they have undergone in the lifetimes of these individuals. This set of interviews also included the parents of the children I was following on a monthly basis to gather information about the children's language socialization experiences and development prior to their participation in my research. Some parents had access to baby books and other records they had kept of their children's language development, which they kindly shared with me. Finally, I utilized a series of interviews to gather feedback on and evaluations of a set of speech samples in Gaelic and in English, which would allow me to compare and contrast my observations of individuals' communicative practices and feedback with their reactions in a more structured context.

Although I spent the bulk of my research time in A' Chreag, I made an effort to gain a comparative perspective on my observations and findings by traveling to other parts of the island to observe in classrooms and speak to teachers and pupils at other schools. When the Royal National Mòd was held in Stornoway in October of 2005, I conducted interviews with a number of people who acted as judges in the children's competitions that were part of the event. These interviews supplemented a number of

other conversations of a range in degrees of formality I had with people involved in Gaelic language planning and revitalization efforts on the island.

Finally, I sought out several opportunities to experience Gaelic language socialization in more or less formal instructional settings aimed at adult learners of the language. In addition to exposing me to a variety of linguistic forms and practices that I would not have encountered anywhere else, my time in these classes gave me the chance to come into contact with a number of adult learners of the language who shared their experiences of trying to join a Gaelic speech community with me. This further broadened my perspective of the politicization of Gaelic language socialization that is the subject of this dissertation.

Conducting the Research

In Scotland today, Gaelic occupies a contradictory place as both a contested candidate to be a national emblem of Scotland, and a minority language whose existence is often overshadowed by the demographic strength of speakers of various languages of European and Asian origin. In the Scottish public, any discussion of Gaelic generally appears in the context of the language's observed and/or projected obsolescence (McEwan-Fujita 2006, 2008) and in terms of a neoliberal conceptualization of language and its use (McEwan-Fujita 2005). In order to legitimize the use of the Gaelic language in institutional and other contexts, which is seen as essential to reversing the ongoing shift from Gaelic to English, language planning and other efforts deploy a generalized model of state-sponsored standard language. This model makes the continued usage of Gaelic hinge on the official recognition of, and institutional support for, the social-linguistic practices of those who identify themselves as speakers of the language, rather than those whose claims to Gaelic speakerhood are based on a particular type of childhood language socialization experience (see Chapter 3).

This performative ideology of generalized Gaelic speakerhood stands in stark contrast to the definition of membership in the Gaelic language community espoused by most Gaelic-socialized speakers of the language. For them, being a Gaelic speaker is more a matter of past experience than of contemporary linguistic practice. They also reject most aspects of the neoliberal framework against which those involved in Gaelic

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language revitalization efforts frame and interpret the use of Gaelic (see Chapter 2). As such, the situation of Gaelic in contemporary Scotland shows strong similarities to other minority languages within Britain, across Europe and further afield.

Entering these highly politicized waters as a researcher of language use presented some challenges, which were further complicated by my own complex linguistic life history. By virtue of my relatively young age and national origin (German), I was most easily classified as an adult learner of the language. More often than not, older Gaelic speakers who I encountered believed that I was in A' Chreag to learn Gaelic and framed their answers to my questions accordingly. They were also surprisingly resistant to using the language as a medium of interaction with me. On the one hand, local rules of politeness demanded the use of English with anyone (perceived) to be English monoglot. On the other, any attempt on my part to use the language was usually met with comments on the quality of my Gaelic, but no actual response to the referential content of my speech (cf. McEwan-Fujita 2010a).

Indeed, my own history of Gaelic language socialization was fairly typical of other adult learners, in that it occurred mostly in the context of Gaelic literacy activities, using instructional books and other texts (McEwan-Fujita 2010b). Both before and after my research in A' Chreag, I had some experience of formal classes aimed at adult learners of the language on Lewis and elsewhere, but found them quite unsuitable for my needs. None of them seemed particularly realistic in the language skills they imparted – the classes aimed at the beginning learner were overly concerned with fostering communication skills suitable for tourists visiting a Gaelic-speaking area (where tourists would always be spoken to in English, even if they made the effort to use Gaelic with the native inhabitants), while classes at a higher level were usually focused on types of language use, such as discussing newspaper articles and writing personal opinion pieces, which were viewed with suspicion by older Gaelic speakers.

As a result, my self-study of the language was expanded and reinforced most effectively by the time I spent in the Gaelic-medium classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig, where the children were not only patient enough to endure my grammatically imperfect linguistic constructions, but were actually thrilled to turn the tables and be the experts in teaching an adult for a change. My time in Gaelic-medium education classrooms allowed

me to reach levels of receptive competence whose presence eventually led older Gaelic speakers to interact with me as one of the many semi-speakers of the language in the district (Dorian 1981): my presence usually did not cause them to switch to English when talking to other Gaelic speakers, but they addressed me in English, and also allowed me to use English to respond to their Gaelic speech aimed at others. By occupying this identity category and not insisting on speaking Gaelic against my interlocutors' preferences, like some adult learners are stereotypically believed to do, I was able to lessen the impact of the stereotypes that my appearance and presence would invariably activate.

However, the sound of the kind of English I spoke was also a source of confusion for many. When I first arrived in the district, Mr. MacIver had insisted on introducing me to resident districts as "a German lass" or "*a' Ghearamaltaich*" (the German). In keeping with the essentialist ideology of identity prevalent among Gaelic speakers, my national origin and the place of my childhood socialization was more important than the geographical associations that the Americanized accent of my speech signaled. Discussion of my German origins, and comments on their contrast with the sound of my speech, accompanied me for the period of my research, and proved to be useful in distinguishing myself from other adults taking an interest in the Gaelic language, who tended to be educated, middle-class, native speakers of English from the Scottish Lowlands or England and thus were viewed with suspicion (cf. Macdonald 1997, McEwan-Fujita 2003). Professing to being bilingual in German and English and to speaking another language more frequently (and, in some ways, more comfortably) than the language of my childhood also helped open up discussions with my research participants. Although German was held in much higher esteem than Gaelic in terms of a hierarchy of proper (standardized) languages, people frequently asked me about my own experiences of being bilingual to compare to their own, and particularly for validation of their own apparently contradictory situation. They professed a deeply emotional appreciation of Gaelic as the medium of their childhood socialization, but their actual linguistic practices often appeared to privilege the English language.

In Chapter 2, I will discuss how categorizing individuals based on their reported childhood language socialization experiences, both in terms of the linguistic

medium/media and the ideological orientations, offers a useful alternative when conceptions of communicative competence and membership in a community of speakers are politicized and contested. It also focuses attention on the importance of language socialization experiences in the emergence of socially-situated speakers as a crucial aspect of the development of communicative competence, which is one of the key issues addressed in this dissertation.

The Socialization of Communicative Competence: Key Questions and Issues

        The introduction of Gaelic-medium education at Sgoil a' Chreaig represented a major departure from previous Gaelic language socialization practices prevalent in the district. Much more than just a place for the acquisition of Gaelic literacy skills, GME provides a context for the development of communicative competence that is qualitatively different from that experienced by previous generations of Gaelic speakers. The effect of this transformation on children's usage of the Gaelic language has been the object of much commentary and questioning among older Gaelic speakers, who simultaneously consider GME-socialized children to be good speakers of the language in abstract terms, and yet terrible conversation partners.

        As I will show in the following chapters, the kinds of linguistic and social input children receive when they experience the majority of their Gaelic language socialization in the GME classroom leave them without some of the semiotic tools that are necessary for interacting with older Gaelic-socialized speakers and for performing a range of social-linguistic tasks outside the context of the school. In addition to limiting (by necessity) the types of language use children are exposed to, GME also imparts to its pupils specific ways of performing Gaelic speakerhood as an identity category that are at odds with those accepted by many older Gaelic speakers. This situation raises the question what the nature and role of "input" is in the development of communicative competence. What kinds of "input", broadly/socially conceived, are crucial for an individual speaker not only to master the structure of a language, but also to successfully navigate the semiotic complexities of social interaction?

        Language socialization research, as initially conceptualized by Ochs and Schieffelin (1986), has shown that the processes leading to an individual's development

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of social-linguistic competence are fundamentally social -both in the sense that they occur in a social setting, through interaction between socially grounded actors, and in the sense that they are shaped by, and are expressions of, social factors at all levels of analysis. In other words, the "input" needed goes far beyond the formal aspects of language structure that traditional language acquisition research has postulated as necessary for language acquisition, and is indivisibly tied to forms of social knowledge and action. While research within the language socialization paradigm makes the fundamental assumption that these processes are necessarily social in nature, it has not addressed what conditions of language socialization are sufficient to ensure that language socialization experiences lead to the development of an individual's social-linguistic competence.

By the time most children enter in Gaelic-medium education at around age 5, they have already been experiencing Anglophone language socialization since the beginning of their lives, and the vast majority of them (with the exception of a few children diagnosed with physical or mental problems that affect their language development) are socially competent young users of English. They joke, pun, tease, play pretend, tell stories and generally harness the social functions of language to interact with those around them.

GME teachers seem to expect that their pupils would be able to transfer the pragmatic semiotic skills they have developed as part of their communicative competence in English to the new language they are learning in the classroom, especially since they are still within the age range that is typically considered a window for 'native' acquisition of a language. However, after initially acquiring the formal elements of the Gaelic language, GM-educated children's skills in using the language for anything but a narrow set of academically-oriented functions remain stagnant. Indeed, by the time they progress to secondary education and are of an age at which they continue to expand their usage of English as new social domains open up to them thanks to their increased biological-social maturity, their shortcomings of the same skills in Gaelic become particularly obvious.

Contrary to the typical trajectory of language socialization, which combines increasing social competence with growing numbers of opportunities to exercise that competence, the social-linguistic competence of most children enrolled in GME remains

stagnant, or actually diminishes, in relation to the expansion of their social-linguistic competence in English. Exclusively GME-socialized children encounter few opportunities for using Gaelic outside of the classroom and for non-academic purposes, and few older speakers of the language to engage with them. The latter is perhaps even more damaging to the formation of patterns of social interaction than the former. This phenomenon illustrates that although the tendency of language socialization practices may be the perpetuation of existing forms of language use and the social structures they are connected to, these practices also have the power to transform and create change on all levels of analysis (Garrett and Badequano-Lopez 2002, Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo 1999).

Contributions

      This dissertation aims to contribute theoretically and ethnographically to several interrelated areas of inquiry. As a study of language socialization practices, it provides a case study in which children's emerging social-linguistic competence does not mirror that of adults, but rather appears to be lacking several features crucial to communicative success. This phenomenon in turn raises the question what the contextual and processual conditions are under which social-linguistic competence is able to develop fully and to reproduce existing standards and practices. In other words, how is the dynamic tension between cultural reproduction and change that is inherent in language socialization configured in a context where the aim is reproduction, but the effect appears to be change (and not necessarily for the better)?

      As a study of language shift and attempts to reverse it, this dissertation examines in close detail the effects of the institutionalizing of language socialization, which has been a popular approach in explicit efforts to manipulate instances of language shift and obsolescence all over the world. As the case of Gaelic-medium education in Scotland shows, merely re-creating the institutional conditions of the emergence of standard national languages in Western Europe in the 19th century does not guarantee a similar outcome for a minority language that had been left out of the process previously. At the same time, institutions such as schools play an important role in legitimizing groups of speakers and their communicative practices, and have come to play an essential role in

language revitalization efforts. The findings of this study can be used to adjust and refine institutional minority-language education models so that they can be more effective in achieving their aim of producing new members of a speech community in order to ensure its continued existence.

Finally, as ethnography, this dissertation contributes to a small, but hopefully growing body of socially embedded studies of the Gaelic speech community in Scotland (cf McEwan-Fujita 2010c). While Gaelic-medium education has been an object of study in terms of educational outcomes and policy implementation, it has not been examined from a social theoretical angle. As such, this is intended to complement these other studies and to provide additional insight into the implementation of the model of Gaelic-medium education "on the ground". These insights can hopefully be used to enhance pedagogical practice in Gaelic-medium education to ensure that it can create both academically successful students and a productive new generation of Gaelic speakers that can form a dynamic and self-generating community.

The Structure of this Dissertation

The two chapters following this introduction are intended to theoretically, historically and ethnographically situate the research reported in this dissertation. Chapter 2 examines both academic and popular approaches to figuring social groups based on language, and lays out how these conceptions affect the identity politics surrounding Gaelic speakerhood in the context of contemporary language revitalization efforts.

In Chapter 3, I will discuss the history of prevalent language socialization practices and changes in these practices over the course of the 20th century and into the 21st in the district of A' Chreag as described by residents. The first aim of this chapter is to provide a description of the historical context of language socialization as a way of understanding the patterns of language shift theorized by academics and local residents alike. The second aim is to introduce a way of describing district residents according to their language abilities that avoids the politically-charged labels usually employed for this purpose and is sensitive to the complex interplay between childhood language socialization experiences, contemporary patterns of language use, and residents' beliefs about Gaelic.

Chapter 4 focuses on the history of Gaelic in Scottish education to elucidate some of the historical, political and symbolic aspects of the late 20th century emergence of Gaelic-medium education. These conditions are important for understanding the ideological orientations central to Gaelic-medium education, and the pedagogical practices it promulgates, which I will discuss in detail in the following three chapters.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the political economy of language created in Gaelic-medium classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig, particularly the configuration of the relationship between Gaelic and English at the structural linguistic and pragmatic levels. Not only does this configuration change as pupils progress through the seven years of primary education, but it also follows a trajectory that leads pupils away from the regimentation of linguistic practices prevalent in the surrounding community and leaves them less able to participate in interactions with Gaelic speakers outside the context of Gaelic-medium education.

Chapter 6 describes the socialization of what McEwan-Fujita (2010b) calls 'literate speakerhood' in GME classrooms based on a litero-centric conception of language usage. As I will argue, by privileging literacy activities as the primary context for acquiring and using the language, Gaelic-medium education not only leaves its pupils under-socialized for participating in the oral culture that is in high esteem among Gaelic-socialized speakers, but also confers competence in ways of using the language that are of little use or symbolic value outside of institutionalized contexts like education and Gaelic-essential occupations, which constitute an infinitesimally small sector of the Scottish economy.

Chapter 7 investigates the encounter of GME-socialized pupils with oral Gaelic culture in preparation for and participation in competitions. These include youth singing and speaking competitions at the Royal National Mòd festival and a Gaelic conversation competition sponsored by the Gaelic Association of London. As extracurricular activities, the practice sessions, as well as the performances at the Royal National Mòd themselves, direct pupils to master a relatively narrow set of tokens of Gaelic oral culture whose performance is intended to be both highly stylized and thoroughly routinized, requiring little social-linguistic competence. Even contests that ostensibly evaluate and reward pupils' social-linguistic competence, such as the one sponsored by the Gaelic Society of

London, privilege ways of using the language that do not take into account pupils' ability to adjust their speech to their interlocutors and various contexts of interaction. As a result, GME-socialized pupils experience the act of speaking Gaelic outside of the classroom as scripted and more or less unidirectional, rather than as a product of a continuous dynamic between two or more speakers.

Chapter 8 gives an overview of the language socialization experience of GME-socialized children outside of the classroom, predominantly in the home-family nexus. I compare and contrast families that use Gaelic as the medium of language socialization with those that do not, to show that the difference in language socialization practices extends beyond the medium of such practices. I argue that parental differences in conceptions of children's social, emotional and linguistic development as well as differing parenting philosophies have a sizeable influence on the development of children's social-linguistic competence and practices.

Finally, Chapter 9 recaps my argument and discusses the contributions that the research findings reported in this dissertation can make to an evolving understanding of language socialization processes, to studies of language shift (and attempts to halt or reverse the process) in Britain and beyond, and to studies of minority languages in the UK and Europe.

Chapter 2

Situating the Research:

Sociolinguistic Landscape and Concepts of Community

Introduction

　　Like most contemporary anthropologists, one of the central issues I faced in
conducting my research was delineating the boundaries of the group of people on whom I
focused my research. On a daily basis, most of my movements and my social contacts
were confined to A' Chreag, whose geo-political boundaries are firmly established and
easily explained by residents from both within and outside the area. The people living in
the district traverse those boundaries daily, both physically and metaphorically, as they
travel to and from other areas in the island and beyond to interact with others in networks
created by kinship, religious practice, economic activity, personal history and the like.
Nevertheless, most residents of A' Chreag that I talked to did not hesitate to claim
membership in the community that they considered to be their geographical and social
home.

　　Language was another important basis for figuring membership in communities,
but turned out to be a much more complicated subject of identification. Although
residents of A' Chreag had no problem telling me which language(s) they "had," getting
them to identify groups of other speakers of these languages that they belonged to was
much more difficult, especially when it came to Gaelic. Those involved in explicit efforts
to revitalize Gaelic in Scotland are faced with similar dilemmas as they make claims
about the language's social, political, economic and symbolic value in Scotland and have
to figure out at whom to direct their activities and interventions (McEwan-Fujita 1997,
2005, 2006, 2008). In this chapter, I will first lay out the social-linguistic "terrain",
including a brief overview of the social-linguistic history of Scotland. I will then discuss
a range of theoretical approaches to the use of language (broadly conceived) as the basis

for the delineation of social groups, and discuss how these approaches are mirrored in conflicts over claims to membership in particular social groups. In other words, who is a Gaelic speaker, and how does one know? For the residents of A' Chreag, I will argue, the answer to this question depends on competing ideologies about the relationship between linguistic practice and a person's social identity. This competition is borne out in the designation of "blas" [taste or flavor] as a marker of an individual's belonging to one of two salient groups of Gaelic speakers, and of their stance vis-à-vis Gaelic language politics, including revitalization efforts.

Historical Background

Like the rest of Scotland, Lewis has been a multilingual area for most of its known history (Withers 1984). Place names on the island provide evidence of the Vikings' settlement in the 9th century CE and continued rule from Norway until the mid-13th century. These Norse-speaking settlers themselves appeared to have intermixed both socially and linguistically with the island's Gaelic-speaking inhabitants. Once again under Scottish rule after 1266, Lewis was part of the Lordship of the Isles and ruled successively by a number of clans, the last of which lost possession of the island in the late 16th century to a group of colonists sponsored by King James VI of Scotland/I of England. This brought the island under the purview of James's efforts to anglicize the Gaelic-speaking Highlands of Scotland, and into sustained contact with the culture of the Scottish Lowlands. Although this particular colonizing project remained unsuccessful, the increasing influence of the Scottish throne on the Gàidhealtachd brought Gaelic speakers into closer contact with the increasingly Anglophone social, political and economic sphere of the Scottish Lowlands and beyond. The influence of the Anglophone culture of Lowland Scotland intensified in response to religious and political strife with the residents of the Gàidhealtachd, whose subjugation after the Battle of Culloden in 1745 is seen as a decisive moment in the configuration of the hierarchical ordering of codes and their speakers within Scotland. Further quasi-colonial attempts to integrate the residents of the Gàidhealtachd religiously, politically and ultimately culturally into the

emerging British Empire (Hechter 1975) treated the presence of non-English speaking subjects as a threat to political unity and made their Anglicization an object of explicit civilizing missions (Durkacz 1983, Withers 1984).

The developing inclusion of the Highlands in the economic sphere of Lowland Scotland during the 18th century led to migration of Gaelic speakers away from the Highlands and of English speakers to the Highlands. In the Clearances, as they became known, landowners forced Gaelic speakers off the land to make room for sheep farms, which in turn drew English-speaking farm-workers into the area (Devine 1994; Dorian 1981, Withers 1984). Gaelic speakers were forced to emigrate either to the emerging urban areas of Lowland Scotland, or abroad, most notably to Canada and the US. There they established Gaelic-speaking communities, some of which persisted until the twentieth century (Mertz 1989). This migration meant, at a most simple level, the loss of significant numbers of Gaelic speakers in the Gàidhealtachd. The migrants themselves did not necessarily abandon speaking Gaelic, as the establishment of urban Gaelic churches and later of Gaelic clubs and Highland societies shows (Withers 1984). Gaelic speakers also seemed to concentrate in certain occupations, creating, for example, a network of Gaelic-speaking merchants (Withers 1984:192).

The migration of Gaelic speakers away from and the influx of English speakers[6] into the Gàidhealteachd also led to the reconfiguration of settlement patterns within the region. For example, in East Sutherland, this led to the forced establishment of fishing communities on the coast by Gaelic speakers after they had been evicted from their smallholdings in the interior (Dorian 1981:32). On the one hand, such migration led to the greater concentration of Gaelic speakers in certain areas, which at least temporarily had the effect of reinforcing the use of the language in those areas (Dorian 1981:49). On the other hand, the increasing numbers of English speakers in the area and the growing economic dependence on interaction with these English speakers also created new spheres of interaction in which English prevailed as the main medium (Dorian 1981).

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[6] It is unclear from the literature whether these "English" speakers were actually speakers of English or of Scots. For example, in discussing the languages used by the earls of Sutherland for official business, Dorian (1981) names them as "Latin, French, and ultimately English", but goes on to explain that by the 16th century, these earls were "spending substantial amounts of time in residence in parts of Scotland where the Scottish form of English was spoken." (14)

This represented a marked departure from the earlier interactions of Gaelic-speaking small tenants and English-speaking landowners in the area, which were often mediated by bilingual clergy and other intermediaries (ibid).

On Lewis itself, a similar pattern of economically-driven emigration by Gaelic-speaking natives operated in a context of private land ownership by largely absentee landlords and their restrictions on land use. This pattern further limited inhabitants' abilities to eke out a livelihood in the already harsh ecological conditions of the island (Macdonald 1978). However, the physical isolation of the island probably also contributed to the continued strength of Gaelic as a medium of communication, despite the presence of Anglophone commercial projects and religious mission schools that at least initially attempted to convert the island's children to English speaking as much as to Protestant doctrine (Meek 1996). Once the linguistic aspect of these missionary projects was abandoned, however, the religious domain quickly became a social and linguistic force in the organization of life on the island that continues to this day. Both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, along with smaller denominations resulting from various schisms over the past 150 years or so, function as symbolically important contexts for the usage of Gaelic. However, the actual logistical support provided by the church for Gaelic, and the congregation's reception of Gaelic speech, appear to vary widely both at a local and at a national level.

Despite the relative demographic strength of Gaelic on Lewis, however, the area has not been immune from the overall trend of decline of the language, which has become a target of explicit language planning and revitalization efforts in Scotland over the past few decades. In comparison to other indigenous language revitalization movements in the British Isles, the Scottish Gaelic revitalization movement emerged relatively late. The Republic of Ireland has been instituting mandatory instruction in Irish Gaelic since the early part of the 20th century (Jones 1998, Kelley 2001), and Welsh-medium education has been a prominent part of the Welsh revitalization movement since the beginning of the second half of the 20th century (Aitchinson and Carter 2000, Evans 2000, Williams 2000). In Scotland, concentrated attempts to reverse language shift seemed to emerge only after the release of the 1971 census figures, in which a significant

(and apparently surprising) decline in the number of Scottish Gaelic speakers was found and used to motivate calls for action (MacKinnon 1974).

However, unlike language revitalization efforts targeted at Welsh in Wales and Irish Gaelic in Ireland, the revitalization efforts aimed at Scottish Gaelic do not connect nationalism and religion, and must contend with competing candidates for a Scottish national language, namely Scots (which has historically had its own standard forms and literature) and Scottish English. As a result of this complex relationship between the Gaelic language and Scottish national identity, many though not all supporters of Scottish Gaelic language revitalization efforts support partial or complete devolution from the UK, but the reverse is by no means the case (cf. Cohen 1996).

What all these movements have in common, however, is that they originate among people of middle-class background in urban contexts. They tend to deploy language ideologies that can be seen as growing out of the Romantic movement, which was of primary importance in the emergence of European nation-states in the 19th century (Bauman and Briggs 2000). The romantic interest in Scottish Gaelic grew out of Macpherson's Ossian in the 18th century and was centered on a strong philological interest. This did not necessarily help the status and future of Scottish Gaelic at the time, because it treated the language with such nostalgia for its heroic past that few connections could be made to actual linguistic practices of contemporary speakers of Gaelic (Withers 1984).

In the late 20th century, individuals from middle-class educated urban backgrounds merged this romantic conception of ethnolinguistic identity with a rhetoric of individual political and human rights that drew on an ideology of standard language legitimated by institutionalization under the auspices of a fully developed nation-state to inform their language planning efforts (Heller 1999, McEwan-Fujita 2005, Woolard 2008). The creation and particular pedagogical design features of Gaelic-medium education reflect this overall framing by inserting the language into the institutional context of Scottish state-sponsored education. Gaelic-medium education is supposed to make possible and legitimate the use of Gaelic in other public contexts by distributing standard(-like) language forms and litero-centric linguistic practices, both of which were missing from domestic Gaelic language socialization practices and blamed for the decline

of the language. As such, Gaelic-medium education has moved to the forefront of Gaelic language revitalization efforts in the over twenty years of its existence.

The first implementations of Gaelic-medium education in Scotland (as opposed to the Gaelic-English bilingual education project of the 1970s) were located in urban centers of the Scottish mainland, Glasgow and Inverness, with only the latter being located in the historical Gàidhealtachd (see Chapter 3). This geographical origin of Gaelic revitalization efforts may appear counterintuitive given the prevalent arguments that urbanization was one of the factors that led to the demise of Gaelic in the first place (Durkacz 1983), but it reflects the socio-political and ideological context of those who typically initiate such efforts. Not surprisingly, once these language planning and revitalization efforts reach the very communities whose linguistic practices they are intended to support, they and their proponents are often seen as 'posh' and arrogant in the Gàidhealtachd (Macdonald 1997).

This reaction emerges from an underlying complexity in figuring the relationship between groups of speakers and delineating the boundaries of a community made up of such speakers. Academics as well as Gaelic speakers themselves have addressed this complexity in various ways.

Language and Community

The complexities in figuring the basis for, and boundaries of, the group(s) of speakers targeted by my research on the basis of language are mirrored in the ways the concept of the speech community has been (re-)defined since its introduction in the 1960s (Gumperz 1962, Hymes 1962). Two main points are at issue in conceptualizing the speech community. First, conceptualizing *the* speech community presupposes and entails conceptualizations of groups of people, codes, and the relationships between them that have far-reaching theoretical implications for theories of language use and social life (Hymes 1962, 1968, Gumperz 1962, Silverstein 1998). Second, in defining *a* given speech community, one delimits a field of study that may include certain linguistic practices and phenomena while excluding others, thus creating epistemological questions and challenges to conducting research in such a community. At the same time, members of such communities may be engaged in their own definitional battles over which speakers and what patterns of language use are to be included in these communities (Hill

and Hill 1986, Jaffe 1996, Meek 2001). Conceptualizing the speech community thus creates and delimits a field and object of study that is far from uncontroversial: questions of what linguistic practices and which speakers are considered to be part of the/a speech community not only must be answered and justified by those investigating these phenomena, but also can become part of struggles within such communities to define themselves.

Much research on language and its use has relied on an assumption of homogeneity among speakers. This may be the more or less homogeneous distribution of linguistic skills or competence amongst individuals, which allowed both Saussure and Chomsky to assume an 'ideal speaker-hearer', or the homogeneity of either the linguistic practices or the evaluative norms of an aggregate of such speakers in a 'speech community'. In assuming such uniformity as characteristic of speech communities, definitions of either 'speech' or 'community' are often taken for granted. In presupposing a uniform, bounded language such that all of its speakers could be considered part of a community defined by the use of that language (e.g. Bloomfield 1933), social and political boundaries challenging these communities were often ignored (cf. Milroy 2000). Conversely, definitions of the speech community that took as their starting point 'the community' (e.g. Gumperz 1962, Hymes 1968) often assumed other social or political boundaries as given, rather than as created and contested in part through language use (Urcioli 1991). However, Hymes also cautioned against assuming a neat correspondence between linguistic and social boundaries (Hymes 1968), which de facto reproduced a prevalent Western or European ideology of the interchangeability of linguistic and social/political boundaries (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000).

Conceptions of the speech community on the basis of homogeneity, whether homogeneity of individual linguistic competence, the distribution of a linguistic code, or a socially/politically defined community, have been challenged in a number of ways. One of the first critiques of homogeneous conceptions of the speech community was leveled at characterizations based on a single code as the defining aspect of a speech community. This line of criticism attacked conceptions of the speech community that were based entirely on linguistic boundaries and that assumed that members of such communities were monolingual. As Gumperz (1962) argued, "there are no a priori grounds which

force us to define speech communities so that all members speak the same language" (30) or even just one language.

Conversely, it cannot be assumed that all speakers of the same language belong to the same community. Indeed, after earlier definitions of the speech community that privileged linguistic boundaries over social boundaries, the importance of social boundaries was brought to the fore was through the inclusion of regular and frequent interaction between members of the speech community as a defining characteristic of the speech community (Gumperz 1962, 1968). This move highlighted the fact that relative social proximity was a crucial factor in influencing social-linguistic interaction, no matter what the boundaries between the code(s) involved in such interaction might be. It is unclear, however, if this characteristic should be considered on the level of actual interaction, which would limit any speech community to a relatively small size given the constraints of social interaction between large numbers of people, or as a relative potential (Anderson 1991), so that interaction is more likely to occur between members of a given community rather than across community boundaries.

Counter-examples that challenge either conception exist. For example, speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic seemed to form their own speech community according to the principle of frequency of interaction. As a matter of fact, they were more or less completely isolated from the rest of the Scottish Gaelic speech community, by geographical distance as well as by actual and perceived linguistic differences (Dorian 1987). But does this mean that they were not part of some sort of a larger Scottish Gaelic speech community? The answer would seem to be no, since the members of the East Sutherland Gaelic speech community were acutely aware of their differences from other Gaelic speakers and evaluated their own practices with reference to the perceived superiority of more standard varieties of Gaelic. Even the latter interpretation of Gumperz's claim, however, may be challenged by cases in which there is frequent interaction between members of different communities, but community boundaries appear to be maintained in and through such contact (e.g. Urcioli 1996).

A more cogent challenge to the superiority of linguistic boundaries in defining the speech community was provided by work that emphasized the potentially multilingual nature of the speech community. In discussing the language identity of the Vaupés

Indians, Jackson offers a compelling example of a multilingual code-matrix that is tightly linked to internal social differentiation into so-called language aggregates (1972:53). While each language functions as an identity marker distinguishing different language aggregates and as a "badge of identity" for individual speakers, there is also no formal-functional matrix that assigns each language a specific functional role within the community (1972:50, 59). Rather, language choice is overwhelmingly dependent on "father-language identity" of speakers (i.e. membership in a language aggregate) (1972:64). Nevertheless, this example shows that linguistic diversity and social/cultural diversity can vary independently of each other, and that in this case, it is the diversification of codes at the level of social constituents (language aggregates coinciding with the social boundaries of patrilineal descent units) that allows social coherence at the level of the community.

This line of critique also challenged assumptions of the homogeneity of a single code. Gumperz (1964, 1971 [1958]) demonstrates that dialect differences between Hindi and what he calls "the regional dialect" and "the local dialect" (1971:27) are integrated into the verbal repertoire of the community that is patterned and constrained by the communication matrix, which regiments the relationship between social relationships on the one hand and co-occurrence rules and functional restrictions of speech varieties on the other. Similarly, in Norway, standard Bokmal and the local variety Ranamal are part of a compartmentalized verbal repertoire, in which the distribution of each variety is patterned according to their social-symbolic associations (1964; cf. also Blom and Gumperz 1972).

A special case of such functional stratification can be seen in diglossia (Ferguson 1959), in which the two varieties ('high' and 'low') are implicated in a strict and relatively stable hierarchical structure that differentiates each variety according to prestige and function. Again, these varieties can be part of the same code, or of different codes (Fishman 1957). Diglossia differs from other situations in which a standard form and a dialect form the verbal repertoire of the speech community in that the standard, or High variety, is present as an ideal more so than in actual practice (245). That is, members of the speech community orient toward the High variety as superior to the Low variety without using it in everyday conversation. Indeed, the association of the High

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variety with prestigious social forms, such as literature and formal education, makes it more or less unsuitable for "ordinary conversation" (ibid). The empirical value of the concept of diglossia has been questioned on several grounds (Freeman 1996), but it nonetheless contributes to challenging monolingual conceptions of the speech community and helps point toward the importance of evaluative norms, rather than use of code(s), in conceptions of the speech community.

As the previous examples have shown, language varieties can be considered to form part of the linguistic repertoire of a speech community even when competence in each variety cannot be found for each member of the community. Indeed, the differential distribution of competence in each variety is an important factor of hierarchical social differentiation in speech communities (e.g. Labov 1972). What unites the speech community, then, is not the even distribution of individual competence in the varieties making up the linguistic repertoire, but rather the shared orientation toward a set of norms for the usage of each variety (Fishman 1972, Gumperz 1972, Hymes 1972; see also Romaine 1982) and/or for evaluating such usage (Hymes 1972, Labov 1972).

The concept of communicative competence, as opposed to linguistic competence (Hymes 1972 [1971]), captures this inclusion of norms of usage and evaluation on the individual level. Work in linguistic structuralism and generativism assumes, for the sake of its arguments, an 'ideal speaker-hearer' whose linguistic competence is seen as complete and representative of the competence that could be found in any individual speaker.[7] This ideal speaker-hearer may not exist in any particular individual, whose actual linguistic practices, or performance, are sharply separated from competence. Therefore, these assumptions become problematic when they are carried over into attempts to define the speech community on the basis of individual speakers' communicative competence.

As Dorian (1973, 1977, 1982, 1986a and b) has argued, the assumption that any given individual member of the speech community can be considered linguistically competent (and conversely, that 'incompetent' speakers as defined by the investigator of purely structural terms should be excluded from such investigations) leads to a false

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[7] Saussure did not consider individual and collective competence to be interchangeable; rather, he conceptualized competence as the aggregate of individuals' competence.

sense of homogeneous competence within the community (1982) as well as to the omission of crucial information on language change (1981, 1986b). As her research on 'semi-speakers' of East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) shows (1973, 1977), even heavily restricted proficiency in ESG, including receptive bilingualism, did not necessarily equate with sociolinguistic incompetence. Rather, speakers with restricted proficiency could still successfully participate in exchanges with even fluent ESG speakers based on semi-speakers' apparent knowledge of sociolinguistic norms for using the language, or what Dorian (1986) calls "sociolinguistic fit" (28). These findings seem to lend further credence to the importance of a shared set of norms of usage as the defining characteristic of speech communities.

However, norms can both change, and be challenged. Indeed, much of Rickford's (1986) critique of previous conceptions of the speech community centers on these conceptions as being overly functional and concerned with coherent and uncontested sets of norms. Recent sociolinguistic research has turned to the differences in norms and their interpretation as central to the patterns of linguistic practices. For example, Eckert (2000) has argued that while norms may be shared at the level of interpreting a specific linguistic practice as indexical of a specific social relationship, meanings associated with these interpretations will differ according to the interpreter's own location with a field of social relations (32).

Norms can also be flouted and over-extended. Bucholtz discusses the case of white high school nerds who display their identity through the use of what she calls "superstandard English" as opposed to both local norms of coolness and norms of standard English (2001:88). In contrast to hypercorrection, "supercorrection" does not involved the violation of descriptive grammar, but rather is marked by strict adherence to prescriptive correctness (2001:97, n5). In violating norms for local standards of coolness, a larger conflict of these nerds with local social values of cross-cultural symbolism emerges and points toward dissent, rather than consent, as an organizing principle of sets of norms (cf. Bucholtz 1999). Norms thus can be seen as resources that members of a speech community can draw own to creatively structure their own linguistic practices and interpret others'. Norms are not simply reflective of a fixed social identity (cf. Bucholtz 1999).

Rather than replacing a conception of speech community based on patterns of language use with a conception based on orientations toward usage and evaluative norms, Silverstein (1996a) has proposed maintaining a distinction between a speech community and a language community to capture what he considers to be a crucial theoretical and empirical difference between the two phenomena (cf. Silverstein 1996b, 1998). Language communities are defined by economies of linguistic codes (Gal 1989, Irvine 1989), which regulate and regiment a 'division of linguistic labor' (Putnam 1975) that affects linguistic practices within speech communities. Such economies of codes are mediated by language ideologies, which provide the conceptual structures regarding the connection between specific types of linguistic practice and social information conveyed by instances of such practice (Irvine and Gal 2000, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Far from being monolithic and static, such language ideologies are multiple, conflicting and often contested at both a collective (Gal 1998) and an individual level (Hill 1998).

By locating functional norms outside of the speech community in the language community, a level of mediation between norms and actual linguistic practices in a speech community also becomes possible to conceptualize. This highlights the availability of norms as social-linguistic resources for members of the speech community, without elevating such norms to the level of inescapable structure. Indeed, as Silverstein (1996b) shows, the normative orientation of one language community, such as the predominance of literacy skills as definitive of communicative skills in English, may have pervasive effects on other language communities, affecting language use in local speech communities and leading to the emergence of distinct local language communities (1998:408).

As we shall see, the individuals residing in the district of A' Chreag who participated in this research belonged to various speech and language communities at the same time, and used indexes of their membership actively and creatively to signal their membership (or non-membership) to their interlocutors.

Figuring Gaelic Speakerhood: Essence or Performance?

In Scotland, as elsewhere, ideologies of the linguistic and the social co-exist, and their interconnection in the speech of individuals reveals two conflicting models of

identity whose incompatibilities have serious implications for the success of those language revitalization efforts aimed at the members of the speech community who these efforts are intended to protect. Both ideologies are based on a fundamental assumption that an individual's speech behavior reveals fundamental and crucial information about his or her social identity, including the individual's stance towards the nature of that identity. Where they differ, however, is in their conception of the nature of the relationship between speech and a speaker's social identity. I propose to call these ideologies 'performance-centered' and 'essentialist' (cf. Woolard 2005).

In the performance-centered ideology, an individual's actual speech is the primary determinant of his or her social identity, so that someone's use of Gaelic verbal forms of any kind makes him or her a member of the community of Gaelic speakers, regardless of the history of his/her acquisition of Gaelic, the set of forms he or she uses, and other aspects of their social background/identity and the history. What counts is the actual performance of Gaelic speaking by these individuals. The individuals subscribing to this performance-centered ideology often apply it to other aspects of their social identity as well, professing adherence to neoliberal notions of socio-economic mobility based on individual effort, for example. Demographically, these individuals tend to fall into the middle- to upper-middle-class range of socio-economic status, with relatively high education attainment, and hetero-normative nuclear family structures.

Not surprisingly, the performance-centered ideology is most prevalent among Gaelic language activists, who focus their revitalization efforts on increasing numbers of speakers as a way to safeguard the future presence of the language in Scotland and recruit adults to develop proficiency in Gaelic. Given Scottish demographics, these tend to be individuals who have no immediate familial or experiential connection to the language, but instead consider it an important part of their heritage and identity as Scots. A few others sharing this ideology may have had some exposure to Gaelic as children from family members, but feel that they were denied the opportunity to learn Gaelic by these family members and/or society in general, and have made efforts to learn Gaelic as

adults.[8] In either case, the actual practice of speaking Gaelic in as many different contexts as possible is the focal point of these individuals' self-ascribed identity as members of the Gaelic speech community.

These individuals, known as "learners", have most likely acquired their Gaelic skills in more or less structured classroom settings, involving a variety of pedagogical methods, but most likely involving literacy activities and the explicit study of formal aspects of the language. In my own experience, the focus of such classes is either on speech practices that highlight one's own status as a stranger in the Gàidhealteachd (such as booking a room in a bed and breakfast establishment, or taking a bus for a sightseeing tour) or on performing fairly abstract tasks such as discussing the differences in attitudes toward capital punishment among different groups of voters.[9] This context of their language socialization is far removed from the intimate and informal environment of Gaelic language socialization that Gaelic-socialized speakers remember, value, and idealize as fundamental to their identity as speakers of Gaelic. Consequently, learners of Gaelic not only acquire linguistic practices that have relatively little value in the Gaelic speech community that they are supposed to bolster, but they also do so in a way that is considered deeply problematic, if not completely destructive, for its members.

As a result, when learners of Gaelic leave the classroom environment and attempt to use the language with non-learner speakers, they often encounter downright hostility from these 'native' speakers of the language who appear to take advantage of every opportunity to distance themselves from their learner interlocutors (McEwan-Fujita 2010b). My Gaelic-socialized interviewees all freely expressed varying degrees of negative reactions toward both the concept of Gaelic 'learner' speakers and toward actual

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[8] This ideology is also reflected in the collection of data for the Scottish census, which enumerates the members of the Scottish population who are able to speak, read, and/or write Gaelic at almost any level of proficiency rather than collecting data on actual use of the language.
[9] There has been some discontent with the prevalence of such settings in students' encounters with the language, and more recently efforts have been made to relocate the site of language socialization to an alternative social setting providing more naturalistic forms of language immersion.

samples of their speech.[10] Most often, their criticisms would hinge on issues of pronunciation:

> They're not they can't they're not pronouncing the words right, no, they aren't, and I hear a lot of the young ones here, we say /tha:/ and they say /tha/. They're not even using that right.

People claimed to be able to recognize learners straight away, based on their faulty pronunciation, as well as the fact that "if they're learners, they all sound the same."

There may actually be some truth to this impression, as there are signs of the emergence of a new so-called mid-Minch dialect (named after the body of water separating the Outer Hebrides from mainland Scotland), as learners are exposed to a number of teachers from various areas of the Gàidhealteachd in the course of their language socialization in the classroom and existing dialect boundaries crumble due to the disappearance of significant numbers of speakers to maintain them (Lamb 2011). The major issue for Gaelic-socialized speakers in their reaction to learner Gaelic, however, was the fact that the traditional context of Gaelic language socialization had all but disappeared:

> No, no their Gaelic is just rubbish […] of course they're not speaking it in the houses or anywhere else.

At the same time, Gaelic-socialized speakers tended to question the motivations of Gaelic learners for learning the language. Several suspected that Gaelic learners are "only going in to learn it and get a job with it", mirroring the neo-liberal terms used in much of Gaelic language revitalization discourse (McEwan-Fujita 2005). Similarly, they feared that children who learned Gaelic in GME exclusively never bring the language back to its original social and symbolic context:

> once they leave [GME] I don't think they speak a lot of Gaelic because they don't speak it in the houses. You have to speak it in the houses.

This focus on Gaelic being spoken "in the houses" of the community touches on one of the bases of the essentialist ideology of Gaelic speakerhood, which emphasizes the

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[10] I am unsure as to why they felt comfortable makign such comments to me when I was myself a learner of the language, but suspect that the fact that I was conducting the interview in English rather than my halting Gaelic had something to do with this.

primacy of childhood acquisition of the language in the domestic sphere of the home and, by extension, a Gaelic-speaking community. It does not, however, require actual ongoing use of the language for an individual to be considered an authentic Gaelic speaker. Indeed, the use of English rather than Gaelic in certain contexts is an important feature of speaking Gaelic authentically to followers of this essentialist ideology, which is usually paired with a model of a fairly strict division of linguistic labor between Gaelic and English. In this ideological complex, an individual's actual proficiency in or use of Gaelic cannot override the history and context of his/her acquisition of the language, or their efforts to perform a self-ascribed identity. As a result, an individual may be referred to as a 'learner' of the language by 'native' Gaelic speakers despite evidence of their social-linguistic competence, such as was the case of one individual I encountered in A' Chreag who had done much to support and encourage the use of Gaelic in children and was considered to be a competent speaker whose Gaelic was said to retain more of the 'traditional' features than that of some 'native' speakers in the district. Nonetheless, when I mentioned his name to Gaelic-socialized individuals, they would inevitably point out to me that he had learned Gaelic as an adult, and they only perfunctorily acknowledged the difficulty of achieving this high level of fluency in a second language.

Conversely, on the basis of the essentialist ideology, the absence of (proficient) usage of Gaelic does not preclude an individual from being considered a member of the speech community, as Dorian showed so meticulously in her description of semi-speakers of Gaelic in East Sutherland (Dorian 1981). In A' Chreag, this attitude was ubiquitous, both in individuals' descriptions of their own relationship to the language and its use, and in the perception of individuals by others.[11] Indeed, the claim that one only spoke Gaelic

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[11] For children growing up in the district today, a moment crucial for their educational career in island schools is their classification as either 'native speakers' or 'learners' of Gaelic, which determines the type of language class and the standards of achievement used for evaluating the child's performance in secondary school. Parents enrolling their child in the English-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig often resist the 'native speaker' label for their child because they are concerned about the (purported) difficulty of Gaelic language classes for native speakers in secondary school, especially considering an often spotty provision of Gaelic instruction at the primary level (discussed further in chapter 3). When I talked to teachers about the basis for assigning either label to a child, an essentialist ideology emerged. Teachers would frequently consider a child to be a 'native speaker' because his parents both 'have Gaelic' and so the child *should* be fluent in the language, independent of the actual linguistic practices in the child's home or the child's observable proficiency (or lack thereof) in the language. When asked directly about

until beginning primary education thus functioned as a claim to membership in the (speech) community and to a particular type of speakerhood based on correct, appropriate, or legitimate language socialization experiences. Early childhood language socialization experiences in Gaelic, rather than current competence in it, thus played a major role in making claims to social authenticity as well as to inalienable membership in the district and in island communities as a whole. For Gaelic-socialized speakers, social-linguistic authenticity was indexed by the amount of "*blas*" [taste or flavor] found in a person's speech.

Blas-phemy: The Semiotic Ideology of Authenticity

While none of the adults I asked could give me a definitive description of the concept (much like the idea of pornography being recognizable in actual instantiations, but not definable generally), blas may be described as a set of linguistic and paralinguistic elements, including dialectal and register variants, prosody, and the use of idiomatic expressions, which combine to bestow an almost palpable aesthetic quality to one's speech. As the Gaelic columnist Aonghas Padraig Caimbeul observed:

> Tha e mar òran: cudromach agus gu bheil na faclan, mura bheil iad air an snìomh asteach dhan cheòl, cha d' fhiach. Agus mar an ceudna dhan cheòl: faodaidh gach puingciùil a bhith agad ann an òran, ach mur a bheil thu tuigsinn brìgh nam briathran a tha thu seinn, fàg e (Caimbeul 2009)[12]

Indeed, blas is a crucial element in the highly stylized performances of songs, poems and narrative in the competitions of the Mòd, receiving separate marks from judges, and as such, being the target of specific instructions and training for competitors of all ages.

However, even beyond the Mòd, blas represents somewhat of a holy grail in the mastery of Gaelic, leading adult learners to ask "native" speakers like A.P. Caimbeul for

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instances of disagreement in the classification of a child's linguistic status, the teachers would acknowledge that the child's actual control of the language might not be equal to that of a 'typical' native speaker, but that this was mostly the fault of the parents who were not making the effort to use Gaelic with the child, and that this parental shortcoming was not necessarily grounds for changing the classification of the child.

[12] "It's like a song: the words are just as important, if they are not spun into the music, it's not worth it. And it's the same thing for the music. You can have every musical note in the song, but if you don't understand the essence of the words you are singing, leave it."

the secrets pathways to the treasure that is at once in plain sight and hidden from direct access.

> Bha iad a' faighneachd ciamar a b'urrainn dhaibh blas na Gàidhlig aca a' leasachadh, oir ged a tha iad làn chomasach air a' chànain a leughadh agus a sgrìobhadh agus a labhairt, tha iad fhathast a' faireachdainn, a dh'aindeoin iomadh bliadhna strì, nach eil blas idir air an cuid Ghàidhlig (Caimbeul 2009).[13]

Why is blas so important to both adult learners of the language and 'native' speakers? To the former, blas seems to be the secret key that will unlock the door to the social space occupied by native Gaelic speakers, while the latter point to blas as the palpable, yet ephemeral expression of an individual's identity as an authentic speaker of the language.

In practice, my research participants seemed to have difficulty explaining explicitly what made someone's speech display blas as well as providing reliable evaluations of blas-fulness in a relatively decontextualized collection of speech samples. Rather than enumerating a static collection of linguistic elements and para-linguistic features that would create blas or prevent it in their absence, indexes of blas proved to be contextually variable, being in dynamic interaction with various aspects of a speaker's presumed identity characteristics as indexed by (visible) features such as age, gender, dress, etc. As a result, individual's perception of a speaker's blas could shift depending on the linguistic and non-linguistic information available to them.

Unfortunately, technical limitations made it impossible for me to conduct a true matched guise experiment in which the speakers of the samples remained the same, in order to test the full extent of the influence of context of evaluations of blas. In the interviews I did conduct, however, I used recordings of speakers that would be familiar to most of my interview partners first, before moving to recordings of unfamiliar speakers. I had planned this sequence in order to facilitate participants' understanding of what I was asking them to do, after I had previously encountered resistance to (or possibly misunderstanding of) the task of explicitly evaluating patterns of speaking in the highly politicized environment of speaking Gaelic. As soon as I would play a short snippet of 'Coinneach Mòr' [Big Kenny], host of a popular morning show on *Radio nan Gàidheal*

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[13] "They were asking how they could improve their Gaelic blas, because although they are well capable of reading, writing, and speaking the language, they still feel, despite many years of struggle, that their Gaelic has no blas at all."

and celebrity resident of the district, participant would identify him and those characteristics of his speech that made them enjoy listening to him. The ensuing conversation about radio presenters and what made them pleasant (or not) to listen to, proved to be a more productive way to start the conversation about blas than a more abstract discussion of the aesthetic elements of Gaelic speech.

When presented with no other information but a short recording of a speaker, my interview partners were quite unreliable in their evaluation of the social background of the same speaker. Especially when it came to children, they often accorded blas to speakers that I knew were exclusively GME-socialized, while still maintaining the rarity or even non-existence of such children in the district. This particular phenomenon highlighted the extent of the influence of local beliefs in the inability to children to speak Gaelic and in the lack of blas of GME-socialized children that lead adult Gaelic speakers to use English with virtually all children they encounter.

Rather than being an absolute attribute of an individual's Gaelic speech, blas functions as an index that condenses the socio-political conflicts between the language ideologies of Gaelic-socialized speakers and those of Gaelic language revitalization efforts, and serves to express a speaker's stance toward these issues, as well as his/her perception of their interlocutor's perspective. As I will discuss in more detail in the following chapter, Gaelic language activists tend to subscribe to a performance-centered ideology because it is arguably more compatible with their neo-liberal claims to official recognition and politico-economic support of their efforts, and because the demographic distribution and ideological orientation of "native" Gaelic speakers make an autochthonous language revitalization project unlikely to be successful.

Indeed, adherents to a performance-centered ideology of Gaelic-speaking blame the essentialist ideology of Gaelic-socialized speakers for the ongoing decrease in Gaelic speakers seen in census data and the visible (or audible) decline of Gaelic speaking in traditionally Gaelic-speaking areas – an argument that has been shown to have some validity in the scholarly literature on language obsolescence (McEwan-Fujita 2005). Similarly, some activists have claimed that any organized attempts to provide institutionalized support for Gaelic are feasible, and should occur, only outside the Gàidhealteachd, where they are much less likely to attract resistance and controversy

from 'essentialists', who as a result of their language ideologies often view these efforts with suspicion and consider them to be violating many of the beliefs about the language and its usage.

While this kind of argument tends to be received with much protest from inhabitants of the Gàidhealteachd, it does appear to be borne out by recent ventures to establish all-Gaelic primary schools and to provide Gaelic-medium education at the secondary level, which have all been successful in the urban areas of Scotland, but not in the Western Isles. To be sure, urban areas tend to have the population to support such centralized instances of institutionalization, whereas some 5-year-olds on the Isle of Lewis would have to travel on a bus for more than an hour a day to attend a central dedicated Gaelic-medium school, which would be unacceptable to most parents. Nonetheless, most criticism waged at such projects outside of the Gàidhealteachd appears to come from those who believe that any expenditure of public funds for the support of Gaelic is a waste of money. As McEwan-Fujita (2006) points out, these claims are made in the context of neoliberal construction of claims to rights and resources for Gaelic speakers in Scotland, either because they distrust the idea of political support for multilingualism or because they believe that demographics should dictate the level of public spending. At the same time, some Gaelic speakers themselves still question the place of Gaelic in the context of formal education and worry about the detrimental effects of bilingualism on the educational achievements of Gaelic-medium educated school children.

Although the blas-fulness of someone's speech is probably a matter of degree, Gaelic-socialized speakers tend to view it in absolute terms, as being either present or absent. The absence of blas is perceived to be a predominant marker of someone who has learned Gaelic, either as an adult, or increasingly, children who have acquired the Gaelic predominantly in Gaelic-medium education – both non-traditional contexts of language socialization that are associated with a performance-centered ideology of social identity and seen as creating neo-liberal agents. Not coincidentally, speakers lacking blas also tend to be individuals who do not fit into the local social organization by virtue of their geographical origins, educational and/or professional status, and/or (perceived) socio-political orientation. As a result of demographic and social changes in the district and

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other rural Hebridean communities, the information provided by blas (or its absence) has become even more important as other (non-linguistic) clues to an individual's social identity have diminished.[14]

Using English with these individuals can thus be seen an indicator of a (perceived) underlying misalignment in their own and their interlocutors' social identity and position vis-à-vis Gaelic language politics (as projected by their speech behavior) in a non-confrontational way. In this view, switching to English in an interaction that was initiated in Gaelic represents a fairly explicit expression of social divergence –something that is commonly denied to exist and suppressed in a community that maintains an explicitly formulated ideology of egalitarianism and social harmony. Adult speakers of Gaelic express their dislike for using Gaelic with those who lack blas in different ways. Some interpret the absence of blas as a more or less obvious sign of the interlocutor's difficulty with the language, so that using English functions as an accommodation of his or her linguistic shortcomings and is presented as a helpful and polite gesture – albeit one that can be used for passive-aggressive purposes as well (see McEwan-Fujita 2010b). Others express a certain amount of aesthetic discomfort with this kind of 'flavor'-less Gaelic, especially when it appears in a media context. For them, no Gaelic is better than 'bland' Gaelic, in particular when this 'bland' Gaelic appears in a social context that they also consider to be inappropriate for the use of the language.[15]

Children whose Gaelic lacks blas present a particular conundrum. For one, children symbolically represent the future of the community, and are seen as an inherent part of it within the predominant essentialist ideology of social identity, if only by virtue

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[14] For example, the patronymic (Dorian 1970, Parman 1990), which specifies an individual's (usually patrilineal) descent at least 2-3 generations in the past and has served as a source of information about an individual's familial and social ties in the community, has more or less fallen out of use among the younger residents in the district. For one, many residents of the district are incomers to the community without meaningful genealogical ties that could be specified patronymically, while the grammatical and symbolic embeddedness of patronymics in the Gaelic language has also contributed to their concurrent decline.

[15] Poignantly, this conversational strategy also reinforces the symbolic boundaries between the egalitarian 'us' of the local community, and the 'them' of a fundamentally different society beyond those boundaries. Although local forms of English have become markers of local island identity given the sizeable numbers of ES-members in the district and the Western Isles, the use of English continues to connote the presence of outsiders, whose presence is marked by the extra-ordinary switch to English in commonly Gaelic-speaking contexts, and the crossing of community boundaries, such as travel to conduct official business in Stornoway.

of their genealogical and geographical origins. Thus, they should be treated like insiders rather than outsiders. Secondly, in the predominant local ideology of childhood, children are seen as explicitly non-political actors for whom it would (or should) be impossible (because of their agentic immaturity) and/or inappropriate to express neo-liberal stances in contemporary Scottish identity politics. Thus, when a child is speaking Gaelic without blas, they are indexing a social identity that is both politically contentious and socially inappropriate given their status as relatively immature social agents – a situation that adult interlocutors react to by using English as a medium of interaction with such children.

Conclusion

Questions of how to define groups of people based on language, and how to ascertain an individual's membership in such groups, are not limited to academic contexts. While the concept of a speech/language community has been the subject of debate as well as the object of continued theoretical revision, the boundaries of the Gaelic speech community have been similarly questioned and contested in Scotland. Language socialization experiences are central to these debates, which have arisen after explicit language revitalization efforts created a group of speakers whose language socialization experiences not only differ significantly from those of another, but also posit an ideology of social-linguistic competence that is at odds with that held by "native" speakers. Another issue impinging on this conflict is the existence of competing ideologies, one essentialist and one performance-centered, that govern the relationship between linguistic practice and social identity.

These conflicts are not only the subject of explicit debate and affect interactions between different speakers, but also affect individual interactions between different interlocutors. Particularly, the pervasive refusal of some older Gaelic speakers to actually exchange Gaelic those they perceive to be "learners of the language", which is accomplished by providing evaluative statements in English about the individual's Gaelic usage instead of referentially relevant responses, can be seen as a way to decline participation and membership in a community shared with their interlocutor (cf. McEwan-Fujita 2010a). As a result, Gaelic language revitalization efforts not only face

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the challenge of increasing the number of members in the Gaelic speech community, but also negotiating deep-seated ideological differences among those that already speak the language.

Chapter 3

Situating the Research, Continued:
Understanding Language Shift

Introduction

Although the language socialization of Gaelic speakers was already a topic of explicit concern and intervention among missionaries and others working to 'civilize' the Gàidhealteachd in the 18th and 19th century, it was the 20th century that saw rather rapid changes in the patterns of language use and, concomitantly, in childhood language socialization practices in the region. In general, speaking English has progressed more and more deeply into private and informal spheres of interaction, and has become less and less marked as a social practice among the district's residents. In response, language revitalization efforts aimed at halting and even reversing this trend have opened up institutionalized schooling as a new setting for Gaelic language socialization of children. This has made the Gaelic language socialization experiences of children in the district more similar to those of adult learners of the language, who represent a major group of speakers of the language in Scotland today. As a result, the context of Gaelic language socialization for most children has shifted from the home sphere to the institution of the school, effectively reversing the symbolic association between each code and its context of use in the community.

This change has gone neither unnoticed nor uncontested. Indeed, the language socialization experiences of Gaelic speakers have become politicized in the sense of being a matter of political discussion in public debates, and in the sense of becoming a basis of identity politics amongst Gaelic speakers. As I will show in this chapter, perceived language socialization experiences are at the heart of claims to social-linguistic authenticity, which are crystallized in the concept of *blas* [taste or flavor] defined in Chapter 2. To adult speakers, the absence of blas manifests itself in a variety of ways

including the use of words and expressions that are either unfamiliar or uncomfortable to them, inconsistent use of phonological and lexical elements of different dialects and registers, and usage of Gaelic and English in manners and contexts that does not follow norms espoused by Gaelic-socialized speakers.

For older speakers of Gaelic, who experienced Gaelic language socialization at home and tend to reject many contemporary language revitalization efforts, their perceptions of a speaker's blas-fulness determines their willingness to interact with him/her in Gaelic and to participate in an emerging Gaelic public sphere being built by language revitalization activists. The popular consensus among adult Gaelic speakers in A' Chreag is that the Gaelic speech of children enrolled in GME also lacks blas. Adult speakers often confess to either palpable discomfort or unsuccessful communication in using Gaelic with GM-educated children, even though they also express a strong desire to speak Gaelic with children and regret the observed decline in using Gaelic with and among children. Although few people explicitly made the connection between the absence of blas in the speech of Gaelic-medium educated children and their own non-usage of Gaelic in interacting with these children, the two are tightly intertwined in such a way that highlight the difficulties of language revitalization efforts to (re-)create socially meaningful and less politically contentious ways of speaking a language in a context of highly politicized language usage.

Before I discuss the central role of language socialization in explaining Gaelic language shift in Scotland, I shall discuss some prevalent theoretical approaches to processes of language shift more generally. These approaches have been helpful, but also have some shortcomings that need to be addressed theoretically as well as ethnographically.

Explaining Language Shift

The causes of language shift processes such as those observed among speakers of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland remain hotly debated. No theoretically satisfactory model has been identified, and language planners and others involved in language revitalization efforts urgently seek to identify and address these causes in their attempts to reverse the shift. As in other instances of language shift, theoretical and popular accounts of Gaelic

language shift alike focus on macro-sociological factors and developments, such as industrialization and the introduction of state-sponsored education, which appear to affect the attitudes of Gaelic speakers, and in turn influence their linguistic choices and practices in such a way that a general pattern of language shift emerges. However, a causal connection between macro-sociological factors and attitudes toward languages and certain sets of linguistic practices has eluded complete theorization, and instead tends to be assumed by many theorists as a given (e.g. Fishman 1991, 2001; MacKinnon 1974, 1977).

Kulick (1992) identifies "migration, industrialization, urbanization, proletarianization, and government policies concerning which languages can and cannot be used in schools and other institutions" as prevalent explanatory factors in attempts to theorize language shift on a macro-sociological level (8). Before evaluating the applicability of each of those factors to explanations of language shift in Scotland, I would argue that a theoretical distinction needs to be made between macro-sociological processes (migration, industrialization, urbanization, proletarianization) on the one hand, and government policies (including policies regulating language use in institutional settings) on the other. These policies may arise in the context of such macro-sociological developments, either as part of or in response to them, but they should not be seen as automatic, unavoidable and perfectly aligned with the processes that give rise to them. Instead, it may be more productive to view policies as instantiations of, and vehicles for, language ideologies. And like other language ideological formations, such policies are inherently imperfect in their coherence, scope and local interpretation (Gal 1998).

Migration, industrialization, urbanization, and proletarianization are all related processes in the social history of the Gàidhealteachd of Scotland (Withers 1984). Their interaction was crucial to the development of the Gàidhealteachd as a 'culture region' within Scotland, which in turn promoted the governmental policies geared toward its economic and social transformation (cf. Clyde 1995, Fenyö 2000), which ultimately affected changes in language attitudes and language use responsible for language shift (Wither 1988).

On the whole, the role of migration in language shift in Scotland is complex. On the one hand, migration created new spheres of interaction, in which English tended to

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emerge as the prevalent medium of interaction. These interactions supported the development of Gaelic-English bilingualism in individuals through the introduction of English words and phrases into Gaelic and through fostering "a desire to learn English through schools" (Withers 1984:260). On the other hand, the settlement changes resulting from these migrations also helped to reinforce Gaelic in places where Gaelic speakers congregated, and to establish Gaelic-speaking communities in the Lowlands. While Withers (1984) and others (Dorian 1981, Durkacz 1983, MacKinnon 1974) treat the effects of these movements as an overall weakening of the Gàidhealteachd that made it susceptible to the anglicizing effects of further economic development and inclusion, recent developments in attempts to reverse this language shift came precisely from these new urban communities (for reasons that will be explored below).

The industrialization of Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries has been popularly described to be part and parcel of the development of Scotland as an internal colony of Britain (Hechter 1975), although this model has also been thoroughly criticized as problematic on theoretical and historical grounds (Evans 1991, Page 1977). In this model, industrialization of Scotland, predominantly in the Lowlands, was based on the creation of center-periphery relations that are the hallmark of such colonial formations (cf. Wallerstein 1974). These center-periphery relations between England and Scotland can be seen as being recursively reproduced in the relations between the Lowlands and the Highlands of Scotland (MacKinnon 1977). Industrialization of the Gàidhealteachd itself was severely limited by "difficulties of travel and problems of accessibility" as well as the relative lack of economic resources to be claimed (Withers 1984:105), so that trade in timber, fish and cattle as well as the production of kelp became the main method of exchange between the region and the Lowlands (107). This commercialization of agriculture in areas where natural resources could support more than subsistence production in the 18th century was, however, directly related to the growing demands of the "industrializing cities of Lowland Scotland and England" (Withers 1988:224).

Industrialization also created the need for scores of workers, which to a large extent came from underdeveloped peripheral areas. Especially in the Gàidhealteachd, where crofts could not be subdivided and the inheritance rules of the crofting system prevented the inheritance of the croft by more than one offspring (Devine 1994), the need

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for paid labor was high. As a result, temporary and permanent migration to the Lowlands to "seek employment at the harvest, as servants, millworkers, or at the east coast fishing was widespread" in the 18th and 19th century and was "possibly an even more potent agent behind Gaelic's decline than the scattering of English speakers in the Highlands." (Withers 1984:108)

It seems then that industrialization affected the Gàidhealteachd mostly through the extraction of resources and labor and, on a social-linguistic level, supported the development of bilingualism with English in Gaelic speakers, whose economic survival increasingly depended on the mastery of English to enable migration to the Lowlands and beyond for employment. This picture certainly fits in very well with macro-sociological models of language shift, which considers social-economic pressures to be a prime motivator for changes in linguistic attitudes that diminish the importance of a language and lead to the abandonment of linguistic practices that then cause language shift.

On the ground, however, the relationship between social-economic transformations and changes in patterns of language use may be quite complex. First, not all social transformations in the Gàidhealteachd can and should be seen as imposed from the outside. Dodgshon (1998) warns against the view of rural communities as timeless and unchanging, and instead suggests that the transformations in the Gàidhealteachd may also be a result of

> the process of adjusting to a more fundamental qualitative change in its organization […] that had developed over the late medieval period and whose impact on the basic institutional forms of the region must caution us against easy assumptions over how much continuity occurred between the medieval and early modern periods (1988:4).

Second, even pervasive bilingualism at the level of the individual speaker does not necessarily lead to language shift. If most migration between the Highlands and Lowlands was temporary, as Withers (1984) suggests, then Gaelic speakers would presumably be able to continue to speak Gaelic upon their return to the Gàidhealteachd. Even during their time away from the area, Gaelic clubs, societies and religious organization also provided opportunities for speaking Gaelic that enjoyed significant

popularity amongst urban migrants, as confirmed by some of the participants in my research (Withers 1984).

Urbanization as a contributing factor in language shift is closely associated with industrialization. Industrialization led to the development of large urban centers in Lowland Scotland (Campbell 1980, 1985), which motivated large-scale migration from the Gàidhealteachd and led to the concentration of sizable numbers of Gaelic speakers in urban areas (Withers 1998). Urbanization also occurred in the Gàidhealtachd, recursively reproducing the social relations between town and country that characterized relations between Lowlands and Highlands. Overall, the appearance of urban centers in the Highlands was limited, and the size of such towns miniscule in comparison to the urban centers of the south (Withers 1988). However, as sites of economic exchange and interaction with the Anglophone world, towns came to be considered as English-speaking spheres. As sites of relative 'modernity', they also functioned as yardsticks against which the relative backwardness and outmodedness of the rural areas came to be measured (Dorian 1981).

On Lewis, the town of Stornoway as the commercial center of the island had been an Anglophone sphere for as long as my oldest research participants could remember. In interviews, they recalled not only the differences in social-linguistic practices, but also the social hierarchy of (relatively) urbane 'townies' over the island's rural residents, whose socio-economic distinctiveness was visible in their personal appearance and audible in their speech – not only in their general preference for Gaelic as a medium of interaction, but also in the particular way of speaking English that betrayed this preference in expressions like "I am growing tired now" and "I lost the bus." People made an effort both to accommodate monoglot English-speaking residents of the town and to display their modernity by trying to speak English. However, despite the social and economic pressures to acquire and use English, pervasive language shift toward English did not begin to occur on the island until the middle of the 20th century, showing that bilingualism can remain stable for quite some time without leading to the abandonment of one language. At the same time, the creation of distinct social settings of clubs and societies as well as religious organizations ('chapels') in which Gaelic and Highland culture were, at least at first, the main reasons for association between its

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members, was also a distinctly urban phenomenon (Withers 1984). While the oftentimes antiquarian and romanticizing stances taken by such societies toward Gaelic and the Gàidhealtachd may not have encouraged the everyday usage of Gaelic by its speakers in the Highlands, they nevertheless provided an arena in which Gaelic was maintained in urban areas rather than abruptly abandoned. These phenomena show that caveats about the assumption of a necessary and unidirectional connection between language shift and urbanization must be applied in explaining actual cases of language shift.

Like urbanization, proletarianization is a by-product of industrialization. Proletarianization of a group of speakers is thought to lead to low prestige of their language, and to concomitant pressure to stop using the language in order to benefit from socio-economic mobility (cf. Hill and Hill 1986). Although it is commonly believed that migrants from the Gàidhealtachd to the Lowlands occupied only "the lower orders of society" and, by extension, the lowest paid jobs (Lobban 1971, as cited in Withers 1984:190), there is some evidence that "at least as many [Highlanders in the south] found employment in jobs involving an amount of training and manual skill or the administration of people and goods" (Withers 1984:192). Some of those Highlanders were themselves well-off and sought to maintain their status by securing "positions of local prestige" in the Lowlands. As is usually the case with such stereotypes, it becomes clear that not all Highlanders and Gaelic speakers in the Lowlands were part of the proletariat, and that the low valuation of Gaelic was not so much a function of the low socio-economic class of its speakers once they were in the Lowlands, but rather of its association with rural and non-industrial life in the Highlands.

If we see proletarianization of a group of people on socio-economic grounds and the stigmatization of their linguistic practices as fundamentally similar to the process of ethnicization of a group of people on 'cultural' grounds, we can also evaluate the effects of this process on linguistic practices in the Gàidhealtachd itself. Dorian (1981) has suggested that the ethnicization of the fisherfolk in East Sutherland Gaelic has led to the stigmatization of their use of Gaelic in this area, which in turn produced ethnic shame on the part of its speakers, as a way to account for their abandonment of Gaelic as they tried to secure their own economic livelihood and social mobility for their children.

However, interviews I conducted with Gaelic speakers revealed that the stigmatization of Gaelic was and is relative and context-dependent, at least in many Gaelic-speaking areas apart from East Sutherland. Gaelic speakers often talk about the stigmatizing effects of using Gaelic in certain settings in the past, e.g. in school or in shops in town, but they also tell of the high valuation of Gaelic in other domains, such as the domestic and crofting sphere, and in religion. Other authors recognize the theoretical complexity of this situation (e.g. Withers 1988), but still accord an overall dominating effect to the low valuation of Gaelic in social-economic spheres as part of a more or less economically deterministic model of language attitudes (even despite claims to the contrary, e.g. Withers 1984:4).

In addition to the processes of social-economic transformation and their effects discussed above, the lack of institutional support for Gaelic and/or official opposition to using Gaelic in institutional settings are foregrounded in many accounts of language shift in Scotland. The reasons for such a lack of institutional support are framed in a variety of theories ranging from more or less open hostility toward Gaelic and its speakers by English-speaking officials attempting to subordinate the Gàidhealtachd to Lowland and British control (MacKinnon 1974, 1977) to more differentiated theories of the roles of institutions within larger processes of social transformation affecting the Gaidhealtachd (Durkacz 1983).

Institutionalized education in particular has been singled out as a forceful factor in language shift in Scotland because, it is argued, it acts as an instrument of social control (Dorian 1978, Durkacz 1983, MacKinnon 1972, 1977). In addition to discouraging the use of Gaelic directly (by way of punishment) and/or indirectly (by its mere absence in the school curriculum), schools are presented in these models as sites for the inculcation of Anglophone values in students by way of mandatory use of English in schooling (MacKinnon 1972, see also Durkacz 1978).

There seems to be plenty of evidence for this line of reasoning, starting with the requirement for Highland chiefs to send their sons to the Lowlands to be educated through the medium of English, which was laid down in the Statutes of Iona of 1609.[16] In

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[16] However, see Cathcart (2011) for a different interpretation of the historical significance of the Statues of Iona in the attempt to bring the Gàidhealtachd under the control of the Lowlands.

more recent times, the Education Act of 1872 and its omission of Gaelic is used as evidence for a policy of, at best, 'benign neglect' that has characterized the government's attitude toward Gaelic (Durkacz 1983, Withers 1984), and at worst, for an Anglophone conspiracy to give no place to Gaelic in modern Scottish society (MacKinnon 1974, 1977).

However, this view does not recognize the complexities of the place of education in the Highlands or of its role in fostering English-Gaelic bilingualism or complete abandonment of Gaelic by students, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4. In short, as Withers (1984) illustrates, the majority of education in the 19th century was delivered by Protestant Evangelical organizations like the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), which had a firm commitment to using Gaelic as a way of ensuring proper understanding of the Gospel. To be sure, the primary aim of the SSPCK was the most effective delivery of scripture, and the use of Gaelic in other educational settings, such as Gaelic schools in the urban centers of the Lowlands, was more or less remedial and aimed at developing proficiency in English (Withers 1984:197, 260). Nonetheless, it cannot be claimed that Gaelic was entirely absent from schools and devalued in such settings (Murray 1989).

This point is also supported by the reports of local school principals and inspectors, which attest that Gaelic was both a subject and a medium of instruction, at least in certain contexts, both before and after the Education Act of 1872 (Rea 1964, Wilson 1998). These reports also show that patterns of school attendance in many rural areas were extremely spotty, even after school attendance became mandatory in 1872, so that it is questionable how much social control schools were able to exert upon students who rarely attended them (Durkacz 1983). Furthermore, although schools may have conferred only limited prestige on Gaelic by making it a subject of instruction, reports from older informants illustrate that learnedness in Gaelic, as displayed through the ability to reproduce Gaelic texts from the scripture and traditional lore, were highly prized and explicitly taught by parents and other relatives at home.

Consequently, it is difficult to establish a clear theoretical link between institutional use of Gaelic (or rather, lack of such use) and the transformation of local linguistic practices leading to language shift. Again, if we take the 1950s and 1960s as a

time of pervasive language shift on Lewis, state-sponsored education was in place for several generations before this shift occurred, without any obvious detrimental effects on Gaelic usage on the island. Simultaneously, as the case of mandatory instruction in Irish Gaelic shows, institutional support for a language in itself does not necessarily halt language shift (Kelly 2002).

To be sure, all the macrosociological processes, including the implementation of government policies aimed at regimenting the use of Gaelic in certain settings such as schools, have some import to describing the historical background of language shift in Scotland. Industrialization and its associated phenomena, migration, urbanization and proletarianization, all have affected the way that the Highlands as the predominantly Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland were drawn and incorporated into Scotland as it took its place in an emerging British state and world-wide empire. It is clear that as part of this process, Gaelic and its speakers can be described as symbolically and geographically marginalized from mainstream Scottish life.

As I shall demonstrate in the remainder of this chapter, focusing on the investigation of language socialization practices overcomes some of the limitations of the approaches to language shift I have just discussed. The language socialization paradigm (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984) offers a compelling alternative for understanding the process language shift because it pays attention to the dynamic interplay of macrosociological factors, and the productive power of individual interactions between novices and their socializers, which in turn is mediated on an ideological level (Garrett 2005, Kulick 1992, McEwan-Fujita 2010a, Meek 2010). In the case of Scottish Gaelic, the centrality of a language socialization approach in contexts of language shift is particularly salient because popular attempts to reverse this shift have concentrated exactly on language socialization practices, including the introduction of Gaelic-medium education as well as organized efforts to make formal instruction in Gaelic available to adults in Scotland and beyond.

Epochs of Language Socialization in A' Chreag

In order to gain a deeper understanding why the residents of A' Chreag had such strong reactions to the introduction and presence of Gaelic-medium education in general

and at Sgoil a' Chreaig in particular, and its prominent role in the Gaelic language socialization of the district's children, I decided to conduct interviews with some of them to understand their own childhood experiences of language socialization as part of their linguistic life histories. These interviews revealed that the medium of childhood language socialization in the district shifted from almost exclusively Gaelic in all domains except the school to a mixed Gaelic-English pattern to almost exclusively English in the course of the 20th century: before World War II, language socialization in the community was conducted entirely through the medium of Gaelic, while social and demographic changes after WWII facilitated the expansion of English as a medium of interaction first between children, and then between adults and children. Around the late 1960s and early 1970s, this expansion of the usage of English in everyday social interactions culminated in a tip that led the language socialization experiences of that generation to be dominated by English. This change more or less coincided with television service becoming available on the island, and the more widespread purchasing of television sets for family homes.[17] At this time, English became a relatively unmarked medium for everyday interactions with younger people in the community, so that children growing up at that time had no need to acquire Gaelic in order to function as full-fledged members of the community.

The linguistic life histories also revealed that while there were general age gradients in the proportions of past and current usage of Gaelic and English, using a strict generational approach to group speakers does not capture variations in language usage among individuals within a given generation. While investigating the historical factors leading to such differences was outside the scope of my research, it is clear that socio-economic factors, including the availability of funds to purchase televisions, did play a significant role in the relative timing and speed of individuals' and families' participation in the linguistic shift that occurred around the 1960s, with some families apparently moving toward English as the medium of socialization as early as the 1950s, and others not joining this development until the 1970s. Furthermore, as I will discuss in detail in subsequent chapters, there were a few families who never switched to English as a

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[17] Many people have blamed the insertion of TV into the everyday life of the Gaelic-speaking families for the decline of Gaelic in the home. However, based on my interviews, actual consumption of TV at this time was quite limited, both due to the relatively infrequency of broadcasts, and the restrictions imposed by many parents on their children's viewing habits.

medium of socialization and socializing at all. With the advent of GME, some families (again, very few) also reported an increase in Gaelic usage at home as their children entered school.

In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the language socialization experiences of three groups of speakers (Gaelic-socialized, mixed-socialized, and English-socialized) as they reflect ideologies of language and socialization that were predominant in their childhood periods. I will also show how the patterns of language socialization portend the changes in social-linguistic practices and evaluative schemata at the heart of processes of language shift in the community. In the absence of unique factors identifying groups of speakers in terms of actual practice and attitudes toward language use, it appears most productive to classify the speakers I encountered in my research according to the reported medium of their childhood language socialization, as Gaelic-socialized (GS), mixed-socialized (MS), or English-socialized (ES) individuals, as well as Gaelic-medium education-socialized (GMES) children. This approach offers several advantages over other classification schemes: It recognizes the importance of childhood socialization experiences (independently of an individual's current practices and/or competence) and their effects on individuals' attitudes towards Gaelic and English usage, while acknowledging the existence of general historical trends in language use and (e)valuation in the community.

Pre-World War II: Gaelic-only Language Socialization

At the time of the research, Gaelic-socialized (GS) adults in the district tended to be above the age of 60 (born in 1945 or earlier), with some notable exceptions to be found among 40- and even 30-year-olds (born in the 1950s and early 1960s). Growing up, they experienced English as a medium for formal institutional interaction, with teachers in school and in the context of activities conducted in town. Rarely for children growing up before World War II, but more common for those born afterward, they experienced English as a medium for experiences during trips to the mainland of Scotland. English was also spoken for politeness' sake in interactions involving English-monolingual adults who more or less exclusively were outsiders visiting the community temporarily. Competence in Gaelic was a necessity for integration into the social fabric of

the district for both adults and children. For example, older residents of the district recalled the South Asian salesmen working on the island in the 1930s, traveling through remote villages on bikes holding large suitcases that functioned as portable storefronts. In order to earn potential customers' goodwill and to encourage purchases, these salesmen acquired basic Gaelic rather quickly. Similarly, my interview partners reported that any Anglophone children moving to the district during this time (usually due to previous family connections to the area) quickly became competent in Gaelic through their interactions with other children: "If these children wanted to play with others, they had to speak Gaelic."

In the experience of these Gaelic-socialized individuals, there was a fairly strict contextual separation of codes in the community, which they still maintained in their expressed beliefs, if not always in practice, at the time of the research. While competence in English was a necessity for some aspects of adult life, especially for those individuals who had to leave the island to earn their livelihood in the merchant navy or other occupations, competence in Gaelic was not only assumed to be a given through early childhood socialization, but also an indispensable part of daily life in the district, including social interactions, local economic activities such as fishing and crofting, and religious practices. None of my interview partners could recall individuals living in the district speaking English 'unnecessarily' in their childhood. (These attitudes are quantified in language attitudinal research conducted in the Gàidhealteachd from the late 1960s and early 1970s onward, e.g. MacKinnon 1977).

For most Gaelic-socialized speakers, the association of Gaelic with domestic and community life goes beyond childhood memories to create a quintessential ideological connection between the language and its domains of usage that also limits its functional range. For Gaelic-socialized speakers, the language is inextricably tied to, and superbly suited for, local and traditional practices including crafting, fishing, and weaving. The use of Gaelic for Presbyterian religious activities is probably the epitome of this quintessential linkage between code and practice, since the use of Gaelic in this context not just allows, but is actually crucial for the experience as well as the expression of intimate and most deeply felt spiritual beliefs and emotions. At the same time, Gaelic is considered referentially incomplete for performing tasks in other domains, most notably

those of academic and scientific study and activities of a more formal or public nature involving the Anglophone world.

For these speakers, Gaelic also reflects the fundamentally egalitarian social organization of its speakers by virtue of the fact that Gaelic-socialized speakers consider it impossible to sound or act "posh" in Gaelic, whereas English is considered to be rife with explicit expressions of social hierarchies. When I asked my interview partners whether they had ever encountered a "posh" Gaelic speaker, they usually scoffed at the idea that a person could (ab-)use Gaelic for such a purpose. While some acknowledged that there was a gradient of more or less correct and/or pure usage of Gaelic grammar and idiom, this did not constitute the same phenomenon as a speaker of English exuding his superior social status in his speech:

> Well, the ones that have the best Gaelic and have gone through
> university, I suppose they speak better, really. But that's not the
> same […] in English, it can be very posh.

I will discuss other aspects of the language ideologies shared by Gaelic-socialized speakers in the following chapters by way of contrasting them to those promulgated by Gaelic-medium education.

During their childhoods, Gaelic-socialized individuals did not encounter a lot of speakers of other Gaelic dialects, mainly because of limited mobility: "We didn't go anywhere, we didn't know anybody then, like they do now." The twice-yearly Communion season did bring residents of other island districts to the local church for services and socializing with members of the congregation, but children did not travel to other places on the island for these events. Nonetheless, GS-adults grew up with a strong awareness of dialectal differences at the phonetic and lexical levels in the language (though not so much the grammatical level) based on often humorous stereotyping of groups of speakers, whose speech was surmised to iconically represent the speakers' social and personal characteristics. A recurring stereotype I encountered in my interviews was that the residents of another district of the island could be identified by their relatively slow speech ("they take longer with each word […] they stretch it out") that coincided with the generally slower pace of life in their district, which was connected to the rest of the island by only a thin strip of land that was prone to flooding.

Some of my older interview partners could recall rhymes and other ditties satirizing these stereotyped linguistic differences. For example, the Gaelic of the 'townies' from Stornoway was said to be riddled with English, a sign of both their attempts at upward mobility and their semi-authentic experience of island life in the island's urban center:[18]

> Thàinig Thomas Chalum Strong a raoir air <u>bus</u> na <u>steamer</u>,
> Chan eil aige ach ceathrar-deug, chan eil ann dheth ach <u>beginner</u>,
> Nach e tha snog na <u>uniform</u>, mo ghradh air <u>so neat</u>,
> Tha samhl' aig ri sheanair 's a <u>smile</u> aig cho <u>sweet</u>.[19]

For Gaelic-socialized individuals, English language socialization was fundamentally linked to the experience of entering primary school at around age 5. "I didn't have a word of English until I went to school" was an almost universal response to my question of when and where each interviewee had acquired English (more on the use of this particular phrase later). Depending on the individual teacher, an English-only rule was enforced in the district school's classrooms more or less drastically; while some residents recalled a teacher using Gaelic with new school entrants in order to facilitate their transition to English, others remembered themselves or friends "getting the belt" and receiving other forms of physical punishment for speaking Gaelic in the classroom (and, in some cases, even the school playground). In this way, teachers acted as the long arm of "people higher up in education [who] just tried to stamp it [Gaelic] out." Although these experiences were clearly traumatic at the time for most of the people I spoke to, their reporting of these events was also quite matter-of-fact, and often the only type of disruption experienced in their acquisition of English. No one reported having trouble with schoolwork because they were using a non-native language; the belief that English was necessary for academic and economic success outside the confines of the district was unquestioned and more or less universal.

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[18] Another stereotype pervasively identified among my interview partners was that of the Glaswegian, whose influence on an individual's speech was said to be unique and ineradicable. It was also the only Scottish dialect that several individuals identified as transcending the linguistic boundary between Gaelic and English, affecting both codes equally.

[19] Thomas Calum Strong went on the bus to the steamer last night,
He wasn't but fourteen, he wasn't but a beginner,
Wasn't he nice in the neat uniform on him, my dear,
He resembles his grandfather and has a smile so sweet.

At the same time, many reported disliking the academic study of Gaelic they experienced later into their formal education. The fact that they were taught like other foreign languages with a focus on grammar and on formal measures of correctness made this experiences rather alienating for many, who had difficulty reconciling their social-linguistic competence in Gaelic outside of the classroom with their deficient performance on tests and exams. These classes also did not appear to make a major contribution to the development of Gaelic literacy skills. For one, these Gaelic classes offered too little instruction too late:

> We weren't good at reading the Gaelic then because we didn't
> get it in school till we were old. We couldn't read it. (677D, born in 1931)

Perhaps more importantly, reading was a skill and practice reserved for the context of Bible study as part of the home worship that was reportedly conducted in every home in the district twice a day. By taking turns in reading Bible verses and psalms out loud, children developed the ability to decode religious tracts, but had few opportunities or incentive to read non-religious texts.[20] Writing skills were even more rare amongst these speakers.

Academic achievement in the village school opened the door to advanced secondary and higher education for some pupils, but pursuing these opportunities required leaving the family and village to attend schools on the mainland. While this increased individuals' exposure to English speakers and new social contexts of speaking English, it also fomented ties with other Gaelic-socialized children at these schools. A shared social-linguistic background and the joint experience of separation from family and community created cohorts of students that used Gaelic as a mark of their membership in these groups. Although they reported being looked down upon by other students and the residents of the mainland towns, the strength of their numbers gave them the confidence to maintain speaking Gaelic to their peers.

A similar pattern of speaking Gaelic as an in-group marker emerged among those Gaelic-socialized individuals who were forced to leave the island temporarily or permanently for economic reasons. Economic migration was common among adult males

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[20] I will discuss the limitations of Gaelic-socialized speakers' literacy skills in more detail in Chapter 5.

as well as females; while the former often joined the merchant navy or worked in the shipyards and factories in Glasgow, the latter were often hired as domestic staff in hostels, hotels and other temporary accommodation, at least until they were married and left paid employment. Familial and social ties facilitated getting hired, and in turn created large concentrations of islanders in several towns across the Scottish mainland, London, and other parts of the former British Empire. Glasgow was a major hub in this Gaelic diaspora, and several interviewees described a thriving Gaelic-speaking culture in the city, with social events sponsored by the Highland Institute and other institutions catering to the social, economic and religious needs of the city's Highlanders. As a result, speaking Gaelic remained a regular and symbolically important aspect of everyday life among these ex-pats even as they expanded their use of English in their daily lives due to their economic activities. Indeed, individuals who discontinued the use of Gaelic in a (perceived) effort to distance themselves from their social and linguistic roots were looked down upon, and considered to be presumptuous when "they pretended they were losing their Gaelic."

Mixed Gaelic-English Language Socialization after WWII

While many of these economic migrants never returned to the Gàidhealteachd permanently, those that did mostly did so either to take care of ailing parents or to establish their own families. It's difficult to discern exactly what caused these GS-adults to socialize their own children born in the first decades of the second half of the 20th century in such a way that they form their own group of mixed-socialized (MS) adults today. Clearly, their familiarity with using English they gained in their time away from the island facilitated their use of the language with their own children. While academic studies of language shift working within a sociological paradigm/focusing on macro-social factors explained this change as the result of socio-political and economic pressures exerted by Anglophone mainstream culture leading to the symbolic domination of parents, I would argue that a crucial factor in the change language socialization practices was changes in the parent-child relationship. These changes allowed children to be perceived as independent actors at younger ages, and their linguistic choices to be accommodated. At the same time, the perception of what other parents were doing with

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their children, and a desire to keep up with the neighbors, drove some parents to adopt these changes despite their personal discomfort with them.

Most individuals in the mixed-socialized group were socialized more or less exclusively in Gaelic before they went to school, essentially replicating their parents' experience of English as an unknown code, which they only came in close contact with as a medium of instruction when they began formal education. "There was a never an English word spoken in this house" until the children entered school was a sentence I heard from a mother who had raised her children in the 1950s as well as from one whose children were born in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, once at school, English became the preferred medium of social interaction between peers for this generation. One reason for this change appears to have been a significant demographic shift in the community after World War II, during which a sizeable number of English-monolingual families moved into government subsidized housing, the so-called "Swedish houses" that had been built in the district. In contrast to incoming children before them, who all had extended family ties to the people in the district and acquired Gaelic in short order, the children from these families are reported to have been the agents of language shift amongst their peers by eliciting the practice of linguistic accommodation reserved for Anglophone strangers. As a result, the formerly Gaelic-speaking playground of the district school turned increasingly Anglophone, reinforcing the use of English inside the classroom.

MS-individuals report varying reactions from their parents to their use of English, ranging from outright disapproval and punishment for the violation of an explicit 'Gaelic-only in the house' rule to tacit acceptance of these changes in children's language practices. Those that maintained a strict separation of codes in their families perceived those that allowed their children to use English in the house as lazy parents who "let them off" and/or as overly concerned with their children's academic success or socio-economic mobility, "who fancied themselves as something special". In these families, other Gaelic-speaking adults visiting the home would be "checked" for speaking English as well.

Far from making conscious efforts to raise their children as English-dominant or monolingual, however, most of the parents who reported allowing their children to speak English in the house and responding to them in English, justified their practices of not

enforcing Gaelic-only rules in the house as being due to perceived peer pressure: "we obeyed our parents to the bitter end [but I] didn't want my children to be different to the ones that was growing up [around them]." Although these parents may have maintained a symbolic affinity to speaking Gaelic, they often did not use Gaelic in their interactions with their children:

> Well, like, if they'd come in and they would say something in English, I would say, 'For goodness sake's, explain that to me in Gaelic', you know. But the sad thing was I would answer them back in English. (342C, raising children in the 1960s)

Soon, speaking English to children became a matter of habit for most people: "I started talking back in English, unfortunately, which I was sorry, but that's what you do, you just get into a rut." (715A, children born in the early 70s)

Because of the prevalence of Gaelic in the district, most of these mixed-socialized children retained at least some passive competence in Gaelic. Not only were they exposed to it as a medium of interactions at home and in the community on a daily basis, but like Dorian's semi-speakers in East Sutherland, they were also mostly considered to be ratified participants in conversations. Conversely, their parents often assumed that their children's Gaelic proficiency was fine because of their successful participation in Gaelic interactions, and did not necessarily become concerned when they observed their children using more and more English that their Gaelic skills were suffering. Even in cases where parents realized that children had lost the ability to speak Gaelic, they generally felt helpless to try to reverse this change. There was a sense that the child had made up his or her mind, and that this decision was much like an unchangeable personality trait (cf. Macdonald 1997).

In mixed-socializing families, one could often observe a sibling socialization effect amongst the children, where the firstborn followed the "no Gaelic until school" pattern and each subsequent child became less and less actively competent in Gaelic as siblings entered school and turned to English as the medium of peer and sibling interaction. In some families, parents tried to maintain Gaelic as the family language not only by explicit instructions and admonitions to their children, but also by conducting home worship in Gaelic, attending only Gaelic church services, and otherwise choosing Gaelic as the medium for many of their children's experiences in the community. Other

families did increase their use of English inside the home as individual children used it more with increasing age and interactions with peers, and as the size of their family grew (see above).

English-only language socialization: 1970s and beyond

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, families who made a point of explicitly socializing their children exclusively in English became a common phenomenon in the district. The main motivation for this appeared to be an improvement of the children's chances at academic and economic success, and Gaelic was perceived as an impediment to the development of the English competence which was the key to success. These parents told me that they did not want their children to feel uncomfortable speaking English as they themselves had, feeling like foreigners butchering an alien language that was so crucial to interactions with mainstream culture in Britain and beyond. This was also the time when English entered many homes through the medium of television, which the vast majority of people I spoke with reported to have had a profound effect on domestic linguistic practices.[21]

Their children heard their parents speaking Gaelic to each other, sometimes in the manner of a secret code to talk about matters they did not intend for their children's ears. These children did recall being exposed to Gaelic while spending time with their grandparents, for whom Gaelic was still the common language of the home, as well as outside of their homes. Some of them even reported to me their sense of alienation from community life because their active control of Gaelic was not sufficient to participate fully. Although some English-socialized speakers reported being able to understand some Gaelic and their competence may in fact be similar to that of mixed-socialized speakers, the Gaelic language socialization experience of ES-speakers was structured so that Gaelic competence, either active or passive, was not expected of them. Indeed, at this time, a pervasive ideology that children either only wanted to or were only able to speak English seems to have taken root in the community, and created a socialization principle of

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[21] By that time, radio had been a firmly established presence in homes in the district for decades, and the vast majority of broadcasts consumed were in English. Why TV had a major impact on language use inside the home when radio did not seem to have affected such practices is unclear to me.

accommodation. Youth became seen as the vanguards of change toward economic and social advancement, and in some ways became empowered over the authority of older generations and their ways of life. It was in the 1970s, for example, that the Sunday school classes in the district church began to be run in English, although the church was generally considered to be an anchor for the Gaelic language in the community, and church services in English occurred once a month at most.

Although English as the exclusive medium for childhood socialization became a common phenomenon, reactions to this trend from other community members were mixed. While the ideology of English as a medium of economic success was wide-spread, especially as crofting and other local occupations became less and less viable for supporting oneself and a potential family, another common sentiment was that parents socializing their children in English only were trying to deny their social origins and to rise unreasonably in their socio-economic standing to the detriment of their children's ability to participate fully in community life. In essence, English-socialized children were seen as being groomed for upward mobility and a sophisticated life away from the island rather than being integrated into the social network of the community. Parents who raised their children in this time period recalled being aware of the underlying criticism from the rest of the community, but also felt strongly about ensuring their children's success in the future –while they may not have found support among the older generations, they appear to have felt strength in numbers as using English as the sole medium of socialization became very common in many families at this time.

When the predominance of English monolingualism among the island's youth was noticed, the education department of the newly formed Western Isles Council initiated a bilingual education project in order to address the quick disappearance of Gaelic in the speech of the youngest generation growing up on the island (Murray and Morrison 1984). This project aimed to encourage children to speak Gaelic in the context of a pedagogical focus on their concrete lived experiences in a local context. In parallel with legitimating the use of Gaelic in the classroom in order to counteract the children's preference for English, the designers of this educational model also sought to acknowledge (and validate) the experiences of Western Isles schoolchildren, which were absent from mainstream British school books and other media.

Instead of spaceships and circuses, teaching materials featured fishing boats and sheep dips, and pupils took frequent field trips to explore their natural and social environments. This approach was intended to reduce the sense of alienation from their immediate social and natural environment that children were thought to develop upon entering school, and to mitigate their subsequent rejection of local activities and identities that was argued to be at the heart of the shift from Gaelic to English as a medium of communication. However, this local focus was to become one of the bigger nails in the scheme's coffin, as children (and their parents) quickly tired of the amateurish nature of teacher-produced reading booklets containing hand-drawn black-and-white illustrations that did not acknowledge the non-local, but nevertheless very real, aspects of children's lives. Indeed, television and more frequent trips to the mainland due to improved transport and economic conditions had already made the colorful themes of mainstream pedagogical materials less alien to children.

In retrospect, the eventual demise of this bilingual education scheme in the early 1980s was probably predictable, for demographic as well as ideological reasons. Island children's social-linguistic environment had changed toward the relatively unmarked use of English in everyday interactions to such an extent that the schools could not counteract this trend. Furthermore, while the focus on local activities and experiences appeared to adults to be pedagogically sound from a psychological framework, children were simply not won over by the sudden change from the school as a stepping stone to mainstream culture to an extension of their home environments. English-socialized individuals did experience a more coherent provision of Gaelic-language instruction than their parents and grandparents had as they progressed through primary and secondary schools, but many expressed a strong dislike for how the subject was taught, and for being evaluated according to standards many found too strict. A focus on grammatical correctness and philological study did very little to improve their ability to interact with older speakers of Gaelic, and the Gaelic economy created by language revitalization efforts in the 1990s had not yet emerged as a context for speaking Gaelic unencumbered by the language and identity ideologies held by older speakers of the language.

Gaelic-Medium Education Socialization: A New Identity Category?

Since its inception in the mid-1980s, Gaelic-medium education has turned into the main context of Gaelic language socialization for children growing up in Scotland today, including in the Gàidhealteachd, despite the relative demographic strength in the area. While GME was initially intended as an extension of Gaelic language socialization in the home in order to produce fully literate and academically competent speakers like native English-speakers going through English-medium education (see Chapter 3), the disruption in Gaelic language transmission in the previous generation has made Gaelic language socialization at home all but impossible. Even for those mixed-socialized speakers who have some productive competence in the language, ways of relating to children through the medium of Gaelic have become arcane along with the linguistic forms associated with them.

Despite its controversial status in the district, Gaelic-medium education at Sgoil a' Chreaig has come to provide a popular alternative context for Gaelic language socialization for most parents. Demographically, the program reaches a fairly large number of children in the district and in the Western Isles region as a whole. At the time of my research, almost 500 pupils were enrolled in GME in schools in the Western Isles, representing about 25% of the total student population (MacKinnon 2007). Some critics contend that this option has made it too easy for parents to abdicate their responsibility for maintaining the language in the home, but generally attending the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig is the only realistic way for a child growing up in the district today to obtain any competence in the language.[22] In other areas of Scotland without cohesive groups of Gaelic speakers and contexts of routine use of Gaelic as a medium of social interaction, GME is truly the exclusive context for childhood Gaelic language socialization.

In addition to the identity category of the adult learner of Gaelic, the particular language socialization experiences provided by Gaelic-medium education (discussed in the following chapter) appear to create a new category of speakers, which I will refer to

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[22] Parents who chose to send their children to the English medium-stream often complained to me about the spotty and incomplete provision of Gaelic lessons for these children. A number of these parents wished for their children to have high quality Gaelic lessons, and resented having to make a choice between 'all Gaelic' education or virtually no Gaelic instruction at all.

as GME-socialized. Like adult learners of the language, GME-socialized speakers tend to be seen as blas-less and undesirable conversational partners, although they are generally acknowledged to have better formal competence in the language, which many called 'proper' Gaelic. 'Proper' Gaelic encompasses perceived correct pronunciation and grammatical structures, as well as lexical items that are perceived to be independent from English, such as Gaelic numerals, and other words that can be found in a dictionary. One grandmother of a GME-socialized child, whom I will call Stuart, told me about her mixed-socialized daughter Jenny (Stuart's mother):

> Now that Jenny is married and Stuart came into her life, she's more into the Gaelic, and her Gaelic is a lot better than it was […] the proper Gaelic […] like Monday, we would say *Diluain* and for Sunday we say *Latha na Sàbaid*. *Didòmhnaich*, that's what she uses.

> [VW: Where did she pick that up?]

> When Stuart went to school. And like 'oh' like nothing one two three, we say 'oh', now proper Gaelic for that is *neoni*. She learns it with Stuart, she picks it up, maybe there's there is many a word where she's not quite sure and when she bought the Gaelic-English or English-Gaelic dictionary and has it open.

> […]

> We use a lot of Gaelic here that's not the proper Gaelic, well, an odd word here and there.

As this narrative demonstrates, GME also serves as a context of language socialization by extension for some adults who are involved in children's schoolwork. Nevertheless, GME-socialized children are generally perceived to be different from adult learners of the language, although not necessarily because of differences in their speech. Rather, in the predominant local ideology of childhood, children are seen as explicitly non-political actors whose perceived immaturity would (should) make it impossible or inappropriate for their language to reflect a particular stance vis-à-vis the politics of Gaelic language revitalization. (see below)

Language Socialization Practices and Social Relations

As a result of the changes in language socialization practices discussed above, other shifts took place in the indexical orders organizing the social-linguistic practices in the community as well. For one, being a young person growing up in the district became associated with speaking English and not speaking Gaelic:

> People assume more or less even adults assume that it's English
> the children have anyway, even next-door neighbors and that,
> and I say that they can understand the Gaelic or can speak it.
> (191B, raised children in the early 1960s and 1970s, had school-aged
> grandchildren in the 1990s)

This report certainly fit in with my own observation that even when a child demonstrates his or her ability to speak Gaelic, adults are still more likely to use English with that child than Gaelic. An encounter I was privy to in a drug store in Stornoway was a prime example of this trend. While standing in line at the check-out counter, a father in front of me was having an animated and widely audible conversation in Gaelic with a pre-school aged child sitting in a stroller, which the surrounding customers all seemed pleased to be overhearing given the smiles they exchanged with each other. When the pair reached the woman working at the cash register, she commented in Gaelic to the father about the extraordinarily pleasant weather outside: "Nach eil latha blath an-diugh?" ("Isn't it a warm day today?"). The father responded "Tha" (Yes) and made a comment to the child in Gaelic. Then the cashier turned to the child and asked her in English, "Are you enjoying the sunshine?"

Conversely, changes in child socialization practices have effected changes in the pragmatics of Gaelic interactions between adults and children. One such issue is the use of personal pronouns in the second person. English does not differentiate between formal and informal second-person pronouns, and through the influence of English on Gaelic the pragmatic range of the formal second-person pronoun in Gaelic has been reduced in interactions between children and adults. I first became aware of this issue because several children in the first years of Gaelic-medium primary education were consistently using the informal second-person pronoun to address their teachers. I asked the teacher her thoughts on this, and she recalled addressing her grandparents using the formal second-person pronoun. I decided to ask about this practice in my interviews as an entry

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point to inquiring about other changes in interactions between adults and children in the district. While mixed-socialized speakers sometimes remembered addressing their grandparents formally, it was Gaelic-socialized speakers who not only recalled using the formal second-person pronoun with adults, but also linked the disappearance of the practice to changes in the figuring of the relationship between adults and children:

> Nowadays there isn't the same divide, you know, recognizing that the older person or the parent should be addressed different in a special way. They're sort of leveling it out, the children, a little more than we were allowed.

While children were generally highly valued by older members of the community, they seemed to experience a disconnect with most actual children, especially those who were not family members. This difficulty seemed to go beyond a stereotypical "kids today" attitude –rather, most older community members had trouble placing children socially because they were not as connected to them through social ties that used to be maintained through regular interactions at ceilidhs etc., and had trouble relating to their way of being in the world. When grandparents complained to me that their grandchildren were acquiring BBC-accented English rather than the local variety of English (let alone Gaelic), they also often objected to the children's way of relating to others, especially adults, as being too forward, too domineering, and too demanding of adult attention: "They [children] want their own way and they're getting it and they're growing into scoundrels and rascals."

The main reason for this breakdown of social relations between children and parents and other adults was purported to be the lack of (physical) discipline that Gaelic- and mixed-socialized speakers experienced in their own childhoods. Central to the issue of discipline was the practice of "checking" children, with multiple interview partners complaining that "nowadays you can't check them [children]". When I asked for more detail about this practice, my respondents revealed that 'checking' included anything from reprimands to physical punishment like spanking. The blame for such 'checking' becoming unacceptable was placed squarely on the influence of cultural forces originating outside of the community.

While I never had any first-hand experience of children being spanked or being disciplined physically, I did observe that the Gaelic-socializing families participating in

my research were generally more authoritative and less child-centered than those who were socializing their children in English. Parents appeared to be in charge of making more decisions for their children, and children received less special treatment based on their status as children. I will discuss the differences in socialization practices between Gaelic- and English-socializing families in more detail in Chapter 7.

The Politics of (Language) Socialization

One of the first questions I asked my interviewee would be what languages he or she had spoken as a child. Almost inevitably, I quickly noticed, the response would be "Oh, I only had the Gaelic until I went to school." This made sense to me when talking to people over the age of 60, given that their exposure to English as young children had likely been relatively infrequent due to the distribution of domains for English and Gaelic in Hebridean village life that I knew about from the academic literature. Of these older respondents, quite a few also mentioned knowing as children that English existed, especially if they had older siblings who attended school, or lived in families who frequently interacted with English speakers, but not understanding it well into their first year of school.

However, I had a difficult time contextualizing younger respondents' use of this phrase, especially when they quickly followed this statement with another proclaiming that once they entered school, they never spoke Gaelic again and had forgotten most of it by the time they reached adolescence. These younger respondents had grown up in the decades following World War II, which both the literature and the interviewees identified as the time of the 'linguistic tip' toward English in the community. During this period, children started using English socially with each other, "in the playground" of the school, as many respondents told me, when the playground of the school had previously been a Gaelic domain, as compared with the classroom where speaking English was mandatory (and sometimes enforced physically).

So how and why did my interview partners who had grown up in this period claim that as children they had been monolingual Gaelic speakers, who had "not a word of English" (another stock phrase I encountered) before they entered school, but also come to abandon Gaelic completely in favor of English? Had school and TV indeed pressured

school-aged children into speaking English exclusively, with significant support from concerned parents? Did parents believe that Gaelic could exert its corrupting influence on English only when children actually were learning English, and had they thus been happy to use it with children before they entered school? How much English did children actually encounter inside homes at this time, considering the presence of TV, radio, newspapers and English-speaking visitors? Was home indeed the primary site of socialization for these children, or did other contexts play an equally significant role, and were those contexts associated with English? It would be difficult to answer these questions, given that most of my evidence came from respondents' self-reports and could not be independently verified.

This kind of linguistic attrition is common in bilingual communities all over the world, and the previously mentioned literature clearly points to the increasing use of English in the community, especially among children. What concerned me in the end was not so much whether or not their reports were accurate, but the repeated prominence that these claims of affinity to the Gaelic language, especially in the absence of contemporary usage and/or appreciation of it by the same respondents, occupied in these auto-biographical accounts of linguistic practice. I realized that in the contemporary context of Scottish Gaelic language revitalization efforts, which are largely centered on creating new speakers of the language, differences in language socialization experiences have come to symbolize larger ideological differences in figuring an individual's identity (see also Chapter 2).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined some of the changes in language socialization practices experienced by various generations of residents of the district of A' Chreag. These changes have gone hand in hand with transformations in the social relationships between adults and children (as expressed in socialization practices in general) on the one hand, and in social-linguistic practices and the indexical orders they are embedded in on the other. My goal has been to show that distinct eras in the use of Gaelic and English as media of childhood language socialization have created groups of speakers that differ not only in forms of linguistic competence, but also in attitudes toward the linguistic

practices of other Gaelic speakers. This classification offers an analytical advantage over others that may focus solely on competence (without a view to actual practice) or on contemporary social-linguistic practice (without taking into account earlier experiences that have a formative influence on attitudes and evaluative schemata). It also helps to illuminate the ideological conflicts at the heart of questions over who counts as a Gaelic speaker in an environment of explicit language revitalization efforts, and to explain complications in the interactions of Gaelic speakers from different social backgrounds.

The importance of blas in distinguishing speaker's identity vis-à-vis these ideological conflicts and in influencing the very possibility of the continued usage of the language in Scotland, including its geographical stronghold in the Gàidhealteachd, is crucial to the success of Gaelic language revitalization efforts. In the following chapters, I will be exploring the Gaelic language socialization experiences provided by Gaelic-medium education in relation to various aspects of blas to show that they do not provide the optimal environment for its students to develop blas, or an awareness of its importance. This calls into question the efficacy of GME as a principal tool of Gaelic language revitalization. Before presenting these practices in detail, in the following chapter I will discuss the history of Gaelic-medium education in order to explain the ideological conditions and biases of this educational model as a tool of language revitalization.

Chapter 4

The History of Gaelic in Scottish Education

Introduction

The relationship between Gaelic and institutionalized education have been contentious since the language's early days in Scotland. From the Statues of Iona requiring the sons of Scottish clan chiefs to attend Anglophone boarding schools in the Lowlands in 1609 to the establishment of missionary-sponsored primary schools in the Gàidhealteachd beginning in the late 1700s, the (English) language socialization of Gaelic speakers was at the heart of various drives to civilize them and to integrate/subjugate them into a unified political and cultural entity. Even after Scotland had been firmly incorporated into the British state, the presence of non-English speakers at its fringes elicited laws regulating the place of Gaelic in government schools beginning in the late 19th century. It was only at the end of the 20th century that the use of Gaelic as a medium of instruction in Scottish primary schools became legally and practically possible.

In the view of many Gaelic speakers, especially those involved in efforts to revitalize the language, this long history represents a more or less consistent pattern of discrimination ranging from 'benign neglect' to 'outright hostility' toward the Gaelic language and its speakers. In addition to preventing the development of a modern speech community around a standardized language and with institutional and symbolic resources like those found in nation-states, this history of Gaelic in Scottish education is also said to have played a major role in the symbolic domination of its speakers, whose language socialization experiences in schools are argued to have instilled fear, shame and guilt for speaking Gaelic and a negative attitude toward the language itself. At the same time, the lack of opportunities for Gaelic speakers to develop literacy skills and participate in mainstream/public domains of interactions in their native language crippled the

emergence of a full-fledged speech community that could compete with, and sustain itself against, Anglophone mainstream culture.

The creation of Gaelic-medium education in various areas of Scotland beginning in the 1980s thus represented a direct counter-attack on the institutional and ideological forces that had precipitated the language's decline. Not only did this project insert the language into the proverbial lion's den, challenging deeply held notions about its functional suitability for academic tasks, but it also attempted to harness the very forces that had contributed to the language's decline for its own resurrection. In doing so, Scottish Gaelic language revitalization activists adopted a model of state-sponsored institutionalized education whose language socialization practices had been at the core of the creation of citizens for the modern nation-states that emerged in Western Europe in the 19th century.

While this educational model had certainly been effective in a historical perspective, its implementation in a context of continue language obsolescence on the one hand, and in competition with an already existing Anglophone institutional structure on the other, faced particular ideological and pragmatic challenges that continue to impinge on the implementation of Gaelic-medium education in Scotland today, 25 years after its inception. At the same time, its effectiveness as a tool of language revitalization can be called into question, both in terms of the ability of its graduates to interact with older speakers of the language, and in terms of its success in creating a new generation of speakers that is willing and able to return childhood Gaelic language socialization to a domestic context.

In this chapter, I discuss the history of Gaelic in Scottish education in order to explicate the ideological and institutional context of GME's emergence, and the challenges for its initiation and implementation. I argue that by relying on a model of institutionalized education that was critical to the development of national languages and nationalized speech/language communities without awareness of its historic specificity, the creators of GME set it up to provide a set of language socialization experiences that produce a group of speakers whose linguistic practices and language ideologies differ significantly from those of older/Gaelic-socialized speakers of the language to such an extent that they threaten the continuity of the existing speech community.

Civilization and Missionization: A Matter of Language Socialization

In both popular and academic explanations of Gaelic language obsolescence in Scotland, formal education is often singled out as a forceful factor in language shift because of its role as an instrument of social control (Dorian 1978, Durkacz 1983, MacKinnon 1972, 1977). In addition to simply disallowing the use of Gaelic, Anglophone schools in Scotland also inculcated students with Anglophone values by way of mandatory use of English in schooling (MacKinnon 1972, see also Durkacz 1978). Indeed, the value of schools as sites of language socialization (and perhaps de-socialization) was not lost on those who were attempting to integrate Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland politically, economically and socially into the British kingdom by way of linguistic and cultural domination.

In 1609, the Statues of Iona set out a number of conditions in an attempt to subjugate rogue clan chiefs in the Scottish Highlands to the control of Lowland Scotland, which had recently been brought closer to the influence of England with the unification of the Scottish and English crowns under James VI/I in 1603. Along with several provisions limiting the availability of arms and several practices seen as central to the Clan-based social and political system of the Highlands, the Statutes required Highland chiefs to send their heirs to the Lowlands of Scotland to be educated through the medium of English in Protestant Schools,[23] which was laid down in the Statutes of Iona of 1609. While some have called this ""the first of a succession of measures taken by the Scottish government specifically aimed at the extirpation of the Gaelic language, the destruction of its traditional culture and the suppression of its bearers" (MacKinnon 1991:46), the Statutes of Iona actually followed decades of James IV of Scotland's attempts to civilize the 'lawless' regions of the Scottish Highlands and Islands and its 'barbarian' residents – a policy he extended to other regions of Britain after his ascension to the English throne and in which linguistic assimilation appeared to be only tangential to an overriding concern "to improve the living standards of the inhabitants of the region, maintain the position of the traditional elite, and assimilate the chiefs into wider Scottish society."

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[23] The fact that these were Protestant schools also points to the fact that James I was not only attempting to civilize the region's residents through restrictions on their linguistic practices, but also to remove them from the influence of Roman Catholicism.

(Cathcart 2010:22). Indeed, it is difficult to assess just how much of an influence the required Lowlands education for clan chiefs' heirs had on their linguistic practices back in the Highlands, since the aim appears to have been to foster competence in English without explicit reference to the concomitant stamping out of Gaelic.

The idea that the language socialization practices inherent in formal schooling could serve cultural and religious 'civilizing' purposes also informed missionary activities by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), which operated in the Gàidhealteachd beginning in the early 18th century, and joined the Church of Scotland in bringing formal education (and Protestantism) to rural and remote areas of Scotland, which were often predominantly Catholic at the time. In the beginning, the SSPCK insisted on English as a medium of instruction and missionization in its schools; however, by the mid-1700s, the use of Gaelic in SSPCK schools fore educational and religious purposes began to initially be permitted and finally became universal. To be sure, the primary aim of the SSPCK in using Gaelic in its schools was the most effective delivery of scripture, and for remedial purposes in aiding the development of proficiency in English (Withers 1984:197, 260). Nonetheless, the SSPCK schools were perhaps the first in Scotland to provide formal education through the medium of Gaelic in the Gàidhealteachd, aided by printed materials such as a Gaelic-English glossary and bilingual religious tracts, including a New Testament with English and Gaelic pages facing each other (Withers 1982).

The drive to exterminate a distinct Highland culture that had been resisting control from a Protestant Lowland court intensified after the Battle of Culloden in 1745. These efforts made a more direct link between the practices of the Gàidhealteachd's residents and their language so that the control of the latter was thought to bring about the suppression of the former. The usage of Gaelic in institutions such as schools was outlawed, but the fact that only a small number of Gaelic speakers interacted with these institutions directly presumably limited the effect this restriction had on Gaelic childhood language socialization practices at the time. The migration and deaths of Gaelic speakers

as part of the Highland Clearances probably had a more devastating effect on the demographics of the language.[24]

Benign Neglect and Outright Hostility: Gaelic in National Scottish Schooling

Scotland retained control over its own education system despite its political union with England in 1603, and its subsequent integration into an emerging British empire controlled by the English crown. In 1872, the Education (Scotland) Act established compulsory primary education. It made no mention of Gaelic as either a medium or subject of instruction –an omission that has been seen as evidence for, at best, a policy of 'benign neglect' that has generally characterized the government's attitude toward Gaelic (Durkacz 1983, Withers 1984), and at worst, for an Anglophone conspiracy to give no place to Gaelic in modern society (MacKinnon 1974, 1977).

Unlike such perspectives focusing on the macro-social and symbolic consequences of this exclusion of Gaelic from government-sponsored education, its effects on actual Gaelic language socialization practices and experiences were probably more complex. There are several reports of local school principals and inspectors, which attest that Gaelic was both a subject and a medium of instruction, at least in certain contexts, both before and after the Education Act of 1872 (e.g. Rea 1964, Wilson 1998). These reports also show that patterns of school attendance in many rural areas were extremely spotty, even after school attendance became mandatory in 1872, so that it is questionable how much social control schools were able to exert upon students who rarely attended them (Durkacz 1983). Furthermore, although government-sponsored schools may have relegated Gaelic to the educational backbench, I heard from several older research participants that learnedness in Gaelic, as displayed through literacy in the language and familiarity with both the scripture and traditional lore, were highly prized and explicitly taught by parents and other relatives at home.

As I have shown in the discussion of linguistic life histories in the previous chapter, the role of schools in the Gaelic language socialization experiences of Gaelic

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[24] This is a very cursory treatment of several centuries Highland and Scottish history. There are several volumes that discuss the geographical, social and political history of Gaelic and the Gàidhealteachd (REFERENCES), the place of Gaelic in education in this period (REFERENCES), and the history of Scottish education (REFERENCES) in more detail.

speakers in the 20th century has been complicated. While there is no doubt that the more or less strictly enforced "English-only" rule in primary schools in the Gàidhealteachd overall had a detrimental effect on the Gaelic linguistic practices and language ideologies of children, the strong separation of Gaelic and English spheres in the community (including institutions such as schools) probably also contributed to a relatively stable bilingualism for much of the century.

Bringing Gaelic into the Schools: Precursors to GME

The Western Isles Council's Bilingual Education scheme, which operated from 1976 until 1983 is widely seen as the historical precursor to Gaelic-medium education, which was first implemented in Inverness and Glasgow in 1985. Indeed, the Western Isles councils education officials I interviewed who had been involved in the process of putting GME into action all pointed to the administrative reorganization of the region in the early 1970s as crucial for the creation of Gaelic-medium units in island schools a decade later. Until this time, the administration of the island chain known as the Outer Hebrides had been split up between two different administrative units of Scotland, with Lewis being part of Ross-shire, and Harris and the islands south of it belonging to Inverness-shire. Because each region had its educational system administered according to its own standards, policies and educational provisions differed between the islands.[25]

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[25] The most concrete consequence of this structure for island pupils was that students from Lewis had to travel and board in the island capital Stornoway in order to receive secondary education beginning at age 11, while students from Harris and the southern isles had to travel even further to the mainland, to Inverness or Lochaber. Travel conditions at the time meant that island pupils were separated from their families and communities for most of the week, if not the entire term (in the case of pupils from Harris and the southern islands). Though their lives in the hostels were closely supervised by older 'hostel mothers', they learned early to be independent –and that to advance in education and career, they had to leave their villages behind both physically and symbolically. According to reports from those who attended these schools, Gaelic may have been used for social interaction among students from the same village, but in the English-dominant environments of Stornoway and Inverness pupils often felt pressured to use English lest they openly advertise their nature as 'country bumpkins' to the town's more progressive inhabitants.This situation, now interpreted as pedagogically untenable for adolescents and as a sign of quasi-colonial indoctrination by mainland authorities leading to the 'brain drain' of the islands' population, continues to influence debates over educational provision on the Western Isles until today: the creation of a centrally located, dedicated Gaelic-medium school, such as exist in urban areas like Glasgow and Inverness, on Lewis is hindered by strong parental and community resistance to bussing young children from their villages around the island to attend school in Stornoway, even though transport conditions are vastly improved and teenagers travel

The Inverness-shire Council actually created a Gaelic Education Scheme for schools within its administrative purview in 1960, which made space for teachers to voluntarily use Gaelic as a medium of instruction in their classrooms to allow pupils to obtain a "fuller and more appropriate education" through the use of their mother tongue (Macleod 2003:2). The Scheme took advantage of a new curricular area of Environmental Studies (Macleod 2003), so that Gaelic became simultaneously the object and the medium of classroom study as a significant part of pupils' natural habitat. Although the Gaelic Education Scheme disappeared because of its reliance on teacher volunteers to implement it, the use of Gaelic in the classroom within the pedagogical frame of environmental studies was to become a central idea in the Western Isles Council's Bilingual Education scheme in the 1970s.

This project aimed for the maintenance of Gaelic skills in the island's children who, at this point in time, were acknowledged to have a "bilingual and bicultural background" (Murray and Morrison 1984:15). A key aspect of the project was a pedagogical focus on Environmental Studies, in which a pupil will "look more closely at his environment, and […] through observation and exploration […] isolate, identify and understand the various aspects of his environmental experiences and […] develop the language he needs to describe them." (Scottish Education Department 1965, as quoted in Murray and Morrison 1984:8) 20 schools in the Western Isles participated in the project, reaching 28% of all pupils enrolled in primary schools in the region. 92% of the children in these schools were reported to have some knowledge of Gaelic (but see chapter 2 for a discussion about the complexities of classifying children's social-linguistic competence in the school context) (Murray and Morrison 1984:6).

In parallel with legitimating the use of Gaelic in the classroom in order to prevent the children's apparently inevitable shift to English as their preferred medium of interaction, the designers of this educational model also sought to acknowledge (and validate) the everyday experiences of Western Isles schoolchildren, which were absent from mainstream British school books and other media. Instead of spaceships and circuses, teaching materials featured fishing boats and sheep dips (Murray and Morrison

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to the town on a regular basis to receive secondary education beyond the first two years provided by their village or district schools.

1984:28), and pupils took frequent field trips to explore their natural and social environments (Murray and Morrison 1984:12). This approach was intended to reduce the sense of alienation from their immediate social and natural environment that children were thought to develop upon entering school, and to mitigate his/her subsequent rejection of local activities and identities that was argued to be at the heart of the shift from Gaelic to English as a medium of communication.

However, according to the parents of some of the children who had participated in the scheme, this local focus was to become one of the bigger nails in the scheme's coffin, as children (and their parents) quickly tired of the amateurish nature of teacher-produced reading booklets containing hand-drawn black-and-white illustrations that did not acknowledge the non-local, but nevertheless very real, aspects of children's lives. Indeed, television and more frequent trips to the mainland due to improved transport and economic conditions had already made the colorful themes of mainstream pedagogical materials less alien to children.

In retrospect, the fate of the bilingual education scheme was probably predictable, for demographic as well as ideological reasons. Island children's social-linguistic environment had changed toward the relatively unmarked use of English in everyday interactions to such an extent that they tended to become English monolingual in practice within the first few years of primary education. In this context, the inclusion of Gaelic in the primary school curriculum through the bilingual education scheme happened too late to have any significant effect on maintaining or even expanding Gaelic skills in its pupils, or on safeguarding the continued usage of the language outside of the classroom.

This resistance to the pedagogical focus of the bilingual education scheme on language preservation was also illustrative of prevalent local beliefs of the school as a site for preparing children linguistically, intellectually and practically for life beyond the island. While the school played an important part in community life as physical and symbolic sites of the creation and enactment of local social organization, it nevertheless also functioned as the gateway to participation in the Scottish and British economic mainstream, which was a necessity for all but a small minority of the residents of the islands, which offered few options for obtaining and maintaining livelihoods. Using Gaelic as medium of formal instruction in the school setting violated local norms for the

linguistic division of labor, which had assigned not only distinctive social/institutional domains of use for each code, but also posited functional limitations for their referential and pragmatic range:

> 'What are the children going to sacrifice if they get more Gaelic?
> How can you teach Maths [sic] in Gaelic?
> What about Geography?' (Murray and Morrison 1984:11f.)

This typical reaction to the bilingual education scheme continued to circulate in the district even at the time of my research, indicating the endurance of the belief that Gaelic is more functionally limited than English, and that proficiency in Gaelic tends to be obtained at the expense of proficiency in Gaelic.

Gaelic-Medium Education: The Beginning

Against this backdrop, Gaelic-medium education emerged on the Isle of Lewis in second half of the1980s as an alternative model of bilingual education that was intended both as a last-ditch effort to preserve the linguistic skills of the few remaining pre-school children monolingual in Gaelic, and perhaps more importantly, to develop Gaelic competence in children who did not experience Gaelic language socialization at home (Macleod 2003:4f). In the early years of the decade, a community revitalization project on Lewis supported financially and logistically by the Dutch *Van Leer Group Foundation* included the creation of parent-run playgroups for the pre-school children in the island's rural communities. Some of their organizers saw these groups as an essential part in the revitalization of Gaelic in the community. As one mother involved in the early days of one of these playgroups (which later became known as "croileagan") pointed out to me, most people had forgotten (or never learned) how to interact with children through the medium of Gaelic, so that most of the playgroup activities were led by and focused on a Gaelic-speaking adult leader. This arrangement also had the effect of preventing the children from using English with each other as their shared (and often only) medium of interaction. Unlike the proponents of the bilingual education scheme, who thought they could maintain Gaelic proficiency in addition to English proficiency through institutional legitimization of the language in and through the school, those involved in the Gaelic-medium playgroups came to realize that the only way Gaelic could have a chance for

maintenance or even resurgence in an English-dominant social environment was to exclude the latter from (inter-)actions altogether.

When the children from the Gaelic-medium playgroups reached school age, their parents saw Gaelic-medium education at the primary level as a natural extension of Gaelic-medium pre-school activities. This view was based on the belief, so widespread in Western Europe and many other parts of the world, that literacy and academic competence are integral parts of being a speaker of a language (McEwan Fujita 2010). In many of the parents' view, the lack of such competence was at least partially to blame for the declining role of Gaelic in the community. While this ideology of literate speakerhood, as McEwan-Fujita (2010) has called it, is intimately connected to ideologies of standardized language inherent in Western models of national languages, these parents were not so much concerned with the creation of a standardized code, but rather with obtaining the institutional support and ideological framework associated with standardized languages to legitimize and make space for the linguistic practices of their children. Perhaps not surprisingly, these parents were mostly

> professional people, themselves often involved in Gaelic education, usually knowledgeable about language and confident enough to take the first steps into what was, in Scotland, largely unknown territory at this time. (Macleod 2003:5)

In other words, they were part of an emerging group Gaelic language revitalization activists that sought to provide the kind of symbolic and institutional support to Gaelic that national European languages had developed in the 19th and 20th century. They also stood out in local communities for both their sociological characteristics and their willingness to challenge long-entrenched belief systems and institutional structures, making waves in places that, at least on the surface, prefer calm seas.

On Lewis, the creation of a Gaelic-medium unit at the local school in the village of Breasclete in 1986 was facilitated by the demographic coincidence that the only pupils due to start in Primary 1 of the local school that year were four bright-eyed boys who had attended the local Gaelic playgroup together and were "in tune with Gaelic", as the caption of the picture recording this historical event in the local newspaper *Stornoway Gazette*, proclaimed (Figure 3).

In tune with Gaelic
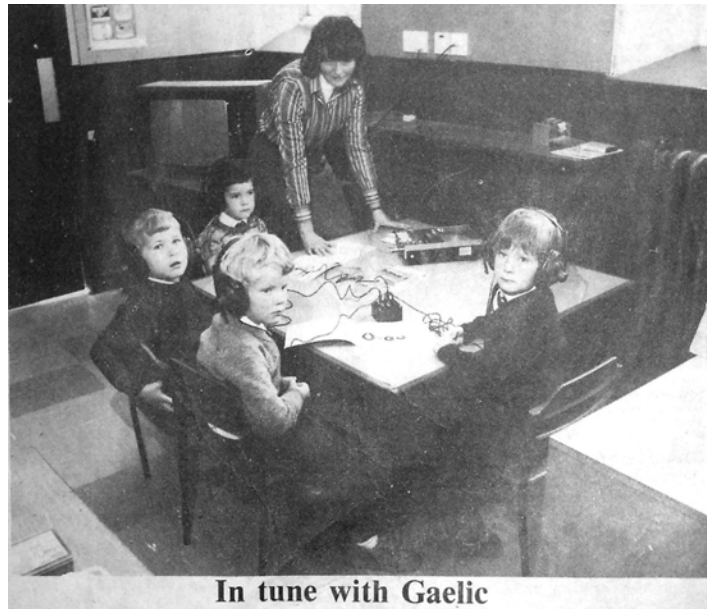
Figure 3: Picture appearing in the Stornoway Gazette on Aug 23, 1986 (p. 3)

Their parents were able to avoid many of the charges of divisiveness and elitism that usually ensue in other communities in response to the introduction of Gaelic-medium education by arguing that the seconding of another teacher to the school to teach through the medium of Gaelic would alleviate the potential strain of four new pupils on the single teacher responsible for the single English-medium classroom of the school. However, when parents in other island communities started expressing interests in Gaelic-medium units at their local schools soon after, criticisms of GME as driving a socially divisive wedge into previously unified rural communities started emerging. As one parent wrote in response to an article in the Stornoway Gazette detailing the request for the opening of a Gaelic-medium school at Point primary school in 1987, the public and the Western Isles Council should not confuse the vocal demands of a few parents as being representative of all parents.

The Gaelic-medium unit at Sgoil a' Chreaig opened in 1989, joining twelve units already in existence across Scotland, and becoming the third in the Western Isles (Macleod 2003). Just like the Gaelic-medium pupils of Breasclete School, the four children (three boys and one girl) entering Sgoil a' Chreaig's Gaelic-medium primary 1 classroom had experienced most of their socialization in Gaelic, including the local Gaelic playgroup, and were, according to the reports of their parents and teacher, Gaelic-

dominant in both their linguistic competence and habitual practice.. Unlike most of the pupils entering GME today, they entered GME in order to develop literacy and academic skills in the language and not in order to learn Gaelic. Mrs. Macleod, their teacher, lived two streets away from the school, having grown up in the district before the pervasive shift in community linguistic practices in the post-World War II era, and had been a primary school teacher at Sgoil a' Chreaig for most of her life. Mrs. Macleod had not received special training for Gaelic-medium teaching -rather, she was a fluent Gaelic speaker with a teaching certificate, like the majority of Gaelic-medium teachers at the time (Macleod 2003). She also had participated in the previous bilingual education scheme, which had left her keenly aware of the logistical difficulties and practical constraints of educating primary school pupils in what had become a minority language for most children growing up in the district. Nonetheless, she was enthusiastic about the idea of Gaelic-medium education and her new job. Two more full-time teachers joined Mrs Macleod as her first pupils progressed through the primary school years, creating three classrooms that initially comprised the Gaelic-medium 'unit' at Sgoil a' Chreaig. Although the enrolments in GME at Sgoil a' Chreaig have grown considerably and now make up around fifty per cent of all new entrants at the school, the three-classroom of what is now called the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig (to avoid the rhetorical creation of seemingly impermeable barriers to the rest of the school) persists to this day.

In my conversation with teachers involved in the early days of GME at Sgoil a' Chreaig and on the Isle of Lewis, their work was burdened by pervasive logistical challenges, including the lack of appropriate teaching materials, whether or not they depicted local themes. For many years after the initiation of GME on the Western Isles, teachers spent countless (unpaid) hours creating worksheets and other materials to teach reading, writing and math. They translated English children's books into Gaelic, and glued the typed or even handwritten translations over the original text in order to create classroom libraries. It was only in the mid-1990s that the Education Department of the CNES collected these items (revealing both significant overlaps and gaps in these individually produced pieces) and made them available to all teachers through a staffed

central resource center.[26] Teachers did heed the negative effects of earlier attempts to tie Gaelic-medium materials to primarily local themes and topics, and made an effort to make these new materials more colorful and urbane in both topics and illustrations. Nonetheless, the materials often suffered from the same home-made and amateurish appearance as those used in the earlier bilingual education scheme.

On an ideological level, entrenched beliefs about the division of social-linguistic labor performed by each code in this bilingual community, as well as a firmly held principle of the egalitarian nature of the community and the indivisibility of its local institutions (see also chapter 2), presented a formidable challenge to the implementation of GME. Rather than making space for Gaelic alongside English in the classroom, the model of GME stipulates the exclusive use of Gaelic as a medium of instruction for the first two years of primary school, to be followed by the gradual introduction of English as an academic subject, so as to allow the development of equal facility in both languages for academic purposes. In this sense, it imitated the principle of distribution of languages as the established mainstream (now called English-medium) education model, but reversed the roles of each code in the classroom.

Furthermore, the assumption of an unlimited referential capacity at the heart of Gaelic-medium education violates the markedness relations between English and Gaelic in the community. Older members, perhaps internalizing the experience of physical and emotional abuse received from their teachers for using Gaelic in the classroom, doubted not just the value of Gaelic in the school context, but its very referential and grammatical capacity for academic and intellectual activities at the heart of formal education. A refrain commonly voiced by members of this generation even more than a decade after the first pupils entered the Gaelic-medium unit at Sgoil a' Chreaig was that one could not "do" mathematics, natural science, or other academic subjects where clarity and un-ambiguity of reference were seen to be crucial, "in Gaelic" (a charge leveled at minority-language education projects in many other contexts).

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[26] However, in other areas of Scotland, such as the Highland region and Glasgow, the implementation of Gaelic-medium education led to more organized and publicly financed efforts to create teaching materials, including graded reading schemes, that slowly came to be shared between the education departments of the local authorities.

For younger residents of the district, the social contexts associated with Gaelic for older community members had switched almost entirely to English in the course of the pervasive changes the relative distribution and valuation of the two codes in the years and decades before the initiation of GME. As a result, English had increasingly come to function as the (relatively) unmarked code for a sizable number of their social interactions, so that the efforts of language activists to turn Gaelic into a medium of pedagogical instruction, and by extension a medium of social interaction between pupils and teachers contravened these markedness relations.

To many residents of the district, the creation of a separate Gaelic-medium unit within the school also represented an explicit violation of the community's egalitarian nature. Although the school's Gaelic-medium classrooms are located in the same corridors as their English-medium equivalents and its pupils eat in the same lunchroom and participate in the same after-school activities, the fact that parents in the community can choose to put their children in a separate, 'special' classroom elicits either accusatory or apologetic references to its social divisiveness from almost anyone I spoke to. Parents of new school entrants in particular tended to discuss in detail how their decision to enroll their child in the Gaelic-medium unit negatively affected their own and their children's friendships with those who sent their child to the English-medium stream after the children had attended the same playgroup and started to become part of the same social group.[27]

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[27] Many parents of English-medium educated children in the district also express frustration that there are virtually no Gaelic lessons available to children not enrolled in GME; although CNES education policy officially refers to the English-medium track in its primary schools as "bilingual", the actual delivery of Gaelic lessons depends on the availability and willingness of teachers who feel competent enough in Gaelic and have time to devote to this task. Gaelic lessons for non-Gaelic-speaking pupils in the English-medium track are conducted by teacher's aides and other school staff commonly considered to be fluent speakers of Gaelic, but who may not have had pedagogical training in teaching the language. These lessons were short and tended to repetitively focus on numbers, colors, and certain formulaic expressions that children may or may not encounter again the next year, depending on their teachers. As a result, it is nearly impossible for a child to develop fluency in Gaelic in the English-medium education track in primary school, as my observations of Gaelic lessons in the first year of secondary school bore out: While pupils had quickly progressed to writing essays about themselves and their interests in their French lessons (which are provided more consistently than Gaelic lessons at the end of primary school), they were still practicing greetings and simple conversations about the weather.

Contributing to the charge of divisiveness of having two educational streams within one school, GME has also been perceived, both locally and nationally, as an elitist educational model for the children of class-conscious parents, funded at the expense of mainstream pupils and their education.[28] This perception is bolstered by suspicions (vigorously fought by promoters of GME) that only children of above-average intelligence and ability can be found (and succeed) in GME. While the overall academic attainment of GM-educated pupils at least matches, if not exceeds, that of English-medium educated pupils (Johnstone et al 1999; O' Hanlon et al 2010), an accomplishment that features prominently in the official promotion of GME, this situation may be seen as the result of several supporting factors, including the individual efforts of GM teachers at the infant stage (the first two years of primary education in Scotland) and a certain amount of parental self-selection. For one, the parents most receptive to the idea of GME tend to be well educated themselves, and of relatively high socio-economic status -both characteristics of children who tend to do well in school. Secondly, children entering school with an already identified learning disability or other impairment are usually steered away from GME by teachers and administrators, while those diagnosed with a disability in the course of their primary education are sometimes moved to an English-medium classroom, in order to lessen the (perceived) academic and cognitive burden of performing schoolwork in two languages –even if the individual's disability does not directly relate to language processing. Indeed, GM learning support for pupils with learning and other disabilities is difficult to come by, because of a shortage of specially trained learning support teachers fluent in Gaelic and other local constraints on the provision of support from such teachers (Macleod 2003). Consequently, the argument that GME *in practice* tends to serve educationally and economically privileged pupils can certainly be made, though the design of the educational model itself does not demand this.

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[28] Against the backdrop of these charges of divisiveness and favoritism, it does not help matters that the pupils in the Gaelic-medium unit frequently have the opportunity, either individually or as a group, to participate in local ad national Gaelic radio and TV programs, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 7. The school's staff generally made an effort to counter these complaints by including all pupils in non-academic and extra-curricular activities, such as assemblies and school concerts, but the extra attention levied on pupils from the Gaelic-medium stream was noticeable even to an outside observer.

Gaelic-Medium Education: The Model

Although Gaelic-medium education (GME) is often presented (and discussed here) as a unified model based on the practice of delivering instruction through the medium of Gaelic, the implementation of this idea has always been, and continues to be, under the purview of regional government authorities, which are the owners and operators of state-sponsored primary and secondary schools in Scotland. These local education authorities deliver primary and secondary education according to the standards and priorities identified in the Scottish National Curriculum, but do not necessarily do so in a nationally uniform way. In the case of GME, this structure leads to rather dramatic differences between different education authorities in the delivery of Gaelic-medium education at the primary as well as secondary school level. While Gaelic is used as the only medium of instruction for all subjects at all stages in primary schools in the Highland Council region (with reading and writing in English being introduced in the third year of primary schooling), the configuration of the use of English and Gaelic is considerably more complicated in schools in the Western Isles.

The first two years of GME in CNES primary schools is called the "immersion" phase, where all instruction is supposed to be delivered through the medium of Gaelic. English is introduced as both a medium and subject of instruction in the third year. The use of English as a medium of instruction then expands to include mathematics in the fourth year and then continues to other subject areas until "a balanced bilingual approach [permeates] the curriculum" (Comhairle nan Eilean Siar 1996, as quoted in Macleod 2003). In the literature promoting GME on the Western Isles, this set-up is represented in the following chart:

GÀIDHLIG / GAELIC		BEURLA / ENGLISH
Pr 1 & 2	100%	0%
Pr 3	90%	10%
Pr 4	80%	20%
Pr 5	70%	30%
Pr 6	60%	40%
Pr 7	50%	50%

Figure 4: Representation of the distribution of languages in GMEin primary schools on Western Isles

Though the official literature makes it appear to be carefully calculated, the actual balance of languages in the GM-classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig and other Western Isles schools I visited varied from day to day, teacher to teacher, and subject to subject (which I will discuss in detail in the following chapters).

Despite regional variations in implementation, GME in Scotland does have its own set of National Guidelines to complement the Guidelines for English-medium education in Scotland. In the early 1990s, when Gaelic-medium education was still a relatively young pedagogical enterprise, but had already been initiated in 31 schools across the country and enrolled over 600 pupils, the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum oversaw the development of national guidelines for Gaelic instruction as part of the Scottish 5-14 curriculum for primary and the first two years of secondary education, which were officially published in 1993. These Guidelines covered the use of Gaelic as a medium of instruction in GME and as a separate subject of Gaelic language arts in both GME and English-medium primary education. In 2004, the newly published *Curriculum for Excellence* covering education for ages three to eighteen years replaced the 5-14 Guidelines. However, at the time of my research, teachers had just begun to respond to these new guidelines in their teaching.

The National Guidelines set out academic aims and goals for Scottish primary and secondary education in general, and achievement levels for individual subject areas. In

the case of Gaelic-medium education, the Guidelines identified listening, talking, reading and writing as the main areas of achievement, each of which was comprised of a number of so-called strands of learning whose outcomes were evaluated to ensure that pupils have achieved minimum levels of competency (labeled A through F) as they progress through the seven years of primary education and first two years of secondary education. Pupils progress through each level of every learning strand at their own pace, often in small groups, until their teachers assess their progress to make sure they can proceed to the next level of work. Pupils are expected to reach the higher levels of competence in each assessment area by the end of their primary education.[29]

Ideological Underpinnings and Challenges of GME

       The National Guidelines for GME, in the form of the 5-14 Curriculum, lay out some of the fundamental beliefs and assumptions underlying this educational enterprise. Indeed, they reflect and instantiate some of the major language ideologies at the heart of Gaelic language revitalization efforts, combined with more general Western European conceptions of the nature and purpose of language, and the role of language in institutionalized education. Generally, the curricular design of GME as specified in the Guidelines favors formal linguistic competence and academic performance over social-linguistic competence, as defined by local norms.

       The introduction to the 5-14 Gaelic curriculum justifies the inclusion of Gaelic in the classroom in parallel with the neo-liberal narratives of the importance of minority languages deployed by language revitalization activitists more generally (McEwan-Fujita 2010). Contextualizing Gaelic as "one of a large number of minority European languages" (http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/gaelicsubjectpage.asp, accessed 7/9/2010), the text highlights the economic potential of Gaelic in business and industry, so that schools "will need to equip Gaelic-speaking pupils in the skills necessary to take advantage of the growing number of employment opportunities available locally and nationally." However, while the idea of a Gaelic growth economy has been used to justify

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[29] Notably, the main areas of achievement, strands of learning, and attainment measures for Gaelic laid down in the Guidelines are virtually the same as for English. I will discuss the assumption of functional equivalence of the two codes in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Gaelic revitalization efforts for a number of years, the actual number of jobs requiring the use of Gaelic has been open to speculation (McEwan-Fujita 2008).

According to the Guidelines, the economic value of Gaelic lies in the expression, transmission and acquisition of (factual) information, since "language is at the heart of children's learning" through which "they receive knowledge". At the same time, GME should aim to "develop pupils' Gaelic language skill and knowledge so that they can fully realize their ability to understand Gaelic and use it *accurately*." While this focus on grammatically correct and referentially precise language use reflects a common language ideology in contexts of standardized languages, it stands in stark contrast to the importance of socially and aesthetically acceptable forms of using Gaelic in the division of linguistic labor among Gaelic-socialized speakers as well as the needs of GME-socialized pupils to learn to recognize and control these forms if they are to interact successfully with these speakers.

The development and display of what one might call social-linguistic competence, including the ability to modify one's speech according to one's interlocutors and to utilize aesthetic elements of language use, remain largely under-specified in the 5-14 Guidelines, both in terms of an explicit description of these skills, and criteria for their assessment. Indeed, while the guidelines also include the development of "interrelationships with the Gaelic community" as one of the primary aims of GME, there is no direct linkage of the two in terms of pupils' social-linguistic competence. The only aspect of such competence addressed in the guidelines for writing is an "awareness of audience and purpose", but in the attainment targets for this aspect of talking, this awareness is defined mainly as the pupils' ability to manipulate the delivery of their speech, so that they "talk clearly and audibly" and, in the higher levels, "show a sense of purpose and audience in pace and tone of delivery." Similarly, the guidelines' explications of knowledge about language to be attained by pupils, across each category of language use in the 5-14 curriculum, do not include measures of social appropriateness, but rather focus on the knowledge of codified principles of language use in writing: spelling, punctuation, grammar, and linguistic elements identifying various (written) genres.

In contrast to continued concerns among parents and other community members that using Gaelic as a medium of instruction will hinder children's academic progress, the 5-14 Guidelines assume that pupils enrolled in GME progress academically at more or less the same pace as their English-medium educated counterparts, with some allowances being made for the fact that English literacy instruction does not begin until third year of primary school. However, because most pupils enrolled in GME are not Gaelic-socialized before starting school, teachers (especially during the first few years of primary education) are under tremendous pressure to focus on aspects of linguistic competence, such as grammatical correctness and referential sufficiency, that are most important for performing well in an academic context in general and on tests in particular, but may not be in use or of importance to local standards of communication.

If the goal of GME is to produce competent speakers of Gaelic, the basic ideology reflected in the Guidelines' definition of such competent language use is that language is a vehicle for the transmission of information, and that the social contact created by the exchange of language between speakers serves to disseminate 'data', i.e. "to convey information; to establish relationships and interact with others; to express feelings; to present, share, clarify and reflect on ideas, experiences and opinions; [and] to give satisfaction and aesthetic pleasure" –a list that is repeated, with only small modifications for each category of language use specified in the Guidelines. However, as I have already discussed elsewhere, for older Gaelic speakers, the functionality of Gaelic in transmitting certain types of information is heavily circumscribed; and perhaps more importantly, they have a strong concern with the creation of egalitarian social relationships with their interlocutors that overrides the referential function of language.

In addition to privileging the referential function of language, the Guidelines promote/assume equally strong competence in each mode of language use, reflecting what McEwan-Fujita (2010) has called an ideology of literate speakerhood. According to this ideology, the ability to read and write a language is an integral part of being a speaker of a language -reflecting the belief that reading and writing are semiotically straightforward and uncomplicated representations of the acts of hearing and speaking language. Similarly, the skills and activities of reading and writing are seen as functionally separate from the texts to be read or written; in other words, once the skills

of decoding letters and encoding words has been acquired, they are assumed to be able to be used with any set of letters and words one encounters independent of their context. Indeed, as I will show in Chapter 5, literacy activities are an integral part of the Gaelic language socialization experienced by GME-socialized children, which shapes their interactions with, and uses of, the language.

This ideology of literate speakerhood stands in stark contrast to the conceptions of Gaelic speakerhood espoused by older Gaelic speakers, for whom the activity of reading Gaelic was intimately and often inextricably tied to reading the Bible to such an extent that some would tell me that they could only read the Bible in Gaelic, but not, for example, the weekly Gaelic column in the newspaper.[30] Although Gaelic does have a rich literary tradition (which remains largely inaccessible to older speakers of the language due to real as well as perceived shortcomings in their reading skills), the writing skills of children enrolled in GME are mostly evaluated for evidence of linguistic elements such as consistent correctness of grammatical features and a coherent narrative structure–standards more or less identical to those used for evaluating children's English story-writing skills (citation). Classroom writing instruction in either language focuses on these features and characteristics to the exclusion of conventions and features of other genres of language use, especially those not deemed appropriate or legitimate for usage in a classroom context. For example, the written representation of dialectal differences and other non-referential aspects of language use received little, if any, attention in the writing instruction I observed in GME classrooms. Similarly, pupils' experience of such differences that remained in the written texts they encountered was couched in terms of referential equivalence rather than exploration of the semiotic effects of these differences in written and spoken forms of language (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of this issue).

'Fichead is Fallain'/*Twenty and Healthy? Gaelic-Medium Education today*

In the spring of 2006, the Gaelic-medium pupils from Sgoil a' Chreaig, wearing their formal school uniforms, attended the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the

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[30] As I will discuss in Chapter 5, the difficulties these speakers reported in reading Gaelic texts other than the Bible appeared to go beyond any obvious differences in spelling conventions that do exist in different genres of Gaelic writing.

inception of GME on the Isle of Lewis that organized by the Western Isles Council at the new Arts Center, which was built in the town center opposite the harbor to serve as a beacon of re-energized island life. They were able to view their own and others' art work featuring classroom scenes from Gaelic-medium classrooms at schools in the Western Isles, collect promotional balloons and buttons featuring the *Fichead is Fallain* ('Twenty and Healthy') logo designed for the occasion, and take a short side trip to Woolworth's to buy candy for the bus trip back to school.

Figure 5: Banner at the celebration of the 20th anniversary of GME on the Isle of Lewis

At the exhibition, the Education department of the Western Isles Council launched a new DVD showcasing GME that it had produced, which featured parents, teachers and current and former pupils of GME, including some who were participating in my research. This promotion of GME both by individual proponents and by local and national governmental bodies and organizations offers a window to the underlying ideological and pedagogical tensions and challenges inherent in the GME model. Although these may not always be the same as the tensions and challenges arising from GME in practice, they nonetheless reveal some of the fundamental historical, social and political aspects of the Gaelic revitalization movement and its focus on GME as the

primary means for reversing the decline in speakers and shift in the social geography of the language.

Overall, the DVD attempts to convey the message that after 20 years of increasingly successful implementation, GME is an exciting and progressive option for parents to choose for their children's education for several reasons beyond its role in the (controversial) language revitalization efforts in the Western Isles and Scotland. Though it mentions the importance of Gaelic to the history of the area and current community life, the promotional material deploys the neoliberal frame (cf McEwan-Fujita) of presenting the social and economic value of bilingualism in an increasingly tight link between the islands and the mainland as well as the rest of the world. Statements about the prevalence of bilingualism on a European and a global level are presented to normalize the goal of complete Gaelic-English bilingualism at the heart of GME, while evidence for the cognitive and academic benefits of bilingualism address locally prevalent ideologies that bilingualism in general and Gaelic-English bilingualism in particular have negative effects on children's competence in one language at the expense of the other and on their academic performance in school.

The design and content of this DVD show implicitly that to a large extent, the community reaction to GME has remained surprisingly consistent even 20 years after its inception. For instance, the visual appearance of and statements made by both the parents and the former pupils featured in the DVD reflect the compatibility of speaking Gaelic with leading an economically successful life integrated in mainstream Scottish life, challenging competing stereotypes of Gaelic as the iconic representation of rural, uneducated and worn crofters and fishermen. In the DVD, both groups attest to the academic advantages of bilingualism, further supported by widely circulated research on the academic attainment levels of pupils enrolled in GME published in 1999, which showed that they did at least as well, if not better, than English-medium educated pupils in all areas of testing, including English language arts (Johnstone et al 1999). The last point in emphasized repeatedly by teachers, given that Gaelic is often considered (by older speakers) to have a particularly negative effect on children's competence in English, though they were unable to articulate the exact source of that influence. At the same time, promoting this aspect of GME in order to assuage fears of commonly

surmised lags of educational achievement and linguistic competence, is a delicate matter given the simultaneous wide-spread perceptions of GME as fundamentally elitist discussed above.

Informal interactions and semi-structured interviews alike also revealed the persistence of certain stereotypes about GME addressed in the promotional DVD. Parents were still concerned whether their children's academic progress would be hindered by being taught through the medium of Gaelic, and confessed to a certain amount of guilt for sending their child to the GME stream at the school when the neighbors' children were enrolled in the English-medium stream. Grandparents claimed that they could not comprehend their grandchildren's homework, which employed a decimal-based number system rather than the original 20-based system, and involved reading books involving characters such as talking dolphins and flying dragons. And although a certain kind of truce has been struck in the war over the violation of egalitarianism by the existence of two educational tracks in the school, there are still rumblings over the perceived privileging of GME and its pupils when the latter become all too visible in public.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how historical conditions, ideological orientations, pedagogical demands, and demographic shifts have shaped the creation and implementation of Gaelic-medium education as a school-based model for language revitalization in the district of A' Chreag on the Isle of Lewis, and beyond. While the relationship between Gaelic and formal education as a site of language socialization has been the object of political intervention in the past, it was only in the latter part of the 20th century that attempts to halt or even reverse the decline of Gaelic in the Gàidhealteachd and Scotland as a whole have deployed formal state-sponsored education and its associated role as a purveyor of institutional and symbolic legitimacy for groups of speakers and their social-linguistic practices.

The historical conditions of GME's emergence as an extension of Gaelic language socialization in the domestic sphere, which was modeled on the historically specific, but seemingly universal model of state-sponsored primary education promulgated in much of the Western world since the 19th century led to a strong ideological and pragmatic affinity

of Gaelic language socialization activities at the heart of GME with those found in English-medium mainstream education in Scotland. However, this attempt to procure institutional legitimacy for the language and its speakers by creating and conferring forms of social-linguistic competence in Gaelic that were modeled on that of the English majority language surrounding it also created a source of ideological conflict with the social-linguistic practices and beliefs of older Gaelic speakers. As GME came to provide more and more of the total Gaelic language socialization experiences of children growing up in the district, the influence of GME's language socialization practices on its pupils' social-linguistic competence became more pronounced, and a source of stereotyping of this emerging group of speakers.

In the following chapters, I will discuss the implementation of the model of GME in more detail as I examine the language socialization experiences provided by the teachers and staff in the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig. I will show that the focus on linguistic competence and academic achievement in GME, paired with a purist ideology and a tendency toward linguistic accommodation, leads to a new generation of GME-socialized speakers of Gaelic whose social-linguistic practices, including the linguistic forms used, and associated ideological basis differ in significant and politically contentious ways from the practices and language ideologies of adult Gaelic speakers in the community. Adult speakers focus on these differences as the reason for their reluctance to use Gaelic with GME-socialized children, whose Gaelic is said to lack *blas* as a sign of authenticity and social acceptability within the local speech community

Chapter 5

The Political Economy of Codes in the Gaelic-medium Classroom

Introduction

As in (other) bilingual communities, the codes used in bilingual classrooms exist within the framework of a political economy of language (Irvine 1987) that provides semiotic scaffolding for the production and interpretation of speech, including the contrastive use codes indicated by switching between them at different levels of linguistic analysis, and the intermixing of elements from both. Although classrooms may develop their own political economy of codes, this framework governing the production and interpretation of speech is in dynamic tension with other such frameworks in existence outside of the classroom itself. In GME classrooms, the political economy of Gaelic and English exists against the backdrop of the larger political economy of languages (and the politics of language) in the local community as well as in Scotland as a whole. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the historical condition of the creation of GME on the Western Isles, if not in Scotland as a whole, have shaped the ideological tenets of GME as an educational model that aims to produce equally competent speakers of two languages. In practice, GM teachers must continually negotiate this pedagogical aim with the demographic and practical challenges of teaching in the medium of a minority language whose status in the experiences of individual students as well as in the political economy of language of the surrounding community is all but equal to that occupied by the English language.

Perhaps the biggest challenge for GME from the viewpoint of its political economy of language(s) is to reconcile the reality of English dominance in most of its pupils and in the surrounding community with its goal of the symbolic equality of English and Gaelic in its classrooms and in the competence of its pupils. To achieve this symbolic equality, GME accords the two codes a functional equivalence based on the

assumption of linguistic universalism (anything can be expressed in any language) that is diametrically opposed to the division of linguistic labor observed in the community. Pupils in GME are encouraged and expected to be able to develop equal proficiency in each language, as evidenced by their performance on academic tasks.

In doing so, they draw upon a set of language ideologies governing the relationship between English and Gaelic, including the existence of two separate, delineable codes, the functional sufficiency of Gaelic (in comparison with English), and the functional equality of Gaelic and English –all of which are at odds with the language ideologies held by most older speakers of Gaelic (see Chapter 2). In other words, GME operates within a political economy of languages that treats Gaelic as a code that entirely separate from English and that its speakers can use to accomplish any social-linguistic function without resorting English, which stands in stark contrast to children's experience of extensive code-switching and –mixing by adults in the community, and the unequal division of linguistic labor in most aspects of social life in the district.

The GME teachers I observed during my research put this framework into action in different ways, creating micro-economies of language in their classrooms that were at odds with each other and with the language ideologies found in the local community outside the classroom. Indeed, over the course of seven years of primary education, the patterns of language use, including the negotiation of two codes in the Gaelic-medium classroom appear to move further and further away from the political economy of language of the local community. Since GME is an explicit attempt to change the social conditions that have led to the decline of Gaelic in the community, this approach may appear logical in terms of reversing language shift, but also creates a seemingly paradoxical situation where the language socialization experienced by pupils leads them away from, rather than toward, community norms of using two languages.

Beyond the issue of configuring the relationship between Gaelic and English in particular ways, GME also has to impart on its pupils an appreciation of the political economy of linguistic variation within Gaelic, in terms of the register and dialects that are at the heart of stylistic variation found among different speakers of Gaelic. As part of the overall decline of Gaelic usage in the district and in Scotland as a whole, the range of registers and dialects still in use among adult Gaelic speakers has contracted as well.

While some of the dialects, such as the Gaelic of East Sutherland on the north-east coast of the Scottish mainland, have been moribund for decades (Dorian 1981), others have started declining more recently. At the same time, changes in language socialization experiences from a geographically limited, domestic context to an institutionalized setting bringing together novices and teachers from a variety of locations around the Gàidhealteachd has created conditions for the emergence of a new register/variant, which merges features from several dialects and whose name ("mid-Minch Gaelic") hints at the break-down of previous dialect boundaries.

The range of registers identifiable within Gaelic has undergone a similarly paradoxical development: on the one hand, the decline in speakers and in contexts associated with the use of Gaelic has led to the weakening or disappearance of certain register as salient sources of stylistic variation. For example, the active use of Biblical Gaelic has waned with the concurrent rise of English as a medium of emotional and spiritual identification at the heart of people's religious activity within a Protestant Christian framework (Heath 2002). As I described in Chapter 3, the obsolescence of peat-cutting and other practices associated with a traditional crafting lifestyle has also led to the loss not only of opportunities for interaction between Gaelic speakers, but also of linguistic expressions and practices at the heart of these practices as social events.[31] On the other hand, the emergence of new domains of language use and of language socialization (state-sponsored primary education and second-language education aimed at adults) as the result of Gaelic language revitalization efforts have led to the development of new registers (such as BBC Gaelic) and identity categories ('adult learners') which are in the process of entering, and thus re-configuring, the political economy of Gaelic.

In this chapter, I will focus on how the use of Gaelic is configured in Gaelic-medium education, both vis-à-vis its "giant bedfellow" (Watson 1989) i.e. the English language, and against the regime of stylistic variation within Gaelic.[32] My aim is to show

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[31] Some of these traditional linguistic practices, such as the songs that were sung by women during the so-called 'waulking' process in the production of tweed cloth, have been elevated to a canonical art form that is, among other places, showcased in competitions at the Mòds even though the practice has long been discontinued in contemporary tweed production.

[32] My presentation of English as a singular, unified code unencumbered by multiple, potentially competing regimes of stylistic variation is not intended to elide the complex interplay of social-linguistic variation inherent in the use of English on the Isle of Lewis and in Scotland/Britain as a

that in response to the pedagogical and political demands of a school-based language revitalization project, the language socialization practices promulgated by GME construct a political economy of language that privileges a (relatively) narrow range of linguistic forms and practices within Gaelic, discourages other such forms and practices in use among older Gaelic speakers, and ultimately equips GME-socialized pupils with a regime of stylistic variation that makes it difficult for them to navigate the heavily politicized linguistic landscape in the contemporary Gaelic language community.

Sgoil a' Chreaig: A Bilingual School

Most of the staff at Sgoil a' Chreaig, especially the head teachers, tried hard to make Gaelic visible and accord it a privileged status in the daily life of the school. Starting with the display of the school's name in Gaelic on all its signage, Gaelic has a visible presence in most areas of the school. Pupils' school-work in Gaelic was displayed alongside school work in English in the corridor. Stickers on classroom doors proclaimed "Tha Gàidhlig ga bruidhinn an seo" [Gaelic is spoken here], and the signs indicating the school office, library, canteen, etc were either in Gaelic or bilingual. Contrary to prevailing approach to translation between English and Gaelic that attempted to make the Gaelic on signs appear as similar to English as possible (McEwan-Fujita 2005), some of these signs even accorded the Gaelic portion its own style. For example, the Gaelic portion of the sign for the schools "tuck" (snack) shop operated by the janitor out of his combined office and storage space during the main morning break reads in Gaelic: "The restaurant is open at play time, 10.40 – 10.55 if you want something to drink or eat." This is placed above a picture of a smiling bag of potato chips and of a smiling apple, while the English statement below the pictures read: "The cafeteria is open for snacks and drinks at the interval, 10.40 – 10.55."

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whole. Rather, the issues I gesture at here are beyond the scope of my current argument. For a detailed study of the place of English in the Lewis speech community, see Sabban (1982).

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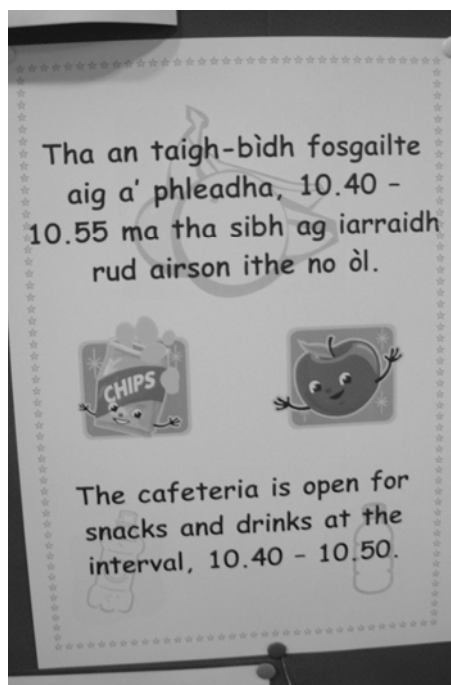
Figure 6: Sign marking snack shop at Sgoil a' Chreaig

Many of the school staff made an effort to address the pupils, whether or not they were enrolled in GME, in Gaelic when they interacted with them in the corridor or at lunch. Gaelic was also used at most, if not all official school functions, even when the majority of the audience may have been English-dominant or English monolinguals. For example, the school's monthly assembly, a religious service for the whole school community led by the minister of the local church and featuring performances by pupils from various classes, always included the singing of one or more Gaelic psalms. Other events, such as Christmas concerts and other performances, drew audiences from the entire district, including those who (no longer) had children attending the school. These events always included a welcoming address and farewell message in Gaelic, delivered by either the school's principal or a host from the BBC Gaelic radio service, who was a popular emcee for such community events. Despite their prominent professional status in the community, they were admired for their verbal skill in engaging an audience, and for their ability to mix English and Gaelic in ways that were entertaining and did not offend older Gaelic speakers' linguistic aesthetics. It was therefore was almost impossible for an individual pupil to attend school every day without hearing some Gaelic, either directed

at them or their peers, much like in the daily life of the district outside of school (see Chapter 8).

However, based on my observations, it was questionable how big an effect the visibility of Gaelic had on the pupils' view on, and comprehension of, the language. Much like in the surrounding community, the school's pupils did not seem to consider the Gaelic they heard (or saw) as being addressed to them and as something that they needed to be able to decode in order to participate in interactions or events. When a teacher or other member of the school staff addressed them in Gaelic, they would either nod and smile or wait for the English translation that predictably followed if they did not react appropriately. At the assemblies, pupils were handed print-outs of the Gaelic psalms to be sung, but many appeared unable to decipher the Gaelic spelling and just mouthed along during the singing, which was always noticeably lower in volume than the singing of English psalms. The use of Gaelic in school concerts and other events seemed similarly formulaic at times, directed at a specific part of the audience, but not enticing the pupils to want to understand what was being said. Indeed, although well-intentioned in attempting to highlight the importance of Gaelic to the school, this emblematic use of Gaelic seemed to reinforce the underlying patterns of non-Gaelic-speaking pupils' approach the language as crucial to neither their participation in such events nor their membership in the community. At times, it seemed as if for most pupils, this usage of Gaelic was little more than emblematic and an aesthetic extra, somewhat like the French and Spanish Christmas greetings that were part of the school's holiday decorations.
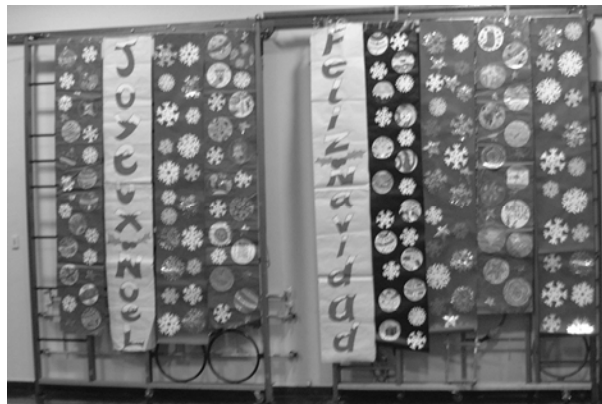

Figure 7: Multilingual Christmas decorations at Sgoil a' Chreaig

Inside the classrooms, there was a similar division of contexts assigned to each code. While the classrooms for children enrolled in GME were clearly marked as Gaelic-

speaking zones both in terms of their visual appearance and the linguistic practices encouraged by the teachers, the rooms belonging to English-medium classes at Sgoil a' Chreaig were almost devoid of any Gaelic in term of Gaelic writing as well as speaking. Although the non-GME streams in schools under the authority of the Western Isles Council are officially bilingual, the provision of Gaelic instruction in English-medium classes is irregular, and when it does occur, heavily focused on formulaic forms of language use (see Chapter 4). Even if the later years of primary education, and the first two years of secondary education, pupils from the English-medium stream seemed to struggle with all but the most basic Gaelic. At the same time, they also seemed to take a mocking/aggressively humorous attitude toward Gaelic, playing with and modifying linguistic forms and expressions that they found to be strange or reminiscent of English forms that would be inappropriate in the classroom environment (Tsitsipis 1998).

This was markedly different from their attitudes toward French, which was taught by some teachers in the later years of primary education (though some of these teachers knew little more French than what they remembered from their own secondary education years earlier) and was offered as a subject of instruction by a trained and fluent specialist teacher in the first two years of secondary education provided at Sgoil a' Chreaig. While some of the pronunciations of French words amused the pupils, they nevertheless never questioned the integrity and legitimacy of French as a medium of communication. Instead, they eagerly completed assignments that allowed them not only to talk about their own lives, but also introduced them, via textbooks, to the lives of Francophone teenagers around the world.

The Co-Existence of Gaelic and English in the GME Classroom

The National 5-14 Guidelines for Gaelic-medium education in Scotland state in bold that "schools should aim to bring pupils to the stage of broadly equal competence in Gaelic and English, in all the skills, by the end of P7." (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622063727/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1106.htm) How they achieve this aim in terms of curriculum and pedagogy is, however, left relatively open to the schools, or rather the regional Councils operating the schools. The Guidelines suggest that

> To facilitate this schools should produce a policy for language which embraces both Gaelic and English. This should allow for the development of all the language skills in both languages by the end of P7 and having given primacy to Gaelic should recognise that skills acquired in Gaelic may be expected to transfer readily to English.
>
> […]
>
> The relative proportion of time allocated to Gaelic and English language will vary in accordance with the needs of the child at particular times; but in order to achieve the above overall aim, Gaelic should be the predominant teaching medium throughout the primary stages [of education].

I have already discussed in Chapter 3 that different Councils in Scotland translate the mandate to produce balanced Gaelic-English bilinguals into slightly different local models of GME.[33] However, they all assume that there is a broad functional equivalence of the two codes, which is enabled by a belief in the universal expressiveness of language –in other words, the belief that a given language is semiotically capable of allowing its speakers to perform any function, broadly conceived, necessary.

For Gaelic, this set of assumptions creates a lot of ideological work for GME teachers to perform at Sgoil a' Chreaig. Although pupils may have very little, if any, formal knowledge of Gaelic when they enter GME, they have nevertheless already experienced years of language socialization in their homes and the community, which has shown them that Gaelic is a code they are not expected to understand, let alone produce (see also Chapters 2 and 7), and occupies a minority status vis-à-vis English. As they progress through GME, most pupils' exposure to Gaelic outside the classroom reinforces a belief in the reality of a hierarchical ordering of Gaelic and English in terms of both

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[33] In reality, the confluence of a shortage of Gaelic-speaking teachers and of specialist teachers for non-academic subjects such as art, music, physical education and drama on the island also meant that itinerant teachers provide instruction in these subjects despite the National Guidelines' statement that "the whole curriculum will be delivered through the medium of Gaelic. All the outcomes of environmental studies, the expressive arts, mathematics and religious and moral education will, therefore, be taught through Gaelic, as will all cross-curricular concerns such as social and personal development." (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622063728/ http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1107.htm) At the time of my research, GME pupils at Sgoil a' Chreaig received some of their education through the medium of English even at the infant stage.

form and function, which is shared by the majority of district members independently of their proficiency in either code.[34] These experiences stand in stark contrast to the political economy of languages constructed in and promulgated by GME.

In the following sections, I will discuss the configuration of the relationship between English and Gaelic in each GME classroom at Sgoil a' Chreaig in order to show their similarities as well as differences in terms of the division of linguistic labor to be performed by each code, and their effects on the language socialization experiences of pupils enrolled in GME.

Infant Stage: The possibility of Gaelic monolingualism

The so-called 'infant' stage of the first two years of GME is supposed to function as an immersion phase, in which children experience and perform all school work exclusively in the medium of Gaelic. For children who already have some competence in Gaelic, or even were Gaelic-socialized at home before entering school, this monolingual environment is supposed to

> provide children from non-Gaelic backgrounds with basic
> oral competence in Gaelic; [and] to reinforce the existing
> skills of Gaelic speaking children whose competence in
> the language may diminish in a predominantly English-
> speaking environment. (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961
> /20100622063733/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/html
> unrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1325.htm)

For children with little or no competence in Gaelic, this exclusively Gaelic environment is supposed to replicate a monolingual context of 'natural' language socialization – however, compared to the actual Gaelic language socialization practices prevalent in the community of the past decades, this strict exclusion of English is an idealization of history and, perhaps, an extension of a wide-spread ideology that monolingualism is the natural state of individual's social-linguistic competence and of the speech community to which such individuals belong. However, unlike monolingual first language acquisition, the vast majority of GME pupils already have competence in English, which can function

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[34] Residents may differ in respect to the specific hierarchical ordering of each code, depending on various factors, including their childhood language socialization experience, interlocutors, and context in question.

as scaffolding in the process of Gaelic language acquisition, while also potentially complicating the process of Gaelic language acquisition in formal and pragmatic terms.[35]

In reality, however, the political economy of language in the infant stage of GME is perhaps the most similar to that of the local community, in that English plays a supporting role for accomplishing tasks in Gaelic. Especially at the beginning of the Primary 1 year, GME teachers used English strategically to ensure that pupils would be able to follow their instructions and to actively participate in lessons despite their still emerging competence in the language.[36]

At Sgoil a Bhac, the infant teacher Mrs. Mackenzie had her own pattern of code-switching between English and Gaelic when interacting with the P1 pupils as a group.

Mrs. Mackenzie:	an do chuir sinn sneachd dhan na pheila orains? *Did we put snow in the orange pail?*
Pupils [chorus]	tha[37] *Yes*
Mrs. McK:	chuir sibh sneachd dhan na pheila you put sneachd dhan na *You (pl) put snow in the pail* you put *snow in the* pheila (…) *pail* seall 's e seo peila orains *look here's the orange pail* seall clas a h-aon (.) chan e sneachd tha sin *look class one (.) that's not snow*
Pupils [chorus]	bùrn *water*

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[35] See below for a discussion of formal errors that have become stereotypically associated with GME-socialized children; see also Chapter 3 for a discussion of the difficulties of teaching English-dominant children the pragmatics of using formal personal pronouns in Gaelic.

[36] In Sgoil a' Chreaig, where the Primary 1 and Primary 2 pupils shared a classroom, the Primary 2 pupils were also exposed to the English their teacher Mrs. Mackenzie directed at the P1 pupils.

[37] This response is grammatically incorrect in Gaelic, which requires the positive or negative form of the verb of the question to be used in the response. It is evidence of the influence of the children's English grammar, and has become a stereotypical marker of the speech of GME-socialized children.

Mrs. McK   an e burn a th'ann? that's not sneachd
         is water in it? that's not *sneachd*

As shown in this interaction, Mrs. Mackenzie generally tended to use Gaelic lexical items in grammatically English sentences, a pattern of code-switching that is not usually found among Gaelic- and mixed-socialized speakers in the community. As such, she managed to highlight the terms she expected the children to learn against the scaffolding of the English they were familiar with. She also provided completely translated sentences in sequence.

Pupils themselves copied Mrs. Mackenzie's practice of embedding Gaelic words in English sentences. For instance, early in the interaction, one pupil suggested that the snow "[…] transformed into burn", illustrating his familiarity with this way of interacting with the teacher.

Mrs. McK: [pointing to bucket] dè tha sin? what's that? dè tha sin?
        what's that? what's that? *what's that?*

[some pupils raise hands]

Pupils: bùrn
     water

Steve: it transformed into *bùrn*

Mrs. McK: it transformed into *bùrn* did it?

Although such scaffolding is clearly useful for the successful interaction between the teacher and her pupils who only have very limited active control of Gaelic, one of the main challenges of teaching children at this stage of GME is to ensure that they do not come to rely on English translations as a 'prop' that could hinder their acquisition of Gaelic. To this end, Mrs. Mackenzie emphasized gesturing and facial expressions to indicate some of the referential content of her speech (such as in line 64 when she points to the ceiling light she is talking about) as well as the illocutionary force of her statements, as in line 10, when her facial expression conveys confusion about the content

of the bucket that previously held some snow. In doing so, she was following the

recommendation of the National 5-14 Guidelines for GME, which recommend that

> The meaning of new words and phrases should usually be
> indicated through visual cues, such as gesture, mime and
> pictures, rather than through explanation in English.
> Association of words with activity is another important
> device for indicating meaning.[38]

This attempt to draw GME pupils' attention away from translation as a tool for

comprehending the referential meaning of a word in the infant stage contrasts with

teachers' frequent requests for translation as semiotic tool in the later years of GME.

      While Mrs. Mackenzie and other teachers at the infant stage told me that they

made a conscious effort to reduce their usage of English with P1 pupils as the school year

progressed and to avoid using English with P2 pupils altogether, they nonetheless relied

on English as a shared medium of communication to transmit information they found

essential. For example, when small groups of pupils in Mrs. Mackenzie's classroom

repeatedly excluded individual classmates from games in the schoolyard at break time,

Mrs. Mackenzie made a lengthy and stern announcement to the whole classroom. Her

admonitions to maintain an inclusive classroom community and share friends as well as

toys were delivered in a low voice at a measured pace and entirely in English.

      The language arts curriculum for this stage of primary education avoided many of

the situations where code-choice would be a highly political question for older Gaelic

speakers. Because of the local focus of much of the written material, there were only few

contexts in which novel, purist, or hyper-Gaelic lexical items could make an appearance.

Nonetheless, some materials featured lexical items that were clearly English borrowings

with Gaelicized spellings, but presented as Gaelic words to the children. For example, in

a series of worksheets that presented each letter of the Gaelic alphabet along with pictures

of objects whose words began with that letter, the worksheet for the letter h was filled

with objects whose labels were all borrowings from English: *hamstair*, *helicoptair*,

hamburgair and *hama*.

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[38] (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622063733/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/
5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1325.htm)
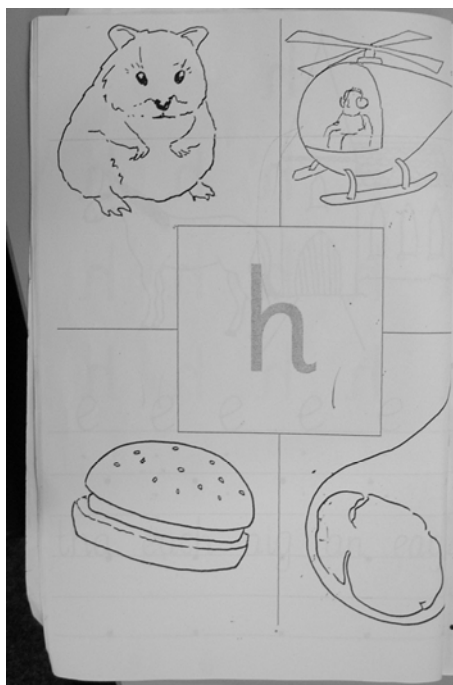
Figure 8: Page from phonics workbook

The presence of Gaelic-socialized pupils in the classroom also created situations when English borrowings appeared in classroom interactions. For example, in a discussion of the steps necessary for the making of a sandwich, which was part of a functional writing activity focused on producing instructions for familiar actions (see Chapter 6), Gaelic-socialized Iain Morrison (see Chapter 8) used the English borrowing *lof* for the bread pupils would need to make their sandwiches.

Mrs. MacKenzie:	dè tha sinn a feumaidh [inaudible] airson ceapaire? *What do we need for sandwiches?*
Pupil:	bread
Mrs. MacK:	[no uptake, shushing P1 student in first row] dè smaoinich thusa Màiri agus Alana? *What do you think Mairi and Alana?*

[Alana shakes head and remains silent]

[Pupils moan while raising hands to be called on by Mrs. MacKenzie]

Mrs. MacK:	ok [raises index finger and points] Iain?
Iain:	lof

This borrowing from English ('loaf of bread') is in common use among Gaelic-socialized speakers, but rarely appears in written materials in Gaelic, where *aran* is presented as the correct label for bread. When she hears Iain's response, Mrs. Mackenzie repeats the word and asks for a synonym that would be more familiar to GME-socialized children.

Mrs. MacK:	lof (..) lof facal eile airson?
	Lof *[…]* lof *is another word for?*
Pupils:	[aran
	bread
Mrs. MacK:	[aran (.) so tha lof agam (.) uh (.)
	bread (.) so I have bread (.) uh (.)

After pointing out the synonymity of *lof* and *aran*, Mrs. Mackenzie uses Uilleam's *lof* rather than *aran* as she tries to steer her pupils' attention back to the activity that will be the focus of their writing assignment.

| Mrs. MacK: | Kevin, dè feumaidh sinn airson ceapaire? |
| | *Kevin, what do we need for the sandwich?* |

[Kevin turns to look at teacher]

| Mrs. MacK: | Feumaidh sinn lof na aran [inaudible] dè na rudan eile? |
| | *We need bread (lof) or bread (aran) [inaudible] what else?* |

When Kevin fails to produce a response, another pupil suggests *ìm* (butter) as another ingredient essential for sandwiches. Mrs. Mackenzie continues to collect responses.

Mrs. MacK:	Ok? (…) so feumaidh sinn aran 's ìm lof agus ìm (.)
	Ok? […] so we need bread (aran) and butter bread (lof)
	and butter 9.0
	Henry, cò eile smaoineadh thus'?
	Henry, what else do you think?

After thinking for a short time, Henry (who is Gaelic-socialized by his father and extended family, although his mother is a monoglot English speaker) suggests toast as another sandwich ingredient, using the English borrowing *tost*. This response appears to confuse Mrs. Mackenzie, so she asks for clarification in Gaelic first, and after Henry repeats his suggestion in Gaelic, in English, before telling him that they will not be toasting the bread, using the English borrowing *tost* as a verbal noun as well.

Henry:	uh (…) tost
	uh (…) *toast*
Mrs. MacK:	dè?
	what?
Henry:	tost
	toast
Mrs. MacK:	toast? uill chan eil sinn a dol a'thosteich an aran nis
	toast? well we are not going to toast the bread now.
	chan eil sinn a' dèanamh tost an aran idir [inaudible] (…)
	we're not making toast with the bread at all

Mrs. Mackenzie returns to Kevin, who is now ready to respond to the question posed to him earlier. Kevin proposess lemon curd as a sandwich ingredient. As a child who is exclusively GME-socialized, it's unclear whether his contribution is in English or a borrowing in Gaelic until Mrs. Mackenzie responds and uses the same phrase as an English insertion in her response. Her statement that they do indeed have lemon curd available generates a great deal of excitement among the pupils, which drowns out the rest of Mrs. Mackenzie's statement.

Mrs. MacK:	Kevin?
Kevin :	lemon curd
Mrs. MacK:	oh (.) [turns to whole class] <u>lemon curd</u> well tha <u>lemon</u>
	Oh (.)[turns to whole class] lemon curd well we have

<div align="center">
curd againn cuideachd [inaudible]
lemon curd as well [inaudible]
</div>

Pupil: Oh, 's caomh leamsa!
Oh, I like it!

Kevin's suggestion of lemon curd, a common topping for slices of bread served to children at snack time both at home and at the local *croileagan* does not elicit a Gaelic equivalent from Mrs. Mackenzie. When I asked her about this, she said that she had not encountered a Gaelic equivalent of this term, and that most Gaelic-socialized speakers would probably consider it to be bivalent. A subsequent search of dictionaries remained unsuccessful as well.

The immersion environment of the first two years of GME at Sgoil a' Chreaig provided its pupils with a predominantly Gaelic input, but not necessarily the exclusively monolingual Gaelic environment envisioned in the model of GME. The teacher still relied on English as a shared medium of communication when relaying messages to her pupils that she considered essential for their health and safety. She also demonstrated a pattern of deploying English in Gaelic that was similar to the practices of Gaelic-socialized speakers in the district.

Middle Primary Years: All You Need is Gaelic

After pupils have completed two years of education in the immersion environment of the infant classroom, they progressed to a new level of primary education that foregrounds regimentation – both of the academic work they performed and the co-existence of Gaelic and English as subjects and mediums of instruction. While the focus of the infant classroom was cooperation and integration, this new classroom environment was more openly adversarial – in the relationship between the pupils and the teachers as well as in the (perceived) relationship between English and Gaelic. Indeed, Mrs. Stewart saw the P3 pupils' entry into the next stage of primary schooling as the beginning of a continual battle to keep the pupils' linguistic dominance in and emotional preference for English at bay. Her mission was to convince pupils of the semiotic sufficiency of Gaelic to perform any academic and social task/function as well as English did.

The third year of GME provided for the introduction of English language arts as a subject of instruction, which then increased in volume and scope over the course of the subsequent years of GM primary education. Because all pupils in the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig were at least as proficient in speaking English as in speaking Gaelic, they were able to delve into English reading and writing activities much more quickly than they had done with Gaelic literacy at the beginning of primary education (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed comparison of the acquisition of Gaelic and English literacy skills).

Despite the apparent discrepancy between pupils' preference for, and facility in each language, Mrs. Stewart assumed that pupils' literacy skills in each language extended equally to both Gaelic and English, and usually treated their level of proficiency in English and Gaelic literacy skills as interchangeable. This belief mirrored an ideology of functional equivalence between the two codes that was formalized in the official assessment standards promulgated by the National Curriculum. So when Mrs. Stewart administered tests to see if a pupil could progress to the next level of academic work under the 5-14 curriculum, she assumed that testing a pupil in one language would be accurate enough to determine their progression in both languages' studies. Partially, this was a strategy to reduce the need for administering tests to pupils, which was a time- and attention-consuming undertaking for the teachers. It also seemed reasonable to assume that the ability of pupils to use punctuation and other aesthetic features of writing correctly, which were a significant part of the assessment, would transfer from one code to another. However, assuming complete equivalence in pupils' writing skills, including generic conventions, lexicon and grammatical complexity, was borne out neither by pupils' apparent abilities to communicate in each language nor by the realities of language use outside of the classroom.

On the lexical level, she paid particular attention to the use of English borrowings, which she considered to be a result of a degree of slothfulness, even when the pupil's integration of such borrowings into their speech reflected considerable grammatical sophistication. Although such borrowings are commonplace in the Gaelic speech of adults in the district, Mrs. Stewart reacted to pupils' usage of words she considered to be not Gaelic enough during lessons by explicitly pointing out this (perceived) shortcoming,

much like an incorrect answer to a factual question. If the pupil proved unable to supply the Gaelic word him- or herself, Mrs. Stewart would either send him or her to look up the word in the dictionary, or would ask the entire class for the translation.[39]

The act practice of translating individual words between the two languages also accompanied many classroom activities that, on the surface, had other aims. For example, during an English spelling test she administered to pupils, she interspersed announcing the English words the children were to write out in their exercise books with asking them for the Gaelic translations for these words, requiring the pupils do do double linguistic duty.

Mrs. Stewart	an ath fhear (.) bark. (…) the dog can bark and the bark of *next one (.) bark. (…) the dog can bark and the bark of*
	a tree (.) bark (.) dè a Ghàidhlig a th' air the bark of a tree? *a tree (.) bark (.) what's the Gaelic for the bark of a tree?* (….)
	Cameron?
Cameron	rusg *bark*
Mrs. S.	rusg? [unintelligible] *bark?*
	an ath fhear (.) barn (.) barn (.) dè a Ghàidhlig a th' air *next one (.) barn (.)barn (.) what's the Gaelic for*
	barn? *barn?*
Shirley	bathach *barn*

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[39] There were also several times during my research when she herself could not think of the Gaelic equivalent of an English word and consulted the pupils in her classroom , who were able to provide one more often than not.

Mrs. S.	bathach. (.)

This pattern continues for a while, until Mrs. Stewart's question for a Gaelic expression synonymous with *ghabh mi feagal* (scared me/gave me a fright), which the pupils are unable to provide. Although they are accustomed to providing Gaelic translations of English words, their ability to think of Gaelic synonyms without the aid of dictionaries is much less developed.

Mrs. S.	an ath fhear (.) scare (…) *next one (.) scare (…)* dè a Ghàidhlig a th' air scare? *what's the Gaelic for scare?*
Shirley	feagal *scare*
Mrs. S.	feagal? ciamar a chanadh tu ghabh mi feagal? (..) *scare? how would you say gave me a fright? (..)* dòigh eile air cantainn ghabh mi feagal (…) *another way to say gace me a fright* leum ruideigin a-mach agus ghabh mi feagal? (…) *something jumped out and gave me a fright?*
Pupil	[unintelligible]
Mrs. S.	chan eil mi ag iarraidh am facal feagal ann (…) *I don't want the word feagal in it (…)* am bheil fhios agad? agus bheir sin clue dhut? (…) *do you know? will it give you a clue?(…)* Cameron?
Cameron	fhuair mi feagal mo bheatha? *I got fear my life?*

Finally, after the bell indicating the beginning of the morning break has already rung and the pupils became impatient, Mrs. Stewart had to take matters into her own hands and provide pupils with the synonym she was looking for.

Mrs. S.	chan eil mi ag iarraidh feagal ann is the message (…)
	I don't want feagal in it is the message (…)
	chlisg mi! chlisg mi! a thoirt dhuibh feagal mòr! chlisg mi!
	I startled! I startled! giving you all a big fear! I startled!

There was no further reaction from her pupils, who were already busy putting on coats and fishing for their morning snacks in the backpacks stuffed underneath their desks.

A bigger source for Mrs. Stewarts' headache, however, was the grammatical errors that her pupils made over and over again –mistakes that she said no Gaelic-socialized speaker would ever make. In making a statement of possession, which requires the use of a contracted prepositional phrase in Gaelic, some children left the prepositional phrase uncontracted (*aig mi* instead of *agam*) –a mistake that has become stereotypically associated with the Gaelic spoken by exclusively GME-socialized children. The correct use of lenition, for example at the beginning of nouns following possessive determiners in the first and second person singular, as well as the third person singular for masculine nouns, was another challenge that Mrs. Stewart found herself battling every day.[40]

To help address these mistakes, she had put up posters displaying the grammatical paradigms in question on the walls of the classroom. When she heard a pupil making on of these errors, or discovered it in a piece of writing while the author was in her proximity, Mrs. Stewart would refer him or her to the relevant poster to rectify the mistake, either by repeating the correct form of his/her previous statement, or by erasing the writing and inserting the accurate item(s). Mrs. Stewart also seemed to keep a mental catalog of particular grammatical errors that individual children would make repeatedly. In such instances, Mrs. Stewart oscillated between annoyance and bemused frustration as she would remind a child to correct 'his' or 'her' mistake again.

Beyond the lexical and grammatical levels, Mrs. Stewart also reacted to what she perceived to be straight translations from English into Gaelic at the sentence level. She

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[40] The grammatical errors that appear to be the most common for GME-socialized children are largely different from those noted by Dorian (1981) in her study of the grammatical changes accompanying the obsolescence of East Sutherland Gaelic.

recalled hearing a pupils in her class saying *Tha mi faighinn sgith* in order to state "I am getting tired", although *faighinn* means "get" in term of acquiring an object, not becoming. When she heard this, Mrs. Stewart reported to me that she thought "This sounds stupid. Where did that come from? Oh yeah, we're translating." Other signs of English dominance in the Gaelic of exclusively GME-socialized children were more subtle. For example, these children often confused prepositions indicating motion with those indicating location, leading them to ask *Am bheil Thomas a-steach?* instead of *Am bheil Thomas a-staigh?* Subordinate clauses also presented challenges to these pupils. When Mrs. Stewart asked a pupil if he had gone on a fishing trip he had planned earlier, the boy replied *Cha chreid mi gum bith mi a' dol*, (I don't think I will be going) when the correct way to respond would have been *Cha chreid mi gum bith mi a' dol ann* (I don't believe I will be going on it).

Mrs. Stewart found this practice of translating from English into Gaelic more difficult to address because she believed that only extensive practice and the desire to speak Gaelic independently of English could remedy this tendence –neither of which she felt she had the power to control. Instead, she believed that many exclusively GME-socialized pupils functioned as English speakers using Gaelic rather than using Gaelic as their 'thinking language.'

Mrs. Stewart blamed her pupils' relentless attempts to avoid speaking Gaelic on peer pressure both from within and outside her classroom, and on the pupils' Anglophone media consumption, which she felt affected their English as much as their Gaelic:

> It's not just a Gaelic thing. The English they use now is very slang-y and very informal and very watered-down and they think it's posh if they use good English they think it's posh English and it's not.

In order to counteract these forces, Mrs. Stewart insisted that pupils use Gaelic for their social interactions in the classroom, and to a lesser extent on the playground, where she did not have as much direct oversight of her pupils. As a result, Mrs. Stewart would remind the pupils in her classroom to speak Gaelic with each other, and made it a condition for them to play games in the classroom after they had completed their work. Occasionally, when Mrs. Stewart found pupils playing together who were repeatedly ignoring her admonitions, she would interrupt their play and direct them back to

schoolwork as a penalty for breaking this rule. Other pupils, however, became adept at locating their play as far away from Mrs. Stewart's desk as possible, and lowering their voices sufficiently to have their conversations drowned out by their classmates so that they could continue speaking English to each other.

Despite these attempts to control the medium of their interactions, Mrs. Stewart's pupils spoke English both inside and outside of the classroom almost constantly. While pupils were working on their assignments, they often communicated with each other in hushed voices, mainly to ask for, and provide, help with the questions and problems they were required to complete on their own while the teacher instructed small groups of students, which were based on either ability, or class year. These conversations were almost completely in English, except between a few Gaelic-socialized children who were also cousins. The pupils' conversations in the school-yard were also exclusively English, at least for as long as Mrs. Stewart and other teachers who might have a stake in, and comment on, the medium of the pupils' conversation were out of earshot.

The issue of pupils' code choice and grammatical errors thus became imbued with moral and political power, and created an atmosphere of tension between the teacher and her charges. Formally requiring the use of Gaelic as medium of interaction between the pupils created opportunities for rebellion, and for pupils to use code choice as a way to differentiate between their private/social personas and their identities as pupils in their classroom interaction. As a result, Gaelic was removed even further from children's use of it as a (relatively) unmarked code (see chapter 7 on a more thorough discussion of the performance of Gaelic speakerhood).

Upper Primary School: A Balance of Unequals

In Mrs. Smith's classroom, where pupils received the last two years of primary education at Sgoil a' Chreaig, the relationship between English and Gaelic was perhaps the most complex, because both the teacher and the focus of the academic work were relatively unregimented in terms of code choice. According to the National Curriculum, pupils who have arrived at this point in GME are supposed to finish developing a balanced bilingualism in English and Gaelic, while the languages are given equal weight in the classroom (see Chapter 3).

In practice, however, Mrs. Smith did not seem to have a consistent approach to when and how either Gaelic or English would be used, although she acknowledged the importance of using Gaelic as a medium of instruction as much as possible in the face of most pupils' continuing (if not increasing) preference for, and proficiency in, English. Indeed, the gap between pupils' social competence in Gaelic and English at this stage of GME appears to reach a maximum as a cumulative effect of GME's focus on academic competence, while their usage of English for non-academic purposes had increased even more as they began emerging as self-sufficient actors in social networks beyond the confines of their homes and the school, such as youth clubs, athletic teams, and other organized activities with minimal involvement from adults. Mrs. Smith admitted to be overwhelmed at times having to cater to the needs of Gaelic-socialized pupils who were also high achiever in academic terms and working at the secondary level in literacy activities, and those who had entered GME without knowing any Gaelic whatsoever and even after 6 years of hearing Gaelic in schools were still "barely able to string a sentence together."

The focus of the pupils' work was now highly academic, in preparation for their transition to secondary education, and involved a considerable amount of specialized terminology as well as academic processes and procedures that could not be found in everyday interactions outside of the classroom.[41] Since this specialized academic terminology was not in circulation outside of the school environment, Mrs. Smith and her pupils obtained it through printed materials. Mrs. Smith had several glossaries and word lists in her classroom for her and her pupils to consult. Some of these were bound volumes, such as dictionaries, but some were spiral-bound sheaves of papers that Mrs. Smith had received for her own use at professional development workshops she had attended. When Mrs. Smith couldn't remember a particular technical term while instructing the class, she would sometimes pause her speech and consult one of these

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41 This terminology, and the tasks it is used for, is often the first thing that older Gaelic speakers focus on when discussing the language of GME-socialized children. For them, Gaelic is simply incapable of expressing certain concepts and of performing higher-order mental/cognitive tasks. When presented with examples of Gaelic terminology and its usage in exactly those situations, these older speakers immediately declared them to be unnatural and contrived, and violating the social norms of the community because their usage was a sign of one-up-man-ship/snobbery.

repositories in her library to find it. More often than not, however, Mrs. Smith would substitute the English terminology when she could not remember a particular Gaelic word in the course of delivering a lesson in Gaelic. I never observed the reverse situation of Mrs. Smith inserting Gaelic terminology into an Anglophone lesson, however.

While a certain amount of enigma surrounds even English academic terminology for those outside of the school context, the Gaelic versions of such concepts were markedly peculiar to adult speakers of Gaelic in the community, who found the association of Gaelic terminology with formal education particularly alien and alienating. The pupils as a whole did not appear to be aware of this distinction, perhaps because they had been socialized to think of Gaelic and English as being referentially equivalent. The only pupil who explicitly discussed differences between 'school Gaelic' and the Gaelic spoken at home with me was a child from one of the Gaelic-socializing families participating in my research. This pupil was also the only one who was able to discuss dialectal differences in Gaelic (at least at the lexical level), because she had had extensive interactions with relatives on a different Hebridean island, who all routinely spoke Gaelic as well.

Mrs. Smith's own code choice in the classroom was highly variable and not indicative of the code she expected the response in; in fact, she often seemed to expect pupils to respond in Gaelic when she posed a question in English, and responded to the pupil's use of English in such situation with some impatience, occasionally admonishing students that they were proficient enough in Gaelic to respond and should make the effort to do so. This unpredictability seemed to confuse students when they had to choose the medium of their responses to her questions.

Mrs. Smith felt strongly that she should not be policing her pupils' code choices in their interactions with each other, especially outside of the classroom because considered them to be too old what she considered to be interference into their private sphere. Pupils indeed used English more or less exclusively with each other for their social interactions inside the classroom and out, except for a small group of girls who had

come from Gaelic-socializing homes and spent most of their leisure time outside of school together.[42]

Out of the three Gaelic-medium classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig the distribution of codes in Mrs. Smith's classroom, in terms of volume and amount, was probably most similar to that in the community. However, the patterns of code choice and code-switching were still quite different from community norms. Essentially, their use of English and Gaelic was reversed from community standards, with Gaelic being reserved for formal teacher-student interactions and the discussion of academic subjects, while English was the medium of informal interaction.

Dialect and Register Variation in the Gaelic-Medium Classroom

In the GM-classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig, the experience of stylistic variation based on different dialects and/or registers in Gaelic was limited for a number of reasons: (1) Children enrolled in GME were typically exposed to a small numbers of speakers interacting with them, (2) the focus on written texts in GME reduced the types and extent of social-linguistic variation that can be captured and thus experienced in GME (see Chapter 6), and (3) the prevalent ideology of functional equivalence, along with the belief of GME teachers that at least some types of stylistic variation in Gaelic were difficult for pupils to grasp, led these teachers to downplay the semiotic differences in the Gaelic forms their pupils encounter and to couch them in terms of referential and functional equivalence. In a conversation, one of the GME teachers told me about encountering the speaker of an obsolescent Gaelic dialect from the Inner Hebrides during a summer vacation in her childhood. She reported that the *bodach* (old man) had been difficult to understand, and that she had responded to his attempts to speak Gaelic to her in English. I asked her whether she would still do the same today if she encountered a speaker of a Gaelic dialect she was not familiar with. She responded:

> Oh no. As you get older, you wouldn't do that. You would work on it, you know, and say 'alright, is that how you say that? This is how I say

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[42] Other teachers at the school, however, did not share Mrs. Smith's reluctance to remind Mrs. Smith's pupils to speak Gaelic when they overheard them using English with each other. The pupils often responded to this by switching to Gaelic, or by simply pausing their conversation and remaining silent, until the teacher was out of earshot.

> that [.] Could you say that again?' but you know, when you're a kid you couldn't care less about, you know [laughs] you just want to play and sweets and […] have some fun. You know language is a [laughs] by the way.

The range of dialectal variation that children enrolled in GME at Sgoil a' Chreaig encountered in spoken Gaelic was mostly limited to variants of Lewis Gaelic, except for the Gaelic of one teacher who was from a different island in the Outer Hebrides, but had lived on Lewis for some time. Mrs. Mackenzie, the teacher in the infant classroom, was from a different district on Lewis, but said that she made a conscious effort to "sound less like someone from [her district]" when teaching, and her colleagues acknowledged that she didn't "have a particular accent." The other two classroom teachers in the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig, as well as the teaching assistants and most of the school staff, all grew up and lived in the district of A' Chreag. Although teachers had access to teaching resources featuring speech representing various Gaelic dialects, they rarely used these. When I learned about a program produced for schools by BBC Radio nan Gàidheal that featured math puzzles for primary school students, I asked Mrs. Stewart if she was planning to use the recordings in her primary 3 through primary 5 classroom. She responded

> Oh no, I don't think I will. The people on it are *Uisteach* [from the Uist islands south of Lewis] and the children can't understand them. Their Gaelic is just too different, so there's no point.

Since the production of written texts specifically for GME, such as the reading scheme, was generated on Lewis (where *Acair*, one of the main Gaelic publishers, as well as *Stòrlann*, the organization co-ordinating the production and distribution of Gaelic educational resources in all of Scotland, have their headquarters) and/or by speakers of Lewis Gaelic (Lamb 2011), Lewis Gaelic also featured prominently in those.[43] When these materials featured dialectal variation, it was predominantly at the lexical level, and usually in contexts where dialectal variation was not the focus of the text itself, so it did not generate any extensive discussion between pupils and teachers. As Mrs. Smith told me, the pupils had gotten accustomed to encountering expressions such as *is toigh leam* (I

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[43] However, when I asked one of the GME teachers if she thought there was a "BBC Gaelic" equivalent to "BBC English", she responded "Yes. Uist."

like) in their reading books, and knew that they were the referential equivalent of *is caomh leam* that they were used to from encountering Lewis Gaelic.

This focus on functional equivalence (as well as the privileging of the referential function of language) in GME teachers' framing of social-linguistic variation also extended to different registers. In this case, however, the basis of comparison was the existence of equivalent registers in English. Reinforcing the focus on creating and legitimizing a set of registers parallel to English that pervades Gaelic language revitalization efforts generally and the National 5-14 Curriculum Guidelines, the types of pragmatic functions requiring different registers that pupils were expected to learn to deploy were mostly limited to those that had an equivalent in English. Not only did the letters requesting information about a product, brochures advertising pupils' businesses planned as part of the Schools Enterprise scheme, and posters informing others of the benefits of healthy food all have theoretical equivalents in English, but often had counterparts produced in the English-medium classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig around the same time.

The effects of this approach to dialectal and register variation in Gaelic on the social-linguistic competence of GME pupils were noticeable in both their encounters with speakers of other regional varieties of Gaelic and their ability to deploy distinctly Gaelic registers. The few times that I observed GME pupils at Sgoil a' Chreaig encounter speakers of distinctly different Gaelic dialects, the children remarked that the person had sounded "funny" and that they were difficult to understand. For example, when a speaker from the Isle of Skye visited the school to conduct a drama workshop for GME pupils, the children – who were usually excited by opportunities to escape the classroom routine – appeared surprisingly uncooperative and slow to respond to the man's instructions, which was a source of frustration to him and began to show in his impatience with the children as the workshop wore on. When I asked the pupils how they had enjoyed the workshop, many shrugged their shoulders and said that the workshop leader's instructions had been hard to understand and that he had not been very nice to them.

Furthermore, exclusively GME-socialized pupils appeared not to classify the variation they did encounter as belonging to dialectal variation. One of the GME teachers at Sgoil a' Chreaig, who was also a parent of Gaelic-socialized children enrolled in GME,

told me the story of a friend of her daughter Rachel's, Holly, who visited Rachel's home one day. Rachel's father asked Holly to hand him a towel from the kitchen counter, using the word *searbhadair*, which was commonly used in the district on the western coast of Lewis where he grew up. Although Holly had relatives in that part of the island as well, she was not only dumb-founded by the word *searbhadair*, but refused to believe that there could be another word for the thing she called *tubhailt*.

Conclusion

In an attempt to shift the political economy of languages at the heart of the diglossic state of the Gaelic language community in Scotland (McEwan-Fujita 2005:167), GME has created a new framework for the production and interpretation of social-linguistic variation, including code alternation with English, and dialect and register variation within Gaelic, that limit the language socialization experiences of GME-socialized pupils. The amount of such variation that GME-socialized pupils encounter in the classroom is already limited by structural factors, including the privileging of literacy over oral forms of language (see Chapter 6), and pragmatic factors, such as the number of different speakers involved in providing GME in a school and the extent of their social-linguistic competence. By framing encounters of social-linguistic variation within an ideology of referential and functional equivalence in relation to English, GME teachers steer pupils away from developing a thorough understanding of the social-indexical value of such forms and from learning to deploy such variation in socially meaningful ways.

The effects of this pattern of code-switching on pupil's conception of the boundary between the two codes seem to be mixed. In the labeling task I conducted, the English-monolingual and English-dominant pupils from the infant classroom made a clear separation between English and Gaelic. When they encountered objects they could not label in Gaelic, they often responded that they only knew the English word, but not the Gaelic equivalent. The Gaelic-socialized children who participated in this experiment not only had extensive Gaelic vocabularies (as could easily be predicted), but also did not hesitate to use obviously English borrowings, such as "fridge" and "cooker", for labeling objects in Gaelic. (They did not appear to be aware that these lexical items violated boundaries between separate codes).

Chapter 6

The Socialization of Literate Speakerhood

Introduction

One of the original motivations for creating GME was the teaching of literacy skills to Gaelic-socialized children, to mirror the school-based acquisition of literacy skills in English-socialized children. Parents and teachers involved in the creation of GME at the time believed that such skills would not only expand children's ability to use the language, but also increase the social contexts in which Gaelic could be used, and elevate its symbolic status from a predominantly oral peasant vernacular to a fully-fledged language that would be used in interactions between its speakers in a public sphere that included business and other administrative activities. In turn, this language ideology of literate speakerhood (McEwan-Fujita 2010b) sees literacy as an integral aspect of linguistic competence, in which an individual's literacy skills are seen as indicative of their overall ability to use the language. In comparison, older Gaelic speakers treat literacy skills in Gaelic as both ancillary to actual competence in the language, and restricted to specific social domains, such as the church. In this context, the open display of Gaelic literacy skills can (inadvertently) serve as a marker of the speaker's (writer's/reader's) stance *vis-à-vis* the politics of Gaelic language revitalization efforts in Scotland.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the construction of literate speakerhood in Gaelic as an aspect of the deployment of a model of standard language that is at the heart of Gaelic language revitalization efforts. As in other contexts of Celtic language revitalization (e.g. Coleman 2004), older speakers of Gaelic subscribe to different conceptions of social-linguistic competence centered on the expression of blas, and actively resist the construction of social-linguistic competence as expressed in literacy skills by questioning or refusing the very possibility of Gaelic literacy activities as an

experience shared by groups of speakers –something that emerged as a common principle in the construction of Western nation-states as language communities in the past few centuries (Silverstein 2000). For them, the visual representation of Gaelic in contexts ranging from road signs to newspaper columns and subtitles of TV shows does not create and express symbolic legitimation of the language, but rather calls their own forms of social-linguistic competence into question.

I will then examine the socialization of literate speakerhood in each Gaelic-medium classroom at Sgoil a' Chreaig by analyzing reading and writing activities as well as the interactions between teachers and pupils involved in them. By privileging language in its written form and elevating the written text to function as the primary medium of (personal) expression, Gaelic-medium education socializes its pupils into conceiving and expressing their Gaelic social-linguistic skills in ways that are highly contentious for older speakers of the language. At the same time, this focus on literacy skills in Gaelic leaves little room for aspects of language use that are highly valued in the community, but are difficult or even impossible to capture in writing (at least in its standardized form).

Gaelic and the Ideology of Standard Language

Ideologies of standard language are a predominant foundation for the creation and maintenance of contemporary language communities (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, Silverstein 2000). Constructed and presented simultaneously as culturally unique and as socially neutral, standard languages are formidable tools and forces in the distribution of economic, socio-political and symbolic power, and in the hierarchical organization of social life in the group of speakers subscribing to this ideology. Although the extent of the actual existence of standard language forms remains open to debate (Milroy and Milroy 1999), individuals' beliefs that such forms are real entities in the world, and reflect linguistic practice in its most abstract and pure form, suffice to make this ideology a powerful force in shaping individuals' linguistic practices and interpretations. Institutions such as state-sponsored schools circulate and distribute linguistic forms and varieties that are perceived to be instantiations of this standard variety of a language; conversely, success in education and other such institutional contexts often depends on an

individual's ability to acquire and control these standard(-like) linguistic forms in ways that are considered appropriate and legitimate in the social environment in question.

Attempts to legitimize minority languages often deploy ideologies of standard language to make these linguistic varieties more similar in both form and function to majority languages that have standard varieties. Creating and/or regimenting principles for the orthographic representation of spoken language, and disseminating these principles along with standard-like linguistic forms in institutional contexts such as schools, thus come to function as prominent foci of many language maintenance and revitalization projects. Although such efforts to legitimize Scottish Gaelic in order to halt or even reverse its obsolescence have been underway in Scotland for some time, and Gaelic has been introduced into a variety of institutional contexts, including state schools, the implementation of this ideology of standard language is complicated by the fact that there is no single version of the language currently in existence/circulation comparable to An Caighdeán (the official written standard Irish defined by the Irish Government). A set of Gaelic Orthographic Conventions have been designed for the purposes of academic examinations and function as de facto spelling standards, but they are also under frequent revision and non-binding for use in media (see below). Language revitalization activists have also made efforts to create repositories of linguistic forms (such as dictionaries and thesauri) that can then serve to support the designation of some linguistic forms as 'standard' over others, but much like the construction of standard languages as part of the creation of nation-states in 19th-century Western Europe (which has been analyzed extensively in the linguistic anthropology literature), the process of constructing a standard version of Scottish Gaelic is fraught with semiotic complexities and socio-political conflict. The register known as 'BBC Gaelic' (an equivalent to BBC English), which would be the most likely candidate for becoming the standard version of the language because it is widely recognized by Gaelic speakers and already has an established institutional network of distribution in the public broadcasting system. Yet this register also creates strong feelings of discomfort in Gaelic-socialized speakers when they encountered its newly-coined forms, especially in face-to-face interactions. As subscribers to the ideology of standard language for English, many older speakers of Gaelic recognized the importance of a standard form of language for access to symbolic

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as well as socio-economic resources, as well as for claims for socio-political recognition in a public sphere, but also found the social and political principles for creating and using such forms most unsettling (see Chapter 2).

Conceptions of Speakerhood

McEwan-Fujita (2010b) defines the ideology of literate speakerhood as

> the unexamined assumption that a 'speaker' of a language
> is ideally someone who has mastered both speaking and
> writing the language, and moreover has acquired these skills
> in relation to a standardized form of the language. (88)

As a result, the presence or absence of literacy skills in an individual speaker, including the ability to decode (read) and encode (write) a language, becomes a defining measure of the speaker's overall competence in the language in question, and even one way to measure their authenticity as a speaker.

The ideology of literate speakerhood is an outgrowth of a larger ideology of standard language that has emerged alongside the construction of nation-states as language communities, a project that first surfaced in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries (Anderson 1991, Haugen 1966). The creation of standard versions of languages, whether as actual codes or rather an orientation toward such codes as real entities (Milroy and Milroy 1999) as part of this project simultaneously depended on, and created the possibility for, the circulation of these varieties in media that could surpass the geographical and social limits of face-to-face interaction, creating larger socio-political units. In turn, the ability to consume and interpret these media became a crucial characteristic of members of these socio-political units, as linguistically defined. State-sponsored schooling, which was generally recognized as an effective tool in the (language) socialization of citizens of these new nation-states, became the distributor of the literacy skills needed to participate in literacy practices required by the media consumption at the heart of this emergent public (Habermas 1962).

The ideology of standard language posits that written language is an objective representation of speech, retaining only its crucial aspects while being stripped of its inherent disorderliness stemming from its contemporaneous production by imperfect human beings. Indeed, standard language in its written form is, to a large extent,

depersonalized by the elision of traces of the transitory aspects of its production, including the social characteristics of the author deemed immaterial to the meaning of the text, and the immediate and historical/social conditions of its construction. This erasure or oppression of fundamentally social characteristics of spoken language in the process of fixing spoken language in writing makes the written form the ideal vehicle for a standardized version of language. Seen as socially neutral, pure, and accurate, written language is thus perfectly suited for the transmission of factual information, the referential function, which the predominant Western political economy of language sees as the primary purpose of language. To the extent that pragmatic aspects do get encoded or remain in the written form, they are seen to constitute poetic, stylistic, or aesthetic features that only rise to the level of meaningfulness in texts that belong to 'artful' genres of writing such as high literature and poetry that are the object of language lessons in Western schools.

In Scotland, as elsewhere, literacy skills and competence (including in the domain of numbers) are considered the hallmark of fully developed selves, of responsible and capable social actors, and of full-fledged citizens: the distribution of such skills and development of literacy competence is one of the main goals of the state-sponsored education system (McEwan-Fujita 2010b:96-98). Since all adult speakers of Gaelic in Scotland today are also speakers of English who have been schooled in English literacy as part of their state-sponsored education in primary and secondary schools, they generally subscribe to an ideology of literate speakerhood, and to a belief in schooled literacy as both the legitimate and authoritative form of literacy (McEwan-Fujita 2010b).

At the same time, they are also faced with the (near) absence of such skills in themselves and their peers, who all experienced extremely limited provisions for the acquisition of literacy skills in Gaelic as part of their formal education. Official census figures, which are admittedly and notoriously difficult and contentious to interpret, revealed that of the 92,000 people in Scotland who reported any proficiency in Gaelic in 2001, almost 20,000 (about 22%) reported to have no literacy skills in the language at all Although the numbers are, on the surface, similar to English 'literacy rate' in Scotland of around 77 percent[44], these numbers do not differentiate between contexts of language

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[44] 2001 *Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland* report by the Scottish Executive

socialization of these speakers or actual usage patterns of literacy skills, both of which are major issues in the place of literacy skills in Gaelic speakers' (self-) conceptions of linguistic competence. As McEwan-Fujita (2010b) explains, depending on the interlocutor and context, Gaelic-socialized speakers construct this disparity between their literacy skills in English and Gaelic as either a deficiency in their own competence in Gaelic or as a way to "resist or subvert the norms of nation-state inspired standardization and schooled literacy" that are central to Gaelic language revitalization activities in Scotland (105).

Gaelic-socialized participants in my research consistently identified the lack of formal instruction in reading and writing at school as the source of their reluctance to engage in Gaelic literacy activities. Those who professed to have any kind of literacy skills more or less exclusively limited their competence, and actual practice, to reading the Bible and other religious tracts. This focus was not just a result of the relatively narrow range of Gaelic reading materials found in print, but actually an expression of a deeper ideological orientation that saw reading Gaelic texts outside of the religious context either as too difficult or as semiotically impossible, and definitely a source of discomfort. Writing in Gaelic was widely considered to be even more complicated, even for those individuals who felt comfortable reading religious texts in the language.

To a researcher socialized in a context of standard language ideologies that treat literacy as being a fundamental part of being a competent speaker of a language, this functional limitation of older Gaelic speakers' literacy skills and the palpable anxiety that discussing the activities of reading and writing caused my interview partners was initially quite surprising. It seemed like once the rules for decoding sounds from letters had been acquired, reading a text should be a relatively straightforward activity. Similarly, this knowledge likewise should allow a speaker to encode his or her own words in writing. Furthermore, the speakers who did acknowledge reading Gaelic texts most likely identified the Bible (and perhaps other religious tracts) as the only material they read as a matter of ability and practice. However, the Gaelic found in these texts is as far removed from contemporary spoken Gaelic as the King James Bible is from contemporary spoken

English.[45] Why were these Gaelic-socialized speakers so reluctant to read, and especially, write in Gaelic?

The history of language socialization in the district was certainly biased toward limited acquisition of literacy skills in the context of religious activity because of the timing and pedagogy of Gaelic language lessons at school. Even those individuals who reported having received Gaelic language lessons in school, did not have much opportunity to practice reading a variety of texts, nor to write in the language. In these Gaelic lessons, the focus was largely on grammatical analysis and translation of a canon of Gaelic literary texts. Conversely, Gaelic-socialized speakers experienced Gaelic literacy activities outside of the school almost exclusively in the context of religious worship, consisting of the shared reading of Bible passages and psalms in both bi-weekly church services and daily home worship sessions. Several people specifically identified home worship, and instructions from their fathers as the leaders of these sessions, as being the source of their ability to read some Gaelic.

Biblical Gaelic and the Gaelic found in more contemporary texts differ greatly in terms of grammar, diction and spelling. Biblical Gaelic was generally recognized by the residents of the district as being a unique register characterized by archaic phrases and expressions, unusual sentence construction, and generally unfamiliar quality; it was also considered to be the most complicated and difficult register to understand for proficient and novice speakers alike. From that perspective, it seemed strange that being able to read this register would then not allow individuals to decode relatively less complicated texts that would be formally and functionally closer to their everyday speech.

One source of difference in the visual representation of Gaelic is the spelling used in the Bible, which dates back to the 19th century, and that used in more recent texts, which is primarily based on the spelling conventions established by the Scottish Certificate of Education Examining Board starting in 1976, though the full document was not published until 1981 and did not go into effect until 1985. Since then, the orthographic conventions have been modified further, most recently in 2005. Judging from the lack of public commentary from Gaelic-socialized speakers, these relatively

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[45] There have been recent attempts to create a more contemporary Gaelic translation of the New Testament from the Greek, which is sponsored by the Scottish Bible Society. So far, only the Gospel of St John, published in 2010, has been translated.

frequent spelling reforms appear to be widely accepted and not cause much controversy outside of academic circles; however, as a writer of a letter to the editor of the *Stornoway Gazette* pointed out

> it seems that the conventions have received general acceptance
> for several reasons; one of which is the respect and high esteem
> for scholarship held by most Gaels […] and also because of apathy
> and the fact that the majority of Gaels seldom, if ever, read Gaelic
> of any kind. (Lloyd Leland, as reproduced on
> http://www.his.com/~rory/orthocrit.html)

The spelling rules contained in the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions produced by the Board generally aimed to simplify Gaelic orthography from the complex system based on the aesthetic sensibilities of Irish monks working almost a millennium earlier. Some of the steps they took to reform Gaelic spelling included clarification of the application of what is generally called the "Gaelic spelling rule" (*caol ri caol agus leathann ri leathann*/slender to slender and broad to broad), which governs the indexing of consonant quality through adjacent vowels, so that front vowels accompany palatal consonants (or consonant groups) and back vowels accompany consonant(s) with velar quality. Furthermore, the GOC also attempted to reduce variation in the spelling of vowels sounds, for example recommending that "the variation to be found in unstressed syllables should be reduced and based on -a- instead of -o- or -u-" (Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board 1981).

The aims of the Board in providing a set of orthographic standards for Gaelic were two-fold. One, to

> produce as set of standard orthographic conventions which
> would be utilised [sic] by the Board's Examiners, Setters and
> Markers as basic criteria in dealing with Gaelic examination
> papers and scripts and would serve as a guide to teachers and
> to candidates preparing for the examinations.

Secondly, the new conventions were designed to

> go someway towards removing the inconsistencies, indecisions
> and minor irritations that arise from the absence of a firmly
> defined standard, and that in doing so they will help teachers
> and learners (and indeed all writers of Gaelic) to write the
> language more confidently (Scottish Certificate of Education
> Examination Board 1981).

Even though the ultimate aim of the standardization and simplification of Gaelic orthographic conventions was the facilitation of literacy activities in Gaelic, the relative novelty of these changes seemed to overshadow this goal: when Gaelic-socialized speakers who did read encountered them in Gaelic texts produced according to the GOC standards, they found the absence of the silent letters and familiar diacritics in texts confusing. As one grandmother of a GME-socialized child pointed out to me,

> It's difficult reading some of the Gaelic in his school books.
> We used to have accent marks over the words, and we
> spelled words differently. We would write *doras* [door]
> D-O-R-U-S. Now it's D-O-R-A-S. I don't know why. It
> takes me a minute to recognize the word.

This view was also shared by much younger, Gaelic-socialized parents of children enrolled in GME.

> When they taught us to read Gaelic at school, the spellings
> were different. Now, when I help him with his homework,
> I find that I have to learn to read all over again.

Furthermore, explicit attempts to change the language to make it more amenable to the aesthetic and semiotic demands of the modern world were also viewed with suspicion. The Gaelicization of spelling English loans in Gaelic was particularly fraught for these individuals. The lack of familiarity with the relationships between letter and phoneme determined by the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions made their ability to decode these words difficult, and this difficulty was seen as the result of politically motivated interventions by Gaelic language activists rather than a more valid semiotic necessity. Gaelic-socialized speakers thus accurately recognized that far from being a straightforward, systematic and socially neutral representation of spoken language, orthographic conventions are actually socially partial and politically charged (Haugen 1966; Romaine 2002; Schieffelin and Doucet 1994; Suslak 2004)

Written Gaelic in contexts other than the religious realm also offended Gaelic-socialized speakers' construction of the political economy of languages. Much like spoken Gaelic was seen to be functionally limited in the kind of referential and communicative work it could perform, the presence of Gaelic writing in relatively institutionalized contexts or places generally associated with a public society was seen as

a violation of the division of linguistic labor between English and Gaelic, and a (potential) sign of the kind of politicization of Gaelic language practices that Gaelic-socialized speakers found so off-putting. Even relatively personal pieces of Gaelic writing, such as newspaper columns or editorials, were framed as (potentially) challenging social norms of the Gaelic language community, in which the (ostentatious) display of extraordinary individual skills was seen as a violation of the egalitarian ethos governing social relations. As a result, very few people I spoke to declared that they consumed such writing.[46] The history of repeated, but ultimately unsuccessful attempts to create a Gaelic newspaper and other regular publications, is evidence of some of the challenges for efforts to convince older speakers of Gaelic to join an audience for secular Gaelic writing that would be similar to a public audience of English-medium publications.

The use of writing for communication between older Gaelic speakers was even more rare than the consumptions of written texts in Gaelic. As with the process of reading, these speakers often proclaimed it to be physically impossible for them to encode their Gaelic speech in writing; even those who professed to have at least some ability to read Gaelic said that they simply had no idea how to implement the sound-letter correspondences they drew on for decoding written Gaelic in order to produce Gaelic writing.

> Do you ever write in Gaelic?
> Oh no, never. I wouldn't […] I wouldn't know how. When
> I see letters, I know what they're supposed to sound like,
> but I don't know how to put the words in my head on paper.

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[46] The strong association of Gaelic literacy with the realm of religious activity for Gaelic-socialized speakers in the district of A' Chreag in particular may also have affected attitudes towards reading as a leisure activity rather than as a tool of religious edification. In my experience, Gaelic socialized speakers generally tended to limit their engagement in secular activities on Sundays and focused on worship-related activities instead. As a result, they restricted their consumption of any kind of media on Sundays to materials with an overt focus on religion. Because of their preferences for Gaelic as the language of religious activity, these materials were predominantly in Gaelic. This association of consuming Gaelic texts with religious engagement may have created a view that reading non-religious texts violates the Calvinist ethos and traditions of the Scottish Free Church, which generally frowns upon what it considers frivolous activities whose sole purpose is secular entertainment.

As with reading, these older Gaelic speakers also saw functional limitations to the process of writing Gaelic, and were further limited by the absence of a discernible audience for any writing they could produce. As a result, the telephone was a much more popular tool for long-distance communication between older Gaelic speakers, and any written exchanges with Gaelic-speaking relatives or friends overseas necessitated by the prohibitive expense of international calling generally occurred in English.

The ideology of literate speakerhood for conceptualizing an individual's social-linguistic competence more generally thus existed in a state of dynamic tension with alternative models of social-linguistic proficiency and prowess, which privilege oral forms of speech over written forms (McEwan-Fujita 2010b:92, 105). The importance of blas as a marker of a speaker's cultural authenticity and as a measure of the aesthetic quality of certain forms of speech are a clear instantiation of the importance of orality over literacy for Gaelic-socialized speakers of the language. Indeed, blas is seen as being primarily a characteristic of spoken language, and as arising in forms of oral language use that are relatively far removed from stereotypical instantiations of standard-like language varieties, such as radio and television news reports and government-produced economic development brochures.

The Socialization of Literate Speakerhood in Gaelic-Medium Education

The socialization of literate speakerhood is a central activity in GME. At first glance, this may appear to be simply a result of language socialization in the classroom – after all, one of the explicit pedagogical goals of institutionalized primary education is the teaching of reading and writing as part of the 3 "R's". Indeed, the interaction with written Gaelic was an integral part of pupils' exposure to the language in the GM classroom, in which a large part of each school day was dedicated to the creation and consumption of written texts. Beyond the requisite textbooks, worksheets, and exercise jotters, classroom walls were filled with posters and other visual aids that showcased grammatical paradigms, words lists, and pictures dissected by labels. Students' written work provided the material for revolving exhibitions in dedicated spaces in the school.
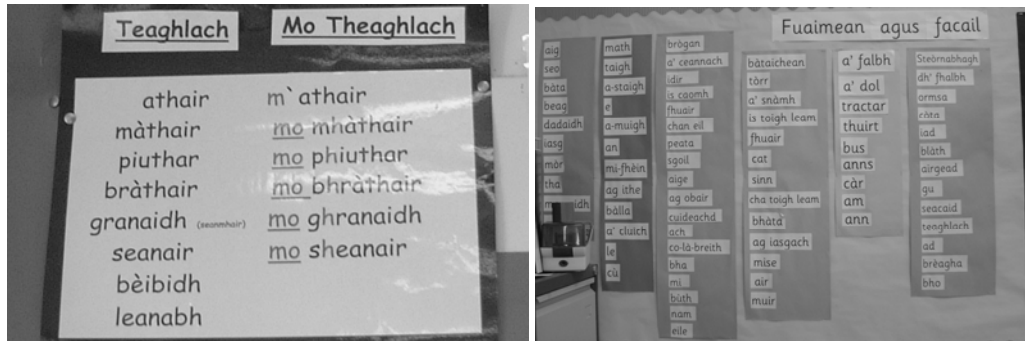
Figure 9: Wall decorations in GME classrooms

This resulted in an overwhelming privileging of literacy activities over oral forms of linguistic expression, even though the 5-14 national curricular guidelines explicitly give equal weight to speaking/listening and writing/reading as the four broad outcomes of Gaelic education. However, these Guidelines also put the activities of speaking and listening at the service of writing and reading:

> At all stages in the teaching and learning of Gaelic, talking and listening, in addition to being taught in their own right, will support and promote reading, writing, and the growth of thinking and feeling. (http://wayback.archive it.org/1961/ 20100622063728/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/ htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1107.htm)

In practice, this means that while pupils may use speaking as the primary mode of personal expression in the infant classroom, this oral narration of experiences, thoughts and opinions often functions either in preparation for or in response to the process of creating and consuming written texts of various genres, beginning with the *storaidh* (story) of the infant classroom and leading to writing assignments of increasing complexity and abstraction in the later years of GME. The relatively recent creation of an integrated reading scheme for Gaelic-medium education has allowed teachers to access a variety of resources that used the readers as springboards for extension activities, including spelling and grammar exercises and topics for writing activities.[47] Pupils' encounters with new words frequently occur in the context of writing and/or reading assignments, and are framed by explanations on how to spell them correctly.

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[47] Though the Gaelic-medium teachers at Sgoil a' Chreaig did complain that these resources were translated from English without much regard for the level of difficulty these activities would entail when they were performed in a language like Gaelic that has vast structural/grammatical differences to English.

Furthermore, the evaluation of pupils' Gaelic competence is based predominantly on their written work, for which GME guidelines employ standards of literacy that are more or less directly modeled on those governing English-medium education in Scotland. Although the National 5-14 Curriculum Guidelines for Gaelic offer a separate section discussing 'special issues' affecting learning and teaching in GME, there is much overlap between the Guidelines for Gaelic and those for English. For example, the so-called attainment targets for writing are the same for English and for Gaelic:

> Pupils will write functionally, personally and imaginatively, to convey meaning [in Gaelic] appropriate to audience and purpose; in so doing, they will pay careful attention to punctuation and structure, spelling, handwriting and presentation, and acquire knowledge about language.[48]

The suggestions and examples given for each 'strand' of writing as a program of study in the Guidelines are identical as well. For personal writing, the Guidelines suggest that pupils working at the highest attainment level "should use a variety of forms - free verse, haiku, diary or journal, personal letters etc."[49] The Guidelines for Gaelic thus reflect ideologies of literate competence modeled on English, even though the place of writing in general, and specific forms of writing in particular, occupy quite different places in the political economy of language of each language community.

While this approach certainly offers practical advantages for the design and implementation of the curriculum, it also contributes to the erasure of pragmatic, generic, and semiotic differences between English and Gaelic, removing the literacy of GM-educated children even further from existing forms and definitions of social-linguistic competence among older Gaelic speakers, in which literacy plays almost no role (cf. Coleman 2004). In other words, not only are GM-educated children becoming literate in a language whose predominant forms of usage in the speech community are decidedly

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[48]http://wayback.archiveit.org/1961/20100622030643/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1211.htm and http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622043020/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/englang/main/elng2010.htm

[49] http://wayback.archiveit.org/1961/20100622043049/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1352.htm and http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622060602/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/englang/main/elng3046.htm

non-literate, but their literacy skills are also a more or less straightforward transposition from English literacy skills into Gaelic.

Visually Representing Gaelic

First-year pupils entered the practice of producing visual representations of language through a set of phonics exercises designed to highlight the connection between individual phonemes and their written symbols. To facilitate this process, Mrs. Mackenzie, the teacher in the infant classroom, presented each phoneme-letter combination along with a corresponding hand gesture, some of which were iconic of either the shape of the letter(s) or a mnemonic associated with the phoneme. Over the course of several months, Mrs. Mackenzie slowly introduced each letter or letter combination associated with a phoneme. In each session, pupils sat around the large table formed by joining their desks into a rectangular shape and watched Mrs. Mackenzie, who sat at the head of the table. As Mrs. Mackenzie showed them signs featuring the upper case and lower case letters representing each phoneme, the pupils performed the hand motion along with pronouncing it. Later on, Mrs. Mackenzie would use the hand motion to remind students of individual letters while they were attempting to produce their own written texts.

Pupils were also introduced to other ways of visually representing spoken language. For example, during their social studies unit on the Chinese New Year, Mrs. Mackenzie took advantage of the opportunity to expose her pupils to the non-phonemic written representation of the Chinese languages. She provided them with a sheet of paper featuring the outlines of the Chinese character for "happiness" and its Gaelic translation, which the children were to color in before hanging up the papers among other decorations like stereotypically Chinese paper lanterns and drawings of Chinese dragons (see Figure 10).
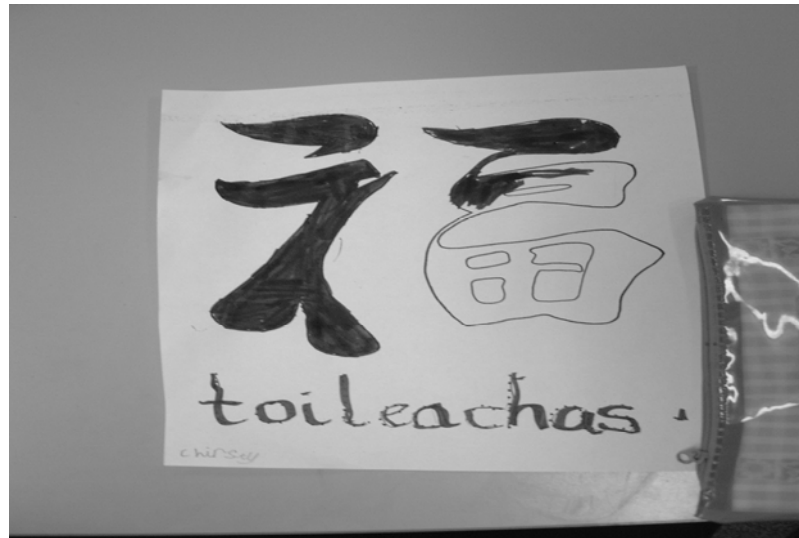
Figure 10: Pupil's drawing of Chinese character 'Happiness'

Simultaneously with the phonics activities, Mrs. Mackenzie introduced her pupils to a number of words they were expected to recognize on sight rather than having to sound them out –a list that grew as pupils progressed through the school year and moved onto subsequent assessment levels. Initially, Mrs. Mackenzie distilled these sight-reading words from the readers consumed by the P1 pupils, listing them on a sticky note in the back of each pupil's book for quick reference and testing by the teacher, the teaching assistant listening to children read out loud, or parents. If a child had trouble decoding a particular word in the reader, the teacher or her assistant added this word to the list to be consulted for reinforcement. For future reference, these words were also displayed on individual labels/signs on the classroom wall, and were recorded in alphabetical order by pupils in small exercise books that served as their personal dictionaries.

As they progressed to the Primary 2 year and beyond, the importance of adhering to the aesthetic standards increased to the point that the aesthetic presentation of written work came to be seen as iconic of other aspects of the pupil's fulfillment of the assignment. Inculcating a specific aesthetic regime for the production of handwriting became a subject of daily instruction once pupils moved onto the P3 year. Pupils wrote down each letter or letter combination on paper featuring rows consisting of three lines, the upper and lower of which were solid and demarcated the boundaries of each capital letter, and a dotted line in the middle to delineate the upper boundary of lower case letters. I's needed to be dotted (directly above the lower stroke of the letter, not to either

side), T's crossed (using a straight cross-bar two-third up the body of the letter), and the results of written math exercises had to be double-underlined using a ruler.
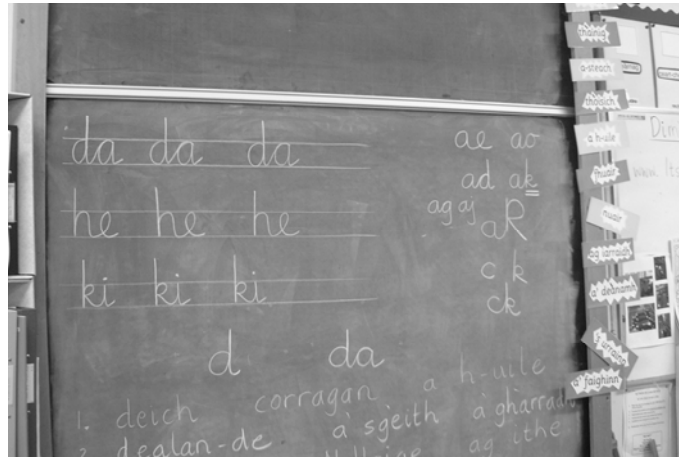

Figure 11: Blackboard demonstrating handwriting conventions

"Staying within the lines" was also an important aspect of the mechanical process of writing, as was following the rule of the 'finger space', i.e. putting the index finger of their non-writing hand on the paper to create a visual boundary before placing the next letter/word on the paper. Pupils used up many erasers to ensure that the writing space was filled correctly. Similarly, their teacher Mrs. Stewart spent a considerable amount of time and energy on the explicit demonstration of these skills on the blackboard, and always commented on sloppy handwriting, the absence of dates in exercise books, and evidence of repeated erasing as she corrected written homework assignments.

In the final years of primary schooling, pupils experienced more freedom in their production of written texts. They produced their writing on regular lined paper and were no longer coached on the minutiae of the correct production of individual letters, though the perceived legibility of their handwriting still warranted commenting by their teacher. At the same time, the iconic figuring of the aesthetic quality of student-produced writing and its contents continued to inform the teacher's evaluation of student work. Pupils were regularly told that illegible writing would invalidate their answers on tests and exams in secondary school, and that correct spelling and punctuation were crucial for effectively displaying academic knowledge and skills. The National 5-14 Curricular Guidelines justified this focus on the visual appearance of written language, and its adherence to established norms and standards, as crucial to communicative success:

> Because writing is essential for communicating within society,
> it is important that pupils learn precision in its conventions.
> (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622063734/
> http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/
> gaelic/gaelic1348.htm)

By privileging the written form of communication and basing its effectiveness on adherence to a set of standards, Gaelic-medium education regiments the visual representation of language in a way that supports ideologies of literate speakerhood and standard language. In the following section, I will examine in more detail the writing tasks commonly performed by pupils enrolled in GME in order to show that the ability to encode language in writing for a relatively narrow set of purposes was, in some ways, a more important goal in the language socialization experience provided by GME than success in oral communication.

Writing Gaelic

As I have discussed above, pupils were engaged in the practice of writing throughout the school day, and much oral interaction between teachers and pupils was focused on discussing the practice of writing and the products that emerged from it. It is part of the design of GME that learning to write occurs almost concurrently with acquiring Gaelic in the immersion phase of the first two years of primary schooling; as the National 5-14 Curricular Guidelines stipulate, pupils who have no prior knowledge of the language are supposed to dictate to their teachers who will the encode their words for them:

> For the most part, writing will be developed in association
> with the other three outcomes and will begin after oral fluency
> is developed and the teacher may scribe for pupils. Acquiring
> writing skills begins in the earliest years. (http://wayback.archive-
> it.org/1961/20100622063734/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/
> htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1348.htm)

According to the National 5-14 Curricular Guidelines**,** the purpose of writing in Scottish primary education is two-fold. On the one hand, the process of writing is a learning tool:

> Writing helps pupils to clarify their thoughts and experiences
> and to give them personal meaning. Through writing, pupils

can define, order and understand ideas. (http://wayback.archiveit.org/ 1961/20100622063734/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/ htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1348.htm)

On the other hand, the process of writing is an act of communication that allows children to interact with a number of real and imagined interlocutors. To that end, GME should teach pupils to

> write functionally, personally and imaginatively, to convey meaning in Gaelic appropriate to audience and purpose; in so doing, they will pay careful attention to punctuation and structure, spelling, handwriting and presentation, and acquire knowledge about language. (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622030643/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/ 5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/ Pages/gaelic/gaelic1211.htm

The conveyance of meaning as the primary purpose of writing is a consequence of the utilitarian definition to language in Gaelic-medium education that I discussed in Chapter 4.

As pupils progressed through the seven years of primary education, the level of abstraction of information to be transmitted in writing increased:

> They will demonstrate that they can write for a growing number of audiences and purposes, and from points of view other than their own. They will attempt more complex narratives and will be asked to extend their ability to write non-narrative texts, for example, reports, letters, and news items. (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622063734/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/5to14/ htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1348.htm)

Generally, most writing activities in the infant classroom were of a personal nature, reflecting the children's own experiences and individual characteristics. Mrs. Mackenzie and the children referred to these pieces by the generic label of 'story' (*storaidh* in Gaelic, an English loanword preferred over *naidheachd* or *sgeul*, which describe traditional forms of oral storytelling). In the very beginning of primary education, pupils often drew a picture that was then the subject of a sentence or two accompanying the picture. The topics of these drawings were often drawn from events in the children's own life, or from media the children were consuming.
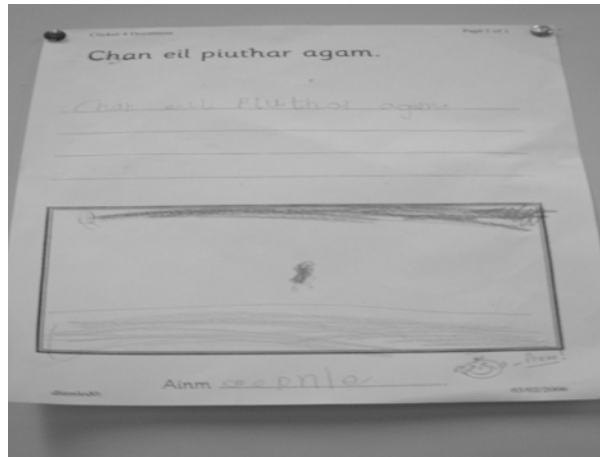
Figure 12: P1 pupil's *storaidh* "Chan eil piuthar agam" ("I don't have a sister")

The writing of such 'stories' often concluded oral discussions of the children's likes and dislikes, preferred activities, or memorable experiences. The next step was for each child to produce a sentence or two on the computer, using software that allowed them to select whole words and arrange them in order (rather than typing out each word individually). The template they used already contained lines that would later be used to copy the printed sentence(s), and a rectangular space for an accompanying drawing connected to the writing. This routine made the recording of speech tokens in writing seem like an inevitable outcome of spoken interaction.

Another prominent genre of writing was of a utilitarian nature. For this purpose, Mrs. Mackenzie would create an activity in order for the children to write about it, such as the time when she brought provisions for the children to make sandwiches and then asked them to write down instructions on "How to make a sandwich". The children generated some unique combinations of the sandwich fillings available (margarine, ham, strawberry jam, and lemon curd), much to the delight and/or disgust of their classmates and Mrs. Mackenzie, and they all differed in how they assembled their sandwiches. After consuming their sandwiches, however, the children were all expected to follow a common chronological format for presenting their instructions, along with illustrations for each step of the process.
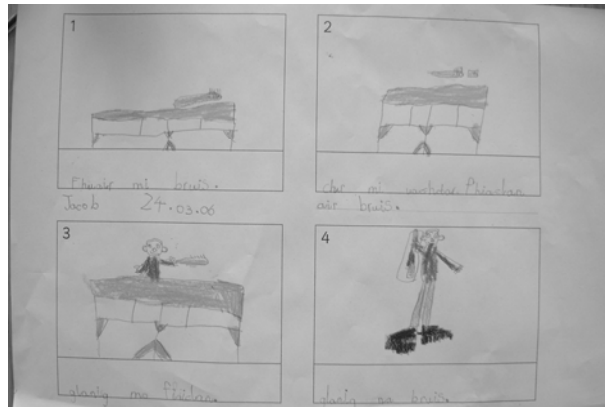
Figure 13: Pupil's written instructions for "How to brush teeth"

Such writing projects would take several days to finish, and the end results were often presented to the assistant principal for his (playful) evaluation and bestowal of a piece of candy to the creator of the best work. Although great fun for the children and a key element of the idea of immersion education, the fact that such activities essentially always led to the creation of written texts under relatively strict, English-derived generic guidelines meant that the act of narration was constrained stylistically and made the act of writing appear to be the principal mode of linguistic expression.

In the P3, P4 and P5 years, writing assignments became more removed from immediate experience or reality by including fictional characters and more theoretical topics. Pupils used books and other media they had encountered both within the classroom and outside of it as inspiration for their writing. For example, a character from a book used for reading practice would become the protagonist in a child's imagined fictional narrative. The scope of functional writing also broadened to include genres like personal letters and informational posters. As in the infant classroom, the focus of these writing activities was the conveyance of (referential) information to a hypothetical audience.

At the same time, the act of writing became more regimented in terms of both aesthetics (see discussion above) and rhetorical structure. The structuring of writing into recognizable and coherent parts such as paragraphs that formed discernible parts of essays such as introduction, main body, and conclusion was a topic of explicit instruction from the teacher. Pupils were now expected to consider, and cater to, the audience of their pieces, although this audience remained mostly hypothetical, as the teacher Mrs. Stewart was the only reader of these texts. As it was, the only characteristics of the

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audience that pupils were expected to consider in their writing were the relative social status of the addressee (requiring the use of formal second person pronouns and other linguistic forms indexing this asymmetrical social relationship) and the factual knowledge to which he or she would have access. Such writing assignments did not highlight differences in language socialization or in other socio-political aspects influencing the (hypothetical) audience's identity and the interpretative schemata the members of that audience would bring to bear on the piece of writing being produced.

For instance, pupils in the middle years of GME were taught the generic conventions for writing letters, including the overall layout of letters (date and return address in top corner) and standard stylistic elements (opening and closing phrases). While this information is undoubtedly of use for the purpose of writing letters in English, the lack of letter-writing and (-reading in Gaelic) as a habitual cultural practice of older Gaelic speakers did not enter the discussion. As a result, pupils learned to write for a hypothetical audience of Gaelic speakers that differed from the group of English speakers only in the medium of interaction, but not in the semiotic characteristics in the modes of interaction between them.

In the final years of GME, writing assignments became even more removed from the mostly oral genres of language production recognized by older Gaelic speakers. Expository writing moved to the forefront of writing instruction/activities in the classroom, and was produced responded to literary pieces that few older Gaelic speakers would have access to, or interest in. Any personal writing in the latter stages of GME was similarly removed from the linguistic practices, experiences, and familiarity of older Gaelic speakers.

Indeed, a significant ideological challenge entailed by this utilitarian approach was the lack of a potential audience for the texts produced by GME pupils. While GME teachers were in practice the only ones who read the vast majority of pieces written by GM pupils, whether in English or in Gaelic, the potential audience for pieces written in English was vastly larger than those who would be able to consume such a text written in Gaelic. Although GME pupils' written work was displayed in the public areas of the school alongside similar pieces in English, only half the student population, i.e. other children enrolled in GME, could decipher it.

Outside of the classroom, it was not just the absence of Gaelic literacy skills in older speakers in Gaelic that kept them from consuming these pieces, but their attitude toward such practices as being the more or less exclusive concern of those wanting to impose standard language ideologies and a litero-centric discourse on Gaelic. As a result, Gaelic writing produced by children had symbolic value only within the confines of their classrooms, and mainly fulfilled the ideological demands of a language revitalization model drawing on the pedagogy of mainstream Anglophone Scottish education and the political economy of a standardized national language like English. As McEwan-Fujita (2005) argues about the production of written materials in Gaelic in parallel with, and presented side-by-side to English text that is at the heart of a neoliberally-motivated Gaelic language planning project,

> The bilingual presentation of the documents was one way language planners tried to overcome diglossia and create equivalence of meaning and equality of status between Gaelic and English, in the eyes of Gaelic- English bilinguals and the wider Scottish public. Planners believe that Gaelic ought to possess a set of registers parallel to English, to be used in every domain of life in order to carry out the same functions and express the same ideas that English does. (161f.)

Reading Gaelic

The practice of reading includes both the skill of decoding written text and the ability to access information contained therein. While the inability to encode certain aspects of oral language already limits the kind of information that can be retrieved from written texts, the specific reading practices promoted by GME further reduce the range of information 'legible' to GM-educated pupils. Although the 5-14 National Guidelines for GME explicitly acknowledge four strands or purposes of reading activities in GME (reading for information; reading for enjoyment; reading to reflect on the writer's ideas and craft, awareness of genre (type of text); knowledge about language)[50], in practice reading activities in GME strongly privilege the distilling of referential content from written texts and promote a 'narrow' or philological reading of texts focused on a limited conceptions of form-function relationships creating meaning in a written text. As a result,

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[50] (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/20100622071513/http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/ 5to14/ htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1341.htm)

GME does not encourage pupils' ability to deduce social-indexical information from the Gaelic contained in the texts they encounter.

Reading practice was a daily activity in all GM classrooms at Sgoil a' Chreaig, mostly conducted by teaching assistants in a assembly-line fashion in order to include all children in their various skill-based groupings.[51] The appearance of the teaching assistant to conduct the daily reading sessions was generally a welcome sight to the children, as this meant an opportunity to escape the assignments they were working on and to join a few friends outside the confines of the classroom. Most reading practice sessions were conducted in the so-called social areas connected to the school's main corridors. Pupils engaged in good-natured jostling, whispering and private conversations while they sat on the benches waiting for their turn to read out loud the part of the reader they had practiced at home on the previous day.

Like the writing exercises discussed above, reading practice followed a similarly routinized and repetitive pattern that was established in the early days of primary schooling. The absence of any extended discussion of the content of the texts made it clear that the act of decoding the text correctly was of primary importance to the teaching assistants. The only feedback pupils received from the teaching assistants listening to them read out loud were corrections for individual instances of mispronunciation, and generic praise for error-free reading of a given passage.

If a child encountered particular difficulty with sounding out a specific word, the teaching assistants would note the word(s) on a piece of paper inserted in the back of the book to alert parents to pay special attention to their child's decoding of these words. In some of the more advanced reading groups, some pupils corrected others for perceived errors in pronunciation of the text. Generally, however, the children displayed a similar level of interest in the content of what they were reading, judging from the comparative

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[51] Starting in P3, children were assigned to separate groups for reading in English and in Gaelic. Although some pupils showed some variation in their reading skills in the two languages, most pupils were assigned to the same 'level' of reading difficulty in both English and Gaelic.

monotony of their voices while reading out loud, and the speed with which they tried to race through their reading portions.[52]

The following excerpt from a reading session show the typical interactions between pupils and the adults who listen to them read. The reading booklet assigned to the pupils explores the story of a boy bear named Alec who did not want to growl, and thus has his parents worried for his future as a stereotypical bear. Alec's parents send him to a special teacher to work on his growling skills, but to no avail. The teacher sends home a report card with the disappointing news for Alec's parents that Alec will never be a fierce bear, but will make a good teddy bear (see Figure 14).
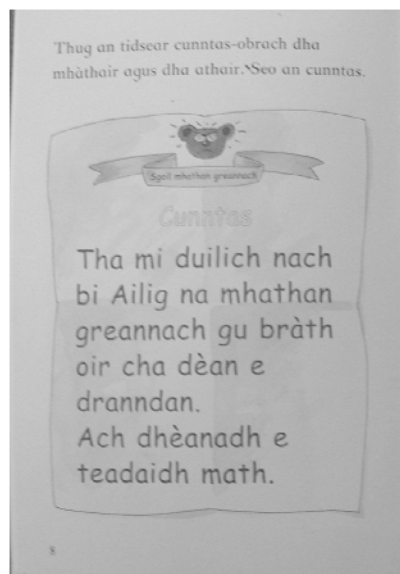
Figure 14: Reading booklet with the teacher's report card to the teddy bear's parents

There are several instances in the text in which the initial lenition of a word is important to the grammaticality of the text being decoded by the pupils. As I have discussed before, lenition is a concept that is typically considered to be difficult to grasp for GME-socialized children, and subject to explicit policing by Mrs. Stewart. Although a

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[52] Except for some of the Gaelic-socialized children, none of the pupils exclusively socialized in GME professed any particular enjoyment of reading Gaelic texts.

teaching assistant is listening to the pupils read in this session, she is on the lookout for missing lenitions as well.[53]

As the pupil begins to read out loud, she misses the lenition of the word *mathair* (mother) induced by the preposition *dha* immediately preceding. The teaching assistant interrupts her and gives her a chance to correct herself, which the pupils fails to take advantage of. After a short pause, the teaching assistant provides the correct pronunciation herself.

Pupil: thug an tidsear cunntas-obrach dha mathair agus
            the teacher gave a work report to the mother and

TA: chan i [..] dha? […] dha mha dha mhathair?
            no [..] to? […] to the mo to the mother?

The pupil continues without repeating the pronunciation the teaching assistant has just provided. In reading the following passage, the pupil again misses the lenition in the word *dheanadh*, and also mispronounces the ending consonant cluster. The pupil pronounces the word as *dèanamh*, the verbal noun of *dean* (doing, making), instead of the conditional *deanadh* (would make).

P: agus dha athair. Seo an cunntas. Cunntas. Tha mi duilich nach
            and to the father. This is the report. Report. I am sorry that

            bi Ailig na mhathan greannach gu brath oir cha dèan e
            Alec will never become a fierce bear if he does not

            dranndan. Ach dèanamh
            growl. But he making

TA: nise ach ni ach dè chan i dèanamh 's e dheanadh
            now but see but it's not making it's he would make

P: teadaidh math

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[53] In this case, her attention to lenition is somewhat ironic because earlier in the reading session she incorrectly pronounced an adverb without leniting it (*a-caoidh* instead of *a-chaoidh*) when a pupil was having trouble decoding the word. In the end, the pupil called the teaching assistant's attention to her error, and she had to correct herself after several attempts to pronounce the word to herself in order to decide which version was correct (rather than just looking at the spelling in the book).

a good teddy

TA: right

Instead of calling the pupil's attention explicitly to the change in the meaning of the text caused by the error in the pupil's decoding (and the fact that her reading is grammatically incorrect in this context), the teaching assistant just provides the correct pronunciation. Again, the pupil does not repeat the corrected pronunciation, but rather moves on to finish reading the text.

The reading portion ends with Alec the Bear being sent away by his parents because he will not growl. They tell him that he can return when he learns to growl. At the conclusion of the reading portion, the TA concludes with a generic praise and informs the pupils of the next reading assignment

TA: right math dha rìribh suas gu tri deug
                 right excellent up to [page] thirteen

At this point, I spontaneously commented on the behavior of the bear parents. My comments takes the teaching assistant by surprise, perhaps because as an observer I am not a ratified participant in her interaction, but also because anyone participating in the reading practice sessions rarely seems to comment on the contents of the text that has just been decoded.

Vanessa: that's kind of mean, they send him away? [chuckling]
because
                 he's not

TA: sorry?

V: t   they send him away because he won't growl

TA [quietly]:   ye […]

[to pupils]   nach sin crosd? nach sin dona?
                 isn't that mean? isn't that bad?

At first, the TA appears to interpret my comment as an aside meant only for her ears, but when the pupils look over at us expectantly, surprised by our talk at a time that is usually

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reserved for book-keeping activities like listing the pages of the next reading assignment on post-it notes in the back of the reader, she includes them in the conversation and asks them for their opinion. This elicits excited chatter from the pupils who are usually quietly waiting for the teaching assistant to return their reading books to them, but now want to share some of the things their parents have threatened to send them away for. It is clearly a change of pace from the regular conduct of the reading sessions for them.

The Purpose of Reading

While decoding took up a fair amount of time in the course of the school day, accessing and distilling of information from the text in question was the primary function of reading. Although the National 5-14 Curricular Guidelines identify reading for enjoyment and reading aloud as two of the strands in the attainment targets for reading in GME, the rest of these strands are all focused on the extraction of different types of information from written texts, including factual information, information about the writer's idea and craft, awareness of genre, and knowledge about (written) language (http://wayback.archive-it.org/1961/ 20100622060617/ http://www.ltscotland.org.uk/ 5to14/htmlunrevisedguidelines/Pages/gaelic/gaelic1218.htm). In addition to the referential function expressing factual information, this approach also privileged a relatively narrow definition of knowledge about language that was informed by a litero-centric ideology of language.

In order to display their skills in gleaning such information from written texts, pupils filled out work sheets and completed writing assignments that focused on the books in the reading scheme they were working through. There was no such focus on distilling the same kind of information from spoken Gaelic the children encountered independently of written text, which was already limited by the teachers' beliefs around the children's capacity for comprehension of variation in spoken Gaelic.

The beginning readers for the P1 pupils were simple booklets of around 6-8 pages bound in heavy paperstock. Black-and-white drawings took up most of each page, depicting the referential content of the writing positioned below it –usually a single sentence in fairly large typeface. The topics of the readers were drawn from presumed everyday experiences of young children in the Gàidhealtachd, including trips to the beach

and to town, fathers driving tractors and mothers riding on the bus. Cats, dogs and sheep rounded out the scenes.

Figure 15: Booklet for reading practice in infant classroom (handwritten translation by teacher for the child's parents)

These early readers were designed to be decoded easily, in terms of both the phonemic/lexical complexity of the words and the content.[54] Because these readers were, for the most part, remnants from the early days of GME, when many pedagogical materials were produced within the confines of the local government, the words contained within them generally did not differ significantly along dialectal lines. However, despite the focus on local places and activities, the content was, in certain cases, still outmoded. For example, one reader describing a child's trip to Stornoway, the main town on the island, included a scene of the child entering a once-legendary general store, which had been out of business for more than a decade by the time the children participating in my research used the reader. For children attending GME outside of the Gàidhealtachd, these stereotypical depictions of the life of Gaelic speakers are presumably as alien as the standard readers depicting scenes of urban British life were to the children growing up in the rural periphery.[55] Nevertheless, they were supposed to

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[54] One of the challenges of translating an existing Anglophone reading scheme into Gaelic had been the differences in lexical/phonemic complexity in English and Gaelic; as one teacher involved in the project of developing the current Gaelic reading scheme pointed out to me, a story that is easy to decode in English does not automatically become easy to decode in its Gaelic translation.

[55] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the view that these books functioned as tools of quasi-imperialistic domination, which informed the pedagogical focus of the bilingual education scheme in the Western Isles in the 1970s.

serve as an introduction to the unique cultural characteristics of the Gàidhealtachd for these children.

Reading the texts out loud turned children into omniscient narrators of the scenes depicted in the illustrations and focused their attention on the referential content of the text. Additionally, the teacher or teaching assistant conducting the reading sessions would sometimes call the pupils' attention to typographic conventions, such as the presence of periods at the end of sentences. As a result, some children in the P1 group would conclude their sounding out of a particular sentence in their book with the proclamation "*stad phuinc!*" ("full stop!").[56] Indeed, such terminology was part of the knowledge about (written) language that the National 5-14 Curricular Guidelines define as part of pupils' social-linguistic competence, but was essentially unknown outside of the context of GME.

When pupils advanced to the recently developed Gaelic reading scheme, the content of the texts expanded beyond the presumed immediate and everyday experiences of children enrolled in GME to include a variety of real and imaginary characters, settings and topics that are stereotypically associated with Anglophone children's literature that the pupils would be familiar with from non-academic interactions with printed texts outside of the school setting, such as bedtime reading sessions with parents. The aim was clearly to make the reading scheme attractive to children by evoking genres, characters and settings, like fairy tales, super-heroes, and exotic jungle habitats that these children would be familiar with from popular Anglophone media.

Since the entire reading scheme was based on a series originally published in English, these elements did not represent those found in traditional Gaelic story-telling or other verbal art, which a reading scheme specifically designed for GME could have provided.[57] Instead, the texts featured Gaelic-speaking characters such as jungle animals and ethnically Pakistani grandmothers and storylines centered around activities such as

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[56] The readers also provided a model for children's own productions of written texts, which were visibly similar to the reading booklets in terms of structure and layout.

[57] As one of the people involved in the translation of the Gaelic reading scheme explained to me, the creation and production of such a scheme specifically for the purposes of GME would have been prohibited by the lack of financial and personnel resources for such an undertaking.

cricket games, all of which lacked functional equivalents in the stylistic repertoire of older Gaelic speakers.

Figure 16: Covers of books from the Gaelic reading scheme (L-R: "The Tiger and the Wolf", "Big Barry Baker on Stage", "Skipper to the Rescue")

As a result, the stylistic variation that children socialized in GME encountered in the texts they mainly consumed was at best artificial and at worst nonsensical to older Gaelic speakers. As one grandmother commented to me on her grandson's reading homework, "there are no Gaelic-speaking lions," presumably because the Gàidhealtachd is not the natural habitat of lions (also see Chapter 4).

At the same time, any instances of existing stylistic variation in Gaelic that the children encountered in their reading books was minimized by the teachers, who focused on the referential equivalence of such forms without highlighting the source and semiotic effect of such differences. When I asked her whether her pupils ever questioned her about linguistic forms not associated with the Lewis dialect of Gaelic, Mrs. Stewart told me

> Well, they do, sometimes, but I always tell them that it means
> the same thing as the word they do know. I just tell them that's
> what people in other places say, and they accept it. They don't
> have any trouble with it.[58]

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[58] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of how GME teachers focus on referential equivalence in explaining variation in Gaelic forms.

Beyond dialectal variation, most of the materials created and used expressly for reading practice appeared to draw on genres and registers of (written) language use that were familiar to children from Anglophone media, but did not necessarily have functional equivalents in Gaelic. Unique forms of verbal art in Gaelic existing only in oral form, conversely, did not make an appearance in the GME classroom except in the context of supplementary or extramural activities, such as practice sessions for Mòd performances (see Chapter 7).

In the advanced stages of GME, pupils did encounter some original Gaelic fiction and other artistic forms of language use in their Gaelic lessons. At this point, however, the focus of their interactions with the written text was the analysis of its literary elements. Along with the belief that much of the stylistic variation found in the range of linguistic practices within the Gaelic language community was too difficult for GM-educated children to understand (not to mention control themselves), this pedagogical constraint left any stylistic variation found in the texts under-analyzed in social terms. To the extent it was analyzed, the objective was to identify how these elements contributed to the underlying meaning of the passage, rather than to understand their place in the stylistic/indexical order of the speech community.

English Literacy

At Sgoil a' Chreaig, English literacy activities first were introduced in the third year of primary schooling (P3). Compared to their acquisition of Gaelic literacy skills, most pupils appeared to progress much faster in English reading and writing activities. Teachers explained this phenomenon as being the result of pupils' physical and cognitive familiarity with these practices in abstract terms, as well as with the pupils' exposure to Anglophone media outside of the classroom. Indeed, most pupils who participated in my research had begun reading English texts at home under their parents' supervision well before the introduction of English reading as a distinct activity at school, and were able to move through the beginning levels of the English reading scheme without much delay. Writing in English appeared to be similarly effortless for most pupils.

Parents of pupils enrolled in GME saw their children's facility with English literacy skills as convincing evidence to counter claims and concerns circulating in the

community that GME has a negative effect on children's English competence. Some of them even believed that the development of literacy skills in Gaelic had actually facilitated and expanded their children's awareness of structural aspects of the English language:

> He's never had a problem with reading or spelling in English. I think it's because he already knew what to do in Gaelic, so he didn't have to start from the beginning again, you know. He even knows that English spelling isn't the same as Gaelic, that letters sound different when they're in English and in Gaelic.

These observations corroborate the findings of formal evaluations of GME-educated pupils collected in Scotland since the early 1990s (Johnstone et al. 1999, O' Hanlon et al. 2010).

Conclusion

By modeling the pedagogical goals and methods of GME on the standards of Scottish English-medium education, the design of GME predictably privileges a conception of speakerhood that centers on literacy skills and activities as hallmarks of social-linguistic competence. From a historical perspective, this focus on literate speakerhood in GME also served to legitimate the creation of GME as a tool of language revitalization (see Chapter 3) by aiming to recreate the process of developing institutionalized standard languages in a nation-state context.

Once GME became the predominant force and context of childhood Gaelic language socialization, however, the dominance of this ideology of literate speakerhood began to create several issues impinging upon the effectiveness of GME as a tool of language socialization. One, in the language socialization experience of GME-socialized children the ideology of literate speakerhood remains more or less unchallenged by other ideologies offering alternative conceptions of, and ways to exercise and display, social-linguistic competence. Two, by promoting a model of literate speakerhood in Gaelic that is closely aligned with the equivalent model in English, GME fails to provide pupils with a realistic appreciation of not only the hierarchical organization of Gaelic literacy practices, but also of the impact that displays of literate speakerhood can have on their communicative success with other, non-GME-socialized speakers of Gaelic. As

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McEwan-Fujita (2010b) recounts, the planned or unplanned display of Gaelic literacy skills to older Gaelic-socialized speakers can quickly overshadow the actual communicative aims of the literate-appearing speaker, and, depending on the context and interlocutor, precipitate a refusal to continue to interact in Gaelic and a switch to English.

Consequently, the socialization of literate speakerhood in Gaelic-medium education is a double-edged sword as a tool of Gaelic language revitalization: on the one hand, the creation of literate speakers of the language creates the very possibility of an expansion of the domains of usage for the language and lends them institutional legitimacy. On the other hand, the highly charged and marked nature of both Gaelic literacy activities and their products means that the display of literate speakerhood can serve to alienate existing members of the language community to the point that they refuse to participate in interactions with other speakers of the language, thus negating the revitalizing effect of GME.

Chapter 7

Performing Gaelic Speakerhood

Introduction

GM-educated children often had the opportunity to display their Gaelic skills in organized events at a local and even national level, frequently in a competitive environment. Most children were clearly excited about participating in these events. If nothing else, practices and rehearsals for performances allowed them to escape the mundane classroom routine, and in the case of the Royal National Mòd, even the confines of the island, to experience movie theaters, shopping malls and fast food from chain restaurants. Beyond this immediate benefit, a lot of positive recognition from teachers, parents and community members was tied to participating in school events, and in local and national competitions.[59] The winners of Mòd medals and trophies were featured in local news publications and even on TV. They often performed reprises of their pieces in school concerts that drew sizeable audiences beyond these pupils' relatives and friends. A group of Mòd winners from Sgoil a' Chreaig also showcased their winning entries at a meeting of the local senior citizen group every year –an event whose potential embarrassment stemming from the attention of a group of elderly ladies was outweighed by the diversion provided by an afternoon away from the classroom featuring copious amounts of cake and cookies.

For the large majority of GM-educated children, these events provided the only context for using Gaelic outside the classroom setting and to interact with Gaelic speakers other than their teachers and other school staff. Many parents and teachers also

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[59] The apparent conflict of this encouragement of individual achievement with the doctrine of social equality generally espoused within the community was resolved through a focus on the positive light individuals' achievement would cast onto the community behind them, and by demanding humility from those who were successful in the competitions (see further discussion of this apparent contradiction in chapter 10)

saw them as an opportunity for GM-educated children to demonstrate their Gaelic competence to unbiased observers beyond their teachers (who may have a vested interest making their charges appear competent). As a result, a child's success in Mòd and other competitions was often presented as evidence for his or her mastery of Gaelic and a demonstration of his/her social-linguistic competence. Non-Gaelic speaking parents in particular took such formal recognition of a child's performance as an official endorsement of their social-linguistic competence, much like success in an academic exam confirms mastery of a subject.

However, far from being naturalistic settings for interactions between these novices and older Gaelic speakers, the types of language use at the heart of these events tended to be highly stylized and thoroughly routinized (much like the events themselves), and were constrained by generic and other aesthetic exigencies that do not pertain to the vast majority of everyday interactions among older Gaelic speakers. Furthermore, these performances required children to inhabit roles that were far removed from their own. Instead, the success of a child's Mòd performance successful ultimately rested on his or her ability to voice the principal of the piece, which was never the child performing.[60]

Even competitions focused on the act of conversation, at the Mòds as well as at the school's yearly entry in the competition sponsored by the Gaelic Society of London, hardly reflected conversational patterns in the community. First, the formality of the occasion (and in the case of the Gaelic Society of London's competition, the technological demands of audio-tape recording) strongly discouraged common aspects of spontaneous/informal conversation, such as conversational overlaps, and routine practices like code-switching. Second, the standards for evaluating such performances focused on grammatical correctness and other formally measurable aspects of language use that have relatively little value in older Gaelic speakers' valuations of their interlocutors' speech. Third, these conversations also forced children to interact with strangers, who were often much older than their parents and other adults. According to the linguistic economy of

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[60] Even in the case of the locally famous victory of a five-year-old girl in the National Mòd's story-telling competition, her father had written the story to make it sound like her own and coached her extensively to make it appear spontaneous and ad libb-ed, although the story itself was considerably more complex in terms of grammar and style than a young child would produce fluently on her own. Indeed, the girl sounding mature beyond her young years was probably a large factor in her performance's appeal to both the judges and the audience.

the island community, this situation would usually elicit the use of English by adults, and responses in English from children. Overcoming this social convention proved to be a difficult task for many of the children competing, and often affected their performances.

In this chapter, I will discuss the public performances of GME-socialized children, and the language socialization practices of the adults preparing the children for such events. In particular, I will analyze practice sessions and performances connected to the Royal National Mòd, which took place on the Isle of Lewis at the time of my research, and those connected to the Gaelic conversation competition sponsored by the Gaelic Society of London, in which children participated in the confines of their own school. I will argue that rather than identifying and rewarding competent Gaelic speakers, these types of contests favored children who were good performers of Gaelic speakerhood as determined by the contest's designers and judges. Inhabiting this form of Gaelic speakerhood foregrounds a display of social-lingustic competence according to standards designed for, and promulgated by, institutionalized contexts of language use. Instead of functioning as a full-fledged interlocutor, the addressee/audience in such an interaction provides either a scaffold for the display of Gaelic speakerhood (asking questions, other examples) or an appraisal of the speaker's performance. Without an equal emphasis on expressing themselves effectively in everyday interactions with Gaelic speakers outside of the classroom, the need of children to inhabit identities other than their own in these performances further depersonalized the act of speaking Gaelic for them. As a result, the language socialization experiences provided by the practice sessions preparing GM-educated children for these performances, as well as the performances themselves, serve to reinforce a set of semiotic ideologies that privilege the performative conception of identity at odds with the essentialist ideology of personalism espoused by older Gaelic speakers.

The Royal National Mòd

The Royal National Mòd, as it is now known, is an annual event organized by *An Comunn Gàidhealach* (The Highland Society or ACG), which was founded in 1891 with the aim of establishing a festival celebrating Gaelic literature, history, music, and art as a

counterpart to the Welsh *Eisteddfod*.[61] It thus arose in a general context of romantic nationalism in Western Europe, in which the real or imagined (*sensu* Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) traditions and practices of peasants unspoiled by the corrupting influences of modernization and industrialization were celebrated as the repositories of a nation's true and original ethos and spirit. Like other aspect of a particular vision of Highland Culture emerging in Scotland beginning in the 19th century, the traditions instantiated and celebrated at the Mòd were mostly (re-)imagined through processes of selective remembrance and embellishment to shape fit them into a complex of "new Highland traditions, presented as ancient, original and distinctive" that "were offered to, and adopted by, historic Lowland Scotland" as being emblematic of a unified Scottish nation (Trevor-Roper 1983:16).

The express aim of the festival, as well as the association, is the preservation and the development of the Gaelic language by fostering an appreciation of Gaelic culture through its purported predominant media of expression, language and music. However, unlike the Welsh *Eisteddfod*, the focus of the Royal National Mòd appears to be on a philological appreciation of Gaelic without any explicitly nationalistic overtones. Indeed, the Royal National Mòd as well as the ACG as a whole treat the relationship between its objective and the larger national context as essentially non-political; although the ACG seeks "official recognition and use of Gaelic as a living language and national asset by local, national and European Governments and other agencies", it also describes itself as "non-political and non-sectarian" (http://www.acgmod.org/about/history, accessed on 2/8/2012).

With well over 6000 people attending the Royal National Mòd in recent years (Valu8, ACG Caithness Mòd: An Evaluation, 2010), the buzz created by the event in its host towns, especially those in remote areas like the Western Isles, is considerable. While competitions in a variety of categories of performance are the central focus of the Mòd, there are also a number of non-competitive 'fringe' events and performances that, along with the restaurants and bars around the event's location, provide many opportunities for formal and informal socializing by competitors and attendees. Indeed, the event is also

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[61] In addition to the Mòd at the national level, regional committees of the ACG also organizes and sponsors local Mòds in a number of locations throughout Scotland each year.

recognized as a significant contributor to tourism and consumption in the host location, which changes annually, and the ACG has begun collecting data on the economic impact of the Mòd on the host city as a way to not only satisfy its sponsors, but also to promote the event to local organizers in potentially new locations.

When the Royal National Mòd was held in Stornoway in 2005, additional flights and ferries transported participants and spectators to and from the Isle of Lewis, while cars, taxis and buses clogged the already narrow streets of the town center. Every empty bed on the island, whether they could be found in hotels, bed and breakfast establishments, or private homes, were filled for the 10 days of the event; cafes and restaurants with their already slow-moving Hebridean hospitality could barely meet the crowd's demand for food and drink at mealtimes. The pedestrian areas in town were a sea of tartans and kilts as gaggles of school children and throngs of adults toting younger siblings, wardrobe changes, musical instruments, business cases, and other accoutrements of performance rushed between the various locations of the competitions, which were scattered across schools, gymnasiums, and other event spaces provided by the art gallery and town hall.

In the absence of a language academy or similar repository of Gaelic culture, the ACG as the organizer of Royal National Mòd arguably functions as an authoritative arbiter of a canon of Gaelic arts and culture that is to be performed and celebrated. Although the Mòd's organizers explicitly emphasize the status of Gaelic as a living language and recognize that Gaelic language and culture encompasses a wide range of art forms, the main materials of the event's competitions are mostly limited to recognized art forms (singing, instrumental music, recitation) and more or less canonized pieces, including songs and poems of a variety of genres. These pieces are also circulated in written form, even for genres that by their very nature are based on oral transmission and circulation. At Sgoil a Bhac, children practicing for their performances carried print-outs of their pieces, protected by plastic sleeves, around the school. Some children took them along to the Mòd itself for last-minute cramming while they waited for their turns to perform in front of the judges. Written records also facilitated participation in the Mòd for children with minimal or even non-existent Gaelic speaking skills, who used the print-outs to help them memorize their pieces and resorted to jotting down phonetic

approximations to help them decipher the words without becoming familiar with Gaelic spelling conventions. This dependence on writing in the oral performance of Gaelic culture reinforced the ideology of literate speakerhood (McEwan-Fujita 2010) discussed earlier.[62]

However, while the ACG presents participation in the Mòd as a gateway into a deeper engagement with the Gaelic language and culture for children as well as adults[63], the Mòd's focus on a well-accepted cannon of verbal art and its emphasis on formally defined elements of style in their performance also made it possible to be a successful Mòd performer without taking any steps toward becoming an actual speaker of the language. When I interviewed some of the jurors involved in evaluating the children's competitions at the Royal National Mòd held in Stornoway in 2005, they did not think that it was their job or the event's purpose to evaluate social-linguistic competence. Rather, they emphasized the importance of a performer's ability to show an understanding not only of the (referential) content of the text, but also of its (perceived) author, and the context of its creation, to the success of that performance. They said that they looked out for evidence that the child had an "appreciation" of the emotions inherent in the piece they were performing, and thus of the author whose words they were animating.

Given the nature of the Mòd's competition, however, the performers never had the opportunity to be the authors of their own performances. This was especially true for children participating in the Mòd. Even for competitions that allowed participants to choose their own piece within certain parameters governing length and genre, it was usually adults who provided the child with a piece to perform, or a small number of them to choose from, carefully matching their perceived linguistic and aesthetic complexity to the child's ability level. In a few instances, parents authored pieces for their children to perform, which some then saw as giving these children an unfair advantage, since an original story or poem written by a skilled author would be more likely to be more

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[63] Several people in the various Gaelic language classes I attended on Lewis and elsewhere in Scotland cited their participation in Gaelic singing as the motivating factor for their attempts to now learn the language (rather than the other way around).

interesting and memorable to the jurors than a prescribed piece that the jurors had already listened to several times previously.[64]

The Show Must Go On

Rehearsals for school performances, practice sessions for individual and group entries at the local and national Mòds, and other preparations for such events occurred throughout the school year at Sgoil a' Chreaig. Soon after the beginning of the school year in late August or early September, the annual Royal National Mòd loomed with its weeklong competitions in a wide range of literary and musical categories that are considered to be a quintessential part of Gaelic culture. Since the location of the festival changes every year, most children in the GMU at Sgoil a' Chreaig traveled with their families away from Lewis to participate, along with several teachers who are parents of pupils and/or tutors of the various groups and choirs competing. After their return, only a few weeks without rehearsals passed before preparations for the school-wide Christmas concert at the end of the fall term start up. In the new year, academic work took precedence for a while, until rehearsals for the island-wide Mòd, held in the early summer, where many children perform different pieces than the Royal National Mòd, were scheduled. In all these competitions, the pupils of Sgoil a' Chreaig have a reputation as a Mòd powerhouse – as evidenced by the large number of shining silver trophies displayed in the school foyer – to defend.

At Sgoil' a Bhac, participating in the Royal National Mòd was voluntary, and mostly limited to children from the Gaelic-medium stream. Children from the English-medium stream were welcome to join the competitions, independent of their Gaelic

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[64] Mòd competitions also allowed children to cross firmly established boundaries governing social/artistic activities in the community. Most strikingly, competitions in precenting (the practice of singing Biblical psalms in which a precenter 'puts out the line' to a congregation who then repeats it in response) were open to entries by girls, while the practice of precenting in the Free Church is, like any position of responsibility in the Church, firmly restricted to men. A couple of female pupils from Sgoil a' Chreaig had earned a reputation for being excellent precenters, purportedly as a result of the genetic and pedagogical influence of their grandfathers, who were esteemed precenters in their own right. Despite their achievements in precenting competitions, however, these girls would never be able to use their skills in religious contexts, which remain the exclusive domain of males. In fact, it was their status as pre-pubescent children and thus not fully gendered individuals that allowed them to participate and gain recognition in this practice.

language skills, but their numbers were smaller and usually limited to musical performances, rather than storytelling, poetry recitation or conversation. Most children entered several competition categories for individual as well as group performances. As a result, pupils from the GMU seemed to spend more time at rehearsals than doing academic work in the weeks leading up to Mòds and other competitions. Rehearsals took place in the offices of the school management, the library, the gym, the cafeteria, and other unoccupied spaces relegated for this use. On these days, competing pupils moved through the school building in careful orchestration as they recited stories or poetry and sang songs and played instruments in solo performances, and then joined classmates for group practices of action songs, precenting, short plays, and various choir configurations, before returning to their classrooms and academic tasks. Sometimes practices continued immediately after school, or required the pupils to return to the school (chauffeured by their parents or in car pools) in the early evening. Practice sessions at home reinforced those at school, but their length and depth were often determined by the ability of parents to take the time to have the child run through their pieces, as well as their ability to evaluate their child's realization of the aesthetic and other generic characteristics of their pieces.

For purely linguistic performances, the practice tutors were mostly Gaelic-speaking school staff, including the head teacher and his deputy, teaching assistants and other teachers not in charge of individual classrooms. Some older Gaelic speakers from the community who had special expertise in the aesthetic standards of the genre to be performed also got involved in the preparations. For example, an older woman from the district, who was considered to maintain a conservative standard in her interpretation of the stylistic intricacies and aesthetic requirements of the genre, led the practice sessions for the precenting competition. These tutors would conduct practice sessions mostly in Gaelic when the competitors were children from the Gaelic-medium stream.

However, for competitions in singing, which combined language and music, non-Gaelic speaking teachers also played a significant role in preparing the children for the competitions. One of the music teachers at Sgoil a' Chreaig took a particularly keen interest in Gaelic music, and made an effort to research the history of particular songs and explanations of the meaning of lyrics in order to improve the children's interpretation of

them, but all her instruction was necessarily delivered in English and, as she admitted herself, limited by her relatively restricted understanding of a given piece's linguistic elements. She often worked in tandem with one of the Gaelic-speaking teachers at the school in order to ensure that the children's performances were of both the highest musical and linguistic standards.[65]

One of the teachers at Sgoil a' Chreaig, Mr. Macdonald, was particularly involved in the Mod preparation at Sgoil a' Chreaig. He was generally acknowledged in the district to have 'the gift of the gab' as well as a decent singing voice. Perhaps most importantly, he was playful with both the language and children, and an effective pedagogue in helping pupils meet his high expectations. When he was free of teaching duties, Mr. Macdonald circulated through the building at Mòd practice time to assist other teachers. He also met with pupils in the school's offices to run practice sessions with individuals as well as groups. Although he had a strong commitment to the benefits of the artistic uses of language such as poetry, story-telling and singing for GM-educated children, Mr. Macdonald was also somewhat cynical about the RNM functioning as little more than a "showcase for singing" that neglected other art forms and placed too high an emphasis on scripted and highly stylized performance, allowing competitors to be successful without having any social-linguistic competence in Gaelic.

In the case of one child from the English-medium stream whom he was coaching for a solo singing competition, Mr. Macdonald pointed out to me that the boy, Michael, had worked hard at memorizing the lyrics, but was just repeating them "parrot-fashion" because had no actual understanding of the words. When I asked why the boy was participating in the competition in the first place, Mr. Macdonald explained that Michael's mother and grandmother had signed him up for the competition because he was a talented singer and that they placed a high value on traditional Gaelic songs. However, they also socialized Michael and his siblings entirely in English and, according to Mr. Macdonald, appeared to have no interest in passing the language on to the children in the family. Mr. Macdonald thought this situation was "quite sad", but also rather

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[65] Indeed, pronunciation and language coaches (separate from music coaches/conductors) are indispensable for choirs as well as solo performers to be successful in most Mòd competitions at the local/regional as well as national level, even if the performers are reasonably proficient in spoken Gaelic.

common as people had stopped valuing the language as a medium of interaction while still appreciating its aesthetic significance.

The Mòd practice session were among the few times that I observed the GME-socialized children at Sgoil a' Chreaig receive explicit commentary from teachers regarding social indexical and iconic aspects of language.[66] In most of these cases, however, the focus was on how the child's usage of these elements could make him or her a more careful animator of the speech (or song) and thus make him or her more competitive, not on how the child's own linguistic practices reflected identity characteristics.[67]

Furthermore, the generic conventions/aesthetic regimentation of the pieces the children performed generally demanded a particular way of expressing indexicality or iconicity. For example, as Mr. Macdonald instructed Michael, the volume of his singing voice would be the main indicator of the song's author's emotions, with louder singing indicating "strong feelings" and softer singing indicating "sadness". In a practice session for the storytelling competition, Mr. Macdonald emphasized similar para-linguistic indices to liven up the pupils' recitations of the narrative. Neither type of performance, however, involves a continuous dialogue with an interlocutor, which would require both awareness of social indexicals, and the ability to control them as part of the continuous creation of participant roles within ever-shifting indexical orders.

In some ways, these instructions provided exactly the kind of semiotic information that I have argued children (mostly) fail to acquire if their language socialization occurred predominantly or exclusively in Gaelic-medium classrooms. However, because this information is discussed only sporadically as part of specific Mòd practice sessions, and in the context of helping children to inhabit the role of the author of

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[66] One other memorable instance occurred when the Primary 1 and 2 pupils were rehearsing a Gaelic version of the 'chicken song' for the school's Christmas play. Mid-song, the teacher stopped the music that was playing and told the children that she had made them sound like chickens from her home village on the other side of the island. She then had then children recite the song's lyrics several times, using the locally accepted pronunciation of the word 'beagan'.

[67] The children in the GM-stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig also participated in a Gaelic drama workshop during the time of my research. I expected this to be another time when children would be made aware of, and encouraged to deploy these aspects of language use. However, although the workshop was held entirely in Gaelic, but the activities were all non-verbal and focusing on physical movement.

the text they are performing, these instructions appeared to have little effect on the children's ability to control such indexes in the context of their own spontaneous language production. In other words, while these Mòd practices focused on teaching children how to inhabit specific speaker roles and convey various types of information in their presentations, there was no equivalent training for children to help them deploy these skills outside the context of the highly stylized performance.

Furthermore, this coaching emphasized an audience that was full of experts, yet did not act as a direct interlocutor for the children's utterances in the broadest sense. In other words, the fact that the judges' responses to a child's performance were usually focused on evaluating its aesthetic value, and mostly were provided through indirect channels like written evaluations, created a particular mode of language production and performance that had very little to do with everyday, face-to-face interactions with other speakers; speakers who would provide immediate feedback to a child's language use and provide the opportunity for the child to learn to respond appropriately in turn. Indeed, as McEwan-Fujita (2010a) has discussed, this kind of evaluative stance toward a Gaelic novice's use of the language has come to be used in interactions between Gaelic-socialized speakers and novices more generally as a way to reinforce social boundaries between them, and create

> a larger social disjuncture between participants who occupy the same geographical space but belong to different sociolinguistic communities with […] radically difference experiences of language socialization. (52)

While the performance of Mòd pieces in particular required children to inhabit specific speaker roles, and their coaches expressly discussed how the children's verbal expression of such characteristics as the author's previous experience, emotions and psychological motivations was an integral part of their performances, there was very little, if any, opportunity for children to learn to create their own speaker roles for themselves that would allow them to inhabit a variety of social roles and personas in everyday interactions with other Gaelic speakers. Even competitions that purported to evaluate children's conversational skills, which I will discuss next, still relied on scripts and routines specific to the competitive context to such an extent that even children who

were acknowledged by older Gaelic speakers in the district to be competent speakers of the language did not necessarily fare well.

Competing in Conversations

Against the Mòd's predominant background of prescription and regimentation in the performance of Gaelic culture, the children's competitions in conversation stood out for their particularly complex combination of spontaneity and prescription. On the one hand, conversation as a type of speech event could be considered to be relatively open to individual creativity and accommodating of individual variation in performance. On the other hand, this features also makes conversation a particularly poor candidate for a competition based on formal measures of performance.

The politicized nature of divergent definitions of competence in Gaelic, as I have already discussed in previous chapters, makes the evaluation of conversational competence particularly difficult, and fraught with semiotic pitfalls for novice speakers unaware of these politics. Formal measures of such competence, such as grammatical correctness and linguistic purity, and a focus on referentiality as the primary function of language and the exchange of factual information as the primary function of conversation, are far removed from community norms of conversational skills. As a result, children with a reputation of being "chatterboxes" with a natural talent for talking freely and, in many cases, a style that would be considered mature/advanced relative to their age, were often not as successful in conversation competitions as might be expected. Rather, successful children were those who had experience and aptitude in navigating the semiotic tension inherent in transferring an informal event (conversation) into a highly formalized setting, in which very little of the context is left up to chance or the participants' spontaneity. Effectively, they treated their participation as a performance of a particular persona that aware of the generic demands of such highly regimented interactions.[68]

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[68] The conversation competition also suspended existing standards of interactions between young children and older unfamiliar adults by emphasizing the contributions of the child (who is usually expected to limit the extent of his/her speech), and putting the whole interaction in front of a silent, but very much invested audience of the participants' competitors and their parents and other supporters.

These changes in the rules of engagement apparently tripped up Iain Morrison, a five-year-old who was well-known in the district not only for his engaging nature in social interactions with adults, but also for the blas-fulness of his Gaelic, and thus appeared to be a strong entry in the Mòd's conversation competition. Although his mother said she had been wary to enter him in the competition because she thought him too young for competitions and wanted to protect him from potential disappointment, the enthusiasm for Iain's participation from those around her convinced her to let him try his luck. According to those who knew him, Iain's charm and chattiness would make him an instant winner at the contest.

However, at the time of the actual competition, he found himself sitting on a hard wooden chair that was too big for a six-year-old with short legs, facing a well-dressed, bejeweled and entirely unfamiliar lady in her 50s, and being surrounded by an audience of strangers (except for his mother and younger sister). But when he was asked to talk about his family and his plans for a future occupation, both topics considered to be 'easy' for younger children to tackle, his responses were of minimal length and belied the full aesthetic range of his linguistic and social skills. One of the other competitors was a ten-year-old boy who talked at length about his plans for a future career in Gaelic broadcasting, with minimal prompting from the judge opposite him.[69] He went on to win the competition, with Iain finishing a distant third.

Gaelic Society of London Conversation Competition

In addition to the conversational competitions at the Mòd, children at Sgoil a' Chreaig also participated in an annual competition sponsored by the Gaelic Society of London, whose sole focus is the evaluation and rewarding of Gaelic conversational skills. According to the letter I received from Joyce Seymour-Chalk, the Society's chief and creator of the competition, in response to my written inquiry for more information about the contest, the competition has been run in Gàidhealtachd schools since 1982 with two aims: "Firstly, and most importantly, to encourage Gaelic-speaking children, native to these areas, to speak their language on a daily basis and not to neglect it as they grew

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[69] Concerns about privacy and informed consent prohibited me from audio- or video-recording performances at the Mòd.

older; [s]econdly, to encourage learners" (Seymour-Chalk 2006). The competition has seven entry categories, which divide contestants into groups based on age/class level and status as "fluent speakers" (i.e. 'native' speakers) and "learners".[70] Mrs. Seymour-Clark sets the themes for the competition each year, from which the pupils can choose a topic for their conversation with a teacher or other adult at their school.[71]

At Sgoil a' Chreaig, a number of children from each year of GME were pre-selected by the teachers for participation in the contest, which was conducted in an empty classroom in the school's secondary school department. The conversations were recorded on audio-tape using a rather antiquated-looking machine. Once the schools participating in the contest return the tape recordings to Mrs. Seymour-Chalk, they are evaluated by a panel of judges who are both members of the Council of the Society and Gaelic speakers.[72] All entries are evaluated for "grammar, fluency, amount of content, amount of input by the pupil and the interest taken in their chosen subject" (Seymour-Clark 2006). In judging entries from fluent speakers, judges make deductions for "scripted' conversation, the use of English words where Gaelic words exist, and careless grammatical errors". For learners, the judges try to take into account for the length of the pupil's study of Gaelic and "how much help or opportunity they have to practise [sic] their Gaelic, outside school." Presumably, it is up to the pupil's teacher to provide information about pupils' social-linguistic background to the judges. Although the competition's set-up is decidedly prescribed and simulated, the judges place emphasis on "a good flow of conversation between the participants".

Miss Macinnes, who had been a Gaelic-medium teacher at Sgoil a Bhac before her retirement, conducted the contest at Sgoil a' Chreaig. She was an enthusiastic Gaelic speaker who thought the community's common practice of using English with children

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[70] One of the categories is open only to secondary pupils who are learners and are either enrolled in schools outside the Gàidhealtachd or have "no access to Gaelic outside school." None of the secondary pupils at Sgoil a' Chreaig qualify to participate in this category.

[71] The themes always include a 'community project option' that requires participants to hold and record a conversation with a Gaelic speaker outside of the school, "ideally […] of their grandparents' or great-grandparents' age group" in order to "provide links between the generations, which are so often missing now […]" (ibid). To my knowledge, no pupil at Sgoil a' Chreaig entered this category during the time of my research.

[72] In her letter, Mrs Seymour-Chalk did not mention whether the jurors; evaluations were completed individually or in a panel setting.

because they did not want to speak Gaelic was "silly" and a self-fulfilling prophecy. She was seen as a great repository of phrases, expressions, and obscure lexical items in the community, a role/reputation she had reportedly inherited from her own mother. Her conversational skills, as well as her experience teaching pupils in GME, made her an adept emcee for the proceedings and the preferred interviewer of the younger pupils. Miss Macinnes was assisted by one of the current GME teachers at the school, Mrs. Smith, who interviewed the older pupils, most of whom were pupils in her classroom.

Although the focus of the competition was on unscripted/spontaneous conversation, the younger children received a bit of coaching from Miss Macinnes before the recording session. Nine pupils from the Gaelic-medium P1, 2 and 3 classes joined Miss Macinnes in the school's computer lab, and surrounded her, sitting on office chairs that remained in almost constant motion for the duration of the meeting. About half of them were classified as Gaelic 'learners', but their actual Gaelic language socialization experiences range from exclusively in the Gaelic-medium classroom to having been raised exclusively in Gaelic until the age of 3.

The purpose of the meeting was to familiarize the children with the technical and stylistic requirements of conversations to be recorded the competition, which set them apart from actual spontaneous conversations. Rather than calling the children's talk to be recorded for the competition 'conversations', however, Miss Macinnes refers to them as *storaidhs* (stories) that they are going to tell, a term familiar to the students from the short essays that they write each day as part of their Gaelic language arts instruction. Miss Macinnes asks several of the children what their stories are going to be about, highlighting the purported purpose of their talk as the presentation of ideas/knowledge.

For most of the practice session, Miss Macinnes gives explicit instructions and models appropriate speaking styles to the children. At the beginning of each recording session, each child will have to introduce him- or herself to the judges listening. Miss Macinnes instructs the children to list their names, where they are from, how old and in what class year at school they are. She does this by modeling the beginning of sentences and having a number of pupils supply the information requested by finishing the statement for her. She indicates the point where she expects the pupil to take over by a

raising intonation applied to the last word of her turn. Initially, Miss Macinnes animates Shona Maclennan, one of the pupils sitting directly across from her:

Miss M:	Is mise […] (pointing to Shona Maclennan) *My name is*
SML (quietly):	Shona […] *Shona [...]*
Miss M (still pointing):	Maclennan [.] tha mi a' fuireach [..] *Maclennan [.] I live [..]*
SML:	[unintelligible] Chread [unintelligible] *Rock*
Miss M:	air a Chreag [.] tha mi dol sgoil aig a [..] *in Rock [.] I go to school at [..]*
SML:	Chreag [.] *Rock [.]*

She then temporarily switches back to being an interviewer before returning to animating the child's role.

Miss M:	De an aois a tha thu? Tha mi (rising intonation) [..] *How old are you? I am [..]*
SML:	seachd *seven*
Miss M:	seachd bliadhna 's tha mi a clase (rising intonation) […] *seven years old and I am in class […]*
SML:	dha *two*
Miss M:	dha *two*

Miss Macinnes moves her gaze from Shona to the rest of the group and explains that every pupil has to begin the recording like this, emphasizing this procedural point by repeating it in both Gaelic and English.

Then she proceeds to the next step in the pupils' 'stories', announcing the topic of the conversation. She points to Mark Macaulay, a primary 2 pupil, to demonstrate:

Miss M:	Tha thuse dol a bruidhinn mu dheinn zebra. Siud math
	You're going to talk about zebras. Well then.
	tha. Thoiseach thu!
	Start!

However, Mark is apparently unsure of what is required of him.

MMA:	[…] uhm […] bidh a air brui (hesitates)
	[…] *uhm* […] *I will ta* (hesitates)

As Mark's voice trails off, Miss Macinnes jumps in and demonstrates the monologic speech she is looking for by becoming an animator of Mark's (future) speech. A brief pause and a shift in the depth of her voice indicate when she becomes the animator of Mark's speech, and then again when she returns to her own.

Miss M:	Oh well feaumaidh tu ag radh an thoiseach [.]
	Oh well you should say at the beginning
(voice shifts)	tha mise a dol a bruidhinn mu dheidhinn zebra [.]
	I am going to talk about zebras
(voice shifts again)	nach e?
	right?

Mark starts over, trying to copy Miss M.

MMA:	siud a [unintelligible] mu dheidhinn zebra
	that's it [unintelligible] *about zebras*

Miss Macinnes encourages him on:

| Miss M: | siud i [unintellible] rud beag mu dheidhinn zebra […] |
| | *that's it* [unintelligible] *a little about zebras* |

Mark launches into long list of attributes of zebras, in no apparent order, and hesitating in between each point. He appears unsure as to the appropriateness of each point, and when he has said enough. After a while, Miss Macinnes intervenes to ask him a rather basic question.

| Miss M: | cait am bidh zebra a fuireach? |
| | *where do zebras live?* |

Mark appears grateful for this question to anchor his speech. The conversation continues, with Miss Macinnes continuing to ask questions to help Mark along, and interspersing his contributions with back channel responses (uh-huh). Then she turns to the rest of the group, and explains that Mark has been providing the information that she was asking for.

Miss Macinnes reminds the entire group that they have to speak for three minutes, so they need to research their topic to have enough information to talk about. Miss Macinnes tells them -in Gaelic and English- that they may write down notes on a piece of paper to remind themselves of what they are going to say. To help them with this process, Miss Macinnes asks individual pupils for the topics they have chosen to talk about for the competition, and then lists a number of questions they should answer in their responses.

As she goes around asking each pupil for their conversational topic, it turns out that some pupils have let their imaginations run wild and havechosen rather esoteric topics, such as walruses. Miss Macinnes deems these too difficult to talk about for three minutes and suggests that they talk about their families instead, listing the family members each child should talk about. Miss Macinnes also suggests to the children that they should tell something funny or comical as part of their stories in order to make them more interesting and engaging.

Miss Macinnes then turns to Steve, a monoglot English child of 'incomers' who moved to the district in the middle of the school year and entered primary school for the time at that time; Steve has been enrolled in Gaelic-medium education for less than a year. Steve has a reputation for being a quick learner, and appears a likely candidate for following in the footsteps of Ricky Cook, known as the school's wunderkind for his

quick success in GME after enrolling at the school as a Primary 2 pupil without any previous experience with Gaelic. However, at the practice session, Steve appears to be lost in what is expected of him, and is unable to repeat the conversational routine Miss Macinnes has just worked through with the group. Miss Macinnes states that maybe Steve's teacher should write down a 'story' for him to practice at home in order to enable him to participate in the competition.

For the recording of the competition entries, the pupils congregated in an empty classroom, where a few chairs had been pushed around a table that held the recording equipment. The recorder became a focal point of the proceedings, as Miss Macinnes and Mrs. Smith tended to its technical requirements before, during and after each pupil's turn –was there enough tape left to get through the entire conversation without having to switch sides? Were the recorder and the microphone connected and running? Was each child speaking loudly enough to be audible on the tape?

As each child sat down for their turn conversing with one of the teachers, they were not only facing the tape recorder as an additional interlocutor, but also surrounded by a silent audience of peers and competitors. This set-up created a particularly complex context for conversation, in which each child addressed multiple audiences: the teacher asking questions, the competition's judges (who were immediately absent but represented by the tape recorder), and the other teacher and pupils observing the interview. Some children were visibly better than others in juggling these complexities, and able to keep their gaze trained on the teacher as their immediate interlocutor, while others kept shifting their eyes back and forth between the interviewer, the tape recorder, and the audience.

During the recording session, the teachers' instructions to the pupils included admonitions to speak up; these were couched in terms of technological necessity ("so your voice can be heard on the tape") rather than the needs of actual human beings listening to the recordings. The teachers also issued reminders that the pupils needed to make their responses long enough in order not only to provide large enough samples of speech for the judges to evaluate, but also to account for the judge's lack of knowledge of each pupil's life.

While observing the children's conversations with Miss Macinnes and Mrs. Smith, I was struck by the variation in their ability to inhabit the role of a confident speaker whose utterances happened to be recorded by a rather large tape recorder placed on a desk directly next to them while they faced either Miss Macinnes or Mrs. Smith. Some seemed to clearly understand the interviewer's goal of eliciting long and varied utterances that highlighted the contestants' conversational skills for the purposes of the competition. These children were able to design their responses in such a way that Miss Macinnes or Mrs. Smith only acted as the proxy for the actual addressee, the competitions judges.

Other contestants, however, provided only the minimal answers of the type that the competition's description discouraged. They appeared to focus on the interviewer as their main (only) interlocutor and composed their utterances in accordance with the norms governing conversations children have with adults who are familiar authority figures. Especially for the younger children, their knowledge that the interviewer already knew the information that they were asking the child to provide appeared to lead these children to respond to questions hesitatingly and/or in monosyllables.

Pupils returned to their classrooms after they had finished their turns having their conversations recorded and resumed their regular academic activities. They would find out the results of the competition at the school's annual prize-giving ceremony that was one of the activities marking the end of the school year. Prizes from the Society for individual pupils included cash and certificates, while the school won trophies for best overall performance of its pupils compared to other schools. The children had gotten their first taste of the purported new Gaelic economy, in which speaking Gaelic was worth actual money.[73]

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[73] When I approached the headmaster at Sgoil a' Chreaig about an appropriate way for me to show my appreciation to the school community for welcoming me and my research project, he suggested I sponsor a new prize to be awarded annually at the school. This involved buying a trophy from the athletic store in Stornoway, and having it engraved. These trophies/prizes are handed out in a ceremony at the end of the school year, and pupils usually take them home until the next ceremony.

Conclusion: Performing Gaelic Speakerhood

Although performances and competitions like the Mòd increased the children's exposure to, and control over, formally and explicitly recognized artistic forms of language use, these competitions also encouraged children to treat these highly stylized forms of language use as more valuable -worthy of trophies and medals- and as more significant than the very different art of initiating and maintaining conversations with a wide variety of interlocutors. This focus on form over function that also appears in the emphasis on standardized forms of written expression in the GME curriculum I described earlier.[74] More generally, the sustained focus on preparing for, and participating in, such performances along with the symbolic value placed on success in such competitions in the absence of a similar valuation of everyday speech practices, can be seen as reinforcing a general social-linguistic pattern in which the use of Gaelic is a marked and/or formal activity that is both spatially and symbolically removed from everyday life, just like the classroom has arguably become the (more or less) unmarked context for speaking Gaelic for GM-socialized children.

In this context of performing Gaelic speakerhood, blas did not play the same role as an indicator of social-linguistic competence as it does in older Gaelic speakers' perceptions of others' speech. First, the nature of the competitions did not provide much opportunity for the kind of stylistic creativity and verbal dexterity that is so crucial for older Gaelic speakers' assessment of their interlocutors. Second, although all of the jurors I interviewed mentioned the importance of blas to the overall quality of the performance, there was no agreement among them as to what aspects of a child's performance constituted blas and how it could be evaluated formally. They agreed that phonemic consistency in a child's realization of the text was a criterion they used to evaluate a performance, but that they had no preference for one dialect over another. Nor did they take an essentialist view that a child's (perceived) geographic origin/background would or should determine the child's presentation. Indeed, some of the jurors explicitly

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[74] To be fair, such a limited focus on language use is also found in English-medium education, and is arguably one of the major purposes of language instruction in most mainstream Western education systems. However, there are plenty of opportunities for children in those environments to acquire everyday forms of verbal art such as joking, mocking, and punning whose appearances are both more frequent and less marked in everyday interactions.

acknowledged that children's language socialization experiences in Gaelic-medium education would be shaped by teachers from areas other than their home, and would often be limited by a small number of individuals, who may or may not leave their 'mark' on the child's own language.[75]

In the end, preparation for, and participation in, the Mòd and other competitive events focused on performing this particular kind of Gaelic speakerhood, reinforce the performance-based ideology of Gaelic speaking espoused by language revitalization activists and does little to increase GM-educated children's awareness of the place of verbal art, and its semiotic complexities, in interactions with Gaelic-socialized speakers. While the latter also place a high value on such forms of verbal art, and explicitly/positively acknowledge their community members' success at Mòd competitions, they also tend to view the event of the Mòd as another construct of mainstream Anglophone society's philological interest in Gaelic, which actually does little to protect everyday linguistic practices of living speakers and to avert the obsolescence of such performances in the context of informal and spontaneous social events, such as the so-called *ceilidhs* that were once focal points of social interaction in the community.

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[75] Lamb (2011) had discussed the emergence of a new variety of so-called "mid-Minch Gaelic" (named after the body of water separating the Western Isles from mainland Scotland), which appears to consolidate features of several Hebridean dialects, primarily among learners of the language.

Chapter 8

Gaelic Language Socialization Outside of School

Introduction

Most adults in A' Chreag, Gaelic- and English/mixed-socialized alike, reported that children can develop blas only in contexts that are considered inexorably linked to Gaelic, especially the Gaelic-speaking home, and in activities linked to this domestic sphere, such as peat-cutting and other aspects of crofting. However, most adults in A' Chreag do not speak Gaelic to children, and do not themselves participate in such activities anymore. Crofting as a whole has declined considerably in the area, with those residents who still kept sheep using them mostly as efficient lawnmowers for the grass growing vigorously throughout the year, with their upkeep subsidized by the European Union. Although peat-cutting, a process that was as much about providing fuel for homes as it was about socializing with friends and neighbors during the cutting and the subsequent picnic, was still practiced by a number of families in the district during my first stay in the district in 1998, the few people still going out to the moor during the time of my research in 2004 and 2005 had trouble finding others with whom to exchange labor. In any case, very few if any households at that point were still entirely dependent on peat for heat; rather, for some families, peat was an alternative source of heat to reduce their heating oil bill, and for most, the burning of a peat-fire in the lounge was a decorative touch, whose characteristic scent had become rare in the district, but evoked nostalgic reminiscing in most residents over age 40 (who had grown up with peat as the only heat source in homes).

Speaking Gaelic to children had become equally rare in the district, where perhaps a handful of families were using Gaelic as the exclusive or predominant medium of socializing and socialization in the home at the time of my research. In most families where Gaelic was still spoken among adults (itself a declining demographic), Gaelic

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speech was addressed only rarely to children above the age of three, and if so, they were mostly formulaic expressions, like *a' ghraidh* (dear), embedded in an English utterance. Children below the age of three, especially babies, had noticeably more Gaelic directed at them by their relatives and other adults who interacted with them, but this seemed to change as soon as the children were perceived to be active conversation partners (cf. Kulick date) and, concomitantly, to express their preference for English as the medium of their interactions with others.

In this chapter, I examine the Gaelic language socialization practices and experiences of children enrolled in GME outside of the school environment. While all these children experience some Gaelic language socialization in their homes, there is a notable difference in the amount and type of Gaelic language socialization practices these children encounter/participate in, depending on the predominant medium of interaction in their families. While Gaelic-socializing families tend to employ most of the speech patterns and norms of older Gaelic-socialized speakers, English-socializing families of GME-socialized children tend to recreate the Gaelic language socialization practices (and associated language ideologies) prominent in Gaelic-medium education. As a result, children growing up in Gaelic-socializing families develop a range of speech patterns that is more comprehensive than those of exclusively GME-socialized children and is more likely to be recognized as blas-ful by older Gaelic-socialized speakers.

Families differed not only in the medium of (language) socialization that they used at home, but also in other child-rearing practices and beliefs. These differences also influenced children's use of language and ways of interacting with others. As I will argue in this chapter, caregivers' ways of interacting with children and beliefs about children's psychology had a bigger influence on children's linguistic practices than the amount of TV they watched, or who they were friends with -both factors that many blame for children's preference for English over Gaelic.

Children and Gaelic

Most children growing up in the district at the time of my research appeared to have even less (if any) comprehension of Gaelic than the semi-speakers and passive bilinguals who grew up in the district in the 1960s and 1970s, even though they most

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likely heard Gaelic spoke every day: when their grandparents were chatting with neighbors in Gaelic, or while their parents had a conversation in Gaelic with a friend at the supermarket in town. At the school, most teachers and staff members spoke Gaelic to each other on a regular basis, and almost all extra-curricular events were opened and closed with the ceremonial use of Gaelic. The monthly school assembly included psalms sung in Gaelic, and the daily prayer recited by the lunch ladies in the school cafeteria alternated between Gaelic and English.

In light of all this Gaelic swirling around children in the district every day, many adults constantly expressed surprise at children's apparent incomprehension of Gaelic, perhaps because their practice of not speaking Gaelic to children directly had, in earlier times, nevertheless resulted in individuals who, as passive bilinguals/semi-speakers, could respond appropriately to the Gaelic they encountered. Other residents sounded as if they had written the possibility of Gaelic-speaking children off altogether as a phenomenon for the history books, much like community practices such as peat-cutting. All of them, however, lamented the current state of affairs, and were unsure how it could be changed. As I discussed earlier, Gaelic-medium education is low on many people's lists of potential remedies for the decline of the language in the community.

When I spoke to the parents and grandparents of the children in my study, they often reported that a child might have used some Gaelic as a toddler, but then started speaking English more or less exclusively around the age of three. While this transition may easily be explained as the result of the dominance of meaningful English input over meaningful Gaelic input in most toddlers' lives (especially once they start watching TV and attending croileagan), the adults I spoke to most often attributed this change in their child's language use to a children's almost autogenic preference for English and concomitant refusal to speak (and even respond to) Gaelic. This linguistic preference was frequently categorized as a relatively unchangeable personality trait, such as a child's dislike for a particular vegetable, or an aspect of their inborn temperament, like their relative ability to tolerate frustration. (Macdonald 1997 describes a similar attitude among the residents of the Isle of Skye).

In this context, the few children in the community who were perceived to be proper, blas-ful Gaelic speakers were admired with a combination of nostalgia for the

good old days, and speculation over what their parents had done differently to prevent the seemingly inevitable predilection for English over Gaelic take hold in their children. People I interviewed repeatedly identified two families, the Morrisons and the Macleods, as being staunch Gaelic socializers, and their children as being rare examples of the way children used to speak Gaelic. From previous stays in the district, I already knew about Claire and Eilidh Macleod, who had won prizes in Gaelic competitions at the National Mòd for several years in a row, and whose reputation as Gaelic speakers competent and confident beyond their young ages preceded them. A few years earlier, during my first stay in the district, I had encountered Eilidh as a toddler when her parents gave me a ride home in their car. My attempts to talk to her in English where met with silence, until her mother explained to me that she knew only Gaelic. At the time (1998), a Gaelic-monolingual child was already a demographic rarity, but not unheard of in the district –I was able to identify at least five other families in the district with toddlers and pre-school aged children who had either no or very little competence in English. This number had shrunk by about half at the time I conducted the research reported here (2004-2006).

The Morrisons' eldest child, Iain, had just started school in the primary 1 classroom at Sgoil a' Chreaig when I arrived to conduct my research. Both the school's principal and the assistant principal enthusiastically promoted Iain as a participant in my research. Indeed, they both claimed that five-year-old Iain was a subject worthy of exclusive research, for he spoke the kind of authentic Gaelic they rarely encountered amongst contemporary speakers of any age, let alone a five-year-old. At the same time, they surmised, he "had" very little English, and would thus enable me to document an unadulterated form of Gaelic that could not be found among the other Gaelic-medium pupils at the school, who were all fully competent speakers of English. They urged me to move quickly with documenting Iain's speech, for they believed that the current state of his linguistic purity would not last long now that Iain was spending a significant amount of time in the thoroughly Anglophone environment of the school community, despite his enrolment in GME.[76]

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[76] Before my first visit to the Morrisons' home, then, I was intimidated by the prospect of documenting Iain's linguistic treasures, not only because I was all too aware of my own dis-fluencies in Gaelic, but also because I feared 'contaminating' him with my inevitable use of English in interacting with him and his family. However, it turned out that Iain responded to

Although everyone in the district seemed to know whom the Gaelic-socializing families and children were, there was a considerable amount of puzzlement and debate as to how they managed to raise Gaelic-speaking children and keep them that way. As it turns out, the two Gaelic-socializing families in the district that I will discuss next had several characteristics in common, but also diverged significantly in some demographic characteristics and some aspects of language socialization practices.

Gaelic-socializing families

The Morrisons and the Macleods stood out in the community not only because they socialized their children more or less exclusively in Gaelic, but also because they still participated in crofting activities to a notable extent. The Morrisons slaughtered pigs and sheep for their own consumption, and exhibited their animals in the livestock competitions of the summer-time agricultural fairs on the island. Their eldest son, Iain, enjoyed accompanying his uncle on his daily rounds to tend to sheep, fences, and lobster traps. The Macleods kept cattle and were among the few families in the district that still went out to the moor to cut peat for the fireplace, while their three children were regular participants in the many activities arising from the keeping of livestock and working of the land. Kenny, the youngest, was especially eager to accompany his father on his daily rounds of the croft, braving wind, weather and various childhood illnesses wearing his miniature boiler-suit and rubber boots.

Children from both families received a sizeable amount of care from their maternal grandmothers, who lived close by, and spoke Gaelic to them as a matter of course, as they had done decades earlier with their daughters and other children. Through their grandmothers' extended social networks, the children encountered many other

English with ease and fluency, both to my questions and to the TV, which was tuned to popular (Anglophone) children's shows for much of the afternoon at his house. During my first visit to his house, he eagerly introduced me to his three younger siblings Isla, Gavin and Margaret, as well as to the toys in their large playroom located in the house's former garage. We sat down on the floor with his toy truck and plastic animals, and Iain started pretending he was taking his sheep to the livestock market on the mainland. This lengthy trip required loading the sheep on the truck, taking the truck on the ferry across the Minch separating the Isle of Lewis from the mainland, and driving the truck from the port to the town of Dingwall for the sheep auction. As Iain walked his sheep into the imaginary auction arena, he exclaimed in perfect Lewis English: "Och, she's a beauty!" This made it clear to me that he was quite competent in English.

Gaelic speakers, who also spoke Gaelic to them (even after the children entered school). Finally both families maintained parent-led discipline regimes, in which children were given relatively few choices over many matters of their daily lives, and their (perceived) needs and wishes were not always easily accommodated. While their personalities were acknowledged to be a matter of nature, their behavior was seen as a result of nurture – their parents believed that their own expectations and rules were the main factors shaping their children's actions.

However, other aspects of the families' socio-economic, educational and social status usually associated with patterns of language maintenance and shift differed significantly. Using Gaelic to interact with children was not simply a marker of having missed a historical boat in the community: while they did appear more socially conservative than many in the community in terms of in their preservation of some "traditional" domestic practices and locally-oriented values, the Macleods in particular were indistinguishable from, if not advanced in relation to, their suburbanized neighbors in their orientation toward education, trips abroad, and generally relatively liberal attitude toward the world. Indeed, the Morrisons and the Macleods occupied near-opposite ends of the spectrum of social identities subsumed under the label 'Gaelic speaker' on the island, and in Scotland, today (cf. Chapter 3).[77]

The Morrisons

The Morrisons' house, a large and well-furnished building, had an enviable view of the bay unobstructed by neighbors. John Morrison, who had completed a joinery apprenticeship on the island and now owned a construction business, had built the house near his wife Mairi's parents' home at the end of one of the village roads. Because of the building boom on the island during my stay, John's business was going well and he

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[77] It is essential to note here that the families themselves would most likely resist my categorization as an exercise of the very neo-liberal identity politics eschewed by the community. Although I have made a reasonable effort to disguise their identities to outsiders, some characteristics crucial to my argument remain that will likely make them recognizable to members of the community. In light of the community's prevailing egalitarian ethos, I am hesitant to single them out, wanting to spare them the kind of responses this kind of attention usually entails. Rather than portraying them as exemplary somehow, I would like to narrate my perceptions of their family interactions as representative of the ways that Gaelic language socialization can and does succeed outside of the school setting.

worked long hours, though he still returned home for lunch several times a week, and continued tending his livestock in the evening. Mairi Morrison, Iain's mother, had not pursued any higher education and had left the island only for vacations and other social purposes. Soon after she married John, Mairi gave birth to Iain, followed in relatively quick succession by his siblings Isla, Gavin and Margaret. Mairi stayed home with the children and did not hold an outside job. During the day, her mother often came to visit from her own home less than a mile down the road to accompany Mairi in her minivan on her errands around the district and in town; she also picked up Iain, and later his sister, from school in her car in order to allow Mairi to stay home with the younger children.

Although Mairi Morrison was born toward the end of the mixed-socialized generation in the district, her family was primarily Gaelic speaking during her childhood, and continues to be so during her adult life. Neither Mairi nor her siblings pursued higher education either on the island or on the mainland, which can be seen as an indication that the family had not joined other parents in the community in their orientation toward upward economic mobility that is associated with the use of English with children of that generation. Mairi Morrison and her mother were well-known in the district for their singing voices, which they used both in church and in the local choir, and their family did not appear to be isolated socially for their seemingly anachronistic domestic linguistic practices. John Morrison, a few years older than Mairi, also grew up speaking Gaelic at home in a different part of the island, but because of unspecified family disagreements, his relatives did not interact with the Morrison children as much as their maternal grandmother and other relatives.

Generally, the Morrisons deployed English and Gaelic, and switched between them, in ways that appeared to be very similar to Gaelic-socializing homes of previous generations. Gaelic was the main medium of interaction in the Morrison's household, and unlike household where the adults spoke Gaelic to each other, but the children used English, the Morrison children also used Gaelic with each other, even when they were on their own and watching Anglophone TV shows (though they often sang along to the shows' theme tunes in English). Most of the visitors to the home who were Gaelic speakers appeared to use the language with the children. In the presence of English-speaking visitors, the family did subscribe to rule of accommodation. Mairi Morrison

would switch to English to respond to the children's contributions when they were ratified participants in the conversation, but she would continue to use Gaelic with them to give them instructions or commands that had no bearing on the adult conversation occurring in English.

In turn, the children did not hesitate to maintain Gaelic as the code of choice for talking to their parents, defying the stereotypical belief in the community that young children will latch onto any opportunity to speak English that they encountered. As Mairi and I were discussing the recent wedding of one of the infant teachers at Sgoil a' Chreaig, which had caused a minor sensation among the pupils in the infant classrooms, I asked Isla about the teacher's wedding dress.

VW:	Did she have a nice dress?
Isla:	Uh-huh
VW:	Yeah? Was it pretty?
Isla:	Uh-huh

Isla (turning to Mairi): 'S e skirt mor breagha a' bh' ann!
                                     It was a beautiful big skirt!

Mairi:	Uh-huh

While Isla responded to my questions with affirmative sounds that work in either language, she clearly preferred to keep her interaction with her mother in Gaelic even though the local rule of accommodation would have made it perfectly acceptable for her to speak English to her mother due to my presence. Indeed, the Morrison children rarely addressed their parents in English, except when they were trying to get their attention, in which case it was generally a successful strategy. Once, Mairi and I were discussing the prolonged absence of Isla's regular teacher from the classroom due to her having been asked to provide maternity coverage for a teacher at another school on the island. Isla was spending time with us in the kitchen and trying to get her mother's attention to request something to drink. When this failed, Isla said loudly "Excuse me!" This stopped Mairi dead in her tracks, and led to the following exchange:

Mairi:	Tha mamaidh a' bruidhinn. Nach robh mamaidh a'
	Mummy is talking. Wasn't mummy
	bruidhinn ri Vanessa?
	talking to Vanessa?
Isla:	Bha
	Yes
Mairi:	<u>Well</u>, tapaidh leats'!
	Well, thank you!

Although Isla followed the rules for interrupting an exchange between two people by saying "excuse me", she did not time her insertion correctly (it appeared mid-turn as Mairi was speaking) and broke the family's unofficial rule for only speaking Gaelic to each other, which prompted Mairi to rebuff Isla's attempt to make her request.

Even though Mairi had gone to school at a time where English was the medium of interaction both inside the classroom and in the school yard, she did not hesitate to enroll Iain in the Gaelic-medium unit when it was time for him to start school. She thought it would be beneficial for him to continue to use his dominant language at school, and in particular to develop literacy in the language, which she was acquiring along with him.

Unlike most parents I spoke to, Mairi seemed unencumbered by concerns that by sending Iain to Gaelic-medium education, she would somehow contribute to social divisiveness in the community. Indeed, Mairi seemed to resist peer pressure emanating from the community more generally. While the Morrison children had several friends with whom they played after school at their homes, they did not participate in many of the organized activities for children in the district, which were virtually all conducted in English. After she had begun primary school, Isla was keen to join the local Brownie troop of the Girl Scouts, which met at the school one evening a week for games, crafts, and other activities, and for which the girls wore a special uniform displaying the iron-on patches of tasks they had completed on a vest. There was a waitlist to join the group because of a lack of adult supervisors. When Isla finally got a place, her mother continued to express reluctance over her attendance, ostensibly because of the need to leave her other children behind in the evening in order to transport Isla back and forth between home and school. Similarly, Iain did not join the local football club, which was

the most popular site for boys' after-school social interactions. This trend continued a pattern of non-participation that had begun when Mairi Morrison did not send her children to the local croileagan regularly because she did not think that the play sessions were all that enjoyable for her children, and because they placed significant demands on her as a chauffeur (even though the croileagan was located less than a mile from the Morrison's house). For these reasons, her children may have been less subject to the peer pressure that many parents in the district blame for their children's preference for English.

The one context in which the Morrisons acted much like other parents in the district, however, was in terms of church attendance. With the beginning of primary school coinciding with the beginning of church attendance (and Sunday school) for most children in A' Chreag, Iain accompanied his mother and grandmother to English and bilingual, but not to exclusively Gaelic services at the church on Sunday. He also attended the Sunday school at the main church, which was held in English, and not the counterpart offered in Gaelic in another village. This choice appeared to be as much a matter of convenience as a reflection of wide-spread belief that the biblical Gaelic used in church was not just difficult, but nearly impenetrable for children (though, from an outsider's perspective, the same could be said for the King James English used in the English services). Mairi told me that she herself found church Gaelic particularly dense conceptually, and that she had trouble getting much out of Gaelic services. In this context, the Morrisons did practice the kind of linguistic accommodation also practiced by Gaelic-medium teachers in the school.[78]

This practice raises the issue whether the Morrisons were simply at the very tail end of language shift in the community, and were particularly slow in adapting their speech habits to the larger patterns seen in the community. Without explicit political or moral investment in maintaining Gaelic as a medium of communication within the family and without taking specific steps to counteract the ideology of accommodation, speaking English may very well gain more traction in the family as Iain, Isla, Gavin and Margaret mature and increase their participation in an Anglophone mainstream culture.

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[78] This trend arguably also contributes to the rapid disintegration of the church as a stronghold of the Gaelic language in the district and on the island.

The Macleods

While the Morrisons represent one end of demographic spectrum of Gaelic speakers in the community, Christine and Murdo Macleod were perhaps most similar to participants in Gaelic-revitalization efforts, in that they spoke with conviction about speaking Gaelic to their (and other's) children and were dedicated supporters of Gaelic-medium education -though they did not maintain any formal ties to explicit language revitalization projects, and would probably never openly identify themselves as proponents of its identity politics (see footnote above). Both parents attended university on the mainland to obtain teaching degrees, and met when they returned to the island as teachers. Both were involved in GME, Christine at the primary level and Murdo at the secondary level (where the provision of GME is much more sporadic). Moreover, they were vocal supporters of the model as a way for children to develop Gaelic competence when their families either could not or would not use the language with them. For them personally, there was no question for them that their children would go through GME, just like children in other parts of the world who were formally educated in their mother tongues.

Murdo grew up in a remote part of the island, where the rest of his family still resided, and he was the most educated and professionally advanced of his siblings. His village was so isolated that he was among the last of the pupils who had to board in Stornoway in order to attend secondary school. Given the relative inaccessibility and small size of his village, it is perhaps not surprising that his family used Gaelic as their preferred medium of interaction. However, Christine's family did not easily fit into this sociological pattern. Although all of her siblings were well educated and held advanced professional positions, her family had never abandoned the use of Gaelic in the home. Christine's mother Marion could not remember her children ever attempting to use English at home even after they had started school, and neither Christine nor her sister could recall ever trying to challenge the family's linguistic status quo, as the parents of so many children of their generation claimed to be common practice. When asked about this unusual pattern, Christine's mother thought that lack of effort on the part of the parents of these children could account for so many families' language shift from Gaelic to English

at the time. At the same time, she could not recall any particular measures she or her deceased husband had taken to keep their children speaking Gaelic rather than English at home

The Macleods had three children. Claire and Eilidh attended the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig, while their brother Kenny was just emerging from toddlerhood. When Christine was at work, Kenny spent time either with his maternal grandmother Marion, who lived down the road and also took care of his slightly younger cousin, or with a Gaelic-speaking baby-sitter in Stornoway. Sending Kenny to this babysitter required a round-trip drive into town, but Christine was happy to add this to her schedule if it meant that Kenny spent his time in a Gaelic-speaking environment. In addition to the inconvenient opening hours of the croileagan relative to Christine's work hours, Christine and Murdo were concerned about the influence a predominantly English-monoglot peer group would have on Kenny. As it was, he was starting to show a keen interest in English during the time of my research, and was eager to show off his newly acquired English skills to myself and other visitors whom he knew to be English(-dominant) speakers. Christine and Murdo would remark on his use of English jokingly in Gaelic, and remind him "Tha Gaidhlig aig Vanessa" ("Vanessa speaks Gaelic"), and "Bruidhinn Gaelic ri Vanessa" ("Speak Gaelic to Vanessa"). [79]

After work, Christine would engage in housework in the kitchen, while Murdo tended to the croft, often aided by his children. The Macleod children generally had a lot of physical freedom and were allowed to roam their family croft and the village without much supervision. Claire and Eilidh's playmates were mostly girls from their Gaelic-medium classrooms, including their first cousins, who lived in the same village. Still, Murdo and Christine ran a relatively tight disciplinary ship in which the children's choices of food, entertainment, and leisure activities were limited to and subsumed under the interests of the family as a whole. This did not mean that Claire and Eilidh in particular did not express preferences, wishes, or even requests, but Murdo and Christine had the final authority in the decision-making, and did not give in easily. The rare argument of "everyone has one/does it" usually fell on deaf ears, and the children seemed

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[79]Although Claire and Eilidh mostly spoke to me in English outside of the home, they knew I understood enough to follow their conversations with their parents, and they did not challenge their parents' language policy in the home.

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to know that once their parents had made up their minds, very little could be done to change them.

The status of Gaelic as the predominant and preferred medium of family interactions was a firmly established parenting principle. In addition to expecting their own children to speak Gaelic in the house, Christine and Murdo maintained an explicit and strict Gaelic-only policy when children whom they perceived to be competent in Gaelic (by virtue of either their enrollment in GME or their family background) came for a visit to their house. Although the parents did not necessarily supervise the children's play, which usually took place outside of the house unless there was driving rain, the children generally appeared to adhere to the rule and used Gaelic consistently with each other. Once, there was a child visiting who did not follow this rule, as part of more generally disruptive behavior. After repeated warnings that remained unheeded, a frustrated Murdo sent him home.

The Macleod children did not watch much TV, except the occasional movie on DVD on the weekend, and they were fans of the weekly Thursday-evening line-up of Gaelic shows, which included a program aimed at Gaelic-speaking school children. Indeed, Claire and Eilidh and their friends had been guests on the program a number of times, be it as participants in call-in competitions, or as commentators for the show's reports on events. Kenny liked to watch a few videos of children's songs. These were in English, but his parents had little concern for their potential influence on Kenny, given the limited exposure he had to them and the fact that Eilidh and Claire had watched the same videos at the same age, with no apparent effect on their language preferences.

A far as I could observe, most adult Gaelic speakers encountering the Macleod children spoke Gaelic to them. In the district itself, the blas of the children's Gaelic was well known, and a source of express enjoyment to many older people. When Claire and Eilidh visited the senior social group to perform songs or recite poetry with their classmates, the audience seemed to take as much delight in conversing with the girls as in the performance itself. On these occasions, Claire and Eilidh impressed their interlocutors with what was perceived to be the ease, naturalness and blas-fullness of their speech. In the few cases when Gaelic-speaking adults addressed the Macleod children in English, Murdo or Christine were not shy remind the adults "Tha Gaidhlig aig na clann" (the

children speak Gaelic). This would often prompt the adult to switch to Gaelic, if sometimes a bit reluctantly, to which the Macleod children replied in Gaelic without hesitation.

In addition to their interactions with Gaelic-speaking relatives and local Gaelic speakers of all ages residing in the district, the Macleod children also had frequent interactions with their extended family in a different part of the island. Eilidih and Claire would often travel to spend weekends with their paternal grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, and had begun taking the bus journey of several hours by themselves so as to be independent of their parents' ability to drive them there, and to maximize their time with their extended family. I accompanied them once, and they visibly enjoyed the freedom that the village, even smaller and more remote than their own, and populated mostly by their relatives, afforded them. Here, too, Gaelic was unquestioned as the medium of interaction. These experiences had made the Macleod girls keenly aware of dialect differences, which they would imitate to humorous effect during a game of pretending to be their grandfather going to town for groceries. Claire in particular could not only articulate lexical alternates in the Gaelic spoken at school and at home, but also phonological distinctions between the Gaelic of her mother's family and her father's family.

As with the Morrisons, it was the mother who took the school-aged girls to church, but she most often chose the Gaelic service, where they would sit in a pew next to Christine's mother, and were often the only children present. Claire and Eilidh also attended the Gaelic-medium Sunday school held in a prayer house close to their home, where the curriculum and activities were more conservative than at the main Sunday School conducted at the church. Rather than the games and colorful activities at the main Sunday school, the Gaelic Sunday school focused on regular memorization of the catechism in Gaelic, as well as on practice in reading psalms and Biblical passages aloud. The other Sunday school students, all of whom were enrolled in Gaelic-medium education, consisted of Claire and Eilidh's cousins, as well as a younger boy and a secondary pupil from the village. The convenience of not having to drive the children to Sunday school may have been a factor in the Macleods' choice of Sunday school here as well, but when Claire in particular complained about the amount of rote memorization

required every week, and the lack of 'fun' activities compared to the regular Sunday school up the hill, her parents remained unmoved. They believed that the regular memorization was helpful for both school work and Mòd performances, and generally were not swayed by (very occasional) complaints from their children that something "was no fun".

In addition to using Gaelic as a medium of family interactions, the Macleods highly valued artistic expression in Gaelic, regularly reciting rhymes and poetry and singing songs together. During one of my visits to their home, Christine was in the kitchen, taking turns with her almost 3-year-old son Kenny singing the traditional Gaelic song *Bha mi latha samhraidh a Steornobhagh* (One summer's day I was in Stornoway), and supplying the parts of the lyrics he had not memorized yet. Later they told me that Kenny had been singing the same song while playing with his slightly younger cousin, until the two came to physical blows over the correct pronunciation of the word *lom* (bare), which Kenny was insisting on pronouncing like his father, while his maternal cousin (whose mother had grown up in A' Chreag) insisted on the pronunciation according to the local dialect.

With this background in mind, it perhaps is not surprising that the Macleod sisters had earned a reputation in the district and beyond for their performances in Mòd competitions in storytelling, poetry recitation, and singing. Claire had made local history by being the youngest child ever to win the National Mòd's story-telling competition at age 5, when her competitors were much older primary school pupils. Both parents invested a significant amount of time and energy in preparing their daughters for the competitions. Murdo authored the stories that Claire and Eilidh recited (which some saw as a big part of the girls' success when most other children recite stories from books), and both he and Christine listened to the girls' recitations at home several times a week before the competitions.

Still, Christine and Murdo seemed wary of being perceived as pushy parents in a place where individual achievement was acknowledged, but had to be tempered lest its bearer appear arrogant and elitist. Christine insisted several times that the children participated in the competitions for fun and not for the trophies they inevitably amassed, and pointed out that they were only doing what came 'naturally' to them –for example,

Christine did not want to push Claire in singing solos because her voice was not as strong as her sister's. For his part, Murdo was heavily involved in preparing other students at the school for the Mòd, and could not be said to be playing favorites in his tutoring to give his own children an edge in the competition.

The Macleod parents were acutely aware of the boundary between their own background as Gaelic-socialized speakers of the language, and their jobs as teachers involved in Gaelic-medium education. While they seemed to agree, both implicitly and explicitly, with most of the language activists' claims regarding functional equivalence of Gaelic and English, and viewed Gaelic-medium education as a useful tool in language socialization and revitalization, they nevertheless recognized that such a functional equivalence does not constitute semiotic or aesthetic equality. Because they maintained traditional practices beyond speaking Gaelic, such as crofting, and generally adopted community standards of inconspicuous behavior, they were not seen as (stereotypical) examples of Gaelic language activists despite resorting to their authority as teachers when promoting GME to other parents.

Similarly, although the Macleods had high expectations for their children's educational attainment, they also stressed humility and obedience in their children's conduct, especially when it came to their children's success in competitions and other endeavors that entailed high public visibility. Their children did not boast of their achievements, and almost seemed embarrassed by the attention other adults lavished on them after winning competitions. They were not allowed to 'rest on their laurels' and were expected to continue to work hard even after being successful in a particular endeavor. As a result, the community seemed to hold them up as shining examples of the way children should (and used to be) raised.

These examples show some of the demographic variation of Gaelic-socializing families. Both the Morrison and Macleod children were experiencing the majority of their language socialization experiences in Gaelic outside of the school, where their parents, family and neighbors modeled patterns of language use. While the Macleods were reacting to community-wide trends in language use by enforcing explicit rules to govern their children's language use, the Morrisons were, perhaps, a holdover of earlier times, in

which English played a small semiotic role in the household but was not seen as a threat to the place of Gaelic in the family.

English-socializing Families

The families I describe in this part of the chapter represent two main groups of participants in Gaelic-medium education for whom English is the more or less exclusive medium of communication outside of the classroom. For these children, GME functions as the sole consistent context of Gaelic language socialization and often provides the only sustained exposure to Gaelic in the children's everyday lives. The parents of these children are extremely supportive of Gaelic-medium education as a pedagogical tool for the development of bilingualism in their offspring (an experience they often regret not having had themselves) and praise the program's success in developing competence in Gaelic at the same time as imparting academic knowledge and skills. They also tend to see GME as a crucial tool in the maintenance of Gaelic as a medium of communication at the community level.

The caregivers in these English-socializing households draw on many of the same language ideologies underlying GME and Gaelic language revitalization efforts as a whole, and reproduce many of the language socialization practices of the GME classroom at home. While this alignment may create a more integrated context of language socialization without competing indexical orders and regimes of social-linguistic practice for these children, it also leaves the most contested aspects of Gaelic language socialization practices promulgated in the GME classroom unchallenged and reinforces GME's focus on a relatively narrow range of linguistic practices, the primacy of literacy, and a relatively strict separation of codes.

The Stewarts are one of the many families in the district whose heritage is distinctly local and for whom Gaelic ceased functioning a medium of childhood language socialization in the 1970s, although the older generations still uses Gaelic in their everyday interactions. In addition to incomplete/passive competence in Gaelic among the parental generation, the use of Gaelic as a medium of communication within these families is often further complicated by the presence of non-Gaelic-speaking spouses, often from mainland Scotland or even further afield. Being only semi-speakers of Gaelic

or even monoglot English speakers did not appear to hinder these families' integration into local social networks, especially among peers of the same age or younger. In addition to residence patterns, shared childhood experiences, including collective school attendance, as well as social interaction during time away from the island (for work or educational purposes) appeared to be more important in determining social relationships than language competence or choice.

The Millers, in contrast, had no historical ties to the district or even the region. Rather, they were part of a contemporary demographic transformation on the island in which employment opportunities and/or "lifestyle" choices (such as the desire for an unspoiled rural environment for their children to grow up in) have prompted families from other parts of Scotland and the UK to move to the Isle of Lewis. At the time of my research, this migration of relatively young and well-educated professionals to the island was further facilitated by the availability of real estate at prices that were comparatively extremely affordable to those moving from much more populous and wealthier areas of Britain.[80]

With their predominantly monoglot Anglophone and middle-class backgrounds, these incomers often found it difficult to integrate into the social fabric of the district. Unlike people who moved to the district from other areas of the islands or even larger Gàidhealteachd and/or who had pre-existing social ties to the district's residents, they lacked both the social ties and the semiotic means to express that information in such a way that would make them socially acceptable to the native residents of the district. Given that non-local dialects of English, with the exception of Glasgow and Aberdeen dialects, were generally perceived by native district residence to be more or less 'posh' was an index of a much larger underlying struggle to accept these strangers in their midst. On the one hand, these incomers often purchased derelict houses in order to fix them up, and generally bolstered the district population when so many young people were leaving

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[80] Retirees from Scotland and England relocated to the Western Isles for the same reason, along with recipients of welfare and other state benefits, who tried to escape the apparent over-subscription of these services in other administrative districts. Although the influx of these groups had become a recognized social phenomenon on the island, their numbers still could not compensate for the exodus of young and middle-aged island residents for education and/or employment elsewhere. Indeed, the relatively high purchasing power of these recent migrants to the island was starting to affect the ability by local residents to compete in the real estate market, propelling local emigration even further.

the island for education, jobs, and travel. On the other hand, they imported a lifestyle into the district that native residents perceived as alien and potentially detrimental to the social fabric and traditions of the community.

Having children did help these families make contact with others in the district, as these children socialized with classmates and neighbors in organized after-school activities as well as informal play arrangements, but it was clear that they formed the strongest relationships with other incomers. In addition to similar socio-economic backgrounds and lifestyle preferences (e.g. outdoor activities beyond the well established fishing, like kayaking and surfing), their bonds also appeared to be strengthened by virtue of having a shared 'fate' of living in a community that continues to draw explicit and fairly impermeable boundaries between those it considers natives and those that are categorized as incomers.

For those incomer families who enrolled their children in GME, the need for linguistic support further deepened their relationships with each other. In addition to face-to-face interactions at drop-off and pick-up time at the school and phone calls after the end of school, the weekly meeting of a homework support group sponsored by the Council offered a place for these parents to interact with each other and shared advice and resources to assist their children with schoolwork.[81] Although individual parents also received assistance with linguistic questions about their children's homework from Gaelic-speaking neighbors and parents of their children's classmates, other incomer parents with children enrolled in GME most often called on each other to understand the instructions for assignments and other aspects of their children's academic work.

Beyond practical matters, incomer parents of children enrolled in GME also provided each other with emotional support to meet the challenges of having their children educated in and through a language they themselves had often only minimal control of. In the process, they often negotiated their personal opinions and attitudes about Gaelic as a code, as a medium of interaction in the community, and as a symbol of local and national identity, revealing language ideologies that were notably different from

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[81] While the group's meetings were officially open to all parents of children enrolled in GME, they were utilized almost exclusively by parents from incomer families. The group's leader told me that it was difficult to convince Gaelic speakers to use Gaelic in a classroom setting.

those of 'native' members of the community, but generally more or less compatible with those at the heart of Gaelic language revitalization efforts.

In fact, these incomers were often surprised by the reactions of local residents to the former's positive attitude toward Gaelic and their efforts to learn the language and more generally adapt to local practices and traditions. As in other Hebridean communities (Macdonald 1997, McEwan-Fujita 2001), native members of the community viewed such attempts to act like them with bemusement at best, and conspiratorial suspicion at worst.[82] One fellow student in a Gaelic class I attended complained that the only acceptable context where locals apparently found it acceptable for her to use Gaelic was singing in the district choir; all other efforts to use the language with neighbors and other residents of the district were usually met with the use of English or silence (cf McEwan-Fujita 2010a:51-52)

These local politics of language and culture were often frustrating to incomers, who did not understand how local residents could complain about the disappearance of Gaelic and traditional practices, but then also resist any personal or organized effort to preserve them. For the parents of children educated in GME, the lack of opportunity for their children to speak Gaelic with older residents also meant that they had to depend on more formal and external validation of their children's competence in the language. Success in formal assessments at school as well as in competitions such as the Mòd was the only way these parents could gauge their children's command of the language. At the same time, they believed these evaluations to be accurate measures of their children's social-linguistic competence in the language.

The Stewarts

Like the Morrisons and the Macleods, the Stewart family's connections to the district were rooted in Peggy, the mother. She had grown up just down the road from her current home, and had moved back to the island with her husband James and her two small sons, Hector and Donald, after some time away on the mainland. Returning to the island enabled Peggy to enlist the support of her mother, Angusina, while she worked

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[82] As I discussed in Chapter 3, these attempts were probably interpreted as an attempt to instantiate an ideology of performance-driven identity in a community in which identity was ascribed on the basis of an essentialist ideology.

part-time at an office in town, especially when her husband was away on one of his frequent business trips. Indeed, Angusina would come around to Peggy's house almost every day to help out with household tasks and to watch the children while Peggy worked or ran errands.

The family lived in a modern bungalow with separate, thematically decorated bedrooms for each boy, and a well-appointed lounge that was not often used –most time was spent in the large kitchen and the adjacent TV room, where the children could relax on large cushions to watch TV, which they appeared to do for at least an hour every day. The programming they consumed appeared to be all in English. The family also had a large back yard with a trampoline, where the children often played with their neighbors, who were enrolled in the English-medium classes at the school. Peggy returned home in the afternoons to await Hector's arrival from school, and would sit with him while he did his homework at the kitchen table, entertaining his toddler brother Donald at the same time. Depending on the weather, Hector would head out to play or to the TV room after completing his homework. While Hector kept himself busy, Peggy would prepare her sons' dinner, which was served separately from the adults' and was mostly comprised of stereotypically child-friendly items like chicken nuggets, macaroni and cheese, and frozen vegetables. James returned from work around the children's dinner-time, and would play with his sons until they went to bed, after which he and Peggy would have their own evening meal of adult foods that the children were thought not to care for.

Peggy was the same age as Mairi Morrison, and a more typical member of the mixed-socialized generation than Mairi Morrison. As Angusina told me, Peggy had had no competence in English to speak of before she entered school, but quickly switched to speaking English exclusively after that point. Angusina and her late husband accommodated her language preference in the belief that it would be better for her success in school and professional life and that forcing her to speak Gaelic would be a useless battle to fight, though they still spoke Gaelic to each other. As a result, Peggy felt little confidence in her Gaelic when it came to using it with either her mother or her son, although she maintained more active control over the language than many other district residents of her generation. She reported that she tried using some Gaelic with Hector when he was a baby, but soon stopped in the face of the overwhelming dominance of

English in her own home and the surrounding community on the mainland, where they lived at the time.

Enrolling Hector in GME when he started primary school was not the straightforward decision it had been for the other families I have described previously. Peggy was acutely aware of the deficits in her own Gaelic competence, and was concerned about herself and her English monolingual husband not being able to be involved in her son's schoolwork. She was also skeptical of the claims that children could pick up a new language easily in the context of immersion schooling, when she herself was struggling with the language despite being surrounded by it in her family and the district, and that non-native speakers of Gaelic would have no educational disadvantage as they progressed through primary school. Finally, her decision over whether to send Hector to the Gaelic-medium stream at the school was complicated by the fact that the children he played with in their immediate neighborhood were all attending the English-medium stream. Peggy was loath to separate Hector from his playmates, and to be seen as participating in the social divisiveness that local criticism charges GME with. Unlike his wife, James' beliefs aligned more closely with the arguments generally used to Gaelic-medium education in particular, and Gaelic language revitalization more generally. He was clearly less perturbed by the apparent dilemmas his wife was ruminating, and quite convinced of the educational and intellectual benefits of bilingualism. Though not nationalist in his political leanings, he also expressed a belief in the claim that Gaelic was a part of Scottish heritage more generally, and of his sons' family history more specifically.

After repeated counseling by the principal and staff at the school to address her concerns and shedding some tears, Peggy and her husband did decide to enroll Hector in the Gaelic-medium stream. Once Hector had started school, Peggy did make an effort to speak Gaelic more frequently to him as well as to his younger brother Donald, who was just starting to use single words during the time of my research. Angusina, their grandmother, was impressed with her elder grandson's progress in Gaelic. She informed me more than once that in a way, Hector knew more Gaelic than she did, because he was picking up specialized terminology that she never knew existed in Gaelic, and was becoming fully literate in the language. Still, the predominant medium of the family's

interactions remained English, except when Hector was doing his homework and displaying his Gaelic skills for outsiders visiting the home. English was also the predominant medium of his interactions with his friends, whom he played with after school on most afternoons. Peggy's choice to send Hector to the Gaelic-medium stream apparently had not affected his friendships with the neighbors' children after all, although he did socialize mainly with the boys from his (Gaelic-medium) classroom while in the school playground.

The Millers

Julie and Michael Miller had moved to the Isle of Lewis from England when Michael was offered a mid-level administrative position at the Western Isles Council. They were accompanied by their then-infant daughter Chloe, and moved into an old croft house in the district, which allowed easy commuter access to Michael's job in town. As they were renovating and modernizing the house over the course of several years, Andrew and Rose joined Chloe, about two years apart. At the time of my research, Chloe was attending the Gaelic-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig, while Andrew was a regular at the local croileagan. Julie stayed home full-time with toddler Rose, and was involved in running an after-school club at the school. Ultimately, she hoped to return to her previous career as a nurse when all three children were attending primary school.

Coming from a monoglot Anglophone background, Julie and Michael saw enrolling Chloe in GME as a welcome and somewhat unusual opportunity for her to become bilingual (with all its attendant educational and intellectual advantages) and to make connections to the heritage and traditions of her childhood home –connections that Julie and Michael were acutely aware of missing themselves as incomers to the community. To this end, Chloe also had lessons in Highland Dancing, and participated in local dancing competitions. Although they had had practical concerns about helping Chloe with her schoolwork without knowing Gaelic themselves, they found that her teachers were very helpful in providing additional materials (such as audio recordings of the books she read) to aid them. Julie also attended a weekly class at the school for non-Gaelic speaking parents of children enrolled in GME. In this class, a fluent Gaelic speaker employed by the Council went over school-specific vocabulary that parents were

likely to encounter in their children's assignments, practiced deciphering and pronouncing particular Gaelic spellings, and answered parents' individual questions about homework their children were working on for the week. All of the attendees at this class were incomers and monolingual English speakers. While the class was advertised as a resource for all parents of children in GME who felt they needed help with their children's work, few of the mixed-socialized parents who had grown up in the district ever expressed any interest in the class. Some cited scheduling difficulties, but most thought that this class was only for people who knew no Gaelic whatsoever and that they would be out of place in the class. The leader of the class also thought that negative memories of Gaelic language classes in school may have been keeping parents who were native to the island from attending.

Julie and Michael were more than happy with their daughter's performance in school, and saw her success as directly linked to, and as evidence of, her competence in Gaelic. Indeed, Chloe was considered one of the brighter pupils in her class, and she proceeded through the assessment levels at above-average speed. Categorized as a "learner" of Gaelic (rather than a native speaker), she was also a successful participant in Mòd competitions, and had won recognition in a yearly Gaelic conversation contest that the school's pupils participated in every year. Julie and Michael professed not to understand why some Gaelic-speaking parents would not enroll their children in GME, and had found that the beliefs of the potentially negative effects of GME circulating in the community were completely unfounded. During the time of my research, Chloe had begun working on English language arts, and displayed no difficulties in either English reading or spelling, which her parents took as further proof that GME was no hindrance to children's academic success.

At home, the Millers' medium of interaction was mostly the parents' variety of English, although Julie had noticed that her two older children were not only able to switch into Lewis Gaelic when not at home, but also that they would switch between the two English varieties when interacting with each other without adults present. When Chloe sat down at the kitchen table after school to do her homework with her mother, Andrew would often join them to do some drawing or another craft activity, while Rose would move between eating snacks distributed by Julie and playing with toys in the

living room. Chloe was a conscientious and committed student who often went beyond the assignments' requirements to draw extra pictures, list more words, or perform additional calculations. She worked mostly independently while Julie kept her siblings busy, until it was time to check her written work.

At this point, Julie would ask Chloe for an explanation of the assignment she was looking over, and for translations of her answers written in Gaelic. Julie reported to be impressed with Chloe's ability not only to switch between Gaelic and English, but also to translate between the two when prompted. When Julie did not understand the printed instructions on Chloe's homework assignments, Chloe would touch the paper and follow the words with her fingers as she translated them for her mother. A large part of homework assignments was taken up by the task of translation from Gaelic into English. Chloe translated both to help her mother understand the assignment, and for her mother to be able to correct her work if necessary. However, Julie also got help from the instructor of the parents' Gaelic class at Sgoil a' Chreaig, who went over worksheets with Julie and provided translations that Julie than wrote down on the worksheet itself.

One afternoon, Chloe was completing a work sheet that focused on the letter combination "ua" in Gaelic words. The sheet required her to mix and match letters before and after "ua" to come up with four Gaelic words, and then to use those words to fill in the blanks in four model sentences. Chloe had already put together the words, *fhuair* (I received), *suas* (up), *luath* (fast) *and fuar* (cold), and written them down in the appropriate space in the top half of the work sheet, so now it was time to match the words with the correct sentences. While Chloe was working on her sheet, Julie was referring to a copy she had obtained from Chloe's teacher and filled in with her Gaelic teacher ahead of time. She had also made notes to herself to help her with the pronunciation of some of the words.
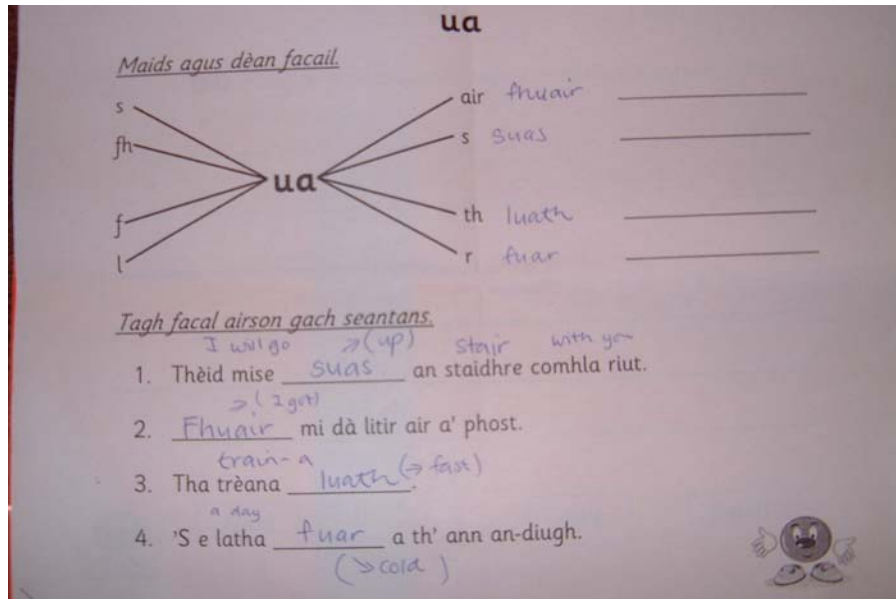
Figure 17: Worksheet filled in by Chloe's mother

Julie	[points at instructions, underlined and in italics]: ok, now, read this sentence
Chloe:	I can't […] Tagh facal airson gach seanteans *Choose a word for each sentence*
J:	what does that mean?
C:	choose [.] well, for each sentence
J:	very good [.] ok so read this sentence and then we'll work the word out for it
C:	thèid mise *I will go*
J:	something
C:	[…] an staidhre còmhla riut *the stairs with you*

Julie tackles the task of finding the correct word to go in the blank she referred to as 'something' by translating the sentence first, but Chloe seems to have trouble with this approach:

J:	what does this sentence mean? Do you know what it is?

C: I don't know what's the word

J: so what does that sentence mean now?

C: […] I don't know [.] I can't under the end bit of it

J: well, let's have a look [….] what does this bit

While Julie wants to parse the sentence bit by bit, Chloe actually finds the right word to insert into the blank without translating it out loud

C: thèid mise suas na staidhre còmhla riut

But Julie wants to make sure that Chloe is not just guessing, and brings her back to the task of translation.

J   [points at beginning of sentence]: What does this bit mean?

Rather than focus on the part of the sentence her mother identifies, Chloe just translates the whole sentence.

C: I went upstairs with them I think it is

However, while Chloe inserted the correct word, she translates *thèid* as the past tense rather than the future tense of the verb. Julie does not seem to notice this, and instead focuses on Chloe's translation of *còmhla riut* (with you)

J: with them I thought it was with you but it might

C: well [.] well something

Because the focus of the assignment is on inserting the correct word in the blank, Julie and Chloe do not spend further time debating the correct translation of *còmhla riut*. Chloe accepts her mother's correction, and works on printing *suas* into the blank provided before turning to the next sentence. She finds the correct word right away.

C   [watching younger siblings play]: [….] well, it's definitely *suas*

          [writes *suas* into blank]

C:	*fhuair fhuair* [starts writing, but uses lower case f]
J:	What would it be if it was the beginning of a sentence?
C	[unintelligible]
J:	Mmh
C	[erases writing and writes *Fhuair*]
J:	right [phone starts ringing] read that read that whole sentence

While her mother is on the phone, Chloe reads the sentence quietly to herself and corrects herself when she realizes that she has made a mistake reading the preposition *air* as *anns*

C:	fhuair mi dà litirs[83] anns a phost […] no air a phost *I got two letters in the post […] no to the post*
M	[talks on phone]

Julie continues to talk on the phone in the background, so Chloe turns to sentence number three and identifies the correct word to insert and then immediately continues on to the last sentence.

C:	*luath* […] well it's definitely *fuar* [.] *toiseach 's e latha* *fuar a th'ann* [unintelligible]

Chloe looks at me, sitting in the corner of the kitchen taking notes, questioningly so I affirm her choice before she finishes reading the whole sentence.

Vanessa:	*'S e*
C:	*an-diugh*

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[83] Chloe's construction of "two letters" as *dà litirs* is incorrect in two ways: (1) indicating the plural by adding the English suffix –s, and (2) failing to use the Gaelic dual by leniting the first letter of the noun being counted. This is evidence of the influence of her English grammar on her Gaelic.

Julie returns to the kitchen table and sees that Chloe has inserted words into all the sentences. She points to the third sentence so they can continue the routine of Chloe reading the sentence out loud and translating it for her mother.

J: ok so what is that read it in Gaelic

C: *Tha treana luath*

J: what does it mean?

C: A train is fast?

J: Uh-huh [.] read me the last sentence then

C: *'s e latha fuar a th'ann an-diugh* today is a cold day

J: yeah it is a cold day […] that was very good

This recurrent focus on translation in the process of interacting with Gaelic encouraged attention to formal aspects of the language and reinforced a sense that there Gaelic and English could be converted into each other rather closely. Julie saw these skills as evidence of Chloe's (near-) native knowledge of Gaelic that came from learning a language in childhood and in an immersion setting, rather than from classroom instruction later in life. For Julie, Gaelic and English clearly possessed a functional equivalence in their referential capacity – a belief that was further reinforced by the types of academic activities she observed her daughter performing.

Julie and Michael also subscribed to an ideology of literate speakerhood in which literacy skills in a language were part and parcel of, if not the basis for, a person's social-linguistic competence in a language. They occasionally consulted a Gaelic-socialized neighbor for help with Chloe's homework, although the neighbor's own grandchildren were attended the English-medium stream at Sgoil a' Chreaig. They told me that this neighbor was a fluent speaker of the language. When I asked whether the neighbor could read and write Gaelic, they seemed confused by the question, and Michael reiterated that she was a fluent speaker, indicating his assumption that fluency in a language included literacy skills in it.

After the homework was done, Julie turned her attention to preparing dinner and other domestic chores before Michael returned from work. She often asked the children for their food preferences, giving them limited choices for that evening's dinner, but was very concerned about providing a healthy and balanced meal without resorting to processed food products. Many of the foods she bought were organic, and the children snacked on fruit, yogurt and nuts rather than the crisps (potato chips), chocolate bars and soft drinks consumed by other children their age in the district. While Julie was cooking, the children would play or watch TV together, although the latter often led to the former after a short while, as the TV shows inspired them to engaged in fairly elaborate imaginative play sessions involving costumes and props fashioned from their toys.

The Miller children were also big fans of all manner of craft activities, and their framed creations decorated the walls throughout the house. There were few conflicts between them, and Julie functioned mostly as a negotiator –either between herself and a child, or between the children. She tended to appeal to reason in these negotiations, and made heavy use of limited choices especially in managing Rose's toddler desires. When I asked her about her preferred approach to interacting with, and disciplining her children, Julie told me of her previous education in child psychology and social work that had been part of her nursing education as being the main sources of her child-rearing philosophy.

Chloe was friends with a few girls from her class, though most of her free time was spent with her siblings and at various after-school activities, including dance lessons and gymnastics, which were all held in English. As a result, she did not have many interactions with adult Gaelic speakers outside of the classroom. Once, she was invited to a birthday party for Eilidh Macelod, who was in her class. Chloe had no trouble following the 'all Gaelic all the time' rule at the Macleod's home, joining her classmates for games inside and outside of the house, and later sitting down at the dining room table for a buffet of (processed) foods served at all the children's birthday parties I attended – previously frozen cheese pizza, potato chips, small pork sausages, cake, ice cream and candy. Eilidh's grandmother Marion was also at the party, and had not met Chloe before. She asked Chloe what her name was in English (to which Chloe also responded in English), and continued to speak English to Chloe even after her son-in-law informed her that Chloe spoke Gaelic. Marion asked Chloe who her parents were, but Chloe did not

seem to understand the purpose of this question and remained silent. Instead, Murdo told Marion their names and Chloe's father's occupation, but also informed Marion of whose old house Chloe and her family resided in, in order to aid her in placing Chloe on the district's social map.

Political Economy of Codes

Generally speaking, Gaelic-socializing families participating in my research maintained a political economy of codes within their families that more or less resembled that of Gaelic-socialized speakers in the district, while English-socializing families adapted a system more similar to that dominant in the district and the island. However, there were significant ideological and practice differences between families in each category. As I have described before, the Morrisons followed a principle of linguistic accommodation when it came to the religious domain, which resembled aspects of the ideological context of language shift that had occurred in the district in the 1970s.

In contrast, the Macleods tried to counteract this tendency and were more likely to insist on the use of Gaelic even in contexts that most Gaelic-socialized speakers would associate with English, as I've discussed above. Perhaps the most striking example of this was when Claire and Eilidh Morrison were reading passages from the English books assigned to them for reading practice out loud. In the process, their mother Christine interrupted them frequently to discuss the reading portion with them in Gaelic and double-check their understanding of the words they encountered by asking them to either translate the word in question into Gaelic, or having them explain the word's meaning in Gaelic. This practice stood in stark contrast to most other incidents of translation I encountered, in which English was always the target of translation and the larger frame of reference.

In Gaelic-socializing families, the boundaries between the two actual codes were somewhat fluid, and linguistic elements derived from English made their way into the Gaelic speech of adults and children alike without generating much attention from either party, much like in interactions between Gaelic-socialized speakers. Once, when Kenny was playing outside with his sisters, he called out to them (and me, observing the scene from a distance): "I am sliding!" Claire and Eilidh, in unison, responded: "Bruidhinn

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Gaidhlig!" ("Speak Gaelic!"), and Kenny repeated: "Tha mi <u>slid</u>igeach", which satisfied his sisters as being Gaelic despite his obvious use of the English word "slide" as the basis for the verbal noun "slidigeach".[84] Similarly, when Isla Morrison was telling her mother about an incident at school, she made liberal use of English-derived words in her Gaelic, even though she was voicing her teacher, who was careful to avoid such elements in her speech to the children.

> Bha i deanahm rud beag cearr agus nuair sin […] uh bha i agus
> *She made a little mistake and then […] uh she did and*
>
> nuair sin thuirt an tidsear
> *then the teacher said*
>
> [raises finger and looks away from mother to impersonate teacher talking to pupil]
>
> chan eil thus' faighinn <u>gym shorts</u>, Erin! airson oh [.] cha robh [.]
> *You're not wearing gym shorts, Erin! Because oh [.] that wasn't it [.]*
>
> <u>gym</u> brogan agus uhm
> *gym shoes and uhm*
>
> [switches back to explaining the scene to her mother]
>
> bha i aig a <u>skirt</u> glas aice le [gesturing at neck] <u>sweetheart</u> [.] <u>zip</u>
> *she was in her grey skirt with the [gesturing at neck] sweetheart zip*
>
> agus na brogan
> *and the shoes*
>
> [Gavin runs into kitchen and distracts his mother]

However, the children in Gaelic-socializing families did appear to have some awareness that had some awareness that there was some kind of boundary between the English and Gaelic. When I asked Iain Morrison for the Gaelic equivalent of the expression "my turn!" to mark someone's demand for a chance at playing with a toy, he responded that it was "turn agamsa", with the suffix –sa added to mark the emphasis on "my". Isla

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[84] Although Kenny sounded, in many ways, like a non-native speaker of English at the time of my research, he was clearly an adept follower of local rules for incorporating English words into his Gaelic.

objected by saying that "turn'' was English, but was unable to provide an alternative. Iain overrode her, repeating "turn agamsa" to me, and the discussion between him and his sister appeared to be closed, for the time being.

In Gaelic-socializing families, there was also an awareness of register differences between the Gaelic used in the domestic domain, and that used in school, though neither variety had a value difference attached to it in absolute terms. Although Mairi Morrison professed to having some difficulty with some of the Gaelic words Iain had learned at school, she also admitted that she saw no reason to correct him or suggest alternatives, since the use of these forms was legitimated in the school context. The older children, like Claire Macleod, could also report words that she would only use at school, but just shrugged their shoulders when I asked them whether they found these differences confusing.

English-socializing families as a whole relegated the use of Gaelic with children to a small number of specific situations. By necessity, parents in English-socializing incomer families used Gaelic mostly in the context of school work, and switched frequently between English and Gaelic when they did so.. Much of this code-switching was for purposes of translation. Parents also incorporated Gaelic words into their interactions with their children when they were discussing and/or performing academic work with their children. Some children also translated Gaelic terminology and grammar to their parents in the process of explaining the contents and purpose of homework assignments.

In local English-socializing families, the contexts of using Gaelic with children were more or less the same as in incomer families, although to a certain degree, these children were also exposed to adults speaking Gaelic to each other. For example, Peggy told me that after Hector had started attending the Gaelic-medium classroom at Sgoil a' Chreaig, she had started making a conscious effort to use Gaelic in speaking to her mother more frequently, especially in front of Hector, even though she felt self-conscious not only about her limited competence in the language, but also about the disruption in her communicative habits –a change she described as physically painful. However, there was little Gaelic directed at children by other members of their extended families. For example, in cases where Gaelic-socialized grandmothers provided care for GME-

socialized children after school, homework activities were conducted more or less exclusively in English.

In addition to keeping a pragmatic boundary between Gaelic and English, English-socializing families also tended to treat the two codes as entirely separate entities. In incomer families, this was based on the assumption that a language is an entity by virtue, among other things, of being independent from other such entities. While incomers were aware that there was a considerable amount of mixing of the two languages in the Gaelic speech of local speakers, this pattern was seen as a breaking down of these boundaries, and a sign of some kind of deficiency –on the part of the speaker, or of the code itself. In local English-socializing families, adults were familiar with the historical depth and pragmatic extensiveness of code-mixing in the community, but also saw the appearance of English elements in Gaelic utterances as detrimental to the integrity of the code. For them, their own use English elements in their Gaelic was a sign of their own lack of competence in Gaelic, whereas speakers whose Gaelic was perceived to be more pure were also seen to be more proficient and genuine.

At the same time, English-socializing families shared a belief that the variety of Gaelic used and transmitted in GME was both more correct and more proper, based on an ideology of standard(ized) language that elevates registers/varieties of speech arising in an institutionally-sponsored context, often fixed in written form, above those found in everyday oral speech. For local English-socializing families, the school was a source of authority and legitimacy for linguistic elements promulgated there, even if they themselves were unfamiliar with these elements, or did not use them. For incomer families, this belief manifested itself in an endless search for the one perfect dictionary that would allow them to unlock the secrets presented by some of the linguistic forms they encountered in their children's schoolwork.

Incomer also families made the assumption that the Gaelic taught in GME was both the most fundamental and the most socially and politically neutral. They were largely unaware of the controversies surrounding the linguistic forms as well as the language socialization experiences provided by GME among Gaelic-socialized residents of the district. When they did encounter such a debate, they often seemed surprised that there was social and political tension surrounding these forms, and the place of Gaelic in

the institutional context of the school more generally. To them, the status of a language as such was fundamentally bound up with institutional support, and the hierarchical organization of its varieties, in which one 'standard' version formed both the most extensive and most neutral basis for all others.

Conceptions of Speakerhood

In both Gaelic- and English-socializing families, literacy skills formed an integral part of their (self-) conceptions of being a Gaelic speaker. However, for Gaelic-speaking families, literacy skills were seen simply as one part of the children's social-linguistic competence in Gaelic, while in English-socializing families, literacy skills were seen as the basis for, and ultimate expression of, social-linguistic competence. In this way, English-socializing families aligned themselves with an ideology of literate speakerhood that was promulgated by GME as well as Gaelic revitalization efforts more generally.

In Gaelic-socializing families, the literacy activities that were part of completing homework assignments formed a minor part of the usage of Gaelic, although the Macleods and the Morrisons appeared to differ in the symbolic value they accorded to literacy activities. For the Macleods, reading was an important activity, for both academic and leisure purposes, and the children had access to a range of books and other printed materials in Gaelic and were encouraged to read them for pleasure.[85] However, schoolwork was the only time when I observed explicit Gaelic literacy activities at the Morrison's house. The children did not appear to own a lot of books, and the ones I did encounter were in English.[86] Once, when Isla insisted on reading the picture book she had been assigned at school out loud several times in a row, her mother stopped her by telling her that the repetitions were unnecessary and not part of the homework assignment. Mairi admitted to me that she herself found the spelling of Gaelic words difficult, "especially with the new words that the children learn at school," and she also had trouble keeping up with the new, ten-based number system that the children were learning in school.

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[85] Because the range of materials published in Gaelic, especially for a non-adult audience was small, the Macleod children also read books and magazines in English.

[86] I never had the opportunity to observe the Morrisons' bedtime routine, when reading to or with children was probably most likely to occur.

In the English-socializing families of children enrolled in GME, literacy activities were the predominant context and target of interacting with the Gaelic language. The children's homework not only required them to engage in literacy activities such as spelling and grammar exercises, reading practice, but was also presented (by necessity?) in the written form. Even supposedly non-linguistic academic work such as math problems required deciphering of instructions and inscription of answers for any assignments but those on the most basic level, since these subjects were often presented in terms of real-life examples and other contextual information to make them more real(istic) to the students. This heavy reliance on written Gaelic required parents not literate in the language to draw on a diverse set of resources to assist their children, including dictionaries and other repositories of vocabulary and grammatical principles that required skillful handling in order to be effective.

Many of the incomer parents of English-socializing families were in the process of studying Gaelic themselves, or had done so in the past. As for other adult learners of the language (McEwan-Fujita 2010a), their language instruction occurred primarily in the context and through the medium of written communication. In addition to worksheets, class notes and other snippets and pieces of writing found in these families' homes, some had also posted Gaelic labels on appliances and other objects around their home as well as posters pictorially illustrating Gaelic words similar to those in the school's classrooms.

This predominance of writing in the encounter with Gaelic for these families further reinforced a language ideology in which the written form of the language, including its representational limits and standardized nature, becomes the apparent totality of the language. As with speakers of other Western/European languages that have been regimented in terms and for purposes of visual representation, the English-socializing parents of children enrolled in GME considered the written form of Gaelic as neither semiotically restrictive nor politically problematic. Rather, they seemed to invert the relationship between written and spoken forms of the language such that the latter was simply an instantiation of the former, rather than the other, historically accurate way around.

Furthermore, these parents treated the Gaelic literacy activities of their children as functionally and semiotically equivalent to those performed in English. They also

believed that the Gaelic literacy activities of their children's homework had the same effect on their children in terms of language socialization as performing literacy activities in English. This privileging of writing in these families' encounters with, and conceptions of, Gaelic stands in stark opposition to the language ideologies prevalent among Gaelic- and mixed-socialized speakers of the language (who are not involved in language revitalization activities), which expressly highlight the importance of oral features of the language to defining its social and cultural significance (see Chapter 3).

Gaelic Language Socialization Beyond the Home and School

As I have discussed before, most activities aimed at, or involving children, outside of the home and school, were conducted entirely through the medium of English. Even at times where an adult leader and a child involved in an activity were both active Gaelic speakers, the presence of English monoglot children always required the use of English under the principle of linguistic accommodation. When a group of parents convinced the minister of the local church to conduct a special children's church service in the school gym once a month (itself a break with the strict traditionalism of the church, which expected children to adapt to its structure rather than trying to accommodate their needs), there was no question that this would be conducted in English. Unlike the frequent bilingual services at the church itself, this children's service did not include any Gaelic precenting. None of the parents I spoke to, even those of children enrolled in GME, seemed interested in providing a similar version in Gaelic.

There had been attempts to provide after-school activities and social events to Gaelic-speaking children in other parts of the island through the *Sradagan* movement, but no such group was currently active in the district at the time of my research. As with Gaelic-medium education, most of those I asked about these groups charged that they were socially divisive because they excluded English-monoglot children in the community. Furthermore, as some parents and older children told me, they found the explicit emphasis on speaking Gaelic that overrode any of the activities in this group off-putting. During the end of my time in the district, I saw a poster advertising a new island-wide group for Gaelic-speaking teenagers that emphasized the range of activities over the

opportunity to speak Gaelic and stressed that non-Gaelic-speaking friends would be welcome to attend (but would be expected to pick up some Gaelic).

Ideologies and Politics of (Language) Socialization Practices

Contemporary language socialization practices in the district were highly politicized among parents as well as other residents of the district; while the political tensions over the status and use of Gaelic locally and nationally were one source of friction, language socialization practices were also subsumed within the politics of parenting and child-rearing, which imbued the choices parents made for their children with much moral significance. Families in the district differed not only according to the predominant linguistic medium of socialization, but also in the quality of the relationships between parents and children in each family.

In many ways, the English-socializing families participating in my study were notably more child-centered than the Gaelic-socializing families. This was perhaps most visible in the special accommodations that were made in the everyday activities and routines of family life. In English-socializing families, children were served their own meals, often consisting of foods that they were known to enjoy, and were allowed to choose their own after-school activities and entertainment (within reason). In most families, this meant that the TV was turned on for much of the time that the children spent at home during the week, though the amount of attention the children actually paid to the broadcasts varied wildly. At the Miller's house, for example, the children were often engaged in pretend-playing and craft activities while the TV appeared to be little more than a source of white noise in the background, while Hector Stewart often switched between several pieces of child-sized lounging furniture as he watched TV as well as videos in the time between homework and dinner. His neighbor friends frequently joined him, especially if the weather precluded playing outside, where he had a trampoline in the backyard that attracted many of the neighbors' children.

In Gaelic-socializing families, in contrast, children were noticeably more involved in housekeeping activities around the home and croft, and had chores they had to complete as part of their daily routine. These families tended to hold family dinner at a central dining table, and everyone consumed the same meal. While children in the

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Gaelic-socializing families appeared to be similarly privileged in material terms and to have access to many of the same toys and activities as children in English-socializing families, their consumption of these goods was more heavily circumscribed and occupied a lower rank in the hierarchy of tasks to be performed every day.

At least some of these differences in parenting styles were not only noticed, but also the object of moral judgment from both sides, and further linked to issues of Gaelic language socialization. The increasing importance of GME for Gaelic language socialization in the district did not just offend those who thought that Gaelic had no place in school, but was also problematic for parents who did send their children to GME. One Gaelic-socializing mother of children enrolled in GME thought that parents handing responsibility for their children's Gaelic language socialization to the school was "lazy" and just another upshot of dependence on a nanny state that also did things like distributing fruit in school to encourage healthy eating habits. The mother commented that the fruit ended up in the garbage, uneaten, more often than not, and asked "What are they giving out fruit for? What a waste. They should eat fruit at home," presumably under their parents' direction. Similarly, she believed that the school should not be responsible for teaching Gaelic to children whose parents spoke the language themselves.

In contrast, parents who had some Gaelic competence but did not use the language with their children resented what they perceived to be excessive pressure to use a language which they themselves did not feel comfortable communicating in, and to counteract what they thought of as rather incontrovertible refusal of their children to speak Gaelic, even though some Gaelic-socializing parents thought that this was a poor excuse: "children that age refuse to do lots of things and it's the job of the parent to make them." I have already discussed the tendency of school staff to prescriptively categorize children as native speakers of Gaelic for academic purposes (Chapter 3); parents of these children felt that this was unfair and, combined with the uneven provision of Gaelic lessons outside of GME, a recipe for turning children away from wanting to actually learn the language.

Incomer parents of GME-socialized children were somewhat aware that some Gaelic speakers considered the conditions of their children's Gaelic language socialization inadequate for making them acceptable speakers of the language. While

some laughed off such a criticism as being narrow-minded, others struggled to respond to this apparent denigration of their children's language skills. Julie, Chloe's mother, once attended a talk by a prominent Gaelic language revitalization activist. In his talk, he made the argument that children would not learn to speak Gaelic properly unless they learned it from the time they were born. When she heard this, Julie

> wanted to get up and tell him he was wrong because Chloe had learned Gaelic so well as to win a prize for conversation, even though she had not started learning it till she started school.

However, Julie felt so intimidated by the presenter's demeanor that she kept silent instead, and she was visibly agitated when she recounted this scene.

Children were aware of the contested nature of their language socialization experiences, too. One seven-year-old boy who was enrolled in GME, but according to his parents refused to speak Gaelic at home told me out of the blue that he "was born to speak English." Though this particular child had a tendency toward dramatic statements, it nonetheless showed a canny understanding of the issue at stake in the controversy over Gaelic language socialization in the classroom. More common, however, was the perception among older children and teenagers that there was a lot of pressure from older people in the district for them to speak Gaelic, but that these same people shut down any attempt to speak Gaelic to them. These pupils also regretted the fact that outside of GME, Gaelic lessons were sporadic, and when provided, not as engaging and inviting as lessons in other languages like French. One secondary pupil at Sgoil a' Chreaig made a direct comparison between having to talk about the weather in Gaelic class and listening to French pop music in French class.

Conclusion

Differences in language socialization practices in the families of children enrolled in Gaelic-medium education at Sgoil a' Chreaig were linked not only to parents' and other family members' competence in each language, but also to differences in parenting choices and in beliefs about children's development and status as decision-makers. Gaelic-socializing families as a whole tended to have more authoritarian parents who decisions for their children in more domains of the children's lives, independently of the

children's desires and the source of these desires. By comparison, English-socializing families were more likely to see their children's preferences as an expression of their inborn temperament and unique personality structure and thus to accommodate their children's wishes more willingly. However, Gaelic-socializing families as a group were not necessarily uniform in their attitude toward, and stance in, the politicized nature of language contact in the community and in their homes. Those who were more closely aligned with Gaelic language revitalization efforts were also more likely to have specific rules for the use of each language in the home, and to counteract practices firmly entrenched in the community, such as the rule of accommodation of non-Gaelic speakers.

Not surprisingly, the nature and extent of Gaelic language socialization practice that children enrolled in GME experienced outside of the classroom, especially at home, was a significant factor in the range of Gaelic language practices and contexts of usage that these children were exposed to, as well as in the conceptions of Gaelic speakerhood they were able to experience. While English-socializing families of children enrolled in GME tended to limit the use of Gaelic to academic purposes and the context of school-work, thus reinforcing the political economy of language and conception of literate speakerhood propagated by GME, Gaelic-socializing families provided their children not only with a large array of linguistic practices typically left out of the context of formal education, but also emphasized the social function of language, broadly conceived. Their children, in turn, appeared to develop awareness and understanding of social indexicals in Gaelic to an extent that allowed them to interact successfully with older Gaelic speakers.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The research reported in this dissertation has investigated the language socialization experiences of children enrolled in Gaelic-medium primary education in Scotland to find out why adult speakers of Gaelic do not respond to these children as communicatively competent interlocutors, and what the implications of this communicative impasse are for the effectiveness of GME as a tool of Gaelic language revitalization. I have shown that by adopting a model of education and ideologies of language use from the historical precedent of the institutional circulation and legitimation of standard languages as part of the formation of modern nation states on the basis of ethnolinguistic identification in 19th and 20th century Europe, GME has created an environment for Gaelic language socialization that is radically different from that experienced by older speakers of the language. As a result of the politicization of the process of language socialization in a context of language obsolescence and shift and effort to reverse them, I have argued, the linguistic forms and practices used by GME-socialized children have become marked as politically problematic for these older speakers, who circumvent the political conflict engendered by the use of these forms by using English with GME-socialized children. Older Gaelic speakers themselves interpret these differences in terms of the presence or absence of blas as a crystallization over conflicts over language socialization experiences and claims to authenticity in speech and speakers connected to them.

Since GME-socialized children experience Gaelic language socialization only in the context of GME, they do not have the opportunity to become aware of the indexical value of the linguistic forms and ways of using Gaelic that they acquire. Neither do they become exposed to the entire range of stylistic variation that exists in the Gaelic language community in Scotland. Instead, they develop a high degree of formal and academic

competence in the language, but end up unable to interact with older Gaelic speakers. This calls the effectiveness of GME as a tool of language revitalization into question if the goal of these efforts is not only to increase the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland, but also to bolster the actual usage of the language as a regular medium of social interaction in a Gaelic language community.

The findings presented in this dissertation contribute to a number of areas of inquiry and raise that are worthy of further consideration and investigation, both for those involved in efforts to halt and/or reverse language shift and those who are trying to understand the development of communicative competence.

Contributions to Language Socialization Research

Over the past three decades, language socialization research has been instrumental in calling attention to the fact that the development of communicative competence is a fundamentally social process, in terms of both of the context of the developmental processes involved and the skills and practices that are at the heart of language use. Although research within this paradigm has acknowledged the possibility of transformation as being as important as the phenomenon of reproduction (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002), there has still been a prevalence of case studies of the latter – perhaps because reproduction is more visible 'on the ground'. In the context of language shift, language socialization research has identified some of the practices and processes that contribute to the transformation of communicative practices resulting in measurable changes in the way languages are used (nor not used) (Garret 1999, Kulick 1992, Meek 2011).

However, despite calling attention to the fact that the input that novices receive is fundamentally social (rather than a collection of socially neutral linguistic forms and rules for their combination) from the very beginning of the process, language socialization research has not yet settled on a description of the social and semiotic aspects of such input that are sufficient to ensure the acquisition of forms and their usage at the heart of communicative competence. For example, the apparent lack of recognition of certain aspects of social-linguisitic variation in Gaelic as a sign of dialect and/or

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register difference among GME-socialized children raises the question whether there is a critical amount of exposure to such differences that is necessary for children to attempt to systematically categorize them as part of a regimented system of stylistic variation.

Research of children acquiring English as a first language in a middle-class American domestic setting has shown that they are capable of deploying linguistic and para-linguistic indexicals in order to display their control over register variation beginning in the pre-school years (Andersen 1992). As would be expected, GME-socialized children appear to be aware of, and have similar control over, dialect- and register-variation in English, but they do not simply transfer this knowledge readily to Gaelic. When and how do children develop an understanding of social indexicals in language? What aspects of language socialization experiences help novices to do so?

Pursuing these questions opens up the possibility of cross-disciplinary dialog and research with those studying the development of social cognition.

Contributions to Studies of Language Shift

Many studies of language shift have focused on identifying its causes and theorizing the way they interact to result in the apparent obsolescence of one code in situations of language contact. One approach to this issue has highlighted macrosociological factors and processes that appear to be involved in language shift. As the case of Gaelic in Scotland shows, however, if we want to "explain distributional changes [leading to language shift] and not be content merely to describe them" (Withers 1984:7), a more complex model of the interaction of these processes and factors is needed. In addition to industrialization, urbanization, migration and proletarianization, which can all be subsumed under MacKinnon's 'Clearance Model' and the 'Economic Development Model' of language shift (1977, as cited in Withers 1984:4), another set of crucial factors to consider are the ideological separation and differentiation of the Gàidhealtachd and Lowlands into distinct linguistic, social, economic and 'cultural' spheres (Withers 1988). As Withers shows (1988), this separation brought with it a set of efforts to transform the region economically, socially and culturally, including its prevalent linguistic practices. He discusses the influence of discourses of enlightenment,

culture and improvement and their associated ideologies of virtue, civility, industry and improvement as instrumental in the shaping of Lowland Scottish and English interactions with the Highlands and the emergence of the Highlands as a separate 'culture region' (1988: 42f.). As a result, the macro-sociological processes discussed above become mediated by ideological structures, which shape their expression in actual observable historical trends of socially situated linguistic practice.

This view of macrosociological processes as being mediated by ideological structures must also apply to the reactions of Gaelic speakers to the transformation of their social-linguistic environment. As I have shown in this dissertation, their linguistic practices and evaluative orientations toward such practices in response to social-economic conditions are also ideologically mediated. For example, rather than giving primacy to parents' social-economic motives for the acquisition of English by their children in explaining the emergence of passive bilingualism and imperfect acquisition among children growing up in A' Chreag around the 1950s and 1960s, we must consider prevalent language ideologies regarding bilingualism, for instance, as significant mediating factors in parents' language socialization practices (see Chapter 5). Indeed, although macro-sociological factors undoubtedly influence the language socialization practices that are at the heart of language shift, they are mediated at multiple levels by ideologies of such practices and other micro-level processes that escape the capture of a macro-sociological approach to language shift.

Such an approach also recognizes the complexity of 'attitudes' beyond the fairly simplistic suggestion of symbolic domination inherent in MacKinnon's (1977) so-called 'Social Morale Model' of language shift by acknowledging the complex relationship between macrosocial processes and microsocial linguistic practices (cf. Withers 1984). Furthermore, it highlights the deep interconnectedness of ideologies of language with other such constructs. In other words, language ideologies rarely, if ever, are about language alone (Irvine and Gal 2000). Instead, they conceptualize the relationship of language to a plethora of social, economic, historical and psychological phenomena in ways that affect patterns of individual linguistic practice, which in turn coalesce to create phenomena such as language shift.

Contributions to Area Studies

As McEwan-Fujita (2010c) has pointed out, there's a relative scarcity of ethnographic and other socially situated studies of Gaelic speakers and language revitalization efforts in Scotland. This may be somewhat surprising given the relatively strong research record of similar phenomena in other parts of the British Isles, which have also seen sizeable efforts at reversing language shift by means of institutionalized education. However, the social-historical peculiarities of Scotland and its relationship to England as the central power in the area in comparison to, say, Wales or Ireland have perhaps made these issues less acutely palpable and thus less discernible. Furthermore, the multilingual nature of Scotland throughout its history has made it such that Gaelic and its speakers are but one of several speech communities within the country.

Against this backdrop, this dissertation aims to contribute ethnographic information about the dynamics of the Gaelic speech community in Scotland as it is undergoing sizeable transformations induced by often competing forces. Indeed, as I have illustrated in this dissertation, the contextual change in Gaelic language socialization experiences from the domestic sphere to institutionalized schooling has had drastic effects on the linguistic forms and practices at the heart of individuals' communicative competence in the language.

Now that the first generation of children educated through the medium of Gaelic in Scottish primary schools is old enough to start having its own children, the GME's effectiveness in creating new speakers (as a matter of practice rather than competence) will be put to the test. Will these individuals use Gaelic to socialize their own children, restoring Gaelic language socialization as a domestic practice? If yes, will they face any problems adapting their communicative practices, acquired in the context of schooling, to the context of the home? Stuart Dunmore at the University of Edinburgh has begun initial research into these questions has begun.

Will GME continue to be the primary context for Gaelic language socialization in Scotland? If so, what are the consequences for the Gaelic language community outside of the context of institutionalized education? Given the changes projected in the demographics of Gaelic speakers in Scotland, as Gaelic-socialized speakers age and die, will the linguistic forms and practices that are now indexically linked to GME become

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unmarked in a community of speakers that share this context of Gaelic language socialization experience? Will the shared experienced of Gaelic language socialization in the context of institutionalized schooling be grounds for the formation of a new language community? These questions are at the center of evaluating the suitability and effectiveness of school-based language revitalization projects.

As language planners and academics working to assist them have noted, such projects appear to have limited success if they constitute the only (or predominant) context for language socialization in a given language (Fishman 2001). As the research reported in this dissertation shows, this may be due to the linguistic practices and patterns of language use these projects tend to encourage, as well as the absence of domestic language socialization practices from such contexts. As many mixed-socialized speakers in A' Chreag pointed out to me, they simply did not know how to speak Gaelic to children –how to play, how to reprimand, how to sound (and act) like a parent. This was not simply a matter of insufficient formal competence in the language, or an issue of translating the Anglophone equivalents of such practices into Gaelic –mixed socialized speakers seemed to know that speaking Gaelic to their children would engender creating a new kind of relationship with them, and this was something that they felt they lacked the communicative resources for.

There have been some efforts in Scotland recently to address this issue directly. As part of a general drive to move Gaelic language socialization for adults out of the context of formal education (and its focus on literacy) and the classroom setting, there have been various attempts to provide language learning opportunities that approximate the domestic setting of language socialization and address the communicative requirements of using Gaelic outside of the classroom setting. During my research on Lewis, TAIC, the successor organization of the Gaelic Preschool Committee (CNSA), attempted to establish Gaelic courses using the so-called "Total Immersion Plus" educational methodology. Its focus was on enabling parents to use Gaelic with their children as a medium of interaction and socialization within the family (see Figure 18.)

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Figure 18: Poster promoting TAIC's services

Another company, Deiseal Ltd., has adopted both the name and approach of the program used to teach Hebrew to new immigrants in Israel for use with adult learners of Scottish Gaelic. Ùlpan courses provide 324 hours of tuition in varying time frames (http://ulpan.co.uk/u/about.html). In addition to removing Gaelic instruction from the litero-centric focus of more formal classroom-based instruction, Ùlpan courses also recognize that the model of the geographically-bound language community in which speakers of a language communicate with each other face-to-face on a daily basis may be obsolete if Gaelic is to continue to be used as a medium of social interaction in Scotland:

> Today's speakers form networks, rather than communities,
> especially in the urban areas of the country. Ùlpan aims to
> increase the density of such networks by involving more
> fluent speakers in actively increasing the volume of adults
> becoming users of Gaelic. (http://ulpan.co.uk/u/info.html)

Indeed, this attempt to transform the relationships of Gaelic speakers along with their linguistic practices takes into account the social complexities facing minority language revitalization efforts. Although minority-language immersion programs such as GME may appear to be the logical choice for creating or boosting the legitimacy of a language and its speakers, the reception of GME in particular and language revitalization efforts in general by Gaelic-socialized speakers in Scotland shows that attempts to intentionally recreate the development of institutionally-legitimated standard languages as part of the ethnolinguistic construction typical of nation-states in the late 19th and early 20th century of Europe may face both pragmatic and semiotic obstacles. As the case of GME as an

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instrument of Gaelic language revitalization efforts shows, these techniques cannot simply be transplanted to a different time and place and be expected to render the same results. Thus, the primary challenge facing Gaelic language revitalization efforts, and similar such projects around the world, is to (re-) create ways of speaking the language that are both innovative enough to overcome the structural and social effects of language obsolescence and yet not so different that they become unrecognizable to members of an already existing language community.

GME's status as the predominant context for Gaelic language socialization also raises questions about transformations of Gaelic at structural and pragmatic levels of analysis. Despite GME's teachers best efforts, the structural influence of English on the Gaelic of GME-socialized children, some of which I have discussed in this dissertation will probably be difficult to keep at bay entirely. Indeed, some of these subtle (and not-so-subtle) effects have already become recognized as indexical of classroom-based language socialization experiences. Will the Gaelic stereotypically associated with GME-socialized speakers eventually form its own register and/or merge with "mid-Minch Gaelic" (Lamb 2011) and thus become part of the stylistic repertoire of members of the Gaelic language community? Will these forms replace older ones and become unmarked to those who have no experience of the former due to the context of their language socialization experiences? In other words, can the structural innovations resulting from the transformations in language socialization practices at the heart of Gaelic language revitalization efforts ever become functionally similar to the structural innovations that other, non-obsolescing languages undergo all the time?

Finally, Gaelic-socialized speakers' reception of GME and their responses to GME-socialized children as representative of Gaelic language revitalization efforts more generally raise the question of the effectiveness of the neo-liberal framework against which these efforts have been constructed (McEwan-Fujita 2006, 2008). Would an alternative framework for making claims to financial, political and institutional resources for the language and its speakers have a chance of making such efforts more acceptable to Gaelic-socialized speakers?

These issues are similar to those faced by language revitalization efforts in other parts of Britain, Europe, and the world. Although there have been some instances (such as in Wales and in New Zealand) in which language shift appears to have been slowed, halted or even reversed, as the case of Scottish Gaelic language revitalization efforts shows, attempts to exert control over the dynamic co-existence of two languages have to contend with a complex interplay of linguistic forms, socially positioned and interested speakers, and political, economic and other forces that affect their success and outcomes in often unpredictable ways.

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