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Luchd-ionnsachaidh Inbheach na Gàidhlig agus a' Ghàidhealtachd / Adult Learners of Gaelic and the Highlands, Fañch Bihan-Gallic (Sgoilear Neo-eisimeileach / Independent Scholar)

Ged a bhios na mìltean de dhaoine san latha an-diugh ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig mar inbhich ann an Alba cho math ri thall thairis, chan eil an t-uabhas dhiubh fileanta sa chànan no a' cur ri neartachadh na Gàidhlig agus a dualchais. 'S e ceist chudromach a th' innte tuisge nas fheàrr fhaighinn air mar as urrainn dhuinn taic a thoirt dhan fheadhainn aig nach robh smid Gàidhlig bho thùs agus dhan fheadhainn eile a bhuineas don Ghàidhealtachd ach nach deach a thogail leis a' chànan, ach is gann gu bheil sgrùdaidhean acadaimigeach ann mu ionnsachadh dàrna cànain anns an t-suidheachadh far a bheil cànan an impis a' dol à bith mar a tha a' Ghàidhlig.

Tha am pàipear seo stèidhte air obair-rannsachaidh a rinn mi an lùib luchd-ionnsachaidh na Gàidhlig, agus air gnothaichean buileach nas fharsainge na sin ann an togail dàrna cànain (second language acquisition). Mhothaich mi gun robh dàimhean is beachdan sònraichte aig luchd-ionnsachaidh mun Ghàidhealtachd agus mu na coimhearsnachdan – is daoine – a tha a' fuireach ann agus mun chànan san àite shònraichte a tha seo. Bruidhnidh mi mu chuid de na beachdan a nochd san rannsachadh agam mu mhuinntir na Gàidhlig air a' Ghàidhealtachd, agus cnuasaichidh mi mun deidhinn tron fhrèam-obrach togail dàrna cànain. Gabhaidh mi a-steach rannsachadh a chaidh a dhèanamh a cheana mu fhèin-aithne gu h-àraidh ann an Alba (m.e., Bechhofer agus MacCrone, 2014) agus ann an co-theacsaichean mion-chànanan eile (Trosset, 1986; Pritchard Newcombe, 2007). Tha mi an dùil gum bi tuigse nas fheàrr air a' chuspair seo a' cuideachadh le barrachd dhaoine a thoirt gu fileantas gus am bi iad comasach ri bhith a' cur ri ath-bheòthachadh na Gàidhlig ann an co-theacsa ceartas sòisealta agus ceannsachadh siostamach. Dh'fhaodadh a bhith gun toireadh seo tuisge na b' fheàrr gu bhith againn uile gus cothroman leasachadh ceanglaichean eadar luchd-ionnsachaidh agus luchd na Gàidhlig air a' Ghàidhealtachd.

Even though thousands of people are now learning Scottish Gaelic both in Scotland and beyond, not many of them are reaching fluency or taking an active part in strengthening Gaelic and its culture. It is important for the language revitalisation movement to better understand how this may be addressed, so that both outsiders and lapsed-/heritage-speakers can fully participate in the language community. However, there is still a significant lack of academic work on second language acquisition in an endangered language context such as the one of Gaelic.

This paper is based of fieldwork conducted during my doctoral research amongst adult learners of Gaelic, as well as on broader works on second language acquisition (SLA). I noticed that learners often had specific ideas and relationships to the Gàidhealtachd (where Gaelic is natively spoken, i.e. the Highlands and Islands) and its communities. This paper will focus on some of these ideas and thoughts, and will look at them from the perspective of SLA, as well as from the perspective of identity in a Scottish Gaelic context (e.g., Bechhofer agus MacCrone, 2014) and in

other minority language ones (Trosset, 1986; Pritchard Newcombe, 2007). It is hoped that a better understanding of the topic may help bring more people to fluency so as to strengthen Gaelic revitalisation in a context of social justice and historical systemic oppression. It may also help in devising more ways to develop the bonds between Gaelic learners irrespective of locality and native Gaelic-speakers in the Highlands.

Bechhofter, Frank, and David MacCrone. 2014. "What makes a Gael? Identity, language and ancestry in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd", *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 21/2, pp. 113–33

Pritchard Newcombe, Lynda. 2007. *Social Context and Fluency in L2 learners: The Case of Wales* (New York & Clevedon: Multilingual Matters)

Trosset, Carol S. 1986. "The social identity of Welsh learners", *Language in Society*, 15, pp. 165–92

'S ann à Eilean Arzh anns a' Bhreatainn Bhig a tha **Fañch Bihan-Gallic**, agus e à teaghlach iasgairean, fir-aiseig agus tuathanaich. Thogadh e anns a' Chaillein Nuaidh sa Chuan Shèimh, far an d'fhuaireadh cothrom gus tuisge na b' fheàrr fhaighinn air gnothaichean tùsanaich an t-saoghail am measg muinntir nan Kanak agus nam Maòrach. An dèidh dha MSc ann an Eòlas na Ceiltis agus na h-Alba fhaighinn aig Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann (2015), rinn e PhD aig Oilthigh Obar Dheathain mu dheidhinn àiteachan ionnsachadh agus cleachdadh neo-fhoirmeil na Gàidhlig do dh'inbhich. 'S ann an 2020 a chuir e crìoch air a' cheum seo agus tha e a-nis na mhaor-dùthcha anns na Hearadh.

Hailing from the Isle of Arzh in Brittany, **Fañch Bihan-Gallic** grew up in New Caledonia, where he first started to learn about questions pertaining to indigeneity with the native Kanak population. After completing a MSc in Celtic and Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh (2015), he undertook a PhD at the University of Aberdeen about informal language learning spaces for adult learners of Scottish Gaelic. Having completed his doctoral thesis in 2020, he is now working as a ranger in Harris.

The Stories Being Told: A Sustaining Critique of Gaelic Language and Arts Community Wealth, Kathryn A. Burnett (University of the West of Scotland), Douglas Chalmers (Glasgow Caledonian University) and Mike Danson (Heriot-Watt University)

Creative and cultural industries are championed across island authorities and enterprise bodies with arts and creativity advocated as drivers for economic growth, community confidence, and well-being. Intrinsic backdrops and community scaffolds of 'island history and culture', are integral to sustaining people in and of place (Burnett, Burnett and Danson, 2021). Sustaining of success and future capacity of island cultural wealth is contingent on degrees of small islandness, however; where those 'best placed' and most inclined to endeavour such sustaining of cultural wealth and assets (not least in Gaelic's vernacular communities) can suffer from an overburdening on the few. Gaelic arts and creative industries have expanded and exceeded far 'beyond the vernacular', with globalizing cultural economics well-established and much to celebrate. Chalmers, Danson and colleagues (1996; 2006; 2009) outlined how exposure to and involvement in Gaelic arts and culture, positively impacted on perceptions of the 'worth' of the language and its future. Previously, HIE stated that 'placing more value on, and investing in, the native language and cultural traditions of the region will result in fortifying cultural identity and sense of place, increasing confidence and self-esteem' and that this in turn can lead to 'population retention, inward migration, greater entrepreneurial activity, business creation and ultimately higher GDP' (Willie Roe Chair of HIE 2006). But by 2012 a study of Arts and Culture in the Western Isles found ambiguity within the artistic and cultural community to the role of Gaelic language. Research to date has variously articulated Gaelic within art and culture policy and informed by an interdisciplinary perspective we examine island community assets ambitions and socio-economic futures of Gaelic speakers, communities and place. This brief paper critiques arts and cultural sectors as key sites of Gaelic co-production – knowledge, labour and narrative – where the telling of stories of Gaelic wealth, loss and current re-assessment of cultural and arts assets, requires to be continually re-spoken of, and to be heard.

Kathryn A. Burnett (Senior Lecturer, Business and Creative Industries, University of the West of Scotland) teaches Creative Arts and Media Practice. Her research includes identity, ecologies and place narratives of Scotland's rural communities, coasts and islands; cultural work, precarity and creative enterprise; Scottish cultural heritage and arts contexts including Gaelic and Scots for applied creative practice; sustainable communities, resilience, development, entrepreneurship, cultural policy and the commons in small island, remote, peripheral and rural contexts. She is Co-Director of the *Scottish Centre for Island Studies*, an interdisciplinary and international network for island studies and islandness, with reference to collaborative research working for Scotland's island cultural, social and economic contexts, policy and potential.

Douglas Chalmers (Researcher and Senior Lecturer, Glasgow Caledonian University) works in the field of Gaelic media. Co-author and author of numerous book chapters on the connection between Gaelic arts and culture, the economy, and the language he has recently completed (with his colleague Mike Danson and others) a report on the Impact of Gaelic in Glasgow, and with his colleague Kathryn Burnett a chapter on *Leisure and Culture* in the Pluto Press publication *A New Scotland – Building an Equal, Fair and Sustainable Society*. A Gaelic learner, he recently undertook a comparative review in Scottish Affairs of the Soillse publication *The Gaelic Crisis in*

the Vernacular Community (2020) and of Wilson McLeod's publication Gaelic in Scotland – Policies, Movements, Ideologies (2021).

Mike Danson (Heriot-Watt University) is an economist, Professor Emeritus in Enterprise Policy and has over forty-five years' experience of undertaking economic and social commentary impact analyses. He has acted as a consultant, advisor, and researcher for all levels of government, organisations and communities, including studies for Scottish Government, European Commission, OECD, STUC, Reid Foundation, and many others on a range of themes within island, rural, regional and urban economic development, Gaelic and minority languages and cultures. He holds positions on Nordic Horizons, Basic Income Network Scotland, Community Renewal Trust, Jimmy Reid Foundation, Just Transition Commission, South of Scotland Enterprise Agency, Strathnairn Development Company, and is Co-Director of the *Scottish Centre for Island Studies*.

'Gaelic's gonna die ... Life sucks, eh?': A' Pòsadh Poileasaidh Cànain ri Margaid Sheasmhach Shòiseo-eaconamach airson na Gàidhlig / 'Gaelic's gonna die ... Life sucks, eh?': Relating Language Policy to a Sustainable Socioeconomic Market for Gaelic, Gòrdan Camshron / Gordon Cameron (Oilthigh na Gàidhealtachd / University of the Highlands and Islands)

Tha deasbad bheothail, fharsaing agus, aig amannan, aimhreiteach air èirigh às ùr mar thoradh ann am pàirt air na molaidhean an lùib *The Gaelic crisis in the vernacular community* (Ó Giollagáin *et al.*, 2020), leabhar a bha a' sealltainn gu bheil coimhearsnachdan Gàidhlig na Gàidhealtachd ann an cunnart a dhol a-mach à bith. Bha an leabhar a' moladh gu feum slighe eadar-dhealaichte a lorg a thaobh poileasaidhean a dh'obraicheas an diofar àiteachan agus a chuireas ri seasmhachd na Gàidhlig.

Tha rannsachadh iar-cheumnach a chaidh a dhèanamh mun aon àm a-nis air taisbeanadh gu bheil uaireannan beachdan gu tur eadar-dhealaichte—gu poblach is gu prìobhaideach—aig feadhainn aig a bheil làmh air stiùir poileasaidh na Gàidhlig, agus nach eil an aon tuigse idir aig na daoine a tha ag obair ann an saoghal na Gàidhlig air na poileasaidhean sin a chur an gnìomh. Gu dearbh, dh'fhaodar a ràdh gu bheil sgaradh eadar ceannardan agus am feachd-obrach, eadar ceannardan is coimhearsnachd air na prìomhachasan a tha—agus a bu chòir a bhith—ann airson mòr-chuid na Gàidhlig a chuideachadh far a bheil e ri lorg an-diugh, cho math ris a' chànan a thaiceadh air feadh na h-Alba ann an suidheachaidhean eile.

Bidh an òraid seo a' coimhead air mar a bhitheas solar na Gàidhlig an-diugh a' co-thaobhadh ri cruthachadh is leasachadh margaid thaiceil shòiseo-eaconamach a tha riatanach airson Gàidhlig a neartachadh, gu h-àraidh na tha ann den bhuidhinn-labhairt air a' Ghàidhealtachd. A bheil poileasaidh cho-aimsireil, mar a thathas ga lìbhrigeadh bhon ìre as àirde tron riaghaltas is na buidhnean poblach, ag amas air leasachadh cànain, leasachadh eaconamach agus leasachadh luchd-labhairt ann an da-rìreabh?

A lively, wide-ranging and, at times, fractious debate has recently arisen as a result of the recommendations of *The Gaelic crisis in the vernacular community* (Ó Giollagáin *et al.*, 2020), a book suggesting that the majority Gaelic-speaking communities of the *Gàidhealtachd* are imperilled. A key recommendation of the book was a new policy path is required, which works for different areas in order to support Gaelic's sustainability.

Contemporary doctoral research has shown that for those who hold elite positions in the Gaelic sphere, private and public opinions often differ significantly, and that those who are employed to implement language policy in lower levels of the Gaelic socioeconomy do not hold the same understanding of the situation. Indeed, it could be said that there is a gulf between leadership and workforce, between leadership and community on current—and preferable—policy prioritisation in order to support the Gaelic-speaking majority in-situ, as well as developing support for the language on a national scale.

This paper examines how contemporary provision for Gaelic inclines to creating and developing a supportive socioeconomic market which is required to strengthen Gaelic, especially in the *Gàidhealtachd*. Does contemporary policy provision, as delivered from the highest levels through government and public agencies, aim to develop language, economy of speakers?

MacKinnon, I. (2021), 'Recognising and reconstituting *Gàidheil* identity'. In *Scottish Affairs* 30(2), 212–30

McLeod, W., Dunbar, R., Macleod, M., O'Rourke, B., Dunmore, S. & Armstrong, T. (2022), 'Against exclusionary Gaelic language policy: a response to Ó Giollagáin and Caimbeul'. In *Scottish Affairs* 31(1), 84–103

- Ó Giollagáin, C. & Caimbeul, I. (2021), 'Moving beyond asocial minority-language policy'. In *Scottish Affairs* 30(2), 178–211
- Ó Giollagain, C., Caimbeul, I., Ó Curnáin, B., Camshron, G. & Moireach, P. (2022), 'Including the threatened first-language vernacular community in Gaelic promotion and protection: a rebuttal to McLeod *et al.*'. In *Scottish Affairs* 31(1), 122–32
- Ó Giollagáin, C., Camshron, G., Moireach, P., Ó Curnáin, B., Caimbeul, I., MacDonald, B. & Peterváry, T. (2020), *The Gaelic crisis in the vernacular community: a comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of Scottish Gaelic*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press

Rugadh is thogadh **Gòrdan Camshron** air a' Chomraich an taobh siar Rois. Is e na bhalach, bha a' Ghàidhlig beò timcheall air, is aon chailleach sa bhaile bheag far an robh e a' fantainn aig nach robh Beurla. Tha e air a bhith an sàs ann an obraichean ceangailte ri cultar is cànan nan Gàidheal fad iomadh bliadhna, aig Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, SOILLSE agus aig Comann Eachdraidh na Comraich. Tha e an-dràsta a' cur crìoch air PhD a tha a' sgrùdadh na dh'fheumas a bhith ann airson suideachadh taiceil a thoirt air adhart a chuireas ri seasmhachd na Gàidhlig ann an coimhearsnachdan na Gàidhealtachd. Tha e na oileanach aig Oilthigh na Gàidhealtachd, fo stiùir Institiud Rannsachaidh Cànain.

Hailing from Applecross in Wester Ross, **Gordon Cameron** grew up in a Gaelic-majority township, which still contained at least one older monoglot Gaelic speaker. He has worked in Gaelic-related heritage and language for many years, for various organisations including Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, SOILLSE and Applecross Historical Society. Currently he is completing a PhD examining what is required to create supportive socioeconomic market conditions for Gaelic in *Gàidhealtachd* communities. Under the direction of the Language Sciences Institute, he is a doctoral candidate at the University of the Highlands and Islands.

Ceist an Fhearainn, Ceist a' Chànain, agus an Anthropocene: Freagairtean à Lèirsinn Ghàidhealach / The Land Question, the Language Question and the Anthropocene: Solutions from a Highland Perspective, Ryan Dziadowiec (Oilthigh Coventry University)

Thathar a ràdh gur ann an linn Anthropocene a tha sinn tighinn beò le buaidh dhaonnda ag adhbharachadh atharrachadh na gnàth-shìde, dol-à-bith bheothaichean, agus bàs chànain air feadh a' chruinne-chè. Ann an *When Languages Die* (2007), tha an cànanaiche K. David Harrison a' mìneachadh na rudan a chaillear nuair a gheibheadh mìon-chànain bàs: dòigh-beatha, fiosrachadh èic-eòlach dùthchasach, agus mion-eòlas air àrainneachd a' chànain. Mar an ceudna, sgrìobh an èic-eòlaiche Frank Fraser Darling gur e àrainneachd 'bàn' agus 'fàsach fliuch' a th' anns a' Ghàidhealtachd san fhicheadamh linn – sgrìos a thachair an lùib nam fuadaichean. Gu dearbh, chuirinn ris an t-sealladh seo anns an dòigh nach do dh'fhàs an àrainneachd na b' fheàrr bhon uair sin agus thàinig cnàmh nach bu bheag an lùib na Gàidhlig on a bha Fraser Darling beò. Anns an taisbeanadh seo, cuiridh mi fòcas air luach na Gàidhlig agus am mì-thuigse mun fhearann a tha na broinn. 'S e sin am mion-eòlais, an gaol-dùthchais agus dìleab an dualchais on a thòisich strì an fhearainn air a' Ghàidhealtachd. Tha mi ag iarraidh sealltainn gur ann tro ghlèidheadh nan cleachdadh dùthchasach – agus tro ghlèidheadh na Gàidhlig – a gheibhear atharrachadh-feallsanachd is freagairtean do cheistean domhainn a tha romhainn uile san latha an-diugh.

It is said that we live in the Anthropocene, the age in which human activity is one of the leading causes of climate change, species extinction, and language death throughout the world. In *When Languages Die* (2007), Canadian-American linguist K. David Harrison explores knowledge systems which are lost when minority languages die: ways of life, traditional ecological knowledge, and generations' worth of wisdom about a language's native environment. Likewise, the ecologist Frank Fraser Darling has called the post-Clearance Highlands of the 20th century a "devastated landscape" and "wet desert". Indeed, I would argue that the Highlands are in no better a state ecologically speaking, and Gaelic has certainly declined since Fraser Darling's time. In this presentation, I will stress the value of the detailed ecological knowledge within the Gaelic language. It is this intimate knowledge of the Gaels' *dùthchas* which nourished the beginnings of the Land Reform movement throughout the Highlands. I aim to show that the maintenance and restoration of traditional land practices – and, naturally, the preservation of Gaelic – may contribute to a shift in consciousness needed in order to answer some of the most pressing questions facing humanity today.

Fraser Darling, Frank (1947), *Natural History in the Highlands and Islands*. London: Collins Harrison, K. David (2007), *When Language Dies: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Tha **Ryan Dziadowiec** na Rannsachair Iar-cheumnach aig Oilthigh Coventry. 'S e "Dùthchas: Locating and Nourishing the Roots of Scotland's Land Reform Revolution" an tiotal air an tràchdas aige. Rinn e fo-cheum ann an Ceiltis is Gàidhlig / Litreachas na Beurla aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu (2014–18) agus ri linn 's ann a thòisich e air ùidh a ghabhail ann an Gàidhlig. 'S i a' Phòlainnis a' chiad chainnt a th' aige. Bhon uair sin, tha e air a bhith an sàs ann am Pròiseact na h-Àirigh (2019) agus air fhastadh aig Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (2020). Tha ùidh aige ann an cuspairean

fuaighte ri èic-eòlais, seanchas, àiteachas agus dùthchas, gu sònraichte ann an co-theacsa Gàidhealach. 'S ann an Griomasaigh, Uibhist a Tuath tha e a' fuireach.

Ryan Dziadowiec is a doctoral candidate at Coventry University. His PhD is entitled "Dùthchas: Locating and Nourishing the Roots of Scotland's Land Reform Revolution". Whilst undertaking undergraduate study in Celtic and Gaelic / English Literature at the University of Glasgow (2014–18), he began to learn Gaelic. His first language is Polish. He has previously worked at the Shieling Project (2019) and at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (2020). His interests extend to ecology, traditional knowledge systems, and agroecology, particularly in the context of the Gàidhealtachd. Ryan resides in Grimsay, North Uist.

Enhancing Community Engagement: The Development of the Language and Identity Journey, Maik Gibson and David Eberhard (SIL International)

SIL has worked with over 1,000 different minority language communities over the course of its existence. In most of these contexts this has resulted in the development of written materials, which have been well used in some cases, and largely neglected in others. Inspired by Fishman's (1991) GIDS model, this variable outcome led Lewis and Simons (2016) to introduce the Sustainable Use Model, in an attempt to make this knowledge accessible to members of minority communities. Alongside the theoretical model, A Guide to Planning the Future of our Language (Hanawalt *et al.*, 2016) was also developed, as a toolkit for communities, to identify their place on the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010), and to plan for the desired future of their language and identity. An initial evaluation found that in most cases the use of "the Guide" had led to the community gaining an understanding of the type of threat that their language faced, but only rarely did it lead to a plan of how to move towards the desired future for the community, their language and their identity. This has led to the creation of a new approach, using many of the same tools, called the Language and Identity Journey (SIL International, 2019), which has a deeper emphasis on planning and the involvement of community leaders (instead of a primary focus on language activists), using a multi-stage approach, which relies on community initiative. Preliminary results seem to be positive in that community engagement has been increased, though Covid 19 has also impacted the roll-out. It is our aim in this paper to report on this development, and seek feedback from others involved in similar activities.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Hanawalt, C. B. Varenkamp, C. Lahn, and D. Eberhard. A guide for planning the future of our language. Dallas, TX: SIL International. 2016. https://www.sil.org/guide-planning-future-our-language

Lewis, M. Paul and Gary F. Simons. (2010). Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 55(2): 103–20

Lewis, M. Paul and Gary F. Simons. (2016). *Sustaining language use: Perspectives on community-based language development*. Dallas: SIL International

SIL International. (2019). "The Language and Identity Journey." "The Language and Identity Journey." https://sites.google.com/sil.org/thelanguageidentityjourney/the-journey

Maik Gibson holds a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Reading. He is SIL International's sociolinguistics coordinator, especially interested in language shift and patterns of language use in minority language groups. He has worked on the now moribund Muniche language of Peru, patterns of language shift in Eastern Africa, factors involved in digital language vitality, and has made recommendations for educational language policy in the DR Congo, in the light of children's patterns of multilingualism.

David M. Eberhard holds a PhD in Linguistics from Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam. He is interested in minority language description, as well as language ecologies, language maintenance, language shift, and language development. He has worked on the ongoing description of the Mamaindê language of Brazil, as well as the use of digital language resources among the Maguindanao of the Philippines, various studies on the influence of identity during

language shift, the comparison of language ecologies in the Americas and Asia, and the practical process of creating methodologies for community based language development. He currently holds the position of General Editor of the Ethnologue.

Gaelic Language and Community Development in a New Highlands and Islands Regional College, Steven Gregg (University of the Highlands and Islands)

A report commissioned by the University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI) in July 2021 recommended that several colleges in the university partnership should consider merging to become a single larger institution. Following the report, UHI North Highland, UHI Outer Hebrides and UHI West Highland stated their intention to formally explore a merger with the intention of creating a new college of scale and impact serving some of Scotland's most economically fragile communities.

With the new college covering a significant percentage of the traditional Gaelic-speaking areas, this paper will explore how Gaelic language development and communities have been considered in the context of the merger to date, from initial discussions through to formal consultation. The history and future of the colleges will be set in context, along with key information and responses from the initial public consultation.

Finally, information from the business case on Gaelic language and community development will be presented, along with a call to action for attendees and those they know in local communities to make submissions to the consultation.

This college merger is the most significant development in the education sector in the area since the creation of UHI. The consultation represents a unique opportunity for those involved in Gaelic language and community development in our region to shape the new college and influence the underpinning strategies.

Steven Gregg is a Project Manager at the University of the Highlands and Islands. One of his main roles at the present time is to provide support to the proposed merger between these three UHI colleges (UHI North Highland, UHI Outer Hebrides and UHI West Highland), working with staff from the colleges to develop the business case, policies and strategies that will support the new college. Steven has a background in community and affordable housing development, and is supporting the new UHI Community Landownership Academic Network (CLAN).

Reassessing the Concept of "Effectiveness" in Language Policy and Planning, François Grin (University of Geneva)

What counts as "effective" in language policy and planning is a *prima facie* obvious question to ask, even if it often proves difficult to answer.

First, the very notion of assessing the effectiveness of a policy plan in general, or of a policy measure in particular, presupposes that effectiveness is recognized as a key dimension in the selection, design and evaluation of language policies. We shall first examine to what extent this is the case in contemporary scholarship and discuss competing perspectives on this question. Second. we shall move on to a more "nuts-and-bolts" discussion of effectiveness in policy analysis, showing that much hinges on what is defined as the goal of language policy, which should be approached in terms of output (or direct effects) and outcome (or long-term effects converging with the ultimate goals of the policy). In the case of policies aimed at protecting and promoting a minority language, the effects of a policy may be defined in terms of "collective", relatively macro-level variables such as a certain degree of public visibility, agitation or effervescence around the language; they are relevant, but difficult to operationalize. Effectiveness can also be defined in terms of micro-level, individual variables, such as actual use of the language by speakers who "do" things through the minority language; this may be measured in time units. Various types of effect, however, aren't in opposition. Rather, they should be combined, with suitable data covering both. Identifying particularly effective combinations, however, requires us to bear in mind the distinction between outputs and outcomes.

Assessing effectiveness may therefore be less a matter of methodology than empirical application, taking into account the challenges and constraints confronting a language in particular. Other questions revolve around the identification of the dynamic patterns through which different forms of language visibility and use, by minority language users with different profiles, influence each other.

In this talk, we shall take stock of these various conceptual and methodological issues, in order to help pave the way for a discussion about the inclusive combination of policy measures for minority language protection and promotion.

François Grin gained his doctoral degree in Economics from the University of Geneva, before pursuing research and teaching activities at the Department of Economics, University of Montreal (Canada), and then at the Department of Political Science, University of Washington (Seattle, USA). From 1998 to 2001, he was the Deputy Director of the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) in Flensburg (Germany). On returning to Switzerland in 2001, he served as Deputy Director of the Education Research Unit (SRED) of the Geneva Department of Education. Appointed Professor of Economics in 2003 at the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting the University of Geneva. he heads the "Observatoire at Économie—Langues—Formation" (Observatory on Economy, Languages and Training). He also teaches courses in the management of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity and, since 2001, as a visiting Professor, at the Faculty of Communication Sciences of the University of Italian Switzerland (USI).

Specialising in language economics, education economics, and the evaluation of public policies in those fields, Grin has authored over 200 articles, as well as chapters of books, monographs and research reports. He sits on the board of academic journals such as *Language Problems and*

Language Planning, Language Policy, Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, and Français & Société, as well as on the board of a book series on language policy issues at Multilingual Matters and John Benjamins. He has also acted in consultatory and advisory roles for national or regional authorities throughout Europe and elsewhere, as well as international organisations including the European Commission. As coleader of the European Commission's evaluation project on Support for Minority Languages in Europe, he has directed several large-scale research projects funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation on language and education issues. Grin is currently the leader of the MIME Project ("Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe", 2014–2018) coordinated by 22 institutions in 16 European countries.

When Meaningful Minority Language Policy Acts as Public Health and Environmental Policy, Lauren Larue Joyner (Independent Scholar)

Trauma is defined by psychologists as an occurrence wherein an individual sees or experiences a risk to their own life and/or physical safety or to that of other people and feels terror, fear, and/or helplessness. Long term consequences of trauma can also include unpredictable emotional reactions, disassociating, weakened interpersonal skills along with physical symptoms. Intergenerational trauma and epigenetics is known as 'ioke sheta' in Cocree Lakótiyapi, meaning a 'deep embedded genetic depression" (Deleary, 2019). There is considerable data that supports how ioke sheta is passed down generationally (US CDC, 2022; Pfeiffer, Mutesa & Uddin, 2018). "Our people at one time had a very strong connection with Mother Earth, the Creator, nature and all of that was taken away just like that. A lot of this depression stems from our loss of this connection with everything we once had. A lot of our people are depressed and don't even know it" (Deleary, 2019). As we can see from this concept, trauma is not only a matter of individual responses to harm, but also responses at the level of community and the environment. Resilience, the ability to respond adaptively to traumatic events in ways that help maintain homeostasis, is greatly reduced intergenerationally when biological, cultural, environmental and psychological factors continue to be compromised. Fortunately, when these very same factors are bolstered, they act as a treatment to reverse epigenetics and generational trauma. In this context, it is language that needs support although it is not inherently separate from those other factors. In this presentation, I will explore the links between asocial symbolic minority-language policy and ongoing disparities, how meaningful minority language policy supports indigenous language, community health and environment and lessons that indigenous North American peoples might have for Gaelic communities.

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Lauren Larue Joyner is an early career independent researcher in Gaelic Ethnology and Folklore living in the woods of Franklin County, North Carolina, USA. She was awarded her BSc with Honours in Psychology, Fall 2016, from Western Carolina University, where she primarily focused on cognitive clinical neuropsychology with a specific interest in racial trauma alongside studio fine arts. For the duration of 2019, she studied medical biological sciences and from 2020 onwards, Gaelic culture and language in the interests of conducting ethnographic research through the scope of intergenerational trauma. She completed fieldwork in southeastern Ireland in November 2021 through her own limited funding and plans to pursue a MA in Irish Ethnology and Folklore at University College Dublin. Her primary interests are in Gaelic healing traditions and the role of healers, folklore that expresses themes around generational trauma and the way generational trauma makes it difficult for indigenous populations to acquire their native language.

Ath-thogail Sluagh Mion-chànain às dèidh Gluasad Cànain: Ath-bheòthachadh Gàidhlig Mhanainn / Building a Post-language-shift Community: The Revival of Manx, Christopher Lewin (Oilthigh Nàiseanta na h-Èireann, Gaillimh / National University of Ireland, Galway)

Anns an taisbeanadh seo nìthear coimeas eadar suidheachadh Gàidhlig Mhanainn san latha andiugh agus na dùbhlain a tha mu choinneimh ath-bheòthachadh mhion-chànainean eile a leithid Gàidhlig na h-Alba, gu h-àraid a thaobh coimhearsnachd no sluagh cànain a stèidheachadh às ùr agus a chumail a' dol. Chan ainneamh a dh'ainmichear a' chùis Mhanainneach anns an dol seachad ann an deasbadan mu na dh'fhaodadh a bhith an dàn don Ghàidhlig agus do chànainean eile a tha fo chunnart, ach is eudomhain an sgrùdadh mar as trice. Do chuid, cha mhòr nach e leisgeul a th' ann an ath-bheòthachadh Gàidhlig Mhanainn mar chànain lìonraidh am measg luchd-labhairt dàrna cànain airson beachd 'coma co-dhiù' air mairsinneachd coimhearsnachdan dùthchasach; do dh'fheadhainn eile chan fhiach ath-bheòthachadh cànain idir mura h-eil ann ach cur-seachad no cuspair foghlaim 'mar Laideann'. Seachad air an iomsgaradh seo tha an fhìrinn nas iomadh-fhillte. Gabhaidh am pàipear beachd air na chaidh a choileanadh agus na dh'fhairtlich air luchd an ath-bheòthachaidh anns an Eilean Mhanainneach gu ruige seo; suidheachadh agus dùbhlain dheamagrafach na cànain; na chaidh a ghleidheadh agus a chall de ghoireasan cànanach an luchd-labhairt dùthchasach; agus na diofar id-eòlasan a tha nan cùl-taca no nam bacadh do dh'oidhirpean cuimsichte gus a' choimhearsnachd a neartachadh anns an ùine fhada. Leis gu bheil rannsachadh a' sealltainn gu soilleir gu bheil Gàidhlig na h-Alba mar chànain choimhearsnachd ann an cor èiginneach, 's e ath-bheòthachadh airson a' chuid as motha, seach glèidheadh cànain, a tha a dhìth gu h-àraid am measg na hòigridh: thèid bruidhinn gu h-aithghearr air na leasanan a ghabhas togail bhon t-suidheachadh Mhanainneach. Bheirear sùil cuideachd air na tha an lùib 'sluagh' agus fèin-aithne cànain a thogail agus a neartachadh ann an suidheachadh às dèidh gluasad cànain.

This presentation will compare the current situation of the Manx language with the challenges facing other minority languages such as Scottish Gaelic, with particular focus on rebuilding and sustaining the speaker community. The Manx case is not infrequently mentioned in passing in debates on the future of Gaelic and other endangered languages, but the analysis is generally superficial. For some commentators, the success of the revival of Manx as a network language among second language speakers appears to serve almost as an excuse for a complacent attitude to the maintenance of traditional communities; for others language revival is futile if the language is perceived to survive only as a hobby or educational pursuit 'like Latin'. Beyond this simplistic binary the truth is more complex. The paper will examine what has been achieved (or not) by the Manx language revival movement to date; the demographic situation and challenges of the community; what has been preserved and lost of the native speech community's linguistic resources; and the language ideologies which may support or hinder targeted efforts to strengthen the community in the longer term. Since it is clear from recent research that Scottish Gaelic is in a critical condition as a community language, future prospects rest primarily on language revival rather than language maintenance, especially among the younger generations: lessons from the Manx situation will be briefly discussed. Consideration will also be given to the question of what it means to reconstitute an ethnolinguistic group and identity in a postlanguage-shift scenario.

Rugadh is thogadh **Christopher Lewin** anns an Eilean Mhanainneach agus thòisich e air Gàidhlig Mhanainn ionnsachadh bhon sgoil agus air a cheann fhèin nuair a bha e ochd bliadhna dh'aois. Tha e a-nis an sàs ann an ath-bheòthachadh na cànain fad timcheall air fichead bliadhna, a' gabhail a-steach rannsachadh, teagasg, eadar-theangachadh agus sgrìobhadh cruthachail. Rinn e fo-cheum agus PhD anns a' Cheiltis aig Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann, far an do dh'ionnsaich e Gàidhlig na h-Alba. Chuir e bliadhna seachad aig Oilthigh Aberystwyth a' dèanamh ceum maighstireachd agus ag ionnsachadh na Cuimris. Dh'fhoillsich e pàipearan rannsachaidh mu chànanachas agus sòisea-chànanachas Gàidhlig Mhanainn agus nan cànainean Ceilteach eile ann an grunn irisean sgoilearail cliùiteach. Tha e an-dràsta na Rannsachair Iar-dhotaireil aig Oilthigh na h-Èireann, Gaillimh, le maoineachadh bho Chomhairle Rannsachaidh na h-Èireann, agus e a' sgrùdadh fheartan cànanach agus id-eòlasan cànain ann an coimhearsnachd Gàidhlig Mhanainn an latha an-diugh. Tha ùidh nach beag aige cuideachd ann an iomairtean agus poileasaidh cànain, gu h-àraid ann an Alba.

Born and brought up in the Isle of Man, **Christopher Lewin** began learning Manx at school and through his own efforts when he was eight years old. He has been involved in the Manx revival community for around twenty years, including research, teaching, translation and creative writing. He completed an undergraduate degree and PhD in Celtic at the University of Edinburgh, where he learnt Scottish Gaelic. He spent a year at Aberystwyth University studying for a masters degree and learning Welsh. He has published a number of research articles on the linguistics and sociolinguistics of Manx and the other Celtic languages in several prominent academic journals. He is now a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the National University of Ireland, Galway, with funding from the Irish Research Council, investigating linguistic features and language ideologies in the contemporary Manx community. He also has a keen interest in language activism and policy, especially in Scotland.

The Reproduction of Inequality in the Irish-medium Education Sector, Órla McGurk (Glór na Móna)

Irish-medium Education (IME), despite being a thriving sector of education in the North of Ireland remains marginalised (Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta, 2020), while the benefits of immersion education continue to be overlooked as a result of political and communal disdain towards the language in a post-conflict society (Darmody and Daly, 2015).

A strong correlation persists between special-educational needs (SEN) and children from socio-economic deprived areas (Dyson, 2003) in which most IME institutions are located in the North of Ireland. IME and Irish Language Rights are contested subjects in the current political situation within the North of Ireland (Crowley, 2016), and I seek to determine to which degree students in IME being are supported, included and considered as equal to their monolingual English-speaking peers.

In this research, I apply Bourdieu and Passeron's (1970) theoretical framework of reproduction to assess the extent to which inequality and inequity persists in the Northern Irish education sector, particularly in relation to children in the IME sector and those with additional educational, emotional, behavioural and learning needs. I analyse the education sector using the theoretical tools of Field, Habitus and Capital, and how the concept of symbolic violence permeates Northern Irish society through various class systems and the education sector.

I employ a Participatory Action Research Approach within my research methodology (Schubotz, 2020; Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon, 2014). The research study comprises of 12 semi-structured interviews and four focus group discussions. The research participants in this study, whilst offering unwavering support for the Irish promotion of the Irish language in a divided society, also give insight to the shortcomings of their experiences with respect to both educational provision and societal acceptance of the language.

I conclude that the reproductive nature of inequality of the education system in the North of Ireland deeply impacts the Irish-medium sector with respect to language rights and provision. I recommend that linguistic services, resources, facilities and legislation should be addressed in order to provide a pathway to equality for the Irish language community.

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Órla McGurk is a recent doctoral graduate from Queen's University, Belfast and is an avid Irish language speaker and activist. She gained a B.A. degree in Irish and Celtic Studies and a M.Ed. in Special Educational Needs and Inclusion and was awarded a DfE Scholarship to complete her PhD. Her doctoral research focusses on Bourdieusian Reproduction Theory, educational inequality, class and additional needs education in the North of Ireland, particularly in relation to Irish-medium Education. As a Business Development Officer for a community Irish language organisation, she works at Glór na Móna, situated in West Belfast and is also a part of a research team at Queen's University looking at bilingual language learning opportunities and challenges in the home. This project is funded by the Spencer Foundation.

Glór na Móna is a community organisation that links the revival of the Irish language to community development and regeneration in the Upper Springfield. Our services are a vital component of the Irish language network in the west of Belfast city. In addition to Irish-medium youth work, Glór na Móna has also led the way on community education and regeneration; participatory democracy practices; projects focussing on intergenerational family language transmission and social language use; and local community history and heritage recovery. We also host three annual community festivals alongside other local programmes of events including Féile an Phobail and Fleadh Feirste.

Staing na Gàidhlig sna Coimhearsnachdan Dùthchasach / The Gaelic Crisis in Indigenous Communities, Màrtainn Mac a' Bhàillidh (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig)

Tha staing na Gàidhlig sna coimhearsnachdan dùthchasach a cheart cho mòr na toradh air an staing thaigheadais, air malairteachadh croitearachd, droch bhun-structar còmhdhail, athleasachadh fearainn gun adhartas coileanta agus tuilleadh 's a chòir turasachd, agus a tha i na toradh air cion in-ionmhais leantainneach ann an leasachadh Gàidhlig aig ìre na coimhearsnachd, agus cion co-òrdanachaidh phoileasaidh ro-innleachdail aig ìre nàiseanta. Cha mhair a' Ghàidhlig beò ach ann an coimhearsnachdan a shoirbhicheas gu seasmhach. Tha an sean-fhacal geur-chùiseach ag ràdh gun toir e baile gus pàiste a thogail, am faodar a ràdh gun toir e coimhearsnachd sheasmhach fhallain gus cànan a thogail. Dè am feum a nì iomairtean foghlaim is cultarach mura tèid aig an òigridh is teaghlaichean òga fuireach sna sgìrean far an do thogadh iad?

The Gaelic Crisis in the vernacular communities is as much a result of the housing crisis, the commercialisation of crofting, of poor transport infrastructure, of insufficient progress on land reform and over-tourism, as it is a result of an ongoing lack of investment in Gaelic development at a community level, and a lack of strategic policy co-ordination at a national level. Gaelic will only survive in communities which can survive and thrive sustainably. The perceptive proverb states that it takes a village to raise a child, can it be said then that it takes a healthy sustainable community to retain and develop a language? What good will educational and cultural initiatives do if young people and young families are unable to live in the areas where they were raised?

Tha **Màrtainn Mac a' Bhàillidh** na ailtire, a chuir seachad beagan bhliadhnaichean ag obair san Eilean Sgitheanach. Ged a tha e an sàs na stiùiriche air a' chompanaidh ailtearachd Baillie Baillie Architects, stèidhichte air a' Phloc, tha e a-nis ag obair na Mhanaidsear Phròiseactan Ionnsachadh Inbhich aig Sabhal Mòr Ostaig agus a' fuireach air croit an ceann a tuath an Eilein Sgitheanaich. Tha e cuideachd na eagraiche saor-thoileach sa bhuidheann iomairt Misneachd.

Martin Baillie is an architect and has spent a few years working in Skye. Although he is a Director of the Plockton-based architectural firm Baillie Baillie Architects, he now works as Adult Learning Projects Manager at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and lives on a croft in the north of Skye. He is also a volunteer organiser for the Misneachd campaign group.

Tha **Misneachd** na bhuidheann choiteachaidh nàiseanta neo-eisimeileach aig ìre an t-sluaigh a chaidh a stèidheachadh an 2016, a bhios ag iomairt airson mothachadh a thogail air na dùbhlain a tha ro choimhearsnachdan Gàidhlig, gus fuasglaidhean radaigeach, èifeachdach a bhrosnachadh aig gach ìre, agus airson cleachdadh làitheil na Gàidhlig a dhaingneachadh anns na coimhearsnachdan. Bidh Misneachd cuideachd a' strì airson na Gàidhlig agus a luchd-labhairt mar phàirt de dh'iomairtean nas leatha airson ceartas sòisealta agus àrainneachdail.

Misneachd is a Scotland-wide independent grassroots advocacy group established in 2016, campaigning to raise awareness of challenges faced by Gaelic-speaking communities, to encourage radical effective solutions and to strengthen the daily use of Gaelic in the communities. Misneachd also promote Gaelic and its speakers as part of wider struggles for social and environmental justice.

Policy Failure in the Gaelic Heartlands: One Size Does Not Fit All, Calum MacGillEain / Malcom Maclean, Isle of Lewis (Independent Scholar)

The Gaelic crisis in the vernacular community (Ó Giollagáin et al., 2020), is real and obvious to many of us living in island communities. The recent Soillse publication – the catalyst to this conference – has marshalled the research and hard evidence to describe this crisis in sociolinguistic terms. For the wider community it is confirmation of a Gaelic cultural crisis that has been building for some years. This paper looks at the modern history of Gaelic arts and cultural policy and asks – how did we get here? How has the success of Gaelic development strategy in the 1990s in terms of education, the media, the arts and the economy become a 21st century crisis in the Hebrides? An overview of Gaelic arts and cultural strategy suggests a pattern of arrested progress and that policy failure at a national level has had a profoundly detrimental, and potentially terminal, impact on island communities in particular. The failure of the Scottish government and its key cultural agencies – Bòrd na Gàidhlig and Creative Scotland – to develop any meaningful Gaelic cultural strategy has accelerated the Gaelic crisis in the islands. This has huge socio-economic implications for Hebridean communities and the future of Gaelic development nationally.

Calum MacGillEain / Malcolm Maclean, FRSA, is a Glasgow Gael, visual artist, arts producer and heritage consultant based in the Outer Hebrides. As a founding chair of Scotland's first Gaelic Arts Centre, *An Lanntair*, he went on to lead award winning Gaelic arts agency, *Pròiseact nan Ealan* (PNE) for twenty-five years before becoming chair of UNESCO Scotland in 2013. PNE founded the festivals association *Fèisean nan Gàidheal*, Stornoway's *Fèis Eilean an Fhraoich*, the *Ceòlas* summer school (South Uist) and led on numerous other community arts initiatives such as Will Maclean's Gaisgeach Cairns the *Sgeulachdan* initiative and the *Na Mo Chuid Aodaich* vintage fashion shows. PNE also helped originate the Gaelic TV service and Malcolm's producer credits include BAFTA award winning Gaelic arts TV series *Tacsi* and *The St Kilda Opera*, performed simultaneously in five countries. Curator credits include international touring exhibitions *Às an Fhearann* and *An Leabhar Mòr*. To commemorate the centenary of the Iolaire disaster in 2018, he co-created a public art installation *Sheòl an Iolaire*, in Stornoway.

Gnìomchachas na Ceilpe aig Calabost, Eilean Leòdhais aig Deireadh an 18mh Linn: Raibeart Weir, Fear-tac Adhartach agus Tionnsgainneach / The Kelp Industry at Calbost, Isle of Lewis at the End of the 18th Century: Robert Weir, A Progressive and Entrepreneurial Tacksman, Holley NicAoidh (Oilthigh Ghlaschu agus Àrainneachd Eachdraidheil Alba / University of Glasgow and Historic Environment Scotland)

Le bhith a' cleachdadh feamainn ann an gnìomhachas gus salainn na groide a thoirt a-mach thug na ceimigean riatanach seo do ghnìomhachasan a bha a' fàs bhon 17mh linn gu tràth san 19mh linn. Chitheadh ceò losgadh feamainn ann an slocan air cladaichean air feadh na h-Alba tràth as t-samhradh. B' e an dòigh-obrach seo a bhith a' dèanamh luaithre cailcinichte de dh'fheamainn, neo ceilp mar a chanadh iad ris. Cheangail an gnìomhachas seo sgìrean cladaich dùthchail leis na h-atharrachaidhean eaconamach, sòisealta agus poilitigeach a bha ag atharrachadh gu luath aig àm an Tionndadh Gnìomhachais tràth agus leudachadh colonaidheachd air Ìmpireachd Bhreatainn. 'S e amas a' phròiseict PhD seo tuigse fhaighinn air àite agus buaidh a' ghnìomhachais seo air Alba san linn nua-aimsireil le bhith a' cur fòcas air a' bhuaidh theicneòlais, shòisealta agus eaconamach air an fheadhainn a bha an sàs sa ghnìomhachas le bhith a' tarraing air fianais àrc-eòlais, eachdraidheil, aithriseach agus eitneòlach.

Thathar den bheachd gun d'fhuair Raibeart Weir, am fear-tac mu dheireadh ann an Calabost, sgìre na Pàirce an ceann-tuath an Eilean Leòdhais, a' ghabhail airson an dà thac Chalabost agus Ghrabhair cho tràth ri 1780. Chan eil mòran fiosrachaidh mu bheatha Raibeart Weir, ach a-mhàin gu bheil e air ainmeachadh ann an sgrìobhainnean tasglainn agus naidheachdan bhon bheulaithris mar a chruinnich Aonghas "Ease" MacLeòid. Thuirt Aonghas MacLeòid gur e "fear de na fir-tac as adhartaiche an Leòdhas" a bh' ann. Tha buaidh nan diofar iomairtean aige leithid gnìomhachas na ceilpe, àiteachas agus sailleadh èisg fhathast ri fhaicinn sa chruth-tìre agus timcheall air Calbost. Thèid beachdachadh air dòigh-obrach trì-fhillte – mion-sgrùdadh slabhraidh bathar, co-beothalachd agus ceangal – gus tuigse fhaighinn air a' bhuaidh a bha aig na h-iomairtean sin air a' bhaile a bharrachd air na h-adhbharan airson gun deach Raibeart Weir ainmeachadh mar dhuine "adhartach" agus na leasanan a dh'ionnsaicheas bhuaithe air na dòighean lèirsinneach aige ann an gnìomhachas agus e na mharsanta aig an robh spèis a-measg an t-sluaigh.

The industrial exploitation of seaweed to extract alkali salts provided essential chemicals to grow industries from the 17th century through to the early 19th century. The smoke of the burning of seaweed in pits along coasts throughout Scotland could be seen in early summer. This process was used to calcinate ashes of seaweed to make *kelp*. This industry connected rural coastal areas with the fast-changing economic, social and political changes during the era of the early Industrial revolution and colonial expansion of the British Empire. The aim of my doctoral research is to gain a better understanding of the role and impact that this industry had on early modern Scotland by focusing on its technology, social and economic impact on those involved within the industry by drawing on archaeological, historical, documentary and ethnological evidence.

It is thought that Robert Weir, the last tacksman of Calbost in the north Park district on the Isle of Lewis, obtained the lease for the tacks of Calbost and Gravir as early as 1780. Not a great deal is known about Robert Weir's life, other than being named in archival documents and anecdotes from oral tradition as collected by Angus "Ease" MacLeod who stated that he was known as "one of the most progressive tacksmen in Lewis". The impact of his various enterprises such as the

kelping, agriculture and fish salting industries can still be seen in and around the landscape of Calbost. A three-pronged approach – commodity chain analyses, conviviality and connection – will bring to bear a better understanding of the impact on this township and the reasons why Robert Weir was termed "progressive" and the way in which such entreprenurial activities and local leadership may yet offer us an object lesson nowadays.

Rugadh is thogadh **Holley NicAoidh** ann am Florida, na Stàitean Aonaichte. Fhuair i dà cheum bho Shabhal Mòr Ostaig: BA Gàidhlig Cànan is Cultar agus MSc Cultar Dùthchasach na Gàidhealtachd. Tha i na neach-rannsachaidh PhD a-nis aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu ann an compàirteachais le Àrainneachd Eachdraidheil Alba, a' rannsachadh an àrc-eòlas, eachdraidh agus dualchas gnìomhachas na feamad ann an Alba eadar an 17mh agus 20mh linn. Tha i a' fuireach an Col Uarach, Sgìr' a' Bhac, Eilean Leòdhais còmhla ri a chèile Iain.

Born and brought up in Florida, USA, **Holley McCoy** is twice a graduate of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig: BA in Gaelic Language and Literature as well as a MSC in Material Culture. She is a doctoral candidate at the University of Glasgow in partnership with Historic Environment Scotland where she is researching the archaelogy, history and heritage of seaweed production in Scotland from the 17th century onwards. Along with her partner John, she stays in Upper Coll, Back, Isle of Lewis.

Tuismitheoirí na Gaeltachta: A Language Sanctuary for Families in the Gaeltacht, Sorcha Ní Chéilleachair (Tuismitheoirí na Gaeltachta)

Tuismitheoirí na Gaeltachta (TnaG) originally began as a social group of like-minded parents raising their children through Irish in the Gaeltacht and is now an established government funded organisation providing services for over 2,000 families. From the beginning the group set out to create a language sanctuary and implement a specific language policy where each family pledges support thus reducing the pressure a dominant or majority language often places on young children.

Our aims include:

- Supporting young native speakers and instilling in them a confidence in the language;
- Creating support networks of like-minded parents;
- Encouraging children and young people to communicate in Irish;
- Normalising the language in the children's community.

The proposed presentation will include recent research commissioned by TnaG on the number of families raising their children through Irish in the Gaeltacht. In the absence of satisfactory questioning in the national census, there is no way of ascertaining how many families there are and this has long been a problem when providing family language supports. TnaG sought in this commission to review all data available and to provide the best information possible. Information will also be given on the major initiatives of TnaG including the early years programme of Gligíní (parent and toddler play groups); Suathaireacht do Naíonán (baby massage groups); Bugaí Beoga (buggy buddy groups); An Pacáiste Tacaíocha Teaghlaigh (language support pack); and Súil le Breith (ante-natal workshops). Our youth literary programme which includes Litir chuig Santaí (a letter to Santa); Scéim léitheoireachta (a bespoke scheme for schools designed to encourage children to read in Irish, book clubs, reading circles and storytelling sessions); Cuideachta (local family social groups); Siamsán na nÓg (general family get togethers); and Teacht in Inmhe (a coming of age Gaeltacht identity and ecological programme for teenagers).

Sorcha Ní Chéilleachair is Ceannasaí (Head) of Tuismitheoirí na Gaeltachta, an organisation providing sassistance and advice to families raising their children through the Irish language or who wish to do so in the Gaeltacht regions of Ireland. Tuismitheoirí na Gaeltachta originally began as a group of like-minded parents seeking to create opportunities for their families to interact with each other in Gaeilge. TnaG now employ six people, working at a national Gaeltacht level and have government funding. Sorcha was involved in the founding of the organisation. Originally from the smallest Gaeltacht area in the country, Rinn Ó gCuanach, she lives in An Cheathrú Rua in the Conamara Gaeltacht with her husband, a native of the area and their three children. Trained initially as a primary school teacher, she spent seven years teaching in Irish medium education, four of those years in a vice-principal management role. After working in print and television, she then undertook a postgraduate qualification in communications and was employed as a Clár Reachtaire (Radio Journalist/Producer) with RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta. She studied part-time and gained third level Language Planning qualifications and took a specific interest in the intergenerational transmission of Gaeilge in the Gaeltacht. After spending more than fifteen years with RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta, Sorcha was appointed Ceannasaí in 2018 of the newly expanded Tuismitheoirí na Gaeltachta. As well as being an accomplished Sean Nós

singer, she has a keen interest in Gaeltacht community and language affairs and advocates strongly for Gaeltacht family language rights on a local, national and state level.

A' Togail Misneachd - A' Togail Lìonraidhean Phroifeiseanta / Building Confidence By Creating Professional Networks, Michelle NicLeòid (Oilthigh Obair Dheathain / University of Aberdeen) le Tim Armstrong (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig), Dòmhnall MacNèill (Comunn na Gàidhlig) agus Gillian Rothach (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig)

Airson soirbheachas ann am poileasaidhean nàiseanta ann an coimhearsnachdan ionadail tha feum ann structuran iomchaidh a leigeas leis na poileasaidhean seo obair. Co-cheangailte gu dlùth ri seo tha ceistean ann a thaobh ghoireasan daonna. Sgrìobh eòlaichean Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) '[that] language planning is ultimately about human resource development'; mhol McDonnacha (2000) cuideam taic a chumail ri luchd-leasachaidh cànain. A thaobh na Gàidhlig, sgrìobh NicLeòid (2013) gun robh barrachd aithne agus proifeiseantachd a dhìth san raon-obrach seo agus mhol Macleod, Armstrong, Munro & Taylor (2018) dòighean air adhart airson taic a chumail ris an fheadhainn a tha ag obair le Gàidhlig nam beathanan proifeiseanta. Tha na ceistean seo air fàs nas cudromaiche buileach leis gu bheil barrachd dhaoine a-nis an sàs ann an obair leasachaidh na Gàidhlig aig ìre choimhearsnachd. Am measg na rudan as urrainnear dèanamh airson poileasaidhean a chur an gnìomh gu h-èifeachdach, tha misneachadh agus trèanadh luchd-obrach.

Ann an 2021, choimisean Bòrd na Gàidhlig sgeama pìleat airson lìonradh de dh'oifigearan Gàidhlig a stèidheachadh. Anns an taisbeanadh seo, cuirear an cèill cuid de amasan agus toraidhean na bliadhna pìleit; cluinnear beachdan bho chuid de na h-oifigearan a ghabh pàirt ann agus cnuasaichear air dè a' bhuaidh a tha aig leithid de lìonradh air an cuid obair agus air na coimhearsnachdan.

To enable the successful implementation of national policies in local communities, there is a need for appropriate structures which will allow these policies to work. Closely related to this are issues relating to human resources. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) wrote '[that] language planning is ultimately about human resource development'; McDonnacha (2000) endorsed the importance of supporting those involved directly in language development. In relation to Gaelic, Macleod (2013) wrote that more recognition and professionalisation was needed in this area and together Macleod, Armstrong, Munro & Taylor (2018) proposed ways to support those who work directly with Gaelic in a professional capacity. These issues have become more important with more people now employed in community language development work. In order to effectively implement language strategies, it is important that those involved are motivated and well trained.

In 2021 Bord na Gàidhlig commissioned a pilot scheme to establish a network of Gaelic language officers. Here some of the aims and results of the pilot year will be presented; we will share the opinions of some of the officers who took part, and we will consider the likely impact of a network like this on their work and the communities in which they are based.

Kaplan, R. B. agus R.B. Baldauf, Jr. 1997. *Language Planning from Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

MacDonnacha, J. 2000. "An Integrated Planning Model." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 24: 11–35

Macleod, Michelle, Armstrong, Timothy C., Munro, Gillian & Taylor, Ian (2018) "Planning for growth: the professionalisation of the taskforce for Gaelic revitalisation." In: Marsaili MacLeod

and Cassie Smith-Christmas, *Gaelic in Contemporary Scotland: The Sociolinguistics of an Endangered Language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 141–155
NicLeòid, Michelle. 2013. "Leasachadh Gàidhlig anns a' choimhearsnachd: dùbhlain agus siostaman taic". *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 29: 61–81

Tha **Michelle NicLeòid** na h-Àrd-Ollamh le Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Obar Dheathain. Tha i air grunn phàipearan co-cheangailte ri obair leasachadh cànain sa choimhearsnachd fhoillseachadh a bharrachd air trèanadh a thoirt seachad ann am prionnsabalan planadh cànain aig ìre choimhearsnachd. Bha i roimhe na Co-stiùiriche air Soillse agus tha i an dràsda na Co-eòlaiche Rannsachaidh dhan AHRC ann an rannsachadh chànan airson an àm ri teachd. **/ Michelle Macleod** is Professor of Gaelic at the University of Aberdeen. She has published a number of papers on working in language development in the community and she has delivered community training sessions in language planning principles. Previously she was Co-Director of Soillse and is currently AHRC Research Fellow on the Future of Language Research.

Tha an Dr **Gillian Rothach** na Prionnsapal aig Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. Roimhe sin bha i na Stiùiriche air a' cheum ann an Gàidhlig is Iomall a' Chuain Siar, is an uair sin Gàidhlig is Leasachadh (a nì coimeas eadar leasachaidhean sòisealta, eaconomaigeach, is cultarach ann an dùthchanan le mion-chànanan agus mion-chultaran). Tha i air tòrr rannsachadh a dhèanamh co-cheangailte ri leasachadh Gàidhlig aig ìe choimhearsnachd. / Dr **Gillian Munro** is the Principal of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. Previously she was the Director of the Gaelic and the Atlantic Periphery and then Gaelic and Development which compares social, economic and cultural development initiatives in countries with minority languages and cultures. She has published considerably in the area of Gaelic development at a community level.

Tha **Dòmhnall MacNèill** air a bhith na Stiùiriche air Comunn na Gàidhlig bho 2010. Tha an t-uabhas eòlais aige ann a bhith a' stiùireadh obair leasachaidh na Gàidhlig agus ann a bhith a' neartachadh sgioba-obrach. / Since 2010 **Donald MacNeill** has been the Director of Comunn na Gàidhlig and he has a wealth of knowledge in the area of Gaelic language development, especially in leading and developing teams.

Tha an Dr **Tim Armstrong** na Àrd-òraidiche aig Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, an ceann a' chùrsa Gàidhlig is Conaltradh. Tha eòlas farsaing aige air cur an sàs rannsachadh ùr air ath-bheòthachadh na Gàidhlig anns an aona linn air fhichead. / Dr **Tim Armstrong** is Senior Lecturer at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, in charge of the Gaelic and Communication course. He has considerable experience of delivering new research on Gaelic language revitalisation in the twenty-first century.

An Dá Thrá a Fhreastal: Understanding Mothers' and Policymakers' Conceptualisations of Gaeltacht Childcare, Fionnuala Nic Pháidín (Maynooth University)

Arranging childcare poses many dilemmas for Irish families and Gaeltacht communities are not immune from this. Childcare costs for parents in Ireland are amongst the highest in Europe, and long waiting lists for centre-based care are a common feature. Due to the gendered nature of care, this particularly affects mothers, who often must weigh up quality, costs, availability, ethical issues, and their own working patterns to try and find a childcare solution. In this context, Gaeltacht mothers are faced with the particular challenge of arranging childcare which aligns both with their family's linguistic practices, and with their views on what constitutes good care. This paper therefore examines how Gaeltacht mothers make childcare arrangements in this challenging environment and how State policy understands their needs. A constructivist approach is taken which explores the meaning of good care to Gaeltacht mothers through a series of in-depth qualitative interviews, with a particular focus on the trade-offs which mothers make in seeking suitable Irish-medium childcare for their children. I also examine the degree with which mothers' experiences align with the conceptualisation of Irish-medium childcare within Irish policy. This includes an analysis of language and childcare policy, in recognition that Government measures within and outside the linguistic sphere can have unintended consequences in Gaeltacht areas. By contrasting policy measures in these spheres with the lived realties of Gaeltacht mothers, I hope to highlight gaps which need to be addressed to meet the needs of Gaeltacht families.

Fionnuala Nic Pháidín is enrolled on the Masters in Sociology (Societies in Transition) in Maynooth University, Ireland. She is particularly interested in the intersection between social and linguistic policy with regards to childcare, housing and social welfare services. She has worked in both the Irish language sector and the public sector in Ireland over the past number of years, and holds undergraduate qualifications in Irish and in Social Policy.

Liceans Ambaissadors: Empowering Students Learning Occitan in High School—A Mutually Beneficial Policy? Marie Sarraute-Armentia (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

The Public Office for the Occitan Language (Ofici public de la lenga occitana, OPLO) is an interregional administration whose goal is to develop language policies regarding Occitan in Southwestern France. Its main objective is to help increase the transmission and use of the language, both by providing financial support to already existing initiatives (support to bottom-up policies) and implementing institutional programs (top-down approach).

Although Occitan has been spoken for much longer than French in the region, nowadays, only 7% of the population of Southwestern France are able to speak Occitan, less than 50% of which actually use it on a weekly basis (OPLO, 2020). Furthermore, a major reform of the high school graduating exam (baccalauréat) recently resulted in a decrease of up to 44% in enrolments in Occitan classes in high school, which will likely result in a decrease in the already low number of Occitan speakers and teachers.

In such a context, OPLO decided to focus its policies on high school from 2021 to 2023, thanks to an action plan (« Plan d'action lycée », PAL) gathering sixteen actions specifically targeting high school students and their direct school environment (documentation and educational resources tailored to their needs and interests, such as Internet videos and an educational escape game). One particular action constitutes an attempt at combining this institutional top-down approach with bottom-up initiatives: nine high school students were recruited to become *ambassadors* of Occitan, by providing advice on OPLO's communication tools, and proposing and completing projects of their own to promote Occitan with their peers. In this presentation, I propose to evaluate this action after one year of implementation. The students definitely kept the promises they made in their applications, but this assessment will also show the limits of combining bottom-up energy and top-down administrative complexity.

Office public de la langue occitane. 2021. « Le Plan d'action Lycée ». https://www.ofici-occitan.eu/fr/decouvrir-le-detail-du-plan-daction-lycee-pal/

Office public de la langue occitane. 2020. Langue occitane : état des lieux 2020 ; résultats de l'enquête sociolinguistique relative à la pratique et aux représentations de la langue occitane en Nouvelle-Aquitaine, en Occitanie et au Val d'Aran. https://www.ofici-occitan.eu/fr/les-enjeux

Marie Sarraute-Armentia is a doctoral candidate in Sociolinguistics at Université Bordeaux Montaigne (France) and is a member of the research team IKER (UMR 5478). Her doctoral research is funded by and undertaken within the Public Office for the Occitan Language (OPLO). She specialises in the study of social representations and her research aims at understanding the motivations behind enrolment in Occitan classes as well as the reasons for non-enrolment in order to provide OPLO with innovative ways to promote Occitan classes to increase the number of yearly enrolments. Within OPLO, she also works on the *Plan d'Action lycée* (action plan for Occitan in high school), more specifically on the conception of an educational escape game and the supervision of a project of videos promoting Occitan carried out by the *Liceans Ambaissadors* (Ambassadors for Occitan in high school).

The Dynamics Between Recognition, Policy and Practice Concerning West-Frisian in the Netherlands, Ydwine R. Scarse (Fryske Akademy)

West-Frisian (*Frysk*, henceforth: Frisian) is, next to Dutch, an official language in the province of Fryslân, the Netherlands. Frisian language rights are recognised and implemented by means of international treaties. Dutch laws and covenants between the Dutch national government and Frisian provincial government. Moreover policy plans are made to strengthen the position of Frisian in various aspects. Nonetheless, Frisian is listed as vulnerable in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley, 2010) and the acknowledged language rights are not consistently reflected in practice (Buning-Oosten & Kuipers-Zandberg, 2018; Schukking & Klinkenberg, 2018; Schukking & Van der Meer, 2021). This presentation will explore the dynamics between recognition, policy and practice concerning the Frisian language, with current examples. For instance, in April 2022, a covenant between the Dutch and Frisian governments was added on the visibility of Frisian, the Sichtberensakkoart Frysk / Fryske taal (Covenant on visibility Frysk/Frisian language). However, at the same time there are concerning developments, as all three Frisian court interpreters are on strike since September 2021, the provincial government has announced a structural budget cut for the Frisian language in May 2022, and there is much concern about the only Frisian university chair and the succession in autumn 2022. Where can we find room for improvement and what are good practices to learn from? The Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning has conducted research on the case of Frisian and makes comparative research possible with study cases of minority languages across Europe.

Buning-Oosten, J. E., & Kuipers-Zandberg, H. (2018). *De ymplementaasje fan it Europeesk Hânfêst foar Regionale of Minderheidstalen yn Nederlân sûnt it ratifisearjen yn 1996: Yn opdracht fan it Orgaan foar de Fryske taal DINGtiid* [The implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in the Netherlands since the ratification in 1996: Commissioned by the Frisian language agency DINGtiid]. Province of Fryslân

Moseley, Christopher (ed.). (2010). *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd edn.* http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas

Schukking, A. F., & Van der Meer, C. (2021). *De ymplemintaasje fan it Europeesk Hânfêst foar Regionale of Minderheidstalen yn Nederlân – in update: Yn opdracht fan it Orgaan foar de Fryske taal DINGtiid* [The implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in the Netherlands since the ratification in 1996 – an update: Commissioned by the Frisian language agency DINGtiid]. Province of Fryslân.

Schukking, A. F., & Klinkenberg, E. L. (2018). *De rol fan it Frysk by gemeentlike weryndielingen yn Fryslân: Yn opdracht fan it Orgaan foar de Fryske taal DINGtiid* [The role of Frisian in municipal amalgamations in Fryslân: Commissioned by the Frisian language agency DINGtiid]. Province of Fryslân

Ydwine R. Scarse, BA, is a Research Assistant at the Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (Fryske Akademy), Leeuwarden, the Netherlands. She studied Minorities and Multilingualism with the Frisian track, and is particularly interested in European linguistic minorities, Frisian, and minority language and multilingual education. At the Mercator European Research Centre, she works on projects and platforms to share knowledge, challenges and needs, and best practices for minority languages and multilingual education, such as <u>VirtuLApp</u> or the <u>Wiki on Minority Language Learning</u>. More information about her

research output is available to view at [https://pure.knaw.nl/portal/en/persons/ydwinescarse].

Linguistic Assertiveness: A Proposal to Implement Bottom-up Strategies for Minoritized Languages, Ferran Suay (Universitat de València), and Maite Montagut (Universidad Católica de Valencia)

Assertiveness can be defined as "the ability to express our thoughts and feelings openly in an Honest, Appropriate, Respectful and Direct way» (Hunter et al., 2009). Assertiveness training is known to be a productive approach for different behavioural conditions, including some pathological ones. For Minoritized Language (ML) speakers, the automatic convergence to the Dominant Language tends to be a very common habit, which—from a Behavioural Science perspective—can be operationalised as Linguistic Submissiveness (Suay & Sanginés, 2004). This habit considerably contributes to the invisibilisation of the ML and has to be addressed whenever revitalisation of a language is a serious objective (Suay, 2018). Linguistic Assertiveness is a non-ideologically based approach based on the development of individual behavioural resources aimed to help using the ML as much as it is possible, according to the sociolinguistic and legal conditions of each language (Gibert, 2010; Junyent, et al., 2011; Suay, 2019; Belmar, 2021). The psychological approach is rooted on knowing how people learn and display the Linguistic Submissiveness, a process that may involve different combinations of direct aversive experiences (conditioning) and observational learning (modelling) which can even generate a learned helplessness condition (Suay, 2009). Interventions based on this approach should target the submissive habit and focus on how it can be modified and substituted by a more healthy and useful one, as well for the language as for its speakers. This is a bottom-up (starting from the speakers) approach aimed to increase the social presence of any ML. The main guidelines of this assertiveness-based approach are presented in this paper.

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Author of the various reports that ELEN has presented to the European Parliament and the UN, in relation to language rights and the state of European minority languages.

Creator of Linguistic Assertiveness Workshops, which present a view of minority languages, focused on speakers and the resources they can acquire in order to increase the visibility of their languages.

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