Dlùth is Inneach – Final Project Report

Linguistic and Institutional Foundations for Gaelic Corpus Planning

Prepared for Bòrd na Gàidhlig

(Research Project no. CR12-03)

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GEÀRR-CHUNNTAS GNÌOMHACH

Is e tha san aithisg seo toraidhean bho phròiseact bliadhna a rinn sgioba rannsachaidh Shoillse às leth Bhòrd na Gàidhlig (BnG). B' e amas an rannsachaidh fuasgladh fhaighinn air a' cheist a leanas:

- Cò na prionnsapalan planadh corpais as fheàrr a fhreagras air neartachadh agus brosnachadh na Gàidhlig an Alba agus dè an co-òrdanachadh as èifeachdaiche a bheireadh gu buil iad?

Anns an aithisg, gheibhear na builean seo a leanas:

- bunait chànanach airson planadh corpais na Gàidhlig a tha soilleir is cunbhalach, agus a tha a rèir amasan Bhòrd na Gàidhlig airson planadh togail, cleachdaidh is inbhe na Gàidhlig, agus as motha a ghleidheas taic luchd na Gàidhlig

- prògram de phrìomhachasan a tha ri choileanadh le planadh corpais na Gàidhlig

- molaidhean air modhan co-òrdanachaidh a bhios èifeachdach a thaobh cosgais agus rianachd (i.e. modh-obrach buidhne).

Tha trì roinnean san aithisg, A, B, agus C. Tha **Pàirt A** dhen aithisg a' toirt seachad na toraidhean bho lèirmheas litreachais a mhair fad ceithir mìosan agus suirbhidh air leasachadh planadh corpais airson na Gàidhlig ann an Alba, bho shealladh nàiseanta agus eadar-nàiseanta. Nochd mar bhuil chudromach sa phàirt seo dhen phròiseact modail de dh'ideòlas cànain a tha air a roinn ann an ceithir rangan anns am faodar leasachadh corpais Gàidhlig a shuidheachadh. Tha am modail seo stèidhichte air dòighean-smaoineachaidh a tha airson no an aghaidh ceithir cleachdaidhean cànain eadar-dhealaichte (faodaidh seo a bhith aig ìre fhaclan, ghnàthasan-cainnte no co-chàraidh):

- Beurlachas (i.e. buaidh bhon Bheurla)

- nuadh-fhaclan no gnathasan-cainnte ùra (i.e. cleachdaidhean sam bith nach eil traidiseanta)

- àrsaidheachd (i.e. cleachdaidhean bho dhualchas na Gàidhlig a tha air a dhol à bith)

- Gaeilgeachas (i.e. iasad no buaidh bho Ghàidhlig na h-Èireann).

Tha *continuum* air a bheil dà cheann aig na ceithir rangan seo, fear a tha gu làidir airson (-*philia*) agus fear a tha gu tur na aghaidh (-*phobia*) a' chleachdaidh a th' ann. Anns an aithisg seo, cleachdaidh sinn am briathrachas sònraichte seo a leanas airson gach *continuum*:

1. Beurla-*philia* — Beurla-*phobia*: deidheil air buaidh na Beurla no an aghaidh buaidh na Beurla

2. *Neophilia — Neophobia*: deidheil air no an aghaidh nuadhachas

3. *Retrophilia — Retrophobia*: dèidheil air atharrais a dhèanamh air seann Ghàidhlig no na h-aghaidh

4. Gaeilge-*philia* — Gaeilge-*phobia*: dèidheil air buaidh na Gaeilge no na h-aghaidh

A bharrachd air seo, tha sinn a' cur cudrom air 'planadh corpais gun chunnart' mar a tha e air a chur an cèill aig Fishman, i.e. gun rachadh leasachadh sam bith air corpas na Gàidhlig air adhart gu faiceallach, le tuigse mhath air an ideòlas cànain as cumanta am measg an t-sluaigh. Is e an cunnart a bhios ann mura bithear ag obair anns an dòigh seo gum bithear a' liubhart planadh corpais a tha a'

brosnachadh gluasad cànain a dh'ionnsaigh na Beurla (i.e. planadh corpais a tha a' cur bacadh air a' Ghàidhlig).

Tha **Pàirt B** dhen aithisg a' toirt seachad na toraidhean a fhuaireadh bho cho-chomhairleachadh a rinneadh leis an sgioba rannsachaidh air leasachadh corpais eadar an Lùnastal agus an Dùbhlachd 2013. Bhruidhinn an luchd-rannsachaidh ri buidhnean Gàidhlig, proifeiseantaich Ghàidhlig, buidhnean coimhearsnachd, agus daoine fa leth. Chaidh fiosrachadh a thional fada is farsaing air an cleachdaidhean cànain agus air na dòighean-obrach agus iomairtean a bheireadh taic do luchd-cleachdaidh na Gàidhlig ann a bhith a' cleachdadh a' chànain agus ga toirt seachad dhan ath ghinealach.

Rinn an sgioba rannsachaidh 39 Còmhraidhean Cuimsichte ('Focused Conversations') feadh na Gàidhealtachd ann an Alba (Glaschu, Inbhir Nis, Na h-Eileanan Siar, An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) agus ghabh 184 duine pàirt annta.

Bha a' chiad phàirt de gach Còmhradh Cuimsichte a' dèiligeadh ri **bunaitean cànain** airson leasachadh corpais na Gàidhlig. B' e an t-amas a bh' ann na h-ideòlasan cànain as cumanta am measg luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig a shònrachadh, gu h-àraid a thaobh briathrachas, gràmar, fuaimneachadh, litreachadh, msaa. Chaidh na h-ideòlasan a nochd a mheasadh a rèir a' mhodail ann am Pàirt A. Thàinig an sgioba rannsachaidh gu na co-dhùnaidhean seo a leanas a thaobh bunaitean cànain:

1. Tha beàrn mhòr eadar na ginealaichean a thaobh a' mhisneachd a th' aca nan comasan cànain. Tha ginealach nas sine a tha dà-chànanach, misneachail agus làidir sa Ghàidhlig, agus tha ginealach nas òige ann a tha cuideachd dà-chànanach ach aig a bheil comasan cànain nach eil cho seasmhach ri comasan a' ghinealaich as sine. Tha e na phrìomhachas faochnach do leasachadh corpais an sgaradh seo a lùghdachadh, a' leigeil le luchd-labhairt nas sine a bhith a' tighinn le chèile le luchd-labhairt nas òige.

2. Tha beachd làidir ann gu bheil beairteas is gnè a' chànain a' sìor fhàs nas laige is a' crìonadh air sgàth cion daingneachaidh. Thathas draghail mun chothlamadh eadar a' Ghàidhlig agus a' Bheurla, agus mun bhuaidh a tha seo a' toirt air gnàthasan-cainnte agus gràmar. Tha e na phrìomhachas faochnach do leasachadh corpais stad a chur air a' phròiseas cothlamaidh seo no a lùghdachadh aig a' char as lugha.

3. Chan eil e na phrìomhachas do mhòran briathrachas ùr a chruthachadh gus Beurla a sheachnadh ann an cuspairean àraid. Air an làimh eile, tha e na phrìomhachas buaidh na Beurla air gràmar na Gàidhlig a lùghdachadh agus stad a chur air tanachadh na Gàidhlig a thaobh briathrachas agus gnàthasan-cainnte. Leis sin, tha an t-ideòlas as cumanta nas *neophobic* na Beurla-*phobic*. A dh'aindeoin sin, chan eilear gu dubh an aghaidh leasachadh briathrachais agus thathas a' gabhail ris gum faod iarrtas a bhith ann airson faclan ùra aon uair 's gu bheil bun-bheachdan ùra agus rudan ùra a' fàs cumanta ann an cainnt làitheil.

4. Thathas ag iarraidh taic airson Gàidhlig thraidiseanta, neo-fhoirmeil a thuilleadh air cànan foirmeil; gu sònraichte gus am b' urrainn dhan ghinealach òg diofar chruthan iomchaidh dhen Ghàidhlig aithneachadh agus a chleachdadh ann an suidheachaidhean fa leth (a' toirt a-staigh dualchainntean cuideachd) seach Gàidhlig foirmeil a chleachdadh ann an suidheachaidhean neo-

fhoirmeil. Tha e cudromach do phlanadh corpais na Gàidhlig tuairisgeul a thoirt air na dualchainntean traidiseanta agus an gleidheadh, seach a bhith ag amas air a' chànan fhoirmeil a-mhàin.

5.   Is e a' Ghàidhlig a tha aithnichte mar 'dheagh Ghàidhlig' (aig ìre fhoirmeil agus neo-fhoirmeil) an cànan a bha cumanta ri linn nan 1940an agus nan 1950an. Tha ùghdarras cànanach aig fileantaich a thogadh sna deicheadan sin (i.e. an sàr luchd-labhairt a tha nan sàr eisimpleirean ('model speakers'). Is e an t-ideòlas as cumanta ma-thà, seòrsa de *retrophilia* ris an canamaid *retro-vernacular*: far a bheil luach ga thoirt air cruthan traidseanta a' chànain mar a tha iad fhathast gan cleachdadh le luchd-labhairt traidiseanta, fileanta, seach an cànan a tha fo bhuaidh làidir na Beurla a chleachdadh an ginealach òg. Tha e na phrìomhachas faochnach do leasachadh corpais tuairisgeul a thoirt air a' Ghàidhlig seo gus a neartachadh agus a gleidheadh.

6.   Chan eil ùidh mhòr anns na ceanglaichean dualchasach ri Gàidhlig na h-Èireann. Chan eil an t-ideòlas as cumanta taobhach ri Gaeilge-*philia* no Gaeilge-*phobia*.

Tha barrachd iomradh air na co-dhùnaidhean mu ideòlasan cànain ri fhaighinn ann an Caibideil B2.

Bha an dàrna pàirt de na Còmhraidhean Cuimsichte a' dèiligeadh ri **goireasan corpais** Gàidhlig. B' e an t-amas a bh' ann molaidhean a thional air na goireasan a tha a dhìth.

Thàinig an sgioba rannsachaidh gu na co-dhùnaidhean seo a leanas a thaobh goireasan corpais:

1.   Thathar a' faireachdainn gu bheil na goireasan cànain a th' ann an-dràsta sgapte agus gu bheil co-òrdanachadh a dhìth. Chuireadh beachd làidir air adhart airson aon làrach ('one-stop-shop') do ghoireasan corpais: làrach-lìn shònraichte far am faodar a dhol airson comhairle ùghdarrasach earbsach, mhionaideach fhaighinn gu luath air puingean briathrachais agus gràmair aig ìre adhartach.

2.   Thathar ag iarraidh stiùireadh air puingean mionaideach mu chleachdadh gràmair, còmhla ri mìneachaidhean soilleir carson nach eilear a' gabhail ri cleachdaidhean sònraichte. Tha cruaidh-fheum air stiùireadh gràmair susbainteach, ioma-chuimseach, slàn, air-loidhne a tha stèidhichte air cainnt an luchd-labhairt thraidiseanta a tha fhathast còmhla rinn.

3.   Thathas ag iarraidh stiùireadh is treòrachadh an dà chuid gus Beurlachas a sheachnadh agus gus an seòrsa Gàidhlig a thathas a' meas nàdarra agus iomchaidh a chleachdadh. Airson seo a choileanadh bhiodh e feumail leabhar-iùil a bhith ann air cleachdadh na Gàidhlig a bheireadh seachad stiùireadh air cleachdaidhean nach eil a' còrdadh ri luchd-labhairt traidiseanta agus ciamar a rachadh an seachnadh.

4.   Thathas ag iarraidh faclairean le barrachd fiosrachaidh nam broinn: le tòrr a bharrachd mhìneachaidhean air co-theacsa agus dualchainntean; barrachd stiùiridh air an diofar eadar cleachdaidhean foirmeil is neo-fhoirmeil agus seann chleachdaidhean is cleachdaidhean an latha an-diugh.

5.   Tha barrachd cunbhalachd ann am briathrachas ùr a dhìth. Nuair a tha iarrtas soilleir ann airson facal ùr, is fheàrr le luchd-cleachdaidh proifeasanta aon chruth aonaichte a bhith ann seach caochladh chruthan eadar-dhealaichte bho dhiofar bhuidhnean.

Tha barrachd iomraidh air na co-dhùnaidhean mu ghoireasan corpais ann an Caibideil B3.

Bha am pàirt mu dheireadh dhe na Còmhraidhean Cuimsichte a' dèiligeadh ri **bunaitean airson modh-obrach buidhne.** B' e an t-amas a bh' ann beachdan agus smaointean a thional air an structar a bu tharraingiche a dh'fhaodadh a bhith ann airson leasachadh corpais na Gàidhlig sam àm ri teachd. Thàinig an sgioba rannsachaidh gu na co-dhùnaidhean seo a leanas a thaobh bunaitean airson modh-obrach buidhne.

Ann an co-theacsa leasachadh corpais, tha trì diofar seòrsachan dreuchdan ann:

- **Luchd-com-pàirteachaidh**: com-pàirtichean aig a bheil sàr eòlas air briathrachas, ghràmar, msaa, a dhèanadh an obair a tha dhìth airson corpas na Gàidhlig a leasachadh

- **Luchd-co-dhùnaidh**: a thigeadh gu co-dhùnadh mu cheistean co-cheangailte ri corpas na Gàidhlig

- **Luchd-cleachdaidh**: an fheadhainn a ghabhadh ri agus a chleachdadh molaidhean an luchd-co-dhùnaidh.

1. Thuirt cuid de dhaoine (luchd-cleachdaidh) a ghabh pàirt anns an rannsachadh gum biodh iad toilichte molaidhean agus stiùireadh a leantainn a rinneadh leis an luchd-co-dhùnaidh, cho fad 's a bhiodh earbsa aca anns a' mhodh-obrach agus fhad 's a leanadh a' mhòr-chuid an aon stiùireadh. Thuirt feadhainn eile (luchd-com-pàirteachaidh) ged-tà, gum biodh iad airson gnothach a ghabhail ris a' phròiseas. Is e am modail as tarraingiche, modail a bhiodh deamocratach far am biodh cothrom aig daoine a bhith a' biathadh fiosrachadh a-steach. Is e stiùireadh is com-pàirteachas seach smachd a thathas a' lorg.

2. Bu chòir trì tùsan dlighealachd ('legitimacy') a bhith aig modh-obrach buidheann corpais na Gàidhlig gus a dhèanamh iomchaidh: tùs **poblach, saidheansail** agus **poilitigeach**. Tha seo ag innse gum bu chòir modh-obrach trì-chasach a bhith ann: a' toirt a-staigh trì buidhnean a tha ceangailte ach neo-eisimeileach bho chèile: (a) luchd-labhairt a tha aithnichte leis a' choimhearsnachd mar dhaoine le fìor dheagh Ghàidhlig (dlighealachd phoibleach); (b) eòlaichean cànain (m.e. luchd-gràmair, eòlaichean fuaimneachaidh, eòlaichean faclaireachd, sòisio-chànanaichean) (dlighealachd shaidheansail); (c) manaidsearan inbhe cànain (m.e. riochdairean bho BhnG, ChnaG, Chlì Gàidhlig, Stòrlann, bhon BhBC, msaa) (dlighealachd phoilitigeach).

3. Tha sgaradh ann eadar seallaidhean a tha stèidhichte air seirbheis fhaighinn bhon taobh a-muigh ('outsourcing') agus seallaidhean a tha stèidhichte air com-pàirteachas a thaobh leasachadh corpais. Bho shealladh manaidsearan inbhe, thathas gu tric a' faicinn leasachadh corpais mar obair theicnigeach, dholleir. Air an dàrna làimh, tha luchd-obrach cànain mothachail gum faod co-dhùnaidhean an lùib leasachadh corpais a bhith poilitigeach seach teicnigeach agus, mar thoradh air sin, gum bu chòir guth a bhith aig a' phoball anns a' phròiseas. Is e am modh-obrach as fheàrr a fhreagradh air a' Ghàidhlig, modh-obrach anns am faodadh luchd-planaidh inbhe na h-iarrtasan corpais aca a chur gu buidheann fhosgailte, chom-pàirteach aig am biodh dlighealachd shaidheansail agus phoibleach.

4. Chan eil structar maoineachaidh soilleir ann airson modh-obrach buidhne airson leasachadh corpais. Ged a bha na daoine a ghabh pàirt anns an rannsachadh a' faicinn luach ann an leasachadh corpais dhan Ghàidhlig, bha iad teagmhach molaidhean a chur air adhart a dh'fhaodadh maoineachadh a thoirt air falbh bho na h-iomairtean a th' ann mar-thà.

5.   Chan eil iarrtas ann airson acadamaidh cànain a bhiodh ann dìreach mar shamhla airson cliù agus inbhe a thoirt dhan chànain. Feumaidh modh-obrach sam bith a bhith practaigeach, gun a bhith biurocratach no sglèapach.

Tha barrachd iomradh air na co-dhùnaidhean mu mhodhan-obrach ri fhaighinn ann an Caibideil B4.

Tha **Pàirt C** dhen aithisg seo a' toirt seachad dreachd structar obrachaidh airson leasachadh corpais na Gàidhlig san àm ri teachd. Tha an structar seo stèidhichte air an ideòlas cànain as cumanta a lorgar am measg luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig fhèin. Tha sinn a' moladh pròiseact dearbhaidh no pìolat a chuirte air bhog, taobh a-staigh dà bhliadhna, structar eisimpleireach airson planadh corpais na Gàidhlig air bhonn maoineachaidh seasmhach.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the results of a one-year research project, commissioned by Bòrd na Gàidhlig (BnG) and carried out by a Soillse Research team, whose goal was to answer the following question:

- What corpus planning principles are appropriate for the strengthening and promotion of Scottish Gaelic, and what effective coordination would result in their implementation?

This report contains the following agreed outcomes:

- a clear and consistent linguistic foundation for Gaelic corpus planning, according with Bòrd na Gàidhlig's acquisition, usage and status planning initiatives, and most likely to be supported by Gaelic users.

- a programme of priorities to be addressed by Gaelic corpus planning.

- recommendations on a means of coordination that will be effective in terms of cost and management (i.e. an institutional framework).

The name *Dlùth is Inneach* was chosen from a quote by the Rev. Donald Lamont (see A2.2.1.3.2.) where he recommends writing that uses the *fìor dhlùth is inneach*, the 'real warp and weft', of Gaelic. The project aimed to get an understanding of what constitutes the *dlùth is inneach* of Gaelic today for its speakers: what is important to them and what makes Gaelic Gaelic.

The report contains three main sections, A, B, and C. **Part A** presents the results of a four-month literature review and survey of Gaelic corpus development, in both a national and an international context. One key outcome of this part of the project is a multi-dimensional model of the language-ideological space in which Gaelic corpus development activity can be situated, based on positive or negative attitudes towards four different kinds of linguistic usage (whether words, idioms or syntactic constructions):

- *Beurla*-isms (i.e. borrowings from English)

- neologisms (i.e. non-traditional usages of any kind)

- archaisms (i.e. obsolete usages from the Gaelic tradition)

- Irishisms (i.e. borrowings from Modern Irish).

Each of the four language-ideological dimensions embodies a continuum with two polar extremities (one positive, one negative), for which we use the following semi-technical terms:

- *Beurla*-philia — *Beurla*-phobia

- neophilia — neophobia

- retrophilia — retrophobia

- *Gaeilge*-philia — *Gaeilge*-phobia.

In addition, the importance of what Joshua Fishman calls 'risk-free corpus planning' is emphasised: any innovation in the Gaelic corpus should be undertaken slowly and carefully, with a good understanding of the speech community's dominant language ideology. The danger of not proceeding

in this way could be to fall into the trap of carrying out corpus planning which actively accelerates language shift (i.e. 'corpus planning that hinders').

Part B of this report presents the results of a public consultation into Gaelic corpus development carried out by the research team between August and December 2013. We engaged with Gaelic development organisations, language practitioners, community groups and individuals, gathering wide and varied information on their language use and collating information on the approaches and initiatives that would support their language use and transmission.

The research team conducted 39 Focused Conversation events across Gaelic-speaking communities in Scotland (Glasgow, Inverness, Lewis, Harris, Uist and Skye), attracting a total of 184 participants.

The first part of each Focused Conversation was concerned with **linguistic foundations** for Gaelic corpus development. The aim was to identify the dominant language ideology among Gaelic speakers with respect to the corpus of their language — vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, orthography, etc. — in relation to the multi-dimensional model of language ideology developed in Part A. The research team reached the following conclusions with respect to linguistic foundations:

1. There is a generation gap with regard to how confident people are in their Gaelic language abilities with an older generation of confident Gaelic-dominant bilinguals, and a younger generation of linguistically less secure English-dominant bilinguals. Bridging this generation gap is an urgent priority for Gaelic corpus development, allowing older speakers to share their expertise with younger speakers.

2. People feel strongly that the traditional grammatical and idiomatic foundations of the Gaelic language are being eroded through lack of effective reinforcement, and are being replaced by a reduced blend of Gaelic influenced by English, and affecting vocabulary and grammar in particular. Slowing down and reversing this process is a significant priority for Gaelic corpus development.

3. The creation of new Gaelic terminology to replace English in highly specialised domains is not seen as an immediate priority, when compared to the intrusion of English into the grammatical structure of the language, and the loss of basic lexical distinctions and traditional idioms. The dominant language ideology thus appears to be more neophobic (i.e. hostile towards neologisms) than *Beurla*-phobic (i.e. hostile towards English borrowings). However, participants are by no means opposed to all lexical innovation, recognising that there can be reasonable demand for new words, as new concepts and objects gain currency in everyday language.

4. People want support for informal, vernacular, traditional language use, as well as for more formal, standard usage, so that younger speakers can familiarise themselves with the many appropriate modes of speaking (including dialects), and do not end up using formal Gaelic in informal contexts. It is thus important for Gaelic corpus development to prioritise the description and preservation of the traditional vernacular dialects, and not just focus on the formal standard language.

5. The accepted model for 'good' Gaelic (at both formal and informal levels) is the popular language of the 1940s and 1950s, with linguistic authority being conferred on fluent speakers

who grew up during this era (i.e. the 'model' Gaelic speakers). The dominant ideology is thus a limited form of retrophilia, which we characterise as retro-vernacular — an attachment to the traditional form of the language still in use by fluent traditional speakers, in contrast to the evolving, English-influenced usages of the younger generation. Description and maintenance of the vernacular Gaelic of the remaining older speakers is thus an immediate priority for Gaelic corpus development.

6. Scottish Gaelic speakers are not overtly interested in their language's common heritage with Irish Gaelic — the dominant language ideology is neutral between *Gaeilge*-philia and *Gaeilge*-phobia.

These conclusions are discussed in detail in Chapter B2.

The second part of each Focused Conversation was concerned with **corpus resources** for Gaelic. The aim was to identify those resources that participants feel are missing from the Gaelic development environment. The research team reached the following conclusions with respect to corpus resources:

1. People feel that existing provision of Gaelic language resources is fragmented and lacks coordination. A clear desire was expressed for an online 'one-stop-shop' for Gaelic corpus resources: a single website where people can go to get instant, authoritative, trustworthy, detailed advice on advanced lexical and grammatical usage.

2. People want guidance on detailed aspects of grammatical usage, along with clear, unambiguous explanations as to why certain usages are ungrammatical. An urgent priority for Gaelic corpus development is the development of a comprehensive, up-to-date, online reference grammar based on the vernacular usage of the remaining traditional Gaelic speakers.

3. People want explicit guidance on how to avoid *Beurlachas* (i.e. English-influenced Gaelic), and how to speak what they consider to be more authentic, natural, and stylistically appropriate Gaelic. One particularly useful resource would be a guide to good Gaelic stylistic usage, including a list of commonly found usages perceived by traditional speakers to be unacceptable, along with more authentic alternatives.

4. People want more informative dictionaries, with much more systematic explanations of distinctions relating to shades of meaning, context, dialects, colloquial versus formal usage, and contemporary versus archaic usage.

5. There is a need for greater consistency in new Gaelic terminology. Where there is obvious, reasonable demand for a new item of Gaelic terminology, professional users have a clear preference for there to be a single agreed Gaelic term rather than a range of competing synonyms created by different organisations.

These conclusions on corpus resources are discussed in detail in Chapter B3.

The third and final part of each Focused Conversation was concerned with **institutional foundations** for Gaelic corpus development. The aim was to canvass opinions and ideas on the most desirable institutional framework for future Gaelic corpus development. The research team reached the following conclusions with respect to institutional foundations:

1. With regard to corpus development roles, there are contributors, decision-makers and end-users. Whereas some participants (end-users) said that they would be happy to put into

practice the corpus development decisions made by others (decision-makers), as long as they felt that the framework had legitimacy and majority buy-in, a significant number (contributors) expressed a desire to be involved in corpus development processes. The preferred model for a Gaelic corpus development framework is one that is highly participatory and democratic, rather than elitist and authoritarian.

2. An appropriate Gaelic corpus development framework should aim for three sources of legitimacy: **popular**, **scientific**, and **political**. This suggests some kind of tripartite framework for Gaelic corpus development, involving three independent but interconnected groups consisting of: (a) community-recognised Model Gaelic Speakers; (b) language scientists (e.g. grammarians, phoneticians, lexicographers, sociolinguists); and (c) language status agents (e.g. representatives of BnG, Comunn na Gàidhlig (CnaG), Clì Gàidhlig, Stòrlann, the BBC, etc.).

3. There is an important distinction between outsourcing and participatory perspectives on Gaelic corpus development. From the perspective of Gaelic status planning managers, corpus development is often seen as a relatively uninteresting technical task. Language practitioners, on the other hand, are much more aware that corpus development involves making decisions which are more political than technical, and hence that everyone should have a voice in the process. The ideal corpus development framework for Gaelic would be one where status planners could have a means of outsourcing their corpus development needs to an open, participatory body which enjoyed both popular and scientific legitimacy.

4. There is no obvious funding model for a Gaelic corpus development framework. While recognising the importance of corpus development to the future of the Gaelic language in Scotland, participants were reluctant to recommend diverting funding from existing status, usage and acquisition activities.

5. There is no desire to establish a Gaelic language academy whose main function would be to act as a status marker for the language. Any framework should be practical, unbureaucratic and unpretentious.

These conclusions on institutional foundations are discussed in detail in Chapter B4.

Part C of this report presents a draft of an appropriate, scalable institutional framework for future Gaelic corpus development, grounded in the dominant language ideology of Gaelic speakers themselves. Finally, recommendations are included for a two-year pilot project aimed at delivering proof of concept through delivering tangible outputs and establishing a financially sustainable corpus planning framework.

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Abbreviations

BnG Bòrd na Gàidhlig

CnaG Comunn na Gàidhlig

FC Focused Conversation

GLE Gaelic Learner Education

GLPS Gaelic Learners in the Primary School

GME Gaelic Medium Education

GOC Gaelic Orthographic Conventions

ICA Institute of Cultural Affairs

IUT Inuit Language Authority

MLC Māori Language Commission

RA Research Assistant

RAE Real Academia Espanola

RCAHMS Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland

RLS Reversing Language Shift

SNH Scottish Natural History

Transciption Conventions

P17 Participant Number 17

For each participant the following data is given: general age, self-description of speaker status, field of occupation, e.g. **20s, Native, Public Sector**.

A distinction is made between those working in Higher or Further education (H/F Education) teaching and research and those involved in primary or secondary education (Education).

– Short pause by participant

... Longer pause by participants

[...] Editoral ellipsis

[note] Editoral note

Citations are given verbatim even when usage contravenes normal accepted practice.

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Part A. Literature Review

A1. Language Policy, Corpus Planning, and Reversing Language Shift

A1.1. Language Policy: Practice, Ideology and Management

Sociolinguist Bernard Spolsky in his 2004 book *Language Policy* divides the general field of language policy into three distinct but interrelated components:

- Language practice

- Language ideology

- Language management.

Each of these aspects is explained in more detail in the course of the following three subsections. We have chosen to use the Spolskyan model as the foundation for this project as it is the most straightforward, coherent, holistic framework available at the present time for discussing language policy and planning. The ways in which this model relates to the areas of acquisition, status, usage and corpus planning, familiar from Bòrd na Gàidhlig's (BnG) National Gaelic Language Plans, will be covered in section A3.

A1.1.1. Language practice

The language practice of a community is best understood as the sum total of everything that any member actually says or writes to anyone else – the complete observable linguistic behaviour of the group as a whole. Spolsky characterises language practice as 'what people actually do say', as opposed to 'what people think they should say' (the latter being a matter of language ideology rather than language practice) (Spolsky 2004: 14).

Describing language practice is the primary responsibility of descriptive linguists and sociolinguists, and thanks to their work we know a fair amount about language practices in Scottish Gaelic communities, and how these practices have evolved over the last fifty years or so. Three generalisations appear to be particularly relevant in this respect.

A1.1.1.1. Speaker level

First of all, when considering language practices from the perspective of the speakers themselves, we see that all contemporary Gaelic language communities exist in a state of unidirectional bilingualism (i.e. bilingualism of native Gaelic speakers, monolingualism of native English speakers). Every such community contains some people who can speak both Gaelic and English, as well as some people who can speak only English, but there are, to all intents and purposes, no adults who can speak only Gaelic. In reality, what we call Gaelic-speaking communities nowadays could be described as English-speaking communities where some people also speak Gaelic. In these communities, English is the only common language, and there are few, if any, sanctions, either formal or informal, against

incomers who fail to learn Gaelic or children who fail to acquire it. Gaelic communities are characterised by accelerating speaker loss with each successive generation. Research conducted by Munro et al. in the Gaelic-speaking community of Shawbost in Lewis found that only 17 out of 59 under-25s were fluent Gaelic speakers (28%), compared with 116 out of 159 over-50s (72%), and that intergenerational transmission of Gaelic in the village had 'all but ended' (2011: 4).

A1.1.1.2. Domain level

Secondly, when considering language practices from the perspective of sociolinguistic domains (i.e. different contexts, situations, topics and functions in / for which speakers use languages), we find that the speaker-level phenomenon of unidirectional bilingualism is reflected in the fact that all Gaelic speakers (and only Gaelic speakers) operate in a context of diglossia, i.e. they habitually use Gaelic in some domains and English in other domains, even when talking to other Gaelic speakers. To be precise, those domains where there is a reasonable probability that a non-Gaelic speaker will be present become by default English-language domains, leaving Gaelic typically confined to the informal, domestic sphere. Whereas some domains are 'English-only', there are no longer any domains which are 'Gaelic-only'. Over the generations, we see that speaker loss is inevitably accompanied by domain loss, with each aspect of language shift reinforcing the other. For example, Munro et al. report that 'Shawbost residents are choosing to use English in virtually every social setting in the community' (2011: 9), and that domain loss is even evident in the home: 'no child uses mainly or only Gaelic with siblings' (2011: 13).

Domain loss both drives and is driven by speaker loss. The fewer domains there are that Gaelic can or should be used in, the less need there is for children to acquire the language (and for immigrants to learn it), and the less opportunity there will be for them to master it. In addition, the fewer Gaelic speakers there are that are operating within a particular domain, the more likely it is to be an English-only domain.

A1.1.1.3. Word level

Thirdly, when we examine the linguistic behaviour of Gaelic speakers at the level of individual words, sounds, idioms, phrases and sentences, we find that Gaelic language practice (of most users in most domains) is typically characterised by language mixing, where English words (sounds, idioms, etc.) are inserted into Gaelic speech. This can happen in situations where the speaker does not know of a Gaelic word for the concept they want to talk about, or where they are more familiar with using the English word, or where they are making some kind of deliberate stylistic choice.[1] There is, on the other hand, less evidence of Gaelic words being inserted into English speech.

A1.1.1.4. The vicious circle of language shift

Over time, Gaelic speaker loss and domain loss appear to be inevitably accompanied by 'word loss', and again all three are mutually reinforcing – the 'vicious circle' of language shift. For example, Meek (1990: 11) observes that 'younger speakers, whose language tends to function at the lower

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1 For a recent study on the complexities of code-switching choices in Gaelic see Smith-Christmas 2012.

vernacular level, often have an impoverished range of vocabulary, showing a lack of synonyms and an inability to change to appropriate levels of the upper register'; McLeod (2004a: 35) calls this 'restricted Gaelic'. MacAulay notes:

> The result [of universal bilingualism] is that virtually any lexical item may now be borrowed from English without being adapted to the Gaelic sound system, and often without being adapted to a Gaelic system of any kind. A Gaelic speaker at a loss for a word will select an English synonym quite unselfconsciously. (1982: 214–5)

Note that, we will use the term 'word' as a convenient shortcut to denote any level of linguistic unit, including sounds, vocabulary items, grammatical words and affixes, idioms, phrases and sentences.

Just as domain loss both drives and is driven by speaker loss, so word loss both drives and is driven by domain loss. The fewer domains that Gaelic can be used in, the less likely children are to acquire the appropriate Gaelic words, idioms and styles; and the less familiar people are with the appropriate Gaelic words, idioms and styles, the less likely they are to use Gaelic in the relevant domain.

A1.1.2. Language ideology

If language practice is a matter of 'what people actually do say', then language ideology is concerned with 'what people think people should say'. Thus, we can conceptualise the language ideology of a community as the sum total of the beliefs about appropriate language practice held by the members of the community. Note that language beliefs can be either idiocentric (making reference to one's own language practice, i.e. what I think I should say) or allocentric (making reference to other people's language practice, e.g. what I think you / he / she / they should say).

Like language practices, language beliefs can be analysed at three different sociolinguistic levels:

- Speaker-level beliefs (in the Gaelic context) are concerned with questions about which people should or should not (be able to) speak Gaelic

- Domain-level beliefs involve questions about which domains are appropriate or inappropriate for Gaelic to be used in

- Word-level beliefs take into account questions about what counts as a 'good' Gaelic utterance, i.e. what words, idioms and structures are acceptable Gaelic and which are not

These three levels of language ideology all influence each other. For example, an individual's beliefs about what constitutes good Gaelic tend to be closely related to the beliefs they hold about who should be able to speak Gaelic and which domains it is appropriate to use Gaelic in.

Characterising language ideologies is also a task for sociolinguists, although a lot less is known about language beliefs in Gaelic communities than about language practices. Two of the findings in Munro et al.'s (2011: 6) Shawbost survey are relevant here: 'Almost nine out of ten adults rated Gaelic as central to their identity as people living in the Western Isles'; and 'Almost eight out of ten people thought that children in the islands must learn Gaelic'. Both of these could be interpreted as speaker-level beliefs, stating that Shawbost residents believe that people who live in the Outer Hebrides should speak Gaelic. The second finding could also be interpreted as a domain-level belief, stating that either

(grand)parents should speak Gaelic to their (grand)children, or that Gaelic should be taught in schools, or possibly both. Another domain-level belief is implicit in one of the findings of a Scottish Government survey (West & Graham 2011) — that 68% of Scottish people as a whole believe that public documents and notices should be made available in Gaelic versions. However, little of detail is known at the moment about word-level language beliefs in Gaelic communities, i.e. what constitutes good or acceptable Gaelic as used in particular domains.

There will often be conflicts between language beliefs and language practices. A language conflict is implicit in any situation or context where person A thinks that person B should say (or write) X, but B actually says something different (with the additional option that A and B are the same person, i.e. allocentric versus idiocentric conflicts). Just as both language practice and language ideology can be analysed at three different sociolinguistic levels, the same is true for these ideology / practice conflicts:

- **Speaker-level conflicts** (in the Gaelic context) involve cases where A thinks that B should be able to speak Gaelic but B actually cannot, or where A thinks that B should not be able to speak Gaelic but B in fact can

- **Domain-level conflicts** involve cases where A thinks that B should use Gaelic in some domain where B actually uses English, or vice versa

- **Word-level conflicts** involve cases where A thinks that B should (or should not) use a particular word, sound, idiom or structure, but B in fact does something different

The logic inherent in the official government policy on Gaelic language revitalisation in Scotland can be argued to imply an (allocentric) ideology / practice conflict between what the government believes should be happening in Gaelic communities and what is actually happening. According to the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, two of the main aims of BnG involve: 'increasing the number of persons who are able to use and understand the Gaelic language'; and 'encouraging the use and understanding of the Gaelic language'. The first of these aims implies a speaker-level ideology / practice conflict (i.e. there aren't as many Gaelic speakers as there should be), and the second a domain-level one (there isn't as much Gaelic being spoken as there should be).

Once again, not much up till now has been known about the scale and intensity of word-level ideology / practice conflicts in Gaelic communities, although there is a lot of anecdotal evidence of hostility to particular words, pronunciations and structures.

A1.1.3. Language management

A conflict between language ideology and language practice involves any situation where:

- A thinks that B should say X (or use Language 1)

- But: B actually says Y (or uses Language 2)

There are two opposing ways of resolving this kind of ideology / practice conflict:

- One could try to stop B saying Y and make them say X (or stop them using Language 2 and make them use Language 1), i.e. modify the language practice to comply with the language belief

- One could encourage A to change their mind about B being supposed to say X (or use Language 1), i.e. update the language belief to coincide with actual language practice

The first of these is what Spolsky calls 'language management'. Language management is the component of language policy that concerns attempts to resolve ideology / practice conflicts by modifying the practice to comply with the ideology. The opposite of language management could conceivably be termed 'language acceptance' — resolving an ideology / practice conflict by updating the ideology to coincide with the practice.

Language management interventions can be analysed according to the sociolinguistic level at which the ideology / practice conflict applies, giving three main subtypes of intervention:

- **Speaker management**: attempts to increase / decrease the number of people who (are able to) speak (or write) a particular language, commonly known as 'acquisition planning'

- **Domain management**: attempts to expand / restrict the domains in which a particular language can be used, commonly known as 'usage planning' (or in certain interpretations 'status planning')

- **Word management**: attempts to modify individual utterances themselves, i.e. the words, sounds, idioms and structures that people use when speaking the language, commonly known as 'corpus planning'

In section A1.1.1 the 'vicious circle' of language shift was described, whereby Gaelic speaker loss, domain loss and word loss are seen to be mutually reinforcing. One implication of this is that interventionist language management for Gaelic language revitalisation can usefully take a similarly holistic perspective, with all activity situated within a correspondingly counter-directional 'virtuous circle' of reversing language shift, involving speaker gain, domain gain and word gain.[2] From this perspective, domain-level management (i.e. status planning) depends to a large extent on corresponding word-level management (i.e. corpus planning), since it is difficult to use Gaelic in any domain without having access to domain-specific vocabulary and styles (cf. the establishment of Stòrlann's *An Seotal* terminology panel). And vice versa, there is little point in doing word-level management (i.e. corpus planning) unless it is supported by innovations at the domain-level, otherwise people would have little chance to internalise and popularise vocabulary and styles. It is important to note that acquisition planning, status planning and corpus planning are not separate activities that can be carried out in isolation by dedicated teams of specialised experts. They should rather be seen as closely connected parts of an integrated, holistic language management mechanism, which needs to be carefully calibrated and lubricated in order to function effectively.

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2 Reminiscent of Strubell's 'Catherine Wheel' model of language revitalisation; see MacLeod (2007: 66) for a discussion of this in the context of Gaelic language plans.

A1.2. Language Management: Purification and Cultivation

Active language management involves attempts to intervene in the actual language practices of a community in order to comply with some set of beliefs about what the ideal set of language practices for that community should be. Language management can focus on speakers (acquisition planning), domains (status / usage planning) or words (corpus planning). According to the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, the raison d'être of Bòrd na Gàidhlig is to undertake language management with a view to realising the language ideology implicit within the Act: more Gaelic speakers, and more Gaelic-speaking domains. Although the Act, in common with most language legislation internationally, has nothing to say about word-level management (indeed the term 'Gaelic' itself is only defined in the Act as 'the Gaelic language as used in Scotland'), since more Gaelic domains imply more Gaelic words to use in them, corpus management must also be seen as part of the Bòrd's remit (in the absence, currently, of another statutory body with a corpus planning remit).

Spolsky (2004) distinguishes two main directions of language management:

- Purification: driving out the bad

- Cultivation: pursuing the good and dealing with the new

These will be discussed in turn in the next two subsections.

A1.2.1. Language purification

Language purification, in Spolsky's sense, involves language management activities that are aimed at identifying and purging undesirable language practices from a community. Typical (word level) examples of undesirable language that become the target of purification efforts include: obscenities, blasphemy, slang, politically incorrect usages (e.g. sexist, racist, sectarian or homophobic language), foreignisms, neologisms, youth-speak and corporate-speak.

The process of linguistic purification can be pursued at all three sociolinguistic levels. In other words, efforts can be made to 'purge' the community of:

- Undesirable speakers

- Undesirable domains

- Undesirable words / idioms / structures.

At the simplest level possible, the logic of Gaelic language revitalisation in Scotland rests on the (usually implicit) assumption that the undesirable language practices generally involve the use of English in traditionally Gaelic-speaking communities (though non-traditional idioms are also cited as 'undesirable' practice). Thus, 'purification' interventions on behalf of Gaelic could potentially involve three kinds of activity (although some of these would be unacceptable socially):

- [speaker / acquisition] actively reducing the number / proportion of non-Gaelic speakers living in Gaelic communities (e.g. one could encourage bilingualism, or place restrictions on immigration, etc.);

- [domain / status] eliminating 'Gaelic-unfriendly' linguistic domains (e.g. one could boycott organisations which don't have a pro-Gaelic language policy, block the reception of non-Gaelic TV channels, remove non-Gaelic roadsigns);

- [word / corpus] discouraging the use of non-Gaelic words, idioms and structures.

Such efforts could be (and have been) argued for as a necessary corrective to historical and ongoing anti-Gaelic language management interventions that have attempted to purge the Gàidhealtachd of Gaelic speakers, domains and words.

A1.2.2. Language cultivation

Language cultivation, on the other hand, involves language management activities that are aimed at identifying and enriching the stock of 'good' language practices available to the community. From this perspective, language cultivation is a necessary counterweight to purification. Any successful attempt to purge a language community of 'undesirable' language practices (by purging undesirable speakers, undesirable domains or undesirable words) will create a vacuum which will need to be filled by the creation of new, 'good' language practices (by cultivating good speakers, good domains, and good words) to take their place. Similarly, there is often little point in cultivating good language practices in the absence of a corresponding process to create space for them to flourish.

Language cultivation is relevant to language management activity at all three sociolinguistic levels:

- **Speaker / acquisition**: increasing the number / proportion of Gaelic speakers living in Gaelic communities

- **Domain / status**: augmenting language practice with new Gaelic-friendly domains

- **Word / corpus**: assisting in the creation of new Gaelic words, idioms, structures and styles.

A1.2.3. Summary: language management

Language management involves attempts to resolve language policy conflicts between language beliefs (what people think people should say) and language practices (what people actually say) by modifying the practice to comply with the ideology (or vice versa). Language management in its most general sense is best considered as an ongoing bidirectional process of purification (weeding out undesirable language practices) and cultivation (propagating good language practices), taking place simultaneously at speaker level (acquisition planning), domain level (status planning) and word level (corpus planning).

In the context of Gaelic language revitalisation, 'undesirable' language practice effectively means English, and 'good' language practice effectively means Gaelic. Purification, at the extreme level, would thus be targeted at purging the Gàidhealtachd of monoglot English speakers, English-only domains, and English words. Cultivation would focus attention on the creation of new, and the development of existing, Gaelic speakers, Gaelic-friendly domains and Gaelic words. For reasons of good public relations (and in order not to provoke social division), minority language management agencies will generally downplay the 'purification' metaphor and emphasise the 'cultivation'

metaphor in their public rhetoric. Nonetheless both play an important role in the logic underpinning attempts to reverse language shift.

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A1.3. Language Management in Action

A1.3.1. Ideological clarification

Language management is driven by a perceived discrepancy between the dominant language ideology and language practice. Therefore, before any rational programme of language management can be initiated, it should be preceded by a survey of both language practices and language beliefs among the community in question, in order to clarify whether such a discrepancy really exists and on what sociolinguistic levels it is manifested. From the perspective of Gaelic, the following questions need to be answered, during the process of what Fishman (1991) calls 'prior ideological clarification':

• **Speaker level:** Who should be a Gaelic speaker but is not? Who is a Gaelic speaker but should not be?

• **Domain level:** What domains should be Gaelic-friendly but are not? What domains are Gaelic-friendly but should not be?

• **Word level:** What words (idioms, structures, etc.) should be in Gaelic but are not? What ones are in Gaelic but should not be?

This process of ideological clarification involves characterising the dominant beliefs within the language community about what is good language practice and what is undesirable language practice, at all three sociolinguistic levels, and then subsequently contrasting this with actual language practice to see if there are any conflicts. It is also important to survey previous and ongoing attempts to solve the ideology / practice conflicts in question, and evaluate how effective they have been in modifying language practice in the desired ways.

A1.3.2. Domain management (status / usage planning)

The process of domain-level language management (i.e. status planning) begins with the identification of some Gaelic-unfriendly domain which, according to the dominant language ideology of the community, should actually be a Gaelic-friendly domain. Take, for example, the domain of property conveyancing. Imagine (for purposes of illustration alone) that a comprehensive survey of language practice and language ideology of the Gàidhealtachd has flagged up conveyancing as a priority domain of language conflict: a language belief survey has shown that most people think that this is an important public service which should be accessible to people through the Gaelic language. However, a corresponding language use survey has shown that very little if any conveyancing actually takes place through the medium of Gaelic. This is a carbon copy example of a domain-level ideology / practice conflict.

At this point, BnG (or the relevant language management agency in this context) has a choice between promoting a policy of acceptance or one of active management. Acceptance would involve making no attempt to make conveyancing a Gaelic-friendly domain because of a lack of resources, a lack of the necessary authority, or because preliminary investigation has led to the conclusion that any such attempt to change practice is likely to fail. Customers who wish to make use of Gaelic-speaking

conveyancing services will be encouraged to reconcile themselves with using English in conveyancing transactions, and to focus their energies and attention on other issues.

Alternatively, the Bòrd could promote a policy of active language domain management; to take action to have conveyancing become a Gaelic-friendly domain. Attempts could be made to (at least partially) purge conveyancing of 'undesirable' English language practices and cultivate 'good' Gaelic ones to take their place. Since domains are abstract entities, which cannot be manipulated in any kind of direct fashion, any such language management interventions will need to be targeted at either speakers or words, or preferably both.

At speaker level, attempts can be made to encourage or impel the relevant people (i.e. solicitors and customers) to use Gaelic when engaging in conveyancing transactions. For example, this could be done in a soft way, by an advertising campaign telling people that it is possible to do so, or in a hard way, by enacting a legally enforceable right to access conveyancing through the medium of Gaelic. At speaker level, the goal is to purge (in Spolsky's rather blunt term) conveyancing of non-Gaelic-speaking solicitors, and cultivate new Gaelic-speaking ones to replace them. This could involve offering Gaelic lessons to existing solicitors or, more harshly, revoking the right of non-Gaelic-speaking solicitors to practise property law in the relevant parts of Scotland.

These speaker-level (i.e. acquisition planning) interventions will also need to be accompanied by word-level (i.e. corpus planning) ones. Every Gaelic-friendly domain needs its own register, i.e. a domain-specific variety of Gaelic used to encode the relevant communicative transactions. A new domain will thus need a new or expanded register of Gaelic, which is expressive enough to satisfy the communicative needs of the domain. For example, for the domain of property conveyancing, there will need to be Gaelic equivalents or versions for the various terms used in property law, e.g. 'mortgage', 'lien', 'title', as well as some of the less formal, popular terms such as 'gazumping', 'gazundering', 'repossession', 'negative equity', etc. This quality of expressiveness implies a process of word-level cultivation for the language, ensuring that there is sufficient vocabulary for it to be fit for purpose in the new domain.

As well as expressiveness, there are three further qualities which are relevant to a new register of a language. The next quality is stability, which involves a maximum of consistency and a minimum of variation in the way messages are encoded. In order for Gaelic to be used with confidence in the new domain, all participants need to be clear about how to encode into and decode from the new Gaelic register. The ideal scenario in this case would be for every communicative transaction that is part of the domain of conveyancing to have exactly one encoding in Gaelic, with as little lexical and grammatical variation as possible. The need for register stability implies a process of word-level purification of the new register, purging words and structures which are deemed to be redundant, in order to develop a standardised register. Standardisation is another of the core activities traditionally included under the umbrella of corpus planning, often divided into selection (the purification process itself) and codification (complete specification of the standardised register, making it clear what is grammatical and what is not, how it should be represented in orthography, etc.).

The next quality that could be deemed to be desirable is distinctiveness. In other words, it could be argued that the new register should be distinguishable from other registers of Gaelic, not just in terms of domain-specific vocabulary, but also in other, more structural ways as well. For example,

conveyancing solicitors might argue that the dignity and status of their profession should be reflected in the formal character of the Gaelic they use whilst practising it, similar to the way in which English legalese is distinctive from more informal registers of the language, both in terms of grammar and non-domain-specific vocabulary. From another perspective, the distinctiveness of a register can be understood as a kind of professional protectionism, where learning the appropriate way of speaking / writing is seen as being both a key part of professional training, and a means of preserving the rights and privileges of the elite. For this very reason, others (e.g. the consumers of conveyancing services) would be justified in arguing against this kind of non-terminological distinctiveness for the register. Like expressivity, distinctiveness implies a process of word-level cultivation, albeit at the level of grammar (and possibly even pronunciation), as well as words.

The last quality which is important for a new register is acceptability, which needs to be considered in the development of the register from the outset. Once a new register has been created in order to accompany the new domain, it needs to be 'implemented', or 'disseminated', and thus the community will need to regard the words and idioms as appropriate, attractive and desirable.

A1.3.3. Speaker management (acquisition planning)

An alternative to domain-level language management is speaker-level language management, which begins with the identification of a group of non-Gaelic speakers who, according to the dominant language ideology, should really be Gaelic speakers, and then attempts to take action so that they become Gaelic speakers (or writers). Ways in which this could be achieved at speaker-level include things like provision of appropriate learning opportunities and transmission to the next generation.

Speaker-level language management also has implications at the domain level, since the new speakers of Gaelic may even create (or demand the creation of) new domains in which they can practice their skills and reinforce their knowledge. There are also implications for the word level as well, since a new group of speakers could even develop their own, new 'dialect' (or non-geographical 'sociolect') of Gaelic, especially if they have no personal connection with any of the actually existing traditional geographical dialects, or if they live in an urban environment, or if they are being taught by a range of teachers with different dialects.[3] The process of creating a new dialect / sociolect is very similar to creating a new register, with the added consideration that new speakers will probably have their own (often aesthetic) criteria for what should count as being good Gaelic.

A1.3.4. Conclusion: coordination of language management activity

Word-level beliefs about what constitutes good Gaelic are determined to a large extent by both domain-level beliefs (i.e. In what contexts should Gaelic be spoken?) and speaker-level beliefs (i.e. Who should be able to speak Gaelic?). Similarly, corpus planning is (or should be) driven directly by language management initiatives at either the domain level (i.e. status planning), or the speaker level (i.e. acquisition planning). Moreover, every status or acquisition planning initiative should ideally be

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3 See Nance 2013 for a discussion of 'Glaswegian Gaelic' in this respect.

accompanied by a corresponding corpus planning one, so that the language can keep up with the demands being placed upon it.

A new Gaelic-friendly domain (or sub-domain) may require the cultivation of a new Gaelic 'register' (or sub-register), which is expressive enough to allow everything to be said that needs to be, stable enough to allow speakers to use with confidence, distinctive enough to satisfy other identity-based requirements (e.g. aesthetics, status, ego) of the participants, and acceptable enough to the community of speakers. In addition, a new community of Gaelic speakers may require the development of a new dialect or sociolect, reflecting their own beliefs about what constitutes 'good' Gaelic. In order to avoid further fragmentation of what remains a seriously threatened language, all of this register cultivation and dialect development needs to be coordinated.

A1.4. Corpus Planning in Fishman's RLS Theory

In chapter 11 of his ground-breaking 1991 book, *Reversing Language Shift,* (RLS), Joshua Fishman discusses the particular role that corpus planning has to play in language planning for minority language revitalisation. His conclusions are reviewed and discussed in the following three sections, focusing on 'corpus planning that helps' versus 'corpus planning that hinders', dialect selection in standardisation, and lexical modernisation and elaboration.

A1.4.1. 'Corpus planning that helps' versus 'corpus planning that hinders'

Fishman's core message about corpus planning for minority language revitalisation can be summarised as follows:

> Not all corpus planning activities are helpful to language revitalisation. Indeed in many cases, corpus planning has actively hindered the process. Bad corpus planning can alienate speakers and therefore accelerate language shift away from the minority language. Language planners should tread very carefully, and focus on not alienating people.

Fishman emphasises that linguists and language planners who are undertaking corpus planning for a minority language need to always keep at the forefront of their minds the fact that it is very easy to indulge in corpus planning activities which turn out to be problem-creating rather than problem-solving. Corpus planning which is problem-creating usually results from language planners attempting to 'correct' the kinds of thing that they themselves consider to be important problems, rather than establishing what the speech community thinks is important. With this in mind, great care should be taken to ensure that the focus is on 'corpus planning that helps' the process of language revitalisation as a whole rather than 'corpus planning that hinders' it. If there is any doubt, it is probably better to do no corpus planning at all, or at least to make 'inclusive or permissive, rather than exclusive (excluding) decisions' (Fishman 1991: 349). The successful implementation of corpus planning for a minority language often relies on voluntary support, unlike with majority, national languages where the authorities can invoke formal legal compulsion and employ national educational systems to enforce changes. Unlike national languages with monolingual speakers, where language change may be controversial but does not actually threaten continued use of the language, minority language corpus planning that is perceived as disputed, difficult, complicated or dictatorial can lead to bilingual speakers abandoning their minority language in favour of the majority language.

In terms of the model of language policy developed in A1.1, problem-creating corpus planning is what can occur when utterance-level language management is carried out without first ascertaining the language practices and dominant beliefs of the community itself. The Siberian language Chukchi provides a good example of how bad corpus planning can lead to speakers deserting a minority language (Dunn 2000). Soviet-era attempts to standardise the Chukchi language have served only to accelerate language shift from Chukchi to Russian, since the written standard interferes with intergenerational transmission of vernacular Chukchi, without itself providing a viable alternative. More specifically:

- **Selection**: Vernacular Chukchi has gender-based sociolects: the language spoken by women is lexically and grammatically different from that spoken by men. However, Standard Chukchi is based solely on men's Chukchi and is thus socioculturally non-viable. As a result, nobody uses Standard Chukchi as a language of wider communication aside from language professionals (teachers and broadcasters).

- **Codification**: The codification of Standard Chukchi was based on a very inaccurate description of the vernacular language. This has led to native speakers rejecting their own natural use of the vernacular language as 'bad' Chukchi and resorting to Russian.

- **Graphisation**: Chukchi orthography was devised during the 1930s using the Cyrillic alphabet and under an ideology of 'Russification'. Unfortunately, the orthography is overly complex and heavily based on Russian orthographic principles (e.g. use of following vowel graphemes to represent palatalised consonants) rather than on a one-to-one mapping between Chukchi vowel phonemes and Cyrillic characters. Thus, only people who are already literate in Russian can become literate in Chukchi.

A1.4.2. Selecting a dialect for standardisation

Fishman's overall theme is that language planners for minority languages should concentrate more of their efforts on not making corpus planning mistakes than on trying to enforce top-down solutions to perceived corpus planning problems. He elaborates this in his discussion on how to go about selecting a dialect to form the basis of a new written standard for the language, by emphasising that it is better to have no standard at all than to try to encourage people to accept a divisive or dispiriting one:

> Admitting that it is far better for RLS efforts if a single written standard exists [...], it doesn't pay to force a written standard on an adamantly unwilling or seriously ailing speech community. [...] Some speech communities are simply not ready for a standard. (Fishman 1991: 345)

While Fishman acknowledges that a written standard can be difficult and divisive to put into practice, he implies that, before admitting failure, it is worthwhile for language planners to attempt to persuade a sceptical speech community of the benefits of standardisation. He discusses three common objections to standardisation and suggests ways of deflecting them:

- The standard language doesn't sound natural: While it is true that for most speakers the standard will be 'stilted and artificial', this is an inevitable side effect of the very existence of a standard dialect. All standard languages are by definition artificial. Language planners should be explicit from the outset about the intended restricted domain of the standard (e.g. for formal, written texts only), and that no-one will be required to use it outside of these contexts. The standard is intended to be used professionally by teachers, writers and broadcasters, not by ordinary people in their everyday lives.

- The standard language gives an unfair advantage to speakers of the chosen dialect: The fact that standardisation can give an unfair advantage to speakers of a selected dialect can be tackled by 'compensatory efforts' outwith the scope of corpus planning (i.e. by advantaging the speakers of

other dialects in some other way). In other words, language planners should recognise the unfair advantage, admit it, and seek to counteract it in other ways.

- Having a standard language will destroy the local dialects: In order not to stigmatise the existing vernacular dialects (and thus negatively affect their intergenerational transmission), language planners should make special efforts to dignify the local dialect, in particular in early elementary schooling. It is emphasised that '[t]eachers must always be situationally acceptive of dialect speech in the elementary classroom [...] and they must cultivate dialect acceptance amongst their pupils' (Fishman 1991: 344). The crucial concept here is 'dialect tolerance' – pupils shouldn't be made to feel that their non-standard dialect is wrong, and the written standard should be presented as just one dialect among equals.

However, while Fishman suggests deflecting concerns about standard languages, he does not explicitly explain the benefits he sees in having a unique standard. The necessity of having a standard is a cultural belief so ingrained in Western conceptions of language that it is almost taken for granted. Unfortunately, the actual linguistic and social benefits of a standard are often hidden under misrepresentations and oversimplifications of the nature of human language, what Milroy & Milroy (1991: 80–81) call 'malfunctions' of standardisation.

These social beliefs include:

- A non-standardised language is not a real language

- The standard language is the only correct one

- Non-standard forms came about as the standard degenerated

- The standard is based on the dialect of the social elite because their language is the best

These hide the real benefits that a commonly understood variety can have, including:

- Easier acquisition of literacy as written spellings are consistent

- Easier communication across distance – much as a standard system of weights and measures can benefit commerce, a standard variety allows for ease of intelligibility between areas

- Easier communication across time – texts written in the past can still be understood even when the spoken language has changed

- Clearer and unambiguous terms – people working in specialised areas do not constantly have to explain which terms they use to each other (vital in medicine and science but also helpful in politics, cultural studies and other areas of life). Writing is not subject to the feedback and clarification processes that occur in face-to-face interaction so miscommunications cannot be repaired.

- Equality of education – teachers from different areas can grade exams without needing to learn several different acceptable varieties.

- Economies of scale – publications have a better opportunity of reaching a justifiable size of market.

When it comes to the role of a standard variety in minority-language settings, Jacqueline Urla's ethnolinguistic account of Basque revitalisation over several decades argues that language planners have deeply misunderstood the importance of dialect, and that uniformity can come at the cost of 'stripping the language of precisely those specific and variable markers that gave speakers a sense of intimacy with their language' (2012: 93). In her account, Basque planners used the approach advocated by Fishman – they referred to Batua (the 'unified' Basque dialect) as 'literary' or 'cultivated' Basque rather than 'standard' and characterised it as a code only for formal, written texts. It was presented as a way of creating social and national cohesion. They aimed to integrate grammatical elements from various dialects and the Basque Language Academy's position was to consider 'all lexical equivalents in the various dialects as appropriate for use in Unified Basque' (Urla 2012: 82). Despite this, there was a strong association between Batua and the Gipuzkoan dialect and speakers of other dialects would use Gipuzkoan forms when speaking Batua. Urla concludes that the pervasive ideology of the standard in European countries meant that social stratification was inevitable. Despite the Academy's aims, Basque speakers automatically believed that Batua was 'correct' Basque:

> The fact that these forms were formally taught at school, endorsed by the Basque Language Academy, and presented as good for the nation has everything to do with the authoritative status they acquired for so many. (Urla 2012: 95)

Some colloquial Basque speakers, after taking literacy classes, went home and corrected the colloquial forms of their parents and grandparents (Urla 2012: 92). The economic benefits of knowing Batua in terms of getting employment in prestigious roles also added to the hierarchising effects.

A personal attachment to the community norm rather than a prestigious norm is not unique to small and minority languages. Milroy & Milroy (1991: 113) describe how, after several hundred years of existence, standard English is not universal, as 'the projection of group identity appears, for some speakers, to be more important than the acceptance of the social norm with its associated meanings of power and status'. Indeed, the notion of 'dialect tolerance' is a key component of language policy for a number of small and minority languages with significant dialectal variation. In Norway there are two distinct written standards, Bokmål and Nynorsk, and each local authority is free to choose which standard they will use (Linn 2010). In addition, schoolteachers are trained specifically not to correct children's pronunciation.

The Corsican linguist, author and activist Jacques Thiers has argued that language revitalisation for Corsican should bypass this automatic assumption that a standard language variety is therefore the only 'correct' one by taking a 'polynomic' approach. According to this approach, a unique norm is rejected in favour of the recognition of linguistic variety. He believes that attempts to mould one unique standard held Corsican speakers back from accepting a written form and accepting the social expansion of vernacular forms (Thiers 1999). The conceptual norms modelled on the 'great languages' (French and Italian being the influential models in the Corsican context) which insisted on a unique standard are strongly embedded and contested in public discourse with the result that:

> the debate over standards is always polarized, in public discourse any standardization is viewed as puristic and / or hegemonic and the only alternative an extreme laissez-faire approach. (Jaffe 1999: 277).

The interplay between the colloquial and the literary, the local variety and a unified variety, is often contentious and, based as it is in social (mis)understanding of language, social effects are inevitably produced. People tend to believe that the 'language' is enshrined in grammars and dictionaries (however, many mistakes and omissions there may be in them) rather than in the linguistic and communicative competence of the people who use the language every day. There is a paradox that although minority-language speakers may hold negative attitudes towards their own language, partly because it lacks a standard variety, if a standard is then provided, this in fact can further lower their negative attitudes towards their own colloquial use. This creates an enormous responsibility for linguists, language planners and educationalists.

A1.4.3. Lexical modernisation and elaboration

Fishman continues his theme of corpus planning caution in relation to the development of new terminology for a minority language. He emphasises that minority language corpus planners 'must engage in such planning with the utmost care, sophistication and sensitivity to speech community preferences and flexibility-related characteristics' in order to avoid 'ridicule from within and without the speech community' (Fishman 1991: 347).

He recommends the comprehensive pilot testing of neologisms using market research methods and gives an example of this being successfully applied in Sweden. In more general terms, he recommends a comprehensive process of consultation and consensus-building within the language community before corpus planning is started:

> The 'model of the good language' itself needs to be fully explored and consensually accepted before corpus planning 'products' are 'launched'. (Fishman 1991: 347)

The difficulties of successful take-up of new terminology is illustrated by Helena Ní Ghearáin's (2011) study in the Irish Gaeltacht. The element of ridicule that Fishman cautions against is in evidence there, although even stronger than ridicule is the belief that new terms sound artificial.

A1.4.4. 'Risk-free' corpus planning

Fishman's general recommendations on how to go about doing corpus planning for a minority language can be summed up in the following quotation:

> [A minority language] cannot afford to lose any of those who are most committed to it and must attempt to expand its lexicon (or revise its orthography or engage in any other kind of corpus planning) gingerly and carefully, by means of judicious and relatively risk-free modifications or innovations. (Fishman 1991: 348)

In other words, find out what the community wants or is willing to accept. Make a concerted effort to persuade people of the need for standardisation and modernisation of the language. Consult with a wide range of speakers on both the big questions (e.g. What dialect, if any, should be promoted as a written standard?) and on the small questions too (What do you think about this particular word?). But be prepared to accept that the community may not be ready to make certain kinds of decision of this type. Don't force a decision on them. Be prepared to wait and be flexible.

A2. Towards a Linguistic Foundation for Gaelic Corpus Planning

A2.1. Ideological Dimensions of Corpus Planning

In his 2006 book, *Do Not Leave Your Language Alone*, Fishman makes a preliminary attempt at constructing a theoretical overview of different corpus planning approaches, drawing on specific historical and contemporary examples. However, the important message from the book is that there is no single linguistically valid way to do corpus planning for a particular language. It all comes down to making choices, and a surprising number of these choices actually turn out to be political choices rather than linguistic ones. At the same time, the work of corpus planners can be more straightforward and more successful if there is an accepted, consistent approach they can adopt that means different agencies are not working against each other or against the wishes of the community as a whole.

A2.1.1. Corpus planning is both linguistic and political

Fishman starts out by stressing the fact that corpus planning is as much a political activity as it is a linguistic one:

> Verily: there is no (and can be no) politically innocent or value-free corpus planning. (Fishman 2006: 21)

Rather, corpus planning tends to follow a specific ideological direction determined by the status planning agenda of the language community: modifications to the form of the language are determined to a large extent by the functions that its speakers want it to perform, in both concrete terms (the situations and domains in which people want to use the language) and in more abstract ones (the symbolic role that people want the language to play in asserting their political and cultural identity). The situation can be complicated by political divisions within the language community as to the desired status planning goals, with different parties attempting to control the language planning process. In practical terms, this means that corpus planning is not just a job requiring technical linguistic expertise. It also requires input (at least in the initial stages) from sociolinguists and sociologists of language, to ensure that the different choices are understood in terms of their political and cultural consequences.

The recognition of the political nature of corpus planning has been a recent topic of interest in the language policy academic literature and is insisted upon by John Edwards and Bernard Spolsky in the recent *Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy* (2012). This stream of analysis began with Cooper's (1989) analysis of language policy in post-Enlightenment France where he argues that, in contrast to conventional wisdom, Cardinal Richelieu did not establish the *Académie Française* in order to protect the French language from foreignisms and other barbarities, but rather as a means of using language policy to protect the French state from external and internal political threats. More recently, Sebba (2006) has charted the way in which twentieth-century politics has influenced the choice of alphabet in which to write the various Turkic languages spoken in central Asian former Soviet republics such as Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan (first Arabic, then Roman, then Cyrillic, and then back to Roman again).

A2.1.2. The four 'bipolar dimensions' of corpus planning

After emphasising the political nature of corpus planning, Fishman goes on to analyse in general terms the kinds of ideological approaches that different communities have taken in the process of standardising and modernising their languages.

He identifies four main 'bipolar ideological dimensions' within which particular corpus planning activities may be situated:

- Purity versus Vernacularity

- Uniqueness versus Westernisation

- Classicisation versus Panification

- *Ausbau* versus *Einbau*

The idea is that the general political approach to corpus planning taken by any language community can be situated on one or more of these four axes, each of which can be interpreted as a sliding scale of intensity. Each of Fishman's four ideological dimensions are discussed in turn in the following subsections.

A2.1.3. Purity versus vernacularity

Fishman's ideology of 'purity' (or 'cleanliness') involves the following kind of discourse (Fishman 2006a: 25–39, our summary):

> We should take pride in the way we speak / write, ensuring it remains faithful to our cultural heritage and traditions, and resisting borrowings from the language of our arch-rival.

The opposite pole on this dimension of corpus planning is inhabited by the ideology of 'vernacularity' (or 'folksiness'), which is best understood as the complete absence of purism (Fishman 2006a: 25–39):

> We should not worry about the purity of our language, just write how ordinary people speak, no matter where the words came from.

For Fishman, the opposite poles of this dimension are occupied respectively by French (highly purist, vis-à-vis English borrowings) and American English (highly vernacular), with British English located somewhere in the middle. Other well-known cases of purist ideology discussed by Fishman are: Czech (vis-à-vis German borrowings) and Korean (vis-à-vis Japanese borrowings). It is important to note that purism does not necessarily mean a rejection of all borrowings, but tends to focus specifically on borrowings from a particular language that is perceived as a threat. During the early part of the twentieth century, the Turkish authorities decided, for ideological reasons, to purge Turkish of words borrowed from their linguistic arch-enemies Arabic and Persian, replacing them with new, predominantly French-based terminology.

So, for some communities, the most important way in which they conceptualise the corpus planning problems facing their language is in terms of how much it needs to be protected from outside influence. There is a sliding scale from extreme protectionism on the one hand, to extreme laissez-faire on the other, with a lot of intermediate positions in between. Vernacularity can be seen as the epitome of passive language planning (aimed, if anything, at changing language beliefs to fit existing language practices, i.e. acceptance as opposed to management). From this perspective, purism involves a kind of 'active' language planning, striving to change other people's language practices to fit our own language beliefs, as discussed in section A1.1.

A2.1.4. Uniqueness versus westernisation

Fishman's second bipolar ideological dimension incorporates the opposites of 'uniqueness' and 'westernisation'. The ideology of uniqueness involves the following kind of discourse (Fishman 2006a: 42–50, our summary):

> Our strength as a nation / culture lies in our uniqueness. In order to maintain and strengthen this, we should make sure our language remains unique, with no external influences whatsoever.

The ideology of westernisation, however, prefers assimilation to distinctiveness (Fishman 2006a: 51–52):

> The key to our progress as a nation / culture is to assimilate with the internationally dominant nation / culture. In order to facilitate this, we should adopt as much of their language as is practicable.

As most European languages exist in a family of related languages, and contact with other languages has been part of their historical development, the uniqueness approach might appear to be unrealistic. Uniqueness in the absolute sense could potentially be applicable to languages which have been isolated linguistically, such as Finnish, Hungarian and Basque in Europe. However, Urla's account of the standardisation of Basque shows that, from the late twentieth century at least, the Basque Language Academy has favoured pragmatism over uniqueness or purism (Urla 2012: 81).

It is, in fact, Estonian with which Fishman illustrates the ideology of uniqueness and it provides a very interesting example: during the early twentieth century, the lexicographer Johannes Aavik initiated an ex nihilo approach to vocabulary development, 'creating Estonian new words from randomly constituted nonsense syllables' (Fishman 2006a: 48). This approach was popular with young people and intellectuals, but proved to be too slow. A rival lexicographer, Johannes Veski, was able to coin new words faster, by borrowing indiscriminately from Finnish and Russian.

Textbook examples of the ideology of westernisation include Russian and Filipino. Russian has, over the last 300 years, consistently borrowed from the most technically and economically dominant culture, first from French, then German, then (American) English. Filipino initially chose a uniqueness-based approach after independence in 1946. However, this was not successfully implemented and was quietly dropped in favour of officially recognising the many Spanish and English loanwords that had entered the everyday speech of the people in order that its young people

would have a head start in learning English and meeting the country's economic aspirations (Fishman 2006a: 55).

The examples given in Fishman (2006a) of Filipino and Estonian give the impression that a corpus management policy that aims for uniqueness will not be successful: practical demands of language users such as speed of availability or economic pressures result in planners giving way to actual language use. However, the case of Icelandic shows that where the general will of the public leans towards uniqueness, actual language practices will adopt uniquessness-informed corpus developments (bearing in mind that these axes are a sliding scale with relatively mild or extreme realisations) (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010).

Fishman admits that the uniqueness / westernisation dimension is not actually independent of the purity / vernacularity one. In particular, uniqueness is best seen as being an intensification of purity, protecting the language against all foreignisms, no matter their source. Both uniqueness and westernisation can be considered to be 'active' approaches to language management in the sense that they are attempting to change vernacular practice in some way. They are opposites in that uniqueness aims at cultural and linguistic distinctiveness, and westernisation aims at assimilation.

A2.1.5. Classicisation versus panification

Fishman's third ideological dimension involves contrasting 'classicisation' and 'panification'. The ideology of classicisation involves the following kind of discourse (Fishman 2006a: 63–73):

> Older nations / cultures / languages are (perceived to be) intrinsically superior to younger ones. If we want to gain respect from other nations, we should make our speech and writing look as old as possible, by reverting to the sacred, classical written language that represents the historic heart of our culture.

His suggested opposite of classicisation is what he calls panification, which involves looking to the past in order to unite a fragmented nation, rather than to strengthen an already united one (Fishman 2006a: 74–84):

> Our nation / culture / language was once, in the dim and distant past, united and great. However, thanks to the vagaries of history we have become fragmented and weak. In order to reverse this process, we should strive to reunite our nation / culture / language, reverting to a reconstructed version of the hypothetical, prehistoric proto-language that our contemporary vernacular languages are descended from.

Three instances of 'classicisation' are discussed: (a) Modern Standard Hindi is based on vernacular Hindustani, with ancient Sanskrit roots being used to create new academic vocabulary, so as to render it the 'oldest and best' language in India, and simultaneously to alienate Muslims; (b) Modern Hebrew was initially based strictly on Biblical Hebrew, but, due to lack of popular acceptance, the Academy of the Hebrew Language has been forced into a more flexible approach; (c) the standard written language across the Arab world remains Classical Arabic, despite this being far removed from contemporary vernacular dialects.

An example of the panification approach involves Ljuduvit Gaj's failed 'Illyrian' language movement of the nineteenth century, aimed at liberating / reuniting the southern Slavic peoples and their languages. Other (failed) examples of panification are Maphilindo (Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines) and Dravidistani (Southern India). Spolsky (2009: 240), however, regards the cross-border unification of Flemish and Dutch as a successful example of panification in action.

Both classicisation and panification are related to purism and uniqueness in the sense that they are active approaches to language management, aimed at cultural strength and distinctiveness with respect to the outside world. They are also both retrospective in their relation to their language's history, with classicisation also being 'introspective' and panification 'extrospective' (i.e. outward-looking).

A2.1.6. *Ausbau* versus *Einbau*

Fishman's fourth and final ideological dimension involves the opposites of *Ausbau* and *Einbau*, German words meaning 'building out' and 'building in' respectively. This relates to communities, often geographically neighbouring, who speak linguistically closely related language, e.g. Dutch and German, Danish and Swedish.

The ideology of *Ausbau* involves the following kind of discourse (Fishman 2006a: 90–105):

> In order to legitimise our national autonomy from our neighbour, we should make our speech and writing as different as possible, so that our language cannot be misrepresented as a mere dialect of theirs.

The opposite of *Ausbau* is *Einbau* (Fishman 2006a: 25–39):

> In order to assimilate with our neighbouring nation / culture, we should make our speech and writing as similar as possible, so that our two languages will be seen to be dialects of the same language.

One example of the tension between these two poles involves the relationship between Croatian and Serbian. During the Yugoslav era, the dominant Serbs pursued an *Einbau* policy with respect to Croatian (i.e. 'Serbo-Croatian'). After independence, the Croatian government pursued a distancing *Ausbau* policy. Another example involves the relationship between Yiddish and (New High) German. During the nineteenth century modernisation of Yiddish there were two opposing camps – one group promoted *Einbau* of Yiddish into German, and the other the *Ausbau* of Yiddish under the slogan *Avek fun daytsh!*, i.e. 'Away from German!'. Other such controversial pairs are Macedonian / Bulgarian, Urdu / Hindi (mutual *Ausbau*), Valencian / Catalan, Moldavian / Romanian, and Norwegian / Danish.

Ausbau is obviously related to purity and uniqueness, with the emphasis on taking something which is commonly considered to be a dialect and turning it into an independent language. In the same way *Einbau* is related to both westernisation and panification, again with the emphasis on 'demoting' a language into a dialect.

A2.1.7. Generalising the bipolar dimensions: independence versus interdependence

Although Fishman presents the four bipolar dimensions as being independent axes of variation in corpus planning, he goes on to present an overall model in which they can be seen as parts of an integrated model based on a single dimension – independence versus interdependence.

The previously discussed poles cluster into these two generic types as follows:

- **Independence**: purity, uniqueness, classicisation, *Ausbau*

- **Interdependence**: vernacularity, westernisation, panification, *Einbau*

The independence ideologies have in common the preference towards separating the target language from others that are seen to impinge on it. The interdependence ideologies stress connections to other languages and mutual comprehension and international collaboration. It is important to remember that none of these individual ideological approaches to corpus planning can be said to be right or wrong in isolation. A community will choose an ideological approach based on the objectives it has for its language, i.e. depending on what job it wants its language to do and what direction it wants its culture to develop.

Fishman does not suggest that each community must choose only one of these ideologies, rather they might all be present in discussions about the language with the more powerful or common ones tilting the decisions in different directions. He also observes that a community might prefer different ideologies in different domains, i.e. independence in home and everyday life but interdependence in scientific areas such as technology and medicine.

One other important aspect that Fishman does not cover in his theory in the bilingual community context. In such a community, each language may serve a distinct purpose for the community, and so there may be bilingual communities where a different corpus planning ideology is applied to each language. One language would serve as the unique identifier of the community (i.e. its linguistic 'brand') and hence is governed by globalisation-negative ideologies of purism, uniqueness and classicisation, and the other language would be used for external relations, and would thus be more likely to be governed by a globalisation-positive ideology, such as westernisation. Although Fishman does not discuss the role of corpus planning ideologies in reversing language shift in his book (2006a), he does touch on this subject in a separate article. He contends that the 'interdependence' ideologies can undercut efforts to promote a minority language, saying specifically that westernisation, vernacularity and panification 'all have shift tendencies that are rarely realized at the time such corpus-planning decisions are made' (Fishman 2006b: 317). In other words, he sees that interdependence ideologies are 'self-weakening' for minority languages, with the implication that it is the 'independence' ideological cluster that is the best approach to take for an endangered language which its speakers want to protect – purity / uniqueness, classicisation and *Ausbau*.

A2.1.8. Conclusion

This theoretical mapping of competing language ideologies helps us to understand and articulate the different points of view in both academic and public discourse. However, we wish to take this as a starting point, not the end point of discussions.

The limitations of the model must also be recognised: Fishman (2006a) was designed as an introductory course-book and does not provide detailed evidence of which ideologies help reverse language shift or support language maintenance. It is also not clear if corpus planning can, or should, change people's ideological understanding of their language to better serve the language's vitality or whether the corpus planning practices must mould themselves into the existing ideological context.

A2.2. Ideological Dimensions in the Gaelic context

In this section and the next, Fishman's corpus planning ideological dimensions are examined from the perspective of contemporary Scottish Gaelic. We look at how academics working with Scottish Gaelic have considered corpus development and how Fishman's model may or may not apply. We will also give examples, where we have found them, of Fishman's ideological dimensions at work or under discussion in public discourse.

A2.2.1. Purity versus vernacularity

In Fishman's model of corpus planning ideologies, the dimension of purity versus vernacularity necessarily involves one particular 'objectionable' language and culture which plays the role of the 'arch-enemy' or 'arch-rival'. In the case of Scottish Gaelic, that language is English. This section considers the extent to which standardisation and modernisation of Gaelic should actively set out to change the way people use the language in order to remain faithful to the Gaelic cultural heritage or to what extent it should just let things be and permit the continuing, gradual 'anglicisation' of Gaelic. Borrowings from languages other than English are addressed under 'uniqueness' in A2.2.2.

A2.2.1.1. Fishman's purity: attitudes towards loanwords from English

The understanding of what it means to keep Gaelic 'pure' has different interpretations. Fishman's description focuses mainly on the adoption of loanwords, so we will examine this first before describing other aspects in turn. It is recognised by all that Gaelic has borrowed and assimilated lexical items from English in the past. However, the acceptance of historical borrowing does not necessarily imply the acceptance of recent or ongoing borrowing from English.

A2.2.1.1.1 Historical borrowing from English

The question of English loan words in Gaelic is discussed in William Gillies's 1980 article on 'English influences on contemporary Scottish Gaelic' and Wilson McLeod's 2004 chapter 'Feumaidh sinn a' Ghàidhlig a chumail *pure*'.

Gillies introduces and frames the discussion around the fact of historical borrowing, pointing out that English words (especially concrete nouns) have been entering Gaelic for centuries. This might give the impression that borrowing was 'natural' then and is therefore 'natural' now. However, he stresses that many of these older borrowings became fully assimilated in terms of phonology and morphology, with all 'exotic characteristics' having been eliminated, e.g. *mealbhaid* 'velvet', *geamair* 'gamekeeper', *balla* 'wall'. This kind of assimilating borrowing is contrasted with modern borrowings.

McEwan-Fujita (2011) analyses discourses around Gaelic revitalisation or 'redemption' (by which she means the effort to socially 'redeem' Gaelic as a real or legitimate language) and finds seven themes, one of which she calls the 'Gaelic is copious' discourse. This discourse, repeated at various times by various writers, seeks to validate Gaelic due to its 'copiousness' – its ability to express anything. This is linked to the ideology of purity as a belief that Gaelic does not need to borrow from other languages. However, when this belief is expressed, as the Reverend Donald McNicol of Lismore

does while refuting Dr Samuel Johnson's portrayal of the 'rude speech of a barbarous people', it is possible that exceptions to this copiousness might be admitted for 'things of foreign or late invention':

> I can aver for truth, before the world, that the Gaelic is as copious as the Greek [...] Things of foreign or of late invention, may not, probably, have obtained names in the Gaelic language; but every object of nature, and every instrument of the common and general arts, has many vocables to express it, such as suit all the elegant variations that either the poet or the orator may chuse to make. (McNicol 1779: 291–292)

A2.2.1.1.2 Recent borrowing from English

When commenting on recent borrowings by a largely bilingual rather than monolingual population, Gillies (1980) observes that they are either unassimilated or semi-assimilated phonologically and / or orthographically, e.g. *feansa* 'fence', *lof* 'loaf', *uèir* 'wire' or *baidhsagal* 'bicycle'. He also notes,

> variation in the degree to which speakers impart a Gaelic *blas* to the English loanwords they use, and [...] a corresponding lack of unanimity about when to retain English spelling and when to attempt the conversion into Gaelic orthography. (Gillies 1980: 4)

He also points out that Gaelic has borrowed a great deal of English adjectives and verbs, as well as numbers – it is normal to use English numbers for quantities over twenty.

Gillies contrasts the historical and recent borrowings in a way that suggests there is a 'right' way to borrow: a way that assimilates the item to Gaelic phonology, orthography and grammatical conventions. The 'wrong' way, the unassimilated way, Gillies sees as contributing to grammatical change, i.e. where the marking of gender and case by initial mutations is inhibited, e.g. *air a' fòn* 'on the phone', *mo jotter* 'my jotter', *dà cheque* 'two cheques'. With regard to plural morphology, he notes the growing frequency of cases where English plurals in *-(e)s* are tolerated in Gaelic, e.g. *na Tories*, *na tapes*. Overall, Gillies concludes that

> given the present pressures on Scottish Gaelic, we should be more inclined to view loanwords as we would regard fire – good servants, perhaps, but definitely bad masters. (1980: 11)

While Gillies (1980) generally describes vernacular usage of English borrowings, McLeod examines the role of borrowings in modern terminological development. He concludes that '[i]n general, an attitude of moderate purism can be discerned' (2004a: 39) which he ascribes, as least in part, to cultural and linguistic defensiveness. In particular, the creation of specialised word lists for use in particular contexts (e.g. schools, government) has resulted in a mixture of native Gaelic compounds (e.g. *frith-choimeas* 'antithesis') and (orthographically disguised) English borrowings (e.g. *posataibh* 'positive', *traidseadaidh* 'tragedy'). McLeod observes a tendency to reject internationalisms, particularly for abstractions, leading to important gaps in the Gaelic lexicon (e.g. 'stereotypical', 'hypothetical', 'abstract'). However, the purity-related tool of reviving obsolete words for modern concepts has been little in evidence in Gaelic (unlike in Irish, e.g. *taoiseach* 'prime minister').

In contrast to the terminological decisions, and following Gillies's earlier observations, McLeod notes that vernacular practice shows little evidence of puristic attitudes. Most Gaelic speakers, when faced with a lexical gap, will resist an unfamiliar Gaelic coinage in favour of using the (unadapted) English

word. He demonstrates that attitudes are conditioned by register: greater puristic attitudes become more in evidence in higher registers (e.g. even to the extent of using Gaelic names for non-Gaelic public figures, e.g. *Coinneach MacDhùnlèibhe* for Ken Livingstone).

This difference in attitude to purity in different registers may be problematic for the cultivation of the language in new (or modern) domains. McEwan-Fujita (2011) argues that the purist dimension of the 'Gaelic is copious' discourse might persuade language planners to coin new Gaelic terms, but it is their inherent newness that leads to their rejection by ordinary speakers:

> However, because of the semiotic processes of language shift in which native speakers identify the language with the past (e.g. Mertz 1982), native speakers do not always accept the lexical items that are coined as part of efforts to reverse language shift. (2011: 56)

A2.2.1.2. Other interpretations of purism in the Scottish Gaelic context

A large part of Gillies's (1980) discussion of English influences on contemporary Scottish Gaelic is concerned with influence beyond the level of vocabulary, at the level of grammar and of calques. Other writers also see purism at work at a level beyond Fishman's focus on lexical borrowings and we will discuss these here.

A2.2.1.2.1. Whose purity? Discourses of purity in Gaelic studies

Gaelic scholars of the nineteenth century often based their work on philological study and the 'purest' forms of the language were necessarily the oldest. This focus grew from the Ossian controversy and the subsequent need to prove to the (Western) world that Gaelic really did have a pedigree. The interest of the language to philologists and its value in historical linguistics meant that early nineteenth-century dictionaries were based on collections of Old and Classical Gaelic materials. The parallel development of folklore studies, however, created a competitor for the title of 'pure'. In this view, the vernacular was 'pure' rather than the written conventions that masked dialects. John Francis Campbell espouses this view in his landmark *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*:

> I requested those who wrote for me to take down the words as they were spoken [...] The Gaelic then is not what is called "classical Gaelic." It is generally the Gaelic of the people – pure from the source. (Campbell 1860: cxv–cxvi)

John Lorne Campbell also criticised the usefulness of a standard in the domain of folklore, using the complaint of artificiality to reject the standard variety:

> In my opinion, any attempt to force oral Gaelic literature into the artificial mould of the standardized literary spelling and grammatical forms, is a mistake, as it not only actually produces a false impression of the real language of the stories, but also obscures many interesting grammatical points. [...] This is the way Gaelic is spoken, and thus it must be learned by anyone desiring to acquire a colloquial knowledge of it. (Campbell 1939: 6)

A2.2.1.2.2. Attitudes towards dialects

Puristic attitudes can be reflected in linguistic discourse involving attitudes towards particular dialects of a language. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it is not unusual to see writers proclaim certain dialects as 'purer' than other:

[…] the wilds of Perthshire, where the Gaelic language is spoken in its greatest purity. (Armstrong 1825: 456)

There is no dialect in which something may not be found less decayed than in the others [...] When the language of the southwest is examined in the light of philology it will be found that, generally speaking, the root vowels are more purely pronounced and the consonants less decayed than in most of the other districts. (MacFarlane 1889: 13)

McLeod (2004a) points out that, historically speaking, a *de facto* written standard for Scottish Gaelic resulted from the translation of the Bible during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The key players in this process were Presbyterian ministers from Argyll and Perthshire, and hence the supra-dialectal 'Biblical Gaelic' reflected this geographical provenance, with northern and Hebridean dialects coming to be regarded as provincial. In a present day sense, however, things are different, and southern dialects are no longer so influential, mainly because they are largely moribund due to language shift. McLeod asserts that it is the so-called 'central' dialects (Skye, Barra, Uist, Harris, i.e. 'mid-Minch Gaelic') that have come to be seen as an implicit standard for contemporary Gaelic, particularly in broadcasting. In contrast, the so-called peripheral dialects are often regarded disdainfully by many speakers (particularly Lewis Gaelic, the dialect with the most speakers).

However, the origin of the speaker can play a role in their perception of which dialects appear to receive special preference. Maighread Challan, from North Uist, in her monograph on traditional culture comments that:

[...] thathar a' call dualchainnt nan Eilean mu Dheas, agus am blàths, an ceòl agus an spionnadh a tha na dualchainntean sin a' cur ris a' chànain. Nam bheachdsa, tha seo mar thoradh air mar a tha ùghdarrais foghlaim tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig a' cur romhpa cunbhalachd fhaighinn anns a' chànain Ghàidhlig. Ann a bhith a' coileanadh seo thathar a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig Leòdhais cha mhòr a-mhàin. (Challan 2012: 187)

[... *the dialect of the southern isles is being lost, and the warmth, music and energy that those dialects add to the language. In my opinion, this is as a result of how GME authorities have decided to obtain consistency in Gaelic. To achieve this, Lewis Gaelic is almost always used.*]

There is also a notable discourse that rejects any dialect as worse than any others. The significant role of folklore studies in the development of Gaelic studies has sought to show the value of reproducing dialect forms and has been influential in this regard.

A2.2.1.2.3. Grammatical Simplification

The discourse of keeping a language 'pure' is also often used in relation to adhering to prescriptive grammatical 'rules'. This kind of purism rejects developments and changes, particularly grammatical simplification in the Gaelic context. The opposite pole, vernacularity, in this context would be the acceptance of language change, including internal simplification, and possibly also change towards English grammatical norms. Gillies observes that grammatically speaking:

spoken Scottish Gaelic is indubitably going through a period of perceptible change at present, and [...] there is no area of change (or at least none that I am aware of) in which Gaelic is moving towards a position more remote from or alien to English usage and categories than the present position. (1980: 5)

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As well as the influences on vocabulary already mentioned, Gillies says that the verbal system is also changing to become more like English, particularly that:

- There is growing use of periphrasis to express the English perfect tenses, rather than just using the past tense in the traditional manner

- More and more verbs are formed by adding the *-ig* suffix to an English verb, e.g. *reactig*, *wonderig*

- The replacement of the traditional Gaelic mode of conceptualising mental states with an English-derived 'subject plus verb' mentality (e.g. 'I wondered' versus 'Wonderment was on me')

McLeod (2004a) points out that Gaelic grammarians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were strongly prescriptive, regarding contemporary developments in morphology and syntax (e.g. reduplication of prepositions like *ann* and *do*, lenition of function words like *ta* and *beil*) as 'corruption, degeneration and confusion' compared with Biblical Gaelic. In part, this prescriptive, judgemental approach was a result of the target audience for these books – Gaelic speakers who were trying to improve their use of high register Gaelic, using the Gaelic of the Bible and the pulpit as a model.

In contrast, McLeod judges that more recent grammar books tend to be descriptive (or 'non-puristic'), focusing on describing vernacular usage to assist learners of Gaelic. Contemporary scholars are adjudged to have a moderately puristic perspective – they recognise that syntactic, morphological and stylistic simplification (i.e. restricted Gaelic) is being accelerated by the dwindling number of fully competent native speakers (along with the growing attraction of Gaelic-medium Education (GME) to non-Gaelic speaking parents and the increasing number of unassimilated loanwords), but consider this a price that may have to be paid to save Gaelic as a living language.

Contemporary linguists would agree that at least some kinds of grammatical simplification can result from normal processes of language change, and others can result from 'dialect levelling', where people from different dialects become more familiar with the way in which each other speak as a result of social and economic changes (e.g. better transport infrastructure and telecommunications). However, it is very difficult to tell at a purely linguistic level which simplifications are a result of this kind of language change and which are the (unnatural) result of bilingualism and language breakdown, where children only manage to pick up a restricted version of the language from their parents. As a result, late twentieth-century Gaelic scholars have disagreed about whether contemporary Gaelic is developing 'naturally' or whether reduced competency is producing restricted Gaelic. The fear of some academics is clearly the creation of a situation where a moral condemnation of restricted Gaelic worsens intergenerational transmission: where speakers who already lack confidence to use their Gaelic feel alienated from its development. This view is expressed by Meg Bateman as a challenging question to those working in education:

A bheil sinne, a tha an sàs ann am foghlam, a' dèanamh barrachd cron na feum air slàinte na cànain le bhith a' dì-mhisneachadh nan dearbh dhaoine a bu chòir dhuinn a bhith a' brosnachadh? (Bateman 2010: 87).

[*Are we, who are involved in education, doing more harm than good to the health of the language*

by discouraging the very people we should be encouraging?]

This is not a simple theoretical concern: Louis-Jacques Dorais has described the situation of Inuktitut in Labrador where, until the adoption of a modernised orthography closer to modern pronunciation in the 1990s, there existed two social dialects: a church dialect, very conservative and highly valued socially, and an ordinary speech that some considered 'degenerate'. From the 1960s this internal diglossia hastened the decline of the language by contributing to the negative attitudes of young speakers to their mother tongue (Dorais 2010: 250–1).

A2.2.1.2.4. Calques

This is related to the above discussion of grammar, but is a noticeably distinct feature often picked up by non-academics. Gillies notes that calquing (i.e. 'English expressions in Gaelic dress') has gathered momentum at all levels in the last hundred years or so, with more and more English phrases being rendered verbatim in Gaelic, e.g. *Bhris iad suas,* 'they broke up', *a' faighinn air adhart leis,* 'getting on with him'. Interestingly, he attributes the popularity of these to the lack of a standard or supra-dialectal language register. He suggests that in the absence of this, calques guarantee comprehension between speakers.

A2.2.1.2.5. Apeing English register

Although Gillies (1980) includes this as part of his discussion of calques, he notes the use of literary rendering of English formal style in correspondence, bureaucracy, etc., e.g. *Tha mi de'n bheachd,* 'I am of the opinion', *mas e do thoil e,* 'if it pleases you'. Three other, more general changes are mentioned, which involve something more than just borrowing a word or phrase:

- Overuse of the structure *tha ... agam* and the verb *faigh* whenever English uses an idiom with 'I have ...' or 'I get / find ...'

- Overuse of Gaelic sentence adverbials to correspond with English usage – *gu mì-fhortanach,* 'unfortunately', *gu nàdurra,* 'naturally'.

- Overuse of Gaelic adjectives of 'attitude' to fit English usage, e.g. Gaelic *inntinneach* traditionally means 'mental', but it is nowadays used mostly as an equivalent of English 'interesting'.

As we will see in the non-academic comments, this feature of mapping Gaelic onto English is a common complaint. It is also often seen as the biggest threat to Gaelic, including academics like Gillies who describes this as a 'fifth column abetting the frontal assault of English-language broadcasting, newspapers, officialdom and the rest' that will in the long run 'reduce Gaelic to a parasitic status [...] where all conceptualising takes place in terms created by and for English speakers'. He recommends that Gaelic educationalists 'strive actively to preserve and encourage the traditional diversity of language registers' (Gillies 1980: 10).

This is very much related to the restricted Gaelic discussed earlier, where speakers lack of competency (or confidence) leads them to draw on their higher competency in English. However, this can also be seen as a long tradition of complaint, dating back to the complaints about the formal registers of English used in the translation of religious texts in the 18th and nineteenth centuries: McLeod (2004a: 29) notes that the Bible translation was heavily influenced by existing translation into Classical Gaelic

and into English and there are thus a large number of 'antiquated Irishisms' and calques based on formal registers of English which were criticised by some purists of the nineteenth century.

A2.2.1.2.6. Conclusion

On the side of scholars who appear to be arguing for some kind of corpus purity is Gillies (1980). His viewpoint is clearly that the shift to English in lexicon and grammatical and structural modelling can have a strong negative impact on deeper levels of the language, leading to a rapid breakdown in the characteristically Gaelic systems. The implication here is that a more puristic ideology would help guard against this destruction of the traditional Gaelic grammatical and semantic systems, could protect the language against becoming just a translated secret code of English, and would allow Gaelic to retain its value in the linguistic marketplace.

The arguments presented by McLeod and McEwan-Fujita, while not advocating vernacularism, suggest that it does have a strong hold in the minds of speakers. McLeod suggests that linguistic purism is less intense than in other minority languages due to a shattering of political and cultural confidence among the Gaelic community. For McEwan-Fujita the modern rejection of recent purist neologisms reflects the speakers' association of Gaelic with ancient and English with modern.

A2.2.1.3. Gaelic attitudes (public discourse)

 In this section we note evidence of the ideologies of purity and vernacularity in public discourse.

A2.2.1.3.1. Borrowings from English

It is not difficult to find examples of the rejection of recent English loans. Although, 'recent' is a relative term, it may be understood to be within the speaker's lifetime. There is a common position articulated that recent English borrowings are unacceptable where Gaelic equivalents are still in use by some people or are recently obsolete. The recent English borrowings may be viewed in this case as 'Gàidhlig bhriste' (what Maighread Challan refers to as 'tanachadh na Gàidhlig') that should be repaired to restore Gaelic. This attitude is demonstrated by Ruaraidh MacThòmais's comments on Aonghas MacIllFhialain's language in *Saoghal an Treobhaiche* (1972):

> Tha an sgialachd air a h-innse, a' mhòr-chuid dhi, mar a thàinig i bho'n teip, uaireannan le mabladh beag de Ghàidhlig 's de Bheurla – cainnt a tha cho cumanta an diugh ann an tìr na Gàidhlig. Tha Oftedal ag ràdh gur h-e rud prìseil a tha seo, a' Ghàidhlig fhaighinn mar a tha i air a bruidhinn, agus gun còrd seo ri luchd-sgrùdaidh chànanan. Bithidh feadhainn eile ann a chuireas gnùig orra nuair a leughas iad leithid seo: "Cha do rinn mise ach leum 'na bhroinn 's *heaveadh* suas ri taobh na *stìomair* i, 's as a' mhionaid dh'iarr e air dithis dha na gillean a dhol sìos, *sling* a chur oirre. Thogadh suas i; ligeadh as air an *deac* i, dìreach ri taobh a' *rail...*" Agus uaireannan tha e a' cleachdadh facail Bheurla le nas lugha a dh' aobhair na tha e an seo. Ach tha Oftedal ceart 'na dhòigh fhéin, ged a tha luchd nan gnùig ceart ann an dòigh eile. (MacThòmais 1972: 382)
>
> [*The story is told, most of it, as it came from the tape, sometimes with a little chopping of Gaelic and English – speech that is so common today in Gaelic-speaking lands. Oftedal says that this is a valuable thing, to get Gaelic as it is spoken, and that language researchers will enjoy it. There will be some others who grimace when they hear this kind of thing: "I just leap in and* heaved *it up the side of* steamer, *and immediately he asked two of the boys to go down and put a* sling *on*

it. It was lifted up, lowered onto the deck, *just next to the* rail *…" And sometimes he uses English words with less call to than that. But Oftedal is right in his own way, although the grimacing people are right in another way.*]

MacThòmais describes the vernacular approach as appealing to *luchd-sgrùdaidh chànanan.* 'language researchers' and a foreign linguist, rather than being socially acceptable to the language community, implying that he sides with *luchd nan gnùig,* 'the grimacing people' in disapproval.

Another example from the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod:

> [C]han e brochan de Ghàidhlig, ach Gàidhlig a sheasas air a dà chois fhèin, nach fheum iasad on Bheurla anns gach dàrnacha facal. (MacLeòid 1988: 51)

> [*It is not a hotch-potch of Gaelic, but Gaelic that can stand on its own two feet, that doesn't need to borrow from English every second word.*]

A2.2.1.3.2. Rejection of 'conceptual mapping': purism of '*dlùth is inneach*'

As we saw earlier, there is a realisation of purism that focuses on the adoption of conceptual models or stylistic structures of English onto Gaelic. This objection often exists even when the terminology in use is ideologically purist. It is often seen in complaints that a Gaelic text reads as though it is a poor translation from English. Another common expression of it is found in complaints that Gaelic is apeing bureaucratic language or newspeak. It will be seen in Section B as participants raise the problem of *Beurla tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig*, 'English through Gaelic medium'.

As an example, Aonghas Pàdraig Caimbeul objects to the adoption of management and specialised accountancy expressions, on the grounds that they do not communicate clearly and that they are forms of the language that his forefathers would not understand, despite the terminology being purist in its approach:

> An e coimpiutair a dh'eadar-theangaich an sgudal sin on Bheurla gu Gàidhlig? Oir tha e gu math follaiseach nach cleachdadh duine beò as aithne dhòmhsa an seòrsa cànan sin, agus tha e a cheart cho follaiseach gun deach an dramalaisg sin eadar-theangachadh on 'Bheurla' go 'Gàidhlig' sa chiad àite. (Caimbeul 2012: 16)

> [*Did a computer translate this rubbish from English to Gaelic? As obviously nobody I know would use that kind of language, and it's just as obvious that this nonsense was translated from English to Gaelic in the first place.*]

This is not a new complaint but was raised in the mid-twentieth century. The Rev. Donald Lamont expresses the problem as one where texts might avoid any English lexical items but still lack the '*fìor dhlùth is inneach'*, the 'warp and weft' of the language:

> Ged nach 'eil e tlachdmhor ri fhaicinn no ri cluinntinn, Gàidhlig agus Beurla air an cothlamadh am measg a chéile, faodaidh fìor dhlùth is inneach na Gàidhlig a bhith 'na leithid sin de sheanchas no de sgrìobhadh; agus, air an làimh eile, faodaidh sgrìobhadh Gàidhlig anns nach 'eil aon fhacal Bheurla o thoiseach gu deireadh a bhith cho duilich a leughadh no thuigsinn is gum bu cho mhaith dhuit e bhith air a sgrìobhadh an Eabhra no an Esperanto. (Lamont 1960: 167)

> [*Although it s not pleasant to see or to hear Gaelic and English mixed up together, the real warp*

and weft of Gaelic can still be in that kind of tale or writing; and, on the other hand, Gaelic writing in which there is not one word of English from start to finish can be so hard to read or understand that you'd be better off if it was written in Hebrew or Esperanto.]

This objection is not confined to formal texts; the writer and actor Calum MacFhionghuin also complained about the Gaelic scripts on the TV soap Machair being difficult to perform:

Tha mi a' smaointinn, eu-coltach ris an rud a bha sinne fhèin a' sgrìobhadh, fhuair mise na loidhnichean uabhasach doirbh a lìbhreagadh air sàilleabh, dhomhsa co-dhiù, bha iad air an sgrìobhadh ann am Beurla agus an uair sin eadar-theangachadh. Agus tha mi a' smaointinn gun robh sin ga dhèanamh doirbh, co-dhiù dhomhsa, mar actair, a bhith lìbhreagadh an rud. ('A gu U – Am faca tu?' BBC Alba 2012)

[*I think, unlike the stuff that we wrote ourselves, I found the lines very difficult to deliver because, for me anyway, they were written in English and then translated. And I think that made it difficult, for me anyway, as an actor, to deliver them.*]

Particularly in the context of corpus development, it has been noted as a danger to be avoided:

Gaelic is a flexible language, and a subtle one, good translation an art in itself. It merits serious consideration that a poet be appointed to serve on the Gaelic Language Unit. Such a noble and ancient tongue must not be too sullied by Newspeak. (MacDonald 1985: 39–40)

A2.2.1.3.3. Evidence for vernacularism

There is a common discourse by those refuting purist attitudes that argues that borrowing happens in all languages and has happened previously in Gaelic:

Tha e furasda a nochdadh gu bheil móran fhacal againn anns a' Ghàidhlig a thugadh a steach bho'n Laidinn, bho'n Bheurla Lochlannaich, agus bho'n Bheurla Shasannaich. (King 1980)

[*It's easy to show that we have many words in Gaelic that were brought in from Latin, Norse and English.*]

Chan 'eil cànain san t-saoghal an diugh – co-dhiubh de na cànainean móra nach 'eil a' togail iasaid bho chànainean eile, agus chan urrainn a' Ghàidhlig na dorsan a dhùnadh air facail ùra. (*An Gaidheal* 45, 1950: 23)

[*There's no language on earth today – of the great languages anyway that don't borrow from other languages, and Gaelic can't close its doors on new words.*]

Those advocating vernacularism still typically advocate 'purity' in spelling rather than borrowing the word with its English (or original otherwise) spelling:

Gheibhear anns na leasain facail annasach mar tha *stòbha, baga, sgueathar, taipeadh, meniu, garaids* [...] chan e dé chithear no chunnacas ann an leabhraichean bu chairt-iùil dhuinn idir ach dé chluinnear ann an Tròtairnis, an Tigh a' Gheàrraidh no an Tolastadh-bho-Thuath. (MacLeòid 1967: 170)

[*The lessons will contain unusual words like* stove, bag, square, typing, menu, garage, [...] *what is seen or heard in books did not guide us but what is heard in Trotternis, Tigharry or North*

Tolsta.]

A defence of some influence from English prosody is offered by Dòmhnall Iain MacDhòmhnaill in a review of Aonghas Caimbeul's *Moll is Cruithneachd*:

> Saoilidh mi gu bheil am bàrd a' dèanamh pàirt dhe 'smaointinn anns a' chànain Bheurla. Chan e droch rud a tha seo idir, agus bi mi fhein ris gu math tric. Chan ann a' lagachadh no a' deoghal a-mach ás a' Ghàidhlig a tha an dòigh-smaointinn seo idir ach a' toirt am barrachd beairteas dhi bho chumhachdan an taobh a-muigh dhi. Chan eil cànan sam bith a' dol a dheanamh adhartas gun dòigh-smuaintinn, beachdan agus faclan ùra ga thoirt asteach innte. (1970: 376)

> [*I think that the poet does part of his thinking in the English language. That's not a bad thing at all, and I also do it often. This way of thinking doesn't weaken or draw out of Gaelic at all, but gives it more richness from powers outside it. No language is going to make progress without new ways of thinking, opinions and words coming in.*]

The view that English influence adds to the richness of Gaelic, rather than weakens it, must imply confidence on the part of the writer in the health of his Gaelic and the language in general. Lexicographers, also, can be more accepting of vernacularity in the *dlùth is inneach*, at least seeing a professional duty to record rather than judge:

> Many regret the decline of the pithy, idiomatic Gaelic of the past, and find the Gaelic used today in administration, journalism and broadcasting, for example, pale and fushionless in comparison. But a dictionary has to embrace a language as it is. (Watson 2011: viii)

A2.2.1.3.4. Desire for compromise

It is possible to find the same speaker holding superficially contradictory views, but which are rooted in pragmatism. An example is given by 'Alan' (over 70, from Uist) in Gordon Wells' sociolinguistic study of Gaelic speakers in Uist in 2011 for Soillse:

> Nam bheachdsa co-dhiù ma tha corra fhacal ann tha e math gu leòr, ach ma tha tuilleadh 's a chòrr ann de Bheurla a' tighinn a-staigh air a' Ghàidhlig chan eil sin a' coimhead ro mhath ... Tha mise a' feuchainn ri bruidhinn coileanta gu leòr mas urrainn dhomh – ma tha mi sa Ghàidhlig. [...]

> Tha draining board ann an shin. Carson a tha thu a' dol a dh'fheuchainn facal eile airson sin? 'S cha bhi fios aig an duine nach cuala riamh am facal sin cò air a tha thu a' bruidhinn. (Wells 2011: 18–19)

> [*In my opinion if there are a few words it is okay, but if there too much English comes into Gaelic, that doesn't look very good ... I try to speak enough if I can – If I'm speaking Gaelic. [...] That's a draining board over there. Why are you going to try another word for it? And the person who's never heard that word would have no idea what you were talking about.*]

Discussions of purity can also often include people trying to find a compromise that is, to them, reasonable and pragmatic:

> Tha móran dhaoine ann a bhios a' faotainn coire do sgrìobhadairean a bhios ag ùisneachadh facail Bheurla mur bheil facal Gàidhlig aca a fhreagras. Ach cha rachainn

leis na daoine sin idir, is cha mhò a thoirmisginn do sgrìobhaiche iasad fhaotainn o'n Bheurla cho tric is a thogras e. Ach bheirinn an cead sin dha air an dà chumha so: (1) gun cuir e deise Ghàidhealach air an fhacal Bheurla, ma ghabhas e deanamh, agus (2) gum bi dreach is blas na Gàidhlig air an sgrìobhadh, a dh'aindeoin cia mheud facal Beurla a tha ann. (Lamont 1960: 166)

[*There are a lot of people who find fault with writers who use English words if they don't have an appropriate Gaelic word. But I don't agree with those people at all, and I would hardly forbid a writer to borrow from English as often as he wishes. But I would give his that permission on two conditions: (1) that he gives the English word a Highland dress if possible, and (2) that the writing has the shape and flavour of Gaelic despite how many English words there are*]

Lamont, however, is resigned to the lack of consensus in this matter:

Anns gach àite anns an coinnich clann nan Gàidheal, luath no mall, togar a' cheist, a bheil e ceart facail Bheurla a chleachdadh ann am bruidhinn no ann an sgrìobhadh na Gàidhlig. Air a' chùis sin tha daoine air an roinn mar tha iad air an roinn ann an cùisean eile. (1960: 166–7)

[*In every place that the children of the Gaels meet, either quickly or slowly the question is raised whether it is right to use English words in Gaelic speaking or writing. On that subject people are divided as they are divided on other subjects.*]

Neologisms can be seen as a joke – or, at least, something to joke about. In a parody of a Gaelic radio broadcast written by students in the 1970s, the efforts to introduce unfamiliar terms to listeners is (gently) mocked:

Uilleam: Feasgar math. Feasgar math. *Good evening*. FEASGAR MATH. Hallo agus tapadh leibh airson tighinn. Mar a tha fhios agaibh tha féisd ann an Cill Airne a nis h-uile bliadhna ris an can iad am Pan Celtic; agus mar as àbhaist tha sinn a coimhead airson *delegate* – 'se sin riochdaire; riochdaire, *delegate* a sheinneas oran ur dhuinn anns a cho-fharpuis. (Anon. 1976: 46–47).

[*Good evening. Good evening. [English]. GOOD EVENING. Hallo and thanks for coming. As you know there's a festival in Cill Airne now every year called the Pan Celtic; and as usual we're looking for a [English: delegate] that's 'riochdaire', riochdaire' delegate that will sing a new song for us in the competition.*]

A2.2.1.4. Conclusions and hypotheses for testing: *Beurla*-phobia versus *Beurla*-philia

McLeod's (2004a) overall assessment is that contemporary corpus planning context for Gaelic is characterised by an attitude of moderate purism with regard to both grammatical simplification and lexical borrowing from English. This can be understood at the micro-level of speakers balancing their desire to continue to use Gaelic with the pragmatism of wanting to be understood. When faced with a lexical gap, Gaelic users manifest a strong tendency to simply insert the relevant English word into a Gaelic sentence. At the macro-level, however, it could be that corpus planning practice is characterised by inconsistency in this respect. Some decisions are motivated by purity and others by vernacularity, but there is no consensual ideology as yet. Furthermore, the different domains may be considered deserving of greater purity, e.g. the conservation of terms in traditional domains such as crofting or in formal domains such as academic discourse. One interesting observation from McLeod

(2004a) is that speaker conservatism, vis-à-vis both the use of Gaelic in new domains and the ridicule of new Gaelic words, has noticeably diminished over the last 30 years, thanks to the growth of Gaelic broadcasting and education, leaving the language 'refreshed in important ways' (2004a: 45).

With this in mind, when it comes to evaluating the extent to which purity or vernacularity is an appropriate and realistic linguistic foundation for Gaelic corpus planning, what is primarily at issue is an axis of ideological variation which ranges from what might be called '*Beurla*-phobia' at one end to '*Beurla*-philia' at the other:

- *Beurla*-phobia: Gaels should take pride in, and remain faithful to, their Gaelic cultural heritage and traditions by using Gaelic rather than English.

- *Beurla*-philia: Gaels should be happy to absorb influences from English in their Gaelic and share lexical and idiomatic forms.

It should be noted here that these ideologies may be held by non-Gaels as well as by Gaels (however one wishes to define these terms).

In terms of Fishman's purity vs. vernacularity dimension, *Beurla*-phobia and purity can be assumed to be one and the same thing in the Gaelic context. However, vernacularity should be identified with the 'neutral' position of being neither *Beurla*-phobic nor *Beurla*-philic, rather than with *Beurla*-philia itself:

Beurla-philia . . . . (vernacularity) . . . . *Beurla*-phobia (purity)

In terms of the Spolskyan model of language policy presented in section A1.1 of this report, both *Beurla*-philia and *Beurla*-phobia have reflexes at all three sociolinguistic levels:

• **Speaker level**: English speakers are good / bad, Gaelic speakers are good / bad

• **Domain level**: English-friendly domains are good / bad, Gaelic-friendly domains are good / bad

• **Utterance level**: English words are good / bad, Gaelic words are good / bad

In a bilingual setting, if the dominant language ideology is either strongly *Beurla*-philic or strongly *Beurla*-phobic, then it is inevitable that there will be ideology / practice conflicts. One way of resolving these conflicts would be by adopt a general policy of 'acceptance', allowing the ideology to be updated to correspond with actual language practice. In the absence of strongly interventionist language management, the language practice itself will be left to evolve 'organically' across the generations (presumably towards ever-increasing use of English). At the utterance level (i.e. within corpus planning), acceptance (or 'light touch' language management) can be understood as Fishman's vernacularity approach (hence, vernacularity is not a language ideology in the strict Spolskyan sense, but rather an approach to language management, or maybe even a language meta-ideology).

Another way of resolving the ideology / practice conflict would be to adopt an interventionist language management policy, and try to get people to change their language practice to comply with the dominant language ideology. If the dominant ideology is strongly *Beurla*-philic, then this would involve purging Gaelic speakers, Gaelic-friendly domains and Gaelic words, and cultivating (monoglot) English speakers, domains and words to replace them. On the other hand, if the dominant ideology is strongly *Beurla*-phobic, then this would involve purging English speakers, English-

friendly domains and English words, and cultivating new Gaelic speakers, domains and words to replace them. The reality of universal bilingualism brings the possibility of a 'mild' *Beurla*-phobic ideology, implying a purification intervention targeted not at English speakers and domains, but rather at non-Gaelic speakers (i.e. monoglot Anglophones) and non-Gaelic-friendly domains. Mild *Beurla*-phobia appears to have been the dominant, official language ideology in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd over the last 30 years.

To return to the conclusions of McLeod (2004a) discussed above, the notion that the dominant language ideology in the Gaelic-speaking world appears to be one of mild purism can be characterised in present terms as occupying a position midway between extreme *Beurla*-phobia and the neutral position of neither *Beurla*-phobic nor *Beurla*-philic. The very existence of a popular movement to revitalise the Gaelic language implies that the dominant language ideology is not *Beurla*-philic. However, the fact that intergenerational transmission of Gaelic continues to weaken in its stronghold communities implies that the dominant ideology cannot be characterised as strongly *Beurla*-phobic either. This position of mild *Beurla*-phobia is also reflected in official corpus planning efforts. Although wishing to preserve and revitalise Gaelic as a living language in the 21st century, most speakers appear to be willing to accommodate a huge amount of English influence in it (possibly for pragmatic rather than ideological reasons) – from syntactic and phonological interference, to lexical borrowings and idiomatic calques, to the fact that the default mode of terminology development is lexically *Beurla*-philic but orthographically *Beurla*-phobic.

Closely related to purity / vernacularity, but perpendicular to the *Beurla*-phobia / philia axis, is another bipolar ideological continuum for Gaelic:

- **Neophobia**: Traditional speakers / domains / words are good; New speakers / domains / words are bad'

- **Neophilia**: New speakers / domains / words are good

Although the default ideological position among the remaining native Gaelic speakers might well be characterised as simultaneously moderately *Beurla*-phobic and moderately neophobic, the activist community arguably contains many who could be described as simultaneously strongly *Beurla*-phobic and strongly neophilic (as well as others who are strongly *Beurla*-phobic and strongly neophobic at the same time). Also, a speaker may hold a combination of these ideological stances and apply them differently depending on the domain, in a way that is coherent to them, for example, *Beurla*-phobic in their home language use but *Beurla*-philic in their education and career if it is in a domain such as engineering.

A2.2.2. Uniqueness versus Westernisation

Fishman's next ideological dimension of uniqueness versus westernisation can be conceptualised as an intensified version of purity and vernacularity: uniqueness is a more extreme variant of purism, allowing no borrowings from any languages, and westernisation is an aggressively outward-looking variant of vernacularity. There are no academic studies that focus on these elements in the history of the language, so the references to the Gaelic context below are from public discourse.

A2.2.2.1. Uniqueness

While the main languages that have exerted influence over Gaelic in recent centuries are English and Scots, there have also been calls to remove perceived 'Irishisms'. This, however, can also be seen as an ideology of *Ausbau,* and the corresponding desire for Scottish Gaelic not to be seen as a 'mere dialect' of Irish. This may have influenced MacBain to break with the existing lexicographical convention of drawing on Old and Classical Gaelic sources:

> Celtic scholars, if they find nothing else in the present Dictionary, will, at least, find a nearly pure vocabulary of Scottish Gaelic, purged of the mass of Irish words that appear in our larger dictionaries. (MacBain 1911: ix)

There is also the possibility that during the nineteenth century, what the authors meant by removing 'Irishisms' was removing grammatical vestiges of Classical Gaelic no longer in the vernacular, with little regard to whether they were in current use in Ireland.

However, aside from these three languages, there is no evidence of resistance to borrowings in general. Although there is an older substrate of Gaelic vocabulary (and grammar and phonology) which was borrowed from Norse, Latin, French and Older Scots, this has now been completely Gaelicised in terms of phonology and morphology. Indeed, there are many people who would argue that these ancient borrowings are an intrinsic element of Scottish Gaelic, making it a distinctive language from Irish and Manx.

Nowadays, with the exception of Irish, it is unlikely that Gaelic would borrow a word or idiom directly from any language other than English, although English itself may well have borrowed it from elsewhere. However, in public discourse, a Japanese word such as 'karaoke' which speakers would learn through its use in English, will continue to be perceived as Japanese by speakers, as we discuss below.

Instances of the advocacy of uniqueness have yet to be identified (most purism arguments distinctly targeting English). However, a word list of medical terms created by Comann Gàidhlig Seirbheis na Slàinte and published in *Gairm* in 1989 appears to demonstrate the ideology of uniqueness. There is only one loan word with Gaelicised spelling and a Gaelic version is also offered first:

Microscope – Glainne meudachaidh, Mìocroscop.

The inclusion of *mìocroscop* is the vernacularity option. In all other cases, however, words with Latin or Greek roots and / or where a Westernisation / internationalisation option might be considered are given 'unique' Gaelic forms:

Ligament – Ball-nasg

Latin: *ligāmentum*, *ligare*, 'to bind'. German: *ligament*, French: *ligament*

Metabolism – Fàs-atharrachadh

Ancient Greek: μεταβολή 'change' + ism suffix. German: *metabolismus*, French:

métabolisme

A2.2.2.2. Westernisation / Internationalisation

A common discourse argues that terms such as 'karaoke', 'lasagne' or 'grand prix' are acceptable borrowings as they are not 'original' English words and so Gaelic can be free to use these internationalisms without fear of language shift. This argument is often seen in arguments against purism and to defend anti-Gaelic arguments that seek to delegitimise the language by pointing out lexical gaps. It usually appears in form of a question answering a question: What is the Gaelic for 'x'? answer: What is the English for 'x'? This seeks to place Gaelic on an equal footing with English by saying if English can borrow from French etc. Gaelic can borrow from them too. There is also a discourse that suggests words borrowed from Latin or Greek to English are the common European stock of learned vocabulary; again this implies equivalent status to other European languages: if they can derive words from Latin and Greek so can we. An internationalism might be preferable to a Gaelic neologism if the speaker's belief about the language is that it should not be isolated and inward-looking. An example from the Rev. Donald Lamont is 'radio':

> Radio – facal a thuigeas a h-uile duine air an t-saoghal, o Chille Sgumain gu California.
> (1960: 167)

> [*Radio – a word that everyone in the world, from Kilskumin to California, understands*.]

The perception of the speaker is all important here and may not depend on attested use of the word internationally. Anecdotally, the researchers have heard criticism of the word *tadhal.* 'goal' based on the perception that everyone else in the world uses 'goal'. However, even within Europe the French is *but*, German is *Tor*, Danish and Norwegian use *mål* and Icelandic uses *mark*.

This discourse usually does not make reference to European languages which do not make great use of borrowings, even in their learned vocabulary, e.g. German, Icelandic. It instead presents 'all languages borrow' as a universal norm.

A2.2.3. Classicisation

Fishman's conception of classicisation is, in our summary:

> Older nations / cultures / languages are (perceived to be) intrinsically superior to younger ones. If we want to gain respect from other nations, we should make our speech and writing look as old as possible, by reverting to the sacred, classical written language that represents the historic heart of our culture.

As he intends the ideologies to exist on sliding scales, we can see how a version of this ideology drawing on the value of historical language appears in discussions of Gaelic. McEwan-Fujita has sketched out the theme which she calls 'Gaelic is ancient' in her 2011 article on language revitalisation discourses. She traces this from the importance of distinguished genealogies in both Gaelic society and wider European society (e.g. kingship claims), and charts its development into explicit praises for the pedigree of Gaelic in the eighteenth century. This echoes Fishman's description of the great and glorious past giving validity to the modern language. This element of 'historicity as validity' also has significant currency in elevating the status of the language in the face

of criticism decrying the language as 'the rude speech of a barbarous people', where denying the language a history is a way of delegitimising it as a 'real' language. This was famously remarked by Dr Samuel Johnson when he claimed the language had only begun to be written 100 years prior (Johnson 1775: 267).

While the sacred, classical written language of Fishman's definition may be interpreted as Old or even Classical Gaelic, we have not yet located instances calling for a return to these in modern Gaelic. However, there are more often calls for conservative uses, particularly relating to the Gaelic of the Bible (representing nineteenth-century Gaelic).

It is important to bear in mind the extra dimension of language preservation. In *Do Not Leave Your Language Alone,* Fishman does not explicitly consider the application of these ideologies in endangered language contexts. The potency of a historicalisation ideology in a speech community which sees its language being used less and less and with less variety of expression, what Maighread Challainn has called *tanachadh na Gàidhlig,* 'a thinning of Gaelic' is clear. With this in mind, historicisation is not simply based on a belief that older is better, but that reviving older forms is a path to continued language use.

For example, the Rev. Donald Lamont recommends checking the Bible for good Gaelic and says:

> Bu chòir dhaibh a bhith cinnteach nach 'eil facal Gàidhlig ri fhaotainn m'an cuir iad facal Beurla 'na àite. Tha ceudan a dh'fhacail ann an Gàidhlig nach aithne dhuinn, facail a bhiodh freagarrach dhuinn iomadh uair nam b'aithne dhuinn iad. (Lamont 1960: 167).

A2.2.4. Panification

Fishman's description of panification may be summarised as follows:

> Our nation / culture / language was once, in the dim and distant past, united and great. However, thanks to the vagaries of history we have become fragmented and weak. In order to reverse this process, we should strive to reunite our nation / culture / language, reverting to a reconstructed version of the hypothetical, prehistoric proto-language that our contemporary vernacular languages are descended from.

McLeod (2008) argues that pan-Gaelic rhetoric, seeking the unity Scottish of Irish Gaelic, has been only a peripheral theme of modern language movements. In practice, the two forms have become increasingly divergent during the twentieth century. Historically, Irish and Scottish Gaelic were zones in a dialect continuum running from the south of Ireland to the north of Scotland, but the two languages diverged significantly during the medieval period, so that by the early seventeenth century they were regarded as distinct languages – nowadays they are generally assumed to be mutually unintelligible to any meaningful degree. During the late medieval period, there was a standardised, supradialectal written form used across both Ireland and Scotland (Classical Gaelic), the result of a remarkable 'medieval exercise in language planning' by the professional bardic schools (Ó Cuiv 1978). After the seventeenth century, this Classical Gaelic influenced written Scottish Gaelic, with many perceived 'Irishisms' appearing in the Scottish Gaelic Bible translations.

In the modern language movements that arose in both Ireland and Scotland at the end of the nineteenth century, pan-Gaelicism was a fairly prominent theme, and it has been periodically rediscovered since then. Occasionally, there was even talk of pan-Gaelicism of a linguistic kind, a theme which survives to this day on internet discussion forums. However, the overtly nationalist ideology of the Irish language movement rendered pan-Gaelicism an increasingly peripheral theme on the Irish side (part of what McLeod calls the Irish 'superiority complex' vis-à-vis Scottish Gaeldom, where 'the Gaelic of Scotland is sometimes perceived or presented as a strange or debased form of Irish'). On the Scottish side, there was often little sympathy from the mainly Protestant Scottish Gaels towards Irish nationalism and Irish immigrants in Scotland. However, the main reason for the lack of pan-Gaelic momentum was simply lack of economic and cultural contact between most speakers of Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

Analysis of the key debates and decisions in corpus planning for Irish and Scottish Gaelic shows that potential opportunities to promote convergence have been overlooked (for essentially political reasons), and hence the two forms have become increasingly divergent:

- Dialects past and present: Irish was standardised during the first half of the twentieth century based on the living dialects of the remaining Gaeltacht areas (especially Munster and Connacht), rather than on the literary language of the seventeenth century (i.e. Late Classical Gaelic). From a pan-Gaelic perspective, either the latter approach should have been taken, or the selection process should have considered Scottish dialects as well.

- The font controversy: Debate over whether to use Roman or Gaelic type for Irish was not resolved until the 1960s. However, a pan-Gaelic perspective would never have seriously considered the latter, since Scottish Gaelic has always been printed in Roman type.

- Orthographic reform: Spelling reform for Irish dropped silent consonants and simplified consonant clusters to reflect modern pronunciation. This ignored the fact that many of these consonants were still pronounced in Scotland, and hence made it more challenging for Scottish Gaels to read modern Irish texts.

- Standardisation of grammar: In the standardisation of Irish morphology, no effort was made to incorporate Scottish forms or to choose Irish forms that would be accessible to a Scottish speaker / reader.

- Terminological development: Irish terminological development has not considered acceptability to Scottish speakers; and Scottish Gaelic has made little use of the terminology developed by the Irish (cf. *taoiseach* and *tánaiste* vs. *prìomh mhinistear* and *leas-phrìomh mhinistear*).

McLeod goes on to argue that the promotion of linguistic convergence (e.g. using the East Ulster or Islay dialect as a core) was never even a realistic goal, since it would it have harmed broader revitalisation efforts in both Ireland and Scotland. However, it is suggested that 'soft' pan-Gaelicism may provide a way forward, with an emphasis on increasing cultural contact between Irish and Gaelic speakers. Outside of the academic literature, some writers have promoted a Pan-Celtic view, as in this comment by Malcolm MacFarlane in 1906:

> In the Gaelic Journal of this month D. J. Enright advocates borrowing words from Scottish
> Gaelic, Welsh or Breton, in cases where a new term is wanted in Irish Gaelic, rather than

going for it to English or Latin. Sensible counsel which might be followed in Scotland. (MacFarlane 1906: 77).

A2.2.5. *Ausbau* and *Einbau*

The definition offered by Fishman is more appropriate to the situation of Scots whose users may wish to distance themselves from standard English to refute dialect status. While Scottish Gaelic could plan to be closer or more similar to Irish Gaelic, it might be possible to argue that this is panification not an *Ausbau* / *Einbau* relationship as Scottish Gaelic is not (at least no longer) fighting a 'dialect' status in relation to Irish Gaelic. On the other hand, that is not to say that future language managers might not deliberately choose to bring Scottish Gaelic closer in form towards Standard Irish Gaelic.

A2.2.6. *Gaeilge*-philia, *Gaeilge*-phobia, retrophilia and retrophobia

In the Gaelic context, panification along with *Einbau* and *Ausbau* can thus be given a more concrete interpretation in terms of a continuum with two poles:

- *Gaeilge*-**philia**: We should make Scottish Gaelic more like Irish Gaelic, in order to draw on our common strengths for language revitalisation and / or (re)build our common cultural heritage, i.e. Irish speakers / domains / words are good.

- *Gaeilge*-**phobia**: We should emphasise the uniqueness of Scottish Gaelic by making it less like Irish Gaelic, i.e. Irish speakers / domains / words are bad.

Gaeilge-philia is very closely related to Fishman's ideologies of panification and *Einbau*, whereas *Gaeilge*-phobia is linked to *Ausbau*, and is a secondary component of the 'uniqueness' ideology (after *Beurla*-phobia). The dominant language ideology in the Gaelic speaking world has probably been neutral between these two poles, in the sense that not much attention has been paid to the Irish context (apart from the odd initiative to, for example, import Irish language teachers and retrain them as Gaelic teachers to address the shortage in Gaelic Medium Education). However, there is anecdotal evidence that the most recent terminology efforts have been looking to Irish terminology for inspiration.

Classicisation, on the other hand, implies another, independent continuum:

- **Retrophilia**: We should revert to the Gaelic language practices of the past, i.e. old speakers / domains / words are good.

- **Retrophobia**: We should avoid archaisms when speaking and writing Gaelic, i.e. old speakers / domains / words are bad.

Retrophilia is a kind of classicisation, and retrophobia is another interpretation of vernacularity. Ideologies of both moderate retrophilia and moderate retrophobia are to be found in public discourses surrounding Gaelic.

A2.2.7. Other discourses

A2.2.7.1. Continuity (Leantalachd)

This discourse argues against changes that are perceived to be unnecessary. The first strand of this belief expresses a concern that a generational gap could be created between a 'new' and 'old' system. The second strand of this belief is the advantage of not reinventing the wheel or revisiting old debates and that constant change is disruptive and off-putting. The time period for conventions to be established may vary from person to person: for example whether a norm 10 years old carries the same weight as one 150 years old. The following quote demonstrates this with regard to spelling:

> Nan robhtar a' tòiseachadh air Gàidhlig a sgrìobhadh as ùr, tha iomadh rud ann a ghabhadh ceartachadh, ach chan 'eilear a' tòiseachadh as ùr, agus cha mhò a ghabhadh a h-uile rud a tha ceàrr a bhith air a chur ceart a nis. (Lamont 1960: 168–9)
>
> [*If we were starting to write Gaelic from scratch, there are many things that could be correct, but we're not starting again, everything that is wrong can hardly be put right now.*]

Ruaraidh MacThòmais also rejects change where he deems it unnecessary, saying that in spelling writers should stick to:

> [...] na seòrsachan ris an do ghabhadh o chionn fhada, 's chan eil ann ach aineolas na leithidean eile a sgrìobhadh an-diugh. (MacThòmais 1984: 300).
>
> [*[...] the types which were accepted long ago, and it's only ignorance to write the other kinds today.*]

This was also the position of the *Faclair na Pàrlamaid* team, who preface their work saying (with regards to spelling):

> Tha sinn den bheachd nach robh roghainn reusanta eile ann seach am modh obrachaidh seo, oir b' e seo a' bhunait air a bheil clann air a bhith gan teagasg tron fhichead bliadhna a chaidh seachad. Nan robh sinn air riaghailtean an litreachaidh atharrachadh air dhòigh mhì-reusanta bhitheadh adhartas nam fichead bliadhna seo air a chur air cùl agus thigeadh tomhas mòr do mhì-chinnt an lùib sin. (2001: x)

In terms of the four ideological continua developed thus far, 'continuity' occupies the neutral area around vernacularity (acceptance of current practice), with a hint of neophobia. However, the explicit justifications are often different.

A2.2.7.2. Simplicity / *Sìmplidheachd*

Fishman doesn't spend a lot of time on questions of whether a word is more suitable than another due to brevity, simplicity, or other stylistic features. However, we can consider whether a certain point of view that deems the 'best' Gaelic to be simple and clear will play a role in people's expectations. Previous writers have recommended 'simplicity' as a hallmark of 'good' Gaelic:

> Is e a' cheud rud, agus an dara rud, agus an treas rud, a bu chòir do sgrìobhadairean òga a chur romhpa féin, a bhith sìmplidh agus a bhith soilleir. (Lamont 1960: 166)
>
> [*The first thing, the second thing and the third thing that young writers should decide to do is to*

be simple and be clear.]

This would also be related to the belief that simple, clear language is more attractive and should be sought for in new domains so that it is easier and more attractive to users. Simplicity is probably best conceptualised as the Occam's Razor of Gaelic corpus planning – other things being equal, choose the simplest option. However, there is also the possibility that simplicity is more a question of stylistics and pragmatics than linguistic cultivation.

A2.2.7.3. Natural vs Artificial / *Nàdarra vs Mì-nàdarra*

One of the findings of Helena Ní Ghearáin in her research on terminology use in the Irish Gaeltacht was the resistance to perceived artificiality:

> The spontaneous use of the word 'makey-up' by two research informants when describing Irish terms clearly illustrates the perception of term development as an artificial process and echoes the description of the modern Irish terms used on Raidió na Gaeltachta as 'dictionary words' in Ní Shéaghdha (2003). (Ní Ghearáin 2011: 317)

McEwan-Fujita has suggested that Gaels in Nova Scotia reject some things as unnatural because they are new. In her assessment, the speakers' strong association of Gaelic with heritage inevitably means that neologisms are rejected as artificial. Again, the rejection of 'artificial' neologisms is the core of the ideological pole of neophobia.

A2.2.7.4. Whose language is it anyway? Legitimate authority.

Other studies have emphasised the power relations within the speech community and how that can affect language revitalisation including corpus planning. Ní Ghearáin very strongly argues that official language development in Ireland has focussed on the needs of learners and urban educated speakers, to the detriment of the Gaeltacht community. She agrees that the Gaeltacht community 'has been conceptualised as a tool in national language policy or as a target for policy, rather than as a legitimate stakeholder in policy development.' (Ní Ghearáin 2011: 306) She sees this as directly related to the limited engagement by those in Gaeltacht to official terminology.

> The revitalisation movement, since its roots in the late nineteenth century, has in many ways proceeded at a remove from the Gaeltacht community, and tensions between native Gaeltacht speakers and the urban educated elite who spearheaded the language 'revival' were apparent from the beginning. (Ní Ghearáin 2011: 306).

Urla (2012) also asks us to consider whether importing the majority language's ideology of standardisation can ever avoid also importing the attendant inferiorities and hierarchies:

> [...] in working to assure greater respect and status for their language, activists' images, beliefs, and goals reproduce some of the dominant ways that nation-states conceptualize and treat languages: for example, the notion of languages as bounded, discrete objects; the belief in the necessity of internal uniformity; the erection of norms of good and bad use; and a presumed unambiguous link between nation and language. (Urla 2012: 16)

A2.3. A Taxonomy of Ideologies for Gaelic Corpus Planning

We end up with a four-dimensional ideological space for Gaelic language management (in which the most important ideological positions can be located):

	purification	cultivation
Anglicisms	purity, uniqueness	westernisation, vernacularity
neologisms	purity, vernacularity	purity
Irishisms	*Ausbau*, uniqueness	*Einbau*, panification
archaisms	vernacularity	classicisation

These ideological dimensions are relevant to Gaelic language management activities at all three sociolinguistic levels – speakers, domains and words. At the word-level (i.e. corpus planning), they actually apply to a range of different linguistic levels – words, sounds, structures, idioms, categories, concepts, etc. As mentioned previously, an individual speaker may hold a combination of these ideological stances and apply them differently depending on the domain, in a way that is coherent to them.

One of the aims of our research project is to locate the dominant language ideologies in the Gaelic-speaking world in this multi-dimensional, multi-layered linguistic space, in order to formulate a coherent linguistic foundation for Gaelic corpus planning.

A3. Corpus Implications of Acquisition and Status Planning Initiatives for Gaelic

A3.1. Acquisition and Status Planning for Gaelic

In A1.1, we identified three levels of language management, corresponding to the three levels of sociolinguistic description of language practice:

• Speaker-level language management (i.e. acquisition planning)

• Domain-level language management (i.e. status & usage planning)

• Word-level language management (i.e. corpus planning)

It was emphasised that corpus planning should be driven directly by acquisition or status planning initiatives, so that the language can keep up with the demands being placed upon it.

With this in mind, it is necessary to ask the following two questions:

• What are the main acquisition and status planning goals that BnG have committed to undertake? In other words: What new groups of Gaelic speakers and new and existing Gaelic-friendly domains have been explicitly targeted for development?

• What implications do these initiatives have in terms of the ideological framework for Gaelic corpus planning developed in A2?

A3.1.1. The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005

The two main effects of the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 were:

• to enshrine the Gaelic language in law as 'an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language'

• to establish Bòrd na Gàidhlig (BnG) as a non-departmental governmental body

The Act also defines the general tasks of BnG (§1 para 3) in terms of 'securing the status' of the Gaelic language through:

• 'increasing the number of persons who are able to use and understand the Gaelic language'.

• 'encouraging the use and understanding of the Gaelic language'.

• 'facilitating access, in Scotland and elsewhere, to the Gaelic language and Gaelic culture'.

Thus, the Act tasks BnG with extremely general acquisition and status planning responsibilities – more Gaelic speakers, and more Gaelic-friendly domains.

Furthermore, the Act commits the new body to three specific courses of action:

• BnG must (§2) prepare a 'national Gaelic language plan' every five years, outlining how it intends to go about cultivating new Gaelic speakers and new Gaelic-friendly domains

- BnG may (§3–§7) demand that 'relevant' public authorities prepare and implement their own Gaelic language plans, thus effectively delegating the cultivation of new Gaelic-friendly domains to the agencies that control the domains

- BnG may (§9) issue guidance in relation to Gaelic education, its provision, and the development of such provision

Thus, the Act provides a little bit of detail about how BnG should go about its acquisition and status planning activities – it should encourage the cultivation of new Gaelic speakers through the domain of statutory schooling, and should also foster new Gaelic-friendly domains involving access to 'relevant' public services. Note the omission of domains relating to private enterprises, or any specific mention of public service broadcasting in the Act (presumably because broadcasting is a power retained by Westminster).

As of early 2013, the following public authorities have had their Gaelic language plans approved by BnG:

- local authorities: Argyll and Bute Council, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Glasgow City Council, North Lanarkshire Council, Highland Council, City of Edinburgh Council, Perth & Kinross Council, Falkirk Council

- arms of central government: Scottish Parliament Corporate Body, The Scottish Government

- statutory education: Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), Scottish Qualification Authority (SQA), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) – note that LTS and HMIe have now been merged into Education Scotland, which has just published a draft Gaelic language plan

- resources / transport / tourism / arts: Crofting Commission, Highland and Islands Enterprise (HIE), Caledonian Maritime Assests (CMAL), Scottish Natural Heritage, Forestry Commission Scotland, Loch Lomond and The Trossachs National Park Authority, VisitScotland, Historic Scotland, Creative Scotland, National Museums of Scotland, National Library of Scotland, Cairngorms National Park Authority, National Galleries of Scotland, Skills Development Scotland

- higher education: Scottish Funding Council, University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI), Sabhal Mòr Ostaig UHI, University of Glasgow, Aberdeen University, Lews Castle College UHI.

- health boards and police authorities: NHS Western Isles, NHS Highland, Northern Constabulary (now merged with Police Scotland).

This list gives some indication of the new Gaelic-friendly public service domains that BnG is targeting.

A3.1.2. The first National Plan for Gaelic (2007–2012)

From the perspective of acquisition planning, the first national plan explicitly targets the cultivation of three wide groups of potential new speakers:

- Newborn babies with a Gaelic-speaking parent (i.e. intergenerational transmission)

- All four-year old children (i.e. Gaelic-medium education)

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- All older children and adults, especially those who already have some ability in the language (i.e. Gaelic Learners Education, tertiary education, adult learning).

Thus, the Plan considers everyone in Scotland as a potential Gaelic speaker, even those who do not live in traditional Gaelic-speaking areas, or who have no close familial connection with the language.

For status planning, in addition to homes and schools, the plan focuses attention on five domains (or types of domain) as needing to become more Gaelic-friendly:

- Communities, especially youth activities

- Workplaces, especially public authorities

- Print, broadcast and online media

- The arts (i.e. literary, performing and musical)

- Tourism, heritage and recreation sectors (including sporting events and transportation).

Several things are notable from this list. First of all, the focus is not just on traditional Gaelic-friendly domains such as music and agriculture but also 'health care, public policy and administration or the law' (BnG 2007a: 24); 'contemporary forms of musical expression – from Gaelic country music to Gaelic punk' (BnG 2007a: 26). Secondly, the list contains a number of 'higher order' domains that Fishman (1993) regards as supplementary to the fundamental RLS task of attaining stable diglossia – statutory schools, workplaces, broadcast media, public authorities. Thirdly, BnG appears to be targeting an extremely wide range of public sector activities as potentially Gaelic-friendly domains, regardless of the resource or capacity implications.

The first national plan also provides some interesting guidance on the content of Gaelic language plans in different kinds of geographical area:

- Areas with a majority of Gaelic speakers (e.g. the Western Isles, Skye and Tiree) – fully bilingual service; Gaelic used as a 'normal aspect of working life'.

- Areas with significant numbers of Gaelic speakers (e.g. many parts of Highland and Argyll & Bute, Oban, Fort William and Inverness) – partially bilingual service, focusing on 'services that by their nature are most likely to be used by Gaelic speakers, e.g. agricultural services'; 'visible recognition of the Gaelic language' (i.e. 'linguistic landscape').

- Other areas – at least some 'symbolic' Gaelic provision; public signage and other aspects of corporate identity.

A3.1.3. Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig (2010–2012)

This plan places the focus of BnG's language management activity (and consequently, resources) squarely on acquisition planning, as the subtitle makes clear – 'An action plan to increase the numbers of Gaelic speakers'. One interesting feature is that this plan appears to be the first BnG public strategy document to explicitly invoke the benefits of bilingualism as a reason to promote Gaelic language acquisition and learning. The *Ginealach Ùr* report targets the same groups of potential new Gaelic

speakers as the first National Plan. However, more detail is specified about how exactly these groups are to be cultivated: the adult learning course Ùlpan, the learners' website learngaelic.net, a national parent advisory scheme, home visitors to promote intergenerational transmission, a national framework for early years education, Gaelic-medium education (especially at secondary level), Gaelic Learners in the Primary School (GLPS), Gaelic Learners Education, summer schools for teenagers, etc.

Two groups of adult learners are targeted in particular:

• Non-Gaelic speaking parents with children in Gaelic-medium education

• Certificated teachers from Ireland (who could help solve the teacher recruitment problem for Gaelic-medium education).

Although the focus of the *Ginealach Ùr* report is on acquisition planning and the recruitment of new Gaelic speakers, the cultivation of a number of new Gaelic-friendly domains is assumed implicitly (aside from homes and schools):

• National government: bilingual ministerial announcements

• The internet: mygaelic.com, Facebook, Twitter, mobile phone apps

• Local Gaelic hubs.

A3.1.4. The second National Plan for Gaelic (2012–2017)

The second national Plan is organised around eight development areas, seven of which concern acquisition and status planning:

• Home & Early Years: 'An increase in the acquisition and use of Gaelic by young people in the home and increased numbers of children entering Gaelic-medium early years education.'

• Education, Schools & Teachers: 'An increase in the number of children enrolling in Gaelic-medium education (GME), doubling the current annual intake to 800 by 2017. A year on year increase in the number of pupils engaged in Gaelic learner education (GLE) in both primary and secondary schools. An expansion in the availability of Gaelic-medium subjects in secondary schools.'

• Education, Postschool Education: 'An increase in the number of adults acquiring Gaelic from the current total of around 2,000 to 3,000 by 2017 and enhanced language skills among fluent Gaelic speakers.'

• Communities: 'More opportunities for communities and networks of Gaelic speakers of all kinds to use Gaelic and increased use of the language in community activities and services.'

• Workplace: 'Expansion of the use of Gaelic in places of work and an increase in employment opportunities where Gaelic skills are required in order to enable service delivery in the language.'

• Arts & Media: 'Development of Gaelic arts and media as a means of promoting the language, attracting people to it and enhancing their commitment through opportunities to learn, use and develop Gaelic.'

• Heritage & Tourism: 'An increased profile for Gaelic in the heritage and tourism sectors and increased use of Gaelic in the interpretation of Scotland's history and culture.'

The groups of potential new speakers and domains implied by these development is unchanged from the first National Plan and the *Ginealach Ùr* strategy.

A3.2. Implications for Corpus Planning

What implications do these plans have for corpus planning, in terms of institutional support, and in terms of ideological foundations?

A3.2.1. Institutional implications

The planned expansion of Gaelic into a wide range of non-traditional domains and subdomains necessitates the creation of associated new registers and subregisters (including terminology) to use in them.

The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 allows BnG, in essence, to delegate the cultivation of new Gaelic-friendly domains to individual public authorities. This process of 'outsourcing' also includes corpus planning activities, i.e. the cultivation of new registers / terminologies. In order to avoid fragmentation of the Gaelic corpus, there is thus a need for some kind of central service to coordinate and support the corpus planning activities of the diverse organisations who have the responsibility imposed upon them in this way – a kind of 'clearing house' for Gaelic corpus planning initiatives. This kind of service would simultaneously serve to maintain the 'relevance and consistency' of the various corpus initiatives (as required by the National Plans), and also to reduce the (considerable) burden on any individual organisation or sector (given the tendency in the Gaelic-speaking world to delegate the task of terminology development to translators, rather than to specialist terminologists / lexicographers).

In addition, it is clear that this central corpus coordination and support service cannot be restricted in focus to any one particular domain or sector. Rather it must be 'supra-dominal', or 'domain neutral', in order that its support and guidance reflects the interests of the language community as a whole, and not just one particular profession or interest group.

A3.2.2. Ideological implications

The expansion of Gaelic into non-traditional domains, with register cultivation delegated to a wide range of organisations, also necessitates some kind of system of agreed grammatical and lexical norms for writing and teaching Gaelic. The same is true for the expansion of Gaelic into new groups of non-traditional speakers, who are not grounded in any particular geographical dialect.

Current guidance is either vague or inconsistent on many points of detail. To take two examples at random:

• Does the numeral *dà* (two) enforce simple or jumping lenition on following nouns and adjectives? Is it better to say '*Tha dà bhòrd bheag bhuidhe agam*', or '*Tha dà bhòrd beag buidhe agam*' for 'I have two little yellow tables'.

• Is the article preceding *dà* in the feminine genitive *an* or *na*? Is it better to say '*casan an dà chirce*', or '*casan na dà chirce*', for 'the two hens' feet'.

In technical sociolinguistic terms, the notion of 'agreed grammatical and lexical norms for writing and teaching Gaelic' implies the cultivation of a basic, common variety (i.e. dialect / register) of Gaelic, for new speakers and new domains to build upon.

It is worth noting here that these conclusions are not inevitable aspects of language revitalisation in general, but rather are (we feel) necessary implications of the particular approach to acquisition and status planning adopted in the Gaelic Language Act and the various national plans. Different acquisition and status planning would lead to different corpus planning implications, both institutionally and ideologically. For example, a more canonically Fishmanesque approach, grounded on the attainment of stable diglossia based around the family / neighbourhood nexus, would, by definition, have very different corpus implications, potentially with no necessity for agreed grammatical norms for new kinds of speaker and new kinds of domain, or for a central support service for corpus planning.

A4. Institutional Frameworks for Gaelic Corpus Planning

A4.1. Academic Studies on Institutional Frameworks

A4.1.1. Introduction

The academic evaluation of language academies and other institutions is sparse. There is a certain amount of information available that documents the establishment of such institutions and their legal status. Usually their legal role and scope of work is quite generally specified with the emphasis being on the status goals while the detail of their ideological approaches, working practices and evaluation of their impact is less readily available. Spolsky found this to be the case when he tried to summarise the work of language planning agencies in his book *Language Management* (2009). His attempt to stimulate further academic scrutiny of the institutions of language planning by dedicating an issue of *Language Policy* to the topic mainly led to difficulties with the papers and reviewers: '

> [...] some of the papers were polemic attacks on a specific agency, with limited empirical data, or simply unsupported assertions of an agency's worth; in addition, the controversial status of many language varieties brought heat rather than light to some of the reviewing. (Spolsky 2011: 285).

He bemoans the lack of 'solid, empirically informed studies' (Spolsky 2011: 287). and calls for the following:

> We need to know how successful government language agencies are in influencing language practices and what language management techniques have proved to be effective. It is perhaps ironic that the principal agencies devoted entirely to language policy should be left largely unstudied, for their operation and efficacy should help us better understand the whole process of language management. (Spolsky 2011: 287)

Given the paucity of solid evidence, it is difficult to find a model of 'best practice' that can be taken off the shelf for Gaelic. While the research question that is explored in this section of the report is 'What are the existing structures and corpus planning practices for other languages?', underlying this must be the consideration of how effective these other structures and practices are at meeting the aims of revitalisation.

This section begins by reviewing the existing literature that aims to give an overview of academies and institutions. Information is then provided on specific case studies and consideration is given to the main issues and lessons that can be drawn from them.

A4.1.2. Spolsky on language management agencies

General theoretical overviews of language institutions can be found in Spolsky's *Language Management* (2009), by John Edwards in the *Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy* (2012), and in Fishman's *Do Not Leave Your Language Alone* (2006a) and *Reversing Language Shift* (1991).

Spolsky uses the term 'language management agencies' to cover the range of types of bodies that exist and for individual 'agents' that engage in status planning, corpus planning (or language cultivation in his terms) and acquisition planning. Fishman uses the term 'language authorities' to cover a spectrum of corpus planners from language academies (e.g. France, Spain, Israel), language boards and language committees to ad hoc groups of writers, educators, dictionary compilers, clergy or even individual arbiters or experts (e.g. newspaper style guides) (Fishman 2006b: 311). We prefer Spolsky's term 'language management agencies' as it is a useful term which refers to all kinds of people and bodies, official and non-official, that engage in language management while emphasising their common modus operandi of active intervention or cultivation.

Spolsky's account of the role of language management agencies is framed in his larger argument that overt language management is never successful in establishing largescale changes in language use and is therefore cynical in his attitude towards any kind of usefulness of active planning. He admits that he can do little more than list some agencies as there is not a reliable body of empirical study to draw on. John Edwards mainly discusses the relative merits of descriptivism and prescriptivism in relation to the work of language agencies and is again somewhat cynical as he argues that agencies are secretly prescriptive despite themselves. Fishman's accounts and examples are the most useful in understanding potential benefits of coordinated planning for minority languages: so that single individuals or institutions do not exert undue influence, so that different organisations do not duplicate their efforts and do not reinvent the wheel or work against each other, thus wasting time and effort that threatened languages can ill afford.

A4.1.3. Language management agencies: Types of agents

The literature tends to survey the different kinds of agencies and is keen to insist that they can be of a very varied nature. Edwards highlights the largescale, multi-million dollar budget of an agency like Quebec's *Office de la language française* in contrast to individuals such as Samuel Johnson (Edwards 2012). It is possible, however, to generally map out the different kinds of roles of language management agencies and highlight those with corpus responsibilities.

Agencies to enforce status

Spolsky describes the work of some language management agencies as being exclusively or predominantly for status planning. He also finds that these have been the main concern of the study of language management: what policies regarding status have been decided and how have they been implemented. Language status agencies may also be specialised language agencies: government bodies with specific authorisation to manage language or government bodies with powers to enforce status.

Spolsky emphasises that most specialised language agencies are not set up to enforce status, although certain agencies do exist primarily to ensure compliance with legislation; specifically *Office québécois de la langue française*, the Estonian Language Inspectorate, the Latvian State Language Board and the Commission of the Lithuanian Language (Spolsky 2009: 231–32). The Canadian territory of Nunavut also appointed a Language Commissioner in December 2012, but unlike the former examples, the Commissioner does not have the power to impose legal sanctions or fines.

Agencies for language cultivation: National academies

Spolsky states that generally, the main function of specialised language agencies is language cultivation (corpus planning), which he sees as 'including the development of terminology and the encouragement of language purism' (2009: 233). The most typical title for these agencies are 'academies'. Again, Spolsky comments again on the lack of study on the history and characteristics of language academies (2009: 234). The popular understanding of language academies is based on the history of three early institutions that sought to elevate a sociallyelite dialect to national status in order to replace Latin. They are the *Accademia del Crusca* in Florence (est. 1584), *l'Académie française* (est. 1635) and *Real Academia Española* (est. 1713). In this, their work was not simply linguistic but political: they wanted to reject the idea that their vernacular was simply 'degenerated Latin', to standardise it and improve it so it could replace the functions of Latin in government, administration and education. They were strongly prescriptive, not descriptive, in their approach. This political element continues in the work of the *l'Académie française* to this day which considers itself to have a *vocation de gardienne de la langue et de son évolution,* 'vocation of guardian of the language and its evolution'.[4] In this way the *Académie* considers it to be its responsibility to comment on political matters relating to the French language (e.g. a public declaration denouncing a law that would extend the allowed usage of foreign languages in universities). Its prescriptivism is evident in its monthly blog of *Dire, Ne pas dire,* 'Say, don't say', which alerts users to 'barbarisms' or 'faulty usages' such as nouns being used as verbs, the overuse of certain adjectives in colloquial speech or other developments of language change. The equivalent advice is often given in English by newspaper style and usage guides.

This model of the 'grandes langues' which impose one unique standard norm has been denounced by Jacques Thiers, the Corsican scholar, writer and activist. He believes that the awareness and perceived superiority of this model in the general population has hindered the development of Corsican because of the presumed inferiority of languages without a single standard or academy (Thiers 1999). Spolsky also criticises these familiar models, pointing out that the *Académie française's* membership depends on literary not linguistic merit. He sees its linguistic work as being essentially the functions of a 'patron of the arts' (2009: 235). The actual work of language cultivation in France is carried out by terminology committees in various government agencies. The *Real Academia Española* has generated complaints from other Hispanophone countries for too much conservatism and a bias for a certain dialect (Spolsky 2009: 236).

In stark contrast, Arturo Tosi gives a glowing account of how the Italian academy changed from the model of a prescriptive, moralising, hierarchical and secretive body to an open forum for teachers, schools and the general public. He describes the turning point being the appointment of a new president, Giovanni Nencioni, in 1972, who expanded the work of the academy from lexicography to all types of linguistic research, collaborating with professional associations of Italian linguistics and appointing new academicians. He reimagined the language academy, deciding that the only way for

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4 'Déclaration de l'Académie française du 21 mars 2013' <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/actualites/declaration-de-lacademie-francaise-du-21-mars-2013> [last accessed 20 December 2013]

a modern academy to serve the interests of its linguistic community would be to 'no longer act as (a) referee of language use, but rather as a reference point of language research and language awareness' (Tosi 2011: 298).

Agencies for cultivation: Specialised domain agencies / terminology committees

These agencies do not try to influence the language as a whole. In Fishman's description they 'attend to some smaller area of language that is of particular concern to them and try to influence usage among their own clienteles' (1991: 338). They might be professional bodies, private voluntary groups or small government departments. Again, it is notable that the actual workings of terminology committees are rarely documented. A terminology committee can examine terminology and work for consensus and consistency within a specialist field. Its membership, therefore, best includes those who use or will need to use the terminology and are familiar with existing conventions and problems, e.g. a geography committee would include geography teachers, a librarianship committee to include librarians. This can include international cooperation, e.g. with Infoterm, the International Information Centre for Terminology, founded in 1971 by contract with UNESCO to support and coordinate international cooperation in the field of terminology. The Irish Terminology Committee and UZEI, the Basque Centre for Terminology and Lexicography, are amongst the European members.

One of the few occasions where working practice is described dates from the 1970s and is republished in Fishman's *Do Not Leave Your Language Alone* (2006a). The Hebrew Language Academy delegated a member to chair a subcommittee with three representatives of the Librarian's Association and three staff members of the Academy. They worked on developing Hebrew equivalents for the UNESCO Terminology of Librarianship. The committee met 50 times over a three-year period. They circulated their recommendations to librarians and members of the Academy for comments. A revised list was then sent to the Academy. At a General Meeting of the Academy it was discussed and in a few cases the subcommittee was asked to reconsider. The final list was disseminated to all public libraries and librarians. Government libraries were bound to accept the recommendations. A similar committee was created to discuss inorganic chemistry. As the Academy members were not experts in the field, approval by the Academy was considered pro forma.

Spolsky specifies nomenclature is an important subfield of language management describing the participants in the UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names. In this area, despite his general position that language management rarely meets its aims, Spolsky finds that this global agreement is useful although he does acknowledge that it can be controversial:

> Standardization is needed for efficient operation, so that it is appropriately the concern of professionals, but the decisions involved can have important symbolic weight and regularly lead to local controversy. (Spolsky 2009: 243)

Language editors

While commenting on the de-professionalisation of editors and proofreaders in publishing, Spolsky lists editors as a form of language managers as they can play a role in final published works. This position gains its influence from its prominence with the public by directly controlling what readers encounter. While mainly associated with written materials, it could also be applicable to broadcast

speech in terms of what terminology or phraseology is considered appropriate. We can see that Comhairle nan Leabhraichean, Acair, the Gaelic editor of the Scotsman and the BBC all play this role.

Agencies which implement language policy

These agencies which implement language policy are often not specifically linguistic in scope e.g. law courts, parliaments and governments, official education departments and state broadcasters / government agency responsible for broadcasting.

> The important point here is that almost any government agency may in the course of its normal work implement language policy. (Spolsky 2009: 228)

A4.1.4. The 'authority' of language authorities

Different groups have different kinds of methods available to them to disseminate their ideas and enforce or encourage adherence. Fishman makes clear across his writings that he sees the operation of these agencies as appropriate to the culture in which they are situated:

> The culture of sanctions with respect to language policy implementations reflects the general culture of sanctions within any particular society. (Fishman 2006b: 312) (see also Fishman 1991: 338)

He describes four general categories:

- **Extreme enforcement:** Some groups dispense very severe sanctions, including life or death, citing the prohibition of the revision of the Ukrainian orthography in the 1930s (Fishman 2006b: 312). Severe penalties were also used to implement Ataturk's revisions and innovations in Turkey in the 1920s (Fishman 2006b: 312).

- **Limited enforcement:** Decisions may be binding on certain institutions. For example, government departments required by law to adhere to the Hebrew Academy's decisions, meaning school textbooks approved by the Education Department must follow the Academy's decisions (Fishman 2006b: 312). In Iran, the President issued a decree in July 2006 ordering all government bodies and all newspapers to use words approved by the *Fahangestan Zaban e Parsi* (Persian Academy) and to avoid foreignisms (Spolsky 2009: 227).

- **Consensual enforcement:** The academy might poll the community so their 'authority' derives from a clear democratic mandate. For example, changes and neologisms in modern Swedish are polled for their acceptability to either specific occupational groups or to the public as a whole (Fishman 2006b: 312).

- **Mild enforcement:** In general, however, Fishman presumes that the system is 'intrapunitive': that members selfcensure each other for usage that they consider idiosyncratic, passé or inaccurate. (2006b: 312).

Fishman says that in minority situations, where state support is often lacking, 'there is a great reliance on voluntary support and voluntary implementation with respect to language planning efforts, rather

than on direct or indirect compulsion or the imposition of sanctions from a center of power' (Fishman 1991: 338). In the Scottish Gaelic context, we can see 'mild enforcement' where people censure or criticise each other's usage in newspapers or on blogs or social networks. The only official enforcement is in relation to SQA's Gaelic Orthography Conventions which should be used within education, a form of Limited enforcement.

A4.1.5. The effectiveness of institutional recommendations

The effectiveness of institutions is an issue acknowledged to be difficult to achieve. Effectiveness can be assessed in three ways: in the creation of agreed norms, in the dissemination of these and the takeup and use of recommendations. Each step in this chain cannot be achieved without the prior ones. One contributing factor to a lack of effectiveness is the relative isolation of the institution: in Spolsky's wideranging overview of language management he notes that it is not surprising to find a lack of coordination between government and voluntary organisations. He argues that the difficult reality is that, in democracies, the uniting of language forces occurs only occasionally (2009: 234).

John Edwards is more generally dismissive of the effectiveness of academies as a whole:

> Many of the bodies that style themselves as 'academies' – a word that, to most people,
>
> signifies advanced scholarship in the service of arts or sciences – are small groups of enthusiasts whose primary activity is language teaching, and whose various statements and proclamations have little or no force beyond the group itself. (2012: 420)

In the Scottish Gaelic context, this is echoed in Gillies's 1980 article where he comments on the situation at that time:

> Scholars, lexicographers and language enthusiasts have been engaged in publishing lists of technical terms, according to various principles, for long enough. These rarely take root in the language, though the Gaelic broadcasting services have a definite potential (and hence responsibility) in this respect, and the bilingual policies of Comhairle nan Eilean (The Western Isles Islands Council [sic]) have latterly created a genuine market for standard and usable technical terms in commercial, financial, secretarial, and other related fields. (Gillies 1980: 11)

A more empirical assessment is seen the research of Ní Ghearáin (2011)in the Irish Gaeltacht. Her research examined the real language policy of a group of non-specialist everyday speakers of Irish spanning various Gaeltacht regions. Her findings suggest a high degree of ambivalence towards new terminology and the terminology planning structure.

Creation

Ní Ghearáin acknowledges that the creation of modern terms for Irish can be evaluated as 'one of the success stories of official language management' (2011: 306). The existence of terms for prestige domains and modern concepts has been achieved. However, her study seeks to empirically test the hypothesis that in the two other area of effectiveness, dissemination and take-up, Irish has not been so successful.

Dissemination

Her findings suggest that dissemination of approved terminology is poor as her informants in the Gaeltacht community are not aware of certain modern terms. Her explanation of this is that

> Irish terminology enjoys very little visibility and reinforcement due, in part, to low reading levels – especially among the Gaeltacht community, the weakness of the Irish-language media [...] and the absence of a comprehensive strategy for the dissemination of approved terms. (Ní Ghearáin 2011: 312–3).

Only three out of 37 informants had any knowledge of the terminology committee, An Coiste Téarmaíochta. However, she reports that

> […] more than 20 speakers expressed the belief that such an organisation existed – '*bhuel caithfidh go bhfuil ach níl fhios agam cé hiad*' [well there has to be but I don't know who they are] (I–7) – suggesting a vague awareness of official terminology planning. (Ní Ghearáin 2011: 313).

Acceptance

Ní Ghearáin suggests that the factors that hinder acceptance in this case are:

- Use of English terms as an accepted practice

- Rejection of modern Irish terminology as a reflection of language obsolescence

- Perceived artificiality of official terminology planning

- Estrangement of the Gaeltacht community from official terminology planning

- 'Marked' nature of Irish terms as unusual or new

Along with some factors that encourage acceptance:

- professional image and formal register.

She notes that 'over half of the informants stated that it bothers them when they have to use an English term due to not knowing the corresponding Irish term' (Ní Ghearáin 2011: 311).

Antonio Reyes (2013) has also carried out an empirical study into reactions to Spanish orthographical reform. His study illustrates that corpus planning will inevitably generate vocal, but not necessarily representative, negative commentary. His analysis is based on the comments made on the website of the national newspaper, *El Pais*, in response to an article on the 2010 orthographic reforms by the *Real Academia Espanola* (RAE). He sorts the public responses into six 'argumentation schemes' – four against the proposals and two in favour of them. The arguments against were:

- RAE's failure to fulfill its duties (27.7%)

- Rationality and logic (23.2%)

- Deterioration of the language (23%)

- Against the language users' proprietary rights: the rejection of the legitimacy of an authority (12.8%)

And the arguments in favour were:

- Rationality and logic (7.2%)

- Respect for the institution RAE (2.7%)

Reyes argues that the dominance of negative arguments do not, however, reflect the general population's position as '[…] most of the reforms proposed by the RAE throughout history have been accepted, sooner or later, by language users' (2013: 18). An important point in Reyes' account of the argumentation schemes used by both sides is that both will lay claim to 'logic', demonstrating not only the importance people ascribe to 'rationality' and 'logic' but 'it also shows the subjectivity and arbitrariness of these types of arguments to justify positions in favour and against under the umbrella of rationality' (Reyes 2013: 17). What makes sense to one person may not make sense to another. The other important point to note is the notion of language users' proprietary rights: that their antipathy to corpus developments and reforms is framed by their understanding that another group is 'taking control' of the language, be they teachers, members of academies, professional linguists or others.

A4.1.6. A necessity for prescription?

Some scholars state that any kind of 'language planning' or 'language management' is a form of prescriptivism. As John Edwards argues in the *Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*:

> In our own day, these rarely rest upon assumptions of the correct usage of some elite segment of society, usage to be elevated, encouraged and perhaps imposed upon all. Instead, we are more likely to engage in standardizing and regulating matters on a more democratic basis. The fact remains, however, that whenever choices have to be made, and whenever those choices have some scholastic, moral or other force (not excluding, of course, rather more tangible pressures), prescriptivism necessarily makes a reappearance. (2012: 425)

In this view, corpus development cannot be made through consensual choice based on informed knowledge or debate. It stands in contrast to Fishman's considered benefits for threatened languages where corpus planning can be used

> in order to help strengthen collectivities of various sizes and resources and to assist them in overcoming some of their collective and individual problems and disadvantages. (Fishman 2006a: 123)

A4.2. Case Studies: Language Management Agencies in Minority Language Settings

This section lists a series of case studies of agencies involved in corpus planning, mainly in minority language settings.

A4.2.1. Inuktitut in Canada

The Government of Nunavut recently created the *Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit* or Inuit Language Authority (IUT) in late 2011.[5] Nunavut's language commissioner at the time (a regulatory role), Alexina Kublu, made a distinction between creating standard terminology and standardising the whole language:

> The term that they decide is going to be used throughout Nunavut, but the aim is not to standardize the Inuit language; it's to make sure that there is <sic> standardized terms.[6]

The Office of the Languages Commission of Nunavut says that the authority's role includes:[7]

- Establishing standard terminology

- Establishing orthography and language competencies and publishing them

- Undertaking own or collaborative research, including documenting dialects and traditional expression

- Assisting the business community and other organisations in providing quality Inuit Language services to the public

The IUT began their work a few months before they officially became a stand-alone body by holding a Language Standardisation Symposium in Iqaluit, Nunavut, in 2011. They invited elders, youth, interpreters, translators, terminologists, businesses, and Inuit language stakeholders in public ads. The chair, Elijah Erkloo, promoted the idea of a standard understandable to everyone. They expect a large part of their work to be on terminology, however, there is still discussion of whether two writing systems can or should be maintained. The IUT also plan to preserve knowledge or local dialects by sponsoring the recording of Inuit language speakers in every community.

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5 For more information, see <http://langcom.nu.ca/inuit-uqausinginnik-taiguusiliuqtiit-en>

6 CBC News 'Inuktitut standardization still hot topic in Nunavut', *CBC News,* 11 February 2010 <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuktitut-standardization-still-hot-topic-in-nunavut-1.869525> [accessed 15 March 2013]

7 Language Commissioner webpage, Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit <http://www.langcom.nu.ca/inuituqausinginniktaiguusiliuqtiiten> [accessed 5 March 2013]

A4.2.2. Irish

Since the Irish State was established in 1922, conscious language and corpus development has been the responsibilities of different bodies. The Translation Section of Parliament was handed responsibility for standardisation of spelling and grammar in 1922 (Ó Laoire 2008: 241). Terminology matters have, until recently, been part of the Education department. The emphasis on spelling standardisation as the most controversial and most studied aspect of Irish corpus development is obvious from the five pages Ó Laoire dedicates to his critique of its successes and problems. In contrast, the one page that deals with terminology is an uncritical summary of the terminology committees structure with only positive accounts of their work.

Main structure (terminology)

1927: first committees set up for the education system.

1968: the Minister of Education sets up An Buanchoiste Téarmaíochta (the Permanent Terminology Committee).

1999: the Committee is transferred to Foras na Gaeilge (Ó Laoire 2008: 243).

Main responsibilities

Their aim is to satisfy the terminological requirements of the educational sector, State services and the general public (Ó Laoire 2008: 245).

Creation

The committee works at three levels (see Ó Laoire 2008: 244):

- The Permanent Committee has 22 members appointed by the Minister of Education. They are Irish language experts, thirdlevel and research institution representatives and 'related organisations'. Their role is to 'monitor policy'.

- The Steering Committee: 15 members, mainly from the Permanent Committee, meet monthly. 'They agree terminological principles, plan and supervise the work through establishing subcommittees, and sanction miscellaneous terminological lists.'

- Subcommittees: smaller groups of experts in specialised fields.

Dissemination: According to Ó Laoire (2008) is mainly achieved by maintaining an efficient database, using 'modern communications media', creating technical dictionaries and providing terminological advice to public bodies and community projects.

Effectiveness: An assessment of the effectiveness of this structure has been carried out in Gaeltacht areas by Ní Ghearáin (2011).

A4.2.3. Italian

The *Accademia della Crusca* was established in 1583[8]. Between 1972 and 2000, the President, Giovanni Nencioni, repurposed the *Accademia della Crusca* with its main purpose as *consulenza linguistica,* 'language advice for all'. This began with the production of an accessible journal for the general public that is now circulated to schools, universities and libraries. An integrated system was then developed so now questions from the public are (a) given personal feedback, (b) all dialogues are stored in an online database of queries, and (c) selected queries are published in the journal. In contrast to the French academy's prescriptive pedantry,

> the academicians who respond to these questions often point out that, due to the complex linguistic and literary traditions behind the evolution of the Italian language, an historic explanation is more appropriate than a cut and dry prescription. (Tosi 2011: 299).

Past responsibilities: To create a model of the best language based on the Florentine vernacular.

Current responsibilities: To carry out linguistic research. To act as a reference point for public awareness about language and linguistic issues. The academy also plays a role in fighting linguistic stereotypes and the misrepresentation of language by the media and politicians.

Structures & organisation: There are twenty regular Academicians and at least five of them must be resident in Florence. The Academicians can propose the affiliation to the Accademia of twenty Italian and twenty foreign Correspondent Members. Some funding is sourced through appeals to the public (Tosi 2011).

The organs of the Accademia are:
- the President
- the Directive Council
- the College of Academicians
- the College of Auditors.

Creation: There are four centres of activity:
- Centre for the Study of Italian Philology
- Centre for the Study of Italian Lexicography
- Centre for the Study of Italian Grammar
- Centre for Advice on the Contemporary Italian language.

Each research centre, with the frequent help of external collaborators, is under the direction of one Academician, elected by the College of Academicians, that has to report yearly on the activity of the Centre to the College.

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8 For further information, see http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/en/frontpage

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Dissemination:

- public advisory service
- journal aimed at the general public
- maintain online database of public queries.

Effectiveness: unassessed.

A4.2.4. Basque

Euskaltzaindia

The organisation of language cultivation in Basque began relatively early when the Basque Studies Society set up the Basque Language Academy, *Euskaltzaindia,* to regulate and modernise the language. It was legally incorporated in 1919 (Urla 2012: 79). They acted from a belief that the lack of a single standard was inappropriate for an industrialising society. However, work did not progress until the 1960s. The wave of standardisation that happened in the 1960s to create Batua was carried out by linguists and specialists of the language who asserted that it was a technical matter so as to establish their right to direct the process (Urla 2012: 80). They worked on a single orthography, an extended vocabulary, a literary variety preserving grammatical distinctions while maximising intelligibility.

Past responsibilities: It created a literary, cultivated or unified Basque variety called 'Batua' from the eight major dialects. Scholars generally agree that the range of variation across the territory is significant (Urla 2012: 79). This 'unification' established norms for grammar as this was the area with the most variation between dialects. They did not standardise the lexicon, allowing all lexical equivalents as appropriate in Batua. Until recently the Academicians preferred not to define norms for spoken Basque. However, requests from broadcasters led to the 1998 publication 'Cultivated Pronunciation of Euskara Basque' aimed at formal functions of the language (Urla 2012: 82).

Current responsibilites: It carries out research on the language and its object is to 'safeguard it' and to work 'in pursuit of the unity of the language and its modernization'. It develops dictionaries, a prescriptive grammar, a linguistic atlas and makes recommendations on place-names (Spolsky 2009: 237).

Structures & organisation: It has two sections: the Research Section (*Iker Saila*) for corpus work and the Tutelary Section (*Jagon Saila*) for work on social status.

Practices: Online advice on onomastics.

Effectiveness: Despite the Academy's approach of considering all dialectal lexical equivalents as appropriate to Batua, the strong association with the Gipuzkoan variety means speakers use Gipuzkoan lexicon when using Batua. (Urla 2012: 82).

Social context: Batua had connotations with linguistic legitimacy, Basque national unity, and progress and modernity within a Spain that wished to move on from dictatorship to be a modern European nation. This meant a significant group of people considered it their 'duty' to learn and use Batua for the good of the nation.

Ideologies: Urla contends that purism was apparent in the Academy's rejection of Spanish grammatical influences but there was an overriding concern for pragmatism and comprehensibility over purism (2012: 81).

UZEI (Basque Centre for Terminology and Lexicography)

UZEI was founded in 1977. The EUSKALTERM terminology centre was set up in 1986.[9]

Past responsibilities: They claim to be the first Basque institution to undertake terminological work.

Current Responsibilities: Modernising the corpus of Basque so that any Basque speaker would be able to use their language accurately and precisely in any specialist area. The Lexicography Department is carrying out the task of researching and subsequently drawing up reports for the *Euskaltzaindia* (Royal Academy of the Basque Language) Unified Dictionary.

Structures & organisation:

• a not-for-profit professional organisation.

• claims to be the de facto Basque Terminology Centre, even without official status. UZEI is a member of a range of terminology associations and is now part of the Basque Advisory Council (Basque government)'s Terminology Commission.

Creation:

• a Lexicography Department carries out research using electronic corpora. This informs the work of the other committees and commissions.

• the Unified Dictionary Commission submits proposals to the Standard Basque Commission.

• UZEI appears also to have committees for the creation of new terminology.

• Creation of Electronic Corporra: has created a corpus of twentieth century Basque.

At present it is working on the development of translation corpus management systems.

EUSKALTERM public terminology bank

UZEI appears to have a descriptive research function, compiling a twentieth-century corpus for Basque and making this publically available. For example, they inventory everything that is published in Basque and use that for the statistical sampling which has become the basis for the corpus. The twentieth-century corpus is an Oracle relational database. It consists of 4,658,036 forms, 101,585 different headwords, drawn from 6,351 extracts of published works. Its main and almost sole function is to show the Basque which has been and is used, and 'not to put forward a model of the language'.

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9 For more information, see <http://www.uzei.com/>

Dissemination:

- In order to publicise its work, UZEI organises conferences and workshops and also delivers first degree and postgraduate education in its fields of speciality.

- They have produced more than 80 terminological dictionaries which are now compiled in the EUSKALTERM Terminology Bank. They include a Dictionary of Plumbing, Office Equipment and Shoes. The dictionaries give equivalents in Spanish, French and English.

Effectiveness: They admit that their 25 years of work have, at times, been 'marked by controversy'.[10] Urla in her ethnolinguistic study of Basque revitalisation *Reclaiming Basque,* charts the ideological and sociological attitudes between standardisation and its effects. The competing arguments were: a standard should be allowed to develop naturally; a standard is a requirement for developing Basque print culture; a standard is a tool to combat claims that Basque is not suitable for serious intellectual pursuits; a standard will strengthen the unity of the Basque provinces. She notes that, as in other minority language settings, the necessity of having a standard to match up to majority languages is a deeply ingrained cultural belief. However, she cautions that, mirroring what happens in majority languages, a standard can stratify people socially according to how they are perceived to deviate from the 'ideal' (which is automatically assumed to be the standard).

A4.2.5. Māori

Like BnG, the Māori Language Commission (MLC) was set up under a language act, the Māori Language Act 1987, to contribute to the growth and maintenance of the Māori language as a living, widely used, means of communication with a legal status equal to that of English.[11] According to Spolsky, 'The first commissioner concentrated on (corpus) cultivation, but his successors seem more concerned about increasing the number of speakers' (Spolsky 2009: 239). It has development aims of promoting the language and coordinating development activity, promoting a language transmission mentor project, carrying out research into the language in order to inform policy, and certifying translators and interpreters.

Past responsibilities: a monolingual dictionary (Spolsky 2009: 238).

Current responsibilites:

- Booklet on orthographic standards, updated in 2012 from 2009. The booklet aims to provide an easy-to-follow guide that promotes consistency in the use of written Māori and standards for publication

- Certification of translators

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10 UZEI webpage, Terminology Introduction
    <http://www.uzei.com/antbuspre.asp?nombre=2703&cod=2703&sesion=1347> [last accessed 20 December 2013]

11 For more information, see <http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/>

Structures & organisation: The Commission has five members with a chair appointed by the Minister of Māori Affairs. Commissioners are appointed because of their Māori language sector experience, expertise, leadership, and revitalisation of the Māori language. Their governance responsibilities include:

- Confirming the strategic direction of the MLC

- Communicating with the Minister and other key stakeholders to ensure their views are reflected in the planning programme

- Delegating responsibility for achievement of specific objectives to the Chief Executive

- Monitoring organisational performance towards achieving objectives

- Accounting to the Minister on plans and progress

- Maintaining effective internal controls

The Board appoints a single employee, the Chief Executive (Tumuaki) for a set term of three years, to manage all MLC operations.

Development Practices: Its corpus development aims are described as 'To increase the rate at which the Māori language develops so that it can be used for the full range of modern activities'. This means in practice:

- Researching and formulating policy related to the promotion, maintenance and progression of the Māori language

- Lexical expansion work including the production of glossaries, dictionaries, phrase books and the lexical database '*Te Mätäpuna*'

Dissemination: responded to over 297 technical language queries and fulfilled 2,380 public requests for information and resources in the year 2011–2012 (2012 Annual Report).

Effectiveness: unknown.

Ideologies: Dialectal differences are in no way significant enough to impede mutual comprehension between Māori speakers of different tribal backgrounds. There is certain amount of historicisation, Māori has often re-used extant words for new meanings e.g. *huka*: old meaning 'snowfrost', new meaning 'sugar'. Digital resources of historical and contemporary texts are collected and form the basis for research. Their Māori language corpus is accessible to the main dialect groups of *hapü*, *iwi* and *reo* Māori speaker communities.

A5. A Survey of Gaelic Corpus Planning Initiatives

A5.1. Gaelic Corpus Planning Bodies

This section considers the current state of corpus planning for Gaelic beginning by surveying institutions and resources. As specified in the It will answer these questions:

• What is the current state of corpus planning for Gaelic?

• What initiatives have been undertaken already, what institutions exist or have existed, and what resources are available?

We will take 'current' to apply to the period post-1990. As would be the case with any year this is a relatively arbitrary choice. However, it provides an overview of a reasonable period of time and many resources from the early 1990s continue to be in use today. We do not include reprint or new editions with no revisions of older texts or texts published in languages other than English.

We will consider institutions in three different categories: those with specific language aims, those who are not primarily language bodies but have corpus initiatives, and finally non-official groups.

A5.1.1. Bodies with specific linguistic aims

Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig

Stòrlann was created in 1999 and is funded by the Scottish Government and BnG. It has a staff of 13 and a board whose membership is drawn from local authorities and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. The company produces materials and online interactive resources for Gaelic-medium education, GLPS, Early Years and Adult Learners. They also produce training materials for educators and run events for teachers such as the An t-Alltan conference. Their www.gaelic4parents.com website provides online support for parents. For many years they have been the key actors in corpus development in the education sector. They produce materials for Gaelic-medium education and interactive resources online (www.gaelic4parents.com). A selection of resources are available for purchase by the general public.

An Seotal

The *An Seotal* project was set up within Stòrlann in 2007 to work specifically on new terminology. The resources online cover a range of topics, including arts and social subjects such as Geography, History and Art and scientific subjects such as Computing, Science and Mathematics. The creation of new terminology is coordinated by the Stòrlann terminology team with five staff. An external panel of experts assists with the creation and agreement of new terminology, including those working in or expert the relevant fields. Terminology is made available online to the public. It also has an online suggestions page for public feedback.

Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba

This body is formed by a collection of partner organisations that makes up a national authority on Gaelic place-names of Scotland established in 2006. A full time project manager and researcher are employed under the direction of a committee of representatives from the partner organisations: BnG, The Highland Council, Argyll and Bute Council, Scottish Parliament, Scottish Government, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Comunn na Gàidhlig, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Ordnance Survey, Scottish Natural Heritage, Scottish Place-Name Society, University of the Highlands and Islands.

It shares guidance publicly through its online database, blog and its website where they can also be contacted. They have also run a 'Place-names Day' on Jura and collaborated in producing Gaelic maps and publications.

The European Language Initiative (TELI)

An organisation established in 1991 producing language materials for local government and business. With funding from the Scottish Government and BnG they have produced:

• *Faclair na Pàrlamaid* (2001).

• a Gaelic spellchecker for Microsoft, *An Dearbhair* (2006).

• a Captions Language Interface Pack, a simple language translation solution that uses tooltip captions to display translations (2011).

• *Faclair airson Riaghaltas Ionadail / Dictionary for Local Government* (2011).

• *Faclair Rianachd Phoblaich* (2012), updating *Faclair na Pàrlamaid*.

In *Faclair na Pàrlamaid* and *Faclair Rianachd Phoblaich*, they invite suggestions and comments from users and offer an email contact.

TòMaS: UHI translation memory service

The UHI translation memory service aims to bring translators and organisations together to contribute to the development of a national Gaelic shared service.

The aim is to improve consistency and accuracy of translation by working collaboratively. They currently work with Stòrlann, the Forestry Commission, Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), NHS Highland, HIE, the Scottish Parliament and BnG. Translated materials are uploaded to a central database hosted by UHI, with translators and organisations able to access it. The Gaelic and English texts are matched sentence by sentence so users can compare the two in the software and make additional comments. The content also has the potential to be exploited for terminology lists based on use by translators.

The software infrastructure is provided by a private company, Kilgray. UHI holds the licence for which there is an annual fee and it is expected that service partners will contribute to cover the costs, with a greater number of service partners leading to lower costs for all. There are no current plans for public access.

A5.1.2. Non-language groups working on specialist areas of terminology

Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) *Dualchas Nàdar na h-Alba*

SNH maintains a specialist wordlist of nature-related terms in their *Faclair Nàdair.*[12] This began in 2007 by the Gaelic officer and is continued by the current Gaelic officer, Emily MacDonald. The list was compiled using dictionaries, specialised books on birds and plants and also by considering which words were known to the team, in the public domain and used by the BBC. Assistance was also provided by Ruairidh MacIlleathain. Decisions on which word to present as the headword and which equivalent terms to list as alternatives were decided on a case-by-case basis. The main factors were pragmatic: trying to judge which word was the most likely used or understood. An illustrative example is 'beaver' – an animal that was native in Scotland but died out around 300 years ago. Although a Gaelic term was found *dobhar-chù*, it was felt that this was not likely to be understood. In Dwelly, it has the meaning of both 'beaver' and 'otter'. The decision was made to use *bìobhair* as the main entry in order to be understood and as it was already in use by the BBC. SNH produces Gaelic publications and educational resources which are all available on their website. Translators of materials for SNH are asked to consult the *Faclair Nàdair* for consistency. They consult with Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba on place-names.

Historic Scotland *Alba Aosmhor*

Historic Scotland have announced a plan, including in their Gaelic Plan 2012–17, to work with Royal Commission AHMS and the National Trust for Scotland to create a unique glossary of terms relating to the historic environment which can be used to create consistent translations for schools, learners and fluent speakers.

This will be based on an existing Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) terminology resource, the Canmore Thesaurus. The initial job of translating the thesaurus into Gaelic has been contracted to Akerbeltz Translations, with the guidance that words already in use in Historic Scotland publications, Stòrlann publications or in use in Ireland be taken into consideration. The returned list will then be checked by Historic Scotland's Gaelic Officer, Kirsty MacDonald, in consultation with *An Seotal.* The final agreed list is planned to be made available through Historic Scotland, *An Seotal* and the *Am Faclair Beag* online dictionary.

BBC Scotland

As the main provider of Gaelic broadcasting, the BBC has an important role in corpus planning. As has been noted elsewhere (Milligan et al. 2011; Bauer, Ó Maolalaigh & Wherrett, 2009: 46), the BBC is required in its operations to make daily terminology and stylistic decisions,

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12 Found at <http://gaelic.snh.gov.uk/foillseachaidhean/faclan/>

albeit without a dedicated terminology team, and is a key resource for dissemination. A word list of 'Faclan Feumail' is available on the BBC Naidheachdan website.

SQA: Gaelic Orthographic Conventions

Since 1976, the Scottish Qualifications Authority has organised the committees producing reports on Gaelic Orthographic Conventions (GOC). These reports have been crucial to the debates surrounding corpus development for Gaelic. For GOC 2005 & 2009, the committee were instructed to make any necessary updates or revisions, not to rewrite the original 1981 report.

A5.1.3. Non-official groups

These groups are all online projects where users can contribute. This leads to potential corpus resources that are built by users who don't have traditional authority over decisions. Consensus is established by users, although the users may not be representative of the community as a whole.

Wikipedia and Wiktionary / Uicipeid

Within the Gaelic Wikipedia, Uicipeid, there are some communal decisions made relating to corpus planning. For example, which personal names should be given Gaelic forms and what spellings should be used for those forms, what names (and spellings) should be given to countries and languages and what resources are considered 'authorities' when debating this. The Gaelic versions of Wiktionary (Gàidhlig–English, Gàidhlig–Gàidhlig) have the potential to crowdsource and collate lexical items; however, neither site has many contributors. The citations page for each word could be a useful tool in demonstrating how 'authentic' a word is, in terms of age or spread of usage, and in the contexts in which is it often used (colloquial, formal, etc).

Am Faclair Beag

The Faclair Beag project combines the online Dwelly with addition dictionary definitions. Members of the public can register as users (as either a native or learner after a telephone call to verify their ability) and then for any word in the dictionary vote on whether they don't know it, recognise it but don't use it, or use it themselves. This data is linked to the location they provided in order to create usage maps.

Forvo

Forvo also has potential to be exploited as a corpus resource: it is a website where users upload words pronounced in their original languages. It provides a platform for recording dialect pronunciation, helpful to those wanting to progress beyond a 'basic variety' learners' Gaelic or who wish specifically to learn the dialect of a family member. Its limitations at the moment include its self-regulation so anyone claiming a knowledge of Gaelic can submit pronunciations, however, faulty pronunciations can be flagged with the site administrators, who wish for only native-speaker pronunciations.

A5.2 Gaelic Corpus Planning Resources (since 1990)

A5.2.1. Dictionaries and Thesauri

1991: Richard A.V. Cox. *Brìgh nam Facal: Faclair Ùr don Bhun-sgoil Glasgow.* Glasgow University Department of Celtic.

1992: Buidheann Eadar-Roinneil airson Foghlam Gàidhlig. *Faclan Ura Gàidhlig cleachdte ann an Leabhraichean-Sgoile Bun-sgoile agus Ard-sgoile*.

1993: Robert C. Owen. *The Modern Gaelic–English Dictionary*. Glasgow: Gairm.

1993: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. *An Stòr-dàta Briathrachais Gàidhlig* Sleat, Isle of Skye: Clò Ostaig

1994: Derick S. Thomson. *The New English–Gaelic Dictionary*. Glasgow: Gairm (updated from 1981 version).

1998 (2004): Dougal Buchanan & RLS Ltd. *Gaelic–English / English–Gaelic Dictionary*. New Lanark: Lomond Books (2004 Geddes and Grosset).

1999: MacLeod, Donald John. *Faclan Ùra Gàidhlig: ùghdarraichte airson an cleachdadh anns na sgoiltean Stornoway*. SRG.

2000 (2008): MacLeòid D.I. *Dòigh eile air a ràdh Roinn an Fhoghlaim*. Comhairle nan Eilean Siar agus Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig.

2001: Angus Watson. *Essential Gaelic–English Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

2004: Colin Mark. *Gaelic–English Dictionary*. London: Routledge.

2004: Boyd Robertson & Iain MacDhòmhnaill. *Teach Yourself Gaelic Dictionary*. London: Teach Yourself.

2005: Angus Watson. *Essential English–Gaelic Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

2007: Garbhan MacAoidh. Tasgaidh: *A Scots Gaelic Thesaurus*. Tulach Mhór, Eirinn: Polyglot.

2010: Boyd Robertson & Ian Macdonald. *Essential Gaelic Dictionary*. London: Teach Yourself (updated from 2004).

2011: Stòrlann. *Faclair na Sgoile*. Stornoway: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig (expanded & revised version of *Brìgh nam Facal*).

2011: The European Language Initiative. *Co-fhaclair Gàidhlig / Thesaurus of the Gaelic Language*.

2011: Angus Watson. *The Essential Gaelic–English / English–Gaelic Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Birlinn (compilation of previous two dictionaries).

Ongoing: *Faclair na Gàidhlig* (a historical dictionary of Scottish Gaelic).

A5.2.2. Specialist Vocabulary

1990: R. Bateman R. & F. Màrtainn. *Ceumannan an cruinn-eòlas: Leabhar a h-Aon*.

1991: R. Bateman R. & F. Màrtainn. *Ceumannan an cruinn-eòlas: Leabhar a Dhà*. Stanley Thornes (Publishers) Ltd.

1996: Garbhan MacAoidh. 'Reul-eòlas airson luchd-tòiseachaidh 2'. *Gairm* 175, 217. [article with word list]

1997: Niall Gordan. 'Meudairean: meadhan pian nàbaidhean'. *Gairm* 178, 161–3. [article with word list]

1998: G. Barr. 'Aids san àm ri teachd'. *Gairm* 185, 38. [article with word list]

1999: Joan W. Clark and Ian MacDonald. *Ainmean Gaidhlig Lusan* [Gaelic names of plants]. North Ballachulish: J.W. Clark

1999: Ellen I. Garvie. *Plants, fungi and animals: Gaelic names with English & scientific equivalents mainly compiled from published literature*. Slèite: Clò Ostaig

2005: Seòras Chaluim Sheòrais. *Muir is Tìr*. Stornoway: Acair [Fishing boats terminology].

2006: Stòrlann. *Faclair Matamataig* Kershader, Isle of Lewis: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig [Maths Glossary]

2006: Roderick D. Cannon. 'Gaelic names of Pibrochs: a classification', *Scottish Studies* 34: 20–59.

2006: J. Foster, J. NicDhòmhnaill & J. MacDonald *Discovery World Ìre F: Beagfhaclair Saidheans*. (Kershader, Isle of Lewis: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig)

2008: MNE Media. *Gnàthasan-cainnt is eile son prògraman spòrs*. <http://www2.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaidhlig/faclair/cuspair/luth-chleas/>

2011: Stòrlann. *Briathrachas Eadar-lìn: Internet terminology*. Kershader, Isle of Lewis: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig

2001: The European Language Initiative. *Faclair na Pàrlamaid*. Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament

2011: The European Language Initiative. *Faclair airson Riaghaltas Ionadail / Dictionary for Local Government*.

2012: The European Language Initiative. *Faclair Rianachd Phoblaich*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Parliament

There is also a further list of word lists collated by individuals and students at SMO at

http://www2.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaidhlig/faclair/cuspair/

A5.2.3. Dialect-specific materials

1993: Duncan MacDonald. *Gaelic Words from Great Bernera: Collected by Duncan MacDonald circa 1920–1930*. ([Inverness]: The Gaelic Society of Inverness)

1995: Seumas Grannd. 'The lexical geography of the Western Isles', *Scottish Language*, 14/15: 52–65

1996: Roy Wentworth. *Faclan is abairtean à Ros an Iar*. ([Geàrrloch: R. Wentworth]). [2003: Roy Wentworth *Gaelic Words and Phrases from Wester Ross ~ Faclan is Abairtean à Ros an Iar* Inbhir Nis: CLÀR]

1997: Cathair Ó Dochartaigh (ed.). *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies)

1999: Seosamh Watson. 'Aspects of some Nova Scotian Gaelic Dialects' Celtic connections', in Ronald Black, William Gillies, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (eds), *Proceedings of the tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies. Vol. 1, Language, literature, history, culture.* (East Linton), pp. 347–59

2000: Seumas Grannd. *The Gaelic of Islay : a Comparative Study*. (Aberdeen: Dept. of Celtic, University of Aberdeen)

2000: Donald MacKillop. 'Gaelic idioms and expressions from Berneray Lochmaddy', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness,* vol. LX: 187–232

2003: James Grant. 'The Gaelic of Strathspey and its relationship with other dialects', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness,* vol. LXI, 1998–2000: 71–115

Many of the dictionaries have been compiled by individuals, many of whom are also learners of Gaelic. Both Mark and Watson incorporate *Faclan Ùra Gàidhlig*. Mark also incorporates C*ruinn-eòlas: Faclair Gàidhlig gu Beurla*. Whether carried out by teams or by individuals, it is not clear to what extent their contents have been based on descriptions of actual usage. The *Faclair na Gàidhlig* project will produce empirically researched information. The *Corpas na Gàidhlig* electronic corpus of texts will also create potential for specialist terminologies.[13]

A5.2.4. Other resources since 1990

[Basic children's resources are not included here.]

Information Technology

2006: Gaelic Spellchecker (TELI).

2011: Captions Language Interface Pack (TELI).

Adult Learner materials

1991: Colm Ó Baoill. *Gaelic is Fun: A New Course in Gaelic for the Beginner*. (Stornoway: Acair)

1992 [2001]: Ronald Black. *Cothrom Ionnsachaidh: A Chance to Learn*. (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh)

1993: Boyd Robertson & Iain Taylor. *Teach Yourself Gaelic*. (London: Hodder & Stoughton)

1993: Speaking Our Language. Scottish Television (72 TV programmes, textbooks, cassettes, CDROM).

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13 For more information about *Corpas na Gàidhlig*, see http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/celticgaelicresearch/currentresearchprojects/corpas nagaidhligthecorpusofscottishgaelic/

1996 [2008]: Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh with Iain MacAonghuis. *Scottish Gaelic in Three Months*. [*Scottish Gaelic in 12 Weeks*] (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Hugo)

2001: Katherine M. Spadaro & Katie Graham. *Colloquial Scottish Gaelic*. (London: Routledge)

2003: Eurotalk. *Scots Gaelic Vocabulary Builder*. (London: Eurotalk) [CDRom]

2006: Ruairidh MacIlleathain. *Ceum air Cheum: Leabhran Taice do Luchd-stiùiridh Chlasaichean Còmhraidh Gàidhlig*. (Stornway: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig)

2006: Morag MacNeill. *Everyday Gaelic*. (Edinburgh: Birlinn)

2008: Boyd Robertson & Gordon Wells. *Gaelic Conversation*. (London: Hodder Education) (CDs).

2011: Moray Watson. *Progressive Gaelic*. (Aberdeen: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform)

Grammars

2000: Michel Byrne. *Facal air an fhacal: gramar na Gaidhlig*. Steòrnabhagh: SRGAcair.

2001: William Lamb. *Scottish Gaelic*. München: Lincom Europa.

2002: Michel Byrne. *Gràmar na Gàidhlig*. (Cearsiadar, Stornoway: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig, Acair)

2004: Colin Mark. *Gaelic–English Dictionary*. (London: Routledge.) [Grammatical Appendices: 623–736]

2005: George McLennan. *Scots Gaelic: An Introduction to the Basics*. (Glendaruel: Argyll)

2006: Maoilios Caimbeul. *Gràmar na Gàidhlig: Leabhar-teagaisg le Earrannan Leughaidh, Eacarsaich is Freagairtean*. (Isle of Lewis: Stòrlann Nàiseanta na Gàidhlig)

Part B. Public Consultation

B1. Research Methodology

The primary research question underlying the *Dlùth is Inneach* project was:

- What corpus planning principles are appropriate for the strengthening and promotion of Scottish Gaelic, and what effective coordination would result in their implementation?

The planned outcomes of the project were:

- a clear and consistent **linguistic foundation** for Gaelic corpus planning, according with BnG's acquisition, usage and status planning initiatives, and **most likely to be supported** by Gaelic users

- a programme of **priorities** to be addressed by Gaelic corpus planning

- recommendations on means of coordination that will be effective in terms of cost and management (i.e. an **institutional framework**).

We chose to adopt an innovative methodology to answer the primary research question, involving a wideranging consultation on views and understandings of corpus planning in the Gaelic-speaking community, focusing on:

- the different possible ideological approaches to Gaelic corpus planning

- the experiences people have of existing corpus resources and projects

- the kinds of corpus planning initiatives that the community would like to see prioritised

- the structural aspects of corpus planning for Gaelic, and the improvements which would be welcomed by the community and by language practitioners.

In order to address the key issue of what is appropriate and effective in the Gaelic context, we engaged with Gaelic development organisations, language practitioners, community groups and individuals, gathering wide and varied information on their language use and collating information on the approaches and initiatives that would support their language use and transmission.

As discussed in the literature review in Part A, corpus planning efforts often fail when linguists and language planners make decisions based on their own perceptions of problems and priorities rather than in cooperation with the speech community. By making the data from the consultation the basis of policy recommendations, it has provided speakers and users with real participation in decisions about their language. The process both informs participants about existing initiatives and debates and allows them to reflect on language development and their role in it in a way few are normally invited or encouraged to do. It treats them as active stakeholders, with knowledge and expertise to contribute, rather than as targets of policy.

As well as providing valuable data as a basis on which to build effective policy, we also believe that this method and approach effectively minimises the potential divisiveness associated with corpus planning initiatives by involving stakeholders from the outset. It is axiomatic that any Gaelic corpus planning process will succeed only if it gains public support and the approval of language practitioners who will be the key disseminators. It is only likely to be effective and successful if it is rooted in understanding the priorities and needs of Gaelic users and professional practitioners. Several participants themselves emphasised the need for 'buy-in', particularly in relation to the structural and institutional options. The methodology allowed participants to consider the basis on which they would 'buy-in' to the process and allowed us to create proposals based on their terms and which address the potential risks they foresaw.

It was important that these discussions had direction and purpose and moved towards a productive end. For these reasons, we chose to use the **Focused Conversation** method as the main methodology for exploring corpus planning principles, structures and initiatives.

B1.1. Background to Focused Conversations

The Focused Conversation (FC) method is a structured group dialogue aimed at building a consensus about future action through a discussion of experiences, reactions and interpretations. The method was designed by the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA), based on the values of a culture of participation, collaboration and ownership. The Research Assistant received training from the ICA before the second stage of the reseach and guidance from its textbook (Stanfield: 2000).

The Focused Conversation method has four distinct phases:

1. **Objective:** What are your experiences of the topic under investigation? (i.e. linguistic and corpus planning issues for Gaelic)

2. **Reflective:** What are your feelings about these experiences?

3. **Interpretive:** What can we learn from these feelings and experiences?

4. **Decisional:** What do we need to do to move on from here?

The FC is designed and led by a facilitator whose role is to create an environment in which the participants feel comfortable and in which their knowledge and experience is respected and valued. The facilitator asks questions to lead the participants through each of the above phases, giving the opportunity for reflection and moving towards understanding the values that lie beneath opinions. Carrying out the conversations in groups allows peer-to-peer sharing of experiences and the establishment of consensus, not as unanimous agreement, but as an ability to move forward together. Because of the interactive nature of the conversation, where participants listen to each other rather than individually completing a survey, the method also has the effect of allowing each participant to come away from the conversation with a greater understanding of, and insight into, their community.

Focused Conversations are an ideal method for engaging with the theme of Gaelic corpus planning: a topic which arouses strong opinions in many people. It allows people not only to share their experiences and have their feelings about these experiences recognised and validated, but also gives them an opportunity to situate these experiences and feelings in the wider context of Gaelic language development, and then to reach some kind of resolution. It was in the last of these that we hoped to see a majority consensus emerging as to what kind of linguistic foundation and institutional support is appropriate for Gaelic corpus planning. This enabled us to rank the competing language corpus principles which are most appropriate in the Gaelic context and to make recommendations for a linguistic foundation for future Gaelic corpus planning which would be of practical benefits to all Gaelic users.

B1.2. The Consultation Process

During phase 2 of the *Dlùth is Inneach* project, we planned, organised and ran a series of **Focused Conversations**. Within the constraints of time and funding, we canvassed opinion from a wide range of people and organisations. The conversations were predominantly conducted in Gaelic and ranged in size from one to fifteen participants.

The first step in this phase of the project involved developing and refining an appropriate Focused Conversation Schema, i.e. a 'roadmap' for an FC, consisting of a list of topics to be covered and questions to be raised during each of the four phases of the Conversation. The FC Schema we came up with will be discussed in detail in sections B1.3 and B1.4. We chose to develop the Schema in two separate parts, one for linguistic foundations, and one for institutional frameworks. Each part of the conversation was designed to be around 50–55 minutes long, held in succession.

What follows is a summary of participation in the FCs. As all participants were given the option of anonymity (which two thirds of participants chose), the details of locations and groups must be kept deliberately vague.

The project originally planned to hold 15 FCs, however, in order to canvass as broad a range of opinion as possible, further workshops were arranged.

- Total number of Focused Conversations held: 39

- Locations: Glasgow, Inverness, Lewis & Harris, Uist, Skye.

- Types of groups:

- 2 Primary schools (teachers & other staff)

- 2 Secondary schools (with teachers & other staff)

- 1 Secondary school (with pupils)

- 3 Local authorities

- 2 Local History societies

- 4 Higher Education Institutions

- 4 Broadcasters

- 2 Arts groups

- 6 Public Meetings

- Total number of participants: 184

- Age range from 14–81:

  - 14–17: 29% (i.e. 53 / 184)

  - 18–19: 0.5% (1)

- 20s: 13.5% (25)

- 30s: 13% (24)

- 40s: 13.5% (25)

- 50s: 17% (32)

- 60s: 9% (16)

- 70s: 3.5% (6)

- 80s: 1% (2)

Participants were asked to describe themselves according to their Gaelic language abilities, with the following responses:

- Native speaker: 134

- Learner: 28

- Other: 22

- Fluent (speaker): 5

- Part native / part learner: 2

- Native learner: 2

- Fluent learner: 8

- 'Gaeliconly household from age 8': 1

- 'Irish > Scottish Gaelic': 1

- 'Keen speaker': 1

- 'I have been speaking / learning Gaelic since Primary 1 but wouldn't say that I was fluent.': 1

- no answer: 1.

Some participants work in Gaelic development organisations, but took part in an individual capacity, not as officials 'representing' their organisations.

A range of non-language professionals (e.g. not working in Gaelic education, broadcasting, publishing or for language developments agencies) were also represented including retail, transport, fishing, care work, finance, tourism, and local government. Some participants were also retired (six participants were aged 70+).

B1.2.1. Successful aspects

There were three particularly successful aspects to the methodology.

1. As the format had no preconceived plan or project to present, the open and fluid dynamic of the conversation allowed participants to drive the discussion and to determine what was important for them to discuss. This meant that factors which the research team had not anticipated, such as the negative impact of the lack of peer-to-peer support, were able to surface.

2. The structure gave those who rarely think about metalinguistic issues a path into the discussions. The first task (opinions on animal vocabulary) was particularly successful in providing a simple ice-breaking exercise for everyone to contribute to, before expanding the discussion onto wider contexts.

3. The group dynamic allowed participants to exchange knowledge and sometimes challenge each other's approaches and beliefs about the language.

This was most successful in peer groups where participants already knew each other. The examples and questions chosen to structure the conversation were successful in stimulating discussion and eliciting the expressions of values and language ideology that formed the evidence gathering basis of the research. They also allowed for reflection on the relative importance of these issues for language maintenance.

B1.2.2. Limitations

Public participation, rather than organisational participation, was more difficult to obtain. Obvious possible reasons were the difficulty for individuals to make time and the difficulty in explaining the nature of the event in a clear and attractive manner on a poster. On one occasion, someone who was happy to talk one-to-one to the Research Assistant remarked that they would not go to an organised event as taking part in group discussions was 'not their kind of thing'. Greater success in getting beyond the usual stakeholder involvement of official groups was achieved by working with existing community groups rather than open public events.

For these reasons, however, twelve conversations took place as one-to-one conversations. Although these lacked the benefits of the group dynamic, the method was still successful in eliciting discussion and the facilitator could make reference to the viewpoints of previous participants to reflect on diverse perspectives. Although they were not planned in the design of the project, these individual sessions often allowed participants to go into more detail, and speak honestly about deep concerns in a way that they might be reluctant to do with colleagues or friends in a group setting.

B1.3. The Focused Conversation Schema: Linguistic Foundations

As one expected area of interest was terminology, two exercises based on vocabulary were designed. Another exercise to elicit discussion on grammar and syntax was also formulated.

B1.3.1. Vocabulary

Participants were shown pictures and / or words. The pictures included:

- a kangaroo
- a hippopotamus
- a beaver
- a group of amphibians.

The words included:

- chemotherapy
- compound interest
- USB key
- fridge
- referendum.

The principal questions on vocabulary were:

- What is the normal, everyday Gaelic word for these things?
- Here are some relevant words from dictionaries, books and recommended by other people. Which do you prefer?
- What do you like or dislike about these words?
- When schools, universities and broadcasters are using the language, which word do you think they should use?

The follow-up questions included:

- How important is it that loan words from English are given a Gaelic spelling?
- How important is it that loan words from languages other than English are given a Gaelic spelling?
- Are there topics or things where it's not worth creating Gaelic terms for? Can you think of any examples?
- Are there any new words you have started to use in the last few years? What are they and why did you adopt them?

B1.3.2. Grammar

Initially, an example contrasting the following two constructions was used, as Gaelic translations of the English sentence 'Robert Burns was a poet'; the first 'conservative', and the second 'progressive':

- *B' e bàrd a bh' ann an Raibeart Burns*. 'It was a poet that Robert Burns was.'

- *'S e bàrd a bh' ann an Raibeart Burns*. 'It is a poet that Robert Burns was.'

This was altered as the *B' e / 'S e* tense contrast did little to stimulate discussion. The use of the second, progressive option was considered acceptable by nearly all participants.

Participants were then shown two sentences, both translations of the English 'The weather was better than I was expecting'; the first progressive, and the second conservative:

- *Bha an t-sìde nas fheàrr na bha dùil agam.*
  'The weather is such that it is better than I expected.'

- *Bha an t-sìde na b' fheàrr na bha dùil agam.*
  'The weather was such that it was better than I expected.'

The principal questions asked of participants were as follows:

- Are both phrases acceptable in Gaelic?

- Should education and broadcasting promote the use of one or other or both?

- Are there other things that you think are unacceptable which you hear often?

- Who has the authority to say whether something is acceptable as 'good' Gaelic or not?

B1.3.2 Numbers

A picture was shown to participants and they were asked how they would refer to a group of thirty three instances of that object. The initial example used 'thirty three sheep', however, there was some controversy as to what was the everyday plural form of the Gaelic word for sheep – *caora* or *caoraich*. The example was thus changed to 'pipers', with the unambiguous *pìobaire* (sg.) versus *pìobairean* (pl.). Then a list of various ways of expressing 'thirty three pipers' was distributed. Participants were asked to:

- put a star next to forms they would use

- put a tick next to forms that were acceptable to them

- put a cross next to forms that were unacceptable to them.

A large number of participants specified that they would use both the vigesimal and decimal systems, depending on who they were talking to. In practice, this presented difficulties for the majority of participants; its format appeared too much like a test and undermined their confidence. It proved difficult to expand discussion from this on to wider issues of language change and planned language development. Focus shifted to the vocabulary and grammar discussions, with the numbers exercise only carried out where time allowed. No useable data was gathered on this question.

B1.3.4. Additional questions

A couple of additional questions were added, whenever time permitted:

- What things bug you the most about Gaelic today?

- What things worry you the most about Gaelic today?

B1.4. The Focused Conversation Schema: Institutional Frameworks

The sessions began with a short presentation of existing language resources and different bodies and individuals involved in creating them. Participants were asked:

- Are there any resources or services that are missing? Are there other resources or services that would support you in your language use?

- Who should be responsible for creating these resources? An existing group? Who would you trust to provide a useful resource?

The facilitator was careful not to present the creation of a new Gaelic corpus planning institution as a given or an inherently desirable idea. This discussion of resources allowed participants to present priorities and gaps in provision. It led on to discussion of what kind of corpus planning body could provide the resources or services requested. Participants were asked to design such a body, based on the following questions:

- What kind of duties should it have?

- Which of these should be priorities?

- What kind of duties should it definitely not have?

- What skills or expertise should people have to be eligible to work for, or contribute to, this body?

- What role would you have in relation to this body?

- Where should it be located? In one location or across different locations?

- Should it be a standalone body or be under the auspices of a different organisation?

- Whose needs should it prioritise?

- How should it be funded?

- What should it be called?

Participants who have experience of working in organisations and who were familiar with the existing institutions were most confident in recommending organisational structures. For other participants questions of funding or organisational structures were more difficult to answer. Nearly all participants, however, could engage with choosing the kinds of duties it should and should not carry out. They also engaged with the topic of legitimate linguistic authority (i.e. buy-in) by identifying which people and process would be required in order for a group to function successfully and effectively.

B2. Linguistic Foundations

In the following sections, the results from the Focused Conversations are discussed. Where comments from participants are quoted the participant is referred to by number. Data on their age range, self-described speaker status and general area of occupation is noted. Transcriptions are verbatim with English translations.

The general position of participants was that the dominant ideological position was 'retro-vernacular'. By this we mean that it sounds 'natural', like something fluent traditional speakers might use. It is vernacular in the sense of being based on everyday speech, and retrophilic in the sense of being modelled on the speech of the eldest fluent speakers in the community. This view is typified by Participant 145:

> P145: "Seach nach urrainn duine againn cuimhneachadh air ais dhan naoimheadh linn deug, tha mi a' smaointinn gum feum sinn na daoine as aithne dhuinn cleachdadh. Can anns an sgìre seo, daoine a chaidh an togail le Gàidhlig [...] Cha bu toil leam a bhith faicinn foghlam, ach tha an cunnart seo ann, a' cur gèinn, sin wedge, eadar an ginealach mu dheireadh aig an robh Gàidhlig nàdarrach agus riaghailtean ùra a tha ar leithid a' cruthachadh airson a bhith ag ràdh 'feumaidh sinn bruidhinn mar daoine anns an 19mh linn'. B' fheàrr leam gun robh sinn a' togail nan riaghailtean air a' ghinealach – na daoine meadhan-aoiseach."
>
> 50s, Fluent Learner, H/F education

> [*As none of us can remember the nineteenth century, I think that we need to use the people that we know. Say, in this area, people who were raised with Gaelic [...] I wouldn't like to see education, but there is this risk, putting a wedge between the last generation who have natural Gaelic and new rules that people like us create in order to say 'we have to talk like people in the nineteenth century'. I would prefer that we draw the rules from the generation — the middle-aged people.*]

It cannot be overstated that this report is not suggesting that this is the only legitimate ideology in the Gaelic community. All the views expressed by the participants on what they felt most appropriate for their language are valid and legitimate. However, the ideological position of a small proportion of the community will not form a strong foundation for corpus development. As was outlined in the first part of the report, if language planners assume corpus development approaches based on a linguistic ideology that is at odds with the majority of the community, their efforts will be inefficient or potentially damaging.

The evidence gathered from the FCs suggest that the dominant ideology is retro-vernacular. This is the general, consensus position across age groups, professions and regions.

B2.1. Vocabulary

The first section (B2.1.1.) aligns the participants' responses with the ideological framework outlined in part A of this report. In B2.1.2, from the discussion around new terminology, we propose four criteria of acceptability. These are referenced throughout the results. Finally, in B2.1.3, the results of the particular examples and questions offered in the FCs are covered.

B2.1.1. Ideological mapping

B2.1.1.1 *Beurla*-phobia

There were very few overtly *Beurla*-phobic comments in discussions of vocabulary. Where there were comments made such as,

> P174: "Tha sinn a' cur dreach Gàidhlig air facail ùra fad an t-siubhail, carson nach cuireamaid Gàidhlig air 'kangaroo' ma tha facal ann a ghabhas a thuigsinn agus a tha freagarrach."
>
>   30s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*We gaelicise new words all the time, why wouldn't we have a Gaelic for 'kangaroo' if there is a word that is understandable and suitable.*]

this has been interpreted as neophilic: as enthusiasm for new terms in Gaelic, even if the distancing from English might be implied by the comment. From the results, explicit mentions of an effort or desire to avoid vocabulary from English were noticeable by their absence. *Beurla*-phobia can be implied, however, in comments from some participants where a *Beurla*-phobic high register is apparent in the distinction they make between everyday and professional language. This conforms with McLeod's (2004a) assessment discussed in A2.2.1.1.2. that *Beurla*-phobic choices are more in evidence in higher registers.

> P179: "Chleachdainnsa 'hippo', ach 's dòcha nam biodh agam ri rudeigin a sgrìobhadh, gun coimheadainn an àird is gun cleachdainn 'Each-aibhne'."
>
>   20s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I'd use 'hippo' but maybe if I had to write something, I'd look it up and I'd use 'Each-aibhne'.*]

> P182: "Chanainnsa 'hippo'. [...] Chan eil fhios 'am an e gu bheil e cho èibhinn ann an dòigh 'hippopotamus', 'eil fhios agad, tha e cho ceangailte ris a' bheothach! Ach chanainnsa a thaobh ag obair, [...] chloinne is rudan 'each-aibhne'."
>
>   40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I'd say 'hippo'. [...] I don't know if it's because hippopotamus is so funny in a way, you know, it's so like the animal! But I'd say for work, for kids and stuff, 'Each-aibhne'.*]

The strongest rejection came from a participant in relation to English encroaching into Gaelic space:

> P164: "Sin rud a dìreach – [...] Baile a' Mhanaich. Baile. A. Mhanaich. It's the

monk's town. Because you've got Baile nan Cailleach, Nunton. And you've got Baile a' Mhanaich. Ach tha iad air a sgrìobhadh ann am Beurla mar a chanas tu ann an Gàidhlig! Balivanich. 'S e Baile a' Mhanaich a th' ann, chan eil Beurla ann airson an tàite. So, cha toil leam nuair a tha iad – if you go to France, you don't see the French street written in English. 'S e àite Gàidhlig a bh' ann, tha còir aige a bhith – cumail ann an Gàidhlig."

   20s, Native, Private Sector

[*That's something that just – Baile a' Mhanaich (the town of the monk). Baile. A. Mhanaich. (Switch to English) But they've written it in English the way you say it in Gaelic! Balivanich. It's Baile a' Mhanaich, there isn't English for the place. So, I don't like it when they — (English). It was a Gaelic place, it has a right to be kept in Gaelic.*]

P52: "Ma tha rud Gàidhlig ann a ghabhas a chleachdadh, a bhiodh aithnichte, bhiodh e na b' fheàrr a chleachdadh na dìreach am facal Beurla."

   60s, Native, Education

[*If there's a Gaelic term that can be used, that would be recognised, it would be better to use that than just the English word.*]

As we will see later in the discussion of grammar, *Beurla*-phobia is much more apparent at the grammar and syntax levels than in vocabulary.

B2.1.1.2 *Beurla*-philia

The *Beurla*-philia aspect of current ideology does not extend to an active desire to make Gaelic more like English (as could be theoretically possible according to the research model). On the vocabulary level, there is an acceptance of maintaining loans from English that have become normalised in the speech of the older generation, in specialised fields and in acronyms. This will be discussed in more detail in the section on terminology acceptability later (B2.1.2.)

In Part A of this report, we altered Fishman's definition of 'internationalisation' to incorporate it within *Beurla*-philia, as the international language Gaelic speakers are most likely going to refer to and use is English. However, participants often wished to make a distinction between a loan that they perceived as English, and loans that they perceived as from other languages (regardless of whether the loan has travelled through English to Gaelic):

P74: "Tha mi a' smaoineach gu sònraichte ma tha freumhan an fhacail ann an cànain eile agus gu bheilear ga chleachdadh ann am Beurla mar a' chànain eile, gu bheil e a' dèanamh ciall a chleachdadh anns an aon dòigh anns a' Ghàidhlig."

   40s, Native, Education

[*I think especially if the roots of the word are in another language and it's used in English as the other language [as a loan word], that it makes sense to use it in the same way in Gaelic.*]

P77: " Dè an cànain às a bheil 'chemo'?"

P73: "À Greugais. Chan eil adhbhar sam bith a bhith a chur facail saidheans ann an Gàidhlig."

P77: "Chan e facal Beurla a th' ann, so, carson a tha sinn dol a thoirt dhaibh eadar-theangachadh."

P73: " 'S e facal Greugais a th' ann. Agus ma tha thu a' feuchainn dèanamh seo leotha, thu a' call an rud … Faodaidh tu sealltainn dhaibh an facal, tha sin mar 'photosynthesis' – solas, dèanamh le solas. Ma tha thu tòiseachadh a' dèanamh 'foto-cho-chruth' ... Uill. 'Eil fhios 'ad. Tha mise a' cleachdadh facail Beurla scientific ann an context Gàidhlig."

P77: "Gu h-àraid mas ann à cànain eile a thàinig iad sa chiad àite."

P73: "Thà. Tha iad Laideann no Greugais so chan eil adhbhar sam bith rud mar seo a dhèanamh, cha chreid mi."

P74: "Ach 's e an duilgheadas gu bheil iad ag iarraidh oirnn a bhith a chuir facail mar seo an gnìomh."

P73: "Tha."

  P73: 50s, Native, Education

  P74: 40s, Native, Education

  P77: 40s, Native, Education

[*P77: Which language does 'chemo' come from? P73: From Greek. There is no reason to put scientific words into Gaelic. P77: It's not an English word, so why are we going to give a translation. P73: It's a Greek word. And if you're trying to do this with them, you lose the thing ... You can show them the word, like 'photosynthesis' – light, make with light. If you start doing 'foto-cho-chruth' ... Well. You know. I use English scientific words in a Gaelic context. P77: Especially if they came from another language in the first place. P73: Yes. They're Latin or Greek so I don't think there's any reason to do it. P74: But the problem is that they're asking use to put these into practice. P73: Yes.*]

P28: "Bocadair. No dìreach cangarù cuideachd oir 's e facal Australian a th' ann co-dhiù."

  20s, Learner, Gaelic Arts

[*'Bocadair'. Or also just kangaroo as it's an Australian word anyway.*]

B2.1.1.3 Neophobia

Participants made a large number of comments that can be interpreted as (linguistically) neophobic. This was particularly noticeable in certain contexts such as replacing a term which has been normalised in the speech of a Model Gaelic Speaker as in the following quote from P169 — a native speaker, in their 50s, living in the Western Isles and using Gaelic most days:

P169: "Bidh mo bhràthair ag ràdh, an robh fhios agaibh gun robh Gàidhlig ann airson 'microwave'? Chan eil cuimhne 'am dè th' ann an-dràsta ach, you know? Dè am feum? Dìreach can 'microwave'."

  50s, Native, Education

[*My brother says, did you know that there was a Gaelic for microwave? I don't remember now what it is was but, you know? What's the use? Just say microwave.*]

Yet participants who exhibit neophobia can also appreciate that some terminology development is necessary and appropriate:

> Research Assistant (RA): If Gaelic-medium Geography needs new terminology, is it appropriate for them to have new words?

> P153: "Oh I would think so. Yes definitely. Okay I might rail against it but no, I suppose that's the way of it. Again, [points to self] old-fashioned!"
>> 50s, Native, Private Sector

B2.1.1.4 Neophilia

Fewer participants gave neophilic responses than those who made neophobic remarks. In this exchange, we can see one participant, P39, proposing a neophilic (and *Beurla*-phobic) suggestion that is, however, not popular among those in the same group:

> P39: "Dè tha seo?"

> P176: "Tàidh."

> P39: "Tàidh, okay. Lùban. Tuigidh tu sa bhad dè …

> P38: "Nach e flùr ...?"

> P39: "… th' ann nach cuireadh neach lùban air seo. Gun dragh sam bith."

> P176: "Cha thuigsinnsa 'lùban'."

> P38: "'S e 'lùban' dhomhsa tarraig a tha lùbach!"

> P39: "Ach tha corra rud mar sin 's urrainn dhut a chruthachadh."
>> P38: 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>> P39: 50s, Fluent Learner, Broadcasting
>> P176: 50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*P39: What's this? P176: A tie. P39: A tie, okay. 'Lùban'. You'd understand immediately ... P38: Is that not a flower ...? P39: ... what it is if one said 'lùban' for this. Without any trouble. P176: I wouldn't understand 'lùban'. P38: A 'lùban' for me would a nail that's been bent! P39: But there are some things like that you can create.*]

Other participants who expressed some neophilia would couch their enthusiasm for new words with some limits:

> P164: " 'S toil leam nuair a tha faclan ùra ann. Ach cha toil leam nuair tha iad — I don't like it how they change the word that was existing. So I don't mind the new words being made. So, if you've got a walrus, and you give it a Gaelic name, that's fine. But if it was something before, why did it get changed. [...] 'S toil leam na faclan ùra, ach cha toil leam nuair a tha iad a' cur facal ùr air facal sean."
>> 20s, Native, Private Sector

[*I like when there's new words. But I don't like it when they – [English] – I like the new words but I don't like when they put news words on old words.*]

P174: "Tha mise a' smaoineachadh gur e fìor chorra rud air nach gabh Gàidhlig a chur. Ma dh'fheumas tu. Sin a tha mise a' smaoineachadh. Chan eil mi ag ràdh gun gabh e thuigsinn! Ach 's ann gu math ainneamh a thachradh e nach b' urrainn dhut Gàidhlig a chur air rud. Chan eil mi ag ràdh gum biodh e snog a' coimhead, no 's dòcha gun toireadh e còig facail mus canaidh tu e. Ach, tha mi a' smaoineachadh gun gabh, ach chan eil mi ag ràdh gur e sin an rud ceart."

30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I think that there are very few things which you couldn't have a Gaelic word for. If you have to. That's what I think. I'm not saying that it would be understandable! But it'd be a very rare occurrence if you couldn't put something into Gaelic. I'm not saying that it would look nice or it might take five words to say it. I think you could, but I'm not saying that's the right thing to do.*]

Even participants who expressed a great deal of enthusiasm such as P154, would later say that some things can go too far such as acronyms and foreign (i.e. non-English) loans:

P154: "B' fheàrr leamsa facal Gàidhlig a bhith ann airson a h-uile sìon riamh. A h-uile sìon a ghabhadh a bhith. A chionn 's, 's e a' Ghàidhlig a bh' agamsa riamh, 's e a' chiad chànan a bh' agam."

50s, Native, Private Sector

[*I'd prefer that there be a Gaelic word for everything ever. Everything that there could be. Because I've always had Gaelic, it's my first language.*]

When it related to professional, high-register usage, some professionals were noticeably more neophilic in these areas.

RA: Am bu chòir dhuinn Gàidhlig a chur air h-uile càil?

P173: "Uill, bu chòir dhuinne a chionns 's e craoladairean a th' annainn."

P174: "Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e na dhleastanas oirnne a bhith cruthachadh facail Gàidhlig air sgàth is gu bheil facail ùra a' tighinn asteach fad an t-siubhail. Agus feumaidh sinn na naidheachdan a leughadh ann an Gàidhlig."

P173: 40s, Native, Broadcasting

P174: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*RA: Should we have a Gaelic word for everything? P173: Well, we should because we're broadcasters. P174: I think we have a responsibility to create Gaelic words because new words appear all the time. And we have to read the news in Gaelic.*]

P66: "Ach tha sibh a' dèanamh sin anns a' Bheurla fad an t-siubhail. Bruidhnidh tu gu mì-fhoirmeil air cùisean moralta agus cha chleachd thu facail mhòr. Ach nuair a tha thu a' bruidhinn air taobh a-staigh, can, RE, tha thu a' cleachdadh — tha thu ag ionnsachadh briathrachas. So, nam biodh tu ag ionnsachadh ann an eaconomachd dachaigh, is gu bheil e anns an leabhar, carson nach cleachda' tu e, dh'fhaodadh tu fhathast a bhith cleachdadh 'fridge'."

20s, Native, Education

[*But you do that all the time in English. You talk informally about morality and you don't use big words. But when you're talking, say, in RE you use — you learn terminology. So, if you were learning home economics, and it's in the book, why wouldn't you use it, you could still use 'fridge'.*]

However, for others this raised the issue of how much divergence between registers Gaelic can support. This will be addressed later (B2.2.4.)

Overall the results suggest the participants were mildly neophobic, meaning they are wary of new terminology as their experience of words which are too long, not aesthetically pleasing, or being presented with too many at once has discouraged them. However, this is not an entrenched position and terminology can be expanded and even welcomed if it meets certain criteria. We discuss this idea further with four criteria for terminological acceptability (B2.1.2.)

B2.1.1.5 Retrophilia and Retrophobia

The main test case for retrophilia was the example of 'beaver' which is an animal that would have been known to Gaelic speakers in Scotland until its extinction in Scotland in the sixteenth century. As will be detailed later in the workshop results, this showed that there was little enthusiasm for reviving an older form that was unknown to fluent speakers today. When discussing vocabulary, participants placed high value on words, and the range of words, used by older speakers (including English loans such as microwave and fridge). However, terms older than that, from previous centuries, do not have a lot of currency with participants.

Overall the retrophilic attitude of participants did not extend back to a 'golden age' or an age of monolingual speakers (as again would be possible under the theoretical model used and has been feasible for other languages). The retrophilia was, in fact, specific to the generation of older fluent speakers which, as we will see, are characterised as the Model Gaelic Speakers.

B2.1.1.6 Vernacularity

A common explanation for the choices participants made in the exercises was that it was the word they knew would be said and understood by others:

P152: "A' Ghàidhlig a th' agamsa, 's e a' Ghàidhlig a chluinneas mi. Chan ann tric a chluinneas tu mu dheidhinn hippos ma tha thu a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig. Ach tha mi cinnteach, sa chànan anns a' choimhearsnachd, nam biodh daoine a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn a' bheothach sin, 's e 'hippo' an t-ainm a bhiodh iad a' cleachdadh."

50s, Learner, Community Group

[*The Gaelic I have is the Gaelic I hear. It's not often you hear about hippos if you're talking in Gaelic. But I'm sure, in the language in the community, if people were talking about that animal, hippo would be the name they would use.*]

More examples are included in the breakdown of results from the workshops. This aspect was obvious time and again in the participants' responses to individual questions where a primacy was put on a vernacular communicative principle. This is perhaps linked to the high value

traditionally placed on orality. The following comment illustrates the connection in the speaker's mind between good Gaelic and oral skills over written one.

> P159: "Seall bràthair [*anon.*] Ach chaochail e o chionn ... co mheud? còig seachdain. Agus bha e math gu cèilidh, bhiodh e cèilidh am broinn an taighe. Sin am fear aig an robh Gàidhlig. Sin am fear a bha math air còmhradh. [*noises of agreement*] O bha e sgoinneil. Bha e dìreach – bha a' Ghàidhlig aige cho beairteach agus blas — o bha blas — ach cha leughadh e idir i."

> 60s, Native, Community Group

> [*Take X's brother. He passed away ... how long? five weeks ago. And he was good at visiting, he'd visit in the house. That's someone who had Gaelic. That's the one who was good at conversation. Oh, he was great. He was just — his Gaelic was so rich and the sound of it — oh the sound was — but he didn't read it at all.*]

B2.1.1.7 *Gaeilge*-philia and *Gaeilge*-phobia

Very little reference was made to other forms of Gaelic by participants. The Irish forms (and Manx forms where found) for vocabulary were presented along with the Gaelic alternative forms and they were referenced to by the RA. However, participants themselves showed no sign of considering or being influenced by these forms. Only three participants, Participants 3, 33 and 80 made reference to Irish Gaelic. The latter two are also Irish Gaelic speakers. Although Participant 3 referenced terminology development in Ireland, he did subsequently recommend the suggested forms in the examples provided.

B2.1.2. Four Criteria for Terminology Development

The general consensus that emerged from the discussions about new terminology often gave the participants a chance to express what helps and hinders a term in becoming acceptable and adopted by the community. From an interpretation of these comments, four different criteria for neologism acceptability are proposed here. If a term fails one of the criteria, its satisfaction of the others will be irrelevant or contested.

The four criteria are:

- The Necessity Criterion — Do speakers consider there to be a need for a Gaelic term?

- The Ideology Criterion — Does it satisfy the dominant retro-vernacular ideology?

- The Transparency Criterion — Is it easily understood by the Model Gaelic Speakers?

- The Aesthetics Criterion — Does the word sound attractive?

B2.1.2.1 The Necessity Criterion

In the Focused Conversations (FCs), participants would often comment on whether Gaelic terms were necessary. This was not a black or white issue for any of the participants, but rather a sliding scale. Although participants' responses varied, there were also, at one end of the scale, clear areas of agreement where things 'go too far'.

One distinction that can be made between everyday and non-everyday terms. Participant 80 makes the observation that the Gaelic terms for 'internet', 'email', and 'website' have gained currency. However, as P80 also notes, these words have become very common in everyday language.

> P80: "Tha 'internet' aig cha mhòr a h-uile cànain anns an t-saoghal, Gearmailtis, Eadailtis, Iapanais, Spaintis ach — 'eadar-lìon'. Ghabh na Gàidheil ri sin gu math math tràth. Is post-dealain, làrach-lìn, tha beagan de dh'fhaclan gu math cumanta is dìreach ghabh na Gàidheil ris."

>   60s, Learner, H/F Education

> [*Nearly every language in the world uses 'internet', German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish but — 'Eadar-lìon'. The Gaels took to it very early. And email, website, a few words are very common and the Gaels just accepted it.*]

Other terms which aren't used in everyday language have a much harder time being accepted. When the examples of 'hippo', 'amphibian' and 'compound interest' were used in the exercises, many participants commented that they wouldn't talk often about those things in either Gaelic or English. This means that words that are considered technical, specialist, or from domains where the Model Gaelic Speakers wouldn't traditionally use Gaelic can meet strong resistance:

> P159: "Agus a bheil feum air? A bheil duine ann a tha a' dèanamh can, PhD, ann am Biology ann an Gàidhlig? Chan eil. So, chan fheumadh tu really."

>   60s, Native, Community Group

> [*And is it needed? Is anybody doing, say, a PhD in Biology in Gaelic? No. So you don't really need to.*]

This connection to the suitability of the subject domains can also be seen in these comments from teachers:

> P66: "Tha mi gu math mothachail gu bheil rudan gu math eadar-dhealaichte anns na cuspairean sòisealta a tha gu math — language rich — ri rudeigin mar saidheans no *practical subjects*."

>   20s, Native, Education

> [*I am very aware that things are very different in the social subjects that are very language rich rather than things like science or practical subjects.*]

> P67: "Na leabhraichean a chunna mise, tha a' mhòr-chuid aca gu math doirbh a leughadh. Tha sin a' cumail cùisean air ais glè mhòr, saoilidh mise. Tha mise an dèidh teagaisg Cruinn-eòlas agus Saidheans tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig agus tha Cruinn-eòlas gu math nas fhasa a theagaisg na Saidheans. Tha an cànan nas nàdarraich, chan eil e cho teicneigeach."

>   50s, Native, Education

> [*The books I've seen, most of them are very difficult to read. That holds things back a lot, I think. I have taught Geography and Science in Gaelic-medium and Geography is much*

easier to teach than Science. The language is more natural, it's not so technical.]

> P164: "Bhiodh e sgoinneil facal Gàidhlig a bhith aig h-uile sìon, ach chan eil. […] *It doesn't weaken it.* […] Feumaidh faclan Beurla a bhith … cleachdadh airson … tha tòrr rudan ann a-nis, *everything being invented all the time, you'd never be able to keep up. No.* Chan eil dòigh sam bith ann facal fhaighinn airson h-uile sìon. Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e nas fheàrr beagan Beurla airson na rudan ùra a chleachdadh."
>
>   20s, Native, Private Sector
>
> [*It would be great if there was a Gaelic word for everything but there isn't. […] [English] There has to be English words ... used for ... there's so many things now [English] There is no way you can have a word for every single thing. I think that it is better to use English for new things.*]

Coupled with the belief that words recognised to have their origin in Latin or Greek should be available for use in Gaelic, terminological development in this area should tread carefully and carry out development in this area slowly and in close consultation with the main disseminators. Further discussion of the use of technical vocabulary in the school settings is discussed in section B2.1.3.13.

For some older speakers, new words are unnecessary as their confidence in their fluency means they see no need. This could also be understood as linguistic neophobia:

> P54: "Cha chleachdainn fhìn facal ùr a chluinneas mi, tha mi dòigheil gu leòr leis na facail a bh' agam bho [*unclear*] an toiseach! *I don't think I would bother!*"
>
>   70s, Native, Community Group
>
> [*I wouldn't use a new word that I heard, I'm happy enough with the words I had since [unclear]! [English]*]

For others with a strong vernacular ideology, *Beurla*-phobia is not a good enough cause for new terminology:

> P152: "Chan eil mi uabhasach dèidheil air faclan ùra a dhèanamh suas dìreach air sgàth 's gu bheil sinn a' smaoineachadh gum bhiodh feum againn air faclan nach eil aca anns a' Bheurla mar gum biodh."
>
>   50s, Learner, Community Group
>
> [*I'm not very keen on making up new words just because we think we have to have words that aren't English.*]

As discussed under *Beurla*-philia, foreign words recognised by speakers as such are not usually considered suitable for translation. However, it is notable that P84 accepts the everyday word 'café', where only the spelling is changed:

> P84: "[…] cruthachadh facail, rud a tha feumail air diofar rudan – ach chan eil mi idir den bheachd gu bheil còir agad a bhith a' cur Gàidhlig air facail Fraingis is facail aig a bheil tùs mar sin. Tha 'café' diofraichte oir 's urrainn dhut litreachadh

ann an Gàidhlig, c-a-f-a-i-d-h.”

    50s, Native, H/F Education

[*... creating words, that's useful for different things – but I definitely don't think that you should put Gaelic on French words and words with origins like that. 'Café' is different as you can spell it in Gaelic, c-a-f-a-i-d-h.*]

When asked if there are domains where Gaelic terms are not suitable, P173 also suggested personal names:

P173: “Ainmean. Tha sinn a' deasbad seo aig amannan. An e Mairead Nic an Tughadair no Maggie Thatcher, Mairead Thatcher a bu chòir a bhith air. Luchd-politigs, ma chuireas tu dreach Gàidhealach air cha mhòr nach eil thu cur – sgleò air cò iad. Air an làimh eile, aig amannan tha ainmean a tha gu follaiseach bho fhreumhan Gàidhealach.”

    40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*Names. We debates those sometimes. Should it be 'Mairead Nic an Tughadair' or 'Maggie Thatcher', 'Mairead Thatcher'. Politicians, if you give them a Gaelic version you're almost masking who they are. On the other hand, at times there are names which are obviously from Gaelic roots.*]

The clear areas where the necessity criterion is, at best, contested are:

- highly specialised technical terms

- words recognised as non-English foreign loans: 'baguette', 'tsunami' etc.

- personal names that are not from Gaelic roots

- acronyms

In contrast, the Necessity Criterion may be fulfilled if a word or term is entering everyday usage.

B2.1.2.2 The Ideology Criterion

Once a speaker determines that a term meets the necessity criterion, the word then needs to meet the Ideological Criterion of speakers. If a technological but everyday term has been normalised in the speech of this generation (e.g. radio / wireless, microwave, fridge), there is a reluctance to replace this with a *Beurla*-phobic alternative (e.g. *meanbh-fhonn* 'microwave', *fuaradair* 'refrigerator'). It is important to note that the older speakers themselves might place value on a term that reminds them of a previous generation's Gaelic. For example, one participant (a fisherman from the Western Isles) placed a high value on the word *muir-thìreach* (for 'amphibian'), as to him it was *mar rudeigin a chanadh na Seann Ghàidheil,* 'like something the Old Gaels would say'. .

B2.1.2.3 The Transparency Criterion

This is closely related to the Ideology Criterion. If it is accepted that a Gaelic term could replace an English loan, the term itself should not require too much work on the behalf of the Model Gaelic Speakers to understand. Many participants place value (and therefore acceptance) on terms that have a transparent meaning. The neologisms reported as successful and acceptable by these fluent speakers were ones that referenced words already known to them and had connotations familiar to them. The common expression of this was *tha e a' toirt dealbh math dhut,* 'it gives you a good picture'. Examples of this included *muir-thìreach,* 'amphibian' literally 'sea-lander', *neach-gairm,* 'convener' literally 'calling-person' and *air mhuinntireas* 'in residence' literally 'in domestic service'.

The following quote illustrates how a particular neologism, *itealan,* 'aeroplane', is partly successful due to its transparency to the speaker — a Model Gaelic Speaker, living in a Gaelic community and using Gaelic most days:

> P153: "Na faclan nach cuala mi riamh iad. [...] Mar 'itealan'. 'S e 'plèan' a bh' agam air. 'S e daonnan 'plèan' ach 'itealan', uill, tha fhios 'am dè tha sin a' mìneagadh, 'itean' mar 'feathers'. Airson rudeigin a bhios gluasad san adhar. Tha mi gu math comfortable le ... am facal sin, ach, faclan eile bidh mi cluinntinn air an telebhisean, canaidh mi, a Dhia, dè tha sin a' mìneagadh?"
>
> RA: "Tha mi a' faicinn gu bheil 'itealan' 's dòcha coltach ri 'fuaradair' …"
>
> P153: "Rudeigin fuar, uhuh."
>
> RA: "Tha iad stèidhichte air rudan a tha sibh ag aithneachadh [P153: Uhuh] agus tha sibh a' faicinn, right, siud e. [P153: Uhuh.] Ach, reifreann, chan eil ...
>
> P153: "Cha chuala mi riamh e. Uhuh. Chan eil – dè a' Ghàidhlig air 'association'?!"
>
>   50s, Native, Private Sector
>
> [*P153: The words which I never heard before [...] Like 'itealan'. I called it a 'plane'. It was always 'plane' but 'itealan', well, I know what that means, 'itean' like 'feathers'. For something that moves in the sky. I am very comfortable with ... that word, but when I hear other words on the television, I say 'God, what does that mean?'*
>
> *RA: I think that 'itealan' is maybe similar to 'fuaradair'...*
>
> *P153: Something cold, uhuh.*
>
> *RA: ... they're based on something you recognise [P153: Uhuh] and you can see, right, that's iad. [P153: Uhuh.] But 'reifreann' isn't not ...*
>
> *P153: I've never heard it. Uhuh. There isn't – what's the Gaelic for association!?*]

Only one participant went against this idea, preferring words that 'have their own meaning'.

> P164: "Ma bha mi airson fear a chleachdadh, canaidh mi sin. Fionnadair. A chionn 's gur e facal nach eil mi eòlach air agus — feumaidh e — bhith facal leis fhèin. *It has to be it's own word, you can't say that's a 'cooler'.*"
>
> [note: participant did not recognise the word *fionnar*]
>
>   20s, Native, Private Sector

[*If I was going to use one, I'll say that. Fionnadair. Because it's a word I don't know and – it has to be its own word. (English)*]

B2.1.2.4 The Aesthetic Criterion

The last important stage is aesthetic and it is the most difficult to define. This rested on the intuitive impressions of participants as to what would be attractive and useable.

In the vocabulary example, two alternatives to *cangarù* were proposed: *bocadair* and *pocanach-leumnach*. While *cangarù* was preferred overall, there was an aesthetic appeal to *bocadair* (described as *snog*, 'cute' and *sporsail*, 'fun') that *pocanach-leumnach* failed (described as clunky, *grànnda*, 'ugly' and *ro fhada*, 'too long'). On the rare occasions that *pocanach-leumnach* had any aesthetic appeal, it was to learners who described themselves as speaking Gaelic well rather than fluently.

B2.1.3. FC Results

Participants were asked initially what they would say naturally in an everyday conversation, leading to a decision on which form(s) they think should be promoted in education and broadcasting.

B2.1.3.1. Kangaroo

Options presented: Kangaroo, *Cangarù, Cangaru, Bocadair, Pocanach-leumnach*, (Irish: *cangarú*), (Manx: *kangaroo*).

Most Popular Recommended Form: *Cangarù*.

The main reasons given for choosing *cangarù* were:

- that it has a specific meaning that is understood (vernacular)

- that it is not in origin an English word (non-English loan)

- that kangaroos are not native to the Gàidhealtachd (non-traditional domain).

  P32: [What's good about *cangarù*]: "Gu bheil fhios aig a h-uile duine dè th' ann."
  60s, Fluent Learner, Education
  [*That everybody knows what it is.*]

  P33: "Chan ann à Alba a tha e, 's mar sin tha e a' dèanamh ciall a bhith leantainn an cànan às a tha e a' tighinn."
    40s, Fluent Learner, Gaelic Arts
  [*It's not from Scotland, so it make sense to follow the language that it comes from.*]

  P133: "Nas fhasa cuimhneachadh air."
    Under 18, Native, School Pupil

[*It's easier to remember.*]

P5: "Is ise beathach a tha beò ann an aon àite. 'S e ainm tùsanach a th' ann an 'kangaroo'. Carson a bhiodh sinn a' feuchainn ri ainm eile a thoirt air 'kangaroo' seach na th' aig na Àstrailianaich. […] Leanainnsa ris a' phrionnsabal carson a bhitheadh sinn a' feuchainn ri rudeigin ùr a chruthachadh."

  40s, Native, Community Group

[*It's an animal that lives in one place. Kangaroo is an indigenous name. Why would we try to give kangaroo a different name than the Australians. [...] I'd follow the principle why would we try to create something new.*]

Several participants expressed a liking for '*bocadair*' as it appeared to meet the transparency and aesthetic criteria. However, only one participant chose it as a recommended form, suggesting that it failed to meet necessity and ideology criteria.

P82: "Ann an sgrìobhadh cruthachail, 's e ceist aesthetic a th' ann gu ìre. Tha 'bocadair' car snog. 'S math dh'fhaodte gun cleachdainn sin 's an dùil bhon cho-theacs gum biodh daoine a' tuigsinn — nan robh rudeigin stèidhichte ann an Àstrailia."

  40s, Learner, H/F Education

[*In creative writing, it's a question of aesthetics to an extent. 'Bocadair' is quite nice. Maybe I'd use it and expect from the context that people would understand — if something was based in Australia.*]

P173: "Facal mar sin, [bocadair] tha blas, tha coltas ris an rud a tha am beothach a' dèanamh so tha e follaiseach gu bheil ceangal ann."

  P173: 40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*A word like that, it has a feel to it, it's like the thing the animal does so it's clear that there's a link.*]

P174: "Tha thu dìreach a' faicinn cuideigin a' dèanamh 'boing boing'! [...] Agus 's e blas nas, mas urrainn dhut a ràdh, nas Gàidhlige."

  30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*You can just see someone going 'boing, boing'! [...] And it has a more Gaelic-y feel, if you can say that.*]

In contrast to this, other participants thought that the connotations of *bocadaich*, 'bouncing' meant that the word would easily be confused with other bouncy things:

P161: "Bocadair – nach e gille beag a' cluiche le ball?"

  70s, Native, Community Group

[*Bouncy thing – is that not a small boy playing with a ball?*]

Pocanach-leumnach was created by the research team as no Gaelic term for 'kangaroo' had been sourced (*bocadair* was suggested by a participant in Workshop 3). It was created to test the participants' willingness to consider neologisms based on *pocanach*, 'marsupial' from *Am Faclair Beag*. It was rejected by nearly all participants. It apparently failed all the acceptability criteria necessity, ideology, aesthetics and transparency due to the unfamiliarity of *pocanach*:

> P176: "Pocanach-leumnach – uill tha sin dìreach ... amaideach."
> 50s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*Pocanach-leumnach – well that's just ... foolish.*]

> P158: "O 's beag orm am facal sin. O siud grànnda, nach e? Manufactured. Pocanach-leumnach."
> 60s, Native, Community Group
>
> [*Oh I hate that word. O that's ugly, isn't it? Manufactured. 'Pocanach-leumnach'.*]

Only one participant felt it had any positive aesthetics:

> P80: "Tha mise caran dèidheil air pocanach-leumnach!"
> 60s, Learner, H/F Education
>
> [*I'm quite keen on 'pocanach-leumnach'!*]

In this case, the responses illustrate the retro-vernacular ideology, justified by expressions of vernacular ideology and expressions of internationalism.

B2.1.3.2 Hippopotamus

Options presented: Hippo(potamus), *Each-aibhne, Each-uisge, Capall-abhainn*, (Irish: *dobhareach*), (Manx: *cabbyl awin*).

Also suggested by participants was: *Capall-aibhne.*

Most popular recommended form: *Each-aibhne.*

The main reasons given for choosing *each-aibhne* were:

- established in schools

- familiar to younger speakers.

> P33: "Tha 'each-aibhne' cumanta na làithean-sa. Agus ma tha e sna faclairean, rachainn le sin ma-thà."
> 40s, Fluent Learner, Gaelic Arts
>
> ['*Each-aibhne' is common these days. And if it's in the dictionaries, then I'd go with that.*]

> P50: "Ann an còmhradh 's dòcha gun canadh tu 'hippo' ach a-nise, bhon a thog sinn e, 's e each-aibhne a bhiodh ceart."

30s, Native, Education

[*In conversation, maybe you'd say 'hippo' but now, since it's been taken up, 'each-aibhne' would be correct.*]

Older speakers tended to prefer 'hippo', however, the implementation of *each-aibhne* in school books and children's book appears to have been widely accepted among those working with children. Despite the appeal of *each-aibhne*, 'hippo' or 'hippopotamus' was quite popular for similar reasons to those given for 'kangaroo'. Older speakers in particular preferred 'hippo' or 'hippopotamus':

P33: "'S fheàrr leam 'hippo'. […] a-rithist tha sinn uile a' tuigsinn 'hippo'. Chan eil e a' fuireach ann an Alba, tha an t-ainm a' tighinn bho eachdraidh Greugais, no litreachas Greugais, is tha mi smaoineachadh gur e facal iasad a th' ann co-dhiù agus mar sin chan eil dad ceàrr leis."

40s, Fluent Learner, Gaelic Arts

[*I prefer hippo. [..] again, we all understand hippo. It doesn't live in Scotland*]

The meaning of *each-uisge* as 'kelpie' was known to most participants over 30. It was rejected by all of them in favour of 'hippo' for this reason.

A minority of participants liked *capall-abhainn* but wished it to confirm to genitive usage as *capall-aibhne*.

B2.1.3.3. Beaver

Options presented: bìobhair, bìobhar, biobhair, dobhar-chù, cù odhar, leas-leathann, dobhran, (Irish: *béabhar*), (Manx: *dooarchoo*, *doourchoo*).

Most popular recommended form: *Bìobhar*.

Reasons given:

- Understandable (vernacular)

- Established in school usage.

The historical recording in dictionaries of other forms were considered irrelevant — a stronger retrophilic approach may have been possible here, however, none of the historical forms had a strong appeal. When the participants were offered a hypothetical scenario where they was strong evidence that Gaelic in the seventeenth century used a particular term, this was considered irrelevant by many:

P172: "Cha toireadh eachdraidh mar sin làmh an uachdair air, gu bheil rudeigin Gàidhealach ann mar tha le 'dobhar-chù' agus rudeigin a tha dol Gàidhealach le 'bìobhar'."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*A history like that wouldn't have the upper hand as there's a Gaelic name there with 'dobhar-chù' and something that's becoming Gaelic like 'bìobhar'.*]

P3: "Chan eil sinn beò anns an linn a tha siud. Ma tha siud [bìobhar] stèidhichte aig òigridh 's tha sinn a' feuchainn ri òigridh oideachadh … "

  30s, Fluent Learner, Community Group

[*We don't live in that era. If that [bìobhar] is established with younger people and we're trying to educate young people …*]

P175: [Bìobhar] "Chan eil an fheadhainn eile a' còrdadh rium idir. Chan eil iad soilleir gu leòr dhomh dè bhiodh ann."

  20s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I don't like the other ones at all. It's not clear enough to me what it would be.*]

Only a small number of participants were familiar with Scottish Natural Heritage's use of *dobhar-chù*.

B2.1.3.4 Amphibian

Options presented: amphibian, *dà-bheathach, dà-gnèitheach, muir-thìreach,* (Irish: *Amfaibiach*), (Manx: *Daa-veaghagh*).

Most popular recommended form: *muir-thìreach.*

The main reasons given for choosing *muir-thìreach* were comprehensibility (the transparency criterion) and pleasing aesthetics:

P174: "'S toil leamsa muir-thìreach. [...] Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil e gu math follaiseach dè tha e a' ciallachadh."

P173: "Tha e a' dèanamh ciall. Tha e nas Gàidhealach."

  P173: 40s, Native, Broadcasting

  P174: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*P174: I like 'muir-thìreach [...] I think it's quite clear what is means. P173: It makes sense. It's more Gaelic.*]

P38: "Muir-thìreach. Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil mi air a chluintinn, chan eil e cho annasach dhomh mar a tha cuid de na facail."

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*Muir-thìreach. I think I've heard it, it's not so strange to me as some of the words.*]

One high-school participant recognised *muir-thìreach*:

P141: "Chleachd mise sa bhun-sgoil e."

  Under 18, Native, School Pupil

[*I used it in primary school.*]

However, *muir-thìreach* did come in for some criticism, specifically on grounds of accuracy as amphibians are rarely salt-water inhabitants. This mattered strongly to two participants, however, many other participants did not think this relevant.

Despite being the earliest cited form presented to participants, *dà-gnèitheach* was rejected by all groups, generally on the justification that '*gnè*' can meaning 'sex' or 'gender' which meant that the word failed the transparency criterion and failed to be specific enough:

> P172: "Tha 'gnè' a' ciallachadh 'gender' gu math tric, so, bhiodh beagan de thrioblaid an sin."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*'Gnè' often means 'gender', so there'd be a bit of a problem with that.*]

B2.1.3.5 Chemotherapy

Options presented: chemotherapy, *ceimio-theiripe*, (Irish: *ceimiteiripe*).

Also suggested by participants was: *Leigheas chemo*.

Most popular recommended form: *Leigheas chemo.*

The option found in *Am Faclair Beag*, *ceimio-theiripe*, was rejected by all participants. It appeared to fail all four acceptability criteria:

> P136: "Chan urrainn dhut cuir Gàidhlig air."
>
> P141: "Tha e tuilleadh is complicated."
>
> P137: "Tha e duilich ri ràdh."
>
> P135: "Chan e really, chan eil e coltach ri Gàidhlig, mar a tha faclan eile."
>
> P135: Under 18, Native, School Pupil
>
> P136: Under 18, Native, School Pupil
>
> P137: Under 18, Native, School Pupil
>
> P141: Under 18, Native, School Pupil
>
> [*P136: You can't put that into Gaelic. P141: It's far too complicated. P137: It's difficult to say. P135: It's not really, it's not like Gaelic, like other words are.*]

Again, the reference to the Irish form was irrelevant, drawing no comment from participants:

> P77: "B' fheàrr leam 'leigheas chemo' a chleachdadh. Agus bhiodh e na bu nàdarraiche, ann an clas, na sin [ceimio-theiripe]. Fada fada na bu nàdarraiche."
>
> 40s, Native, Education
>
> [*I'd prefer to use 'chemo treatment'. And that would be more natural, in a class, than that [ceimio-theiripe]. Far far more natural.*]

It was in relation to this term that participants often raised scientific terms more generally, which for most, failed the necessity criterion:

> P174: "Chan eil mise a' smaoineachadh gum biodh e cudromach do Ghàidheil, anns an fharsaingeachd, rudan mar sin eadar-theangachadh."

30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I don't think that it's important to Gaels, generally, to translate things like that.*]

B2.1.3.6. Compound Interest

Options presented: *riadh fillte*, (Irish: *ús iolraithe*), (Manx: *yl-use*).

Most recommended form: *riadh fillte*.

This option was presented as a technical term as it was expected that many participants would be unfamiliar with the meaning of the English term. This proved to be the case, and often tested participants' assumptions about which topics Gaelic was suitable for.

'*Riadh*' was known to some participants in the over 40s age range, especially the Model Gaelic Speakers. For these participants, *'riadh fillte'* met the transparency criterion:

> P77: "Tha am fear sin furasta gu leòr a thuigsinn 's tha mi smaoineachadh – 's e dà fhacal a thèid gu nàdarra còmhla ri chèile a tha furasta a chur an lùib airgid."
>
> 40s, Native, Education
>
> [*That one is easy enough to understand and I think – they're two words that naturally go together and to easily associate with money.*]

Younger speakers were less likely to be familiar with *riadh*.

B2.1.3.7. USB Key

Options presented: *Iuchair USB*, (Irish: *méaróg USB, méaróg chuimhne*), (Irish: USB = *bus uilíoch srathach*).

Suggested by participants: *maide-cuimhne* (in workshop 1).

Most recommended form: *iuchair USB*.

Maide-cuimhne was suggested by some participants as being in use. However, for a significant group of participants, the semantic connotations of *maide* as 'a stick of wood' was too strong to allow transference to a non-wooden stick:

> P77: "Chan eil ciall sam bith sam bith aig a sin. [...] Tha ciall gu math sònraichte aig maide."
>
> 40s, Native, Education
>
> [*That doesn't make any sense. [...] 'Maide' has a special meaning.*]

> P139: "Tha mi a' tuigsinn carson ach cha chleachdainnsa siud. Dìreach fhàgail mar USB."
>
> Under 18, Native, School Pupil
>
> [*I understand why but I wouldn't use that. Just leave as USB.*]

The example of 'universal serial bus' in Irish Gaelic was generally derided and provoked laughter.

[RE: Universal Serial Bus] P139: "Taking things too far! [...] Airson, if I was to say to someone, can I borrow your blah blah blah bus, they wouldn't know what it was anyway so what's the point doing it in Gaelic!"

    Under 18, Native, School Pupil

B2.1.3.8. Fridge

Options presented: Frids, Fuaradair, Fionnaradair, (Irish: *cuisneoir*), (Manx: *coyr rioee*).

Most recommended form: *Fuaradair*.

Main reasons given:

- it is in use

- it is understandable.

Fuaradair met the transparency criteria to a large extent. While *frids* more closely aligns with the retro-vernacular ideology, for some involved with the schools sector (as teachers or parents for example), they were likely to defer to the school usage in this case.

    P141: "*Fuaradair, fuar*. A fridge is cold, it makes sense."

      Under 18, Native, School Pupil

    [*A 'colder', cold. [English]*]

B2.1.3.9. Referendum

Options presented: *Referendum, Reifreann, Barail-fhuasgladh, Sluagh-bhreith*, (Irish: *reifreann*), (Manx: *refrane*).

Most recommended form: *Referendum*.

Main reasons given:

- based on a Latin loan

- not commonly enough used to require a Gaelic term.

The alternative forms failed nearly all the acceptability criteria. The borrowing of *reifreann* from Irish and Manx had no appeal to any of the participants.

    P140: "Chan eil fhios aig duine dè th' ann."

      Under 18, Native, School Pupil

    [*Nobody knows what it is.*]

Sluagh-bhreith was selected by only one participant, the only participant for whom it appeared to meet the transparency criteria:

    P154: "Cha tuiginnsa idir dè tha siud [reifreann] gun fios a bhith agam. […] Sluagh-bhreith, tha e cho furasta a thuigsinn. Tha thu ga thuigsinn dìreach a' mhionaid a chì thu e."

50s, Native, Private Sector

[*I wouldn't understand what that was at all [reifreann] if I didn't already know it. [...] 'Sluagh-bhreith', it's so easy to understand. You understand as soon as you see it.*]

The same participant, who was generally neophilic, also commented on how frequency of use affected the chance of takeup:

P154: "Seall mar a tha referendum. Chan eil ann ach rud a tha tachairt an-dràsta 's a-rithist. […] Nan tigeadh fear de na faclan a tha sin a-mach is gun tèid a chleachdadh airson a' bhliadhna a tha ri thighinn, tha deagh theans gun glachadh daoine e."

50s, Native, Private Sector

[*Look at referendum. It's something that happens only now and again. [...] If one of those words came out and was used for the coming year, there's a good chance that people would catch onto it.*]

B2.1.3.10. Acronyms

As the acronym 'USB' was used in one of the examples, participants were also asked to comment on the use of acronyms in Gaelic. For participants, having Gaelic equivalents of existing acronyms was unnecessary and a potential source of confusion. In this sample, no participant argued for the Gaelic equivalents of acronyms. The use of English-based acronyms, even where a Gaelic title is used, has been normalised. Participant 66, a GME teacher, reported using Gaelic titles with English acronyms such as 'Dùthchannan Aonaichte' with UN and 'Aonadh Eòrpach' with EU.

P135: "Tha fhios aig a h-uile duine dè air a tha thu a-mach nuair a chanas tu BBC no rud sam bith mar sin."

Under 18, Native, School Pupil

[*Everyone knows what you're talking about if you say BBC or something like that.*]

B2.1.3.11. The importance of Gaelic spelling

When considering using 'kangaroo', 'hippo', etc, participants were asked to consider how or if it was important that loan words have a Gaelic spelling:

P175: "Dhomhsa, gu pearsanta, mar cuideigin a bhios a' sgrìobhadh sgripts, tha mi rudeigin OCD mu dheidhinn. 'S toil leam a bhith cleachdadh faclan Gàidhlig ma tha – Gaelicisation air faclan. So 's e 'cangarù' air an dòigh sin a chleachdainnsa, leis a' grave."

20s, Native, Broadcasting

[*For me personally, as someone writing scripts, I'm a bit OCD about it. I like to use Gaelic words if there's a – Gaelicisation of them. So, it's 'cangarù' that I'd use, with the grave.*]

For most participants, it was of some importance to have a Gaelic spelling. Sometimes participants could only express that it was aesthetically better:

P136: "Tha e a' coimhead nas fheàrr."

Under 18, Native, School Pupil

[*It looks better.*]

For other participants, the Gaelic spelling allowed the word to be, in a way, claimed from its English loan:

P138: [If not] "Cha bhi e coimhead diofar bhon Bheurla."

Under 18, Native, School Pupil

[*[If not,] It won't look different from English.*]

P154: "Ach mar a tha chemotherapy, chan fhaca mi chemotherapy ann an Gàidhlig riamh. Ach mar a tha telebhisean, tha fhios 'aam gur e facal Gàidhlig ann, tha mi ga fhaicinn sgrìobhte ann an Gàidhlig."

50s, Native, Private Sector

[*But with chemotherapy, I've never seen chemotherapy in Gaelic. But with television, I know it's a Gaelic word, I've seen it written in Gaelic.*]

One participant, P174, felt that Gaelic spelling led to a different pronunciation:

P174: "Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil thu ga ràdh ann an dòigh eadar-dhealaichte nuair a tha e sgrìobhte ann an Gàidhlig."

30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I think that you say it in a different way when it's written in Gaelic.*]

And P172's comment on spelling demonstrates how growing familiarity can change acceptability:

P172: "B' àbhaist dhomhsa a bhith ga fhaighinn rudeigin artificial, litreachadh Gàidhlig a chur air a h-uile càil, ach tha Gàidhlig air a dhol cho follaiseach air soidhnichean [...] Tha e air fàs cho nàdarrach a-nis nach eil e artificial tuilleadh."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I used to find it a bit artificial, giving everything a Gaelic spelling, but Gaelic has become so visible on signs. [...] It's become so natural now that's no longer artificial.*]

B2.1.3.12. Implementation

Although the dominant ideology is retro-vernacular, there was a significant subset of opinion that was happy to defer to the schools' usage.

P1: "Chanainnsa 'bìobhair' air sgàth 's gu bheil sin air a bhith ann airson bliadhaichean, tha fios aig na hòigridh mu dheidhinn. Sin an rud a tha sinn air a bhith cleachdadh. Tha mi a' smaointinn gum feum sinn dìreach a ràdh, thèid sinn leis. Ach ma chleachdas tu thesaurus chì thu gu bheil liosta eile ann."

30s, Learner, H/F Education

[*I'd say 'bìobhair' because that's been there for years, the young know about it. That's what we've been using. I think we have to just say, we'll go with it. But if you use a thesaurus you can see that there's another list.*]

P172: "Nam biodh fios agamsa gun robh 'bocadair' ann am faclair agus gun robh iad ga chleachdadh anns an sgoil, bhithinn na bu bhuailtich àite a thoirt dha. [...] gum biodh fhios aig cuid dhe na pàrantan, na seanmhairean a' cluinntinn an fhacail co-dhiù bhon chlann."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*If I knew that 'bocadair' was in the dictionary and that they used it in school, I'd be more likely to give it a place [...] that some of the parents would know it, the grandparents at least hearing the word from the children.*]

This shows a willingness to be on the same page, to choose one form and to actively take part in increasing the frequency, dissemination and reinforcement of terminology. As we will see in the next section on resources (B3), this leads to a desire for greater ease of access to agreed terms.

B2.1.3.13. Implementation in schools

From the conversations that took place in schools, particular difficulties with the implementation of new terminology were discussed.

As was discussed earlier, the subjects that are humanities or social science based have less difficulty adopting Gaelic terminology. It appears that one major difficulty with technical and scientific subjects is the volume of new vocabulary. Participant 73, a teacher, drew attention to the volume of new vocabulary children are expected to take on, even when they are doing the subject in English Medium:

P73: "Bha [X] ag ràdh rium an latha eile, tha barrachd aig a' chlann a dh'ionnsachadh ann am Biology na tha iad ag ionnsachadh ann am Fraingis. Tha vocabulary cho mòr ann am Biology. Agus a' chuid as motha de na facail sin chan eil iad fiù 's Beurla."

50s, Native, Education

[*[X] was saying to me the other day, the children have more to learn in Biology that they do in French. The vocabulary in Biology is so big. And most of those words aren't even English.*]

It is perhaps this, along with other breaking of the acceptability criteria that led to teachers reporting difficulties in using technical and scientific vocabulary.

P75: "Air mo shon-sa dheth, seo a' chiad bhliadhna agam sa sgoil seo. Fhuair mi clas [bha iad] a' cleachdadh leabhar Saidheans Gàidhlig. Bha a' chlann ag iarraidh orm gun a chleachdadh am-bliadhna. Cha bu chaomh leotha na facail a chaidh a dhèanamh an àirde. Bha iad a' smaointinn gun robh e a' dèanamh saidheans fada na bu duilghe."

P73: "Cha do chleachd mise ach mu dhà uair an-uiridh agus bha revolt agam!"

P73: 50s, Native, Education

P75: 50s, Native, Education

[*P75: For me, this is my first year in this school. I got a class [who had] been using a Gaelic Science book. The children asked me not to use it this year. They didn't like the words that had been made up. They thought that it made science far harder. P73: I only used it twice last year and I had a revolt!*]

P70: "Bha an aon rud ann an economics. Bha rud againn air nutrition agus bha e ro dhuilich dhaibh."

   20s, Native, Education

[*It was the same thing in economics. We had a thing on nutrition and it was too difficult for them.*]

P77: "Tha e na chnapstarra do luchd-teagaisg chan e a-mhàin do chloinn."

   40s, Native, Education

[*It's hinderance to teachers not just children*]

Schoolchildren themselves reported being happier using English for these subjects and would even choose English-medium over Gaelic-medium:

P141: "Tha mise mar, a' smaointinn air sin mar, health agus teicneòlas, bidh mi dìreach a' cleachdadh am facal Beurla."

   Under 18, Native, School Pupil

[*I'm like, thinking about that like, health and technology, I just use the English word.*]

P138: "I wouldn't choose a course like that [accountancy] in Gaelic. Obviously in Gaelic it's just harder to learn all those kind of words, I'd just do it in English. Plus, if it was like, for a school story, I'd probably just look it up, just for like an essay or something."

   Under 18, Native, School Pupil

Given the generally neophobic position, this is an area where caution should be shown in any further language development if teachers and schoolchildren are to be kept onside.

B2.1.3.14 Vocabulary is superficial

Participants were asked how important questions of vocabulary were to them. No participant thought that vocabulary was the priority issue for Gaelic. The individuals who fit the Model Gaelic Speaker mould were comfortable normalising lexical borrowings from English in speech:

P73: "Tha mi smaointinn mas e an cànan a tha thu a' bruidhinn – ma tha sin ann an aon chànan, anns a' Ghàidhlig, chan eil sin ach mar currants a' dol a-steach ann. Chan eil a' chèic – tha i fhathast Gàidhlig. Tha thu dìreach a' cur a-steach facail – tha e nas fhasa a bhith gan cleachdadh mar a tha iad."

   50s, Native, Education

[*I think if you're speaking the language – if that's in one language, in Gaelic, that*

[borrowings] is just like adding currants. The cake itself – it's still Gaelic. You're just putting in words – it's easier to use them as they are.]

P74: "Chì thu na facail mòr ùra annasach a siud nach cuala thu riamh agus nach dèan thu buntainneas neo ceangal sam bith riutha. Tha mise a' smaoineachadh gu bheil iad a' dèanamh barrachd mì-fheum uaireannan. A chionn, tha thu ag iarraidh tòrr an uairsin air sgoilearan."

  40s, Native, Education

[*You see these great big strange words that you've never heard and that you can't make any relevance or association with them. I think that sometimes they are unhelpful. Because, you're asking a lot of pupils.*]

P152: "Dhomhsa, tha na rudan sin [blas & gràmar] nas cudromaiche na briathrachas. Nan canadh tu 'Chunna mi kangaroo an-dè', tha sin cho Gàidhleach sa ghabhas, tha mi toilichte gu leòr le sin."

  50s, Learner, Community Group

[*For me, those things [pronunciation and grammar] are more important than vocabulary. If you said 'I saw a kangaroo yesterday', that's as Gaelic as can be, I'm happy enough with that.*]

That is not to say that there is not some concern about borrowing:

P172: "Tha e cudromach a bhith cruthachadh faclan ùra oir le tìde bidh an uiread de dh'fhaclan Beurla ann agus gum bi i na seòrsa de bhrochan eadar Gàidhlig is Beurla agus cuideachd, chan e gu bheil e a' dèanamh cus dragh do mhuinntir na Gàidhealtachd tro na bliadhnaichean ach do dhaoine a tha a' tighinn dhan chànain no dh'fhaodadh a cluinntinn air a' telly no air an rèidio is cho follaiseach sa tha a' Ghàidhlig an-diugh: ma tha cus faclan a tha gu follaiseach Beurla a' nochdadh ann, tha mi a' smaoineachadh gu bheil e a' toirt adhbhar magaidh do nàmhaidean a' chànain."

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*It's important to create new words as with time, there'll be so many English words it'll be a mixture of Gaelic and English and also, it's not that it's really bothered the people of the Highlands over the years, but for people who are coming to the language or who might hear it on the telly or on the radio how visible Gaelic is today: if there are too many words which are obviously English, I think that it gives enemies cause to ridicule the language.*]

Also, as we will see in the section on resources, there is demand for both terminology that better aligns with the acceptability criteria and better implementation of it.

B2.2. Grammar

B2.2.1 The comparative adjective

Participants were shown two sentences and asked if both of them were fine as Gaelic sentences:

1. *Bha an t-sìde nas fheàrr na bha dùil agam.*
   - 'The weather was such that it was better than I expected.'

2. *Bha an t-sìde na b' fheàrr na bha dùil agam.*
   - 'The weather is such that it is better than I expected.'

The purpose was to assess how conservative or progressive speakers were in their attitude to Gaelic grammar: how much they see grammatical change as acceptable 'natural' development or as a threat destabilising the language. Some participants were clear they didn't accept 'nas fheàrr' in a past context. The conservative attitude can be seen in this comment:

> P174: "Chan eil mi a' smaoineachadh gur e dìreach seach nach eil daoine ga chleachdadh, chan e adhbhar gu leòr an sin airson a bhith leigeil le daoine a bhith ga ràdh ceàrr. […] 'S e an rud mu dheidhinn ged-tà, càil bheil thu dol a sguir? A chionn, tha daoine ag ràdh rudan a tha tòrr tòrr nas 'ceàrra'. Agus ann an dà bhliadhna no trì bliadhna eile a bheil sinn dol a ràdh, och, sin a tha h-uile duine ag ràdh a-nis. Tha sin ceart gu leòr. Tha e gu math cunnartach a bhith ag ràdh, uill, seach gu bheil daoine ga chleachdadh, gabhaidh sinn ris gu bheil e ceart. 'Eil fhios agad."

> 30s, Native, Broadcasting

> [*I don't think that just because people don't use it, that's not a good enough reason to let people say it wrong. [...] The thing about it is, where are you going to stop? Because, people say things that are much much 'worser'. And in another two or three years are we going to say, och, that's what everyone says now. That's alright. It's very dangerous to say, well, as people use it, we'll accept that it's right. You know?*]

Older participants were more likely to report 'nas fheàrr' as being unacceptable:

> P153: "Chanainn gu bheil a' chiad fhear gu bheil e ceàrr – uill, cha chanainn mi fhìn sin idir – 'bha an t-sìde nas fheàrr'."

> 50s, Native, Private Sector

> [*I'd say that the first one, that's it's wrong – well, I wouldn't say it.*]

Others perceived 'nas fheàrr' to be widespread, and this gave it some legitimacy for them.

> P174: "S fheàrr leam an dàrna fear [b' fheàrr] ach thathar a' cleachdadh an dà chuid."

> 30s, Native, Broadcasting

> [*I prefer the second one [na b' fheàrr] but both of them are used*]

> P163: "Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil an dithis aca ceart. Ach bidh mi fhìn a'

cleachdadh an fhear, an dàrna fear."

70s, Native, Community Group

[*I think that they're both right. But I'd use the second one [na b' fheàrr].*]

Speakers who said they would use both or 'nas fheàrr' were mainly in their teens or twenties with only one speaker in the 40s saying they would use it. When asked which of these forms should be promoted in schools, official guidance, etc. opinion tended, on all sides, to be conservative:

P173: "Ma tha thu a' teagasg cànain, bu chòir dhut a bhith teagasg an rud ceart. Agus 's e an dàrna rud a th' ann [na b' fheàrr]."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*If you are teaching language, you should be teaching what's right. And that's the second one.*]

Perhaps due to the fear of discouraging younger speakers, some acceptability of 'nas fheàrr' was advocated by some:

P172: "Chanainn gum bu chòir dhaibh a bhith teagasg an dàrna fear [na b' fheàrr] ach a' gabhail ris, agus gun a bhith peanasachadh daoine airson a' chiad fhear [nas fheàrr] a chantainn."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I'd say that they should teach the second one [na b' fheàrr] but accept, and not punish people for saying the first one [nas fheàrr].*]

B2.2.2 Other Grammar Points

From this example, participants were encouraged to elaborate whether it made them think about other changes in the language that bothered them.

There was little discussion of calques as an annoyance. In one discussion where they were raised, the retro-vernacular ideology of 'my grandmother would say it' to give authority to the use of calques is clear:

P36: "Bha cuideigin a' gearain bho chionn goirid mu dheidhinn a bhith cleachdadh 'a' gabhail àite' airson coinneamh."

P35: "Chan eil sin a' dèanamh dragh sam bith dhomhsa."

P36: "Chan eil, no."

P35: "Innsidh mi dhut carson, bhiodh mo sheanmhair ga ràdh. Bha e againn sna choimhearsnachd."

P37: "Am biodh i ag ràdh 'a' tionndadh an àirde?'

P35: "Cha bhiodh, chan eil cuimhne agam, ach cha bhiodh trioblaid sam bith agam le sin a bharrachd. Tha a h-uile cànan ag atharrachadh. Agus tha, mar gum biodh, nuance an seo dè tha gu tur fuadain agus cò ris a ghabhas thu. Tha e gu math arbitrary. Ach chan eil trioblaid agamsa le rud mar sin."

P36: "Tuigidh an luchd-èisteachd."

P35: "Tuigidh, agus so what. *Taking place*, a' gabhail àite. Tha sin ann am bàrdachd – na nithean a tha a' gabhail àite. Chan e Beurla a tha sin ann. Daoine a thathas ag ràdh gur e Beurla a th' ann, tha iad dìreach a' sealltainn an cuid aineòlais."

P37: "Dh'fhaodadh tu ag ràdh gur e neart aig a' Ghàidhlig gu bheil barrachd is aon dòigh air rud a ràdh." [...]

P35: "Tha rudan mar sin, chan eil iad gu diofar really. 'S e an rud a tha gu diofar, 's e far a bheil an dòighlabhairt agus an syntax gu tur air seòl na Beurla. […] Rudan mar 'Tha mi a' dèanamh e.' Eisimpleir bitheanta."

P37: "'S e sin a chlàr Nancy Dorian air taobh sear Cataibh agus mar sin tha na luchd-acadaimigeach ag ràdh, uill, tha sin ceart a rèir an dualchainnt."

P35: "No."

P37: "Chan eil e ceart. 'S e dualchainnt crìonta a bha sin."

P35: "'S e. Tha e dìreach a' sealltainn mar a bha e crìonta."

  P35: 50s, Native, Broadcasting

  P36: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

  P37: 30s, Fluent Learner, Broadcasting

[*P36: Somebody was complaining a little while ago about using 'taking place' for a meeting. P35: That doesn't bother me at all. P36: [Agreeing] No. P35: I'll tell you why, my grandmother used to say it. It was in our community. P37: "Would she say 'turning up?' P35: No, I don't remember, but that wouldn't bother me either. All languages change. And there is a nuance, as it were, It's very arbitrary. But I don't have any problem with something like that. P36: The audience will understand. P35: They will, and so what. Taking place. That's in poetry – 'na nithean a tha a' gabhail àite.' That's not English. People who say it is English, they're just showing their ignorance. P37: You could say it's a strength of Gaelic that there's more than one way to say something. [...] P35: Things like that, they don't matter really. What does matter is where the expression and syntax are completely in the way of English [...] Things like [Tha mi a' dèanamh e] 'I am doing it'. A common example. P37: That's what Nancy Dorian recorded in East Sutherland and then the academics said, well, that's right according to dialect. P35: No P37: That's not right. That was a withered dialect. P35: It was. It just shows how withered it was.*]

Calqued expressions from English phrasal verbs fit, again, into the retro-vernacular ideology. They are not considered problematic by the majority if the example is considered part of the speech of the Model Gaelic Speaker. However, given people's concerns on using *Beurlachas*, guidance on alternatives to English calques could give individuals the chance to choose alternatives and preserve the expressions and idioms of the Model Gaelic Speaker.

Participants also commented on the breakdown of other grammatical forms that they believed to be correct:

P35: "Gràmar gu sònraichte. Tha seo fìor ann am foghlam agus craobh-sgaoileadh, agus tha mi cinnteach ann an roinntean eile, tha na daoine a tha an sàs ann, agus na daoine a tha ga riaghladh, fàiligeadh nan dleastanas leis gu bheil a-nise, dad sam

bith a tha air a ràdh ann an dòigh sam bith cha mhòr, air gabhail ris. Tha a' bhuaidh aige sin, chan e 's dòcha na daoine a tha a' dèanamh a' mhearachd an-diugh [...] ach 's e a' bhuaidh a tha iadsan dol a thoirt air na daoine a tha dèanamh a' mhearachd nas miosa buileach a-màireach. So, aig an aon àm 's a bhios barrachd dhaoine òga a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig, bidh iad a' bruidhinn mablais de rud nach gabh tuigsinn."

  50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*Especially grammar. That's true for education and broadcasting, and I'm sure in other sectors, the people involved in it, and the people who are managing it are failing in their duty as now, almost anything that is said in any way is accepted. That has an affect, maybe not on the people who make the mistake today [...] but the affect that they are going to have on the people who'll make a worse mistake tomorrow. So at the same time as more young people are speaking Gaelic, they'll speak a kind of gibberish that's incomprehensible.*]

Inconsistent use of masculine and feminine forms:

P62: "Tha grunn fhacail – 's urrainn dhaibh a bhith fireann no boireann. 'S tha sin ceart gu leòr cho fad 's gu bheil e fireann no boireann a th' ann, tron am pìos. Ach tha iad a' cleachadh an dhà san aon phìos gu math tric."

  20s, Native, Public Sector

[*There are some words – they can be masculine or feminine. And that's okay as long as it's either masculine or feminine, through the piece. But they use both in the same piece often.*]

P173: "An comhairle. An àite a' chomhairle."
RA: "Nuair nach eil daoine a' cleachdadh boireann is fireann mar bu chòir?"
P173: "Uhuh. Agus tòrr *genitives*. Chan eil iad fiù 's a' smaointinn mun deidhinn. Chan eil fhios 'am an deach genitives a theagasg dhaibh."

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*P173: 'An comhairle'. Instead of 'a' Chomhairle'. RA: When people don't use masculine and feminine as they should? P173: Uhuh. And lots of genitives. They don't even think about them. I don't know if genitives were taught to them.*]

B2.2.3 A Decline in use

P161: "Tha mi fhìn a' smaointinn nach eil sìon idir idir aig a' ghràmar le cumail a' Ghàidhlig a' dol. Mura bruidhnear Gàidhlig san taigh. Chan eil e sìon a dh'feum a bhith ga h-ionnsachadh do dhuine sam bith ann an oilthigh, no na sgoiltean, mura h-eilear ga bruidhinn a-staigh."

  70s, Native, Community Group

[*I don't think that grammar has anything to do with maintaining Gaelic at all. If Gaelic isn't spoken at home. there's no use teaching it to anybody at university or in the schools if it's not spoken at home.*]

P60: "Tha sinn a' fuireach ann an coimhearsnachd a tha, an ìre mhath, Gàidhlig fhathast. Agus 's e a bhith cumail – daoine bruidhinn Gàidhlig nàdarrach. Chan eil na seòrsa rudan a tha thu air a thogail ann an sin – chan eil e cho cudromach ri sin dhuinn. Chan eil e cudromach dhuinne ach gum bruidhinn daoine. […] Ged nach eil aca ach faclan Beurla, chan eil diofar leinne, cho fad 's a tha iad cofhurtail bruidhinn na Gàidhlig nàdarrach."

60s, Native, H/F Education

[*We live in a community that is still, to a large extent, Gaelic. And it's keeping people speaking natural Gaelic. Not the kind of things you've raised here – that's not so important to us. The only important thing to us is that people speak. [...] Even if they only have English words, that doesn't matter to us, as long as they are comfortable speaking natural Gaelic.*]

P152: "Tha an iomairt gu lèir airson Gàidhlig ath-bheothachadh *counterintuitive* ann an iomadach dòigh, so fhad 's a tha sibh ris, carson a tha sinn a' cur na h-uidhir de chuideam air – an cànan sgrìobhte an toiseach agus anns an cànan sgrìobhte air … faclan no briathrachas. Rud mar a tha mise ga fhaicinn, rud a tha cur daoine dheth, daoine aig a bheil a' Ghàidhlig no aig an robh a' Ghàidhlig […] tha iad a' call – tha dì-mhisneachd ann."

50s, Learner, Community Group

[*The whole initiative to revitalise Gaelic is counterintuitive in many ways, so while you're at it, why are we putting so much importance on the written language first and on the written language for ... words or vocabulary. As I see it, what puts people off, people who have or who had Gaelic [...] they're losing – there's discouragement.*]

B2.2.4 Register difference: *Cànan na sgoile* vs *Cànan sa choimhearsnachd*

When it came to vocabulary developments, discussion was raised by some participants of a perceived danger that two kinds of Gaelic might take different paths. This also came up in discussions of grammar. While some thought that register difference was normal between informal and formal usage, many more were concerned that a formal 'school Gaelic' would be developed while the informal 'community Gaelic' would be unsupported:

P77: "Tha eagal mòr ormsa a bhith a' dèanamh sgaradh eadar rud a chleachdadh tu gu nàdarra agus cànan an t-seòmair-teagaisg. A chionn, ma tha thu a' dèanamh sin, tha Gàidhlig an uair sin cha mhòr air a cur ann an ... "
P72: " ... Laideann. Bidh i marbh."

P72: 50s, Native, Education

P77: 40s, Native, Education

[*P77: I'm very worried about making a distinction between what you use naturally and the classroom language. Because, if you do that, it's almost like Gaelic is being put in an ...*

P72: ... Latin. It'll be dead.]

P172: "A thaobh craoladh, 's ann mu dheidhinn an rud a thuigsinn a tha e. Dhomhsa, tha mi mothachail air, gu sònraichte, daoine nas sine anns na h-Eileanan agus anns a' Ghàidhealtachd. Tha seòrsa de dh'fhaireachdainn aca gu bheil Gàidhlig aig a' BhBC, aig amannan, làn do dh'fhaclan ùra nach eil iad buileach a' tuigsinn."

  P172: 40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*With regards to broadcasting, understanding the thing is what it's about. For me, I'm aware of, particularly, older people in the Highlands and Islands. They have a kind of feeling that BBC Gaelic is, at times, full of new words that they don't quite understand.*]

P174: "Tha e math gu bheil sinne [BBC] a' cruthachadh facail ùra, tha mise a' smaoineachadh. Ach aig an aon àm, tha mi a' smaoineachadh gu bheil – tha rud eadar an dà rud. A bhith cruthachadh facail ùra ach aig an aon àm, feumaidh tu a bhith cinnteach gu bheil daoine ga do thuigsinn."

  30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*It's good that we [BBC] create new words, I think. But at the same time, I think that – there a point between the two points. Creating new words but at the same time, you have to be sure that people can understand you.*]

P172: "Ma tha thu a' sgrìobhadh, tha thu a' feuchainn ri *context* a thoirt seachad. Ach ma tha cus de dh'fhaclan ùra ann, tha thu a' cur às dhan rud a bha thu a' feuchainn ri dhèanamh. 'S ann ri conaltradh a tha sinn agus ag innse rudan."

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*If you are writing, you're trying to get across context. But if there's too many new words, you destroy the thing you were trying to do. We're about communication and telling things.*]

P152: "Tha mi a' tuigsinn carson a tha daoine airson faclan Gaidhealach mar gum biodh a chleachdadh nuair a tha iad ann an suidheachaidhean foirmeil. Gu h-àraid ma tha iad a' sgrìobhadh. Tha mi a' tuigsinn sin. Chan eil mi ag ràdh nach eil e ceart … diofar a dhèanamh eadar suidheachaidhean neofhoirmeil agus suidheachaidhean foirmeil. Ann an dòigh, tha siud ceart gu leòr ma tha sibh airson vocabulary ùr no vocabulary sònraichte a thoirt air ais no a thoirt a-staigh às ùr airson na suidheachaidhean sin. Ach aig an aon àm, tha sin a' tighinn aig prìs air thoradh … anns a' choimhearsnachd […] tha measgachadh a' dol ann fad an t-siubhail. Tha sinn air na faclan a tha sineach [*archaic & dictionary forms*] a chall, uill chan eil fhios 'am an robh iad againn riamh, agus aig an aon àm, tha h-uile duine a bhruidhneas Gàidhlig, tha Beurla aca cuideachd. Tha mi a' creid gur e ceist luachmhor a th' ann a bhith togail – ma tha facal againn mar-thà, a nì an gnothach ceart gu leòr, carson fo shealbh a tha sinn airson facal ùr a thoirt a-staigh. Tha e a'

togail cheistean doirbh a thaobh ... cà’ bheil sinn leis a’ Ghàidhlig agus dè tha sinn *actually* a’ feuchainn ri dhèanamh. Ach aig an aon àm, ma tha sinn airson na daoine aig a bheil an cànan gu nàdarra a chumail air bòrd mar gum biodh, tha cunnart ann gun cuireadh e dheth iad.”

50s, Learner, Community Group

[*I understand why people want to use Gaelic words, as it were, when they’re in a formal situation. Especially if they are writing. I understand that. I’m not saying that it’s not right ... to make a difference between informal and formal situations. In a way, it’s alright if you want to bring in new vocabulary or bring back special vocabulary or revive it for those situation. But at the same time, that comes at a price, in the community [...] there always mixing going on. We have lost those words [archaic, dictionary forms], well I don’t know if we ever had them, and at the same time, everyone who speaks Gaelic, they speak English too. I think it’s a valuable question to raise – if we have words already, that do the job okay, why on earth are we trying to bring in new words. It raises difficult questions about – where we are with Gaelic and what are we actually trying to do. But at the same time, if we want the people who know the language naturally to stay on board, there is a danger of putting them off.*]

Even this participant who tended to be neophilic and *Beurla*-phobic, still absorbs the message that her native Gaelic is determined to be ‘wrong’:

P164: “Tha caraid agam ann an Sabhal Mòr an-dràsta, agus tha i a’ bruidhinn, agus chan eil sìon a dh’fhios agamsa air na faclan a tha i cleachdadh uaireannan! [laughs] Ach ’s e dìreach airson – gu bheil iad ùr. Agus an dòigh aicese, tha e ceart a-nis. Ach an dòigh a tha mise ga bruidhinn, uaireannan, tha e ceàrr a-nis, ach bha e ceart nuair a bha mi sa sgoil! [laughs] uill bha mi smaointinn gun robh e ceart!”

20s, Native, Private Sector

[*I have a friend at Sabhal Mòr just now, and she talks, and I have no idea what the words are that she uses sometimes! [laughs] But it’s just because — they are new. And her way, it’s right now. But the way I speak, sometimes, it’s wrong now, but it was right when I was in school! [laughs] well I thought it was right!*]

B2.2.5 *Tanachadh na Gàidhlig*; ‘The Thining of Gaelic’

P172: “Tha sinn a’ call tòrr de na gnàthasan-cainnte nàdarrach. Tha a’ Ghàidhlig a tha a’ tighinn tron sgoil, tro fhoghlam, gu math tric chan fhaigh thu gnàthascainnte ann idir. ’S e rud sìmplidh sìmplidh a th’ ann. Chan eil a’ Ghàidhlig agamsa cho math ri sin. [...] ach cluinnidh mo chluas droch Ghàidhlig no Gàidhlig a tha dìreach mar brochan tana mar gum biodh.”

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*We are losing lots of the natural idioms. The Gaelic that comes through the schools, through education, often you don’t get idioms at all. It just a simple simple thing. My Gaelic is not that great [...] but my ear can hear bad Gaelic or Gaelic that’s just like thin porridge.*]

CR1203: Dlùth is Inneach

P147: "Mar a nì Tormod a' Bhocsair, nuair a nì e leabhraichean chloinne, cha bhiodh beachd agad nach b' ann anns a' Ghàidhlig a chaidh siud a dhèanamh. [...] Cò an fheadhainn òga a b' urrainn siud a dhèanamh? Farsaingeachd do ghnàthasancainnte. 'S e siud far a bheil an crìonadh sa chànan, chan ann anns a' ghràmar ann an dòigh."

40s, Native, H/F Education

[*Like Tormod a' Bhocsair does, when he does children's books, you wouldn't know that it wasn't in Gaelic to begin with. [...] Who are the young ones that could do that? A range of expressions. That's where the language is withering, not in grammar in a way.*]

B2.3. Conclusions

B2.3.1. There is a generation gap with regard to how confident people are in their Gaelic language abilities.

Older participants (e.g. those in their 50s and 60s) are typically Gaelic-dominant bilinguals, who acquired their Gaelic in the home in the pre-television era, and later learned English in primary school. These people have a high level of confidence in their command of the language. They often express concern when asked about organised Gaelic corpus development as they feel they have more to lose than to gain from the process: they do not want anyone telling them that their Gaelic is not the right Gaelic and that they need to learn what they fear would be an artificial, simplified, more easily learnable form of the language. Despite their seniority, they still see themselves mainly as passive targets of corpus development rather than as active contributors. Although older participants are often strongly aware that the Gaelic usage of younger speakers is inadequate in many ways, they are reluctant to correct them explicitly, lest they discourage them from using the language at all.

In contrast, younger participants (e.g. those in their 20s and 30s) are typically English-dominant bilinguals who grew up in an environment where English was more prevalent than before. These people generally have a lower level of confidence in their command of Gaelic, often expressed as 'I'd like to be more fluent than I am'. Younger participants generally feel more positive about the potential of Gaelic corpus development, since they are aware of the gaps in their knowledge of the vocabulary and grammar of the language, and can be frustrated by the fact that the older speakers, whom they regard as models of good usage, are unwilling or unavailable to help them improve.

This suggests that one of the fundamental, immediate priorities for Gaelic corpus development is to find some way of bridging the generation gap between older and younger speakers, so that the former can share their expertise with the latter.

B2.3.2. People feel strongly that the 'foundations' of the Gaelic language are being eroded.

An overriding concern for many participants is the loss of the grammatical and idiomatic structure of the language and its replacement by an English-based framework. Many participants perceive that the characteristic syntactic and semantic foundations of the traditional Gaelic they acquired as children are breaking down under the influence of English-dominant bilingualism and the lack of effective reinforcement of traditional Gaelic norms. This erosion is felt most strikingly at the levels of word order (e.g. *Am faod mi ithe seo?*, 'May I this eat? / Am faod mi seo ithe?*, 'May I eat this?'), choice of appropriate function words (*Càit a bheil thu bho?* 'Where are you from?'), basic lexical distinctions (e.g. *ìnean* 'fingernails', *tarragan* 'nails for doing woodwork'), and traditional Gaelic idiom, but less so with regard to the details of inflectional morphology (i.e. initial and final mutations) and long established English calques (e.g. *Rinn mi suas m' inntinn* 'I made up my mind').

Although the structure of the FCs was not designed to specifically address Gaelic-medium education, the topic was raised by some participants and inevitably underlined most of the discussions with education groups. There was concern at the ability of teachers to shoulder the burden of responsibility of preventing the erosion of traditional Gaelic. Staff and those involved in education expressed frustration at the limitations of resources and time to specifically address language development on top of the requirements of curriculum delivery. There is a fear that, should the Scottish Government and BnG be successful in increasing the quantity (i.e. number) of Gaelic speakers, this would come at the cost of undermining the quality of the language, leaving a reduced blend of Gaelic vocabulary and English grammar, of little social or cultural value to the community. This blend was variously dismissed by participants as *Beurlachas* 'English-y Gaelic', *Beurla tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig* 'English through the medium of Gaelic', etc.

B2.3.3. The creation of new Gaelic terminology to replace English in specialised domains is not seen as an immediate priority.

Although participants admit to being very concerned about the intrusion of English into the grammatical structure of the language, and the loss of basic lexical distinctions and traditional idioms, they are much less concerned about the use of English terminology in Gaelic speech and writing. In general, people appear to be significantly more neophobic than *Beurla*-phobic, in the sense that they are much less accepting of Gaelic neologisms, and more accepting of Anglicisms, than may have been expected. Even the minority of participants who most strongly espoused the principle that ideally there should be a 'Gaelic word for everything' felt just as keenly that Gaelic terminology development can go 'too far'. Common instances of 'going too far' are: highly specialised technical, managerial and academic vocabulary (e.g. *foto-co-chur* 'photosynthesis'); words of non-English origin (e.g. 'baguette', 'tsunami'); acronyms (*DNA – Dualchas Nàdair na h-Alba* 'SNH – Scottish Natural Heritage'); and proper names (e.g. 'Grand Prix').

When compared to the reinforcement of traditional Gaelic grammar and vocabulary, the development and popularisation of fine-grained terminology for specialised domains is not seen as an immediate priority. Indeed, it is often viewed as being actively detrimental and off-putting (somewhat surprisingly, even by broadcasters and science teachers). Participants place much more importance on the production of 'good, plain Gaelic' with appropriate use of familiar English terminology, in opposition to what is perceived to be an opaque, artificially intellectualised calque of formal English.

Participants are by no means hostile to all lexical innovation, and it is recognised that there may well be a place for deliberate vocabulary development when driven by reasonable demand as new concepts and objects gain currency in everyday language (e.g. *ath-chuairteachadh* 'recycling'). Such terminology should be ideologically sound (i.e. authentic sounding, and semantically transparent to older Gaelic speakers), and aesthetically attractive (i.e. not 'ugly'). However, beyond a small minority of participants, the overriding opinion is that large-scale, committee-driven terminology creation is not of primary importance for contemporary Gaelic

corpus planning, and that time and money would be better spent on strengthening the grammatical and structural foundations of the language, as mentioned above.

Therefore, the main priority for Gaelic corpus development over the next few years should be a focus on grammatical structures, traditional vocabulary and idioms, rather than a supply-side production of new terminology. For example, when it comes to producing Gaelic-medium teaching materials for high school science, teachers would seem to prefer an 'internationalist' approach, where the conventional Greek and Latin-derived terms are borrowed directly into Gaelic, at least until the speech community has itself agreed on acceptable alternatives. It may or may not be the case that this dominant ideology is the result of lack of confidence in the speech community, and it may or may not change in the future. However, this does indeed appear to be the dominant ideology at the moment, and hence needs to be taken into account by corpus developers, so that they can avoid doing what Fishman (1991: 348) calls 'language planning that hinders'.

B2.3.4. People want support for informal, vernacular, traditional language use, as well as for more formal, standard usage.

Whereas mainstream approaches to corpus planning typically focus on developing and elaborating the formal registers of a language, our participants were clear in their belief that an accepted (and acceptable generally to their needs) standard language and grammar already exist and that they do not wish to see major change in this respect. However, they are aware of a lack of appropriate guidance, gaps in provision and a lack of consistency and reinforcement of the relevant norms, and wish to have a greater understanding, access to, and confidence in, using the formal registers.

A less predictable outcome of the consultation was that many Gaelic speakers want access to advice and guidance about informal, vernacular and dialectal usage. This view was expressed by adult learners, by people who had gone through GME without Gaelic at home, and by younger native speakers who wished to enrich their language and develop idiomatic usage. There is a fear that informal, vernacular, traditional Gaelic is dying out, since it is not receiving enough reinforcement within families or communities to be viable in the long-term. Moreover, participants are concerned that deliberate Gaelic corpus development will only accelerate this process, by encouraging the overuse of puristic formal usages (e.g. *fuaradair* 'refrigerator'), to the neglect of non-puristic informal ones (e.g. *frids* 'fridge'). What people want is for 'good' Gaelic usage to be supported at both formal and informal levels, so that younger speakers can familiarise themselves with the many appropriate modes of speaking (including dialects), and do not end up using formal Gaelic in informal contexts.

This suggests that Gaelic corpus development should urgently prioritise the description and preservation of the traditional vernacular dialects and idioms in addition to (or maybe even in place of) codification of the formal standard language.

B2.3.5. The accepted model for 'good' Gaelic (at both formal and informal levels) is the popular language of those born in the 1940s and 1950s.

Participants confer linguistic authority (the model of 'best' Gaelic speakers) on fluent speakers belonging to the generations who were born before 1960 and are still alive. Both native speakers and learners largely see this generation as the source of authority and legitimacy on what is acceptable, natural and 'good' Gaelic. These 'model speakers' grew up during the last era when there were strong Gaelic-speaking communities in the Highlands and Islands, with three generations of Gaelic-dominant bilinguals all living together and interacting with each other through the medium of Gaelic, before the arrival of television.

In this respect, the dominant ideology among contemporary Gaelic speakers appears to be a form of 'retrophilia', defined in this case as an attachment to the traditional form of the language still in use by older (and some younger) speakers, and often manifested as grammatical and lexical neophobia (this ideology could also be called 'retro-vernacular', to distinguish it from attachment to the written Gaelic of previous centuries). Many younger speakers and learners expressed the desire for greater guidance on acquiring this kind of Gaelic, along with a distaste for 'dumbed down' Gaelic. There is little evidence of any popular desire for a 'retrophobic' standard, modelled on the evolving Gaelic usage of the younger generations.

We recognise that retrophilic language ideologies are always relative, and that back in the 1940s and 1950s many Gaelic speakers were bemoaning the loss of the traditional language of their grandparents' generation. We also appreciate that language change is often (though not always) a natural, language-internal process, involving gradual evolution rather than decay and deterioration. However, the dominant language ideology among contemporary Gaelic speakers appears to regard language change over the last two or three generations as having had socially and linguistically undesirable effects, which should be given due respect by those involved in active corpus development.

B2.3.6. Scottish Gaelic speakers are not particularly interested in their language's common heritage with Irish Gaelic.

Participants appear to be neither *Gaeilge*-philic nor *Gaeilge-phobic*, in the sense that they typically do not express any particular attachment or distaste towards borrowing vocabulary from Modern Irish, even when explicitly asked to consider the topic. The use of the Irish word *reifreann* to translate 'referendum' has little appeal as it is semantically opaque to Gaelic speakers. The example of 'USB key' with the Irish translation of 'Universal Serial Bus' as *bus uilíoch srathach* generated laughter for nearly all participants as a textbook example of 'going too far'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the small number of people who did express a preference for *Gaeilge*-philia were Irish learners of Scottish Gaelic.

B3. Corpus Resources

The second half of the FC Schema, concerning corpus resources for Gaelic, was completed in 22 of the 39 sessions. In the other sessions there was not enough time available.

The second half began with a short presentation of existing language resources and the different bodies and individuals involved in creating them. Participants were then asked to consider if there were any resources or services that they thought were lacking. Although participants were not explicitly asked to evaluate existing resources, they often brought up their thoughts and experiences regarding existing materials and services. We summarise the main points here as they capture the views of participants on the strengths and weaknesses in existing provision. A description of the desired resources is then given, and following that, the conclusion of the *Dlùth is Inneach* research team regarding Gaelic corpus resources.

B3.1. Existing Resources

B3.1.1. Dictionaries

The most common topic raised was the perceived weaknesses of existing dictionaries, which do not always satisfy users in terms of comprehensiveness or the level of context provided for the listed words. The following comments are all from participants using Gaelic in the workplace who found the lack of comprehensiveness a hindrance:

> P174: "Uaireannan, thèid thu gu gach faclair agus cha lorg thu an rud a tha thu ag iarraidh."
>
> 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*Sometimes, you can go to every dictionary and you don't find the thing you want.*]

> P60: "Tha mi dualtach a dhol gu *Teach Yourself* an toiseach. Thèid mi an uair sin gu – an *Stòr-dàta*. Thèid mi air-loidhne gu *Seotal* ach chan eil mòran suas air *Seotal*. Tha e *really frustrating*. Tha Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba a cheart cho *frustrating*, chan eil gu leòr air a dhol suas."
>
> 60s, Native, H/F Education

[*I tend to go to Teach Yourself first. I'll go to next to the Stòr-dàta. I'll go online to* An Seotal *but there isn't much up on* An Seotal. *It's really frustrating. Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland is just as frustrating, not enough has been put up.*]

> P171: "'S e rud math a th' anns an *Seotal* a chionn ... ma tha d' aire air dè tha na sgoiltean a' cleachdadh 's dòcha gun tèid thu dhan *Seotal* is gum bi thu ag iarraidh facal a lorg. Ach gu math tric cha bhi e ann. [...] 'S e dìreach gur e àite a th' ann far a bhiodh tu saoileachadh a lorg na rudan a tha na sgoiltean a' cleachdadh agus fios a bhith agad mar sin, anns a' bhad."
>
> 30s, Native, Public Sector

[An Seotal *is good because ... if you're paying attention to what the schools are using maybe you'll go to the* Seotal *to find a word. But often it's not there. [...] It's just that it's a place where you'd expect to find the things that the schools are using and to find that out straight away.*]

Concern was also expressed that existing dictionaries of Gaelic do not contain enough information to decide what is the best word to use in particular contexts. It was felt that a good dictionary should not only list words with their English equivalents, but should be more thorough in explaining distinctions relating to dialects, colloquial versus formal usage, and contemporary versus archaic usage. Colin Mark's dictionary (2003), was singled out for praise in this regard:

P177: "Aon rud a tha gu math duilich, nuair a tha thu a' coimhead anns na faclairean, 's dòcha chì thu còig diofar faclan airson aon rud agus chan eil fios agad dè am fear a chleachd mi, so 's dòcha gum bu chòir rudeigin mar 'ranking', seo am fear a tha cumanta ..."

20s, Fluent Learner, Broadcasting

[*One thing that's tricky, when you look in the dictionaries, maybe you'll see five different words for one thing and you don't know which one I used, so maybe there should be some kind of 'ranking', this is the most common one...*]

P61: "Tha am fear ud [Colin Mark], tha e glè math ma tha thu a' coimhead air faclan – mar a tha thu gan cleachdadh. Tha e a' toirt eisimpleirean gu math tric – dhan chontext."

60s, Native, Community Group

[*That one [Colin Mark], it's very good if you are looking up words – how you use them. It often gives examples – of the context*]

P171: "Tha Colin Mark gu math tric a' cur eisimpleirean a-steach."

30s, Native, Public Sector

[*Colin Mark often puts examples in.*]

Lack of context in dictionary entries can cause apparent difficulty for non-fluent speakers in determining semantic distinctions which can lead to mistakes, particularly where there is no distinction in English. In the following examples, 'nail' as in 'fingernail' should be 'ìnean', whereas 'nail' as in 'nail bomb' should be 'tairgean'; and 'feet' as in the body part should be 'casan', but 'feet' as in the unit of measurement should be 'troighean':

P64: "Bha fear ann bho chionn ... 'Sprèidh bom le ìnean ann', *nail bomb*."

P63: "Urgh."

P64: "An àite tairgean. Bomba sprèidheadh làn ìnean!"

[general laughter and groans]

RA to P64. "Is tusa an treas duine a thog an dearbh eisimpleir sin. An e rud a chuala

tu fhèin air a' rèidio beò no...?

P64: "Chuala mise e. Chuala mi e. Yeah."

P63: 40s, Learner, Public Sector

P64: 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*P64: There was one ... 'A bomb with fingernails exploded – nail bomb. P63: "Urgh." P64: "Instead of nails. An exploding bomb full of fingernails!" RA: "You're the third person that's mentioned that very example. Is this something you heard yourself live on the radio or ...? P64: "I heard it myself. I heard it myself. Yeah."*]

P63: "Còig casan. An àite bhith ag ràdh..."

P64: "Bha còig casan is còig troighean!"

[general laughter]

P63: "Chuala mi mu dheidhinn sin, aidh."

P63: 40s, Learner, Public Sector

P64: 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*P63: Five feet (foot = body part) instead of saying... P64: Five feet (body part) and five feet (measurement)! [general laughter] P63: I heard about that, aye.*]

Other comments were as follows:

P60: "Bha mise an sàs anns an *Stòr-dàta* bho thùs nuair a rinn iad feasibility study ann an 1985. Tha an *Stòr-dàta* gu math feumail, ach 's e an duilgheadas mu dheidhinn nach eil context air a thoirt air a' bhriathrachas. Sin as coireach gun tig daoine an àird le faclan mar ... [crìoch a dhìth]. Tha e freagarrach do dhaoine mar thus' [a P58], daoine a tha eòlach ..."

60s, Native, H/F Education

[*I was involved in the Stòrdata from the start when a feasibility study was done in 1985. The Stòrdata is very helpful, but the trouble about it is that the vocabulary isn't given any context. That's why people come out with words like ...[unfinished sentence]. It's suitable for people like yourself [to P58], people who know ...*]

Sometimes, what is offered in the dictionaries is not satisfactory and is rejected. This may be due to the lack of information which would give it legitimacy in the eyes of the speaker, i.e. its use by other groups such as schools or the BBC or attributed usage to Model Gaelic Speakers. In the following example, however, it seems to have failed the aesthetic criterion:

P174: "Bidh sinn an-còmhnaidh coimhead [sna faclairean]. Uaireannan, bidh sinn a' coimhead is bidh sinn ag ràdh rinn fhèin, o Dhia, tha am facal sin grod agus nì sinn rudeigin leinn fhèin."

30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*We always check [in dictionaries]. Sometimes, we look and we say to ourselves, God, that word's rotten and we'll make something ourselves.*]

B3.1.2. The Spread of Resources

The spread and varity of resources means that existing resources often do not have enough prominence for language users to know or to remember what exists:

P164: "Tha a h-uile sìon a siud gam chuideachadh ach cha robh fhios 'am gun robh iad ann."

  20s, Native, Private Sector

[*Everything there helps me, but I didn't know that they existed.*]

P87: "Tha mi an-còmhnaidh a' smaoineachadh gum biodh e math nan robh leithid ann mar *thesaurus*. Tha *Oxford English Dictionary* ann agus *Oxford Thesaurus*, agus tha sin feumail. Chanainnsa gum bitheadh anns a' Ghàidhlig cuideachd."

P86: "Tha fear ann."

  P86: 30s, Native, H/F Education

  P87: 40s, Learner, H/F Education

[*P87: I always think that it would be good if there was some kind of thesaurus. There is the Oxford English Dictionary and the Oxford Thesaurus, and that's useful. I'd say that it would be [useful] in Gaelic too. P86: There is one.*]

P84: "Tha mi feuchainn ri cumail suas ri na hatharraichean a th' ann. Aig amannan, bidh thu ag ràdh riut fhèin, A Thì Mhòir, cò mheud rud eile a tha dol a thighinn a-mach."

  50s, Native, H/F Education

[*I try to keep up with the changes that there are. At times, you say to yourself, for goodness' sake, how many other things are going to come out.*]

P171: "'S e an rud gum feum – seòrsa de eòlas a bhith agad [...] càite an tèid thu airson gach rud a lorg. Agus ma tha thu cleachdte a bhith ag obair air na goireasan sin air fad, bidh beachd glè mhath agad air càite an lorg thu comhairle airson siud no airson seo. Ach chan eil siud aig a h-uile duine."

  30s, Native, Public Sector

[*What would be useful – to kind of know ... where you can go to find everything. And if you're used to working with all these resources, you'll have a good idea of where you'll get advice on this and that. But not everybody has that.*]

P38: "[...] 's e cho sgapte 's a tha a h-uile càil. Tha an t-uabhas ann ma tha fios agad cà lorg thu e. Ach 's e dìreach fios a bhith agad càite a bheil e. Agus dè an rud a tha ceart [...] mar gum biodh 'authorised version'!"

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*[...] how spread out everything is. There's a lot there if you know where to find it. But you have know where it is. And which thing is right [...] the authorised version as it were!*]

A majority of participants, whether using the language in the workplace or not, agreed with the views expressed in the above examples that the spread of resources was a hindrance to dissemination and consolidation of corpus development. Only one participant, P80, welcomed the variety of resources as a strength.

> P80: "Tha mise caran maverick agus 's toil leam farsaingeachd a bhith ann. Agus tha mi, gu deimhinn, tha mi a' coimhead air gach àite is tha mi measail orra gu lèir. An uair sin, tha mi a' dèanamh co-dhùnadh mi fhèin."
>
>   60s, Learner, H/F Education
>
> [*I'm kind of maverick and I like there to be a variety. And I definitely look in each place and I like all of them. Then I make my own decision.*]

B3.1.3. Misunderstanding of existing initiatives & resources

There was a misconception among some participants that the aim of the *Faclair na Gàidhlig* historical dictionary project is to settle debates about Gaelic vocabulary and prescribe usage for contemporary speakers and writers of the language. While *Faclair na Gàidhlig* will undoubtedly prove to be a very useful resource for Gaelic corpus developers when it is completed in 20 or 30 years time, it does not aim to be an arbiter of modern usage. The role of the historical lexicographer is to describe how words have been used over the centuries, not to censor or pass judgement. Their work can, in turn, provide evidence for others on which to base recommendations, but those recommendations are not the aim of a comprehensive historical dictionary:

> P63: "Tha mi 'n dòchas gun tachair sin leis a' faclair ùr, tha iad ag obair air an-dràsta. Gum bi, 'eil fhios 'ad, *standard* ann."
>
>   40s, Learner, Public Sector
>
> [*I hope that'll happen with the new dictionary, that they're working on just now. That there'll be, you know, a standard.*]

Another misunderstanding related to terminology creation. Participant 64 was unaware that current Stòrlann practice is to involve consultants when drawing up terminology, but he imagines that this doesn't happen:

> P64: "A thaobh foghlam [...] bu chòir buidheann a bhith ann, 's mathaid airson nan cuspairean eadar-dhealaichte, a' coimhead riutha. Mas e fiù 's buidheann de thidsearan àrd-sgoil a bha an urra ri saidheans le cuideigin os an ceann, a' coinneachadh tric agus a' dèanamh cinnteach gun robh a h-uile duine a' cleachdadh an aon rud. Ach 's mathaid gun cuidich am Faclair [*Faclair na Gàidhlig*] le sin."
>
>   30s, Native, Public Sector
>
> [*For education [...] there should be a a group, maybe for the various subjects, looking at them. If it's even a group of highschool teachers responsible for science with somebody heading them up, meeting often and making sure that everyone is using the same thing. But maybe the Dictionary [Historical Dictionary Project] will help with that.*]

B3.1.4. Lack of availability and access to resources

Another issue with print resources, particularly, is their scarcity:

> P63: "Rud eile a bhiodh feumail – leabhar beag gràmair. Chan eil sin ann ann an àite sam bith. [...] Tha fhios 'am gu bheil Michel Byrne air fear a sgrìobhadh ach tha e a-mach à clò cho fad 's aithne dhomh."
>
> 40s, Learner, Public Sector

[*The other thing that would be useful – a little grammar book. That's not available anywhere. [...] I know Michel Byrne wrote one but as far as I know it's out of print*.]

> P35: "Tha tòrr dhen bhriathrachas seo, 's ann a-mhàin tro chraoladh a tha am mòrshluagh ga fhaighinn. Tha iad ga fhaighinn sna sgoiltean, gun teagamh, ach Joe Ordinary a-muigh an siud – tha còir aca a bhith ga fhaighinn. Tha còir aige a bhith a' tighinn thuca an clàr an aodainn."
>
> 50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*With a lot of this terminology, it's only through broadcasting that the general public get it. They get in schools, of course, but Joe Ordinary out there – they have a right to get it. It should be coming to them square in the face*.]

> P182: "Tha sinn a' dèanamh [prògram], agus cha robh sinn buileach cinnteach ciamar a bha sinn a' litreachadh na h-ainmean – na dùthchannan. Ach fhuair sinn a-mach – tha atlas ann a tha Stòrlann air fhoillseachadh so, bha sin glè mhath. Ach bha e doirbh dhuinn faighinn a-mach ciamar a bha sinn dol a dh'fhaighinn an leabhair. [...] Ach bha sin okay air sgàth gun robh e aig [*colleague*]. Ach uaireannan tha e doirbh fhaighinn, fiù 's na leabhraichean, chan e nach eil e air-loidhne, uaireannan tha e doirbh na leabhraichean fhaighinn."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*We were making [a program] and we weren't sure how we were going to spell the names of the countries. But we found out – Stòrlann had published an atlas, so that was great. But it was difficult for us to find out how we were going to get the book. [...] But that was okay because [colleague's name] had it. But sometimes it's hard to get, even books, not just that it's not online, sometimes it's hard to get the books*.]

B3.1.5. Other points regarding existing corpus resources

Comments on current grammatical and usage resource were rare; discussion of potential resources is provided in (section B3.3). Only one participant drew overt attention to the unreliability of earlier grammars:

> P53: "There was a lot of making things fit. And to fit in as well with the rules of Latin grammar."
>
> 60s, Native, Education

However, modern grammars often still draw on ideas of usage derived from these early works.

A minority of participants thought that existing provision is satisfactory:

> P169: "Tha mi smaointinn gu bheil gu leòr a-muigh a sin fhad 's a tha ùidh aig daoine ionnsachadh agus ionnsachadh ceart."
>
> 50s, Native, Education
>
> [*I think there's enough out there as long as people are interested in learning and learning properly.*]

B3.2. Missing Resources

Participants were then asked:

• Are there any resources or services that are missing?

• Are there other resources or services that would support you in your language use?

This was not always an easy question for participants as identifying weaknesses is not as easy as imagining the solution. As one participant put it:

> P87: "Tha e doirbh. Nuair a nochd *Am Faclair Beag* air-loidhne gu math luath bha mi a' cantail ris na nàbaidhean ann an seo, 'Dè rinn sinn mus tàinig seo?!' Gu math tric nuair a tha goireas ann – chan ann gus a bheil e ann gu bheil tuigse agad gun robh cruaidh fheum agad!"
>
> 40s, Learner, H/F Education

> [*It's tricky. When* Am Faclair Beag *appeared online, quite quickly I was saying to the neighbours here, 'what did we do before this came along?!' Quite often when there's a resource, it's only when it's there that you understand that you were in desperate need of it!"*]

B3.2.1. Online Reference Grammar

The most common response was to request more support on grammar questions. This came from native speakers who had not done much or any formal study of Gaelic, native speakers with high levels of education, and learners of all levels. Participants would request this resource in different ways. However, what they collectively describe is a modern, trustworthy reference grammar of the type commonly produced for other languages. (see more details in section B3.4).

> P63: "Rud eile a bhiodh feumail – leabhar beag gràmair. Chan eil sin ann ann an àite sam bith. [...] Chan eil càil ann a tha goireasach air *hardcopy* no air-loidhne. [...] Nam biodh *online version* ann bhiodh siud gu math feumail. 'Eil fhios 'ad nuair a tha thu a' dèanamh eadar-theangachadh no rudeigin, agus chan eil cuimhne agad buileach dè – dè th' ann a thaobh rudeigin."
>
> 40s, Learner, Public Sector

> [*Something else that would be helpful – a little grammar book. That doesn't exist. there's nothing useful in hardcopy or online. If there was an online version, that would be really helpful. You know, when you're doing translation or something, and you don't remember exactly what – what it is about something.*]

> P5: "Seòrsa de rudeigin a thaobh gràmar. Ciamar a tha mi a' litreachadh siud, uill, siud am facal, ok. Ach ciamar a tha mi a-nis a' cur sin anns a' double genitive. […] Nan robh dòigh ann airson daoine nach d'fhuair oideachadh no foghlam anns a' chànain ag ràdh 'Tha mi ag iarraidh a ràdh 'trì fichead caora 's a trì' ciamar a tha

sin ag obair?'"

   40s, Native, Community Group

[*Some kind of thing about grammar. How I spell something, well, that's the word, ok. But how do I put it in a double genitive. [...] If there was a way for people who didn't get study or education in the language saying 'I want to say 'three score and three sheep', how does that work?*]

P63: "Tha tòrr ann air-loidhne a thaobh briathrachas ach chan eil tòrr ann a thaobh gràmar."

   40s, Learner, Public Sector

[*there's a lot online about vocabulary but there isn't much about grammar.*]

P11: "If you've got a long series of genitives, adjectives, things like that. I'm learning about it but sometime you still back and go 'should it have an 'e' on the end?"

   30s, Learner, H/F Education

P86: "Mar fileantach, 's e an rud a tha ga mo chur droll, 's e gràmar. Dad sam bith a tha na chuideachadh a thaobh gràmair."

   30s, Native, H/F Education

[*As a fluent speaker, the thing that's awkward for me is grammar. Anything that helps with grammar.*]

P174: "Tha mise a' smaoineachadh nam biodh goireas air-loidhne a thaobh gràmar, chan e dìreach faclair. Can mar an leabhar aig Ruairidh MacIlleathain no Michel Byrne, ach chan eil am fear sin cho furasta do chuideigin a tha dìreach ag ionnsachadh. Tha an rud a tha na bhroinn math. Nam biodh rudeigin mar sin air-loidhne, chanainnsa gum biodh na daoine a tha air ùr-thòiseachadh againn nas buailtiche sin a chleachdadh airson an cuideachadh."

P172: "Seadh, rud a bhiodh air-loidhne, tha siud cudromach."

   P172: 40s, Native, Broadcasting

   P174: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I think if there was a resource online about grammar, not just a dictionary. Say like Ruairidh MacIlleathain's book or Michel Byrne, but that one isn't so easy for someone who is just learning. The stuff that's in it is good. If there was something like that online, I'd say that the people who have just started with us [in the workplace] would tend to use that for help.*]

P53: "I think we're saying that, yes, there should be a definitive grammar that everybody follows."

   60s, Native, Education

Teachers related this demand to the questions of a school grammar 'continuum':

> P184: [Tha na tidsearan ag iarraidh stiùireadh air] "cuine a tha eisimpleir do chànan a' tighinn a-staigh, dè an ìre aig a bheil e, dè bhiodh tu sùileachadh aig prìomh a dhà, primary 2, cuideigin a tha sia bliadhna a dh'aois, dè seòrsa ìre de Ghàidhlig, dè seòrsa leudachadh do chànan, dè seòrsa puingean do ghràmar a bu chòir a bhith tighinn a-staigh aig an ìre sin."
>
> 50s, Native, Education

> [*[The teachers want direction on] when a language feature comes in, what level is it, what would you expect at primary 2, somebody who's six years old, what kind of level of Gaelic, what kind of language development, what kind of grammar points should be coming in at that level.*]

B3.2.2. One Recognised Source of Information: A 'hub'

It was frequently commented that existing resources are ad hoc and *sgapte,* 'scattered'. For some users this meant they were unaware of them, while other users have to spend time consulting a range of different, often inconsistent, sources in order to try and find answers. This led to many recommending a 'one-stop-shop' for online Gaelic linguistic resources – a single website where people could go for authoritative, trustworthy, detailed advice on lexical and grammatical usage (maybe similar to or based on *LearnGaelic.net*, but geared towards the needs of fluent speakers as well as those that class themselves as learners). It was suggested, for example, that such a site could consolidate, in one place, the new vocabulary being proposed by the main Gaelic terminology providers (TELI, Akerbeltz, Stòrlann, Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba, the BBC), thus allowing for a greater degree of consistency. It could also save time for users and be widely promoted and recognised so that people would know what it is and where to find it.

In terms of corpus planning, this highlights the importance of clear and effective dissemination for language users:

> P164: "Tha a h-uile sìon a siud gam chuideachadh ach cha robh fhios 'am gun robh iad ann. 'S dòcha ma bha àiteigin ann mar 'Gàidhlig.com'. Ma bha thu airson coimhead airson – faclan, no a' coimhead airson – òrain Gàidhlig no – If there was a centre you could go to. A hub almost. And you can get everything like that, it's got links like Outer Hebrides website. You can get what to do, etc for Gaelic. That would be quite good I think."
>
> 20s, Native, Private Sector

> [*Everything there helps me but I didn't know that they existed. Perhaps if there was a 'Gàidhlig.com'. If you're looking for – words, or looking for – Gaelic songs or [switch to English]*]

> P3: "A h-uile rud a thoirt còmhla anns an aon àite."
>
> 30s, Fluent Learner, Community Group

> [*Everything brought together in the one place.*]

P2: "Tha mi a' cleachdadh an *thesaurus* an-dràsta 's a-rithist ach tha e doirbh cuimhneachadh gu bheil e ann. Tha mi a' smaointinn nan robh a h-uile càil còmhla agus furasta [ri lorg]"

   30s, Learner, H/F Education

[*I use the thesaurus now and again but it's difficult to remember that it's there. I think if everything was together and easy [to find].*]

P174: "Bhitheadh e sgoinneil nam b' urrainn dhuinn dìreach a dhol gu aon rud. Sin a bhiodh aig na sgoiltean, sin a bhiodh aig [a h-uile duine]"

   30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*It would be great if we could just go to the one thing. That the school would have it, that [everyone] would have it.*]

P38: "Tha mi smaoineachadh gu bheil cus ann a tha ro sgapte agus gum biodh e tòrr na b' fheàrr rudan, goireasan a bhith soilleir agus ann an aon àite. Na goireasan a tha air an cleachdadh aig an àmsa ann an sgoiltean no ann an craoladh. [...] Tha an t-uabhas ann eadar Stòrlann agus – a h-uile buidheann eile a' dèanamh obair mìorbhaileach, adhartach ach a bheil fhios aig a h-uile duine càite am faigh iad e."

   40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I think that there's too much that is too spread out and that it would be much better if things, resources, were clear and in one place. The resources that are used currently in schools or in broadcasting [...] there's so much between Stòrlann and all the other groups doing great, advanced work but does everyone know where to find it.*]

P84: "Thàinig rud a-mach – an-uiridh? Bho Pàrlamaid na h-Alba, is thàinig rud a-mach an-uiridh, chan eil fhios 'am dè rud eile a bh' ann, *Faclair Rianachd* ... is tha thu ag ràdh riut fhèin, uill, carson nach urrainn do chuideigin dìreach aonan – aon rud a bhith ann a tha a' dèanamh a h-uile rud. Seach iomadach rud air a sgrìobhadh le iomadach duine bho iomadach ceàrnaidh le diofar bheachdan."

   50s, Native, H/F Education

[*Something came out – last year? From the Scottish Parliament, and something came out last year, I don't know what other thing it was,* Administrative Dictionary *– and you say to yourself, well, why can't somebody, just one – one thing be there that does everything. Instead of various things written by various people from various places with different opinions.*]

B3.2.3. Online Guide to Idioms and Expressions

Some people drew particular attention to idioms and traditional expressions; both learners who wanted to acquire natural-sounding expressions and fluent speakers hoping that it would encourage and support the retention and transmission of common sayings:

P11: "Something that I – in the website that I use, faclair.info, they have stock phrases. Being very much a learner, I'd like to know how – There are obvious phrases when you can translate word for word but no-one would ever speak like that. Dwelly is full of them but I don't know think anyone speaks like that anymore – it's a 100 years old. […] Idioms and expressions that are used now. […] More of that is always useful."

   30s, Learner, H/F Education

P9: "I would like to see more information on Gaelic proverbs and that sort of thing […] there's a lot of old words there and if they're not going to be used we're going to lose them. There are areas on Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's website and one or two publications, but you know, they're not widely known, […] maybe more detail on that should be placed online."

   40s, Native, Public Sector

P142: "Sin an rud as cudromaiche dhomhsa an-dràsta, gum bi mi ag ràdh rudan – chan eil mi dìreach airson Beurlachas a chur – bidh e stèidhichte air gràmar, abairtean Beurla. Dìreach eadar-theangachadh clunky."

   40s, Native, Administration

[*That's the most important thing for me at the moment, that I say things I don't just want to use 'Beurlachas' [English-y Gaelic]. Just clunky translations.*]

P85: "Chanainn fhìn gum biodh e math airson luchd-ionnsachaidh. Airson 's gum faigheadh iad a-mach dè chanadh tu san àite seo, no dè tha ceart a ràdh, no dè tha nas fheàrr a bhith ag ràdh."

   40s, Other, Administration

[*I'd say it'd be good for learners. So they could find out what you'd say in this situation, or what's right to say, or what's a better way to say it.*]

B3.2.4. Updating of Orthographic Conventions

Some participants requested that further progress be made with standardisation of Gaelic spelling. This was particularly needed for consistency of new terminology and the spelling of loan words.

P53: "Tha feum air a dhol beagan nas fhaide air GOC. [...] ciamar a tha sinn dol a litreachadh faclan iasaid, gum biodh aona stiùir air. Airson – chì thu faclan iasaid uaireannan air an litreachadh ann an trì no ceithir dòighean eadar-dhealaichte."

   60s, Native, Education

[*there's a need to go a bit further with GOC. [...] how we're going to spell loan words to have one piece of advice because, you see loan words sometimes [spelt] in three or four different ways.*]

B3.2.5. Better Lexical Guidance Online

A desire was expressed for more comprehensive guidelines on appropriate use of Gaelic vocabulary:

> P87: "Tha mi den bheachd gum biodh leithid na tha thu ag ràdh ann an siud far a bheil caochladh de – mìneachaidhean ann, agus ag innse dhuibh cò am fear a tha foirmeil, cò am fear a tha anns na Hearadh. [...] Gu h-àraid nuair a tha luchd-ionnsachaidh a' tighinn gu fileantachd 's tha iad ag obair aig ìre nas domhainne 's dòcha, gum biodh siud gu math feumail. Nuair a thig e gu sgrìobhadh aistean, tha iad ag obair air rud foirmeil, can, b' urrainn dhaibh taghadh a dhèanamh. Rud sam bith a tha a' toirt barrachd taghadh do dhaoine."
>
> 40s, Learner, H/F Education

[*I think that the thing you're saying there where there would be a variety of explanations, telling you which one is formal, which one is used in Harris, [...] Especially when learners are approaching fluency and they're working at a deeper level, that might be really useful. When it comes to writing essays, when they're working on something formal, say, they could make a choice. Anything that gives more choice to people.*]

The design of access should be as user-friendly as possible in order to have effective dissemination value:

> P88: "Tha mi smaointinn taobh a-staigh sin cuideachd, gum feumadh na prògraman fhèin a bhith nas fhurasta a chleachdadh. Nam cheann, tha mise a' smaointinn – tha thu a' cur am facal a-staigh, tha thu a' cur 'plane' a-staigh agus tha an dà rud a' tighinn [plèan & itealan]. Agus gum b' urrainn dhut a dhèanamh 'hover' is gu bheil thu a' faicinn gu math luath am mìneachadh eadar na dhà rud. Ma tha agad ri 'click', tuilleadh 's a chòrr *clicks*, chan eil duine a' dol ga dhèanamh."
>
> 40s, Native, H/F Education

[*I think too, that the software itself should be easier to use. In my mind, I think you put in a word, you put 'plane' in and both forms appear [plèan & itealan]. And you could hover and see quickly the explanation of the two things. If you have to click, too many clicks, nobody's going to do it.*]

B3.2.6. Issues of Consistency

Although participants are, in general, wary of neologisms, they understand the need for new coinages to be made in particular circumstances, where there is reasonable demand. In such cases, professional users (e.g. broadcasters, translators, teachers) have a clear preference for there to be a single agreed Gaelic term rather than a range of competing synonyms created by different organisations. For example, the exercise discussing 'amphibian' (alternatives, *dà-bheathach*, *muir-thìreach*) led to discussion that differing forms would cause confusion and would lead to neither term being effectively disseminated or reinforced with the English term remaining in popular usage. (Note that attitudes to neologisms differ markedly in this respect

compared to already established vocabulary, where people are happy dealing with a wider range of stylistic variants):

P64: "Tha an uiread de dhiofar dhaoine ag obair air diofar facail ùra. Agus tha e a' cur a h-uile duine tuathal. Bu chòir *consistency* leantainneach air choireigin a bhith airson na facail – ma tha dol a chleachdadh facail ùra bu chòir an aon fhacal a bhith ann dha na h-uile duine, 's chan e. Taghadh!"

  30s, Native, Public Sector

[*There are so many different people working on various new words. And it leaves everyone bewildered. There should be some kind of lasting consistency for the words – if you're going to use new words, everyone should have the same work, and they don't. Choose!*]

P60: "'S e an duilgheadas as motha a th' againn, an-diugh – seall an-dràsta, Dwelly. Tha seann litreachadh ann, chan eil e a rèir GOC. 'S e GOC a tha sna sgoiltean. Ma thèid thu dhan *Fhaclair Beag*, tha an t-uamhas mhearachdan ann. [...] GOC ann no às, 's e an rud a tha a' chlann a' dèanamh anns na sgoiltean a tha cudromach. Mura h-eil daoine a' leantainn na riaghailtean litreachaidh a tha anns na sgoiltean, cha bu chòir dhaibh a bhith an sàs ann an cùisean Gàidhlig."

  60s, Native, H/F Education

[*That's the biggest problem we have today – look at Dwelly's. It has old spelling, it doesn't follow GOC. It's GOC that's in the schools. If you go to the* Faclair Beag, *there's a lot of mistakes. With or without GOC, what the children do in school is what's important. If someone isn't following the spelling rules that are in the schools, they shouldn't be involved in Gaelic*.]

P184: "A thaobh 's gu bheil sinn gann de ghoireasan, mar as motha a th' ann, 's ann as fheàrr. Ach a' tilleadh air ais, ma tha iad gu tur eadar-dhealaichte ged-tà, tha sin a' dèanamh trioblaid ma tha thu feuchainn ri bhith leantainneach anns a' Ghàidhlig agad."

  50s, Native, Education

[*As we're lacking resources the more's the better. But coming back to that, if they're completely different, that causes trouble if you're trying to be consistent in your Gaelic*]

B3.3. Conclusions

B3.3.1. People feel that existing provision of Gaelic linguistic resources is fragmented and lacks coordination.

Participants reported on a wide range of existing linguistic resources that they turn to when they have questions about vocabulary and grammatical usage. However, it was frequently commented that these resources are ad hoc and *sgapte,* 'scattered'. For some users this meant they were unaware of them, while other users have to spend time consulting a range of different, often inconsistent, sources in order to try and find answers. This is a serious problem for Gaelic development, because people who work in timepressured work environments such as teaching, broadcasting and translating, do not have the luxury of spending time finding out what usages other people are applying and promoting. This increases the burden on each individual and their agencies, and is neither an efficient use of their time nor a means for sharing and developing best practice.

A clear desire was expressed for a 'one-stop-shop' for online Gaelic linguistic resources a single website where people could go for fast, authoritative, trustworthy, detailed advice on advanced lexical and grammatical usage. It was suggested, for example, that such a site could consolidate, in one place, the new vocabulary being proposed by the main Gaelic terminology providers, thus allowing for a greater degree of consistency. It could also save time for users and be widely promoted and recognised so that people would know what it is and where to find it.

B3.3.2. People want guidance on detailed aspects of grammatical usage.

Even the most confident Gaelic speakers among our participants admit to being unsure about many of the more fine-grained aspects of formal written usage of the language, especially with regard to things like lenition and word-final slenderisation. Less confident users often expressed a desire for clear, accessible, unambiguous guidance on what is right and what is wrong (and in this context they mean what is acceptable or unacceptable to the 'Model Gaelic Speaker'), along with clear explanations as to why certain usages are ungrammatical. A minority of participants had family members or colleagues that they could turn to for this guidance, but many participants did not have this advantage and were unclear about where to go to find this kind of information.

We interpret this as demand for a comprehensive, up-to-date, online, reference grammar based on the usage of the Model Gaelic Speaker, and this constitutes one of our central recommendations to BnG The drafting of a reference grammar should occur within the kind of inclusive, democratic corpus planning framework discussed in the next chapter (B4), and should take into account the needs and interests of traditional Gaelic speakers, Gaelic academics, and Gaelic status planning agencies. Particularly important among the latter are the needs of Gaelic-medium Education, in particular its ongoing 'schools continuum' initiative,

which needs to involve teachers, education experts, linguists and corpus planners working together.

B3.3.3. People want explicit guidance on how to avoid *Beurlachas*.

A priority for some of the younger, less confident Gaelic speakers (sometimes native, sometime learner) is learning how to speak what they consider to be more authentic, natural, and informal Gaelic, avoiding some of the more obvious examples of *Beurlachas*, 'English-y Gaelic' or *Beurla tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig,* 'English through the medium of Gaelic'. It was suggested that a particularly useful resource would be a guide to good Gaelic stylistic usage, including a list of commonly perceived 'bad' usages, along with suggested, more authentic alternatives..

B3.3.4. People want more informative dictionaries.

Concern was expressed that existing dictionaries of Gaelic do not contain enough information to decide what is the right word to use in particular contexts. It was felt that a good dictionary should not just list words with their English equivalents, but should be much more systematic in explaining distinctions relating to shades of meaning, context, dialects, colloquial versus formal usage, and contemporary versus archaic usage. For example, a learner expressed their desire to know the 'normal' word, i.e. not formal, archaic or atypical but the straightforward vernacular term. There is also an apparent difficulty for learners and younger native speakers in determining semantic distinctions which can lead to mistakes such as using *casan* as the measurement for 'feet in length' rather than *troighean*.

B3.3.5. There is demand for greater consistency in new Gaelic terminology.

Although participants are, in general, wary of neologisms, they understand the need for new coinages to be made in particular circumstances, where there is reasonable demand. In such cases, professional users (e.g. broadcasters, translators, teachers) have a clear preference for there to be a single agreed Gaelic term rather than a range of competing synonyms created by different organisations. For example, the exercise discussing 'amphibian' led to discussion that differing forms would cause confusion and would lead to neither term being effectively disseminated or reinforced leading to the English term remaining in popular usage. (Note that attitudes to neologisms differ markedly in this respect compared to already established vocabulary, where people are happy dealing with a wider range of stylistic variants.)

B3.3.6. With respect to Gaelic corpus resources, there is a gap between assumption and reality.

When talking to many older, highly fluent and confident Gaelic speakers, it is clear that there is to a certain extent a mismatch between the corpus resources that they assume exist to support younger less confident speakers become fluent, and the resources that actually do exist. Older fluent speakers have a strong sense that there already is a well-understood, accepted, supra-

dialectal formal register of Gaelic. If younger speakers want to familiarise themselves with this kind of Gaelic, it was suggested that all they have to do is consult the authoritative grammar books, dictionaries and textbooks of the language, and these resources will answer all the questions that they have.

However, these kinds of authoritative language resource do not exist for Scottish Gaelic. There is no comprehensive, descriptive or prescriptive grammar of the modern language that adequately covers the needs of advanced users and teachers. Existing grammatical resources are either too restricted in scope (being essentially textbooks for learning the language), or too old-fashioned in style and content to be accessible to modern speakers. The only place that traditional Gaelic grammar exists at the moment is inside the heads of the older traditional Gaelic speakers themselves. It has never been fully codified, in the sense of being described and written down in a grammar book, in any kind of clear, consistent, detailed format. This is not to disparage the work of earlier grammarians, such as George Calder, who worked with the best methodologies available at their time. At the same time, in the twenty-first-century there are now methological advances and technological advantages in communication and large-scale analysis that can aid more accurate description and a deeper understanding.[14]

Related to this point is the common misconception among participants that the aim of the *Faclair na Gàidhlig* historical dictionary project is to settle debates about Gaelic vocabulary and prescribe usage for contemporary speakers and writers of the language. While *Faclair na Gàidhlig* will undoubtedly prove to be a very useful resource for Gaelic corpus developers when it is completed in 20 or 30 years time, it does not aim to be an arbiter of modern usage.

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14 As noted in A1.4.1. a major factor in the failure of standardisation to help revitalise Chukchi was that was based on an inaccurate description.

B4. Institutional Framework

B4.1. General Comments about Language Use

While the FC method involved asking specific questions, it also stimulated wider discussion. This was encouraged as it opened up the participants' awareness about the social and linguistic environment in which corpus planning takes place. We include here the main salient points raised by participants, beginning with the most common.

B4.1.1. Concerns about Quality

A concern with quality and levels of ability in Gaelic was often raised. Various expressions were used to expression dissatisfaction with the perceived direction of language change:

- *Beurlachas* (Gaelic heavily influenced by English)

- *Beurla tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig* (English through the medium of Gaelic)

- '*Gàidhlig*-ish'

As noted in the ideology section (B2.1.1.), this did not apply across the board to English loan words, or even calqued expressions (e.g. *a' gabhail àite* 'taking place'), but at a grammatical and structural level. At a vocabulary level, however, concern was shown where misuse of a word demonstrated a lack of fluency or ability. (e.g. see section B.3.1.1. for confusion between 'nail' and 'fingernail'.)

B4.1.2. Social Concerns

Participants were asked where they go when they have a question or want advice. From these discussions, it became clear that peer-to-peer support from family, friends and colleagues is often not effective. There is a hesitancy to peercorrect that leads to difficulties on both sides. Several participants, both learners and native speakers, felt that they would like to have more guidance and 'correction' but found colleagues and friends unwilling to fill that role. A few participants had close family members they could approach. Some participants reported being asked by others to 'correct' or help improve their language, but felt socially uncomfortable doing so:

> RA: "Am bi cuid dhe na tidsearan ag ràdh 'tha mi deònach ma tha sibh airson stiùireadh a thoirt dhomh?'"
>
> P169: "Ach bidh mise a' faireachdainn – 's e iadsan a th' air còig bliadhna a dhèanamh ann an – ag ionnsachadh."
>
>   50s, Native, Education
>
> [*RA: Do some of the teachers say 'I'm happy for you to give me advice? P169: But I feel they're the ones that have done five years' learning.*]

Relying on peer-to-peer support can lead to socially awkward interaction. Those who ask for 'correction' either don't get it or get conflicting responses. Those who are asked to 'correct' or provide guidance can feel uncomfortable because they don't know how to do so without being discouraging.

An objective, trustworthy authority could depersonalise advice and give people confidence in their language use, particularly in written skills.

B4.1.3. Positives

Individual language practitioners have a certain amount of freedom. Within certain institutions (e.g. the BBC, primary and secondary education), there are expectations of what is acceptable or recommended, but a large number of practitioners can make decisions themselves about what is appropriate regarding terminology, formal writing, dialectal variation, etc. in relation to their work. This flexibility is appreciated by many.

B4.1.4. Confusion

This difficulty was usually related to new, technical vocabulary. In these fields dialectal forms are not established and so variation is not accepted. The desire for consistent use of newly developed vocabulary was strongly expressed:

P64: "Anns an obair agamsa, bho àm gu àm, feumaidh mi eadar-theangachadh – thàinig aon de na tidsearan saidheans thugam a thaobh aonad a bha iad a' dèanamh a thaobh dealain. Agus thòisich mi air. Agus an uair sin chunna mi gun robh leabhar saidheans aig Stòrlann so thug mi sùil air sin agus bha mi ga chleachdadh. Agus an uair sin chaidh mi gu *An Seotal* agus bha diofar facail aig an *Seotal* bho Stòrlann, 's chaidh mi gu leabhar Stòrlann agus air aon duilleag bha iad a' cleachdadh, as bith dè bh' ann, 'volt meter' agus an ath dhuilleag bha iad a' cleachdadh rud eile. So taobh a-staigh dà dhuilleag de leabhar saidheans Stòrlann bha dà fhacal aca airson an aon rud! Ciamar a tha leanabh no tidsear dol a dhèanamh ciall – Agus an uair sin, chaidh mi air ais gu [sgoil] leis an eadar-theangachadh a bha mi air a dhèanamh, agus thuirt na tidsearan ann an sin 'O cha chleachdainnsa sin idir! Atharraich e."

 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*In my work, from time to time, I have to do translation ... one of the science teachers came to me about an unit they were doing about electricity. And I started. But then, I saw that Stòrlann had a science book so I took a look at that and I was using that. But then, I went to* An Seotal *and* Seotal *had different words from Stòrlann, and I went to the Stòrlann book and on one page they used, whatever it was 'volt meter' and on the next page they used something else. So within two pages of a science book there were two words for the same thing! How is a kid or a teacher going to make sense ... and then I went back to [the school] with the translation I had done, and the teachers there said 'Oh I'd never use that! Change it.']*

B4.2. Linguistic Authority

Participants were asked two questions related to linguistic authority:

- Which people would they take advice from? (i.e. the people who know which Gaelic is 'good' Gaelic)

- Which kind of Gaelic should serve as a model for younger speakers and learners?

The question was originally asked to investigate how conservative or progressive participants were in their attitude to grammatical change. However, in the discussions that followed, participants described qualities to describe the people who, for them, are authorities on the language. As we will see later, these categorisations were vital to participants when discussing the makeup of a potential language body.

From the discussions, there are two kinds of groups that participants considered to have linguistic authority:

- Those speakers who are considered model speakers for learners and children: the Model Gaelic Speakers

- Those considered to be able to give good advice: the Gaelic Language Experts.

From the participants' descriptions, we can define the Model Gaelic Speaker as:

- Native Speakers

- Who are fully completent in the traditional language

- Who use the language frequently

- Who live in Gaelic-speaking communities.

From the participants' descriptions, we can define the Gaelic Language Expert as:

- Gaelic speakers considered to be very fluent (whether native or learner)

- Gaelic speakers who are literate and educated in Gaelic

- Gaelic speakers who know both 'old' or 'traditional' Gaelic and 'new' Gaelic.

Descriptions of the two groups from participants:

[Model Gaelic Speaker]

> P171: "Bidh mi a' faighneachd dhaibh [pàrantan] mu rudan uaireannan. Bidh mi a' cur luach, barrachd luach air an rud a chanas iad na gheibhinn bho àite – foghlam. Oir chan eil fhios agad cò th' ann no cò tha toirt seachad beachd."
>
> 30s, Native, Public Sector
>
> [*I ask them [my parents] about things sometimes. I value, I give more value to the things that they say than something I'd get from education. As you don't know who it is or who's giving an opinion,*]

[Gaelic Language Expert]

P63: "Daoine an sàs ann an GOC. [...] Ged nach eil thu ag aontachadh leis a h-uile càil a tha iad ag ràdh, chanadh tu gur iadsan na daoine aig a bheil [eòlas]."

40s, Learner, Public Sector

[*The people involved in GOC [...] Even though you don't agree with everything they say, you'd say that they are the ones with knowledge.*]

Some participants specified that not all 'native' speakers were necessarily 'good' speakers. Sometimes they would rule themselves out as advisors based on this assessment:

RA: Who are models of good Gaelic? People like yourself?

P164: "No. [*laughs*] No! Chan eil sìon a dh'fhios agamsa dè tha ceart tha mi dìreach a' bruidhinn."

RA: "Ach bha thu ag ràdh 'Tha daoine a' cleachdadh 'bha e nas fheàrr' so tha e ceart gu leòr."

P164: "Ach ann am Beurla, tha feadhainn ag ràdh '*They ones*', instead of '*Those ones.*' So, tha – feadhainn a' cleachadh an cànan ceàrr. [...] So ann an Gàidhlig tha an aon rud ann."

20s, Native, Private Sector

[*P164: No! I don't have a clue what's right I just talk. RA: But you were saying 'People use 'bha e nas fheàrr' so it's alright. P164: But in English, some people say 'they ones' instead of 'those ones'. So, some people use the wrong language [...] So it's the same thing in Gaelic.*]

P171 expressed a concern that language description and recommendations based on those who weren't fluent, could overrule the Model Gaelic Speaker:

P171: "'S e dragh a bhiodh orm cuideachd, gum biodh, 's dòcha nach e an rud a tha ceart a tha a' mhòr-chuid ag ràdh. Agus an uair sin a bheil thu dol a ràdh uill, tha a' mhòr-chuid ag ràdh seo, 's e seo a tha ceart a-nis is tha thusa ceàrr, ged a bha thu ceart gu traidiseanta."

30s, Native, Public Sector

[*The worry I'd have would be that, maybe what the majority says isn't right. And then are you going to say, well, the majority says this, this is what is right now and you're wrong, although traditionally you're right.*]

B4.3. Key Concerns Over A Language Body

In the discussions about a potential corpus planning organisation, some concerns were commonly raised. Although they were given in answer to different questions, they are easily grouped together into themes. It is important to identify these clearly as they should not be easily dismissed as invalid or unreasonable. These concerns need to be taken on board in both the design and working practices of any corpus planning project or body for it to have any success.

1. Fear of language prescription and standardisation
2. Fear of increased bureaucracy
3. Not a priority for Gaelic: resistance to creation of a new body
4. Risk of an out-of-touch body.

B4.3.1. Fear of Language Prescription and Standardisation

A fear of language prescription was by far the most common concern and the most deep-seated concern. The danger of prescription is real in the minds of many speakers across many sectors and whether they are in 'Gaelic jobs' or not, as the following quotes show:

> P164: "Buidheann a tha ag innse dhut ciamar a th' agad ri sin a dhèanamh: dè tha ceart agus dè tha ceàrr – nì sin cron."
>
> 20s, Native, Private Sector
>
> [*A group that tells you how you have to do something: what's right and what's wrong – that will do harm.*]

> P80: "Tha mi smaointinn ma tha thu ro chruaidh is ro *prescriptive*, tha thu mùchadh na cànain. Tha e math a bhith toirt seachad molaidhean."
>
> 60s, Learner, H/F Education
>
> [*I think if you are too hard or too prescriptive, you smother the language.*]

> P35: "Tha mi smaoineachadh gu bheil co-òrdanchadh a dhìth. Ach air an làimh eile, chan eil mi airson a bhith Stalinist mu dheidhinn."
>
> 50s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I think that coordination is missing. But on the other hand, I don't want to be Stalinist about it.*]

The frequency of these views in the FCs show that it is not enough to simply say that no-one is proposing the imposition of a single, standardised form and to dismiss this idea as a bogey-man'. This is not adequately reassuring. Any corpus or specialised language body must be as transparent in its workings as possible to actively demonstrate non-prescriptive approaches.

Participant 171's response is particularly illustrative. This participant is a native speaker in their 30s who is highly educated and works professionally with the language. They expressed concern over organised corpus planning early on in the session as a fear of prescription damaging dialects:

> P171: "Cuideachd, tha ceist ann – dhualchainntean agus gràmar. Agus briathrachas. Cha bu toil leam gum biodh buidheann a' cantainn 'tha seo ceàrr' nam biodh e ceart do dhualchainnt eile air choireigin. Tha na dualchainntean a' crìonadh cus. Agus, mar sin, na rudan as snoige is nas beairtiche – bhithinnsa co-dhiù airson an glèidheadh. "
>
> 30s, Native, Public Sector
>
> [*Also, there's a question about dialects and grammar. And vocabulary. I wouldn't like a group saying 'this is wrong' if it was right in another dialect. The dialects are declining too much. And with that the nicest and richest things – I would want to keep them.*]

Even after examples were supplied by the Research Assistant where descriptive grammars document a grammatical point with reference to all its realisations in formal, informal and dialectal settings, P171 raised the same fear that standardisation effectively means the reduction of the language to only one correct form:

> P171: "Tha mi dìreach a' smaointinn gum biodh e doirbh aonta fhaighinn – às na diofar àiteachan. Ma tha thu dol a mholadh aon abairt no aon dòigh air rudeigin a ràdh – on a tha Gàidhlig Ìle cho eadar-dhealaichte [ri] Gàidhlig Leòdhais. 'S dòcha gum biodh an siostam sin a' cuingealachadh – dualchainntean. An àite a bhith a' brosnachadh agus a' glèidheadh rudan, 's dòcha gum biodh e ann an dòigh a' cur às dha na rudan eile agus a' moladh dìreach aon rud."
>
> 30s, Native, Public Sector
>
> [*I'm just thinking that it'd be difficult to get agreement – from the various places. If you are going to recommend one phrase or one way to say something – as Islay Gaelic is so different to Lewis Gaelic. Maybe this system would constrain dialects. Instead of promoting and conserving things, maybe it would, in a way, get rid of other things and recommend only one thing.*]

As Jaffe noted in her examination of language politics in Corsica, 'Corsicans (and other minority populations) have a heightened consciousness of the negative repercussions of being defined by more powerful outsiders'. (Jaffe 1999: 15) To be successful, corpus planning initiatives or bodies will have to address and overcome this concern and not assume that they are considered 'insiders' rather than 'outsiders'.

Only one participant, P82, did not hold this fear of prescription and standardisation as reductive, but thought that the creation of a language body could actively prevent prescription and unaccountable decision-making:

> P82: "Chan eil mi a' dèanamh argamaid idir airson 's gum bi cuideigin – Chan ann mu dheidhinn a' cur smachd air daoine eile. 'S e an t-eagal a th' orm – tha ùghdarras falaichte an seo. *There's hidden authority.* Tha daoine a' dèanamh cho-

dhùnaidhean, gu h-àraidh Stòrlann feumaidh mi a ràdh, agus gun deamocrasaidh an sàs ann. So, na tha mi a' moladh, nam biodh acadamaidh ann a tha gu math math farsaing, freumhaichte anns a h-uile bhuidheann, an uair sin chan e dìreach buidheann beag ann an Steòrnabhagh air nach eil sinn eòlach a tha a' dèanamh na co-dhùnaidhean seo."

40s, Learner, H/F Education

[*I'm not arguing at all for someone to – This isn't about controlling other people. I'm afraid that – There's hidden authority here. People are making decisions, especially Stòrlann I have to say, and without any democracy. So, what I recommend, if there was an academy that was very wide-ranging, rooted in every group then it wouldn't just be a small unidentified group in Stornoway making these decisions.*]

B4.3.2. Increased Bureaucracy

Another common concern was that greater corpus planning efforts would simply create more administrative work, that a new body would be burdened with administrative work or that money would be spent on bureaucracy rather than being targeted at the core work:

P3: "Tha a h-uile buidheann a tha sin feumach air maoineachadh, ceannard, coinneamhan, com-pàirteachas, agus a h-uile rud a tha siud. Agus tha sin a' toirt air falbh on phrìomh amas aca."

30s, Fluent Learner, Community Group

[*All these groups need funding, a leader, meetings, partnerships, and all of that stuff. And that takes away from their main purpose.*]

P9: "Dh'fheumadh sinn a bhith gu math faiceallach nach biodh an rud a' tionndadh gu rudeigin car bureaucratic. [...] Tha sinn a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn resources agus a' lìonadh na databases a th' againn mar-thà. Nas fheàrr, 's dòcha airgead a chur a-steach gu rudeigin mar sin."

40s, Native, Public Sector

[*We'd have to be very careful that this thing didn't turn into something quite bureaucratic. [...] We're talking about resources and populating databases that we have already. [It'd be] better, maybe to spend money into something like that.*]

P171: "Ach chan eil thu airson 's gum bi e air a chuingealachadh le cus bureaucracy. [Tha thu] airson 's gum bi e a' fàs agus gum bi math a' tighinn às."

30s, Native, Public Sector

[*But you don't want it to be stifled with too much bureaucracy. [You] want it grow and for good to come out of it.*]

Again, any new initiative or organisation will have to satisfy these concerns. This relates to the suggestion later on by many participants that any new body should have administration handled by an existing body, in particular BnG.

B4.3.3. No Need or Low Priority for a Language Body

Four participants explicitly said that there was no need for a new body or organisation. For participants 77 and 6, this appeared to be related to a concern over increased bureaucracy. For Participant 3, corpus planning initiatives generally risked detracting from 'more important' work. And for Participant 60, *An Seotal* satisfied current requirements:

P6: "Cha bhi feum air buidheann diofar eile a bhith ann. Tha gu leòr buidheann agad a siud."

   50s, Native, Public Sector

[*There's no need for another different group. You've got enough groups there.*]

P3: "Chan e prìomh amas againn a bhith cruthachadh is a' cruthachadh buidhnean. [...] 'S e dìreach goireas air falbh bho na rudan a tha, airson airson an fhìrinn innse, nas cudromaiche. Obair le òigridh, pàrantan, foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig, sgoiltean. Tha sin nas cudromaiche na 'reference grammar'."

   30s, Fluent Learner, Community Group

[*Our main aim is not to create and create groups [...] That's just a resource taken away from the things that are, to tell the truth, more important. Working with children, parents, Gaelic medium education, schools. That's more important than a 'reference grammar'.*]

P60: "Tha buidheann againn mar-thà [*An Seotal*]. Dìochuimhnich na h-academics. Tha na h-academics ann an saoghal leotha fhèin. Chan eil iad ann an saoghal doirbh, practaigeach, an latha idir."

   60s, Native, H/F Education

[*We have a group already [*An Seotal*]. Forget the academics. The academics are in a world of their own. They're not at all in the difficult, practical, day-to-day world.*]

B4.3.4. Risk of an Out-of-Touch Body

One participant voiced a concern that there was a danger of a language body being remote and irrelevant:

P65: "Dh'fhaodadh an rud a dol mar, *straying into anorak territory. With little relevance to day-to-day use of language.*"

   50s, Native, Public Sector

[*This could become like ... [switch to English]*]

B4.4. Desired Characteristics of a Potential Language Body

Participants outlined several general features they would like any new body or organisations to have:

1. Greater coordination

2. Guidance

3. Streamlining of groups

4. The importance of buy-in

5. The importance of a participatory model.

B4.4.1. Greater Coordination

One advantage of a language body suggested by participants would be if it took responsibility for coordinating effort and therefore help to prevent duplication of effort. This is closely related to the wish for better coordinated resources as described in the previous section.

> P29: "Leis gu bheil diofar roinnean ag obair air na seòrsa rudan air an robh sinn a-mach mar-thà, [...] 's e seòrsa de cho-òrdanachadh as motha a tha dhìth. So, 's e seòrsa buidheann co-òrdanachaidh a bhiodh ann, agus 's dòcha stiùiridh cuideachd – gum biodh iad a' stiùireadh na seòrsa rudan a tha dhìth ach gum biodh na diofar oilthighean is colaistean a' cur taic ri sin leis an rannsachadh no an fhiosrachadh no na beachdan a th' aca. So bidh stiùireadh a' dol a-mach agus rudan a' tighinn a-steach, agus bidh na daoine a' co-òrdanachadh a h-uile càil a tha air thighinn a-steach agus a' dèanamh molaidhean ri linn sin."

>   20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

> [*As the different departments are working on the same kind of things we were talking about [...] It's kind of a greater cooperation that's needed. So it would be a kind of coordinating body, and maybe guiding body too – that they would be guiding the kind of things that are missing but that the different universities and colleges would support that with research or information or their views. So, guidance would go out and things would come in, and these people would be coordinating everything that comes in and making recommendations based on that.*]

> P35: "Chan urrainn dhut a-chaoidh ag ràdh gu feum a h-uile càil a thèid fhoillseachadh, gum feumadh e aonta bho Big Daddy. *Obviously*, chan obradh sin. Ach, tha mi a' smaoineachadh uaireannan gu bheil daoine ag obrachadh gun eòlas aca air an rud a tha daoine eile a' dèanamh. Agus shaoilinnsa gu bheil, mura dèanadh Bòrd na Gàidhlig e, cò eile a tha dol ga dhèanamh. Fo auspices a' Bhùird ann an dòigh air choireigin – feuchainn ri, chan eil fhios 'am, co-òrdanachadh de sheòrsa air choireigin agus co-chomhairleachadh eadar diofar dhaoine agus diofar bhuidhnean."

>   50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*You can't ever say that everything that gets published, that it needs to be approved by 'Big Daddy'. Obviously, that wouldn't work. But I think sometimes that people work without knowing what others are doing. And I think that, if Bòrd na Gàidhlig won't do it, who else is going to do it. Under the auspices of the Board in some kind of way – trying to, I don't know, some kind of coordination and consultation between different people and different groups.*]

"*Faclair na Gàidhlig* are going through all these texts for words, and that's what Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba is doing and it seems to be a reproduction of work. If there was a bit more oversight there could be a lot less reinventing of the wheel. *An Seotal* put on Twitter the other day a bunch of place-names and they were varying from what AÀA gives, and I'm not criticising them, but if there was a bit more central oversight, there might be a bit less [overlap]."

   30s, Learner, Public Sector

B4.4.2. Guidance

For some participants, the idea of a language body that could provide guidance was an attractive idea. Again, this relates to the desire for more readily available grammatical guidance and more information about lexical items.

P63: "'S mathaid gum bu chòir dhuinn a bhith coimhead ri buidheann a chur ri chèile a' coimhead air gràmar agus briathrachas agus a h-uile seòrsa rud. A bharrachd air GOC chan eil duine really a tha [...] ag ràdh, 's e seo an riaghailt airson seo, 's e seo an riaghailt airson sin."

   40s, Learner, Public Sector

[*Perhaps we should be looking at putting a group together to look at grammar and terminology and everything. Apart from GOC, there isn't really anybody [...] saying, this is the rule for this, this is the rule for that.*]

P184: "Ach aig deireadh an latha, tha sinn uile a' coimhead airson rudeigin a tha a h-uile duine gus a bhith cleachdadh airson 's gu bheil an ìre aig a' Ghàidhlig aig àrd ìre agus gu bheil a h-uile duine ag aontachadh, 's nach eil sinn uile a' cleachdadh tòrr dhiofar faclan – *reinventing the wheel* – a-rithist. Tha an t-àm ann gum bi – tha sinn air gabhail ri GOC, a' mhòr-chuid, chanainn. Anns na sgoiltean co-dhiù. Thà sinn a' coimhead airson stiùireadh. Agus tha mi a' smaointinn gun tigeadh an luchd-obrach, san àite-obrach agam fhìn co-dhiù, air a shon."

   50s, Native, Education

[*But at the end of the day, we are all looking for something that everyone will use so that Gaelic will at an advanced level and that everyone agrees, and that we're not all using lots of different words – reinventing the wheel – again. It's time that – we've accepted GOC, most people I'd say. In the schools anyway. We are looking for guidance. And I think that the staff, in my workplace anyway, would support it.*]

B4.4.3. Streamlining of Groups

Six groups suggested a new body would give an opportunity to bring smaller groups together, in particular, Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba, Faclair na Gàidhlig, *Seotal* and the GOC subcommittee.

> P84: "Bhiodh e math nam biodh aon rud ann. Seach a bhith a' dol thairis air iomadh rud. Bhiodh e math. [...] Saoil carson nach eil sin ann? Thathar a' dèanamh uidhir de bhruidhinn mu dheidhinn na Gàidhlig is buidhnean Gàidhlig is rudan Gàidhlig. Carson nach eil a h-uile dad air a tharraing ri chèile agus cuideigin a chur mar 'Ceannard na Gàidhlig'. Ma tha a leithid de dhuine ann – no chan e aon duine, buidheann de dhaoine a tha air an aon ràmh. Leis na h-aon bheachdan. Agus a' dèanamh an rud."

> 50s, Native, H/F Education

> [*I would be great if there was one thing. Instead of many things. That would be good. [...] I wonder why there isn't? there's so much talk about Gaelic and Gaelic groups and Gaelic things. Why isn't everything brought together and make someone the 'Head of Gaelic'. If there is such a person – or not one person, a group of people that are on the same page. With the same opinions. And doing the thing.*]

B4.4.4. The Importance of Buy-in

Many participants were aware that for a body or set of agreed recommendations to be successful, they would have to work hard to establish buy-in from the community and professional sectors.

> P172: "Dh'fheumadh sibh 'sign-up', no dh'fheumadh sinne mar bhuidhnean anns a' Ghàidhlig gabhail ris gun robh seasamh agus ùghdarras aig a' ghnothach."

> 40s, Native, Broadcasting

> [*You'd have to have 'sign-up', or us as Gaelic groups would have to accept that there was standing and authority in the thing.*]

> P29: "'S e buy-in an rud as cudromaiche ma tha thu ag iarraidh aon bhuidheann a' gabhail stiùir is a bhith air a dhèanamh mar am prìomh àite 'son na diofar rudan seo – seòrsa authority a bhith aca air a h-uile càil a seo. Dh'fheumadh cothrom, 's dòcha, riochdairean bho na diofar buidhnean a thighinn còmhla an toiseach agus molaidhean air an cur mu an coinneamh agus aonta a bhith ann dè an dòigh as fheàrr a dhol air adhart. Agus 's dòcha gum biodh àite aca, riochdairean a bhith ann, air seòrsa de bhòrd-stiùiridh."

> 20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

> [*Buy-in is the most important if you want one group giving direction and being the primary place for these different things – for them to have a kind of authority over these things. There should be an opportunity, maybe, for representatives from the different groups to come together at first and present them with recommendations and for there to be*

agreement on the best way forward. And maybe they'd have a place, representatives, on a management board.]

P174: "Bhiodh tu an dòchas gum biodh riochdairean againn an sàs anns a' chùis. [...] Tha mi smaoineachadh nam biothamaid dol a ghabhail ris, gur e rud mar gum biodh fo bhratach an riaghaltais, rud nàiseanta a bhiodh an seo, bhitheamaid a' gabhail ris gur e rud a bu chòir dhuinne a bhith a chleachdadh. Nam biodh e aig luchd-teagaisg agus sgoilearan agus academics."

 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*You'd hope that we'd have representatives involved in it. [...] I think that if we were going to agree with this, that it would be under the auspices of the government, a national thing, we'd accept that this is the thing that we should be using. If it was at the teachers and schoolchildren and academics.*]

Buy-in is also recognised as being necessary for corpus development to have any real impact:

P9: Feumaidh na daoine ceart a bhith an lùib an rud airson creideas ceart a thoirt dha. [...] Agus gun dèan e diofar.

 40s, Native, Public Sector

[*The right people have to be involved in it to give it credibility [...] and so it makes a difference.*]

For some, their personal buy-in depended on the credibility of the institution for them. What would give it credibility will be seen in the further responses to the potential creation of a language body.

P35: "Bhithinn ag iarraidh a bharrachd air rud sam bith eile, gum bithinn a' faireachdainn gun robh earbsa agam anns an rud."

P36: "Yeah, earbsa."

 P35: 50s, Native, Broadcasting

 P36: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*P235: I'd like, more than anything else, to feel that I could trust this thing. P36: Yeah, trust.*]

For many others, the credibility needed to establish buy-in would rest, in large part, on the perceived inclusive and participatory nature of the body.

B4.4.5. The Importance of a Participatory Model

P29: "Dh'fheumadh bhon fhìor-thoiseach seòrsa de *buy-in* a bhith ann bho na diofar bhuidhnean airson – an gràmar seo ach dh'fheumadh – ma thathar ag iarraidh air na buidhnean sin sin a dhèanamh, feumaidh cothrom a bhith aca a' cur ris cuideachd – 's dòcha na beachdan aca a chur ris."

 20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

[*From the start, there would need to be buy-in from the different groups for – this grammar but – if the groups are asked to do this, there has to be an opportunity for them to contribute too – maybe give their opinions.*]

P29: "Feumaidh cothrom a bhith – gum biodh e ag obair an dà rathad: an àite iadsan a' cruthachadh agus a' dol a-mach, bhiodh e cudromach gum biodh e comasach do bhuidhnean a' dol thucasan le fiosrachadh.

RA: So, chan e mar 'top-down' a bhiodh ann?

P29: O, chan obradh e mar sin."

  20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

[*There has to be an opportunity – that it would work both ways: instead of just them creating and disseminating, it would be important that other groups could go to them with information. [RA: So it wouldn't be top-down?] Oh, that wouldn't work.*]

P35: "[...] gum biodh dòigh againn dhuinne, mar chraoladairean, seòrsa de input air choireigin a bhith againn. 'S nach biodh a' bhuidheann a tha seo a' cruinneachadh 's a' meòrachadh agus nuair a shuidheas sinn uile ann am buidheann, 'o tha sinn cho glic!' Tha fhios 'am, tha mi air a bhith ann. Tha sinn cho fiosraichte, is cho glic, mas fhìor. [...] Feumaidh tu a bhith air do bhiathadh on taobh a-muigh agus feedback a bhith ann."

  50s, Native, Broadcasting

[[*…] that we'd have a way, as broadcasters, to have some kind of input. And that it wouldn't just be this group gathering and debating as when any of us sit in a group 'oh we're so clever!' I know, I've been there. We're so knowledgeable and so clever, allegedly. [...] You have to have be fed from outside and there has to be feedback.*]

P63: "Tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil feum ann air stiùireadh air choireigin, mar a tha GOC ga thoirt dhuinne, ach le beagan deamocrasaidh ann. Gu bheil cothrom aig sinne, mar eisimpleir, ar beachdan a thoirt seachad."

  40s, Learner, Public Sector

[*I think we need some kind of guidance, like GOC gives people, but with a bit of democracy. That we'd have a chance, for example, to put our views forward.*]

P145: "Bhiodh e math nan robh deasbad a' tachairt. Nuair a rinn Ruaraidh MacThòmais am faclair aigesan, 's e obair aon duine a bh' ann agus tha mi a' smaointinn gum biodh e math nan robh cothroman deasbad ann."

  50s, Fluent Learner, H/F education

[*If would be good if there was debate. When Derick Thomson did his dictionary, it was the work of one man and I think it would be good if there were opportunities for debate.*]

B4.5. Responses from Participants

B4.5.1. The Possible Duties of a Language Body

B4.5.1.1. Grammar

Ten of the FC groups thought that a Gaelic corpus planning body should give advice on grammar, and five thought that it should prescribe grammar rules.

The option for guidance on grammar was the most popular, with 15 groups selecting either 'prescribe' or 'give advice'. A lot of groups felt this would fill a gap in provision (see previous section on Resources). It was the most popular option for a priority duty with 6 groups choosing it (3 as 'prescribe', 3 as 'give advice'):

> [Give guidance based on usage of Model Speakers]
>
> P171: "'S dòcha gum faigheadh tu dealbh nas − onaraiche air suidheachadh a' chànain le rud den t-seòrsa sin. A tha mìneachadh gu bheil diofar roghainnean ann, diofar shuidheachaidhean ann far am biodh e nàdarrach rud a chleachdadh no far nach bitheadh."
>
> 30s, Native, Public Sector
>
> [*Perhaps you'd get a more – honest picture of the state of the language with something like that. That explains that there are different choices, different situations where it would be natural to use something or would not.*]

Some participants were happy to recommend the prescription of grammar rules. We can assume that for these participants, prescription meant the reinforcement of the norms they already follow, to encourage 'good' Gaelic, not a set of rules that would contradict their own usage.

> P37: "There are rules."
>
> P35: "Prescribe."
>
> P34: "Yeah, they are."
>
> P35: "There's nothing wrong with prescriptive grammar rules. Tha a leithid ann."
>
> P35: 50s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> P34: 30s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> P37: 30s, Fluent Learner, Broadcasting
>
> [*[English]. There is such a thing.*]

> P84: "Tha mi smaointinn gum bu chòir na riaghailtean gràmair a bhith ann. Mura h-eil, tha thu dol a chall brìgh."
>
> 50s, Native, H/F Education
>
> [*I think that the grammar rules need to be there. If not, you're going to lose meaning.*]

P38: "Tha prescribed grammar ann – tha gràmar againn."

P176: "Mhm. Tha gràmar ann."

P177: "Yeah. 'S e sin ciamar a chaidh sinn ceàrr! Chan eil sinn ag ràdh 'tha seo ceart.' Tha sinn ro eagalach ag ràdh 'duilich, tha sin ceàrr'. 'S dòcha tha e a' cur daoine dheth a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig ach, an ath mionaid, tha mise a' suidhe ann an seo agus uaireannan chan eil mi airson a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig do dhaoine na bu shine na mise air sgàth 's gu bheil fios 'am gu bheil mi ag ràdh rudeigin ceàrr. So, *prescribe grammar rules.*"

  P38: 40s, Native, Broadcasting

  P176: 50s, Native, Broadcasting

  P177: 20s, Fluent Learner, Broadcasting

[*P38: There is prescribed grammar. We have grammar. P176: Uhuh. There is grammar. P177: Yeah, that's where we went wrong! We don't say 'this is right.' We are too scared to say 'sorry, that's wrong'. Maybe it puts people off speaking Gaelic but, then the next minute, I'm sitting here and sometimes I don't want to speak Gaelic to people older than me because I know I'm saying something wrong. So, prescribe grammar rules.*]

Whereas for other participants, the idea of prescription was a danger to natural and healthy variation in dialect and style:

P29: "Tha sin ann an dòigh ro dhoirbh. Chanainn gum biodh cus deasbad is argumaid ann le *prescribe*. Aig ìre bhunaiteach, rudan buntainneach, tha mi a' smaointinn gu bheil sin nas ciallaiche. Ach can rudan – ma tha thu a' dol eadar diofar sgìrean – tha cleachdaidhean cànain ag atharrachadh bho sgìre gu sgìre le cuid de rudan. So, chanainn gur e seirbheis comhairle nas fheàrr na *prescribe*."

  20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

[*That's too hard in a way. I'd say there would be too much debate and argument with 'prescribe'. At a basic level, for basic things, I think that's be sensible. But say, between different areas, language use varies from place to place with certain things. So, I'd say that an advice service is better than prescription.*]

P171: "Ach *prescribe*, tha sin – gu h-àraid a thaobh gràmair, chuireadh sin eagal orm a chionn, dè seòrsa gràmar – sin a' cheist."

  30s, Native, Public Sector

[*'Prescribe', that's especially regarding grammar, that would worry me because what kind of grammar, that's the question*]

P9: "Chanainnsa '*give advice on' not 'prescribe on rules'*. Bhiodh roghainn ann, 'eil fhios 'ad, gum biodh iad ag ràdh, uill seo a th' air a chleachdadh ann an sgoil no seo a tha daoine sa choimhearsnachd ag ràdh. An àite a bhith – iadsan mar 'language police'."

  40s, Native, Public Sector

[*I'd say give advice on, not prescribe on rules. There'd be a choice, you know, that they'd say, well, this is used in school or people in the community say this. Instead of them being like 'language police'.*]

B4.5.1.2. Vocabulary

Twelve groups advocated that a corpus planning body should give advice on vocabulary, with one group believing that it should prescribe vocabulary. Six groups thought it should create vocabulary, and six that it should agree on vocabulary. This was related to the wish for a central resource for new and agreed terminology. Five groups thought this should be a priority.

Prescription was less popular with vocabulary than with spelling and grammar: whereas the latter two are perceived as being based on necessary conventions, vocabulary is seen as requiring more personal freedom of choice:

> P147: "Bhiodh e eagalach math do dh'eadar-theangairean. b' fheàrr leam gun robh greim agam air na faclan a bh' aig na sgoiltean an-dràsta. Ma tha an cuspair anns an sgoil, tha teans math ann gu bheil an sgoil air obair air choireigin a dhèanamh air."

> P146: "Dhèanadh an duine sin an roghainn fhèin. Chitheadh e seo aig an sgoiltean, seo aig a' BhBC. Okay, tha mise dol a thaghadh sin."

> P146: 50s, Fluent Learner, H/F Education

> P147: 40s, Native, H/F Education

[*P147: I would be amazing for translators. I'd like to get hold of the words that the schools have just now. If a subject is in school, there's a good chance that the school is doing some kind of work on it. P146: That person would make their own choice. He'd see the schools have this, the BBC have this. Okay, I'm going to choose this.*]

> P84: "[T]ha e an urra riut fhèin dè chleachdas tu, ma tha thu dol a dhèanamh pìos naidheachd no sgrìobhadh aiste mu dheidhinn no rudeigin."

> 50s, Native, H/F Education

[*It's up to you what you use, if you're going to do a news report or write an essay or something.*]

Again, there was a wish that dialectal variation should be respected:

> P184: "Tha siud doirbh a thaobh chanainnsa 'uisge' ach chanadh cuideigin eile 'bùrn'. [RA: Bhiodh comhairle na b' fheàrr?] Bhiodh."

> 50s, Native, Education

[*That's difficult as I'd say 'uisge' (water) but someone else would say 'bùrn' (water). [RA: Advice would be better?] Yes.*]

The relative popularity of the suggestion that one body centralised vocabulary advice reflected the desire for more consistency in new terminology. Some took the view that a language body

wouldn't have to take sole control of terminology creation but could have responsibility as a central clearing house or place for agreement. This idea was suggested by five separate groups:

> P30: "Ma tha oilthigh no Sabhal Mòr ag ullachadh no a' cruthachadh faclan ùra, tha mi a' smaointinn [...] gum biodh e a' ciallachadh gum biodh hub ann. [...] Chan eil fhios 'am ge bith cò tha os an cionn, ach mar GOC, buidheann a tha a' dèanamh breithneachadh air na faclan. Chan fheumadh iad fhèin a bhith – a' tighinn an àirde le faclan."
>
> 30s, Native, Gaelic Arts
>
> [*If a university or Sabhal Mòr are arranging or creating new words, I think that would mean that there would be a hub. I don't know who would head it, but like GOC, a group that are evaluating words. They don't have to themselves come up with words.*]

> P184: "Feumaidh sinn uile a bhith tighinn gu co-dhùnadh mu dheidhinn, uaireannan, air faclan ùra. A' toirt a-staigh barrachd chuspairean tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig san àrd-sgoil mar eisimpleir."
>
> 50s, Native, Education
>
> [*We all have to come to agreement, sometimes, about new words. Bringing in more Gaelic-medium subjects in high school for example.*]

B4.5.1.3. Place-Names

Eleven groups thought that a corpus planning body should give advice on place-names. It was a popular option to include *Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba* within any new organisation to consolidate expertise:

> P38: "Mas e buidheann a tha seo a tha dol a chomhairleachadh air a' chànan, bu chòir a h-uile càil co-cheangailte ris a' chànan a bhith ann."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*If this group is going to advise on the language, everything connected to the language should be there.*]

> P146: "Aidh."
> P147: "Gum biodh e fon aon bhrataich."
>
> P146: 50s, Fluent Learner, H/F Education
> P147: 40s, Native, H/F Education
>
> [*P146: Aye. P147: under the same banner.*]

B4.5.1.4. Spelling

Ten of the FC groups thought that a Gaelic corpus planning body should give advice on spelling, and four thought that it should prescribe spelling rules. It was explained to the participants that this implies the transfer of the GOC committee from the SQA to this new body. Thirteen groups thought that if a body was created, it would appropriate for its remit to

cover spelling. While most thought the codification of orthographic conventions was 'done', they agreed that any further necessary updates in the years to come should be carried out by a language body.

One participant thought spelling for neologisms needed more immediate attention:

> P53: "Tha feum air a dhol beagan nas fhaide air GOC. [...] ciamar a tha sinn dol a litreachadh faclan iasaid. Gum biodh aona stiùir air, airson – chì thu faclan iasaid uaireannan air an litreachadh ann an trì no ceithir dòighean eadar-dhealaichte."
>
>   60s, Native, Education
>
> [*We need to go a bit further than GOC. [...] how are we going to spell loan words. That there could be one guidance – as you see loan words sometimes written in three or four different ways.*]

> P146: "Bhiodh sin math oir cha do ràinig comhairle an SQA gu leòr dhaoine."
>
>   50s, Fluent Learner, H/F Education
>
> [*That would be good as the SQA's advice didn't get to enough people.*]

B4.5.1.5. Produce dictionaries and grammars

Nine groups thought that a corpus planning body should produce dictionaries and grammars. This was a popular option as it related closely to the main resource requirements of participants: more consistency and availability of new terminology and more guidance available on grammar. However, only one group thought this could be a priority.

B4.5.1.6. Be an 'FAQ' advice centre

Nine groups thought that a corpus planning body should be a public FAQ centre for everyone, and six that it should be mainly for language professionals. Four groups thought a public FAQ should be a priority, two that a professional service should be a priority.

> P28: "Seadh, can, làrach-lìn far a bheil a h-uile duine a' dol. Bhiodh sin math cuideachd oir an uair sin tha an aon freagairt aig a h-uile duine."
>
>   20s, Learner, Gaelic Arts
>
> [*Yeah, say, a website where everyone can go. That would be good too as then everyone would have the same answer.*]

> P184: "'S dòcha a h-uile duine a thaobh – dh'fhaodadh e bhith '*one-stop-shop*' a-rithist mas e pàrant a th' ann, mas e tidsear a th' ann."
>
>   50s, Native, Education
>
> [*Maybe everyone as – again it could be a one-stop-shop whether it's a parent or a teacher.*]

The participants who preferred a professional-only service had different reasons for doing so: some imagined only professionals would be interested, and some imagined that the public would flood the centre with translation requests:

P9: "*FAQ centre for anyone'*, bidh daoine a' fònadh suas agus a' cur a-steach post-dealain airson Gàidhlig airson *tattoos* is rudan. You know, 'tha mi ag iarraidh tattoo no ainm air an taigh agam.' [...] Tha mi a' smaoineachadh gum biodh e nas fheàrr air rud mar seo [do phroifeiseantaich]."

40s, Native, Public Sector

[*FAQ for anyone, people will phone up and send in emails for Gaelic translations for tattoos and things. You know, I want a tattoo or the name of my house. [...] I think that it would be better like that [for professionals.*]

Three groups thought that both options could work together: to a have a public service along with a 'hotline' or special service for professional users:

P172: "Do dhaoine sam bith ach 's dòcha le seirbheis sònraichte am broinn sin airson luchd-teagaisg agus proifeiseantaich."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*For anybody but maybe with a special service within that for teachers and professionals.*]

B4.5.1.7. Certify translators and interpreters

This was a popular choice (eight groups) as there was a perception that poor quality translation is an existing problem. These groups wished this to be part of a language body remit, two other groups were more comfortable with it being a connected activity that the body could advise on; creating a training programme and have certification come from an existing authority such as the SQA or a university. Two groups explicitly chose this as something a body should not do, as they considered it a job for existing educational institutes.

P28: "Bhiodh sin feumail. Ann an saoghal 'ideal'!"

20s, Learner, Gaelic Arts

[*That would be useful. In an ideal world!*]

P184: "Tha mi smaointinn gu bheil sinn gu math gann do dhaoine a tha eòlach air a bhith dèanamh an obair a tha seo. Agus uaireannan, tha an eadar-theangachadh 's dòcha nach eil e aig an ìre a bhiodh sinn ag iarraidh airson feadhainn dhen òigridh a th' againn."

50s, Native, Education

[*I think that we greatly lack people who have experience doing this kind of work. Sometimes, the translation, it's not at the level that we'd want for some of our youngsters.*]

P38: "Chanainn a thaobh ìre proifeiseantachd gum bu chòir dha rudeigin – ma tha thu ceannach seirbheisean bho chuideigin a thaobh eadar-theangachaidh, gum bu chòir dhaibh a' dol tro rudeigin, caran coltach ri tidsearan."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I'd say that for professionalism that something should be – if you are buying translation services from someone, that they should have gone through something, like teachers.*]

Three groups opted to choose this as a priority for the language body.

B4.5.1.8. Certify language teachers for adult education

Most participants were indifferent to this or saw this as being adequately covered by the Ùlpan teacher training or the work of a different organisation. Five groups explicitly chose this as something a language body should not do.

B4.5.1.9. Carry out research on the language (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, etc.)

Some participants thought this would be necessary in order to be able to carry out the duties of giving advice on vocabulary, grammar and usage. One group (W22) thought that this was the role of universities. Seven other groups suggested a balance whereby the language body would work closely with universities, drawing on their research and commissioning or collaborating in depth research where necessary − according to the needs determined by the steering committee. The following quote from a participant shows the awareness of the changing nature of language and why language codification needs maintenance:

> P28: "Ma tha cànan beò tha e ag atharrachadh fad an t-siubhail 's mar sin bhiodh e math faighinn a-mach dè buileach a tha tachairt. Gu h-àraid mas e mion-chànan a th' ann agus tha *pressures* air mion-chànain. Mar a bha sinn ag ràdh na bu thràithe le Beurla a' tighinn a-staigh dhan chànan 's dòcha sgoilearan a' cleachdadh eadar-theangachadh, *like calques* − dìreach a' faighinn a-mach dè tha tachairt a thaobh sin. Agus an uair sin, can le gràmar, comhairle a thoirt − uill seo ceart a thaobh an t-seann seagh, ach chan eil duine a' cleachdadh sin, 's e seo a tha iad ag ràdh."

>   20s, Learner, Gaelic Arts

> [*If a language is alive, it changes all the time therefore it would be finding out what exactly is happening. Especially if it's a minority language and there are particular pressures on minority languages. As we were saying earlier with English coming into the language maybe schoolchildren using translations, like calques − just finding out what's happening with that. Then, say, with grammar, to give advice − well this is right according to the old way, but nobody uses that, this is what they say.*]

> P174: "Ma tha sibh ag ràdh gu bheil sinn, mar choimhearsnachd Gàidhlig le taic na buidhne seo, dol a chruthachadh *standard*, no rudeigin a tha − seasamh gu bhith aige, dh'fheumadh iad sgrùdadh sna leabhraichean agus sgrùdadh am measg a' choimhearsnachd."

>   30s, Native, Broadcasting

> [*If you're saying that we, as a Gaelic community with support from this group, are going to create a standard or something that has standing, they have to research in books and research in the community.*]

> P84: "Ma tha thusa dol a chruthachadh an leabhran mòr air a bha sinne a' bruidhinn

[...] dh'fheumadh tu seo a dhèanamh co-dhiù."

50s, Native, H/F Education

[*If you're going to create this big book that we've been talking about [...] you'd have to do that.*]

P28 saw this as a potential priority:

P28: "Fon phrosbaig mion-chànan, chanainn gur e sin as cudromaiche, faighinn a-mach dè tha tachairt an-dràsta agus a' cleachdadh rannsachadh a tha daoine eile a' dèanamh cuideachd aig na h-oilthighean."

20s, Learner, Gaelic Arts

[*From the minority language perspective, I'd say that's the most important thing, finding out what's happening now and using research other people are doing at universities as well.*]

B4.5.1.10. Give language classes

This was an unpopular option with only one group opting for it. Ten groups chose this explicitly as something a language body should not do:

P146: "Tha gu leòr de bhuidhnean a tha a' dèanamh sin mar-thà."

50s, Fluent Learner, H/F Education

[*There are enough groups doing that already.*]

P29 "Tha tòrr mar-thà a' dèanamh sin. […] Dh'fhaodadh iad 's dòcha stiùir is taic a chumail ris na clasaichean leis an eòlas ùr a tha tighinn thuca no a tha iad a' foillseachadh."

20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

[*Lots are doing this already [...] They could maybe offer advice and support to classes with the new knowledge that comes to them or that they're publishing.*]

However, two groups suggested the idea of specialist training courses, which would play a role in the dissemination stage of corpus development:

P172: "Toirt seachad cùrsaichean do luchd-teagaisg, craoladairean, luchd-cleachdaidh eile, sgrìobhadairean, luchd-eaglais etc. Air dè na rudan ùra is dè an stiùireadh ùr a th' ann. Ach am bi an *standard* seo air a sgaoileadh."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*Deliver classes to teachers, broadcasters, other users, writers, clergy etc. On the new things and the new advice that there is. So this standard can be disseminated.*]

B4.5.1.10. Create language teaching coursebooks or textbooks

Most participants were unenthusiastic about the idea of creating pedagogocial materials for learners of the language. Four groups opted for this being a connected or secondary activity

with the language body's primary work being to provide guidance on content. Two groups chose it as something the body should not do.

> P29: "Chanainn gum biodh iad a' toirt stiùir is taic ri na rudan sin."
>
>   20s, Native, Gaelic Arts
>
> [*I'd say that they give guidance and support to those things.*]

> P184: "'S e na buidhnean eile a tha sin, Stòrlann is Cànan is Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. An uallach acasan."
>
>   50s, Native, Education
>
> [*That's the other groups, Stòrlann and Cànan and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. Their role.*]

B4.5.2. Which people should be eligible to work for a Gaelic corpus planning body?

The participants were given some options to stimulate ideas and encouraged to make their own suggestions. These options were framed as job titles by the Research Assistant (RA) to cover representations of different sectors. It became clear, however, that most groups wished to define eligibility in other terms: the position of schoolteacher or linguist were secondary to an individual's Gaelic language ability, as typified in Participant 35's warning against considering people eligible due only to their professional position:

> P35: "Dìreach air sgàth 's gu bheil duine ann am buidheann no ann an dreuchd sònraichte, chan eil sin a' ciallachadh gu bheil e na chomas a bhith a' dèanamh seo. [Tha mise] air litrichean a leughadh bho daoine aig àrd-ìre ann am foghlam is rudan eile ann an Gàidhlig, agus tha còir aca a bhith nan suidhe sa chlas, chan ann a' teagasg. [...] Dè an ìre a th' aig a' Ghàidhlig aige? Dè an eòlas a th' aige air an seòrsa obair a tha seo? Dè na smaointean a th' aige? A bheil e dhàrìreabh proactive ann a bhith smaoineachadh air rudan mar seo? Mur heil, chan eil feum ann. 'S e cò th' agad a tha cudromach, chan e cò tha iad a' riochdachadh."
>
>   50s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*Just because someone's in a particular group or a job, that doesn't mean that they're able to do this. [I've] read letters from people high up in education and other Gaelic things, and they should be sitting in class, not teaching. [...] What level is his Gaelic? What does he know about this kind of work? What does he think? Is he really proactive in thinking about these things? If not, it's pointless. It's who you have that matters, not who they are representing.*]

The consensus was that a range of skills would be necessary, and a range of representatives each bringing their own legitimacy. We will describe first the groups' responses to roles presented as options, then the importance of a wideranging representation followed by the importance of individual's language skills to the group's linguistic authority.

B4.5.2.1. Linguists

This was the most commonly approved role. Most groups consider that some expertise in this area would be essential. They were not, however, considered as primary holders of linguistic authority as Participant 84 explains:

> RA: "Airson faclairean, gràmaran a dhèanamh, tha sgilean sònraichte aig lexicographers, grammarians msaa. Dè an seòrsa 'role' a bhiodh aca sa bhuidheann?"
>
> P84: "Dìreach mar 'advisors'."
>
> RA: "Mar 'technical advisors'?"
>
> P84: "Yeah."
>
>   50s, Native, H/F Education
>
> [*RA: In order to create dictionaries and grammars, lexicographers and grammarians and so on have special skills. What kind of role should they have in this body? P84: Just as advisors. RA: As technical advisors? P84: Yeah.*]

B4.5.2.2. Schoolteachers and educationalists

This was the second most common role. This reflects the important role Gaelic education has in the contemporary Gaelic revitalisation context. In the context of the FCs, it also reflects a general position which participants took of framing corpus development in relation to supporting the needs of professional practitioners:

> P88: Air sàilleabh 's gur ann mu dheidhinn fiosrachadh a sgaoileadh agus ionnsachadh agus teagasg, math dh'fhaodte daoine a tha eòlach air ionnsachadh agus teagasg. Chan eil mi cinnteach a bheil sin a' tighinn a-staigh tro *linguists*? Cha chreid mi gu bheil."
>
>   40s, Native, H/F Education
>
> [*Because this is about spreading information and learning and teaching, maybe people who know about learning and teaching. I'm not sure sure that's covered with linguists? I don't think so.*]

B4.5.2.3. Academics

A distinction was made by the RA between linguists and academics: academics as those with expertise in Gaelic literature, history and culture but who may not be trained language scientists. However, the following comments by participants can be understood to cover linguists as a subset of academics. While their involvement was approved of overall, there was a range of opinions on their role and value of their involvement. For some, academic legitimacy was essential for their buy-in in the group:

> P9: "Uill, dh'fheumadh luchd-acadaimigich a bhith ann co-dhiù. Agus daoine aig a bheil eòlas air rannsachadh."
>
>   40s, Native, Public Sector
>
> [*Well, academics would need to be there anyway. And people who know about research.*]

P9: "Dh'fheumadh na h-oilthighean a bhith an lùib gu mòr."

P171: "'S dòcha nam biodh com-pàirteachas eadar na h-oilthighean sin no rudeigin mar sin."

P9: 40s, Native, Public Sector

P171: 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*P9: The universities would need to be greatly involved. P171: Maybe if there was cooperation between the universities or something like that.*]

However, for others, academic involvement would need to be supervised or limited. In workshops 8 and 36, there was clear suspicion of academic dominance:

P35: "Seo an t-eagal a tha ormsa, tha e ann an cunnart, gu bheil seo gu bhith fo smachd sgoilearan. Agus ma bhios e fo smachd sgoilearan, chan obraich e. Feumaidh iad a bhith a-staigh air, ach chan eil e math dha a bhith mar rud acadaimigeach. Oir 's e am feallsanachd sin a tha air cron a dhèanamh."

50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*What worries me, there's a danger, that it'll be controlled by academics. And if it's controlled by academics, it won't work. They have to be involved, but it's not good for it to be an academic thing. Because it's that philosophy that's done damage.*]

B4.5.2.4. Tradition Bearers / Seanchaidhean

This option was presented to the groups to see what value participants would attribute to non-academic knowledge in a language body. This was a highly valued group. It overlaps with the Fluent Native Speakers group, discussed later, in its importance for linguistic authority to the participants:

P83: Dhomhsa, 's e an rud as cudromaiche 'tradition bearers', daoine aig a bheil tòrr fios – daoine aig a bheil a' chànain. Daoine a tha, no a bha co-dhiù, air am bogadh anns a' chànain, a thogadh leis a' chànain, 's e a' chiad chànain a th' aca. Daoine aig a bheil ciall is faireachdainn agus a h-uile rud."

20s, Learner, H/F Education

[*For me, the most important are tradition bearers, people with a lot of knowledge – people who know the language. People who are, or least were, immersed in the language, who were raised in the language, it's their first language. People who have understanding and feelings and everything.*]

B4.5.2.5. Broadcasters

This was also a popular option as participants though broadcasters could both contribute and benefit from the work of a language body.

P185: "Tha mi smaoineachadh gum bi fios sònraichte aig a h-uile duine, so bidh fios aig na broadcasters, 's dòcha faclan airson naidheachd agus rudan mar sin ach cha bhi aig, can, na academics no daoine mar sin. So, 's dòcha a h-uile duine a'

tighinn ri chèile."

    Under 20, Learner, Student

[*I think that everyone has some special knowledge, so broadcasters know words for the news and things like that but, say academic and people like that don't. So maybe, everyone coming together.*]

B4.5.2.6. Creative Writers: Poets and Writers

This group was not a popular option. There were no strong arguments presented against their inclusion, but also very little enthusiasm for their representation as a particular group of practitioners. They are more likely to be considered as individuals under the participants' 'fluent speaker' criteria.

B4.5.2.7. Managers

Again, this option was not popular as an important group. However, most people agreed that some kind of administration would be necessary.

    P86 "Ma tha academics gu bhith ann feumaidh luchd-rianachd a bhith ann gus an gluais rudan! Gun tachair rudan!"

      30s, Native, H/F Education

    [*If there's going to academics, you need administrators so that things advance! So that things happen!*]

In general, however, participants ideally thought administrative duties could be provided by existing groups, in particular Bòrd na Gàidhlig as is discussed in section B4.5.5.

B4.5.2.8. Language Teachers and Activists

Neither of these options were popular in the conversations. Again, however, individuals in these areas could be eligible under the 'fluent speaker' criteria.

B4.5.2.9. Clergy

Two workshops suggested the representation of clergy would be desirable due to their practice of Gaelic in the community and role as disseminators.

    P172: "Chanainn cuideachd, 's dòcha, eaglaisean oir tha iadsan a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig. Agus aig an aon àm, tha iad fhèin a' strì ri ceistean a thaobh briathrachas agus *register* agus bhiodh e math dhaibhsan a bhith na lùib agus fios nas fheàrr aca air dè tha na sgoiltean agus luchd-cleachdaidh poblach eile na Gàidhlig a' cleachdadh."

      40s, Native, Broadcasting

    [*I'd say also, maybe, churches because they use Gaelic. And at the same time, they're also dealing with questions about vocabulary and register and it would be good for them to be involved and for them to know more about what schools and other public Gaelic users are using.*]

B4.5.2.10. The Importance of Variety

For many groups, a variety of different of skills added legitimacy to the language body. This often related to the importance of a participatory model.

P146: "Feumaidh tu co-obrachadh gus nach fhaodadh tu tilgeil air aon bhuidheann gun robh iad a' feuchainn ri rud a sparradh air h-uile duine eile."

50s, Fluent Learner, H/F Education

[*You have to have cooperation so that you couldn't accuse one group of trying to force things on everyone else.*]

P172: "Bhiodh barrachd seasamh aig buidheann acadaimigeach dhomhsa."

P173: "Bhitheadh, agus riochdairean ..."

P174: "Riochdairean bho feadhainn a bhios ga cleachdadh. Riochdairean bho oilthighean, riochdairean bho chraoladh, riochdairean bho luchd-teagaisg 's dòcha. Eòlaicheancànain. Cha bhithinnsa cofhurtail nam b' e dìreach luchd-acadaimigeach a-mhàin a bhiodh an sàs anns a' chùis. Bhiodh tu ag iarraidh daoine a bhiodh ga cleachdadh."

RA: "Gu proifeiseanta, no anns a' choimhearsnachd?"

P174: "Uill, an dà chuid."

P172: 40s, Native, Broadcasting
P173: 40s, Native, Broadcasting
P174: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*P172: An academic group would have more standing for me. P173: Yes, and representatives... P174: Representatives from those who use it. Representatives from universities, from broadcasting, teachers maybe. Language experts. I wouldn't be comfortable if it was just academics involved. You'd want people who use it. RA: Professionally or in the community? P174: Well, both.*]

P87: "Chanainn gum biodh e feumail nan robh measgachadh – nan robh dìreach acadaimigich ga dhèanamh, bhiodh sin a' toirt, mar gum biodh, emm..... slant air a rud. [...] Ma tha cus de dh'aon bhuidheann ann, tha cunnart gum biodh agendas a' nochdadh."

40s, Learner, H/F Education

[*I'd say that it would be useful if there was a mix – if it was only academics, that would give it a kind of slant. If there's too much of one group, there's a danger that agendas would appear.*]

P35: "Ach fon sin, dh'fheumadh am Bòrd daoine a thoirt còmhla. Chan eil fhios 'am cò bhiodh air a' bhuidheann sin aon rud a bhithinn ag iarraidh fhaicinn air, 's e gum bitheadh e a' riochdachadh diofar roinntean agus gum biodh e inclusive."

50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*But with that, Bòrd [na Gàidhlig] have to bring people together. I don't know who'd be on this group but one thing I'd like to see, that's that it would be representative of different sectors and that it would be inclusive.*]

It was also considered important that a range of dialects and ages should be represented:

P146: "Stòrlann, Board of Celtic Studies, Soillse, am BBC..."

P145: "Measgachadh de dhaoine le diofar dhualchainntean. Luchd-ionnsachaidh agus daoine le Gàidhlig o dhùthchas. Chan e luchd-acadaimigeach a-mhàin."

P146: "Chan e a-mhàin, *no*."

  P145: 50s, Fluent Learner, H/F education

  P146: 50s, Fluent Learner, H/F Education

[*P146: Stòrlann, Board of Celtic Studies, Soillse, the BBC ... P145: A mix of people with different dialects. Learners and native speakers. Not only academics. P146: No only, no.*]

P184: "Dh'fheumadh tu daoine bho gach ceàrn 's dòcha còmhla – daoine eòlaichte mar Boyd. [...] 'S e daoine 's dòcha a tha ag obair an obair làitheil aca cuideachd 's dòcha an lùib foghlam aig diofar ìrean cuideachd, chanainn."

  50s, Native, Education

[*You'd need people from every area maybe together educated people like Boyd. [...] People maybe who have their day job too and maybe involved in education at different levels too.*]

P63: "Dh'fheumadh tu a bhith faiceallach gu bheil riochdairean ceart agad a thaobh dualchainntean agus Gàidhlig mar a tha Gàidhlig ga bruidhinn ann an Leòdhas, ann an Uibhist, etc. Tha cunnart ann gum biodh dualchainnt no dhà ..."

P64: "...a' smaointinn gu bheil dualchainnt eile ceàrr."

P63: "Yeah."

  P63: 40s, Learner, Public Sector

  P24: 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*P63: You'd have to be careful to have the right representatives for dialects and Gaelic as it's spoken in Lewis, in Uist, etc. there's a danger that one or two dialects... P64: ... thinking that another dialect is wrong.*]

P185: "'S dòcha cuideachd diofar aoisean. Uaireannan, chan eil fhios 'am dè tha na daoine òga a' cleachdadh agus uaireannan, 's dòcha nach bi e eadar-dhealaichte, ach biodh e inntinneach, dè tha nàdarra. Gu h-àraid airson na habairtean a tha sinne ag ràdh nach bi thu a' cleachadh ann an suidheachaidhean obrach no rudan mar sin."

  Under 20, Learner, Student

[*Maybe also different ages. Sometimes, I don't know what young people use and sometimes, maybe it's not different, but it would be interesting, what's natural. Especially*

for the phrases that we say that you don't use in work situations of thing like that.]

B4.5.2.11. Linguistic Authority in the group

As discussion earlier, participants described two types of linguistic authorities, the Model Gaelic Speaker and the Gaelic Language Expert. Both of these were important to participants when asked to consider who should be eligible to work for the group.

Model Gaelic Speakers

P9: "Cuideachd bhiodh e math daoine aig a bheil doimhneachd anns a' chànan. Fìor eòlas air a' chànan, air an dòigh a tha thu ga bruidhinn. Daoine bhon choimhearsnachd. Far a bheil iad beò anns a' choimhearsnachd agus a' cleachdadh a' chànain."

  40s, Native, Public Sector

[*Also, it would be good to have people with a depth of knowledge. Really knowledgeable about the language, in the way it's spoken. People from the community. Where they live in the community and use the language.*]

P172: "Chanainnsa 'native speakers'. 'S dòcha gur e sin a tha thu a' ciallachadh am broinn 'tradition bearers' ach chuirinn dhà no trì ann. *Older native speakers recognised* gu bheil comas aca sa chànan."

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[I*'d say 'native speakers. Maybe that's what you mean with 'tradition bearers' but I'd put two or three in. Older native speakers recognised that they have ability in the language.*]

P9: "Na daoine a thaobh gnàthasan-cainnte agus proverbs agus 's dòcha eòlas air òrain ..."

P171: "agus a bhith glèidheadh an dualchainnt an uair sin gun a bhith mùchadh rudan."

  P9: 40s, Native, Public Sector

  P171: 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*P9: The people who know idioms and proverbs and maybe songs ... P171: and then preserving the dialect without stifling things.*]

P84: "Caran coltach ri [...] iasgair à Scalpaigh. Daoine mar sin. Daoine mar m' athairsa aig a bheil eòlas air rudan air nach eil eòlas agamsa air."

  50s, Native, H/F Education

[*A bit like [...] a Scalpay fisherman. People like that. People like my father who knows about things that I don't.*]

For some, the inclusion of native speakers also formed part of a democratic legitimacy.

P35: "Cuideigin ann an coimhearsnachd […] Tha e cudromach an ceangal sin a dhèanamh leis a' choimhearsnachd gus nach biodh eòlaichean cànain is craoladairean is luchd-foghlaim an-còmhnaidh ag innse dhaibh dè ...

P34: "Cuideigin a dh'aithnicheadh dè nach eil nàdarra."

P35: "Sin e. Yeah."

P34: 30s, Native, Broadcasting

P35: 50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*P35: Somebody in a community [...] It's important to make that link with the community so that it wouldn't be always language experts and broadcasters and educators telling them what ... P34: Somebody who can tell what's not natural. P35: That's it. Yeah.*]

The Gaelic Language Expert

P169: "Tha feadhainn ann a tha uabhasach fhèin math air a' Ghàidhlig, Ailean Caimbeul, is Ruairidh MacIlleathain. Tha a' Ghàidhlig acasan sgoinneil. Ma tha iadsan os cionn rudan mar seo, bidh sin alright."

50s, Native, Education

[*There are some people who are extremely good at Gaelic, Alan Campbell and Ruaraidh MacIlleathain. Their Gaelic is great. If they're in charge of things like this, it'll be alright.*]

RA: "Dè bhiodh gan dèanamh earbsach?"

P84: "Gun robh ... tha sin doirbh ged-tà. Dhomhsa – tha fhios agamsa na seòrsa daoine anns am biodh earbsa agam. Nis, chan eil mi dol a' cur sìos air daoine – bhithinn airson gu mòr gur dòcha gum biodh e anns a' chategory a thuirt mi. Gun robh Gàidhlig aca bho thùs, ach aig a bheil foghlam ann an Gàidhlig. Ok, sin agad e. Bhiodh earbsa agam annta. Chan eil mi ag ràdh nach biodh earbsa agam ann an daoine a dh'ionnsaich Gàidhlig aig an robh foghlam ann an Gàidhlig, ach tha fios 'am nam b' e rudeigin a bha seo far am biodh litreachadh is briathrachas is fuaimneachadh is gnothaichean air a thoirt ri chèile, gum bi barrachd earbsa agam anns an duine aig an robh Gàidhlig o thùs, aig an robh foghlam air choireigin ann an Gàidhlig. Ach, chan eil sin a ràdh nach biodh e glè mhath daoine a bhith anns a' bhuidheann nach robh foghlamaichte, ann an seagh, ach aig an robh cànan prìseil air dualchas – a dh'fhaodadh cur ris a' ghnothach."

50s, Native, H/F Education

[*What would make it trustworthy? P84: That is ... that's difficult though. For me – I know what kind of people I would trust. Now, I'm not going to criticise people – I'd really like it to be the category I was talking about. That they were raised with Gaelic, but are also educated in Gaelic. Ok, that's it. I'd trust them. I'm not saying I wouldn't trust people who have learnt Gaelic and are educated in it, but I know that if this thing was bringing together spelling and vocabulary and pronunciation and stuff, that I'd have more trust in someone raised with the language who had some kind of education in the language. But that's not*

to say that it wouldn't be good to have people in the group who weren't educated, in a way, but who have valuable traditional language – that could add to the thing.]

Fluent learners were considered to have the potential for inclusion, as their skills and knowledge, particularly of grammar, were recognised.

> P35: "Tha mi smaoineachadh gu bheil e gu math cudromach gu bheil cuideigin a th' air a' Ghàidhlig ionnsachadh gu fìor àrd ìre. Agus tha mi a' ciallachadh fìor àrd ìre, cuideigin mar [P37] no Ruairidh MacIlleathain. [...] Oir chan eil tuigse aig mo leithidsa air na duilgheadas agus na dòigheansmaoineachaidh aca."
>
> 50s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I think that it's very important that somebody who has learnt Gaelic to a very high level. And I mean a very high level, somebody like [P37] or Ruairidh MacIlleathain. [...] Because someone like me doesn't know the difficulties and the thoughts that they have.*]

B4.5.3. What size should a Gaelic corpus planning body be?

The answers to this question varied depending on whether the group had envisioned the body as one institution, a partnership or as a 'hub and spokes' model. Seven groups specified that there would need to be at least a small group of full-time staff:

> P87: "Gu practaigeach, dh'fheumadh buidheann meadhanach beag a bhith ann làn-thìde. ach le lìonraidh de bhuidhnean a tha a' cur ris."
>
> 40s, Learner, H/F Education
>
> [*Practically, there would need to be a relatively small full-time group ... but with a network of groups adding to it.*]

Three participants, after considering the different duties they would like to see, commented on the scale of potential work as requiring a large group but without considering this to be likely in the short-term:

> P29: "'S e buidheann gu math mòr a tha gu bhith ann!"
>
> 20s, Native, Gaelic Arts
>
> [*It's going to be quite a big group!*]

> P176: "'S e biast mhòr de bhuidheann a tha gu bhith seo, nach eil!"
>
> 50s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*It's going to be great beast of group, isn't it!*]

B4.5.4. Where should it be located?

Six groups felt that a body could successfully work over a number of locations. As a lot of participants are part of organisations already working over a network of locations, this was the most popular option. However, three of the same groups thought that within a network, the body would need to be seen to have a location in the Western Highlands, i.e. the Western Isles

or West Highlands. This was perceived to be necessary to the group's linguistic credibility by basing at least part of the structure in traditional Gaelic communities:

> P83: "Tha mi cinnteach gum biodh tòrr dhen obair a' tachairt virtually […] Ach aig an aon àm, dh'fheumadh rudeigin a bhith anns na h-Eileanan oir sin far a bheil
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I'd say that for standing and reputation that the majority of the jobs anyway should be in the West Highlands.*]a' Ghàidhlig."
>
> 20s, Learner, H/F Education
>
> [*I'm sure that lots of the work would happen virtually. […] But at the same time, something has to be in the Western Isles as that's where Gaelic is.*]

> P172: "Chanainn a thaobh seasamh agus cliù gum bu chòir a' mhòr-chuid dha na h-obraichean co-dhiù a bhith ann an taobh an iar na Gàidhealtachd."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I'd say for standing and reputation that most of the jobs anyway should be in the West Highlands.*]

One group specified that the network should include a university site to add academic credibility:

> P172: "Ceangal poblach ri oilthigh – ann am fear de na bailtean mòra, Glaschu, no Dùn Èideann no Obar Dheathain ach leis a' mhòr-chuid dhen luchd-obrach agus an oidhirp a' tachairt air taobh an iar na Gàidhealtachd. No na h-Eileanan."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*A public link to a university – in one of the cities, Glasgow or Edinburgh or Aberdeen but with the majority of the staff and the work in the West Highlands. Or the Islands.*]

B4.5.5. Who should a Gaelic corpus development body be responsible to or answerable to?

This discussion usually became about how the body would operate in relation to BnG. The most common suggestion, by eight groups, was that it would necessarily come under the auspices of BnG. For some, this would add authority to the group, for others, it could have practical benefits of providing administrative infrastructure:

> P173: "Tha mi a' smaointinn airson maoineachadh agus kudos gum feumadh iad a bhith fo stiùir Bòrd na Gàidhlig agus an riaghaltas. Gur e rud proifeasanta, oifigeil, nàiseanta a bhiodh ann."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*I think for funding and kudos that they would need to be under the auspices of BnG and the government. That it would be a professional, official, national thing.*]

> P35: "Dh'fheumadh ùghdarras a bhith aige. Dh'fheumadh e a bhith, nam

bheachdsa, fo stiùir Bhòrd na Gàidhlig. Chan ann fo stiùir UHI no fo stiùir duine sam bith. Chan eil mi ag ràdh gum feumadh daoine ann am Bòrd na Gàidhlig a bhith ga dhèanamh ach dh'fheumadh e bhith stèidhichte – seo buidheann laghail airson na Gàidhlig. 'S ann orra bu chòir an dleastanas sin a bhith. Bheireadh sin ùghdarras oifigeil dhan bhuidheann."

   50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*It has to have authority. It has to be, in my opinion, under BnG. Not under UHI or anyone else. I'm not saying that the BnG staff should do it, but it should be based – this is the statutory body for Gaelic. It should be their duty. That would give official authority to the body.*]

P184: "Feumaidh cuideigin uallach a ghabhail airson an gnothach a thòiseachadh co-dhiù. [...] Feumaidh e bhith fo sgèith Bòrd na Gàidhlig nach fheum? Oir 's e iadsan a tha stiùireadh a h-uile sìon, uill, a' toirt beachdan agus a' cur taic ri na planaichean a th' aig na roinnean ... Tha e nas fheàrr ma thig e fo sgàilean cuideigin agus chanainn gur e Bòrd na Gàidhlig a bu chòir dhuinn a bhith ag aithneachadh mar neach-stiùiridh airson sin."

   50s, Native, Education

[*Somebody has to take responsibility to get the thing started anyway [...] It has to come under BnG doesn't it? As they're the ones directing everything, well, giving opinions and supporting the plans that departments have ... It's better if comes under the auspices of somebody and I'd say we should recognise BnG as the lead on this.*]

P9: "*They could get the administrative support* bho Bòrd na Gàidhlig ..."

   40s, Native, Public Sector

[*from BnG.*]

A smaller number of participants, however, thought that too close a relationship with government or BnG might impinge on the ability of the body to carry out its work:

P5: "An dragh a bhiodh ormsa, ma tha smachd aig an riaghaltas no Bòrd na Gàidhlig air an rud, 's dòcha gun tig rudeigin às nach eil a' freagairt air a' Ghàidhlig mar rud fhèin. [...] 'S e an rud a tha gu math a' chànain. Tha còir aige a bhith a stiùireadh rud a tha gu math a' chànain."

   40s, Native, Community Group

[*The worry I have, if the government or BnG have control over it, maybe something would come from it that doesn't suit Gaelic itself. [...] It's whatever's good for the language. It should be directed towards the good of the language.*]

B4.5.6. Should it be a standalone agency or a partnership?

Most groups had clear ideas about how the body could be structured in a way that would allow for participation and buy-in. The binary options in the initial question (agency or partnership)

had little relation to the kinds of models suggested. Common points from the participants' suggestions were:

- A small full-time core

- A representative body to allow for inter-agency cooperation and participation

- The desire for input from all parts of society (as mentioned under the Participatory Model and the importance of buy-in above)

In Workshop 5, the participants suggested an open, participatory model.

P29: "So, tha central hub agad a tha a' gabhail uallach airson a h-uile càil ach gu bheil na diofar colaistean, buidhnean a' biathadh an fhiosrachaidh a-steach chun a' bhuidhinn seo agus gur e iad fhèin a tha an uair sin a' sgaoileadh agus a' cumail stiùir air. So bhiodh uallach air diofar colaistean, oilthighean, buidhnean airson na diofar rudan."

P30: "So, bhiodh gràmar is litreachadh, 's dòcha ainmean-àite san aon cholaiste no an aon àite agus an uair sin teagaisg, gnothaichean ceangailte ri teagasg an àite eile, is *translators* shìos an Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann no Glaschu ach tha iad uile ceangailte."

  P29: 20s, Native, Gaelic Arts

  P30: 30s, Native, Gaelic Arts

[*P29: So, you have a central hub that takes responsibility for everything but the different colleges, groups, feed in information to this group and they then disseminate and oversee it. So there would be different duties for different colleges, universities, groups for different things. P30: So grammar and spelling, maybe place-names in one college or one place, and then teaching, things related to teaching in another place, and translators down in the University of Edinburgh or Glasgow but they're all linked.*]

P171: "'S dòcha gum biodh còmhlan-obrach ann. Le riochdairean bho na prìomh bhuidhnean sin. A' co-chomhairleachadh agus a' biathadh a-steach dhan rud."

  30s, Native, Public Sector

[*Maybe there would be a working group. With representatives from the main groups. Consulting and feeding into it.*]

P9: "Mas e dìreach seòrsa de chom-pàirteachas, dh'fheumadh cuideigin a bhith anns a' mheadhan, a' stiùireadh an rud, a' dèanamh cinnteach gu bheil gnothaichean a' gluasad air adhart."

  40s, Native, Public Sector

[*If it's a kind of partnership, somebody has to be in the middle, overseeing it, making sure that things are moving forward.*]

P35: "Gum biodh dòigh againn dhuinne, mar chraoladairean, seòrsa de input air

choireigin a bhith againn. 'S nach bitheadh a' bhuidheann a tha seo a' cruinneachadh 's a' meòrachadh agus nuair a shuidheas sinn uile ann am buidheann: o tha sinn cho glic! Tha fhios 'am, tha mi air a bhith ann. Tha sinn cho fiosraichte, is cho glic mas fhìor. […] Feumaidh tu a bhith air do bhiathadh on taobh a-muigh agus *feedback* a bhith ann."

50s, Native, Broadcasting

[*That we would have a way, as broadcasters, to have some kind of input. And that this group wouldn't be meeting and pondering, as when any of us sit down in a group: Oh we're so clever! I know, I've been there. We're so knowledgeable and so clever, allegedly. You have to have input from outside and there has to be feedback.*]

Other groups suggested that a new organisational structure would give an opportunity to streamline activity:

P173: "Tha mi a' smaoineachadh cuideachd gum biodh e feumail – tha an uiread de bhuidhnean beaga, uill, nas lugha, ann. Bhiodh e uabhasach math nam biodh a h-uile càil fon aona bhratach. Chan eil e a' dèanamh ciall – na làraich-lìn eadar-dhealaichte agus na buidhnean eadar-dhealaichte a th' ann. Tha mi a' smaointinn gum biodh e tòrr na b' fhasa, cuideachd, do luchd-cleachdaidh, an uair sin, aon àite, agus bhiodh fhios agad, ge bith dè tha thu a' lorg, gum biodh e ann an sin. 'S cinnteach gun sabhaileadh siud airgead fiù 's. Is cinnteach. [...] Dhan obair againne, 's e goireas air leth a bhiodh ann."

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I think too that it would be useful – there are so many small, well, smaller groups. It would be great if everything was under the same banner. It doesn't make sense – the different websites and groups that there ann. I think it would be much better, too, for users, then, one place, and you'd know, whatever you were looking for, that it would be there. That would definitely even save money. Definitely [...] in our job, it would be a great resource.*]

P84: "An àite CnaG, Clì, Bòrd na Gàidhlig is a h-uile rud ann. Carson nach eil dìreach aon bhuidheann ann?"

50s, Native, H/F Education

[*Instead of CnaG, Clì, BnG and everything. Why isn't there just one group?*]

B4.5.7. How should it be funded?

This was a difficult question for participants to resolve. The most common point made was to reject any suggestion of redistributing funding from existing groups.

P184: "Bhiodh e na b' fheàrr, ma tha sinn a' toirt prìomhachas dha seo, gun tigeadh an t-airgead – agus chan ann air falbh bho ... maoineachas a th' aig Bòrd na Gàidhlig mar-thà oir tha sin air a riarachadh a-mach airson a h-uile buidheann eile. Is an uair sin tha e dol a dh'fhàgail a h-uile duine eile gann."

50s, Native, Education

[*It would be better, if we're going to give priority to this, that money would come from – not taking away from … funding BnG already has as that's shared out between all the other groups. And then that would leave everyone else short.*]

The second most common suggestion was to argue that the Government and, along with them BnG, should raise the amounts of financial support.

P172: "Bhiodh tu an dòchas gun toireadh Bòrd na Gàidhlig airgead dhaibh!"

40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*You'd hope that Bòrd na Gàidhlig would give them money!*]

P9: "Dh'fheumadh airgead ri thighinn bhon Riaghaltas sa chiad dol a-mach. [...] Tha na buidhnean fhèin a tha sin gu math gann air airgead mar-thà."

40s, Native, Public Sector

[*Money would have to come from the Government in the first instance. […] Those other groups are already short of money.*]

P82: "Dealbhadh corpais, 's e dealbhadh cànain a th' ann. Agus chan eil dealbhadh cànain ag obair gun budget. Chan fhiach e coimhead air – seo an aon loidhne a tha mi ag iarraidh a thoirt gu Bòrd na Gàidhlig! – Chan fhiach e coimhead air plana cànain sam bith gun budget line. Sin a' cheist as cudromaiche."

40s, Learner, H/F Education

[*Corpus planning is language planning. And language planning doesn't work without a budget. It's not worth considering it – this is the one point I want to make to BnG! – It's not worth considering any language plan without a budget line. That's the most important question.*]

B4.5.8. Whose needs should be prioritised?

This was another difficult question for participants. Many refused or declined to prioritise any groups over any others:

P35: "Any attempt to prioritise any of them would be a disaster."

50s, Native, Broadcasting

P184: "Uill, tha mise dol a ràdh [clann] agus [proifeiseantaich] co-dhiù. Luchd-obrach, tidsearan, daoine sam bith a tha ag obair le clann. […] Uaireannan bidh sinn a' fàgail às daoine a tha fileanta. A thaobh, tha focus gu mòr air [clann], chan eil an cànan aca is feuchainn ris a' chànan a thoirt do dhaoine agus uaireannan bidh sinn a' dìochuimhneachadh."

50s, Native, Education

[*Well, I'm going to say [children] and [professionals] anyway. Staff, teachers, anybody working with children. […] Sometimes we leave out fluent speakers. As, the focus is so*

much on children, they don't have the language and trying to pass the language on to people and sometimes we forget.]

B4.5.9. In what ways would you contribute to the work of a Gaelic corpus development body?

One of the groups of broadcasters said that, as long as the group had the necessary legitimacy from their organisation and other main sectors, they would be happy to follow guidance.

P9: "Ciamar a bhiodh na daoine aig a bheil eòlas air a' chànain gu làitheil anns a' choimhearsnachd a' biathadh a-steach gu sin?"

P171: "Tha sin cudromach. [...] Dh'fheumadh cuideigin a' dol a-mach thuca, 's dòcha mar a tha thu fhèin [RA] a' dèanamh seo. Talla a' bhaile an Tairbeart no ann am Bagh a' Chaisteil, ge air bith càite. A' toirt cothrom do dhaoine mar sin."

P9: 40s, Native, Public Sector

P171: 30s, Native, Public Sector

[*P9: How would the people who know the language in the community feeding into that? P171: That's important. Somebody would have to go out to them, maybe like you're doing this [to RA]. Tarbert Town Hall or in Castlebay or wherever. Giving people an opportunity that way.*]

P184: "Bhithinn 'n dùil, ma tha seo air a dhèanamh dòigheil, gum faigheadh sinn dòigh air na beachdan againn fhìn a chur a-staigh. Ach aig deireadh an latha, tha sinn uile a' coimhead airson rudeigin a tha a h-uile duine gus a bhith cleachdadh airson 's gu bheil an ìre aig a' Ghàidhlig – aig àrd ìre agus gu bheil a h-uile duine ag aontachadh."

50s, Native, Education

[*I'd hope, if this is well-arranged, that we would have a way to put across our opinions. But at the end of the day, we are all looking for something that everyone is going to use so that the level of Gaelic is – at a high standard and that everyone agrees.*]

B4.5.10. What should a Gaelic corpus development body be called?

Acadamaidh na Gàidhlig

In only one group was this name positively received. In five groups, the name was very negatively received.

P88: "... a' smaointinn air na daoine air a bheil mise eòlach, [...] cha bhiodh iad a' tuigsinn, bhiodh iad a' smaointinn gur ann – buidheann aig an robh sgoile a bh' ann."

40s, Native, H/F Education

[*...thinking about the people I know, [...] they wouldn't understand, they'd think it would a group with a school.*]

Sgoil Eòlais na Gàidhlig

Two groups were happy with the name, but two groups rejected it. It was suggested in Workshop 37 that this might create confusion with Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba.

Ionad Cànain Nàiseanta

This was also unpopular, two groups specifically rejecting it.

Àrd-chomhairle na Gàidhlig

Only one group was favourable to this name, two others rejected it.

> P172: "Tha cus comhairlean ann mar-thà."
>
> 40s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*there's too many 'councils' already.*]

> P184: "Tha e a' toirt dhut gur e sin am priomhachas aige airson stiùireadh, airson comhairle, airson taic."
>
> 50s, Native, Education
>
> [*It tells you that that is it's priority, for guidance, advice and support.*]

Participants suggested the following names:

Gàidhlig.com

> P174: "Dè mu dheidhinn Gàidhlig.com no rudeigin mar sin. Tha e goirid."
>
> 30s, Native, Broadcasting
>
> [*What about Gàidhlig.com or something like that. It's short.*]

Sgoil Eòlais Cànain: Workshop 15

Other general suggestions about names included:

> P184: "Tha thu ag iarraidh rudeigin sìmplidh, chan eil thu ag iarraidh rud ... nach biodh fhios aig daoine dè ..".
>
> 50s, Native, Education
>
> [*You want something simple, you don't want something ... that people don't know what ...*]

> P184: "Tha thu ag iarraidh gun tig daoine ann anns a' chiad àite ma tha ceistean sam bith aca a thaobh a' Ghàidhlig, gum bi '*one-stop-shop*' ann."
>
> 50s, Native, Education
>
> [*You want people to go there in the first instance if they have any questions about Gaelic, for there to be a one-stop-shop.*]

B4.5.11. Other considerations

Other points raised by participants include the issue of succession:

> P4: "... gun togadh iad a' chùis a thaobh *succession*. A chionn an-dràsta, leithid an SQA, 's e feadhainn mar Seonaid NicGriogair, DJ MacLeòid, thogadh iad le Gàidhlig, agus 's iadsan na sàr eòlaichean a th' againn an-dràsta. [...] Dh'fheumadh cruinneachadh de dh'eòlaichean a bhith ag obair le feadhainn as òige, le tidsearan."

> 20s, Fluent from primary school age, Community Group

> [*...that they raise the issue of succession. As now, like the SQA, there's people like Seonaid NicGriogair, DJ MacLeòid, they were raised with Gaelic, and they're the experts we have just now. [...] There has to be a collection of experts working with younger people, with teachers.*]

How important is this for the future of Gaelic?

> P66: "Tha mi a' faicinn an luach a bhiodh ann a' toirt a h-uile càil còmhla, ach tha mi a' smaoineachadh gum feum amas gu math soilleir a bhith ann is gum feum riaghaltas coimhead às ùr air ciamar a tha iad a' coimhead ris a h-uile càil – airson tha Gàidhlig a' bàsachadh. Tha Gàidhlig a' bàsachadh tòrr nas luaithe na tha sinn a' smaoineachadh."

> 20s, Native, Education

> [*I can see the value in bringing everything together, but I think there should be a clear aim and that the government should look again at how they look at everything – because Gaelic is dying. Gaelic is dying a lot quicker than we think.*]

> P66: "Ma tha rudeigin gu bhith ann feumaidh – 's e seirbheis eadar-theangachaidh tha mise a' smaoineachadh an rud a b' fheumaile. Agus taic dha tidsearan [...] Cha bhithinn ag iarraidh rudeigin a tha a' cur cus tìde seachad air dè am facal a tha sinn a' dol a chleachdadh airson siud 's seo. Feumaidh sinn leudachadh a dhèanamh airson nan sgoiltean fhèin."

> 20s, Native, Education

> [*If there's going to be something – I think the most useful thing would be a translation service. And support for teachers. [...] I wouldn't want something that's going to spend time on what word are we going to use for this or that. We have to expand for the schools.*]

> P66: "Ma tha buidheann mar seo gu bhith air a chruthachadh, 's dòcha gur e an rud a thachradh gun toireadh e tidsearan air falbh bho na sgoiltean."

> 20s, Native, Education

> [*If a group like this is going to be created, maybe what would happen would be that it would take teachers away from the schools.*]

> P174: "Chan eil mise a' smaoineachadh gu bheil gin dha na rudan sin dol a

chuideachadh a thaobh, mar gum biodh, Gàidhlig a chumail a' dol. Chan e sin an rud a tha dhìth a tha mise a' smaoineachadh idir. Tha mi smaoineachadh gur e an rud a tha a dhìth gum bi daoine a' bruidhinn Gàidhlig a-mach às an sgoil agus a-mach às an àite-obrach aca agus nam measg fhèin."

  30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I don't think any of these things are going to help to keep Gaelic going, as it were. I don't think that's what's missing at all. I think what's missing is people speaking Gaelic outside of school and outside of their workplace and amongst each other.*]

P172: "Saoilidh mise gu bheil e gu math cudromach oir tha an uiread de rudan ùr a thachair anns a' Ghàidhlig anns an fhichead bliadhna a chaidh seachad ach tha seòrsa de cho-òrdanachadh a thaobh briathrachas a dhìth, tha droch eisimpleirean de bhriathrachas ann. Tha gu leòr a' dèanamh gearain air a' BhBC ach chì sinn agus cluinnidh sinn droch Ghàidhlig ann an suidheachaidhean taobh a-muigh craoladh. Chì thu aithisgean oifigeil – 's e butarrais de gobbledegook a th' annta. 'S e dìth soilleireachaidh [...] dìth oidhirp air an rud a dhèanamh sìmplidh agus ghabhas a thuigse a th' ann. Agus cuideachd air an làimh eile, tha cànan anns a' choimhearsnachd a' call am brìgh ri linn 's nach eil na faclan 's na gnàthasan-cainnte a bh' aig daoine [...] a' dol a-steach dhan t-saoghal Ùr Gàidhlig' a tha seo. So, tha rudan mar seo uabhasach cudromach, chanainn."

  40s, Native, Broadcasting

[*I think that's is very important because there are so many new things that have happened in Gaelic in the last 20 years but a kind of coordination for vocabulary is missing, there are some bad examples of vocabulary. there's enough people complaining about the BBC but we see and we hear bad Gaelic in situations other than broadcasting. You see official reports – they're a bunch of gobbledegook. there's a lack of clarity [...] and a lack of effort to make the thing simple and understandable. And also, on the other hand, the language in the community is looking its essence as the words and expressions that people had [...] aren't entering this New Gaelic World. So things like this are very important, I'd say.*]

P184: "Tha mi fhìn a' faireachdainn, tha sinn air a bhith feitheamh airson ... Tha sinn a-nis aig ìre far am feum sinn sùil a thoirt san fharsaingeachd air ciamar a tha a' Ghàidhlig a' fàs, agus bidh sinn bho àm gu àm a' faighinn gearanan a thaobh cho dona sa tha a' Ghàidhlig, far a bheil laigsean. 'S dòcha gun e seo an t-àm airson a h-uile duine [shlaodadh?] le chèile, agus rannsachadh a dhèanamh, còmhradh, conaltradh, gu dè a chanas tu ris, airson an àm ri teachd. [...] Tha sinn ga iarraidh, tha mi smaointinn gur e dòigh air taic a chur ris an deagh obair a tha dol, air feadh an àite, ann an diofar bhuidhnean, airson a' chànain."

  50s, Native, Education

[*I feel, we've been waiting for ... We're not at the stage where we have to look generally at how Gaelic is growing, and from time to time we get complaints about how bad the Gaelic is, where there are weaknesses. Maybe this is the time for everyone to come together and carry out research or conversation or communication, whatever you call it, for the*

future. […] We want it, I think it is a way to support the good work that is going on, everywhere, in different groups, for the language.]

Consolidated resources would support professional work:

P174: "A thaobh an obair againne, 's e goireas air leth a bhiodh ann. [...] Tha mi a' smaointinn gun toireadh e cuideachadh dhuinn gu mòr. 'S gur e rud a th' ann a chleachdamaid gu mòr."

30s, Native, Broadcasting

[*For our work, it would be a great resource. […] I think it would help us a lot. It is something we would use a lot.*]

B4.6. Conclusions

B4.6.1. With regard to corpus development roles, there are contributors, decision-makers and end-users.

Participants were explicitly asked how they envisaged themselves as contributing or participating in future corpus development for Gaelic. The responses divide easily into those who saw themselves either as active contributors or as passive end-users. The former are typically Gaelic language expert practitioners who feel that they have a lot of Gaelic expertise to offer, and want to be involved and consulted during the corpus development process, particularly if it involves recommendations on usage. They tend to be translators, language teachers, creative writers, academics or those who see themselves as good, fluent Gaelic speakers.

The end-users typically said that they would be happy to put into practice the corpus development decisions made by others, as long as they felt that the framework had 'legitimacy' and majority 'buy-in'. In contrast to the language expert practitioners, they are less comfortable giving guidance or recommendations to others. They may not work for professional Gaelic organisations but may also be broadcasters, Gaelic-medium teachers or be involved in language development organisations (e.g. CnaG, An Comann Gaidhealach).

This is not to be understood as a hard and fast distinction but more as a spectrum. The job title is less important than their confidence in their own specialist or general knowledge; they may consider themselves expert language practitioners when it comes to their own dialect (e.g. Scalpay usage) but as end users in regards to best practice for local government terminology.

One thing that this suggests is that the preferred model for a Gaelic corpus development framework is one that is highly participatory and democratic, rather than elitist and authoritarian.

B4.6.2. A Gaelic corpus planning framework should aim for three sources of legitimacy: popular, scientific, and political.

When asked what would make a corpus development framework legitimate for them, the 'end user' participants were clear that it was essential to have people involved who are widely recognised as being excellent native Gaelic speakers and bearers of the traditional language and culture (the Model Gaelic Speakers), i.e. people who are not necessarily experts or managers of Gaelic agencies, but who are accepted by the community as representing authenticity and cultural continuity.

The participants who identified themselves as potential contributors said that in addition it is important to have expert linguists (e.g. grammarians, lexicographers, sociolinguists and phoneticians) involved in the corpus development framework, in order to ensure that decisions are made on the basis of expert, verifiable evidence and not the hunches of individuals.

A third area of legitimacy, less commonly cited yet also important, was to involve people with strategic and project managerial expertise to 'get the job done': the ability to prioritise and meet the requirements of users.

In the Gaelic context any proposed corpus development framework needs to satisfy all three requirements for legitimacy; popular, scientific and political. We interpret this as implying a tripartite framework for Gaelic corpus development, involving three groups of representatives: (a) community-recognised Model Gaelic Speakers; (b) language scientists (e.g. grammarians, phoneticians, lexicographers, sociolinguists); and (c) language status agents (e.g. representatives of BnG, CnaG, Clì Gàidhlig, Stòrlann, the BBC, etc.).

B4.6.3. There is a distinction between 'outsourcing' and 'participatory' perspectives on Gaelic corpus development.

Participants fell into two main groups when asked what kind of corpus development framework was appropriate for Gaelic.

One group suggested that the outsourcing model was the best kind of approach. For these people (typically language status agents whose job is to get more people learning and using Gaelic), the assumption is that corpus development is a mainly technical task, similar to developing an IT system, which can be broken down into smaller tasks, which are then outsourced to the individual, private company or organisation that offers to do the work to a professional standard at the lowest cost. This group tends to assume that most of the necessary corpus development work has already been done, and that all that is left is to fill in the details.

Language practitioners (e.g. translators, language teachers, creative writers), on the other hand, are much more aware of the full scale of the corpus development task, and of the fact that it often involves making decisions which are more political than technical. They are wary of an outsourcing model which has in the past led to problems of quality control, inconsistency, and lack of 'buy-in'. They prefer a participatory model for Gaelic corpus development, where they are themselves involved in making the decisions, and where everyone has a voice in the process.

The ideal corpus development framework for Gaelic would be one where status planning agents (including usage and acquisition planning) could outsource their corpus development needs to an open, participatory body which enjoys both popular and scientific legitimacy.

B4.6.4. People are unsure about a funding model for Gaelic corpus development.

The majority of participants had little knowledge about funding arrangements or potential sources of funding for Gaelic corpus development. A small number of participants expressed the view that the Scottish Government has a duty to fund Gaelic corpus development, in addition to their current funding for Gaelic status development activities, in order to fulfil their commitment to the language. The idea of top-slicing the existing Gaelic development budget

(i.e. taking a percentage of existing education, broadcasting, and arts development budgets), was seen as undesirable by the majority of participants, as they believed the budgets were not sufficient to begin with.

In sum, participants had difficulty recommending a funding model.

B4.6.5. A Gaelic language academy is not needed for prestige.

There was no belief that the establishment of a Gaelic language academy was necessary to raise the status of Gaelic.

In section A4.1, we saw that the European model of language academies from previous centuries were often political efforts to add prestige to the language by regulating it. While this is the most well-known model (and undoubtedly adds to the apprehension about prescription and standardisation), participants were clear in rejecting such a body or the need for one.

In contrast, emphasis was placed on establishing a corpus development framework which would be practical, unbureaucratic and unpretentious. Participants tended to reject names like *Acadamaidh* or *Àrd-chomhairle* as overly pretentious.

Part C. Recommendations

C1. Summary of Conclusions

C1.1. Linguistic Foundations

Following Fishman (2006a), it is important to note that all corpus planners operate within an (often unconscious) ideological framework, with their own socially conditioned assumptions about 'good' speakers, 'good' domains and 'good' words. For the work of corpus planners to be effective in providing support to the language, it is best for them to follow the dominant ideological framework of the speech community.

Within the Gaelic language policy context, Fishman's ideological dimensions can be reinterpreted in terms of attraction to, or repulsion from, four kinds of linguistic usage:

- Anglicisms (*Beurla*-philia — *Beurla*-phobia)

- neologisms (neophilia — neophobia)

- archaisms (retro-philia — retrophobia)

- Irish-isms (*Gaeilge*-philia — *Gaeilge*-phobia)

The results of the Focused Conversations we conducted confirmed the usefulness of this multi-dimensional model in illuminating out understanding of the dominant language ideology of Gaelic speakers.

At the lexical level, the observations of McLeod (2004, 2008) were confirmed and elaborated upon: Gaelic speakers are largely ambivalent towards Irish Gaelic; Gaelic speakers tend to be more neophobic than *Beurla*-phobic, in the sense that they would prefer a long-established borrowing from English (whether lexical or syntactic) over an unfamiliar, non-transparent new coinage, or the attempted revival of a semantically opaque archaism.

If choice is made between four kinds of word: familiar Gaelic words (FG), familiar English words (FE), unfamiliar (or uninterpretable) Gaelic words (UG), and unfamiliar English words (UE) our data show the following ranking of preference:

- FG > FE > UG / UE

In other words, Gaelic speakers would prefer a Familiar Gaelic word to an equally Familiar English equivalent, and they would prefer a Familiar English word to an Unfamiliar Gaelic or English word.

From this we can conclude that the dominant language ideology (at surface, lexical level, including established calques) is:

- Definitely neophobic, since FG > UG and FE > UE

- *Beurla*-phobic, since FG > FE

- More neophobic than *Beurla*-phobic, since FE > UG

At the 'deeper', non-lexical levels, we are still talking about a choice between the same four kinds of thing, except they are now abstract 'constructions' rather than concrete words. What we learned from our data collection can be summarised best as:

- FG > FE

In other words, people prefer ga dhèanamh to a' dèanamh e and cò às a tha thu? to càite a bheil thu bho?, etc, so this means that FG > FE.

As no non-lexical data was collected that would allow us to rank unfamiliar Gaelic against English-derived constructions, they are no definite conclusions to be made about UG and UE. What is clear from the deeper evidence is that the dominant language ideology at this level is:

- *Beurla*-phobic, since FG > FE

Overall, we can conclude that the dominant language ideology is:

- Mildly *Beurla*-phobic — clear at both levels, most obvious at deeper levels

- Quite neophobic — clear at surface level

- Probably more neophobic than *Beurla*-phobic — clear at surface level and unclear at deeper levels.

From the participants' comments, when a surface level choice jars with people, it is usually due to it being something that they don't understand (neo-phobia), whereas when a deep level choice jars, it is usually something that they do understand, but recognise as being inappropriate mixture of language codes (*Beurla*-phobia).

The dominant language ideology is coherent (more neophobic than *Beurla*-phobic), but has different reflexes at different levels (surface level choice is more about the familiarity axis, and deeper level choice is more about the Beurla axis).

The other key points about linguistic foundations from the research are:

1. There is a generation gap with regard to how confident people are in their Gaelic language abilities — with an older generation of confident Gaelic-dominant bilinguals, and a younger generation of linguistically less secure English-dominant bilinguals. Bridging this generation gap is an urgent priority for Gaelic corpus development, allowing older speakers to share their expertise with younger speakers.

2. People feel strongly that the traditional grammatical and idiomatic foundations of the Gaelic language are being eroded through lack of effective reinforcement, and are being replaced by a reduced blend of Gaelic influenced by English, and affecting vocabulary and

grammar in particular. Slowing down and reversing this process is a significant priority for Gaelic corpus development.

3. The creation of new Gaelic terminology to replace English in specialised domains is not seen as an immediate priority, when compared to the intrusion of English into the grammatical structure of the language, and the loss of basic lexical distinctions and traditional idioms. The dominant language ideology thus appears to be more neophobic (i.e. hostile towards neologisms) than *Beurla*-phobic (i.e. hostile towards English borrowings). However, participants are by no means opposed to all lexical innovation, recognising that there can be reasonable demand for new words, as new concepts and objects gain currency in everyday language.

4. People want support for informal, vernacular, traditional language use, as well as for more formal, standard usage, so that younger speakers can familiarise themselves with the many appropriate modes of speaking (including dialects), and do not end up using formal Gaelic in informal contexts. It is thus important for Gaelic corpus development to prioritise the description and preservation of the traditional vernacular dialects, and not just focus on the formal standard language.

5. The accepted model for 'good' Gaelic (at both formal and informal levels) is the popular language of the 1940s and 1950s, with linguistic authority being conferred on fluent speakers who grew up during this era (i.e. the Model Gaelic Speakers). The dominant ideology is thus a limited form of retrophilia, which we characterise as retro-vernacular — an attachment to the traditional form of the language still in use by fluent traditional speakers, in contrast to the evolving, English-influenced usages of the younger generation. Description and maintenance of the vernacular Gaelic of the remaining older speakers is thus an immediate priority for Gaelic corpus development.

6. Scottish Gaelic speakers are not overtly interested in their language's common heritage with Irish Gaelic — the dominant language ideology is neutral between *Gaeilge*-philia and *Gaeilge*-phobia.

C1.2. Corpus Resources

1. People feel that existing provision of Gaelic language resources is fragmented and lacks coordination. A clear desire was expressed for an online 'one-stop-shop' for Gaelic corpus resources: a single website where people can go to get instant, authoritative, trustworthy, detailed advice on advanced lexical and grammatical usage.

2. People want guidance on detailed aspects of grammatical usage, along with clear, unambiguous explanations as to why certain usages are ungrammatical. An urgent priority for Gaelic corpus development is the development of a comprehensive, up-to-date, online reference grammar based on the vernacular usage of the remaining traditional Gaelic speakers.

3. People want explicit guidance on how to avoid *Beurlachas* (i.e. English-influenced Gaelic), and how to speak what they consider to be more authentic, natural, and stylistically appropriate Gaelic. One particularly useful resource would be a guide to good Gaelic stylistic usage, including a list of commonly found usages perceived by traditional speakers to be unacceptable, along with more authentic alternatives.

4. People want more informative dictionaries, with much more systematic explanations of distinctions relating to shades of meaning, context, dialects, colloquial versus formal usage, and contemporary versus archaic usage.

5. There is a need for greater consistency in new Gaelic terminology. Where there is obvious, reasonable demand for a new item of Gaelic terminology, professional users have a clear preference for there to be a single agreed Gaelic term rather than a range of competing synonyms created by different organisations.

C1.3. Institutional Foundations

1. With regard to corpus development roles, there are contributors, decision-makers and end-users. Whereas some participants (end-users) said that they would be happy to put into practice the corpus development decisions made by others (decision-makers), as long as they felt that the framework had legitimacy and majority buy-in, a significant number (contributors) expressed a desire to be fully involved in any corpus development process. The preferred model for a Gaelic corpus development framework is one that is highly participatory and democratic, rather than elitist and authoritarian.

2. An appropriate Gaelic corpus development framework should aim for three sources of legitimacy: **popular**, **scientific**, and **political**. This suggests some kind of tripartite framework for Gaelic corpus development, involving three independent but interconnected groups: (a) community-recognised Model Gaelic speakers; (b) language scientists (e.g. grammarians, phoneticians, lexicographers, sociolinguists); and (c) language status agents (e.g. representatives of BnG, CNAG, Clì Gàidhlig, Stòrlann, the BBC, etc.).

3. There is an important distinction between outsourcing and participatory perspectives on Gaelic corpus development. From the perspective of Gaelic status planning agents, corpus development is often seen as a relatively uninteresting technical task. Language practitioners, on the other hand, are much more aware that corpus development involves making decisions which are more political than technical, and hence that everyone should have a voice in the process. The ideal corpus development framework for Gaelic would be one where status planners could have a means of outsourcing their corpus development needs to an open, participatory body which enjoys both popular and scientific legitimacy.

4. There is no obvious funding model for a Gaelic corpus development framework. While recognising the importance of corpus development to the future of the Gaelic language in Scotland, participants were reluctant to recommend diverting substantial funding from existing status, usage and acquisition activities.

5. There is no desire to establish a Gaelic language academy whose sole function would be to act as a mere status marker for the language. Any framework should be practical, unbureaucratic and unpretentious.

C2. A Draft Framework for Gaelic Corpus Development

In this section, we present a proposed draft for a decentralised, independent, participatory Gaelic corpus development framework which embodies the language ideology of the Gaelic language community as surveyed in the previous chapter and which thus comprises three component groups. For convenience, we refer to the structure as a whole as *An Comar* (Dwelly: 'meeting', 'confluence of waters'), though this name is not fixed and it used here as a temporary placeholder. One of the initial tasks of any kind of corpus development framework should be to choose its own name, possibly through a public competition, which could coincide or follow public consultations on the framework proposed here.

C2.1. General structure of *An Comar*

An Comar requires three sources of legitimacy to function successfully:

- **popular legitimacy** — its work must reflect the dominant language ideology of the Gaelic speech community, in particular traditional speakers.

- **scientific legitimacy** — its work must correspond to international best practice in linguistics and language policy development.

- **political legitimacy** — its work must be driven by the needs of the various Gaelic status development agencies (including acquisition and usage development).

With this in mind, we conceptualise *An Comar* as a partnership of three independent but interconnected groups, one representing each source of legitimacy:

- the ***Ballrachd*** (membership) of Model Gaelic Speakers

- the ***Comhairle*** (advisory team) of linguistic experts

- the ***Bòrd Inbhe*** (supervisory board) of Gaelic status development agents.

Each of these three groups would have a designated convener:

- the ***Àrd-bhall*** (senior member)

- the ***Àrd-chomhairliche*** (senior linguistic advisor)

- the ***Àrd-mhanaidsear Inbhe*** (senior status manager).

Together, these three designated leaders would constitute a core decision-making group for *An Comar* — the *Triùir* ('triumvirate'). One member of the *Triùir* would function as *Ceannard* ('chairman'), on a rotating basis. We suggest a three-member structure in order to ensure efficient decision making. However, this model is scalable and could consist of *sianar* ('six people'), with two representatives from each of the *Ballrachd*, the *Comhairle* and the *Bòrd Inbhe*.

An Comar would be a consensus-driven partnership of the three semi-autonomous groups, each of which has a key stake in Gaelic corpus development. In itself, it would not need to have formal legal status as an agency or organisation. Formal meetings of the *Triùir* would take place four times a year.

As we noted in section A1.4.1., corpus planning which is problem-creating usually results from language planners attempting to 'correct' the kinds of thing that they themselves consider to be important problems, rather than establishing what the speech community thinks is important. It is with this in mind that *Dlùth is Inneach* chose a methodology that allowed a range of representatives from the speech community to voice their concerns and drive the discussion. It is also with that in mind, that the design of the institutional framework (*An Comar*) requires language planners (the *Comhairle* and the *Bòrd Inbhe*) to work closely and have two-way communication with the community through the *Ballrachd*.

C2.2. *Ballrachd a' Chomair (The Membership)*

The *Ballrachd* would be a group of *An Comar* members. No fixed qualification would be necessary for membership, other than being recognised as a Model Gaelic Speaker. Eligibility would be a matter for the judgement of those making the appointment, as set out below.

The *Ballrachd* would initially consist of a small group of at least five members — people of indisputable and impeccable linguistic authenticity, possessing outstanding competency in Gaelic. Thereafter, in order to become a member, one would first have to be nominated by an existing member, and then have one's nomination approved by a majority of the existing *Ballrachd*.

The *Ballrachd* would elect an *Àrd-bhall* (senior member) to represent it at meetings of the *Triùir*. The *Àrd-bhall* would be reelected on a regular basis (exact terms to be decided by the *Ballrachd* itself). The role of the *Ballrachd* would be to guarantee legitimate linguistic authority for the work of *An Comar*, to ensure linguistic and cultural continuity with the past, and to monitor quality control from the perspective of the traditional speech community.

The *Ballrachd* should be seen to be an independent, self-governing body. Strictly speaking, it would be up to the *Ballrachd* itself to develop a constitution and longterm funding arrangements, but an interim system could be put in place at the outset, based on setup funding from BnG.

The details of the internal structure and governance of the *Ballrachd* are irrelevant to the framework as a whole. What is important is that there is a designated principal or convener (the *Àrd-bhall*), who is trusted and recognised by the speech community as being a Model Gaelic Speaker, whose role is to have responsibility for communicating and consulting with the *Ballrachd* as a whole and to be a public face of popular linguistic legitimacy.

C2.3. *Comhairle a' Chomair (The Advisory Team)*

The *Comhairle* would be a team of at least three linguistic researchers, each employed by a Scottish university and / or equivalent research organisation.

The *Comhairle* would normally be headed by a Gaelic or Celtic Studies academic (the *Àrd-chomhairliche*), who would represent it at meetings of the *Triùir*. The *Àrd-chomhairliche* should have excellent Gaelic language competency and expertise in Gaelic linguistics (syntax, semantics, phonology, and sociolinguistics).

The *Comhairle* would employ research assistants, second research fellows employed by another university or research organisation as necessary, and outsource development work as required, based on necessity and available funding. Core funding for the *Comhairle* could be obtained from a combination of academic and BnG funding. Alternatively, project funding could be obtained from a wider range of funding sources, depending on the scale of the project involved.

The role of the *Comhairle* would be to guarantee scientific legitimacy for the work of *An Comar*, ensuring quality control based on international best practice in language policy and linguistic theory.

The *Comhairle* would manage the main, interactive website for *An Comar*, where all authorised materials relating to Gaelic corpus development would be made available to the public in the one place. This could be part of the LearnGaelic.net website, perhaps rebranded as Gaelic.com or Gàidhlig.com. The website could also be used to host a database of proposed, but unauthorised, Gaelic terminology for consultation and consideration by Gaelic language practitioners, who would also be able to upload their own suggestions. The content hosted on these websites would be legally in the public domain, under an appropriate Creative Commons license.

C2.4. *Bòrd Inbhe a' Chomair (The Supervisory Board)*

The *Bòrd Inbhe* is a group of representatives of Gaelic status development agencies, e.g. BnG, Comunn na Gàidhlig, An Comunn Gàidhealach, Stòrlann, Comhairle nan Leabhraichean, MG Alba, BBC Scotland, Education Scotland, Board of Celtic Studies (Scotland) etc.

The *Bòrd Inbhe* is represented at meetings of the *Triùir* by the *Àrd-mhanaidsear Inbhe* (i.e. the senior status manager), who is an agent of one of the major agencies who fund and deliver Gaelic status development, and who is trusted by all the agencies to be non-partisan. The role of the *Bòrd Inbhe* is to guarantee political legitimacy for the work of *An Comar*, to oversee the correct functioning of *An Comar*, and to provide a forum for professional input into the priorities and programme of work to be carried out.

In the initial stages, the *Bòrd Inbhe* could consist of the members of BnG's existing Gaelic Academy Working Group (BOAG). In the initial pilot phase described below the *Àrd-*

mhanaidsear Inbhe would be the Chair of BOAG, which would have the advantage of cutting costs.

C2.5. Procedures of *An Comar*

Following the classic model of language planning, the work of *An Comar* begins with the *Bòrd Inbhe* identifying a 'language problem', which is of pressing importance to one or more of the agencies tasked with Gaelic status development (including usage and acquisition development). At this point, the *Àrd-mhanaidsear Inbhe* agrees to table it for the next meeting of the *Triùir*.

The *Triùir* then discuss the proposed language problem. One immediate thing they need to decide is whether this really is a corpus development problem, or whether it is something else altogether (e.g. a language pedagogy problem). If they decide that it is not a corpus development problem, then the *Àrd-mhanaidsear* communicates this decision back to the *Bòrd Inbhe*, and the process ends. If not, then a decision can be made for the *Comhairle* to produce an initial report on the problem, for submission to the *Triùir* at the next meeting.

The *Comhairle* then produces the initial report on the identified language problem, based on a mixture of analysis of existing dictionaries and grammars books, text corpora and consultation with the *Ballrachd*. This initial report will list and evaluate a range of proposed solutions to the identified language problem.

The initial report is submitted to the *Triùir*, and they can then choose to either send it back to the *Comhairle* for revision, or to accept it.

The *Ballrachd* considers and discusses the initial report for a set period of time, and the *Àrd-bhall* prepares a feedback document, for presentation to the *Triùir*.

The *Ballrachd*'s feedback document is then sent on to the *Comhairle*, who use it to produce a definitive set of guidelines for usage, specifying what forms should be used in what contexts. This guidance is submitted to the *Triùir*, who either approve it for authorised publication, or send it back to the *Comhairle* for revision.

When guidance has been authorised by the *Triùir*, it is sent to the *Bòrd Inbhe* for dissemination and implementation, which includes posting on the *Comhairle*'s web pages.

While this may appear to be a timeconsuming process, we believe that a full programme of expert analysis and *Ballrachd* consultation is essential to ensure speech community legitimacy (buy-in), scientific legitimacy and consistency for any kind of Gaelic corpus development activity. While this kind of process is aimed at providing definitive, authoritative answers to Gaelic corpus problems, there would also be a mechanism in place for sharing interim solutions, by means of the interactive terminology clearing house hosted on the *An Comar* website.

C3. Substantive Recommendations

The core recommendation of the *Dlùth is Inneach* project team, based on the research carried out in the course of 2013 and summarised in the preceding chapters, is the following:

- that Bòrd na Gàidhlig (via BOAG) set up a two-year pilot project in order to establish the basic components of the (scalable) tripartite corpus development framework outlined in chapter C2. This pilot would be charged with agreeing and initiating the development of the priority corpus resources identified in chapter B3, in the light of the ideologically sound linguistic foundations summarised in chapter B2.

In particular, we recommend:

1. That Bòrd na Gàidhlig arrange for an *Àrd-bhall* to be appointed or seconded for the two-year period during which the pilot will run. The relevant person should be contracted for 40 days per year at a rate of £300 per day (total cost £12k p.a.). The duties of the *Àrd-bhall* (in consultation with BOAG as acting *Bòrd Inbhe*) would be to organise, motivate, and encourage people to join the *Ballrachd*, to liaise with the other members of the *Triùir* (triumvirate), and to explore the potential for future sustainability.

2. That Bòrd na Gàidhlig invite proposals from Scottish universities or equivalent research organisations to set up a prototype *Comhairle* (language development team) project, as sketched out in section C2.3. This would involve funding: (a) an *Àrd-chomhairliche* to provide scientific leadership and oversight, and liaise with the *Triùir* for 40 days per year at a rate of £300 per day (total cost £12k p.a.); (b) a language developer / researcher to conduct the relevant research and produce the required outputs. We recommend that the language developer be employed at 1.0 FTE Grade 7 (£45k p.a. including oncosts). This post could also be established at 0.5 FTE (£22.5k p.a.); however, this would necessarily limit the project outputs.

3. That Bòrd na Gàidhlig continue the activities of its existing Gaelic Academy Working Group (BOAG) for a further two-year period, in order to function as an initial *Bòrd Inbhe* (supervisory board), as sketched out in section C2.4. The main priorities of the Working Group during this period would be to oversee the activity of the *Ballrachd* and the *Comhairle*, and to direct efforts towards initiating the priority corpus resources identified in B3, i.e.

    a. **An online reference grammar**: The pilot project would liaise with language practitioners (especially schoolteachers) on the ten most common issues with grammar and usage. The output would provide clear guidance on usage based on the speech of traditional speakers (the Model Gaelic Speakers) and incorporating appropriate dialectal and register variation. This would prepare the groundwork and establish good practice in the future development of a comprehensive online reference grammar.

    b. **An online one-stop-shop for Gaelic corpus resources**: The pilot project would specifically address people's difficulties with inconsistent new terminology. An interactive website would allow approved contributors to update, in real time,

terminology that they are using. Members of the *Ballrachd* could then rate their preferred forms, in order to establish agreement. This kind of (free to use, creative commons) resource would increase the visibility of terms in current use across different sectors, and allow expertise to be shared.

The overall annual budget for this two-year pilot project would be as follows:

- £12,000 (*Àrd-bhall*, 40 days per year)

- £12,000 (*Àrd-chomhairliche*, 40 days per year)

- £45,000 (1.0 FTE language developer / researcher)

- £8,000 (travel, accommodation, administration)

- £4,000 (technical support for website)

Total: £81,000 p.a.

(A reduced budget based on a 0.5 FTE language developer / researcher post would be £58,500 p.a.)

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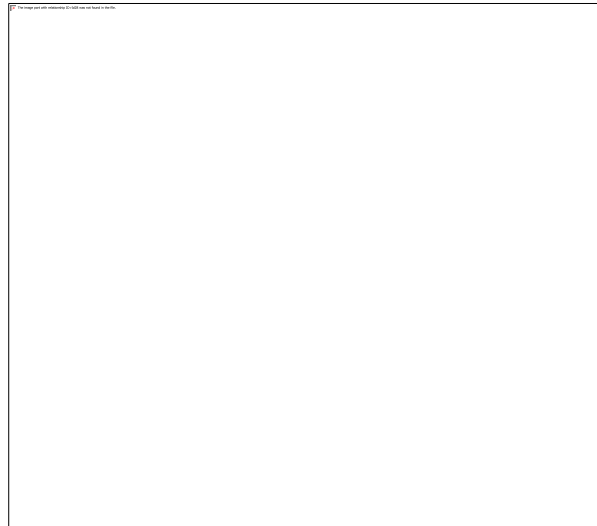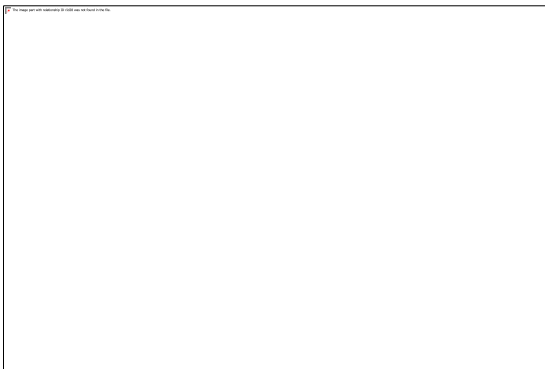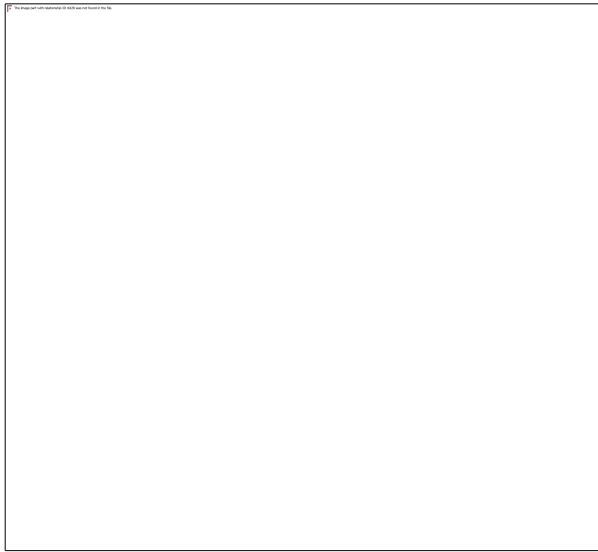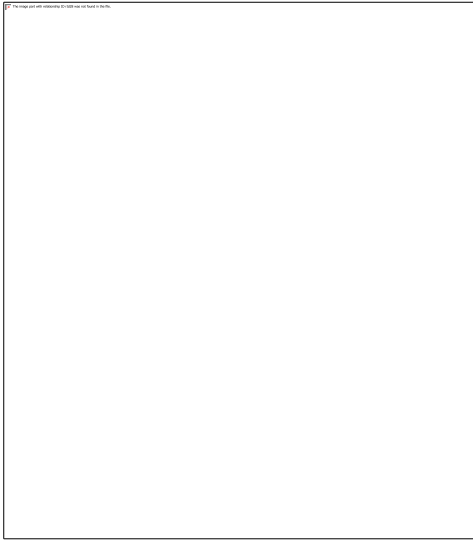
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Appendix A

Focused Conversation materials

Redacted version for publication

Kangaroo

Gàidhlig	Used by	Notes
cangarù	Oxford Childrens' Dictionary (2013)	Brìgh nam Facal:
	Essential Gaelic (2012)	cangaruthan
	Faclair na Sgoile (2011)	
	Brìgh nam Facal (1991)	
cangaru	Am Faclair Beag	
	Colin Mark (2003)	
	D. Thomson (1994)	
	Stòr-dàta	
bocadair	suggested by participants on two separate occasions	
*pocanach-leumnach		
n/a	*An Seotal*	
	LearnGaelic.net	
	Dwelly (1911)	
	MacBain (1911)	
	McLeod & Dewar (1831)	
	Highland Society (1828)	
	Armstrong (1825)	
Ir – cangarú		
Mx – kangaroo (www.mannin.info)		

Hippopotamus

Origin:

- late Greek ἱπποπόταμος (Galen), < ἵππος horse + ποταμός river.

- A pachydermatous quadruped, the African river-horse, Hippopotamus amphibius, a very large beast with a thick heavy hairless body, large muzzle and tusks, and short legs, inhabiting the African rivers, lakes, and estuaries.

"hippopotamus, n.". OED Online. September 2013. Oxford University Press. 24 September 2013
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/87177?rskey=M69LPc&result=6&isAdvanced=false>.

Note that hippos are more closely related (genetically) to cows, pigs, sheep and deer than they are to horses.

Gaelic	Source	
each-aibhne	Oxford Childrens' Dictionary (2013) Faclair na Sgoile (2011) Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net Colin Mark (2003) Stòr-dàta Brìgh nam Facal (1991)	
each-uisge	Stòr-dàta D. Thomson (1994) Dwelly (1911) MacLeod & Dewar (1839) Highland Society (1828)	– also 'kelpie' – 1st entry 'kelpie′
capall-abhainn	Stòr-dàta Dwelly (1911)	
n/a	*An Seotal* *MacBain (1911)*	
Ir – dobhareach Mx – cabbyl awin (www.mannin.info)		

Beaver

Note that beavers are rodents, unlike dogs or otters (both true carnivores).

Alston, Charles H. 1913. 'A List of the Gaelic Names of British Mammals', *The Scottish Naturalist* No. 13 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd) [http://cluster.biodiversitylibrary.org/s/scottishnaturali1324arbr/scottishnaturali1324arbr_djvu .txt accessed Sept 2013]

Los-leathan; Dobhran los-leathan. These are given in Lays of the Deerforest, Shaw's Dict, LL. S. Gael. Dict.; but no reference or authority is anywhere given.

Leas-leathan, broad-hipped (C. MacD.) ; this last is the sole trace that I have found in living Gaelic speech. No mention of the beaver has been found in song, story, or folk-lore. Dobhar-chu, in McAlpine's Dict., seems to hint at an ancient tradition of the beaver "a kind of Otter which has no existence but in Donald's imagination ; the price of its skin, which can heal all diseases, is its full of pure gold when made into a bag a chimera." This passage seems to point to a traditionary recollection of the Beaver, to the mediaeval belief in the medicinal virtues of the castoreum and the value of the skin ; but McAlpine dismisses it as a "chimera."

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bìobhair	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net SNH	
bìobhar	Faclair na Sgoile (2011) Brìgh nam Facal (1991)	redirect > beathadach
biobhair	Stòr-dàta	
beabhar	Dwelly (1911)	
beathadach	LearnGaelic.net Stòr-dàta Brìgh nam Facal (1991) Dwelly (1911)	BnF: dà-bheathach (!) molach donn a thogas taighean ann an uillt – beaver only
los-leathann	Stor-dàta Alston (1913)	
leas-leathann	Stor-dàta Alston (1913) Dwelly (1911)	 – beaver only – beaver only

	MacLeod & Dewar (1839)	
	Highland Society (1828)	
dobhran leas-leathann	Dwelly (1911)	– beaver only
	MacBain (1911)	– "otter of broad tail"
dobhar-chù	Am Faclair Beag	Fr McD South Uist: dobharchu = male otter
	Colin Mark (2003)	MacBain 1911 – otter only
	SNH	
	Stor-dàta	– also otter
	Dwelly (1911)	– 1st entry otter
	MacLeod & Dewar (1839)	
	Highland Society (1828)	
dòbhar-chù	LearnGaelic.net	
dobhran	Dwelly (1911)	– 1st entry otter
	MacBain (1911)	– otter
dobhran donn	Highland Society (1828)	
cù odhar	Stòr-dàta	– also otter
cù-odhar	Dwelly (1911)	– 1st entry otter
n/a	*Seotal*	
Ir – béabhar Mx – dooarchoo, doourchoo (www.mannin.info)		

Amphibian

Etymology: OED

- Greek, ἀμφί both + βίος life, (...) an animal that lives in both elements;

- A being that lives either in water or on land, or is equally at home in either element.

- By modern zoologists since Macleay (c.1819) to the fourth great division of Vertebrata, intermediate between reptiles and fishes, which in their early state breathe by gills like fishes, as frogs, newts, etc.

Gaelic	Source	
dà-bheathach	Faclair na Sgoile (2011) Colin Mark (2003) Stor-dàta Brìgh nam Facal (1991) Dwelly (1911): 'amphibious animal'	FnaSg: beathach a thig beò an dà chuid san uisge no air an talamh Mark: dà-bhitheach; amphibious no 'amphibian'
muir-thìreach	Oxford Childrens' Dictionary (2013) SNH Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net Stor-dàta D. Thomson (1994)	
dà ghnèitheach	MacLeod & Dewar (1839)	
dà-ghnèitheach	Highland Society (1828)	
n/a	*MacBain (1911)*	
Ir – amfaibiach Mx – daa–veaghagh (www.mannin.info)		

Chemotherapy

Gaelic	Source	
ceimio-theiripe	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net	Brìgh nam Facal 1991: ceimig = chemical
n/a	*Faclair na Sgoile* *Seotal* *Colin Mark (2003)* *Brìgh nam Facal (1991)* *Dwelly (1911)*	
Ir – ceimiteiripe Mx – n/a		

USB key

Gaelic	Source	
maide-cuimhne	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net CnaG staff (Coinneach Coombe)	
n/a	*Colin Mark (2003)* *Brìgh nam Facal (1991)*	
Ir – Universal Serial Bus: bus uilíoch srathach USB key: méaróg chuimhne, méaróg USB Mx – n/a USB		

Compound Interest

Gaelic	Source	
riadh fillte	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net	Mark: riadh = interest Dwelly: riadh = interest
n/a	*Seotal* *Brìgh nam Facal 1991*	
Ir – compound interest: ús iolraithe Mx – compound interest yl-use *The 'us' root used by Irish & Manx exists as 'usaireach' in Dwelly for 'usury, extortion.' Latin: usuria, from 'usus' – a use.'*		

Fridge

Gaelic	Source
frids	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net Colin Mark (2003) Brìgh nam Facal (1991) (redirect > fuaradair)
fuaradair	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net Colin Mark (2003) Brìgh nam Facal (1991)
fionnaradair	Brìgh nam Facal (1991) (redirect > fuaradair)
n/a	*Seotal*
Ir – cuisneoir Mx – coyr rioee	

Referendum

Gaelic	Tùs
referendum (fir.)	BBC usage
reifreann	Am Faclair Beag LearnGaelic.net
sluagh-bhreith	Am Faclair Beag
barail-fhuasgladh	Colin Mark (2003)
n/a	*Brìgh nam Facal 1991*
Ir – reifreann Mx – refrane *Latin: referre – something brought back/referred.*	