

# Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 10

Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann/*University of Edinburgh*

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## GEÀRR-CHUNNTASAN / ABSTRACTS

**Cothroman leasachadh fileantais airson ìrean eadar-dhealaichte de luchd-ionnsachaidh (postair)**  
Fañch Bihan-Gallic

Thathar ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig ann an iomadh seòrsa co-theacsa ann an Alba an-diugh, agus tha coltas slàn air cothroman ionnsachadh agus cleachdadh a' chànain. Ach tha cuid den rannsachadh a chaidh an dèanamh a' sealltainn nach eil sin cho fìor ann an cuid de àitean, agus tha gainnead eile ann: cothroman leasachadh na Gàidhlig airson luchd-ionnsachaidh àrd-ìre. Ged a bhios tòrr chùrsaichean foirmeil ri fhaighinn, gu h-àraidh sna bailtean mòra, agus a dh'aindeoin buidheannan coimhearsnachd, tha cuid den luchd-ionnsachaidh a' faireachdainn nach eil cothroman cleachdaidh gu leòr taobh a-muigh de na clasaichean. Agus tha e coltach gu bheil duilgheadasan ann nuair a thathar a' deiligeadh ri ìrean nas adhartach de luchd-ionnsachadh. Bidh am postair seo a' cur aire air àitean cleachdadh na Gàidhlig ann am beatha luchd-ionnsachaidh, agus ciamar a thathar a' deiligeadh le diofar seòrsa ìre cànan. Bidh e na amas agus na amharc a bhith a' toirt lèirsinn nas soilleire de na diofar dòighean a bhios luchd-ionnsachaidh a' leasachadh an sgilean cànan taobh a-muigh de na clasaichean, agus a' cnuasachadh air a' bheachd a bha aig Trosset (1986): "People who remain with learners remain learners". 'S e pàirt dem phroiseact PhD a th' ann, a tha ag amharc air àitean ionnsachadh agus cleachdadh na Gàidhlig airson inbheach a tha ag ionnsachadh a' chànain.

### *Reference*

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

**Gàidhlig ga bruidhinn an seo? Code choice and language management initiatives in Stornoway**  
Ingeborg Birnie

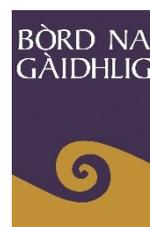
The 2011 census data indicated that the Western Isles was the only authority where a majority of the population, 52.2%, self-reported to be able to speak Gaelic (National Records of Scotland, 2013). Research studies conducted in the Western Isles have shown that Gaelic has all but disappeared as a community language (Munro, Armstrong & Mac an Tàilleir, 2011), and Gaelic / English bilinguals choose to speak English, even in situations where they recognise Gaelic can be spoken.

This presentation discusses the findings of a multimodal study which explored the influence of language management initiatives, in the form of statutory Gaelic Language Plans created under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, on the code choice made by Gaelic /English bilinguals in accessing public services.

Data was collected in situ and in real time through linguistic soundscape surveys in ten public spaces, both with and without statutory language management initiatives, to assess how, when, by whom and for what purpose Gaelic was used and how these practices were influenced by organisational Gaelic language



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plans. This data was supplemented by language use diaries of Gaelic / English bilinguals to evaluate individual linguistic practices across the domains of communication.

The findings of this study indicate that the language continues to be part of the linguistic soundscape with bilinguals using Gaelic in circumstances where they do not actively have to (re-)negotiate the language as an unmarked code choice. Gaelic was mostly used in social networks and in closed domains. Gaelic was only used in the public domain where the language was actively included in the linguistic soundscape. This has important implications for the way language support management initiatives are implemented and the use of Gaelic encouraged and supported.

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Munro, G., Armstrong, T. and Mac an Tàilleir, I., 2011. *Cor na Gàidhlig ann an Siabost*. An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig.

National Records of Scotland 2013, Table QS211SC Gaelic Language Skills, HMSO, Edinburgh.

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

### **The Dewar MSS: A Progress Report**

Ronald Black

The Dewar MSS have been described as 'Scotland's first ever oral history project'. They consist of ten substantial bound volumes written in Gaelic. Seven are at Inveraray Castle and three are in the National Library of Scotland. The collector, John Dewar (1802–72), was a native of Arrochar. Between 1860 and his death in 1872 he was paid by the duke of Argyll to wander around Argyll, Arran, west Perthshire and Lochaber collecting historical tales ('popular history'). His work was guided by the folklorist John Francis Campbell of Islay, and is of immense value. An English translation of two-thirds of one of the ten volumes was published by John Mackenzie in 1963 as *The Dewar Manuscripts Volume One*. More recently, the material has been well described by Andrew Wiseman in a paper published in the proceedings of RnaG 2002, 'The Dewar Manuscripts: An Overview'. Since 2013 the Inveraray archives have been fully open to the public, and a support body called the Friends of the Argyll Papers has been formed. As a result, the Dewar MSS have now been digitised and work has begun on transcribing, translating and editing the texts. It is envisaged that these will be published in nine volumes with a regional focus, beginning with *The Dewar Manuscripts Volume Two: Islay and Jura*. The work is being done by a worldwide team of volunteer transcribers. New volunteers are welcome; competence in Gaelic is not necessary, as Dewar's hand is clear.

### **Food for animals, food for thought: a rescued Applecross place-names map**

Gordon Cameron

Initially appearing to be little more than the detritus of a farming operation, an animal-feed bag, when unfolded, was revealed to be a valuable window on the material culture of Applecross, in western Ross-shire.

Much of the area depicted in the map, hand-drawn on the inside surface of such an ephemeral medium, lies within wild land area 25 as defined by Scottish Natural Heritage. In the wake of considerable debate over the merits of such designation of parts of the Scottish countryside, this map, thanks to the fortuitous manner of its discovery, sheds light on animal husbandry and agricultural practices which may otherwise have been eradicated from memory.

Many of the names depicted had not previously been recorded and point to land use in times of hardship while use of colour-coding identifies areas associated with particular cropping. This paper suggests that such an example of real-world experience, a map based on decades walking the ground with crofters and estate workers, should lead to a critical re-evaluation of the desk-based identification of 'wild land', the manner of public agency consultation and challenge our contemporary reflection on the meaning of landscape. The paper will also examine questions of authority and authenticity which bring to mind the advice given to those carrying out early surveying work for the Ordnance Survey.

### **John Murdoch and the Crofters War**

Calum Cameron White

When the Glendale factor, Donald Macdonald, gave evidence to the Napier Commission in 1884, he identified John Murdoch and his radical newspaper *The Highlander* as the most significant influence on the Crofters' War of the 1880s. Murdoch owned and edited *The Highlander* between 1873 and 1881. The paper was dominated by land reform and Gaelic. Tom Johnston, who edited the Red Clydeside journal *Forward* and became Secretary of State for Scotland, wrote that 'the public opinion which had been created by John Murdoch in *The Highlander* newspaper was the real beginning of the clamour which finally resulted in the state concession of fixity of tenure in the crofting counties' in *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland*.

Murdoch received much of his political education from land activists and nationalists in Ireland. He was a regular contributor to the Young Ireland newspaper *The Nation*. This organisation was extremely influential in establishing the tactics of land politics in Ireland. Murdoch toured the United States of America with Charles Stewart Parnell in 1879 and 1880. He attended leadership meetings of the Irish Land League and encouraged Highland crofters to organise along similar lines in *The Highlander*. Parnell's 1881 appearance at an Irish Land League meeting in Glasgow where a donation was made to the Highland crofters marked the establishment of the Skye Vigilance Committee and the start of the Crofters War.

The government appointed a Royal Commission to address the unrest in the Highlands and Islands in 1883. Murdoch had repeatedly suggested this solution in *The Highlander*. He walked across much of the Highlands to organise and prepare communities for the arrival of the commission, in tandem with the journalist and historian Alexander Mackenzie. He also toured the Highlands and Islands with Michael Davitt in 1885. Murdoch thought that the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act in 1886 was not radical enough because it failed to restore the land to the people. He became involved in socialist politics and chaired the first meeting of the Scottish Labour Party in 1888. In the Highlands he acted as a Crofters' Agent, a role Murdoch modelled on the early trade-union leadership of his friend Keir Hardie.

### **Comasan Labhairt ann an Gàidhlig: Frèam-obrach airson ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig le inbhich**

Nicola Carty

Is e aon dhe na h-amasan ath-bheothachaidh cànanain aig Bòrd na Gàidhlig clàran-tomhais Gàidhlig airson luchd-ionnsachaidh inbheach agus an tidsearan a chruthachadh. An-dràsta, tha luchd-rannsachaidh air a' phròiseact '*Comasan Labhairt ann an Gàidhlig*' (CLAG) a' leasachadh feadhainn dhe na clàran-tomhais sin, a tha a' dèiligeadh ri cainnt.

Anns an taisbeanadh seo, bheir mi cunntas dhen adhartas a thathar air dèanamh gu ruige seo air a' phròiseact. Tha na clàran-tomhais stèidhichte air corpas a chaidh a thogail ann an 2015. Rinn 96 luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig – 80 luchd-ionnsachaidh agus 16 fileantaich – eacarsaichean cainnt, a' gabhail a-steach agallamh neo-fhoirmeil, gnìomh sgeulachd, agus gnìomh airson structaran gràmarach fhaighinn. Tha tidsearan Gàidhlig do dh'inbhich air dàta a' chorpais a mheasadh, a' cleachdadh an t-Siostam Chumanta Eòrpaich airson Measadh Ionnsachadh Chànan (SCEMIC – 'Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning'). Chòdaicheadh an dàta airson tuairisgeul mhionaideach sgilean cànanain a thoirt gu ìre, a' gabhail a-steach feartan fileantas, ceartachd, agus fuaimneachadh. Chleachdadh

measaidhean nan tidsearan, còmhla ri nam mion-tuairisgeulan, airson dealbh a dhèanamh dhe sgilean cànan gach neach-labhairt sa chorpas. Ceangailear na clàran-tomhais leis an t-SCEMIC, agus le frèam-obrach ionnsachadh Gàidhlig an Ùghdarrais Theisteanas na h-Alba.

Criochnaichidh mi le tuairisgeul air na ceumannan a tha romhainn airson frèam-obrach ChLAG a thoirt gu buil.

### **The Gaelic soap opera: mainstream serials from the edge**

Douglas Chalmers and Hugh O'Donnell

Returning serial dramas are by their nature resource-intensive. They can be extremely long lasting, the demand for new script ideas is (almost literally) never ending, and in Europe and elsewhere is met by an incessant scrutiny of the twists and turns of public debate, and a large (if typically slowly evolving) cast is required to meet the need for changes of focus and the emergence of new themes. While such dramas can thrive in a supportive and well-resourced political and economic environment, the situation is much more complex in the case of minority-language soaps whose usefulness and value for money does not necessarily enjoy widespread support, a situation which the 2005 Gaelic Language Act in Scotland has, as far as cultural output is concerned, only very partially redressed. In this article we will examine the two Gaelic-language serials produced and aired in Scotland over the last 25 years, not only examining their general story-lining and production strategies, but also placing them in their broader political and linguistic frames.

Despite the very small number of Gaelic speakers – around 60,000 according to the last census – the two returning dramas in question *Machair* and *Bannan* have been produced not only to cater to these exiguous audiences, but also to contribute to an awareness of Gaelic and Gaelic-language programming to a broader public.

In this paper we will, through interviews with a range of key players in the production of both *Machair* and *Bannan*, explore the decision that led to the production of serials such as these which would never be commercially viable without a significant level of subsidy. We will also crucially analyse episodes of both in order to highlight their specificities as minority language productions and their strategies for “speaking” to a wider non-Gaelic-speaking audience.

### **Briathrachas beatha nam ban**

Ùisdean Cheape

B' àbhaist briathrachas làitheil a bhith gu ìre mhòir taobh a-muigh raon-sgrùdaidh sàr-sgoilearan na Ceiltis agus cha do dh'atharraich an sealladh seo mòran ro ar latha fhèin le Faclair na Gàidhlig agus DASG. Bha luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig a' dèanamh còmhnaidh ann an saoghal eile a bha fo bhuaidh atharraichean mòra nan 19mh agus an 20mh linntean. Iadsan a dh' fhuirich an dèidh fhuadaichean agus eilthreachd, chunnaic iad dòigh-bheatha a' sìor atharrachadh agus an cànan a' sìor chrìonadh. Bha cleachdaidhean am beatha làitheil a' dol à bith, ach bha na faclan ann fhathast. Tha seo a' nochdadh anns na co-fharpaisean a chuir An Comunn Gàidhealach air chois ann an 1899 airson 'Briathrachas Teicneòlach' (Technical Terminology) agus choisinn an t-Urr. Teàrlach Robasdan a' chiad duais. Rinn An Comunn eadar-dhealachadh anns an darna cho-fharpais ann an 1900, 's e a' sireadh briathrachas co-cheangailte ri obair nam ban. Chaidh na ceudan de dh'fhaclan a chruinneachadh, an dà chuid mu uallach obrach am broinn an taighe agus mun obair taobh a-muigh, a' tarraing air, mar eisimpleir, obair chruidh a bharrachd air 'calanas'. Choisinn Catriona Nic 'ill-bhàin Ghrannnd an duais agus thàinig liostachan bho dhaoine eile leithid Niall Ros agus Teàrlach Robasdan fhèin. Sguir a' cho-fharpais seo ann an 1901, ach lean na daoine orra le bhith a' trusadh briathrachais agus abairtean. Chuir An Comunn na liostachan seo air adhart chun an Robasdanaich, an dà chuid gus breithneachadh a dhèanamh orra: bha e den bheachd gun deidheadh aige air leabhar a dhèanamh leotha, miann nach tàinig a thoirt gu buil. Mar sin, tha gach uile liosta bho na diofar dhaoine glèidhte an-diugh a-measg làmh-sgrìobhainnean an Urr. Teàrlach Robasdan (1864-1927) ann an Leabharlann Nàiseanta na h-Alba (LNA LSS 357–483). Nì mi sgrùdadh air na pàipearan seo, gu

sònraichte air briathrachas obair nam ban, 's mi an dùil fianais a dhùsgadh mu chleachdadh a' chànain agus tuigse fhaighinn mu eadar-dhealachadh a rinneadh mun t-seòrsa obrach seo, eadar-dhealachadh a bha fhathast soilleir anns na sgrìobh ministear eile, an t-Urr. Iain MacRuairidh, mun aon àm:  
'Anns an àm a dh'fhalbh bha e air a mheas mar ghnòthach nàrach, tàmailteach do dh'fhear sam bith làmh a chur ann an obair sam bith a bha mnathan a' cleachdadh a bhith 'dèanamh. Bha 'h-obair fhèin aig a' mhnaoi, agus 'obair fhèin aig an fhear.'

### **Supporting children with developmental language disorders in primary Gaelic-medium schools: Challenges and opportunities**

Vicky Chondrogianni, Morna Butcher, Thomas Bak and Maria Garraffa

Despite lack of scientific evidence pointing towards a negative cumulative effect of bilingualism on language disorders, there are still concerns among parents, teachers and clinicians as to whether or not a child with language problems can become bilingual (Paradis, 2010). This concern may be aggravated by the lack of clinical provision and/or educational support for bilingual children with developmental language disorders who, in addition to a majority language, are also speakers of a minority language (Chondrogianni & John, 2018). The present talk presents results from a new research project aiming to identify the needs and gaps for children with developmental language disorders in Gaelic-medium education (GME) in Scotland. English-Gaelic P2 and P3 children with typical development and at risk of language impairment attending GME across three different locations in Scotland (Edinburgh, Glasgow and Isle of Skye) were tested on battery of tasks targeting their lexical, grammatical and narrative skills in both their languages, English and Gaelic. The novel tasks for Gaelic were developed following the guidelines of the European COST Action ISO804, "Language impairment and multilingualism: The road to assessment" (Armon-Lotem, 2016). We discuss the results of our study within the wider context of bilingualism, language impairment and bilingual immersion education.

#### *References*

- Armon-Lotem, S. (2016). Disentangling bilingualism from SLI: Dissociating exposure and input. *Bilingualism*, 1–2. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1366728916000377>
- Chondrogianni, V., & John, N. (2018). Tense and plural formation in Welsh-English bilingual children with and without language impairment. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders, Early View*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1460-6984.12363>
- Paradis, J. (2010). The interface between bilingual development and specific language impairment. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 31(2), 227–252. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716409990373>

### **The church and the domains of Gaelic in early medieval Scotland**

Thomas Owen Clancy

In this paper, I will explore the notion of the church as a particular vector for the expansion and continuity of Gaelic as a main language in parts of Scotland in the early middle ages. In the first part, I will discuss the social status of Gaelic within the early medieval church, and in particular evidence for its early use across a range of domains (legal, devotional, homiletic, intellectual) of relevance to the church. I will briefly consider the relevance of this for the ultimate dominance of Gaelic in eastern Scotland from the late 9th century on. This will begin to take in the evidence of place-names. In the second part of the paper, I will look at two areas where we might see the church as having a particular role in the fate of Gaelic in the early middle ages: first, potential for continuity of Gaelic in the Western Isles; and second, the church as evidence for, and a vector for, Gaelic expansion in south-west Scotland.

### **Gaelic pre-aspiration revisited**

David Clement

Since 1975 I have been giving conference papers on this subject, culminating in 1995 with 'The Problem of Pre-aspiration – the Solution' at the International Congress of Celtic Studies in Edinburgh. At the time

there was an embargo on publication of Linguistic Survey materials prior to their publication by Gillies and Ó Dochartaigh more or less in toto 1994- 1997. My rather boastful title agreed in essence in its approach and arguments with Professor Maolaláigh's conclusions in the paper offered more recently in the Festschrift for William Gillies.

So why raise the question again? A new generation of scholars, notably Pavel Iosad, have cast doubts on the conclusions and the arguments. I feel these need to be reiterated (and debated) in the forum that the *Rannachadh* offers.

I will show the dynamic which gives the present (or most recent) distribution of preaspiration in Scotland and link it to the Sprachbund as set out by Elmar Ternes in his *Lingua* article.

### **From dangerous to endangered: Walter Scott, *Waverley*, and the advent of ‘endangerment’ in linguistics and anthropology**

James Costa

In this paper, I propose to explore the hypothesis that Walter Scott's *Waverley* was the catalyst for the later reprobematization as “endangered” of peoples and environments which had hitherto been viewed in dominant circles as dangerous. While Walter Scott's novel is itself part of a wider trend aimed at romancing or narrating the Union between Scotland and England (Trumpener, 1997), I argue that because of Scott's worldwide intellectual influence, his romanticizing of the Gaels not only led to the adoption of Gaelic symbols as symbols of the entire Scottish nation, but that he set a trend and provided the discursive tools and outlook which was to become deeply embedded in Romanticism, and later in salvage anthropology and linguistics. In other words, I wish to argue that ‘discourses of endangerment’ are often, if not always, the other side of a coin which involves discourses of dangerous otherness. Endangerment, in this light, is thus a way to tame and control and exert symbolic or material dominance over peoples or natural entities which were previously viewed as dangerous. I will suggest that this view, connected not with indigenous perspectives but with the advent of the British Empire and its domination over Gaelic Scotland, is perhaps still prevalent in international discourses—such as Unesco's—on endangerment.

#### *Reference:*

Trumpener, K. (1997). *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### **Fishing, Gaelic, and Heritage in the Outer Hebrides**

Magnus Course and Gillebrìde MacMillan

In this paper, we discuss our recent experience working on the ESRC project, *Sustainability, Culture and Language in Hebridean Fishing*. Based on research carried out with fishermen in the Outer Hebrides, and in collaboration with the Western Isles Fishermen's Association, the project explores the cultural and linguistic values of Hebridean fishing. One of the project's goals has been to increase both local and national public awareness of the importance of Hebridean fishing in the maintenance and transmission of the Scottish Gaelic language. In this presentation, we focus on one aspect of this public outreach work: a community song project focussed on reviving and recording Gaelic fishing songs from the Outer Hebrides. Working with the local community choir in Uist, Guthan an Iar, as well as with local fishermen in Eriskay, a variety of Gaelic fishing songs were revived, recorded, and launched as a CD. Here we talk both about the songs themselves, and about what they might tell us concerning a sustainable future for fishing in the Outer Hebrides.

## **Mood and muda: The attitudes and language-use patterns of Gaelic undergraduate degree holders**

Adam Dahmer

Scottish Gaelic language provision at the university level has increased substantially in recent decades, such that five Scottish institutions of higher learning consistently offer undergraduate degree programmes that centre on Gaelic studies. Despite the many years in which such programmes have produced graduates, however, Gaelic undergraduate degree holders remain an under-researched group, and questions linger as to the nature of the influence of Gaelic undergraduate studies on the linguistic life-trajectories of their enrollees, and – by extension – the extent of their role in ongoing efforts to reverse Gaelic language shift.

This paper will present the preliminary findings of PhD research focused on the language-use patterns of Gaelic undergraduate degree holders. By conducting interviews and circulating questionnaires among graduates of Gaelic undergraduate programmes at the University of Aberdeen, the University of Edinburgh, the University of Glasgow, Lews Castle College and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the project seeks to reveal the role of universities in promoting Gaelic use, discover if and how Gaelic degree holders apply the language skills they honed in their undergraduate studies later in life, and reveal what socioeconomic factors influence graduates' language-use patterns.

The research limits its scope to the experiences of those who graduated between 1990 and 2006 – a time period sufficiently recent that potential participants might be contacted with relative ease, but long ago enough that most graduates will have begun to settle into stable patterns of career and family life.

This presentation will examine linguistic life trajectories through the lens of the *muda* – a Catalan term which denotes changes in linguistic practice that accompany specific junctures in life. The paper restates assertions by earlier researchers that the university milieu is conducive to such changes, and will outline some aspects of post-university adult life by which a *muda* might be strengthened or reversed.

## **Reachdas air foghlam Gàidhlig: èifeachd agus buaidh**

Rob Dunbar

Anns an trichead bliadhna mu dheireadh, tha diofar riaghaltasan air reachdan mu fhoghlam Gàidhlig a chruthachadh ann an achdan pàrlamaide no ann an ionnsramaidean reachdail. Anns a' bhliadhna 1986, nochd *Riaghailtean (Alba) air Tabhartasan airson Foghlaim Gàidhlig 1986* ('*Grants for Gaelic Language Education (Scotland) Regulations 1986*'), a chruthaich an siostam airson tabhartasan sònraichte gus iomairtean foghlaim Gàidhlig a mhaoineachadh (na 'Gaelic-specific Grants' mar a theirear riutha sa Bheurla). Anns a' bhliadhna 2000, thug Pàrlamaid na h-Alba *Achd Ìrean ann an Sgoiltean na h-Alba msaa 2000* ('*Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000*') a-steach, reachdas a chuir uallach air ùghdarrasan foghlaim an Alba cunntas a thoirt seachad air na dòighean a tha iad, no air na suidheachaidhean anns am biodh iad deònach, foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig a sholarachadh. Mar thoradh air an achd seo, chaidh a' Ghàidhlig cuideachd ainmeachadh mar aon dhe na 'prìomhachasan nàiseanta' ann am foghlam, agus tha dleasnas air na h-ùghdarrasan foghlaim amasan leasachaidh a thaobh nam prìomhachasan seo a chruthachadh agus a dh'fhoillseachadh gach bliadhna. Mu dheireadh, anns a' bhliadhna 2016, thug Pàrlamaid na h-Alba *Achd Foghlaim (Alba) 2016* ('*Education (Scotland) Act 2016*') a-steach, reachdas a chruthaich siostam fon a bhios ùghdarrasan foghlaim fo dhleasnas measadh a dhèanamh air an fheum airson leasachaidhean ann am foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig sna sgìrean aca as dèidh dhaibh tagradh bho phàrantan fhaighinn airson an leasachaidh.

Anns an taisbeanadh seo, thèid susbaint nan reachdas seo a mheasadh agus thèid buaidh nan reachdas seo a gheur-sgrùdadh, agus chuirear na reachdais seo ann an co-theacsa coimeasach eadar-nàiseanta agus ann an co-theacsa mholaidhean a thàinig bho luchd na Gàidhlig (gu sònraichte na molaidhean airson còirichean foghlaim Gàidhlig a chuireadh gu aire luchd-polataigs le Comunn na Gàidhlig aig deireadh nan 1990an) agus na geallaidhean air foghlam Gàidhlig a rinn na partaidhean polataigeach fhèin ann an Alba.

## **Fèin-aithne an luchd-labhairt ùra ann an Alba agus Alba Nuaidh**

Stiùbhart Dunmore agus Nicola Carty

Bheir am pàipear seo iomradh air dà sgrùdadh sa bheil an luchd-taisebeanaidh an sàs .i. dà phròiseact air luchd-labhairt ùra na Gàidhlig ann an Alba, agus ann an Alba Nuaidh, is cho cudromach 's a tha an fheadhainn ud – bho shealladh a' phoileasaidh cànan – do dh' ath-bheothachadh na Gàidhlig san dà dhùthaich. Bidh an dà phìos rannsachaidh seo, a thathas a' dèanamh aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu is Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann, a' measadh chleachdaidhean is comasan cànan, ìrean togail na Gàidhlig agus fèin-aithne am measg an luchd-labhairt seo, agus mar a tha iad gan eadar-dhealachadh bhon mhòr-chuid de na h-inbhich a fhuair foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig nan òigridh (cf. Dunmore 2017a, b). Am measg na mòr-chodach de na h-inbhich ud, cha chleachdar a' Ghàidhlig tric an lùib bheatha làitheil, pàtran a tha eu-coltach ris na cleachdaidhean cànan a th' aig luchd-labhairt ùra gu farsaing. Gu cudromach, bidh riaghaltasan ann an Alba agus Canada a' cur chuideam shònraichte air luchd-labhairt ùra mar shlighe a chum an cànan a shàbhaladh ann an ùine fhada, agus tha prìomhachas air a chur air teagasg na Gàidhlig mar dhàrna cànan san dà dhùthaich. Chaidh 1,275 luchd-labhairt na Gàidhlig a chlàradh an Albainn Nuaidh sa chunntas-shluaigh ann an 2011, agus tha luchd-labhairt ùra air tighinn am follais mar bhuidheann chudromach sa choimhearsnachd Ghàidhlig siud, ged a tha cothroman foghlaim sa chànan gann an coimeas ri Alba. Mar sin, 's e ionnsachadh do dh'inbhich air a bheil am fòcas ga thoirt ann an Alba Nuaidh, far a bheil prìomhachas soilleir ga chur cuideachd air togail fèin-aithne an luchd-ionnsachaidh mar Ghàidheil, rud nach faicear tric san t-seann dhùthaich fhèin. A' togail air anailis bhon dà phròiseact againn – CLAG (Oilthigh Ghlaschu) agus sgrùdadh iar-dhotaireil aig an Acadamaidh Bhreatannaich (Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann) – bheir sinn suil mhionaideach air a' chuspair seo.

## **Perpetuation of Gaelic cultural heritage**

Jean S. Forward

This paper presents research into a holistic view of Gaelic community, culture and identity. Archaeology, history, mythology, language and tourism were explored to find continuous threads of the Gaidhealtachd. Ongoing research focused on the views of those within their communities and their interrelationships with the broader socio-economic system. The socio-economic processes supporting Gaelic identity cross over the sea and the land. Supporting evidence comes from specific cases: the St. Kilda archipelago, the Isle of Iona, and Tory Island. These examples are placed into the system of production, distribution and consumption within the Gaidhealtachd where past informs and forms the present.

## ***Am Bròn Binn* revisited**

Linda Gowans

Since the publication of my book on this Gaelic Arthurian ballad in 1992, and the discovery of more of Alexander Carmichael's manuscripts (on which I reported at the Carmichael conference in 2011), there have been further developments which now appear to necessitate a rethink of the textual and geographical development of the ballad.

My paper will describe the new information which has come to light, the nature of the reassessment called for, and the difficulties involved in proceeding further.

## **It's not what you know, it's who you know: Thomas Ford Hill and eighteenth-century Gaelic networks**

Anja Gunderloch

When Thomas Ford Hill went on an extended tour of the Gaidhealtachd in 1780 to investigate the sources of Macpherson's Ossian he encountered a number of individuals who assisted him in his endeavour. Their various efforts furnished Hill with the Gaelic texts of six heroic ballads, one translation, and several summaries in English, as well as a wealth of interesting background information. As, by his own

admission, Hill spoke no Gaelic he had to depend the help of his informants to copy or translate the texts which he published between 1782 and 1783 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in 1784 as a slim booklet. The paper identifies some of the individuals involved and places them in their wider literary, cultural, and social context.

### **'Cumail fuachd nam beann diom: textiles in *The Poetry of Badenoch***

Maureen Hammond

In 1906, Thomas Sinton published *The Poetry of Badenoch*, a collection of the last remaining fragments of poetry and song of Badenoch. Gathered from sources he describes as 'a number of aged persons who were the last representatives of a crofting community that had existed time out of mind', his work records not only traditional song favoured in Badenoch, but also authored pieces from Lachlan Mac a' Phearsain, Dòmh'Il Phàil and works from less well-known voices, such as Barbara Ni'n Eoghain and Lilian Mackintosh.

*The Poetry of Badenoch* offers a unique insight into the culture of an understudied region, and is of particular value as a means of exploring the material culture of the central Highlands, using textiles as evidence for the construction of identities during the long eighteenth century. This paper explores the aesthetics of the textiles in the poetry to discuss the cultural function these items served, not just as pleasing objects but as vehicles of personal expression, with local trends acting as markers of a distinct Badenoch identity within a broader Highland context. In addition to the poetry, this paper draws on evidence from material culture and archival sources, to illustrate the cultural and social significance of textiles in Badenoch in the long eighteenth century.

### **Bàrdachd baile: ath-mheasadh**

Iain Howieson

A bheil sgoilearan litreachais air spèis gu leòr a shealltainn do na bàird thraidiseanta (na 'bàird bhaile')? Dè na feartan bàrdail a tha rim faicinn anns an t-saothair a rinn iad?

Anns a' phàipear seo, nì mi lèirmheas agus measadh air na beachdan air a' bhàrdachd seo a dh'fhoillsicheadh gu ruige seo, agus sgrùdadh air na feartan a tha rim faicinn innte. A bheil fireanachadh ann do na beachdan critigeach seo? Dè na beachdan a tha iomchaidh do shaothair bhàrd thraidiseanta, agus carson? Dè na slatan-tomhais a tha feumail, gus am breithneachadh seo a dhearbhadh?

Tha an rannsachadh seo ga thoirt air adhart an lùib pròiseact dotaireil agus nì mi aithris air m' adhartas gu ruige seo.

### **Gaelic Linguistic atlases: past and future**

Art Hughes

The field of Gaelic Studies has two fine linguistic atlases:

*SGDS* = *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* ed. C. Ó Dochartaigh (5 vols, Dublin, 1997).

*LASID* = H. Wagner's *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (4 vols, Dublin 1958-6).

The current speaker is involved with compiling a third linguistic atlas for Gaelic dialects. This consists of 420 questions in English. The main thrust of the new atlas, *Gaelic Insular Verb Initiative*, is to look at the verb in a series of simple sentences and it might even be described as a 'phrasal atlas.'

One main thrust is to examine the distribution of **analytic** forms of the verb, greatly favoured in Scottish and Ulster Gaelic dialects (e.g. *chuir mi/chuir mé* 'I put'), as opposed to **synthetic** forms, much favoured in Munster (*do chuireas*). In addition, the distribution of Old Irish deuterotonic forms for some key irregular

verbs will be examined, e.g. OIr. *do-beir* ‘gives’, *fo-geib* ‘gets’, surviving as *bheir* and *gheibh* in Scotland and Ulster, as opposed to innovatory *tugann* and *faigheann* in other Irish dialects.

The eventual data in *GIVI* will present cartographical difficulties and will see the materials presented in a tabular manner, more akin to *SGDS* than the maps in volume 1 of *LASID*. What sets this third atlas apart, however, is its aspiration to record all responses and present the same as an easily-accessible database on-line. In that regard some of the Doegen recordings, collected in Ireland 1929, will also feature in the talk.

### **A metrical analysis of Scottish Gaelic tonal accent**

Pavel Iosad

I provide a new analysis of the ‘tonal accent’ opposition in Gaelic, conceptualizing it as involving lexically specified metrical — in particular foot — structure. As discussed among others by Ternes (1980, 2006), many Gaelic varieties use suprasegmental features such as pitch (e.g. Lewis, Wester Ross) or glottalization (e.g. Jura, Colonsay) to make two kinds of distinctions: disyllabic hiatus vs. heavy syllables (*àth* v. *atha*); and disyllabic vs. svarabhakti words (*balg* v. *balach*). Ternes rightly compares these patterns with tonal accent systems in Germanic, and postulates lexical tone as the key distinction between the two ‘accents’.

Non-tonal analyses have been proposed by authors such as Bosch & de Jong (1997); Smith (1999); Brown (2009); Iosad (2015). In particular, Smith and Iosad offer analyses where the svarabhakti vowel in words like *balg* is metrically invisible, with consequences for the patterning of tone and glottalization. However, this analysis can only work if svarabhakti vowels are fully predictable synchronically. In this simple form, the analysis is untenable: svarabhakti vowels may be absent in contexts where they are phonologically motivated (e.g. [x] representing preaspiration of [k] does not trigger svarabhakti *olc* [ɔ̀lxk], \*[ɔ̀lxk]), and conversely svarabhakti-related suprasegmental patterns can appear when they are synchronically unmotivated (e.g. [fàa.i], [màra.i] with ‘monosyllabic’ accent for *faibhaidh*, *marbhaidh*). Similar counterexamples can be adduced for glottalization: compare [màrəv] for *marbh* with svarabhakti-induced lack of glottalization but [màriç] *marbhaidh* where the lack of [ʔ] cannot be so explained.

Building on recent work in the analysis of tonal accents (e.g. Morén-Duolljá 2013, Köhnlein 2016, Iosad 2016, Kehrein 2017), in this paper I show how these problems can be resolved if both glottalization and tonal accents in Scottish Gaelic are analysed using lexically pre-specified foot structure.

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### **Anna NicFhearghais and the growth of allegorical exegesis in Gaelic evangelical song**

Anne Macleod Hill

Depending only on mind, voice, and memory, subject to no censorship other than that of popular acceptance, women’s evangelical songs of the oral tradition provided a forum for personal spiritual expression and public debate which was open to all, regardless of their degree of education. Anna NicFhearghais (1796-1879) of Tayinloan, Kintyre, was born into the first generation of Highland women for whom attending school became a real possibility. Taught almost exclusively from the Catechism and the newly-published Gaelic Bible, she entered a new literary world. From a tattered notebook recording twenty-one of her spiritual songs, we gain insights into the merging of Gaelic oral and literary traditions and contemporary tensions between natural and supernatural theology. She re-works songs, adds verses, changing the occasional word to improve flow or clarify meaning. Her intention, she says, is to try to make sense of the Bible, and to explain it to her friends.

Unlike many Gaelic evangelical poets, Anna avoids political comment. She says nothing of her childhood experience of eviction, or of her father being lost overboard as her parents and eight neighbouring families

were turned off their land for attending evangelical meetings. With Highland landowners and the General Assembly actively hostile to the idea of universal education, attacking the newly-established Sabbath schools as ‘hotbeds of disaffection and sedition’, it was natural that Anna should transpose both personal and communal experiences into biblical settings, taking them to a remote time and place to allow discussion in symbolic, rather than directly confrontational terms.

This paper will explore the ways in which she encodes her teaching in dramatic archetypal images, revealing a breadth of reference and complexity of allegorical exegesis – along with a confidence of being understood – which would have been unthinkable just a generation earlier.

### **A’ bhanarach agus ‘aoghair-dhàin’ (‘pastoral poetry’) na Gàidhlig san 18mh linn**

Sim Innes

Bheirear sùil anns a’ phàipear seo air a’ bhanaraich (neo a’ bhanchaig) mar phearsa ann am bàrdachd na Gàidhlig bhon ochdamh linn deug. Bidh ‘Cuachag an Fhàsaich’ aig Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair agus ‘Òran na Banaraich’ bho Chruinneachadh MhicLathagain (Oilthigh Ghlaschu LS Gen 1042) agus dàin eile uile fon phrosbaig againn. Bidh cothrom againn an cois sin a bhith a’ meòrachadh air na h-amasan neo teachdaireachdan poiliteagach/feallsanachail a dh’fhaodadh a bhith an lùib cuid den bhàrdachd mu àrainneachd na Gàidhealtachd. Tha caochladh bheachd ri fhaicinn ann an sgoilearachd an latha an-diugh air a’ chàirdeas eadar bàrdachd *phastoral* na Beurla (neo ann an cànairean eile) agus bàrdachd nàdair na Gàidhlig. Chìthear anns a’ phàipear seo gun robh co-dhiù cuid de dhaoine a bha ri sgrìobhadh agus ri cruinneachadh bàrdachd na Gàidhlig san ochdamh linn deug gu math mothachail air gnàthasan *pastoral* agus fianais againn airson nam briathran ‘aoghair-dhàn’ (eadar-theangachadh air *pastoral poem*) ri fhaicinn ann an Cruinneachadh MhicLathagain.

### **Peter May: a personal discovery of an honorary Gael**

Clive James

Having read Peter May’s Lewis trilogy – *The Blackhouse*, *The Lewis Man* and *The Chessmen* – with my knowledge of the novels’ locations I began to think about their reality and that of their characters. I also began to reflect upon the apparently random use of Gaelic and English in place and personal names. This led to research into Peter May - his background and his books *Coffin Road* and *Entry Island* were subsequently read. His book *Hebrides*, with photographs by David Wilson, was subsequently perused.

By chance I came across the very last episode of ‘Machair’. Then the rebroadcasting of the series enabled me to view the very first episode. The credits at the end made interesting reading ! Amongst the names were to my surprise Peter May and two Welsh speaking friends who work in the Welsh language media. There were also what appeared to be Irish, Gaelic and anglicised Scottish names.

The resulting paper contains two threads. The first examines the use of the Gaelic and English versions of place and personal names. Three types of place – urban areas, core Gaelic areas and marginal Gaelic areas, are examined. An assessment is made of the accuracy of the Gaelic names against official lists of place names and their linguistic relevance in the novels. The use of both traditional Gaelic and anglicised versions of names for the varied characters in the five novels is also examined.

The second examines multinational and multilingual nature of the production team behind the television series ‘Machair’. The advantages and disadvantages of this situation was the subject of interviews with the two Welsh speaking key personnel.

The conclusions are that despite never having heard of Peter May until very recently, I have made a personal discovery of an individual who I conclude should be given national status as an honorary Gael.

## **The SSPCK and Highland elites: cooperation and criticism, 1709–1745**

Jamie Kelly

Following its establishment in 1709, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) sought to extend education provision in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Towards this end, it established a network of charity schools in the region to supplement the inadequate legal-parochial school system. However, due to the virulently anti-Catholic, anti-Jacobite and anti-Gaelic rhetoric adopted by the SSPCK—alongside its decision to prioritise English over Gaelic literacy—most studies tend to assume that Highlanders were naturally suspicious or hostile towards the organisation. John Lorne Campbell and Victor Durkacz both assert that there was widespread obstruction and opposition to schools on the part of the Highland gentry, especially those who were Catholic or Jacobite. Campbell even suggests that *The '45* constituted an attempt to resist the SSPCK's efforts to 'destroy their language and their religion'.

However, this overlooks the extent to which many Highlanders—Protestant and Catholic, Jacobite and Hanoverian alike—cooperated with the SSPCK, providing the conditions for many schools to flourish. Through a close reading of the Society's minutes, this paper argues that SSPCK schools and schoolmasters were not generally viewed as agents of disruptive cultural change. Rather, they were understood as a valuable resource, and a means of redressing long-standing problems that affected education provision in the Highlands, such as large, disjointed parishes and scattered population settlement. This is not to say that the SSPCK went without occasional criticism from the Highland elite. Indeed, the paper will demonstrate that the organisation attracted the derision of several landowners. However, we find no objections to the SSPCK's stated purpose of extending schooling and English literacy. Instead, criticism was reserved for matters pertaining to the locations and movement of schools and the management of SSPCK resources, over which Highland elites sought to exert more influence.

## ***Fear a' Chleòc Dheirg* and the Story and Song of Weem Rock**

Jake King

Weem Rock is an imposing crag near Aberfeldy in Perthshire which has a number of stories and traditions associated with it. The most famous of these stories is that there is a cave on the rock into which a young girl once entered and was kidnapped by 'The Red-cloaked Man'. Accompanying this story is a song relating the tribulations of the abducted girl. Another earlier local tradition concerns a story relating to Saint Cuthbert. These traditions were well-known in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, reaching the ears of Sir Walter Scott as well as being recorded by Evelyn Stewart-Murray.

This paper will discuss the various versions of the stories and song, and then discuss the themes and motifs therein, from a comparative standpoint.

## **A look at Dwelly's list of 'Proper Names'**

Jake King

At the end of Edward Dwelly's *Illustrated English-Gaelic Dictionary* (1911) there is a list entitled 'Proper Names'. This is a list of over three thousand English forms of personal and place-names in alphabetical order, with the corresponding Gaelic form. The sources for this list are, in Dwelly's own words: 'a result of the compiler's collecting from all available sources from 1880 to 1911... from all the newspapers, books, &c. in which they have appeared, the most up-to-date forms used by the best Gaelic scholars.'

This talk attempts to unravel Dwelly's methodology for the compilation of this list, attempting to unravel which sources he seems to have used and which he apparently ignored. In this context, a light is shed on the accuracy and reliability of the list.

## **Cumha Mhic An Tòisich – bun-stèidh den òran "Oh, ono chrio" le Ludwig van Beethoven?** Micheal Klevenhaus

Bho a-mach a' bhliadhna 1809 fhuair Ludwig van Beethoven 45 fonn Albannach bho Fhear Seòras Thomson, cruinneadair òran ann an Dùn Èideann, feuch an crudhaicheadh e ceòl clasaigeach ùr stèidhichte air na h-òrain sin. Cha do chruinnich Thomson fhèin na h-òrain ach fhuair e iad bho chruinneachaidhean mar an Scots Musical Museum neo am Pocket Companion le Oswald. Bha Thomson airson na h-òrain 'a shàbhaladh' le bhith an cur an clò ann an dreach clasaigeach gus an cluichte iad anns na taighean mòra an uair sin. Fad bhliadhnaichean bhiodh Beethoven ag obair gu cunbhallach air na h-òrain a chuireadh Thomson thuige. Ged a bha Beethoven a' gearan mu dheidheinn cha d'fhuair e ach na fuinn a-mhàin as aonais nam faclan. Rinneadh faclan ùra air na fuinn le leithid de bhàrd mar Raibeairt Burns agus Sir Waltair Scott as dèidh na fuinn ùra aig Beethoven Dùn Èideann a ruigsinn. Chan eil ach glè bheag de dh'fhianais againn gu bheil ceangail eadar cuid de na h-òrain Albannach le Beethoven agus òrain Ghàidhlig. Tha am pàipear seo na phàirt de phròiseact-rannsachaidh phd aig Oilthigh Koblenz-Landau anns a' Ghearmailt, a' soilleireachadh cunntas-beatha nan òran aig Beethoven agus Thomson le bhith na freumhan aca ann an saoghal na Gàidhlig a lorg agus an cur am follais.

Tha an t-òran Oh, ono chrio gu sònraichte inntinneach, oir is e sin an aon òran Albannach le Beethoven aig nach eil tiotal Beurla. Tha amharas gur e Gàidhlig a th' ann agus mas e mar sin, tha ceistean a nochadh. Dè tha Oh, ono chrio a' ciallachadh anns a' cho-theacsa seo agus le bhith a' sgrùdadh sin, thathar an dòchas gum faighear fianais air dè an t-òran Gàidhlig a chleachdadh mar bhun-stèidh "Oh, ono chrio" le Ludwig van Beethoven.

## **Standardising Gaelic grammar: perturbations from the Linguistic Survey of Scotland** Will Lamb

Scholars have long assumed that Gaelic morphology is geographically uniform (McLeod 2017: 184; Watson 2010: 118). Yet, recent research (Iosad and Lamb: in preparation) has challenged these notions, employing data from an unpublished section of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS): significantly more variation exists in nominal grammar than noted previously, and the data coalesce into distinct areal patterns. While these are important findings for Goidelic dialectology, they also carry implications for standardisation and corpus planning.

One of the key recommendations to Bòrd na Gàidhlig from the *Dlùth is Inneach* report (Bell et al 2014: 200) was to adopt a 'retro-vernacular' corpus-planning model. This model was operationalised as the usage of speakers raised in the 1940s and 1950s. However, when we consider the actual linguistic behaviour of speakers across the *Gàidhealtachd* during that period – provided by the Linguistic Survey – a number of important, interrelated questions become apparent, including the following: Given the geographic diversity of Gaelic morphology, which areas should be represented over others in future grammatical guidance? If a form found in nearly every grammar to date was scarcely used in the 1950s (e.g. Type IV genitives: *cathair* > *cathrach*), should we abandon it on the principle of retro-vernacularism? This presentation will consider these and other queries, and examine various standardisation options with reference to the LSS results. It will also address that perennial question, which are the most and least grammatically conservative dialects.

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### **Progress in Manx historical phonology in a Gaelic dialectological context**

Christopher Lewin

This paper will briefly outline a number of aspects of the diachronic phonology of Manx which have been clarified in the course of the author's research, and place these in the wider context of Gaelic historical phonology and dialectology. These findings are based on quantitative approaches to the available spoken and written data, as well as re-evaluation of earlier descriptions. The following topics are considered:

(a) The long vowel system, especially reflexes of Gaelic *ao* and *ua*. The development of *ao* in Manx appears to place it in a zone with southern Argyll and Arran, while the fronting and unrounding of *ua* to /iə/ or /i:/ has parallels in Ulster Irish (Ó Dochartaigh 1987: 112), although probably with differing conditioning factors. It will also be suggested on the basis of instrumental phonetic data that /i: i: e: ε: ə:/ (Gaelic *í, ua, é, á, ao*) remained contrastive in Late Manx, rather than showing the mergers previously described in the literature (Broderick 1986: 48–60).

(b) Short vowels, including prevalence and distribution of *ea* > /e/, /a/; *o* > /o/, /a/; *ai* > /a/, /e/; *ui*, *io* > /u/, /i/. Previous research has shown short vowel phonology in Gaelic dialects to be a complex and difficult area (Ó Maolalaigh 1997).

(c) Lateral, rhotic and coronal nasal sonorants. Late Manx is described as having a simplified system of /l l̥ n n̥ r/ and residual /r̥/ (Broderick 1986: 106–7), but seventeenth-century spellings such as *kian* for later *kione*, Gaelic *ceann* (i.e. /kʲan/ > /kʲo:n/) suggest that loss of the fortis-lenis distinction is fairly recent. The phenomenon of preocclusion (e.g. [kʲo:dn]) will also be considered.

(d) Reshaping of the inventory of coronal stops and affricates /t̪, d̪, t̪, d̪, t̪ʲ, d̪ʲ, t̪ʃ, d̪ʃ/, through internal phonological splits and language contact.

### **Seallaidhean air Gairm: Leughadh aig Astar**

Conn Mac Aogáin

Between 1952 and 2002, the publication *Gairm* gave voice and focus to the concerns and challenges faced by highland and island communities and by Gaelic speakers/learners in both rural and urban areas. Its staff sought to bolster a sense of local community and traditional cultural which also gave Gaelic speakers a broader sense of their speech community beyond that their local district. Furthermore, the staff strove to foster a modern appreciation of the arts through the medium of Gaelic and an awareness of other countries and cultures through a Gaelic-medium lens.

This paper will utilize the concepts of distant reading and macro-analysis to trace the shifting scope and focus the editorial staff, writers and readers over half a century. The student will describe spatial patterns of change relating to location/origin of contributors, letters to the editor, and focus of content. In addition, analysis of the shifting patterns of subject matter, genre, format and length will be assessed. The student will seek to discern major changes in patterns of lexicon, semantics and register over five decades.

An appraisal will be made of the publication as an artifact of sociolinguistic change and development, and of the possible implications of these findings for a future speech community that may be more footloose from traditional geo-based contexts.

The presentation will be bilingual, but primarily in Gaelic. A bilingual glossary of key terms will be distributed for English speakers.

### **Bàrdachd agus Fìorachd / Poetry and Reality**

Pàdraig MacAoidh

Starting from Brigadoon, Baudrillard, and the poetry of Iain Crichton Smith, this paper will explore the nature of ‘reality’ in contemporary Gaelic poetry, the development of a virtual Gàidhealtachd, and the role of laughter in shaping poetry (and representations of the Highlands).

### **Alasdair mac Colla sa Ghaeilge**

Eoin Mac Cárthaigh

Ged ’s ann ann an Alba a rugadh Alasdair mac Colla agus as motha a tha cuimhne air an-diugh, choisinn e cliù dha fhèin ann an Èirinn cuideachd sna 1640an. Chaidh a ghoirteachadh aig blàr Ghleann Mhic Coinn ann an Tír Chonaill sa bhliadhna 1642 agus chaidh a mharbhadh aig (no goirid às dèidh) blàr Chnoc na nOs ann an Siorrachd Chorcaí sa bhliadhna 1647. Sa phàipear seo, coimheadar air a’ bheagan fiosrachaidh mu dheidhinn Alasdair a tha againn ann an tùsan Gaeilge bhon àm.

### **Beannachadh Bàird do Thaigh Ùr MhicAoidh (c. 1610)**

Aonghas MacCoinnich

Tha pailteas de dh’ fhianais againn air Clann MhicAoidh Chataibh ann am Beurla o thoiseach na seachdamh linn deug o chlàraidhean riaghaltais agus tro chonaltradh nan litreach - ach cha mhòr gu bheil sealladh sam bith againn air a’ chinneadh Ghàidhealach seo bho thùsan Gàidhlig. Chaidh taisbeanadh a dhèanamh air cumha Gàidhlig ‘ùr’ do dh’ Ùisdean Dubh na Tuaike (chaochail 1614) ceann-feadhna Clann MhicAoidh Shrath Nàbhair aig Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2016 (NLS Adv. MS 73.1.14). Thathar an dùil sùil a thoirt an seo air dàn “ùr” eile – sin ‘beannachadh taighe’ a chaidh a dhèanamh - leis an aona bhàrd a rèir coltais - faisg air an aona àm, nuair a phòs Dòmhnall (mac Ùisdein) MacAoidh, agus Barabal, nighean Choinnich MhicCoinnich, Triath Chinntàile, uaireigin mu 1610. Thathar gam meas mar dhàin ‘ùra’ an seo leis nach do ghlac na dàin aire sgoilearan riamh roimhe. Thig beachd a thoirt anns an taisbeanadh air a’ “Bheannachadh Bàird do Thaigh ùr MhicAoidh” (tha air a ghlèidheadh am measg LSn MhicLathagain, GUL, MS Gen 1042/120) agus thig na tèaman sgeulachdan is co-theacs nan daoine a tha a’ nochdadh ann a mhèineachadh. Dè a tha an dàn Gàidhlig seo ag innse dhuinn mu Ghàidheil Dùthaich MhicAoidh aig toiseach na 17mh linn?

### **A’ Ghàidhlig ann an Glaschu sna meadhan-aoisean**

Alasdair MacIlleBhàin

Tha am pàipear seo stèidhte air rannsachadh a rinneadh aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu eadar An Dàmhair 2017 agus Am Màrt 2018. B’ e prìomh amas a’ phròiseict rannsachaidh seo cur ris a’ chorpas de dh’ainmeanan a chuir Gàidheil air àiteachan ionadach sna meadhan-aoisean a tha a-nis taobh a-staigh Sgìre Comhairle Bhaile Ghlaschu. Thog an rannsachadh ùr seo air rannsachadh a rinneadh romhaid air ainmeanan ionadach le an leithid Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba, Dr. Simon Taylor agus Dr. Peter Drummond.

Mar thoradh air an rannsachadh ùr seo, tha còrr is 90 ainm sa chorpas agus grunn ainmeanan ùr-sgrùdte/lorgte; mar eisimpleir: Arden, Blairdardie, Millichen agus Teucharhill. Tha ainmeanan den leithid seo a’ nochdadh gun robh a’ Ghàidhlig ga bruidhinn gu h-ionadach aig sluagh mòr bhon 11d linn a-mach aig a’ char as anmoiche agus gun robh a’ Ghàidhlig na prìomh chànanain choimhearsnachd san sgìreachd fad linntean bhon uair sin. Chaidh rannsachadh air Blairdardie agus cuid de na h-ainmeanan eile a chaidh a

sgrùdadh an lùib a’ phròiseict seo fhoillseachadh air an làraich-lìn seo leanas sa Mhàrt 2018:  
<https://glaschu.net/>.

### **Pannal: Òrain Ghàidhlig a thathar a’ cruthachadh san latha an-diugh**

Gillebride MacIlleMhaoil, Marcas Mac an Tuairneir agus Alasdair MacIlleBhàin

Pannal sònraichte ann an cuideachd triùir sheinneadairean is sgrìobhadairean òrain ùra, Gillebride MacIlleMhaoil, Alasdair MacIlleBhàin agus Marcas Mac an Tuairneir. Bidh iad a’ còmhradh air mar a bhios iad fhèin a’ dèanamh òrain agus a’ beachdachadh air mar a tha na dòighean sin air atharrachadh an coimeas ri bàird a chaidh romhpa. Bithear a’ beachdachadh air dè a’ choimhearsnachd dha bheilear a’ dèanamh òrain ùra ann an Gàidhlig agus air mar a tha cuspairean nan òran san latha an-diugh a’ bualadh aig ìre phearsanta, coimhearsnachd, nàiseanta agus eadar-nàiseanta. Cluinnear cuid de na h-òrain beò cuideachd.

### **A’ Cuimhneachadh na h-Iolair ann an litreachas na Gàidhlig**

Ruairidh MacIomhair

Air a’ chiad latha dhen Fhaoilleach 2019, bidh ceud bliadhna ann bho chaidh an *Iolair* fodha far chosta Leòdhais. Ged a tha dith eòlais mun tubaist uamhasach seo taobh a-muigh na Gàidhealtachd, tha e air a bhith na comharra-stiùiridh eachdraidheil do mhuinntir nan Eilean Siar, gu sònraichte ann an Leòdhas agus na Hearadh.

Thug call còrr is 200 fir cho faisg ri oirthir Leòdhais buaidh gun choimeas air coimhearsnachdan eadar Nis agus An t-Òb. Tha a’ bhuidhe seo a’ tighinn am follais ann an litreachas na Gàidhlig – anns na diofar òrain, dàin, agus pìosan rosg a chaidh a sgrìobhadh ma dheidhinn. Bheir am pàipear seo suil air na dòighean anns a bheil an *Iolair* air a bhith ga chuimhneachadh ann an litreachas na Gàidhlig. Beachdaichidh e air mar a dh’atharraich seo thar nam bliadhnachan, agus mar a tha e air cur ri ar tuigse agus ar n-eòlas mu bhuidhe chall na h-*Iolair* an-diugh.

### **Gaelic and the Scottish left**

Wilson McLeod

This paper will examine the ways in which left parties and leftist writers and activists in Scotland from the early twentieth century to the present have addressed the issue of the social and political situation of the Gaelic language. Without question, the principal response has been disregard; the Scottish left has generally paid very little attention to Gaelic as a political issue. Radical socialists and communists in the early twentieth century viewed the Gaelic community as marginal and essentially irrelevant to mobilisation in the cause of socialist transformation. More recently, some proponents of universalist approaches to socialist or social democratic politics have tended to view the promotion of Gaelic as having negative consequences for the cause of socio-economic justice and equality. Since the early twentieth century, the Gaelic movement has sometimes been depicted as a cultural nationalist distraction from class-based politics (a point of view typically articulated within different kinds of ‘Brit Left’ frameworks). Conversely, some radical left sects have expressed much more favourable attitudes towards Gaelic, linking the situation of Gaelic to the wider cause of anti-imperialism and support for marginalised or oppressed minority groups.

### **Do-génai galar n-dó in delb ad-condaire cen a h-accaldaim: gaol mar ghalar ann an litreachas meadhan-aoiseil nan Gàidheal**

Robbie MacLeòid

Tha cuid de na caractaran as ainmeile ann an sgeulachdan Meadhan-Aoiseil nan Gàidheal, nam measg Cù Chulainn agus Aonghas Òg, a’ fulang tinneasan gaol. A dh’aindeoin sin, tha cuid sgoilearan air na

sgeulachdan seo a sgrùdadh agus air co-dhùnadh a ruighinn nach eil gaol na thèama cudromach annta. Chan eil ach aon sgrùdadh a-mhàin againn air tinneas gaoil iad fhèin: alt Sarah Michie, ‘The Lover's Malady in Early Irish Romance’ a nochd ann an 1937. On uair sin, ged a tha leasachadh air tighinn air sgrùdadh nan sgeulachdan ann an iomadach dòigh, agus ged a tha iomadh sgoilear air iomradh a thoirt air tinneas gaoil nan saothair, ach chan eil duine air sgrùdadh mionaideach a dhèanamh air tinneas gaoil iad fhèin.

Tha am pàipear-rannsachaidh seo a’ sgrùdadh tinneas gaoil san fharsaingeachd, mar dhòigh ceasnachadh a dhèanamh air an eadar-dhealachadh a th’ air a dhèanamh eadar mar a tha fir agus mnàthan a’ faireachdainn gaoil anns na sgeulachdan a tha seo. Thèid barrachd a chur ris co-dhùnaidhean Michie, or tha barrachd doimhneachd ann fiù ’s na bha Michie an dùil. Bidh buaidh aig ar tuigse air tinneas gaoil gu h-àraidh air mar a thuigeas buaidh Romansa air litreachas na Gàidhlig. Uile gu lèir, thathar a’ dol an aghaidh a bheachd a tha sgoilearan leithid Kenneth Jackson air chur an cèill: nach robh gaol na phàirt chudromach de litreachas nan Gàidheal sna Meadhan-Aoisean.

### **‘Sgarar sinn o chèile air fad’: a song of love, separation and faith from the pen of the ‘Bard of the Plains’**

Iain S. MacPherson

Following on work presented at Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 7 in ‘High Bank to “High Noon”: a Prince Edward Island Gaelic out-migration song-poem from the Far West’, this present paper proposes a close-reading and first outing for another Gaelic song-poem by the Isle of Skye-born, PEI-raised and Dakota-resident poet Donald A. Stewart (known locally in North Dakota as the ‘Bard of the Plains’).

The poem in question, whose opening line is ‘Sgarair (sic) sinn o chèile air fad’, came to the author by way of the great-niece of the poet, a Mrs B Campbell, Murray Harbour, Prince Edward Island. Mrs Campbell sent the author photocopies of two hand-written song poems by Donald A. Stewart, the brother of her grandmother (Mrs H Gillies, Murray Harbour, PEI) which the poet had sent his sister in March 1902 from Stewardsdale, North Dakota, to her home in Prince Edward Island.

Apart from solving many textual inconsistencies found in the printed version of the song-poem treated at Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 7, the other compelling part of the discovery of these hand-written sources was the existence of this second unpublished song-poem included with the first.

And so, I propose a close-textual analysis of this second song-poem, ‘Sgarar sinn o chèile air fad’ (‘We shall be separated from each other entirely’): a work which plays on a register much more domestic and apparently romantically emotional than the moving three-part enactment of migration found in ‘Chì mi uam, uam, uam’. A transitional tone though is already present in the final stanzas of ‘Chì mi uam, uam, uam’ where the speaker eschews temporal and spatial dislocations in favour of succour found on the wing of his reformed faith (‘air sgèith a’ chreidimh bheò’). Here, this tone of religious revivalism of a personal, unmediated variety, sees fuller expression throughout the ten stanzas of ‘Sgarar sinn o chèile air fad’ at the same time as notions and enactments of romantic love come to buttress the love of the lamb whose ‘gràdh an uain, an uain, uain’ saw pointed expression in the final and twenty-eighth stanza of ‘Chì mi uam, uam, uam’.

Though not a song-poem of spatial dislocation and temporal movements, ‘Sgarar sinn o chèile air fad’ is an engaging and involving work by Donald A. Stewart sent from the margins of the Far West to his family in ‘sea-surrounded’ PEI: a work where the personal and collective movements over seas and over continents, spanning years and decades, are set aside for a religiously-inflected evocation of seeming young love.

## **A decade of BBC Alba: future prospects for Gaelic television**

Miren Manias

After a long period without any institutional support and with increasing contact with the English-dominant society, nowadays Scottish Gaelic only represents a special identity within the community in the Highlands (where more than half of the speakers live). Revival efforts made from the 1980s on and especially in the education system have been crucial for sustaining the present situation. Nearly 60,000 people speak Gaelic in Scotland, which is 1% of the population. Most of them are new speakers – for which the language does not have a deep cultural importance - and the great majority cannot read the language. In addition, many of these new speakers are not active users due to the lack of opportunities outside of school.

The 2003 Communications Act set a remit for the development of a Scottish Gaelic TV and in December 2008 Gaelic language TV BBC Alba was launched. According to the annual report, BBC Alba reaches nearly 74% of the Gaelic population weekly and has an average of 70,000 viewers, thanks to the help of English subtitles. Nevertheless, the channel is not immune from the growth in use of online forms and it is attracting fewer viewers (although the ones watching it feel happier than in the recent past).

This paper wants to analyse how BBC Alba, a relatively young channel, could attract a bigger audience through the commissioning of greater number of original programmes and wider variety of content in Gaelic. That is to say if more elaborate content, entertainment and programs for learners were produced as well as news services added at the weekends. First, by increasing daily original content hours and, second, developing ways of engaging with children and people under 25.

## **‘B’ annsa cadal air tussock’ – Litreachas na Gàidhlig à Sealann Nuadh**

Viktoria Marker

Chualas guth nan Gàidheal ag innse mu fhuachd is dhorchadas coilltean Canada, mu bhagairt is fhòirneart Cogadh na Neo-Eisimeileachd sna Stàitean Aonaichte, agus mu theas is thìormachd Astràilia. Ach ann an seachas nan eilthreach chaidh dearmad a dhèanamh air guth nan Gàidheal a thuinich ceann a deas an t-saoghail, Gàidheil an Sealainn Nuaidh.

Air an iomall eadar an t-seann dùthaich agus dùthaich ùr, seann chleachdaidhean agus dòighean ùra, càirdean a dh’fhàgadh agus coimhearsnachdan ùra a stèidhichheadh, tha guth nan Gàidheal a chaidh a thàladh gu ‘dùthaich nan Sròintean gorma’ a’ tabhann sealladh ùr dhuinn tro phrosbaig Ghàidhealach air beatha nan eilthreach seo eadar meadhan an 19mh linn agus toiseach a’ Chogaidh Mhòir.

Aig deireadh an naoidheamh linn deug, thug deasaichean a’ phàipeir sheachdaineil, *Southern Cross*, à Inbhir Chathair Ghàidheal, àrd-ùrlar do sgrìobhadairean Gàidhlig le bhith ag aontachadh colbh Gàidhlig a chur rim pàipear. Nochd a’ chiad alt Gàidhlig air 16mh an t-Sultain 1893. Mar fhreagairt don alt sin, lean sreath de dh’altan cunbhalach Gàidhlig a sgaioleadh tro mhòr-roinntean Otago agus Tir a deas.

Tha an rannsachadh seo a’ cur prosbaig air sianar Ghàidheal a chuir earrannan Gàidhlig don *Southern Cross* eadar 1893 agus 1898. Sgrìobh an sianar fo na h-ainmean pinn *Eileanach*, *Cabarfeidh*, *Doran Donn*, *Feileadh-Beag*, *Mac-Talla*, agus *Oileanach*. Bha an aire air glèidheadh cultar is cànan nan Gàidheal, ach tha na colbhan, a tha gu minig a’ gabhail cruth litrichean is na sgrìobhadairean a’ tarraing air cuspairean a thogadh sna colbhan eile, a’ deasbad mu ghnothaichean sòisealta agus poiliteigeach ann an Sealann Nuadh, eadar còir-bhotaidh nam boireannach, sgoiltean saora, agus ‘saoibhreas gun àireamh ann an Breatainn a Mhaori’. Chithear gu bheil na Gàidheil seo a’ feuchainn ri rèite a dhèanamh eadar an t-àm a dh’fhalbh agus an t-àm ri teachd.

## **Elegies by female poets in the McLagan Collection**

Kate Louise Mathis

Within the collection of poetry amassed by Rev. James McLagan (1728-1805) less than a sixth of its 600-plus individual items may be recognised as the work of women, and only 21 are attributed to female poets directly (whether named or an otherwise anonymous *té*). This paper will explore the extent to which McLagan's collecting and recording methods are comparable to those of his main contemporaries – Rev. Ewan Macdiarmid, Rev. Donald MacNicol, and John Gillies – and how far the practice of attribution differs when an item contained previously in McLagan's collection makes the transition into print. It will also assess the arrangement of those items attributed to, or otherwise identifiable as, the work of women poets, such as deliberate grouping and/or confinement of female-authored items to separate quires of the folded booklets of which the bulk of his collection consists. It will observe, lastly, that a significant majority of female-authored and/or female-voiced items recorded by McLagan's collection are elegies or poems of complaint – rather than, for example, formal eulogies of the type composed by Mairghread nighean Lachlainn – and will suggest that this may have resulted from deliberate prioritization by McLagan of items of the type which, as Colm Ó Baoill has argued, women were supposed to compose.

## **A reconsideration of Presbyterianism's impact on Hebridean culture in the twentieth century**

Pàdruig Moireasdan

The impact of the church, particularly the impact of the Hebridean spiritual revivals of the mid-twentieth century, is commonly thought to have eroded the Gaelic culture of music and poetry in much of the Hebrides. North Uist provides an insight into the topic and an interesting comparison with its Roman Catholic neighbours to the south. The ambivalence and varying degrees to which the church viewed culture made for times of harmonious mutual gain to both church and culture, whilst at other times the two worlds were at odds. The First World War along with wider societal changes of migration, broadcasting, transitioning to a predominantly English language community, and changes in the education system, saw a reduction in the place and the centrality of the Gaelic language in the Hebrides and thus with it the culture; the church's approach has therefore been unfairly exaggerated, and should be reconsidered within the context of societal modernisation which drove the culture and the church further apart. This paper will consider poetic and musical compositions by clergy, believers and non-believers, and some compositions kept in confidence from the church, and while casting aside the myths which linger to this day, will analyse people's perceptions of how the church affected people's personal leanings towards faith and culture, to provide a new perspective on the legacy of this history.

## **Ness Gaelic vowels and the broad/slender contrast**

Donald Morrison

Two detailed surveys exist of Lewis Gaelic, focusing on Bernera (Borgstrøm 1940) and Leurbost (Ofstedal 1956). Although the Ness dialect receives some coverage in the former, some features of the present-day dialect are not mentioned. I present an acoustic study of part of the Ness Gaelic vowel system based on word-list recordings of 9 speakers (144 items, 3 repeats), and provide a phonological analysis of the broad/slender contrast in this dialect.

One feature of Ness Gaelic reported here for the first time is the phonemic merger of /e, ε/, which are traditionally regarded as contrastive in other dialects but in Ness occur in complementary distribution according to consonantal environment. Possibly related is the split of /i/ into two distinct allophones [i ~ i] according to a similar but more complex rule (cf. Borgstrøm 1940). Another seemingly recent development is the merger /ε:/ → /e:/.

Furthermore, I show that slender /e ~ ε/ and broad /a/ normally occur in complementary distribution with one another according to the [±back] (broad/slender) value of a preceding consonant, and that almost all exceptions are captured by two phonological rules referring to the following consonant; they can thus usually be reduced to a single underlying phoneme /A/, unspecified for [±back]. A similar argument

reduces /i:, u:/ to /I:/ and /e:, a:/ to /A:/; note also that the merger /u/ → /i/ is already known for Ness Gaelic (Borgstrøm 1940). I thus conclude that [±back] is almost never contrastive on vowels in this dialect.

This study adds to the very limited number of existing instrumental investigations of Lewis Gaelic vowels (Ladefoged et al. 1998; Nance 2011) and exposes some heretofore undocumented characteristics of the Ness dialect. Meanwhile, the phonological analysis sheds light on the nature of the broad/slender contrast, a fundamental aspect of the Gaelic sound system.

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#### **Bilingual acquisition of phonetics and phonology in Gaelic-medium education: age of exposure and sociolinguistic context**

Claire Nance

This paper investigates the acquisition of phonetics and phonology in Gaelic-medium education. Typically, models of child bilingualism categorise children as either simultaneous bilinguals who acquire two languages from birth, or sequential bilinguals who acquire languages one after another, and report differences in linguistic behaviour between the two groups (Vihman 2014). Such studies often consider the age of exposure at which a child could be considered a sequential acquirer to be around three years old (McLaughlin 1978).

Here, I investigate two research questions: (1) Is it consistently the case that there are substantial differences between children who acquire a language from birth and those who acquire it from age three onwards? (2) To what extent is this distinction significant in a context of minority language obsolescence and revitalisation?

Data were collected from eighteen children attending Gaelic Medium Education on the Isle of Lewis. The children were aged 7-11 and were from a mixture of home language backgrounds. Two Gaelic variables are investigated here from word list data: duration of preaspiration in word-medial stops and the realisation of Gaelic's three-way lateral contrast. The results suggest that there are no clear links between home language background and production of the two variables under consideration here. These results indicate that, in this context at least, there is little difference between simultaneous acquirers and sequential acquirers.

The data are discussed with reference to the minoritised status of Gaelic and the nature of pre-adolescent social groups. In exploring these factors I demonstrate how greater consideration of a wide variety of bilingual contexts and sociolinguistic factors can help to expand and refine models of bilingualism.

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**An Gruagach-Solais: rekindling arcane lore from eighteenth-century eastern Perthshire**  
Michael Newton

One of the most intriguing texts from Perthshire in the McLagan Collection is a poem framed as a dialogue between a blacksmith and the visiting soul of a dead person inhabiting the fire of his forge. The smith questions the wandering spirit about archaic lore of the past in a manner reminiscent of the medieval Irish literary tradition, enumerating the names of tales, characters and events. This talk will examine this text – which has garnered very little scholarly attention – for its literary/folkloric motifs and its structural and rhetorical features, and will attempt to identify the literary materials and traditions to which it alludes. This effort will aid in shedding light on the Gaelic culture of eastern Perthshire in the eighteenth century.

**Pàrantan agus foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig: draghan, dùbhlain is fuasglaidhean**  
Ciorstaidh NicLeòid

Tha planadh cànanain dhan a' Ghàidhlig aig ìre nàiseanta ag amas air àrdachadh fhaighinn ann an àireamh cloinne a tha a' faighinn Foghlam tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig (FMG). Ged a tha beachd a-nis againn air na tha tarraingeach mu FMG do phàrantan, feumar cuideachd aire a thogail dha na draghan a th' aca agus na dùbhlain a nochdas. Fhad 's a tha clann ann an FMG leanaidh draghan, nochdaidh dùbhlain agus air uairean adhbhraichidh seo gluasad air falbh bho FMG agus paiste air a ghluasad gu foghlam tro mheadhan na Beurla às dèidh treiseag ann am FMG. Stèidhichte air an rannsachadh dotaireil a rinn mi am measg theaghlaichean le clann òg ann am Barraigh agus Dùn Èideann, anns an taisbeanadh seo, bheirear sùil air na draghan agus na dùbhlain seo agus na fuasglaidhean a fhuair cuid dhaibh. Mìnichidh mi mar a tha co-theacsa cànanaich agus foghlaim anns gach sgìre a' toirt buaidh air na draghan a th' aig pàrantan agus cuideachd air an taic a tha air a thabhann dhaibh. Fhuaras san rannsachadh gun robh draghan eadar-dhealaichte aig teaghlaichean leis a' Ghàidhlig a-staigh an coimeas riuthasan aig nach robh i agus thèid seo a mhìneachadh. Bidh fuasglaidhean aig cuid de theaghlaichean dha na dùbhlain no gheibh iad taic no ath-mhisneachadh mu na draghan. Criochnaichidh mi an taisbeanadh le beachdachadh air suidheachaidhean far nach deach fuasgladh a lorg agus far an deach paiste a ghluasad gu foghlam tro mheadhan na Beurla.

**'It's in their genes': Luchd-ionnsachaidh dualchasach: innleachdan agus iarrtasan gu fileantas**  
Michelle NicLeòid agus Marsaili NicLeòid

Mar a mhothaich Armstrong (2013) agus Smith-Christmas agus Armstrong (2014), dh'fhaodadh luchd-ionnsachaidh dualchasach cur gu mòr ri iomairtean gus gluasad cànanain a chumail fo shrian nan robh cothroman aca Gàidhlig a chleachdadh ann an lionraidhean iomchaidh. Tha am pàipear againn a' cur ris an obair seo le bhith a' cnuasachadh air ciamar a ruigeas cuid de luchd-ionnsachaidh dualchasach an ìre far a bheil an dà chuid na sgìlean cànanain agus cothroman labhairt aca a bhith nam buill de choimhearsnachd Ghàidhlig.

Bidh am pàipear seo a' togail air dàta bho shreath de dheich agallamhan a rinneadh ann an Leòdhas ann an 2017 le daoine aig an robh no aig a bheil Gàidhlig san teaghlach ach nach do bhruidhinn Gàidhlig gu fileanta nan òige. Chleachdadh agallamhan leth-structurail agus airson na còmhraidhean a stiùireadh dh'ìarradh air na h-agallaichean na lionraidhean pearsanta aca a tharraing air pàipear: an dà chuid na lionraidhean a bh' aca mar chlann agus na lionraidhean aca nan inbhich. Tha an deichnear agallaichean uile air ceumannan a ghabhail gus Gàidhlig ionnsachadh no a chleachdadh nan inbhich le torraidhean diofraichte. Chaidh na dàta a sgrùdadh airson tèamaichean co-cheangailte ri adhbharan ionnsachaidh, modhan ionnsachaidh agus cothroman cleachdadh na Gàidhlig san teaghlach agus sa choimhearsnachd. A-mach às an deichnear seo tha còignear ann a tha a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig gu cunbhalach agus triùir a tha a' cleachdadh Gàidhlig beagan nam

beathannan làitheil.

Thug Montrul (2016) an aire roimhe gu bheil an luchd-ionnsachaidh dualchasach gu minig a' cleachdadh ghoireasan-ionnsachaidh airson luchd-ionnsachaidh àbhaisteach ged a tha feumalachdan diofraichte aig an dà bhuidheann. Tha an t-eòlas agus fios a tha a' tighinn bhon rannsachadh seo a' cur gu mòr ris an dòigh anns a bheilear a' tuigsinn modhan ionnsachaidh, leasachaidh na buidhne cudromaich seo.

## **Roghainnean telebhisein san dachaigh**

Catrina NicNèill

Chan eil buaidh nam meadhanan mion-chànanaich air glèidheadh agus ath-bheòthachadh cànan idir soilleir. Ann an co-theacsa na Gàidhlig b'urrainnear cnuasachadh gu bheil e cudromach do phoileasaidh agus planadh cànan gum bi telebhisean Gàidhlig (susbaint Ghàidhlig) air a chleachdadh. An toiseach, tha e cudromach luach fhaighinn a-mach às an airgead a chaidh a chosg air telebhisean Gàidhlig agus aig ìre farsaing, obraichean Ghàidhlig a stèidheachadh agus amasan ceangailte ri inbhe na Gàidhlig a' neartachadh. Ach cuideachd ma thathar a' gabhail ris a' bheachd mar is motha de chànanaidh a chluinnear 's ann as fheàrr -ma bhios daoine a' cleachdadh telebhisean co-dhiù, nach eil e na b'fheàrr telebhisean Gàidhlig a cleachdadh gus ìrean cànan-a-steach (language input) sa Ghàidhlig àrdachadh?

Tha an dachaigh agus an teaghlach cudromach do luchd-planadh-cànan agus tha tuigse a dhith air mar a tha cuid de chloinn air àrachadh gu bhith dà-chànanaich agus cuid nach eil. Tha an litreachas a' sealltainn gu bheil ròl cudromach aig uimhir chànanaidh a-steach air togail agus leasachadh a' chànanaidh sin. Tha susbaint a-nis mar ghuth eile san teaghlach agus mar sin dh'fhaodhte gu bheil cànan an telebhisein a' toirt buaidh air pàtranan cànan-a-steach.

Tha am pàipear seo stèidhichte air rannsachadh air clann dà-chànanaich, aois 3 agus 4, ann am Barraigh agus Glaschu agus mar a bha pàrantan a' dèanamh roghainnean susbaint (agus roghainnean cànan na susbaint). Chaidh leabhraichean-latha susbaint a chleachdadh agus rinneadh agallamhan le pàrantan. Bha toraidhean an rannsachaidh a sealltainn nach deach susbaint Ghàidhlig a chleachdadh mar a dh'fhaodadh a cleachdadh agus chaidh fada a bharrachd susbaint Bheurla a chleachdadh na susbaint Ghàidhlig. Tha am pàipear seo a beachdadh air na factaran a bha a toirt buaidh air roghainnean susbaint agus cuideachd na thug air cuid barrachd oidhirp a dhèanamh susbaint Ghàidhlig a chleachdadh na cuid eile.

## **Language revitalisation policies in Ireland, Scotland and Mann: ten years after the 2008 economic crash**

Ben Ó Ceallaigh

The dramatic social and political consequences of the economic crisis which began in 2008 have been widely discussed by public policy academics over the last ten years. In spite of this breadth of analysis, the implications of the austerity measures implemented since the international crash began for the more specialised area of language policy have remained largely unaddressed during this time.

This paper will take some tentative steps towards rectifying this deficit by examining how state bodies in the three Gaelic areas of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man reformed their revitalisation-oriented language policies during this period. Drawing on interview data gathered as part of my PhD about the effects of the economic crisis on the Irish *Gaeltacht*, I will initially discuss the differential treatment of Irish-language institutions – which have been hit much harder by austerity measures than comparable institutions which operate through English. It will be argued that this treatment is a product of the neoliberal opposition to “culturalist” endeavours such as language revitalisation.

I will then compare the extent of the cuts to Irish language provision to those experienced by Scottish Gaelic and Manx promotion bodies, and also discuss other relevant policy reforms implemented in recent years. Interview data recently gathered in Mann will be used to support this argument.

Referring to literature on both language revitalisation and public policy studies, I will argue that the way in which austerity has impacted both macro-level language policies and the wider social vitality of Gaelic-speaking regions highlights some of the key structural challenges that neoliberal “competition states” provide for language revitalisation in an era in which all three Gaelic languages are dependent on state support to ensure their continued survival.

### **Language, identity and civic participation amongst Gaelic-speaking adolescents**

Fiona O’Hanlon, Kirstie MacLeod and Lindsay Paterson

This presentation explores the experiences, language use and identities of Gaelic-speaking adolescents (14-17 years of age) in Scotland. Drawing on data from a national questionnaire survey and from in-depth interview data with 67 students from 7 case study secondary schools, key aspects of pupils’ language use, identity and civic participation (e.g. volunteering, hobbies) will be explored in relation to key theoretical concepts (such as ‘new speakerhood’) and in relation to previous research. A key area of interest from a language planning perspective is Gaelic-speaking adolescents’ intentions regarding the future use of their Gaelic, and this will be explored in the presentation.

### **Cè (‘give me, hand me’) and the survival of an old dialectal feature in Scottish Gaelic**

Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh

This paper surveys the various modern forms of the imperative *cè* (‘give me’, hand me’) in Scottish Gaelic (*cè, cé, ce, cì, cia*), assesses previous explanations of its origin (Highland Society of Scotland 1828, MacLeod and Dewar 1831, MacAlpine 1832, Munro 1843, Robertson 1899, Dwelly 1901–11, Henderson 1905, Borgström 1941) and puts forward a new explanation for its derivation and semantic development. It is suggested that *cè* represents a possible old northern dialectal feature which has implications for the phonological interpretation and development of Old Gaelic *cote / cade* (Quin 1966), and the development of *goidé / cad (é) / dè* (‘what’) and *cad chuige* (‘why?’).

### **Cleachdadh agus eachdraidh an fhacail *nàile* sa Ghàidhlig**

Peadar Ó Muircheartaigh

Tha am facal *nàile* ‘indeed’ a’ nochdadh tric gu leòr ann am bàrdachd na Gàidhlig, bho *Thàladh Domhnaill Ghuirm* anns an t-seachdamh linn deug gu Somhairle MacGill-Eain anns an linn a tha air dol seachad. Chan eil e cho pailt ann an rosg agus sgeulachdan, ach tha eisimpleirean ann. Anns a’ phàipear seo, thathas am beachd coimhead a-rithist air an fhacal seo agus air mar a thathas ga chleachdadh. Nithear sgrùdadh cuideachd air eachdraidh an fhacail. Cuirear fianais na Gàidhlig Albannaich an coimeas ri fianais na Seann-Ghàidhlig airson mineachadh ùr a thoirt air cò às a thàinig am facal.

### **‘New speakers’ of Gaelic from outside the UK: issues of identity**

Bernadette O’Rourke and Wilson McLeod

In this paper we present the results of a small-scale investigation into the backgrounds, experiences and views of a group of ‘new speakers’ of Gaelic currently living in Scotland who originally come from countries other than the United Kingdom. While there are important similarities, in some respects the experience of these new speakers of Gaelic contrasts with that of new speakers in some other minority language contexts, whose expressed motivations for minority language acquisition are more clearly connected to a desire for national or local integration. In many respects, the experiences of new speakers from outside the UK appear to align with the experience of new speakers from Scotland itself, as presented in other studies. An important factor in the shaping of these experiences is the complex and contested status of Gaelic as a highly minoritised language that simultaneously holds an ambiguous status as a national language of Scotland. New speakers from outside the UK show interesting and important

inflections arising from these individuals' distinct backgrounds, especially in relation to matters of identity.

### **Gaelic speakers in Glasgow: implications for language promotion (poster)**

Christopher Oates

A significant proportion of Gaelic speakers can be found in cities, with the largest population of urban speakers resident in Glasgow. However, the sociolinguistic impact of cities on autochthonous minority language speakers are relatively little-understood. This poster will present the findings of current research which draws on sociolinguistic theory to examine the implications of the presence of Gaelic in Glasgow for promotion of the language. Recent theoretical developments in urban sociolinguistics, such as linguistic landscape and metroethnicity, will be used to explain the sociolinguistic conditions under which Gaelic is spoken in Glasgow. The practical implications of these findings for Gaelic language promotion will be highlighted. It is intended that this poster will be accessible to a general academic audience with an interest in the Gaelic language, but without specialist knowledge in language policy.

### **'Goodness' and Speakerhood: Navigating Gaelic language ideologies in research**

Colleen Patton

This paper highlights the established ideologies and discursive practices that privilege education, standardization, and media as discourse creating institutions that impact the self-assessment or identification as a "good" Gaelic speaker. By using a Critical Discourse Analysis framework to analyze comments from native Gaelic speakers during a language documentation project, the paper contains a necessary reflection on the power assigned to institutions and the role of established majority ideologies in discursive practices.

Over several summers, Gaelic speakers proposed to the research team members an assumed ideal participant: an elderly, native speaker who uses Gaelic in all domains, and who also has education in and knowledge about the language. Many potential participants expressed hesitation or refused to participate by noting that they a) had not studied the language in school, b) frequently codeswitched with English in their speech, c) used a non-standard variety of Gaelic, and/or d) used Gaelic in limited domains or infrequently. However, speakers also expressed contradictory ideas to those above, such as noting a pride and loyalty to their own dialect, and a concern regarding the Gaelic used by younger speakers.

Native speakers' assumptions of our own backgrounds, interests, and beliefs about what kind of language should be "researched" also affected their overt comments and feedback. Individuals often suggested that a more educated speaker would be a better option, or that their dialect wasn't mutually intelligible with other dialects, and therefore wouldn't be a valuable contribution to the collection.

This paper also relates the observed discursive practices and ideologies of native speakers within the growing research of ideologies of adult learners and GME graduates and notes the continued ideological power of education, standardization, and perceived fluency in a context of language documentation and revitalization.

### **Seachas apocrach ann am beul-aithris nan Gàidheal**

Kathleen Reddy

Tha roinn de sgeulachdan ann an seachas nan Gàidheal a tha a' buntainn ris a' chreideamh Chrìostail, stèidhte air pearsachan agus suidheachaidhean às a' Bhioball. Tha cuid de na sgeulachdan seo a' lionadh bheàrnan ann an cunntasan nan Soisgeulan le iomraidhean air leanabas agus beatha Chrìosta, agus gu tric, tha dreuchdan cudromach aig beothaichean annta.

Chuir na Gàidheil am blas aca fhèin air seachas apocraphach, aig a bheil freumhan fada Eòrpach. Nì am pàipear seo sgrùdadh air seachas apocraphach ann am beul-aithris nan Gàidheal le bhith a' toirt sùil air corra eisimpleir de sgeulachdan a chaidh a chlàradh anns an fhicheadamh linn bho sheanchaidhean anns na h-Eileanan Siar agus ann an Ceap Breatainn.

Gheibhear ann an seachas apocraphach nan Gàidheal cothrom a bhith a' daingneachadh a' chreideimh Chriostail; cothrom bruidhinn mu chreideamhan diadhaidh 'neo-oifigeil'; bruidhinn air creideamhan mu ciamar a thàinig gnothaichean gu bith; beachdachadh air dleasan buill na coimhearsnachd; agus a bhith a' cluich le gnàthachas innseadh nan sgeulachdan. Le bhith toirt sùil air seachas apocraphach ann am beul-aithris nan Gàidheal, chithear an càirdeas toinnte eadar buill choimhearsnachd, siostaman creideimh, an sgeulaiche, agus a luchd-èisteachd.

### **Cur is Buain: oidhirpean air a' Ghàidhlig ath-bheothachadh?**

Boyd Robastan

Anns an òraid seo, bidh mi a' coimhead air ais air na bliadhnaichean a tha mi air a bhith an sàs ann am foghlam agus leasachadh na Gàidhlig agus a' beachdachadh air na rudan a tha air a bhith a' toirt buaidh air cor ar cànan. Bidh mi a' comharrachadh nan nithean, iomairtean is leasachaidhean a bu shoirbheachaile agus a bu mhotha thug buaidh air suidheachadh na Gàidhlig agus a' meòrachadh air dè thàinig asta agus a shruth bhuapa. Bidh mi cuideachd a' coimhead air na h-easbhaidhean is na duilgheadasan a tha a' cur bacadh air adhartas agus mar a dh'fhaoidte fuasgladh fhaighinn air cuid dhe na cnapan-starra agus na dùbhlain sin.

### **The Fabric of the Land: exploring the significance of homespun tweed in the life and work of Màiri Mhòr nan Òran**

Priscilla Scott

The Skye poet, Mary MacPherson (Màiri Mhòr nan Òran) was skilled in 'calanas', the generic term in Gaelic for wool work and the making of tweed. The important place this work had in her life is evident from the fact that four out of the five formally posed photographs published in Dàin agus Òrain portray her engaged in various aspects of the cloth-making process. On her return to Skye in later life, Màiri Mhòr's skill in this work was so highly regarded that she was considered as someone who could be employed to share her expertise with the younger women of the island. While her proficiency in wool work has been acknowledged, it has not been discussed in any great detail in relation to her perspectives on place, the land movement and Gaelic culture. As examples from many different cultures illustrate, cloth can acquire symbolic meaning and communicate social, cultural and political values, and handmade fabrics have been used in a symbolic way, by women in particular, throughout history. In Gaelic culture, tartan or 'breacan' was symbolic of land and identity, and had a significant place in Gaelic history.

This paper will explore the symbolic associations of homespun tweed and tartan as another dimension of Màiri Mhòr's land and Gaelic activism. It will discuss the references in her songs to tweed and to the various stages of its production, as well as the gifts of homespun tweed that she presented to prominent public figures, and her appearances on public platforms clad from head to toe in her bold homespun tartan, and comment on their gender, cultural and political significance.

### **He had not ye light that was afterwards given him': Clan MacKenzie and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms in genealogical histories and their Restoration context**

Edwin Sheffield

Following the Civil War and Interregnum, writers of Restoration-era clan genealogical histories attempted to portray their subjects in the best possible light. For some clans, such as Clan Campbell, this could prove very problematic. The author of *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells*, that the clan and their branches' involvement in the period was omitted entirely. The authors of *Clan MacKenzie genealogical*

histories, however, did not skip of the years 1639 to 1651. This paper will examine how these authors of Clan MacKenzie genealogical histories crafted their version of the events of the previous period to emphasise the loyalty of a clan and their allies to the Stuarts and their ancestors. For example, Iain Molach MacKenzie of Applecross depicts the seemingly indecisive George MacKenzie, 2nd Earl of Seaforth as ‘a good man but verie unfortunat’. MacKenzie of Applecross adds that Seaforth’s ‘misfortune was that in ye beginning of ye king’s trowbles he had not ye light that was afterwards given him’.

In particular, this paper will contextualise these clan genealogical histories and show how the authors’ awareness of national events and narratives throughout the British Isles led to a desire to portray a particular image of the Earls of Seaforth specifically and of the clan generally. Additionally, this paper will explore the authors’ own self-interests coloured their writings. This paper will demonstrate that these authors had a firm understanding of the necessity to portray Clan MacKenzie as at worst neutral or, preferably, as strong, loyal supporters of the Crown. This paper will also compare and contrast depictions of Clan MacKenzie during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms by other members of the clan and by outside groups to show how these clan genealogical histories compared to other contemporary portrayals of the loyalty of Clan MacKenzie and their allies.

### **Poileasaidh Cànan Teaghlaich: Còimeas eadar Alba is Èirinn**

Cassie Smith-Christmas

Tha am pàipear seo a’ toirt sùil air ‘poileasaidh cànan teaghlaich’ (King, Fogle, Logan-Terry, 2008) ann an dà cho-theacs eadar-dhealaichte: na h-Eileanan an Shiar ann an Alba agus an Gaeltacht Chorca Dhuibhne ann an Eirinn. Tha an rannsachadh stèidhte air clàraidhean den sia teaghlaichean (trì dhuibh a tha fuireach anns na Eileanan an Shiar is trì dhuibh a tha fuireach ann an Chorca Dhuibhne) a bruidhinn anns an taigh gu nadarrach. Tha an rannsachadh a’ toirt sùil gu h-àraid air na tha na clann a’ smaointinn mu dheidhinn ‘cànan’ is ciamar a tha iad a’ toirt buidhe air a’ phoileasaidh cànan teaghlaich air fad.

Cuideachd, bidh am pàipear a’ cur còmas eadar an dithis leanabh anns a’ phroiseact a tha às deonaiche am mion-chànain (Gàidhlig no Gaeilge) a bhruidhinn, is a’ toirt sùil air dè seòrsa taic a tha iad a faighinn bhon choimhearsnachd is polisaidh naiseanta airson an cleachdadh cànan a leudachadh. Tha am pàipear a’ criochnachadh le bhith bruidhinn air an ceangal air polisaidh cànan aig an àrd-ìre (ìre naiseanta), an ìre-mheadhan ( a’ choimhearsnachd), agus an ìre-bheag (an teaghlach) is dè tha sin a’ ciallachadh airson oidhirpean planadh-cànain air fad.

#### *Reference*

King, K. A., Fogle, L., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Family Language Policy. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 2(5), 907–22.

### **‘Chaidh e nas doimhne agus nas doimhne ann an seann theacsaichean’: assessing *An Sgoil Dhubh* by Iain F. MacLeòid**

Duncan Sneddon

While the corpus of science-fiction and fantasy literature in Gaelic is small, it is growing. As these genres develop in Gaelic, it will be increasingly worthwhile critical activity to assess them as works of genre literature, and also in relation to the wider Gaelic literary tradition.

*An Sgoil Dhubh* (Acair, 2014) is the first high fantasy novel written in Gaelic. While it makes use of many tropes common to modern fantasy literature, it also integrates elements from Gaelic folklore and history, as well as Old Irish literature, to create a very *Gàidhealach* setting, using points of reference from within Gaelic culture to construct a fictional world that inhabits both Gaelic culture and the fantasy genre.

This paper will explore MacLeòid’s use of fantasy tropes and materials from Gaelic tradition, seeing how the novel can be related both to the conventions of fantasy literature and flim, and in its rich web of references to a range of Gaelic sources of different types and periods.

## **Gaelic resources in the University of Edinburgh's collections**

Kirsty Stewart

This paper aims to give an account of the Gaelic resources held within the University of Edinburgh, in particular within the archival collections and special collections at the Centre for Research Collections, the School of Scottish Studies Archives and New College Library. The paper will be delivered from the perspective of the archival curator, wishing to draw attention to the unique and diverse resources available to the Gaelic researcher at the University of Edinburgh. Resources covered will include manuscripts, administrative documents, photographic materials, sound archives, film and printed material. Some collections exist as a result of requests for books, some as a result of academic endeavours, some are donations from individuals and families connected with the University and others are more mysterious in their provenance. The paper will outline the context as well as the content of the collections highlighted as far as has been identified by information professionals within the University. The resulting paper will act as a useful guide to archives and special collections held separately throughout Library and University Collections but brought together with a focus on Gaelic research.

## **Literature and beyond: the uses of postcolonial perspectives in Gaelic Studies**

Silke Stroh

After reviewing some of the 'classical' paradigms of Postcolonial Studies and their possible uses for the study of literature from and about the Gàidhealtachd, this paper will move on to some more recent developments in international Postcolonial Studies whose relevance to Gaelic Studies has so far remained largely unexplored, but which may offer further useful avenues for future investigation. There will also be discussion of other fields in international research on culture contact, culture conflict and minority issues (such as Indigenous Studies and Black Studies) whose concerns and approaches partly overlap with Postcolonial Studies, but which have evolved distinct conceptual and disciplinary configurations of their own that likewise merit further exploration in the context of comparative approaches to Gaelic Studies. The paper also considers how comparative postcolonial and minority studies perspectives in Gaelic Studies can be extended beyond a primary focus on literary readings, to also have productive implications for educational and social practices, including discourses on language revival.

## **Màiri Mhòr agus Máire Bhuí**

Alan Titley

Anns an òraid seo, thèid suil a thoirt air a' choltas annasach eadar dithis bhana-bhàrd, tè à Alba 's tè à Èirinn. Is iad na bàird Màiri Mhòr nan Òran (1821-1898) agus Máire Bhuí Ní Laoghaire (1774-1849?). Ged nach buin iad gu buileach ris an aon linn, tha coltas eadar am beatha is an saothair agus, nas cudromaiche, tha iad mar sgàthan air a chèile. Tha iad le chèile nam 'bàird-bhaile', mar a chanar, ged a tha an cuid ealantachd a' breugnachadh an dimeas an lùib an ainm sin. Is e a tha suaicheanta, ge-tà, gun deach na h-òrain aca le chèile a stèidheachadh anns a' bhàrd anns na coimhearsnachdan aca mu seach anns an Eilean Sgitheanach is air Ghàidhealtachd anns an fharsaingeachd leis an dàrna tè agus ann Mùscraighe na Mumhan leis an tè eile agus, nas cudromaiche, gu bheilear fhathast gan gabhail an-diugh sna ceàrnaidhean ud.

Tha e inntinneach cuideachd gum faodte ràdh gun deach an 'leòn' le chèile gu bàrdachd le cràdh agus le cùisean pearsanta. Mar thoradh, dh'fhàs iad nan dithis nan luchd-labhairt airson nan coimhearsnachdan aca chan ann a-mhàin a' cur na bha ag èirigh dhaibh an cèill ach a' brosnachadh eas-aonta agus cur-an-aghaidh. Fhuair an suidheachadh seo a bhith a' cur bhriathran air an fheirg is a' cheannairc a bha bitheanta aithneachadh farsaing rim beò. Chan e seo a-mhàin ach tha iad air litreachas ùr a spreagadh ann an cànanan a chèile, a' leigeil fhaicinn gum buin iad ri dualchas a tha beò 's beothail.

Rud a tha inntinneach, tha iad le chèile a' dèanamh bàrdachd a tha pearsanta nuair a bha an rud poblach fada air thoiseach. Tha na seanchasan aca fìchte ann an stuth nan òran aca a bheir dhaibh geurad is guth fa leth nach eil ri fhaotainn ann am bàrdachd nan coimhearsnachdan fhèin. Agus iad gun leughadh is gun sgrìobhadh, ge-tà, mar a tha ann an dualchas beò, chaidh an t-saothair aca atharrachadh is a mhùthadh le seinneadairean thar nam bliadhnaichean. Rinn iad òrain car coltach ri chèile cuideachd, a' brosnachadh, a' càineadh, a' dealbhadh, no a' caoineadh, a' toirt gutha dhan t-sluagh nan linn.

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This paper will look at the remarkable similarities between two female poets, one Scottish and one Irish. They are Máiri Mhór nan Óran (1821-1898) and Máire Bhúí Ní Laoghaire (1774-1849?). While not precisely contemporaries their lives and their concerns overlap, but more importantly, each one's poetry mirrors the other. They are both what is often called 'folk poets', although their artistry belies the implied denigration in that label. What is remarkable, however, is the songs of both of them took root immediately in their respective communities of Skye and the greater Gaidhealtachd in the first case, and in West Cork and Munster in the other; and more importantly are still sung today in their original areas.

It is also interesting that it could be said that they were both 'stung' into song by personal pain and circumstances. As a result, they both became spokeswomen for their communities not just describing what was happening to them, but encouraging dissent and opposition. This position of being a mouthpiece of popular anger and subversion was widely recognised during their lifetime. Not only this, but they have inspired modern literature in both of their languages, demonstrating that they are part of a living and vibrant tradition.

Interestingly they both write personal poetry in a tradition where the public was often dominant. Their stories are written into the stuff of their songs which gives them a sharpness and individuality missing in purely communal poetry. Being unable to read or write, however, like all oral literature their work was changed and moulded by singers during the years. They also composed similar kinds of songs, whether of encouragement, invective, description, or elegy, fulfilling the role of the voice of their people in their time.

### **The cultural crossing from Gaelic to Irish: translating Neil Munro**

Gearóidín Uí Laighléis

This paper will discuss the translations which the Irish author and scholar Seán Tóibín (1882 - 1971) made of the Scottish writer Neil Munro (1863-1930). Tóibín was one of those who believed in the efficacy of providing translations from foreign works into Irish, both as a means of providing ready high-quality reading material, and as an enrichment of the language itself. He chose Neil Munro because he was a popular writer of literary quality who often wrote about the Scottish Gaidhealtachd or Gaelic-speaking highlands. He believed that these novels would be familiar, at least in part, to Irish-speaking readers, but sometimes underestimated the challenges which they presented.

The Irish government's translation scheme, initiated in 1927, gave pride of place for a time to novels which dealt with Irish rural life and which had been popular with readers since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There was a strong inclination to follow a similar pattern in the literature of other countries, particularly the Celtic ones. It was argued strongly that translations from Gaelic would be 'especially welcomed.'

Given the dearth of secular prose in Gaelic in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a writer/translator like Tóibín turned to some of the novels of Neil Munro, particularly those set in the Gaidhealtachd. There are broad similarities between the two cultures but the differences between the two closely-related languages are legion. Although writing in English, Munro was a Gaelic speaker ('Niall Rothach') and the dialogue in his books are often translations from that language interspersed with words and phrases of the language itself. Tóibín's challenge was to make these Irish without losing their Scottishness and negotiate the jungle of 'false friends' between the two languages. This paper will examine how he met this challenge, both linguistically and culturally.

## **A Certain Purpose: source and target culture dialogues in modern Gaelic literary translation**

Moray Watson

The recent Gaelic literature of Scotland is one that exists in dialogic tension on multiple planes. For one thing, the contemporary trends continue to co-exist alongside compellingly conservative traditionalising gravities. Simultaneously, the makers of modern Gaelic literature were, until the past handful of years, almost exclusively people educated predominantly within an Anglophone, culturally British university system that had no place for their own language or culture. Poets and writers of fiction have reacted to these tensions in remarkably different ways. In poetry, a common response among the modernisers has been to translate a substantial proportion of their work into English, with the general sense of making their writing accessible to a wider audience of readers with a modern sympathy, and at the same time disseminating and propagating the prestige of Gaelic literature through the medium of translation. In prose fiction, by contrast, there has been almost no translation out of Gaelic into any language.

Since the 1970s, there have been efforts to describe and explain the practice of literary translation in terms of loyalty to either the source or target culture. For several of the so-called 'Manipulation' theorists, Theo Hermans condenses a common presupposition into an axiom: "From the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose." Among the things we may wish to understand in our present context are: what manipulation takes place in recent Gaelic poetry translation, where work is autotranslated in comparison with any manipulation carried out where work is translated by another party; what might the "certain purpose" be; and why is there such a discrepancy between the amount of poetry translation and the amount of prose fiction translation? According to Gideon Toury, 'it is the *target* or *recipient culture*, or a certain section of it, which serves as the *initiator* of the decision to translate and of the translating process'. This influential assumption provides for profitable interrogation in the context of the modern Gaelic literary scene.

In order to investigate the issues adumbrated here, I consider two translations in this paper: those by Iain Crichton Smith and Sorley MacLean of MacLean's *Dàin do Eimhir*. These two translations may be said to exist in a fascinating dialogue that delves deeply into the notions of source and target culture loyalty and even the very fundamentals of what we understand the term 'poetry translation' to mean.

## **The Linguistic Survey, the Observer's Paradox, and Gaelic morphology today**

Charles Wilson

Linguistic variation in Scottish Gaelic attracts a huge amount of interest, and this is epitomized by the impressive and comprehensive Linguistic Survey of Scotland (Gaelic) (LSS(G)), carried out between 1951 and 1963. So far, however, most published work on regional variation in Scottish Gaelic has focused on phonetics or phonology, including the only publication based on LSS(G): the Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland (SGDS) (1997). Iosad and Lamb (2015) are currently working on the morphological data available in LSS(G). However, some sixty years have passed since the LSS(G) data collection, in which time the social landscape of the Gaelic-speaking communities, linguistic theory, and documentation methods have changed. Therefore, as part of my doctoral research, I sought to capture data on today's regional variation in Gaelic morphology and syntax (morphosyntax) through a triangulation of methods that made use of current theory and technology (consider, for example, the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972)), while simultaneously producing results that would be directly comparable with LSS(G) and other published research (e.g. Dorian 1981). In this paper, I will introduce the methods and rationale for methods used in my doctoral research to capture data on morphosyntactic processes and how they mark morphosyntactic function in Gaelic. I will provide a preliminary analysis of the data, with a focus on attributive adjectives. As part of that analysis, I will discuss whether my data suggests that morphosyntactic variation interacts with geography, how that compares with the available LSS(G) data, and where this will take my doctoral research.

## **Chasing the Dragon: John Francis Campbell and the Far East**

Andrew Wiseman

To put into context Campbell's long-held interest in dragon mythology, this paper proposes to focus upon his tour of the Far East. By reviewing his travelogues and copious notes upon the subject-matter, imbued by his vast knowledge of folklore and oral narratives, may yet reveal more about his working methodology and also his maturer reflections. Edited by George Henderson and published posthumously, *The Celtic Dragon Myth* (1911) remains well-known and in which John Francis Campbell analyses, from the perspective of comparative mythology, an enduring and worldwide phenomenon. A Victorian polymath, combining skills in such varied fields as ethnology, linguistics, geology, art and science, Edinburgh-born but Islay-raised Campbell (1821–1885) was a truly remarkable, unique and talented individual whose passion for travel saw him visiting many parts of the world. As an inveterate traveller with varying degrees of fluency in eight languages, Campbell embarked upon a year-long world tour in 1874 which took in an itinerary including North America, Japan, China, Java, Ceylon and India. With a keen and perceptive eye together with an insatiable curiosity, Campbell was a compulsive note-taker, diarist and sketcher. As a result, his two-volume *My Circular Notes* (1876), was later issued and which was to be one of his last publications. Campbell's magnificent and eclectic archive including detailed notes and sketches of his various travels, along with other material besides, housed in the National Library of Scotland, is a lasting testament to his lifelong interests. As early as 1862, he began work on the dragon myth inspired by his collecting upwards of 200 versions of the tale which Campbell later consolidated by returning to and periodically writing upon the subject from 1870 right up until the time of his death in 1885.