

Gaelic language use in public domains – language management initiatives versus *de facto* linguistic practices

The Western Isles could be considered as the last remaining ‘stronghold’ of the Gaelic language in Scotland, it being the only authority where over half the population, 52.2%, claimed to be able to speak the language in the 2011 census (NROS 2014). Despite still being home to around a quarter of all Gaelic speakers in Scotland, the language in the Western Isles has undergone what MacKinnon (2012) has described as ‘runaway language shift’ with not only a decrease in the numbers of speakers, both in absolute terms as well as a percentage of the population, but also in the domains in which the language is used. Studies from the 1970s suggested that Gaelic was still routinely used in those domains associated with *Gemeinschaft*, or intimate community, based around the idea of ‘spontaneous participation in which membership is self-fulfilling / self-perpetuating and often part of a long journey of tradition’ (Oliver 2006: 157):

‘The tourist may traverse the length of the Outer Hebrides and scarcely see one word of Gaelic written anywhere ... yet he will hear Gaelic spoken at every turn ... the principal language of moralising, and in a large measure for communalising’
(MacKinnon 1977: 171 – 172)

However, research conducted by the Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles Council) at the beginning of the 21st century revealed that the use of Gaelic in those domains associated with the community, the family and the home, identified by Fishman (1991) as the *sine qua non* of language vitality and revitalisation, had declined significantly and that English had become the preferred language even in those situations where respondents recognised that Gaelic could be used (NicAoidh 2006). With intergenerational transmission even in this relative stronghold of the language all but ceased and research showing that only children receiving Gaelic medium education likely to use the language at home and in the community (Munro, Mac an Tàilleir, Armstrong 2010) the impetus of the language preservation and revitalisation strategies has fallen to the more political, institutional and ‘unbounded’ domains. Indeed, the Western Isles, maybe more so than any other local authority, has been the subject of formal language management initiatives, most recently articulated through statutory Gaelic language plans (GLPs) created under the provisions of the Gaelic Act.

The Gaelic Act, ratified in 2005, secured the status of Gaelic as ‘an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language’ (Scottish Parliament, 2005) and under its provisions requires certain public authorities based in Scotland, upon request by Bòrd na Gàidhlig (the Gaelic language Board) to produce a GLP. In the GLPs these public authorities are expected to set out the measures the organisation will take with respect to increasing the usage of Gaelic in the provision of services to the public as well as in their internal operations. However, according to McLeod (2010) the Gaelic Act can best be described as ‘enabling legislation’ with no rights or regulations to facilitate the use of the language in public domains having been created but instead allowing each public authority to interpret its provisions according to their own individual circumstances and ideologies.

This chapter discusses the results of a fieldwork study conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of these statutory GLP in the public sector in ‘creating a sustainable future for Gaelic by raising its status and profile and creating practical opportunities for its use’ (Scottish Government, 2010) through the evaluation of the spoken levels of the language, ‘the most natural use of language ... the most direct kind of linguistic interaction between two or more individuals’ (Altuna & Basurto 2013: 28)

The study was conducted in Stornoway, with a population of 7,500 described as the ‘only settlement which can really be described as having any ‘urban’ characteristics’ (CnES 2015) in the Western Isles and as the main commercial and administrative centre of the region (HIE, 2013) is home to many of the organisations which have been required to produce a GLP under the Gaelic Act. Although Stornoway has consistently recorded one of the lowest levels of Gaelic speakers in the Western Isles, 43.5% at the time of the 2011 census (NROS, 2014), it is the only urban environment in Scotland where a significant proportion of the population can still speak the language.

Previous information about numbers of Gaelic speakers in Stornoway, as indeed in the rest of Scotland, have almost exclusively relied on data from the census results, however, as identified by Munro:

‘The level of detailed information collected in the census is very limited. It is impossible to interrogate the Gaelic data for levels of ability, and actual Gaelic language use is not tracked, making it impossible to know how, and even if, those

who self-report to have Gaelic are actually using Gaelic during those ten years.’
(Munro 2011: 165)

Therefore, in order to assess the level of spoken Gaelic in public domains, independent of individual speakers’ ideologies or perceived and self-reported linguistic practices, which Bourhis & Sachdev (1994) have suggested can be affected by the social and political milieu, especially, as in the case of Gaelic, when involving a minoritized language, a linguistic soundscape study was conducted in a number of busy social spaces in Stornoway, both with and without statutory GLP.

This linguistic soundscape study was based on the methodology developed in the Basque country for the ‘Kale Neurkata’ or ‘street surveys of Basque language use’ which have been conducted since the 1980s to estimate the level of spoken Basque in public spaces. This quantitative assessment of language use, based on *in situ*, real time observations of conversations conducted in public spaces have been used longitudinally to evaluate the success of the language revitalisation initiatives to transform Basque into a public language which is not restricted to a limited set of social domains (Woolard 2008). Whereas the Kale Neurkata have traditionally been carried out in the street, mostly for pragmatic reasons, most notably ease of access, for this study eight different publicly accessible indoor spaces were chosen. These spaces were selected to reflect the different types of social spaces found in the Stornoway, both formal and informal, and their varying demographic user base. In the absence of comparable data from other studies and in order to allow the effect of statutory GLPs on the *de facto* linguistic practices to be assessed four of the spaces, the ferry terminal waiting area, the public library, the sport centre and council services reception area, were selected to be in organisations with a GLP, and the remaining four public spaces, a café, restaurant, a public bar and the arts’ centre, to be in organisations without a statutory GLP. In order to obtain a representative sample of the typical interactions taking place in each of these eight public spaces multiple observations sessions were carried out lasting at least two hours each, at different times and at different days over a period of five weeks during the early part of 2015. During each linguistic soundscape observation session a ‘language use observation sheet’ was used to record each observed conversation, with information collected about the main language used (Gaelic or English), role of the participants (distinguishing between members of staff and members of the

public) and the purpose of the conversation (private or business). For the purpose of this study a conversation was defined as a face-to-face interaction between two or more individuals aged 16 or over where information was exchanged beyond an initial greeting. In this study both long and short interactions were accorded equal value, with each observed conversation delimited only by a change in participants, change in language or a change in purpose of the interaction. This meant in practice that if the same group of speakers was observed multiple times speaking the same language with the same purpose during a given observation session this was only recorded as a single conversation. However, if, after observing and recording the details of the interaction, the same group of participants switched language, or if there was a change of purpose or composition of the group, this was recorded as a new conversation. Each conversation was only observed for a short period of time, but it was assumed that the language observed and recorded was the language of the group and that if any of the other participants had been talking the language choice would have been the same.

Over the course of the linguistic soundscape study a total of 2000 conversations were observed and recorded, 1020 in public spaces of organisations with a GLP and a further 980 in public spaces of organisations without a statutory GLP, with Gaelic being the main language in 182 or 9.1% of these interactions. Although the level of spoken Gaelic in the individual public spaces varied greatly, the overall level of Gaelic across public spaces with and without a statutory GLP remained constant at 9.1% (see figure 1).

Figure 1 around here

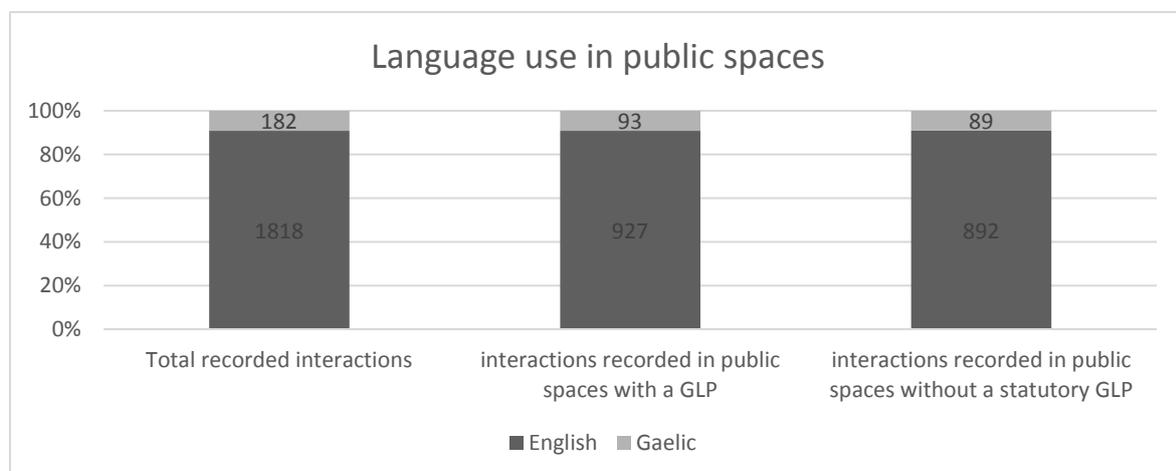


figure 1: Language use in public spaces

This breakdown of conversations by the rate of language use alone would, in the first instance, suggest that the official language management initiatives, as articulated through the GLPs of organisations do not affect the overall use of the Gaelic language in public domains, however, when the data is further analysed clear distinctions between the two types of domains start to emerge, most significantly in terms of who participated in these Gaelic interactions.

Across the linguistic soundscape study 405 individuals, 8.8% of all interlocutors were recorded as having participated in interactions where the main language used was Gaelic. Although the overall number of individuals involved in these Gaelic interactions was evenly split across the two types of domains, with 203 individuals in public spaces with a GLP and 205 individuals in public spaces without a GLP, there was a clear distinction how these speakers were categorised. Whereas in public spaces of organisations with a GLP the individuals participating in the Gaelic conversations were evenly distributed between members of staff, those individuals employed by the organisation in which the soundscape study was taking place, and members of the public, those individuals not directly associated with the organisation, in public spaces without a GLP Gaelic was almost exclusively used by members of the public, with only 8 out of 205 individuals recorded as participating in Gaelic conversations categorised as members of staff.

As stated by Altuna & Basurto 'spoken language is by nature a collective matter ... [it] does not depend on the individual but on the group' (2013: 74), therefore this data on speakers involved in Gaelic interactions was further analysed according to the composition of the group. Three different categories of groups were identified for this study; members of the public only, members of staff only and mixed participants with at least one member of staff and one member of the public participating in the conversation.

Using these categories as the basis of the analysis of the conversations recorded shows that the level of Gaelic language use amongst members of staff remained broadly constant around 14%, regardless of where the conversation took place, however, type of domain seemed to significantly affect the level of Gaelic language use in conversations involving at least one member of staff. In public spaces with a GLP Gaelic was used in 14.6% of all interactions between members of staff only, and in 4.1% of interactions involving mixed participants, however in organisations without a GLP the language was not used at all in any

of the observed interactions between members of staff. Although this might, in the first instance, suggest that frontline staff in the organisations without a statutory GLP were not Gaelic / English bilinguals, unlike those employed in a customer facing role in organisations with a GLP, evidence from conversations involving mixed participants would suggest otherwise, as the language was used in 2.5% of interactions between members of staff and members of the public (see figure 2).

Figure 2 about here

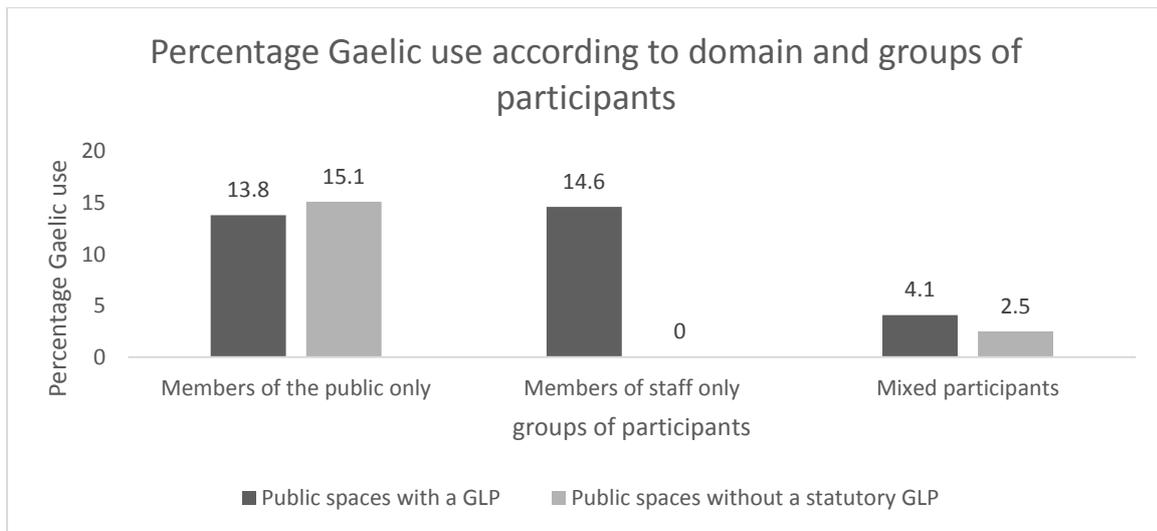


figure 2: percentage of Gaelic use according to domain and groups of participants

This higher use of the Gaelic language in spaces with a GLP could be attributed to the language management initiatives articulated in the GLP, with clear strategies in place to promote the use of the language amongst members of staff, for example through the creation of an internal database of those able, and willing, to communicate in Gaelic, and by creating a strong visual bilingual landscape, both in public areas and areas restricted to members of staff only. Indeed, whereas all public spaces in organisations with a GLP could be characterised by a strong presence of written Gaelic in the linguistic landscape of the organisations, especially through the use of bilingual corporate logos and on permanent signage, public spaces without a statutory GLP tended to make limited use of the language and if present at all, was limited to ‘stock phrases’ – fàilte (welcome) for example, or through the use of pre-printed, non-company specific bilingual notices. In neither type of domain however were individual Gaelic / English bilingual members of staff identified to members of the public with organisations preferring instead to use generic signage, either

on the entry point to the organisation or at the customer interface, stating “Gàidhlig ga bruidhinn an seo” – Gaelic spoken here - to indicate that the language could be used within that particular public space, without actually specifying to whom this applied. This raises the question of how, in the absence of linguistic markers English / Gaelic bilinguals are identified in these public spaces and what drives language choice in what could be described as an overwhelming English dominated environment.

In order to answer these questions and establish the ideologies affecting the linguistic choices of Gaelic speakers ethnographic interviews with 18 Gaelic speakers (12 of which were L1 speakers of the language and the remaining 8 L2 Gaelic speakers, having acquired the language in school or as an adult) resident in Stornoway were conducted as part of this study. Each interview focussed on establishing the linguistic practices of the informants, all aged 16 and over, their ideologies with regards Gaelic language use and their perceptions towards the language and the formal language management initiatives and each interview lasted between half an hour and two hours.

The responses from these informants would suggest that language choice is not so much driven by the promotion of Gaelic or the visibility, or otherwise, of the language in the linguistic landscape, but is instead principally based on prior acquaintance with the linguistic norms of the other interlocutors in the conversations. This was explained by some of the informants as follows:

“Bidh mi dìreach ga cleachdadh leis an teaghlach agus na co-obraichean agam san oifis ... chan eil mi ga cleachdadh anns na bùthan – chan eil fhios agam cò leis a’ chànan.”¹ – Participant 09 (female, age <30, L1)

“Chan eil mise math air Gàidhlig a bhruidhinn ann am bùth mura h-eil mi eòlach air cò th' ann, bruidhnidh mi Gàidhlig ann am Bùth [AINM], am bùth againn fhèin air sgàth 's gu bheil mi eòlach air na daoine agus 's e Gàidhlig a bhruidneas mi riutha a-riamh ach chan ann anns na bùthan ann an Steòrnabhagh”² – Participant 03 (female, age > 60, L2)

¹ I just use it (Gaelic – IB) with my family and colleagues in the office ... I don't use it in the shops – I don't know who speaks the language.

² I am not good at speaking Gaelic in a shop if I don't know who is in it, I will speak Gaelic in [NAME of shop], our own local shop because I know the people and I have always spoken Gaelic to them, but not in the shops in Stornoway

It should be noted that this prior acquaintance of the linguistic norms did not have to be based on personal acquaintance with the other participants in the conversations *per se* but could be based on the perceived linguistic norm of a particular public domain. These spaces, in particular the public library and public houses, including one where the linguistic soundscape study was conducted, were identified by almost all interviewees as domains where it was acceptable to speak Gaelic and where Gaelic was indeed routinely spoken by both members of staff and members of the public.

“Àitichean as fhèarr airson Gàidhlig a chluinntinn? Chanainnsa – [AINM TAIGH-SEINNSE 1] agus [AINM TAIGH-SEINNSE 2] ach chan eil daoine a tha ag obair, chan eil Gàidhlig aig na daoine a tha ag obair [AINM TAIGH-SEINNSE 1], chan eil Gàidhlig aca ach tha Gàidhlig aig daoine a tha ag obair anns a' [AINM TAIGH-SEINNSE 2]. Tha Gàidhlig aig daoine a tha ag obair air cùl a' bhàr agus cuid de dhaoine a tha a' dol a-steach tha Gàidhlig aca cuideachd ach a rèir àitichean eile hmmm well shìos aig m' obair, [AINM BUIDHNEANN GÀIDHLIG] - anns an leabharlann cuideachd.”³ – Participant 07 (Male, age < 30, L2)

The difficulty of trying to establish whether or not any unfamiliar interlocutors were not only able but willing to speak the language, especially in a domain not identified as having the language as an established linguistic norm, was further complicated by the dominance of English even what might be considered a relative stronghold of the language, and the fact that all Gaelic speakers are bilingual and are also English speakers (Dunbar, 2011), as stated by this informant:

“I don't know who is a Gaelic speaker here, in town, so you go somewhere and you think - do I speak Gaelic or do I speak English? Oh, I know they all speak English so I can speak English to everyone. So it is very difficult to find who to speak Gaelic to! – Participant 06 (female, age <30, L1)

In the absence of linguistic markers to identify Gaelic as the linguistic norm, based on personal acquaintance or the linguistic soundscape of the public space and in an overwhelming English dominated environment the choice to establish Gaelic therefore had to

³³The best places to hear Gaelic? I would say [NAME OF PUBLIC HOUSE 1] and [NAME OF PUBLIC HOUSE 2], but not the people that work there, the people that work in [NAME OF PUBLIC HOUSE 1] don't have any Gaelic, they don't speak it, but the people that work the in [NAME OF PUBLIC HOUSE 2] have Gaelic. The people behind the bar have Gaelic and so do the people that go there, but with regards to other places ... hmmm ... down at my work [NAME OF A GAELIC ORGANISATION] - in the library too”

be based on a pro-active decision by one or more participants in the group, based on personal ideology and (self-perceived) linguistic competence as explained in detail by this informant:

“Feumaidh tu faighneachd a bheil Gàidhlig aig duine so dh'fhaighnich mi an tè seo bha mi a'smaoineachadh bho grèiseag is dòcha gum bi Gàidhlig aice so ... nuair a bha mi a' faireachdainn misneachail gu leòr faighneachd .. chan eil mi ag iarraidh ... mura h-eil mi a' bruidhinn ri cuideigin co-dhiù, chan eil mi ag iarraidh a dhol “a bheil Gàidhlig agaibh” ach bha i a' bruidhinn rud beag mun aimsir, agus smaoinich mi ooh seo an cothrom o chionn 's gu bheil beagan còmhradh again, mar as àbhaist chan eil an tè seo a' bruidhinn tòrr ach bha i dìreach a' toirt *change* dhomh agus chan eil i a' bruidhinn ach o chionn 's gun robh còmhradh beag againn smaoinich mi “faighnichidh mi” so thòisich sinn sa Bheurla agus an uair sin dh'fhaighnich mi “a bheil Gàidhlig agad”, agus thuir i “tha gu leòr” agus dh'fhaighnich mi “a bheil thu deònach bruidhinn rium sa Ghàidhlig” is thuir i “oh tha.””⁴ - Participant 01 (female, age 30 – 60, L2)

This difficulty of changing the linguistic norm from English to Gaelic even if all the participants in the conversation are able and willing to communicate in Gaelic is further exemplified by an interview conducted as part of this study in which the researcher was interviewing a Gaelic speaker in a public domain. The initial contact had been made by the researcher in English and the interview was also conducted in that language. The interview was interrupted by a Gaelic / English bilingual, acquainted with both the researcher and the interviewee and who had previously established Gaelic as the linguistic norm with both, speaking in Gaelic. The language of the conversation changed from English to Gaelic in the presence of this individual, but when the interview continued, and despite both the interviewee and the researcher now being aware of the linguistic capabilities of the other person, the interview, and indeed further conversations, were conducted in English.

However, although actual or perceived familiarity with the linguistic norms could be considered to be the prime driver of language choice, the data from the linguistic

⁴ “You have to ask if people have Gaelic so I asked this woman who I thought had Gaelic, so when I was feeling confident, I started ... if I wasn't speaking to someone anyway, I would not go ‘do you have Gaelic’ but she was speaking about the weather and I thought, Ooh this is a chance because we had a bit of a conversation as usually this woman doesn't say much so ... she just gives me my change and she doesn't speak but because we had a bit of a chat I thought I would ask, so we started in English and then I asked if she had Gaelic and she told me she had plenty and I asked if she would be willing to speak Gaelic to me and she answered oh yes.”

soundscape study would suggest a secondary factor is at play which determines whether or not the language is actually used, namely the purpose or topic of the conversation.

During the study all conversations recorded in the linguistic soundscape study were classified as either a business transaction if information relating directly to the goods or services of the organisation was exchanged, or as a private interaction where this was not the case. Only interactions involving at least one member of staff were included in this analysis with all interactions involving members of the public only categorised as private interactions. As expected by the nature of the public domains in which the study was conducted, the vast majority of the recorded interactions involving a member of staff were classed as business transactions, Gaelic was used in a significantly higher proportion of private interactions than in those conversations relating to a business transaction (See figure 3).

Figure 3 about here

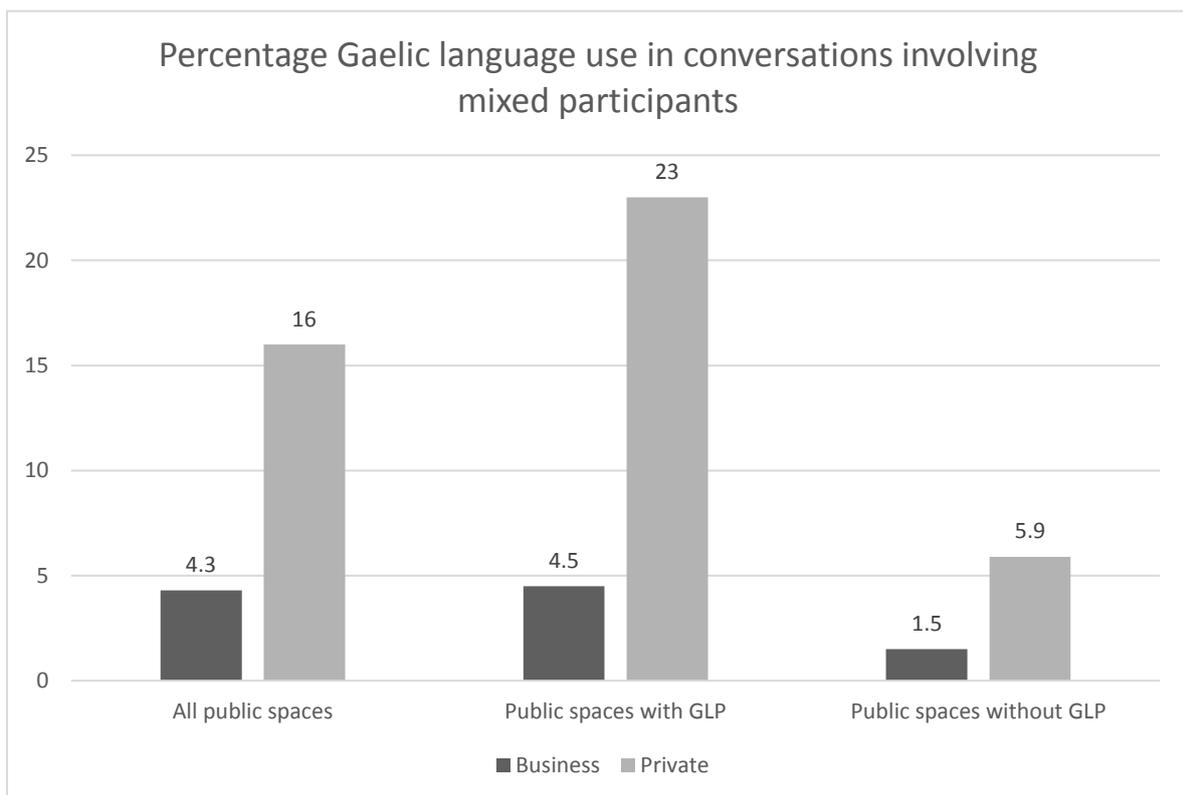


figure 3: percentage of Gaelic language use in conversations involving mixed participants

These results would suggest that Gaelic / English bilinguals have clear demarcations of the linguistic domains in which they choose to use each language, with the use of Gaelic

significantly greater in what could be considered ‘traditional’ domains of the language relating to personal or family matters, rather than the more formal professionalised domain of acquiring services and goods, even when the language had been promoted, implicitly or explicitly, through the GLP.

An explanation for this can be found in the interview data which confirmed that even when Gaelic was established as the linguistic norm between a particular group of participants, this did not mean that it was the *de facto* language used for all interactions, with the linguistic choice decided upon depending on the topic of the interaction:

“My dad and I always speak Gaelic in the house but we are talking about technical things or things maybe where we are more knowledgeable in English and it is harder to find Gaelic translations for these words, we tend to just use English.” Participant 06 (female, age <30, L1)

“Tha sinn a’ cleachdadh na Gàidhlig san oifis sin, ach uaireannan ... uill tha e duilich rud teicnigeach a mhìneachadh sa Gàidhlig, ‘s dòcha a thaobh a’ phrinter no a’ choimpiutar. Bidh e nas fhasa agus nas luaithe Beurla a chleachadh an uair sin”⁵ – Participant 05 (male, age < 30, L2)

From both the linguistic soundscape data and the ethnographic interviews it would appear therefore that the use of Gaelic is not stable, dependent on what has been, consciously or unconsciously, agreed as the linguistic domains for the language. This in turn has significant consequences for the practical application of the aims and objectives of the GLPs which in all instances refer to an increased use of the language in their service delivery. Even though the language promotion initiatives might be aimed at increasing the language in these more formal professionalised domains, both members of staff and mixed participants appear to prefer English in these interactions, almost exclusively preferring to use Gaelic for private interactions only.

Within the limitations of this study and with no longitudinal data of the level of spoken Gaelic is available from before the implementation of the statutory language management strategies as articulated through GLPs produced under the Gaelic Act, this research in would suggest that these initiatives have not significantly increased the rate of spoken Gaelic in public spaces in Stornoway. However where systems were put in place to identify

⁵ We use Gaelic in this office, but sometimes ... well it is difficult to explain something technical, maybe relating to the printer or the computer in Gaelic. It is easier and quicker to use English then”

individual Gaelic speakers either within the organisation itself or to members of the public, implicitly through the linguistic soundscape or explicitly through the creation of an internal data base of Gaelic speakers, the incidence of Gaelic language use increased, regardless of whether the organisation had a GLP or not, both in conversations amongst members of staff themselves and in interactions with members of the public.

However, this was not so much based on macro-management decisions about the language within the organisation but very much dependent on the micro-management – individuals at the customer interface of the organisations who made the conscious decision to create an audible presence of the language in a particular public domain by choosing to use the language both amongst themselves and within interactions with members of the public. Even where Gaelic has been established in the linguistic soundscape as an accepted linguistic norm, the *de facto* use of the language is still dependent on personal (perceived) ideologies and linguistic competence, with the use of the language favoured for conversations which might be described as relating to Gemeinschaft domains rather than to obtain good or services in the language. In short – people speak Gaelic to who they know about what they know.

- Altuna, Olatz & Basurto, Asier. 2013, *A guide to language use observation survey methods*, Soziolinguistik Klusterra, Vitoria-Gasteiz.
- An Lanntair. 2012, *Gaelic Language Plan*. An Lanntair: Stornoway
- Bòrd na Gàidhlig. 2014, "The Gaelic language (Scotland) Act 2005 and the National Gaelic Language plan – online: <http://www.gaidhlig.org.uk/bord/en/the-bord/about-bord-na-gaidhlig/gaelic-language-act/> [12 April 2015]
- Bòrd na Gàidhlig. 2007, *Stiùireadh air deasachadh phlanaichean Gàidhlig*, Bòrd na Gàidhlig: Inverness
- Bourhis, Richard & Sachdev, Itiesh. 1984. "Vitality perceptions and language attitudes: some Canadian Data". *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, vol 3, no 2: pp. 97 - 126
- CalMac Ferries Ltd (Trading as Caledonian MacBrayne). 2012. *Gaelic Language Plan*. Calmac Ferries Ltd: Greenock
- Cenoz, Jasone & Gorter, Durk. 2006, "Linguistic landscape and minority languages" in *Linguistic landscape: a new approach to multilingualism*, ed. D. Gorter, 1st edn, Multilingual matters, Clevedon, pp. 67-80.
- Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (CnES). 2015. Population fact file – online: <http://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/factfile/population/index.asp> [20 October 2015]
- Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (CnES). 2013 Gaelic language plan 2013 – 2017, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar: Stornoway
- Dunbar, Robert. 2011, "Bilingualism: Conceptual difficulties and practical challenges" in *Strategies for Minority Languages: Northern Ireland, The Republic of Ireland and Scotland*, eds. J.M. Kirk & D.P. O Baoill, 1st edn, Clo Ollscoil na Barriona, Belfast, pp. 150 - 163.
- Dunbar, Robert. 2010. "A reserach strategy to support Gaelic Language Policy in Scotland" in *Coimhearsnachd na Gàidhlig an-diugh / Gaelic communities today*, eds. G. Munro & I. Mac an Tàilleir, 1st edn, Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, pp. 139-161.
- Duwe, Kurt. 2006. Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) local studies – Vol 15 Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway). Available: http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Gaidhlig_Local_Studies_Vol_15_Steornabhagh_Ed_II.pdf [12 April 2015]
- Fishman, Joshua. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift - Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, 1st edn, Multilingual matters ltd, Clevedon.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1965. "Who speaks what language to whom and when?", *La Linguistique*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 67-88.

- Grenoble, Lenore & Whaley, Lindsay. 1998, "Towards a typology of language endangerment" in *Endangered languages – current issues and future prospects*, ed. L. Grenoble & L. Whaley, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 22 - 55
- Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE). 2014, Innse Gall Area Profile, Highlands and Islands Enterprise: Inverness
- MacKinnon, Kenneth. 2012, Gaelic media, community, and runaway language shift: report to Bòrd na Gàidhlig online
http://www.sgrud.org.uk/anfy/report_to_b%C3%B2rd_na_g%C3%A0idhlig/gaelic-media-community-runaway-language-shift.htm [18 September 2015]
- MacKinnon, Kenneth 2006, "The Western Isles Language Plan: Gaelic to English language shift 1972 - 2001" in *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland*, ed. W. McLeod, Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, pp. 49-72.
- MacKinnon, Kenneth 1977, *Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic community*, Routledge, London.
- McLeod, Wilson 2013, *Gaelic in contemporary Scotland: contradictions, challenges and strategies*, 2nd edn, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.
- McLeod, Wilson 2011, "Planaichean Reachdail Gàidhlig: cothroman is cnapan-starra" in *A' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig*, eds. R. Cox & T. Armstrong, 1st edn, Clò Ostaig, Ostaig, pp. 227-248.
- McLeod, Wilson 2010, "Poileasaidh Leasachaidh na Gàidhlig: Paradaim Ùr" in *Coimhearsnachd na Gàidhlig an-diugh / Gaelic Communities Today*, eds. G. Munro & I. Mac an Tàilleir, 1st edn, Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, pp. 1-18.
- McLeod, Wilson 2006, "Leasachadh solarachadh sheirbhisean poblach tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig: duilgheadasan idè-eòlach agus pragtaigeach" in *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland*, ed. W. McLeod, 1st edn, Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, pp. 25-48.
- McLeod, Wilson 2002, "Gaelic Scotland: A 'Renaissance' without planning", *Hizkuntza Biziberritzeko Sasoak / Experiencias de Inversion del Cambio Linguistico / Recuperation de la Perte Linguistique / Reversing Language Shift*, , pp. 279-295.
- Munro, Gillian 2011, "The Barail agus Comas Cànain survey of Community Language Use, Ability and Attitudes: Some general observations regarding future Gaelic language policy planning in Scotland" in *Strategies for Minority Languages: Northern Ireland, The Republic of Ireland and Scotland*, eds. J.M. Kirk & D.P. O Baoill, 1st edn, Clo Ollscoil na Banriona, Belfast, pp. 163-171.
- Munro, Gillian, Armstrong, Tim Curry & Mac an Tàilleir, Iain 2011, *Cor na Gàidhlig ann an Siabost*, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, an t-Eilean Sgitheanach.

National Records of Scotland (NROS) 2013, *Table QS211SC Gaelic Language Skills*, HMSO, Edinburgh.

NicAoidh, Magaidh 2010, "Plana Cànan nan Eilean Siar" in *Coimhearsnachd na Gàidhlig an-diugh/ Gaelic communities today*, eds. G. Munro & I. Mac an Tàilleir, Dunedin, Edinburgh, pp. 49-60.

NicAoidh, Magaidh 2006, "Pròiseact Plana Cànan nan Eilean Siar: a' chiad ìre - rannsachadh air suidheachadh na Gàidhlig anns na h-Eilean Siar" in *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland*, ed. W. McLeod, Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh.

Ó Giollagáin, Conchúr, Mac Donnacha, Seosamh, Ní Chualáin, Fiona, Ní Shéaghdha, Aoife & O' Brien Mary. 2007, *Comprehensive linguistic study of the use of Irish in the Gaeltacht: Principal findings and recommendations*, The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Dublin.

Oliver, James 2010. "The Predicament? Planning for Culture, Communities and Identities" in *Coimhearsnachd na Gàidhlig an-diugh / Gaelic Communities today*, eds. G. Munro & I. Mac an Tàilleir, 1st edn, Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, pp. 73-86.

Oliver, James 2006. "Where is Gaelic? Revitalisation, language, culture and identity" in *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland - Policy, planning and public discourse*, ed. W. McLeod, pp. 155-168.

Pròiseact Plana Cànan nan Eilean Siar / Western Isles Language Plan Project 2004. *Rannsachadh agus toraidhean ìre 1 den Phròiseact / Research and Outcomes of Phase 1 of the project. Aithisg Dheireannach / Final report*, Colaiste a' Chaisteil / Lews Castle College, Stornoway.

Scottish Government. 2010. Gaelic Language Plan. Online: <http://www.gov.scot/publications/2010/07/06161418/3> [20 September 2015]

Scottish Parliament, 2005. Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. On line: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2005/7/contents> [8 May 2015]

Shohamy, Elena. 2009. *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*, Routledge, New York

Spolsky, Bernard 2009. *Language Management*, 1st edn, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Spolsky, Bernard. 2004. *Language Policy* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Woolard, Kathryn Ann. 2008. "Language and identity choice in Catalonia: the interplay of contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority" in *Lengue, nación e identidad. La regulación del plurilingüismo en España y América Latina*, pp 303 – 324. Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert Verlag