Immersion education outcomes and the Gaelic community:

Identities and language ideologies among Gaelic-medium educated adults in Scotland

Abstract: Scholars have consistently theorised that language ideologies can influence the ways in which bilingual speakers in minority language settings identify and engage with the linguistic varieties available to them. Research conducted by the author examined the interplay of language use and ideologies among a purposive sample of adults who started in Gaelic-medium education during the first years of its availability. Crucially, the majority of participants' Gaelic use today is limited, although notable exceptions were found among individuals who were substantially socialised in the language at home during childhood, and a small number of new speakers. In this paper I draw attention to some of the language ideologies that interviewees conveyed when describing their cultural identifications with Gaelic. I argue that the ideologies that informants express seem to militate against their more frequent use of the language and their association with the wider Gaelic community. In particular, I discuss interviewees' negative perceptions of the traditionally defined, ethnolinguistic identity category 'Gael(s)' in their expression of language ideologies and identities, and the implications of this finding for other contexts of minority language revitalisation.

Introduction

In recent years research on language ideologies has become increasingly prominent in the sociolinguistics of minority languages. Scholars have observed that the circulation of particular language ideologies, both within society at large and small language communities can frequently undermine the transmission of traditional linguistic practices by minority language speakers (Fishman 1991, 2001b; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998; Kroskrity 2000; Valdés et al. 2008; Makihara 2010). It is suggested here that the in-depth examination of language ideologies can contribute a great deal to researchers' understanding of the perceptual correlates underlying social processes of language shift and revival. In this article I draw attention to language ideologies that were expressed by interviewees in a 2015 investigation of long-term immersion education outcomes in Scotland. My analytic focus in this work was to undertake qualitative and quantitative assessments of language use, ideologies and attitudes among a sample of adults (N=130) who started in Gaelic-medium education (henceforward GME) at primary school during the first decade of its availability (1985-1995). GME – whereby the majority of all classroom instruction is delivered through

Gaelic –has been an increasingly prominent aspect of language policy and planning efforts in recent decades, and is regarded as one of the principal mechanisms for revitalising the language in Scotland (see for example Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012).

Gaelic has been in a state of decline for close to a thousand years, having been spoken over the vast majority of present-day Scotland in the medieval period (Dumville 2002; Woolf 2007; Ó Baoill 2010; Clancy 2011). From the twelfth century the combination of a Norman French-speaking aristocracy and the increasing economic importance of the market burghs – where varieties of the Northumbrian 'Inglis' language predominated – effected a gradual transition in lowland areas from a Gaelic-speaking, kinship-oriented society to an Inglis-speaking, feudalist one (Barrow 1989). Gaelic was increasingly replaced by Inglis as the language of social prestige and vernacular speech in most lowland districts, and from *c.*1500 the latter became increasingly known there as 'Scottis' (modern 'Scots'), while the social terrain of Gaelic became increasingly restricted to the mountainous Highlands and Islands (MacGregor 2009). One consequence of this was an increased ideological association of Gaelic with the Highlands, while Scots, and later English, became majority languages in the more densely populated Lowlands. From the mid-sixteenth century the extirpation of Gaelic and Highland culture became an explicit policy of the Scottish, and later, the British state (Withers 1984, 1988; MacKinnon 1991, 1993; MacGregor 2006).

MacKinnon (1993) notes that by the early nineteenth century, the proportion of Scotland's population able to speak Gaelic was 18.5%; this had fallen to 6.3% by the end of that century, largely as a result of processes of land reorganisation and mass displacement that became known as the Clearances (Withers 1984; Richards 2007). This was compounded by the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, which made no mention of Gaelic (McLeod 2005; Dunbar 2006; MacLeòid 2007). Responsibility for education in the Highlands, which had previously been administered by third sector and church organisations was transferred to local school boards, and in areas where schools had previously made provision for Gaelic, its use consequently declined (Durkacz 1983; MacKinnon 1993; Macleod 2010). While Gaelic was used sporadically in education in different areas during the twentieth century (O'Hanlon 2012a, 2012b) the proportion of its speakers in Scotland continued to decline, falling to 1.6% by 1981 (MacKinnon 1993). GME as exists today emerged from the grass-roots efforts of primarily Gaelic-speaking parents who were concerned for their children's Gaelic language acquisition, but was quickly augmented by hundreds of non-Gaelic speaking children (Comunn na Gàidhlig 1989; Fraser 1989).

GME and Gaelic language policy

GME grew very quickly during the first decade of its availability. In 1985, 24 children started in two Gaelic-medium classes, which were established within existing (English-medium) primary schools in Inverness and Glasgow. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s dozens of other Gaelic-medium classes (or 'units') opened throughout Scotland, and within a decade the total number of pupils in GME had grown to 1258 (MacKinnon 2005). This unusual model of immersion education, using minority-medium classes within larger, majority language schools continues to predominate in GME, potentially undermining pupils' language development and socialisation. Almost since its inception, GME has functioned simultaneously as an aid to Gaelic language maintenance for a minority of children who acquire Gaelic in the home setting, and as a means of teaching it as a second language to other pupils (Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998; O'Hanlon 2012a, 2012b). Gaelic language socialisation, either within or outside of GME, tends to be limited for the majority of these children, with crucial consequences for their development of language ideologies and productive skills across a range of domains (Will 2012; NicLeòid 2016; NicLeòid and Dunmore, forthcoming). As MacCaluim (2007, 15) notes, the system's development in Scotland has 'tended to be viewed in a vacuum' by policymakers, without adequate attention to language acquisition and socialisation at the home-community level. This fact clearly has implications not just for children's development of Gaelic language abilities, but also of ideologies and cultural identities that will bolster their maintenance and use of Gaelic outside of the classroom (Will 2012; O'Hanlon 2012a, 2012b; NicLeòid 2016).

A great deal of importance is attached to GME as a strategy for Gaelic language revitalisation in Scotland. The 2011 census recorded 57,602 people able to speak Gaelic in Scotland, amounting to just over 1.1% of the total population (NROS 2013). This represented a 2.2% decline in speaker numbers from the figure recorded in the 2001 census, and compared to an 11.2% fall in speaker numbers of between 1991 and 2001. This dramatic decline in the rate of loss to speaker numbers came as a considerable source of encouragement to policymakers and language advocates. The 2011 census also demonstrated growth of 8.6% in numbers of reported Gaelic speakers under the age of 25, contrasting sharply with an overall decline of 4.6% speaker numbers over that age (NROS 2013). This growth prompted the then chief-executive of Bòrd na Gàidhlig (the statutory public body charged with the promotion of Gaelic in Scotland) to claim in 2014 that:

> [T]he number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland has almost stabilised since the census of 2001. This is mainly due to the rise in Gaelic-medium education… [and] shows that within the next ten years the long term decline of the language could be reversed. (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2014)

The significance attached to GME as a means of revitalising Gaelic in Scotland is also clearly discernible in the following extract, from a 2014 consultation paper on Gaelic education published by the Scottish Government (2014, 3):

> The Scottish Government's aim is to create a secure future for Gaelic in Scotland. This will only be achieved by an increase in the numbers of those learning, speaking and using the language. Gaelic medium [*sic*] education can make an important contribution to this, both in terms of young people's language learning but also in terms of the effects this can have on language use in home, community and work.

Whilst the perceived importance of GME in contemporary language policy is clear, there is a notable dearth of empirical evidence on Gaelic language use and ideologies among adults who came through the system. Indeed, remarkably little research from the international context has assessed the linguistic practices or attitudes adults who were educated through minority languages (although see Woolard 2011; Hodges 2009). Policymakers in Scotland are by no means an exception to international norms in placing a heavy emphasis on education for language revitalisation obejectives; bilingual 'immersion revitalisation' education (after García 2009, 128) has been established in such diverse contexts as Wales, New Zealand, Ireland, the Basque Country, Hawai'i, Catalonia and Brittany for considerably longer than it has been in Scotland. Yet research on the long-term outcomes of immersion education for past students' language use, ideologies or attitudes is notably scarce. This apparent deficiency is particularly striking in light of the late Joshua Fishman's consistent (1991, 2001a, 2001b, 2013) cautioning that revitalisation initiatives which rely too heavily on the school will fail without sufficient support in the home-community sphere.

Immersion education and language revitalisation

The previously cited studies by Hodges (2009) and Woolard (2011) drew on small samples of adults who received Welsh- and Catalan-medium education at high school to investigate their language practices in urban areas of South Wales and Catalonia respectively. Use of Welsh by past immersion students was found to be limited in Hodges's (2009) study, while Catalan language use by former immersion students in Woolard's (2011) research was notably greater, likely reflecting that language's divergent setting and stronger demographic base (cf. Pujolar and Gonzalez 2013). French immersion education in Canada, whilst not exactly

analogous to immersion revitalisation, has been thoroughly researched since the 1960s. This model was first established in St Lambert, Quebec by English-speaking parents who wanted their children to receive the benefits of a bilingual education, rather than as a means to support either (L1) English or (L2) French language maintenance (Gardner and Lambert 1972). It is therefore remarkable that this particular system was subsequently replicated as a strategy for minority language revitalisation in diverse contexts internationally. Various meta-analyses of the system have demonstrated that French immersion students who develop bilingual competences nevertheless tend not to use French to a great extent outside of class, or after completing school (Harley 1994; MacFarlane and Wesche 1995; Johnstone 2001).

On the basis of such evidence Edwards (2010b) notes that in spite of their greater command in the target language, immersion pupils generally appear not to seek out opportunities to use their second language to a greater extent than, for instance, students studying it as a subject. As Baker (2011, 265) phrases the issue, there is always a chance that '[p]otential does not necessarily lead to production' of the language by immersion students. Although it is the hope and intention of many that immersion education will equip students to lead a bilingual life after school, the successful realisation of this objective has not previously been demonstrated in minority language contexts. As a response to this apparent lacuna in the literature, the principal research objectives of this investigation sought to address the following questions in the context of the Gaelic language in Scotland:

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

These overarching questions lead us to the theoretical premises of education in language revitalisation. Fishman (2001b, 471) stated famously that minoritised languages at which RLS ('reversing language shift') efforts are directed require spaces for their informal use in the home-community sphere '*before* school begins, outside of school, during the years of schooling and afterwards, when formal schooling is over and done with' (cf. Nettle and Romaine 2000; Romaine 2000, 54). Yet Fishman's (1991, 2001b, 2013) RLS model also rests on a conception of language and ethnic identity which some contemporary sociolinguists would regard as unrealistic. In particular, the (theoretical and practical)

feasibility of his emphasis on the straightforward relationship of the minority language ('Xish') to its traditionally defined, ethnolinguistic speaker community ('Xmen/Xians') has been questioned by various authors (Edwards 1984, 2009, 2010a; Heller 2006, 2010; Jaffe 2007a, 2007b).

Whilst his theoretical stance vis-à-vis the importance of the home for intergenerational transmission remains influential in the contemporary literature, Fishman's recommendations in respect of RLS draw on a straightforward, iconic conception of language and identity that some authors view as problematic (Jaffe 2007a, 2007b). Fishman's (1991, 394) model rests largely, in his own words, on the 'premises that Xmen are not Ymen and that Xish culture [...] is not Yish culture'. He states, furthermore, that 'prior ideological clarification' of these fundamental premises 'must not be skipped over' if RLS initiatives are to succeed. This is not of course to argue that Fishman's own view of the identity construction work he recommends is overtly essentialist, but that the view of the relationship between language and identity he espouses may not adequately reflect the nested and multifarious view of language and identities, in which multilingual minority language speakers may simultaneously identify as 'Xian' and 'Yian' (as well, potentially, as 'Zian').

Language ideologies

The foregoing considerations lead us neatly to a discussion of language ideologies, particularly in relation to their salience in the development of language practices and ethnolinguistic identities. My analysis drew on language ideologies as an investigative framework within which to explore the attitudinal and sociological factors that may underlie usage patterns observed. Michael Silverstein (1979, 193) first defined linguistic ideologies (more frequently language ideologies in subsequent works) as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure or use'. Work on language ideologies has proliferated substantially since the 1990s, and increasing numbers of researchers in the fields of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have made use of this framework in recent years. As a consequence, wide-ranging and multifarious definitions of the term 'language ideology' are current in contemporary scholarship. One of the clearest explanations of the term, in the sense in which I use it here, is offered by Boudreau and Dubois (2007, 104) who define language ideology as:

> a set of beliefs on language or a particular language shared by members of a community . . . These beliefs come to be so well established that their origin is often forgotten by speakers, and are therefore socially reproduced and end up being

> 'naturalized', or perceived as natural or as common sense, thereby masking the
> social construction processes at work.

It is the systematicity of language ideologies as cultural products, and their reproduction within social context, that is of greatest relevance to the analytic concerns of this article. A further dimension of the framework concerns the ways in which the social reproduction of ideologies can impact upon linguistic practices in contexts of language shift; Makihara (2010, 44-45) states that language ideologies have an important role in determining 'the direction of changes in languages and speech ways' by either motivating, or militating against, processes of language loss. Essentially, the theoretical premises of the language ideologies framework hold that speakers' sets of beliefs in relation to their various codes directly influence the extent to which they will (or will not) use them, and how they identify with them.

Method

This investigation drew on a sample of 130 participants who started in GME during its first decade, between 1985 and 1995. Through the researcher's own contacts and a 'snowball' method of identifying further participants, a catalogue of 210 individuals was collated, and bilingual invitations to participate in the research were distributed via email and social media. An online survey of former students' reported language use, abilities and attitudes was designed in 2011 and elicited 112 responses by the end of 2013. Twenty-eighy of these survey participants were also interviewed, as were 18 other individuals who did not complete the survey (although all 130 participants were invited to take part in both the online survey and an interview). Gaelic and English versions of the survey were designed, and web links were subsequently sent to potential respondents with the choice of using whichever language they felt more comfortable with.

Survey respondents were asked to identify their overall levels of Gaelic use in different domains (such as work, home and in leisure activities) and with different interlocutors (friends, family, partners and children; see Dunmore, forthcoming). The sample of 130 participants was essentially purposive and relied on self-selection; responses on the quantitative survey in respect of Gaelic use and ability may therefore have been somewhat unreliable. To minimise this risk and provide triangulation on the research topic I also conducted semi-structured interviews with 46 speakers to examine their language practices and ideologies in greater detail. Interviews paid close attention to the frequency and varied

ways in which Gaelic-educated adults use the language at present, and the ideological and sociological correlates that might underlie these usage patterns.

All 46 interviewees were aged between 24 and 34 at the end of June 2014, when data collection was completed; 31 speakers were female and 15 male, while 17 participants were originally from the urban Lowlands of Scotland, 12 were from the mainland Highlands and a further 17 were from islands off Scotland's western seaboard known collectively as the Hebrides. These proportions broadly reflect the location of GME classes in the first decade of their availability, with community Gaelic use proportionally strongest in the Islands, and weakest in the Lowlands (MacKinnon 2005). In the interest of ensuring anonymity within the relatively small population under investigation, further demographic details of the 46 interviewees are not provided, and pseudonyms are used throughout the analysis.

With one exception, interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis. In one case the informant I had arranged to meet also invited her flatmate, who had been in the same GME class at primary school. These two interviewees are discussed in the following analysis under the pseudonyms 'Anna' and 'Susan'. Interviewees were also offered the option of which language they would be more comfortable speaking; 21 chose to conduct the interview in Gaelic, although a substantial amount of code-switching was used in the majority of these interviews. Semi-structured interviews were recorded digitally, transcribed in full and (in the case of Gaelic interviews) translated by the author, a fluent Gaelic speaker who acquired the language principally through formal education. The transcription conventions and qualitative analysis employed were largely based on Dell Hymes's (1974) 'ethnography of speaking' methodology, paying close attention to both the form and content of speech acts and thereby analysing semantic, pragmatic and semiotic details at the level of both text and context. Ochs's (1979) 'transcription as theory' typology was also key to the analytic framework I adopted.

Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative analyses demonstrated that the majority of participants' Gaelic language use is limited, although notable exceptions were found among some speakers who were substantially socialised in the language at home during childhood, as well as a small minority of 'new speakers' (four interviewees and nine survey respondents) who grew up without Gaelic at home and acquired the language only in school, but continue to make frequent use of it today. This low overall rate of Gaelic use was one of the most important

results to emerge from the analyses; only 10 of the 46 interviewees described using Gaelic on a daily basis, doing so principally at work. Although 49% of survey respondents reported using at least some Gaelic in the course of their work or study lives, reported use of the language at home and with key interlocutors was far weaker (see Dunmore, forthcoming). Among interviewees, the degree to which the 10 'high users' speak the language outside of the more formal domains of employment tended to vary, but social use of Gaelic in the home and community was again generally weak. The remaining 36 interviewees' use of the language varied substantially, but 24 of them reported speaking Gaelic only very rarely in the present day, while the 12 remaining speakers reported making generally infrequent use of it.

I now address three ideologies relating to Gaelic and its speaker community advanced by interviewees which, I argue, contribute to our understanding of the language use patterns observed. The first of these language ideologies concerns interviewees' perceptions of linguistic 'snobbery' in the Gaelic community, and how speakers' beliefs in this connection appear to impact upon their confidence and willingness to speak the language. The second ideology concerns the Gaelic language's place in contemporary Scotland, and, in particular, the feeling that Gaelic speakers should not attempt to 'force' the language on people and places that are not perceived to have a Gaelic heritage. Finally, I draw attention to speakers' conceptions of Gaelic identities, and especially to the majority of interviewees' lack of cultural identification as 'Gaels'.

Will (2012, 91) has critiqued a lack of focus in GME on pupils' development of 'social-linguistic competence', identifying a tendency in statutory guidance for teachers to emphasise neoliberal ideologies over local understandings and beliefs about Gaelic (see also McEwan-Fujita 2010). Notably, GME pupils' development of pro-Gaelic language ideologies appears not to be an explicit objective in such guidance. NicLeòid, Armstrong and O'Hanlon (forthcoming) note that although some contemporary GME teachers express the view that this is an important aspect of their work, their own language ideologies and understandings of the system's aims, particularly in respect of contributing to students' developing Gaelic identities, are often conflicted (cf. Fraser 1989; Trabelsi 1998). I suggest that this finding in particular has important implications for (past) GME pupils' own development of ideologies concerning the use of Gaelic in contemporary Scotland, as the following analysis will demonstrate.

'Snobbery'

The first language ideology I would like to examine concerns perceptions of linguistic 'snobbery' within the Gaelic community, an ideology that clearly recalls controversies surrounding new speakers' authenticity and ownership of the Irish language identified by O'Rourke and Walsh (2015). Ironically, this particular ideology is almost completely contradictory to an ideology of snobbery observed in Dorian's (1981) celebrated study of East Sutherland Gaelic, where some community members' excessive 'pride' in refusing to speak Gaelic was widely blamed for the language's decline. By contrast, ideologies advanced by participants in my research related to an altogether different perception of snobbery in the Gaelic community, concerning the negative attitudes of certain speakers to the language practices and abilities of others. This phenomenon has previously been identified in research on Gaelic learners and new speakers, various researchers observing a widespread feeling among Gaelic learners that they are often viewed as linguistically deficient by native speakers, who are sometimes reported to be unwilling to speak Gaelic to them (MacCaluim 2007; McEwan-Fujita 2010; Armstrong 2013). As 'Anna' and 'Susan' (two housemates who were interviewed together) explain in the following extract, this perception of snobbery is often perceived to relate to generational differences:

Anna	Maybe there's a generation thing […] we're in this sort of world with Gaelic and it's a bit controversial but you know it's very much like 'oh she speaks terribly' or 'listen to her'=
Susan	=Oh there's a <u>huge</u> snobbery in it […] I think you just hit the nail on the head […] about there being a snobbery and it being=
SD	=Yeah
Susan	judgemental- it's like that is <u>very</u> true in Gaelic which is something that actually really, really frustrates me about Gaelic

The ideology as reported here holds that certain (older) speakers display snobbery and judgementalism in their reactions to younger speakers' Gaelic. Anna offers constructed dialogues as examples of the denigrating comments that she objects to, which her flatmate then characterises as judgementalism and 'snobbery'. Other participants expressed this language ideology in rather different terms; in the following extract, 'Ross' describes linguistic judgement in the Gaelic community, as being particularly prevalent among people attending Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Scotland's Gaelic college on the Isle of Skye:

Ross	Mura h-eil thu air a bhith gu Sabhal Mòr Ostaig cha bhi fios agad no tuigse agad dè seorsa daoine a bhios a' frithealadh an /t-/àite sin [...] fhios 'ad **the judgement look**- 'chleachdadh an tuiseal **instead of this**

> tuiseal **and blah blah blah**' **you know** na Gàidhlig **police**- **you know** na **grammar police** [...] '**it's not aspirated**' rudan eile- **you know actually** tha mise caran coma uaireannan
>> *Unless you've been to* [Gaelic college] *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig you won't know or understand the sort of people who attend that place [...] you know* **the judgement look**- '*used that case* **instead of this** *case and blah blah blah*' **you know** *the Gaelic* **police**- **you know** *the* **grammar police** [...] '**it's not aspirated**' *other things-* **you know actually** *sometimes I'm fairly indifferent*

Ross switches with striking frequency to English in this extract, mixing languages at the morphosyntactic level as in the phrase 'na Gàidhlig **police**... na **grammar police**' to emphasise his objection to such judgemental practices (cf. Dunmore and Smith-Christmas 2015). We note his use of the speech device 'blah blah blah' to scorn individuals who are perceived to correct other speakers' Gaelic, and his example of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (a key site for the Gaelic instruction and socialisation of many learners) as the home of the 'grammar police' and 'the judgement look' reflects his impression of the scale of the problem. Other interviewees regarded native speakers generally as most likely to possess such judgemental attitudes to others' Gaelic, as 'Eilidh' indicates:

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

Rather than merely conveying a perception of linguistic snobbery, Eilidh describes the phenomenon as a major divide (*beàrn*: 'fissure', 'gap') between traditional speakers of Gaelic whom she refers to as '*na seann Ghàidheil*' (literally 'old Gaels') and the modern speaker community (cf. McEwan-Fujita 2010). Whilst not all informants refer to such a fundamental divide in the Gaelic world, beliefs concerning linguistic snobbery and judgmentalism in the

language community were described frequently. There is a clear feeling among many interviewees that a kind of linguistic snobbery exists in the Gaelic community, although different kinds of speakers are regarded as most likely to express it. My intention here is not to assess whether or not such ideologies are based on fact, but rather to demonstrate their potentially negative effects among this particular demographic, at whom language policy objectives have been so explicitly directed. Whether or not these kinds of beliefs are accurate or not, issues of ideology that are at play here clearly impact on the confidence of potential speakers to use the language. The ideology of snobbery in the Gaelic community is replicated throughout the corpus of former-GME students, and with it perceptions of negative affect with regard to using the language are spread.

'Putadh' na Gàidhlig – 'Forcing' Gaelic

The second ideology I would like to examine here concerns interviewees' beliefs regarding the relevance of Gaelic in modern Scotland. This ideology again recalls research findings relating to geographically grounded perceptions of authenticity and new speakers' ownership minority languages (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014; O' Rourke and Walsh 2015). In particular, interviewees often expressed the view that the Gaelic community should not 'force' their language on the majority of Scots, who are assumed to be unsympathetic of the goals of Gaelic maintenance. This ideology seems to be founded on an understanding that the Gaelic language is neither relevant nor appropriate across the entirety of Scotland, and that there are large parts of the country where Gaelic is neither a pertinent aspect of local history or contemporary culture. This ideology (or variations of it) is not in itself new; its prevalence in Scottish society, and particularly in the popular press, has been well documented (McEwan-Fujita 2006, 2011; MacKinnon 2012). Nevertheless, quantitative analyses of language attitudes among the wider Scottish population have reflected widespread, moderate support for the promotion of Gaelic (Paterson et al. 2014) and the continued, uncritical reproduction of this ideology is therefore somewhat surprising. Even more surprising, perhaps, was the frequency of its expression among former GME students. 'Iain' and 'Fiona' exemplify this ideology in the following two extracts:

| Iain | [T]ha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil Gàidhlig gu math cudromach anns na: (.) sgìrean (.) far a bheil- far an robh Gàidhlig anns an eachdraidh aca [...] ach chan eil mi a' smaointinn gum bu chòir dhaibh Gàidhlig a phutadh air na h-àiteachan (.) nach eil eh (.) a' faireachdainn gu bheil iad ceangailte ris a' chànan [**you know**?] |

	*I think that Gaelic is quite important in the: (.) areas (.) where it's- where Gaelic was in their history [...] but I don't think that they should force Gaelic on the places (.) that don't eh (.) feel that they're connected to the language [**you know**?]*
SD	[Aidh] *[Yeah]*
Iain	Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e math (.) rudan a dhèanamh [gus Gàidhlig a bhrosnachadh] ach aig an aon àm (.) chan eil sinn ag iarraidh a bhith a' putadh Gàidhlig **you know**? *I think that it's good (.) to do things [to promote Gaelic] but at the same time (.) we don't want to force Gaelic **you know**?*

Some informants express this ideology in different terms, relating the revitalisation of Gaelic to a concern for sensitivity to Scots language speakers. 'Fiona', for example, maintains in the following passage that Gaelic is not the only language traditionally spoken in (lowland) Scotland:

Fiona	[T]ha mi smaointinn g' eil sgìrean ann far a bheil Albais ga bruidhinn agus far nach eil 's dòcha Gàidhlig cho cudromach [...] cha chreid mi g' eil e ciallach a bhith eh a' sparradh (.) eh a' Ghàidhlig anns na h-àiteachan sin [...] Tha mi smaointinn (.) gu bheil sin aig cridhe trioblaidean na Gàidhlig – mas e cànan nàiseanta a bh' ann cha bhiodh sinn anns an t-suidheachadh anns a bheil sinn an-diugh *I think there are areas where Scots is spoken and where Gaelic is perhaps not as important [...] I don't think it's sensible to be eh forcing (.) eh Gaelic in those places [...] I think (.) that that's at the heart of the troubles facing Gaelic [...] I think if it were a national language that we wouldn't be in the situation that we're in today*

Similarly, 'Liam' suggests in the following extract that Gaelic speakers should not think of their language as Scotland's principal national language because of the history of Scots speech in the Lowlands. Indeed, Liam goes as far as to suggest that Gaelic should only be maintained in the areas where it was 'traditionally' spoken. In spite of this, he expresses a degree of uncertainty over exactly where this was the historically the case:

Liam	[Y]ou know it would probably be good to keep Gaelic to where it was – well – where it was traditionally spoken I would say
SD	Mm hmm
Liam	I mean there's parts of the country – I mean I'm not 100% sure about Gaelic history but there's probably parts of the country where Gaelic was never spoken [...] I don't think of Gaelic as being a (.) you know a kind of (.) eh you know – like the Scottish national language in a way
SD	Do you not no?

> Liam   You know it's <u>one</u> of our – you know – there's other kinda – there's Scots and things […] I'd say [we need] to kind of keep [Gaelic] to where it was traditionally spoken or where it was spoken in the past

Liam and other informants' lack of knowledge concerning the historical and present extent of the Gaelic language may be surprising, as it appears to reflect a fundamental deficiency in the content of GME (at least in the early years of its availability). Whilst Liam is uncertain of where Gaelic may have been spoken historically, he maintains that its revival should be kept to those areas only. This ideology regarding the relevance and appropriateness of Gaelic in Scotland was frequently voiced in interviews, and a clear concern that Gaelic not be 'forced' on people who oppose it was identified. A general lack of awareness of Gaelic in wider Scottish society has been observed to co-exist with moderately positive attitudes (MacCaluim 2007; Paterson et al. 2014) but the extent of this unawareness among adults educated through Gaelic is particularly striking. The potential role of the Scots language as an ideological focus for opposition to Gaelic revitalisation objectives is an area deserving of further analytic attention, but its pervasiveness among former GME students may well be a source of concern for policymakers. It is possible that the overarching language ideology in GME is currently (or historically was) insufficiently detailed to develop pupils' full appreciation of Gaelic in Scottish history and culture (see NicLeòid, Armstrong, and O'Hanlon, forthcoming).

Gaels, Lowlanders and 'Xian' identity

As noted above, Fishman (1991, 2001b, 2013) places a heavy emphasis on the connection between minority languages and the traditionally defined, ethnocultural communities that have historically transmitted them. This emphasis is reflected in the sociological ideal of 'Xians-via-Xish'. Yet in Scotland, it is not always clear which is the relevant 'Xian' community in respect of Gaelic: are the 'Scots' within Great Britain the Xian community in question, and their ancestral (if profoundly minoritised) Gaelic language the Xish variety; or are 'Gaels' – the relatively few Highlanders and Islanders to have maintained the language as a spoken vernacular – the relevant Xian community (cf. Bechofer and McCrone 2014)? Historically it was possible to identify the Gaels as the relevant ethnnolinguistic group in respect of Gaelic ownership and identity, but this principle has been increasingly questioned since the late 1990s. The social currency of the term 'Gael' has been observed to decline as conceptions of Gaelic as a national resource have increased (Macdonald 1997; Oliver 2005, 2006; Glaser 2006, 2007).

In the context of new speakers of Gaelic, a widespread detachment and uncertainty surrounding the label 'Gael', particularly among L2 learners and new speakers has been identified by researchers (MacCaluim 2007; McLeod, O'Rourke and Dunmore 2014; Nance et al. 2016). In the present research, interviewees' identifications with the Gaelic language as an aspect of their social, cultural and ethnic identities varied widely, but were very seldom described in terms analogous to the 'Xians-via-Xish' ideal emphasised in Fishman's (1991, 2001b) theoretical works. Generally speaking, the majority of participants tended not to think of themselves as 'Gaels', and that word was not mentioned without my own explicit prompt. At times, this elicited outright surprise in interviewees, as demonstrated below:

SD	Would you call yourself a Gael?
Beth	Um wow um: (.) yeah I guess so
SD	Yeah?
Beth	I – it's not something I would ever call myself but if I was asked the question I guess so yeah
SD	Yeah, but otherwise not specifically
Beth	It's not something that I really stro- I don't go around saying ((confrontational voice)) 'oh I'm a Gael' kind of thing

Indeed, several interviewees expressed a good deal of uncertainty over what exactly a Gael was. In contrast, the vast majority of speakers were comfortable expressing their identities as Scots within interviews. I asked 'Mark', for example, if he saw himself as a Gael:

SD	Do you consider yourself a Gael for instance?
Mark	Eh (.) ((sighs)) och I mean (4.8) well kind of yeah
SD	Mm hmm
Mark	Em you know (.) I kinda come from that kinda heritage
SD	Yeah in terms of heritage uh huh
Mark	And I kind of (.) you know I've got more kind of (island links) […] I would count myself primarily as Scottish
SD	Yeah
Mark	Em and (.) I don't know if I'd include Gaelic as part of that

Both the above participants express degrees of surprise and uncertainty when I ask about their being Gaels, and it does not appear to be a category of identity with which they readily associate. Yet both answer tentatively in the affirmative, before going on to qualify this. 'Beth' firstly states that she would never refer to herself in this way, appearing to view the label in rather defensive and confrontational terms. Similarly, Mark produces a very long pause (4.8 seconds) before replying that he 'kind of' sees himself as a Gael, claiming the prerequisite 'heritage' to identify with the term despite not using the language regularly. Yet he sees himself 'primarily as Scottish' and appears uncertain as to how Gaelic relates to this.

In the following extract, 'Fionn' – who uses Gaelic frequently in the course of his working life – rejects the label outright, emphasising his identity as a Scot (*Albannach*) and Lowlander (*Gall*) while playing down any sense of affiliation with the term *Gàidheal* (Gael):

Fionn:	[T]ha mis' gam fhaicinn fhìn mar Albannach gun teagamh (.) dìreach- tha an teaghlach agam ann an sheo- sin far a bheil an (.) an dachaigh againn
	I definitely see myself as a Scot (.) just my family is here- that's where (.) our home is […]
SD:	Dìreach (.) an e Gàidheal a th' annad cuideachd mar sin?
	Exactly (.) are you a Gael as well then?
Fionn:	((laughs)) Chan e uill- ((laughing)) cha chanainns' gur e Gàidheal a th' annam idir **no** (.) 's e Gall a th' annam […] a tha air tionndadh mar gum biodh ((laughs)) em **yeah** bidh mise an- còmhnaidh ag ràdh gur ann à Dùn Èideann a tha mi
	((laughs)) No well ((laughing)) I wouldn't say I'm a Gael at all **no** *(.) I'm a Gall ((*Lowlander*))[…] who has converted as it were ((laughs)) em* **yeah** *I always say I'm from Edinburgh*

Fionn's description of his Scottish identity in unproblematic terms – as Scotland is the place where his family lives and where their home is – reflects a widespread sentiment expressed throughout my data set. Overwhelmingly, interview and questionnaire informants self-identified as Scottish, reflecting a widespread association with a civic, national identity that they perceive as banal but inclusive. When I ask Fionn if he is a Gael as well as a Scot, his response is one of surprise and amusement, laughing at the suggestion, and even using the oppositional (and, in Fishmanite terms, 'Yian') designation '*Gall*' ('foreigner; Lowlander') to explain his lack of identity as a 'Gael'. The vast majority of the 46 interviewees described their cultural identities principally in terms of their self-identification as Scots. Although a small number of native Gaelic speakers also regarded themselves positively as Gaels, most interviewees viewed the term with ambivalence, verging on hostility. Indeed, in the following extract it is hard for Anna to believe that anyone would choose to call themselves a Gael; again, she laughs while she considers the suggestion. Crucially, she explains that she much prefers the Scots language term 'Teuchter':

Anna	Does anyone call themselves that- 'I'm a Gael'? […] I don't know what constitutes that (3.1) in the Gaelic world ((laughing)) […] I quite like 'Teuchter' though
SD	You like that one?
Anna	I like that yeah- I'm a Teuchter 'yeah you're a bit teuchie' (.) I <u>am</u> a bit teuchie sometimes, I quite like that
SD	((laughing))
Anna	Gael's a bit (.)

Susan	You do know it's a derogatory term?=
Anna	=plaid and what do you call that big sword?=
SD	[=Claymore?]=
Susan	[=Sword?]=
Anna	=Claymore- that's what 'Gael' reminds me of (.) big tartan plaid in a battle

Although the word 'Teuchter' is a 'derogatory term' according to her friend Susan, Anna much prefers it to 'Gael', declining to believe that anyone would self-identify as such and associating the term explicitly with medieval and Jacobite cliché. Historically the Scots language terms 'teuchie' and 'Teuchter' were pejorative terms for Highlanders in the Lowlands – as is pointed out here by Susan. Interestingly, four interviewees in total referred positively the term 'Teuchter' a descriptor of themselves, and its (formerly) negative connotations seem to have less force in the present day. While such vehement rejection of the identity category 'Gael' is rare, a sense of ambivalence and uncertainty surrounding the term is discernible throughout the corpus, and the specific place that Gaelic occupies in participants' identity constructions is elusive. Further research on this threshold question of linguistic identity would be instructive not only within the context of Gaelic revitalisation in Scotland, Ireland and Canada, but also in analogous situations of language decline and revitalisation internationally.

Discussion: Gaels and 'Xians' in 21st century Scotland

The foregoing analysis demonstrates that the straightforward linkage between language and ethnolinguistic identity envisaged in Fishman's (1991, 2001b, 2013) RLS model does not exist in any widespread sense among former GME students in Scotland. The traditional 'Xian' ethnolinguistic community indexed by the term 'Gael(s)' is not one with which the majority of participants in my research associate or with which they wish to integrate. The three language ideologies I have drawn attention to in this analysis are not new; they have been reproduced in Scottish society for many years as previous research on media discourses, Gaelic learners and, more recently, new speakers has demonstrated. Yet their expression by interviewees in this research was crucial inasmuch as it tended to rationalise their limited Gaelic use and lack of association with the wider Gaelic community, undermining the wider policy objectives of immersion education for language revitalisation. On the one hand, this evidence tends to corroborate the view that conceptions of a straightforward relationship between language and ethnolinguistic identity fail to adequately describe the experiences of minority language speakers today. Indeed, it is far from clear that such a generalised

conception adequately describes the experiences of language users in any context. The feasibility of instilling a straightforward (and ideologically attractive) conception of the relationship between the minority language and its traditional speaker community – and deploying it as a basis for language revitalisation – has been repeatedly questioned by authors such as Jaffe (1999, 2007a, b), Edwards (2009, 2010a, 2013), and Duchêne and Heller (2007, 2012).

On the other hand, a lack of 'Xian' identity as 'Gaels' among the majority of Gaelic-educated adults in my research need not be viewed as problematic in its own right. More concerning for policymakers and language advocates in Scotland – and, I argue, elsewhere – are the low levels of target language use reported by the majority of participants. Yet, it is clear that the two issues are not unrelated. Fishman (2001b, 473) argues that if policymakers and language advocates do look to education as a tool for RLS, its principal objective must be 'an Xian-via-Xish ideologizing one... and a community membership one'. Even if the goal of instilling an exclusively 'Xian-via-Xish' identity is rendered increasingly unfeasible in contemporary societies, it nevertheless appears clear that if immersion students do not develop a strong sense of community belonging through their use of the target (Xish) language within the domains of school and home during childhood, they are unlikely to continue to use it extensively after school, or pass it on to their own children.

It will be an important priority for policymakers developing immersion education as a strategy for language revitalisation internationally to identify and address shortcomings in schools in relation to this objective, and to ensure that pupils develop a fuller understanding of their language's relevance in modern life. Additionally, however, it is clear that greater attention to children's language socialisation within the home and community will be required to aid their association with it as an aspect of their cultural identities outside of immersion classrooms. In my research, interviewees' ideologies concerning Gaelic and its traditional speaker community tend to rationalise and reinforce their limited use of the target language. Rigorous evidence bases on the long-term outcomes of other immersion revitalisation are currently lacking – and clearly needed – in various other contexts of RLS internationally. I suggest, however, that the development of a strong social identity in the target variety and of favourable language ideologies towards its use are crucial objectives if policymakers expect students to adopt that language as a vital aspect of their domestic and family lives, or to transmit it to children within the home-community context in future. GME in Scotland, at least during the first decade of its availability, appears from my analyses to

have been relatively unsuccessful in realising these specific objectives, and it is likely that this deficiency has close analogues in diverse contexts of (reversing) language shift internationally.

Conclusions

Important questions relating to past immersion students' language ideologies and perceptions of the Gaelic community in Scotland have been identified in this article. Firstly, many interviewees maintained that linguistic 'snobbery' within the Gaelic community makes it an unattractive group with which to integrate, discouraging potential speakers from using the language or identifying with its community. At the same time, ideologies concerning the place of Gaelic in twenty-first century Scotland often questioned its appropriateness in the Lowlands, and therefore its suitability for promotion as a national language. Many interviewees therefore suggested that Gaelic speakers should not try to 'force' the language on people by promoting it throughout Scotland. An ideology framing the Scots language as a ballast to pro-Gaelic policy – or, possibly as a rival linguistic identity – often emerged in interviewees' discourses. Although a sense of national identity as Scottish citizens was the cultural identification most strongly and frequently expressed by participants, Gaelic tended not to be viewed as a national language for Scotland because of perceived opposition to its revitalisation, particularly among speakers of Scots.

Conversely, the majority of Gaelic-medium educated adults' identification as Gaels was either weak, or rejected out of hand. As I argue above, this finding need not necessarily be viewed as problematic in its own right, particularly as fostering a sense of identity as Gaels among pupils has never been a specific objective of the GME system. Yet equally, if immersion pupils do not develop strong social identifications and supportive ideologies toward the languages through which they are educated, it should not necessarily be surprising if they do not then speak the language outside of the classroom, or after completing formal education. If policymakers in the Scottish context continue to look largely to the formal education system for Gaelic maintenance objectives in the future, they should seek to confront the circulation of these negative ideologies in wider society, to impede their reproduction by present and future students during the years of formal education and after schooling is completed, and to foster a better image for Gaelic as a relevant aspect of modern life in contemporary Scotland, both among its speakers and among the wider Scottish public.

Key to transcription conventions

[[words]	overlapping speech
(.)	perceivable pause <1s duration
(2.0)	perceivable pause >1s duration
(word)	uncertain transcription
(x)	unintelligible
xxx	(place)name omitted
/word/	atypical morphosyntactic usage
((word))	analyst's comments
[…]	material omitted
::	elongation
<u>word</u>	emphatic speech
word=	latched speech, no pause
words	codeswitch

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