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When Linguistics and Heritage Intersect: Language Preservation and Revitalization in Cultural Institutions

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WHEN LINGUISTICS AND HERITAGE INTERSECT:

LANGUAGE PRESERVATION AND REVITALIZATION IN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

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Abstract

This work explores the ways in which cultural institutions, namely museums, libraries, and archives, can help save dying languages. It first introduces language preservation and revitalization as a field and then evaluates current efforts, including those outside the museum sphere. The question guiding this research is: Given the missions of cultural institutions, their collections, and their relationships with surrounding communities, how can these institutions successfully contribute to the preservation and revitalization of endangered languages in the long-term, and how might success be evaluated? The preservation of Scottish Gaelic will be considered as a specific case study by looking at several approaches, such as language policy, school and education, cultural institutions, and technology. While these efforts are making great strides, there will be anticipated gaps that museums can fill, for which suggestions will be discussed. To lose languages is also to lose the unique cultural insights of diverse communities, but with museums extending their reach beyond artifact preservation to language preservation, connection to those communities will strengthen.

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I. Introduction

As technology and social media saturate modern society, discussions on activism and conservation are in the forefront of the digital age. Images of a wounded environment populate our feeds, stories of climate change and its detrimental effects proliferate in the news, and the importance of preserving our natural world and its plants and animals is a daily concern. A greater understanding of the consequences of industrialization and rapid development sees communities sympathetic with the conservationist perspective and moving towards cleaner living and ethical practices. With a shifting perspective over the past few decades, then, the umbrella of preservation should expand even further and appeal to the public through another viewpoint: language preservation.[1] As linguist Suzanne Romaine succinctly states, "We should think about languages in the same way as we do other natural resources that need careful planning: they are vital parts of complex ecologies that must be supported if global biodiversity is to be sustained."[2] Preserving languages is an essential component within the broader initiative of safeguarding cultural tradition, knowledge, and identity, all of which are ideally recognized by museums. As public stewards serving their communities, museums have an inherent duty to the protection and education of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. Therefore, as this thesis aims to demonstrate, cultural institutions[3] have a unique potential to preserve and revitalize endangered languages.

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[1] A similar term for language preservation, seen especially in the field of linguistics, is language *maintenance*. To maintain a language includes recognizing that the language will continue to change. Because *preservation* more closely reflects museum terminology and mission statements, this phrasing will be frequently used throughout the present work. Preservation in this context is not intended to convey a prescriptive view, rather it also acknowledges the evolving nature of languages.

[2] Suzanne Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1.1-2 (2007): 115.

[3] *Cultural institutions* in this paper collectively refers to museums, libraries, and archives, all of which will be examined in case studies. For the sake of clarity and conciseness, the term *museum* or *museums* is sometimes switched in place of cultural institutions, but it still embodies the same meaning and refers to the same types of institutions.

This paper begins with a literature review that examines the need for protecting languages by surveying research conducted by linguists. Alarming rates and statistics provide a glimpse of the current standing of the world's languages and motivate a call to action. The review then considers language in the domain of the classroom. School is a common setting for learning language. As highlighted in the research, language education has both its benefits and its drawbacks. New initiatives, such as Language Nests in Hawaii, are rekindling ties between communities, especially the younger generations, and their ancestral languages. However, past education efforts put forth by government bodies, especially boarding schools in the United States, emphasized English as key to social and economic success. To this day, many societies value majority languages, like English, over lesser spoken languages for a variety of reasons. This phenomenon of language globalization influences an individual's and even a whole community's sense of identity. There is potential for cultural organizations at both the national and local level to re-instill the importance of a unique linguistic identity that is capable of thriving on a global platform.

Current museum efforts, explored in further detail within the final section of the literature review, host workshops where linguists work directly with community members to study linguistic data. These workshops focus on an essential question: the gathering of data and field research is crucial for language preservation and revitalization, but is the information accessible to the communities it is meant to benefit? Museums might be able to help bridge the divide between linguistics professionals and the community members who are using and learning the languages. By identifying the need and delving into the various forms revival efforts have taken thus far, the literature review sets the stage for the possibility of museums to address language preservation and revitalization as part of the broader theme of intangible cultural heritage.

Scottish Gaelic (*Gàidhlig*), also shortened to just "Gaelic" in English, is considered for the main case study in the body of this thesis. The presence of the endangered language is examined in several areas: government policy, school and education, technology and the digital, and most importantly, cultural institutions. By looking at the several domains in which Gaelic exists in, a comprehensive view of the preservation and revitalization efforts can be obtained. Then, the current successes and remaining challenges are explored so that the potential role of cultural institutions in Scotland might be ascertained. Questions contemplated include: What are successful instances of language preservation and revitalization, both inside and outside the museum? Where are efforts falling short, and how might the museum remedy this? This paper concludes with findings and recommendations for cultural institutions in Scotland which, in the future, with more research and resources, can hopefully form a new innovative model to be applied in other communities that will help sustain linguistic diversity worldwide.

II. Literature Review

A. Language Preservation and Revitalization: Origin and Impetus for the Movement

Language revitalization is a new subfield of linguistics with its origins tracing back to only the 1990s.[4] Linguists have long known about the alarming disappearance of languages and have worked on documenting languages at risk. But, during the 1970s and 1980s, the initial focus was on language maintenance, defined by linguist Leanne Hinton as "the attempt to keep the status quo for minority languages."[5] Language revitalization, on the other hand, is an active approach "concerned with halting and reversing the extinction of languages."[6] The process

[4] Leanne Hinton, "Language Revitalization," *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23 (March 2003): 45.
[5] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 45.
[6] Andrea Wilhelm, "Language Revitalization," *Oxford Bibliographies*, http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0091.xml.

includes: assessing the status of languages, understanding the causes behind their statuses, engaging and advocating with the public, documenting the languages, and working with the communities whose languages are threatened.[7] It is important to establish collaborative and supportive relationships with the communities because language is not an isolated component of culture. Rather, it is deeply embedded in the values, practices, and daily lives of community members, and it evolves alongside the community. Therefore, saving languages is connected to saving these important cultural traditions.

The shift in thought from maintenance to active revitalization began as a response to the endangerment and extinction of languages, caused by the effects of empire, industrialization, and globalization,[8] and the statistics put forth by linguists revealing the dire situation of the world's languages. For example, one researcher suggests that "an average of one language every two weeks may vanish over the next 100 years."[9] In addition, only about 600 of the world's approximately 6,700 known languages are spoken by more than 10,000 people.[10] Put another way, 90% of the world speaks only one hundred of the 6,700 languages.[11] Furthermore, in the United States and Canada specifically, only twenty of the 184 indigenous languages are still learned by children in the home.[12] Language death is the moment "when the community is the last one (in the world) to use that language."[13] The death of a language can occur either gradually or suddenly, the former happening when a language is gradually replaced by another, like Gaelic

[7] Wilhelm, "Language Revitalization."
[8] Leanne Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 44.
[9] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 115.
[10] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 44.
[11] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 44.
[12] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 44.
[13] Rajend Mesthrie, Joan Swann, Ana Deumert, and William L. Leap, "Language Contact 1: Maintenance, Shift and Death." In *Introducing Sociolinguistics,* 2nd edition (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009): 245.

being replaced by English in parts of Scotland.[14] A sudden death of a language denotes rapid extinction without "an intervening period of bilingualism."[15] Another type, called 'bottom-to-top' death, refers to languages that are no longer spoken in conversation but are still used in specific instances, such as religion or folk songs.[16]

Overall, the moment a language becomes at risk or endangered is when the youngest generation, the children, no longer learn and use it.[17] Although this moment for a language is a disheartening one, it also functions as a call to action. Like Richard E. Littlebear, Native American educator and author, states (as quoted by Hinton), "Native American languages are in the penultimate moment of their existence in this world. It is the last and only time that we will have the opportunity to save them."[18] The first step to saving languages is to identify the ones under threat, and to then acknowledge the different factors causing them endangerment. Each language and each community must be considered individually because "a large language could be endangered if the external pressures on it were great (e.g., the South American language Quechua, with millions of speakers), while a very small language could be perfectly safe as long as the community was functional and the environment stable (e.g. Icelandic)."[19] As a result, no one revitalization method or solution can be applied to all cases, and there must be realistic priorities, especially when resources are few.[20] The proceeding sections will look at various issues confronting endangered languages as well as the different solutions applied to better

[14] Mesthrie et al., "Language Contact," 248.
[15] Mesthrie et al., "Language Contact," 248.
[16] Mesthrie et al., "Language Contact," 248.
[17] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 121.
[18] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 48.
[19] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 122.
[20] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 122.

understand language revitalization as a whole, its approaches, and both its achievements and shortcomings.

B. Language and the Classroom

Education has been a main avenue for promoting bilingualism and revitalizing languages. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a national bilingual education movement that aimed for children, who do not know English, to both learn English and receive their early education in their first language.[21] The 1970s was also a time when Native Americans began creating bilingual education programs in their communities. There was a central focus on literacy due to tribes not having any prior writing systems. As a result, written forms, such as poetry and essays, developed. These writings were not published, but they were used in schools.[22] Likewise, training programs emerged. For instance, the American Indian Languages Development Institute (AILDI) at the University of Arizona "provides a 6-week course in linguistic analysis, literacy and lesson and curriculum planning."[23] An education supporting bilingualism "allowed students to be proud of their languages."[24] This era marks great change in how bilingualism is viewed in the United States. A key act passed by Congress in 1990 was the Native American Languages Act which reversed years of "oppressive language policy."[25] The act states that "it is the policy of the United States to…preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of the Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages."[26] Language policy is a key player in language revitalization, but in some cases, it endorses the opposite.

[21] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 46.
[22] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 46.
[23] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 46.
[24] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 46.
[25] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 56.
[26] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 56.

Beforehand, language policies supported the socially dominant language and intended to produce monolingual speakers.[27] For example, American Indian boarding schools "suppressed tribal languages and cultural practices and sought to replace them with English, Christianity, athletic activities, and a ritual calendar intended to further patriotic citizenship."[28] These boarding schools, which started in 1860, aimed to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream American life.[29] By the 1880s, there were sixty schools in the United States with 6,200 students. As the years went on, one of the main goals was "economic practicality" with a curriculum focused on industrial training.[30] The federal officials in the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs running the boarding schools deemed English necessary to succeed economically and socially in the American lifestyle.

The perceived superiority of another language because of its economic benefits is not unique to the United States. There are boarding schools in India where students from different indigenous minority groups in the country are taught in English.[31] In addition, Siberian native languages are disappearing in favor of a different majority language: Russian. *Ös* (Chulym), a language spoken by the indigenous people of the middle Chulym river basin in Siberia, is "endangered in part as a result of open hostility from the state during the twentieth century…In the 1940s, with the establishment of the 'second mother tongue' policy, children were rounded up into boarding schools and forbidden to speak their mother tongue."[32] After 1959, the Chulym

[27] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 46.
[28] Julie Davis, "American Indian Boarding School Experiences: Recent Studies for Native Perspectives," *Organization of American Historian* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 20–22.
[29] "History and Culture: Boarding Schools." Partnership with Native Americans, accessed November 7, 2018, http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=npra_home.
[30] "History and Culture: Boarding Schools."
[31] *The Linguists*, directed by Seth Kramer, Daniel A. Miller, and Jeremy S. Newberger (Ironbound Films, 2009), film.
[32] "Ös (Chulym)," The Ös Documentation Project, accessed November 7, 2018, https://livingtongues.org/os-chulym/.

Turkic people were dropped from census statistics as a distinct ethnic group, and "they were forcibly consolidated into larger, Russian-speaking settlements, thus losing their population base and traditional language milieu."[33] It was not until 1999 that they regained their separate ethnic identity. But, the effects of the tumultuous history can be seen in the dwindling number of native speakers. A pilot field survey in 2003 suggested that there were fewer than forty speakers (including semi-speakers), and a second expedition in 2005 revealed that there were under 25 speakers and fewer than ten who would be able to act as consultants or language teachers.[34]

Important to note, however, is the emergence of schools now promoting and revitalizing under-represented languages. A case of successful language revitalization through education is Hawaiian. Until the late 1890s, Hawaiian thrived as a language. Then, after a *coup d'état* by American businessmen, the United States annexed Hawai'i. No longer independent, English consequently "became the language of power and the only language allowed in government and in the education system."[35] By 1990, only families on the small, private island of Ni'ihau had native speakers under the age of 50.[36] Efforts began to revitalize the language, especially in schools. University programs in Hawaiian developed, along with early childhood programs called "Pūnana Leo" or "Language Nests," inspired by Māori preschools in New Zealand. Their goal is to produce bilingual three and four year-olds, and given its success, the program has further developed to extend to senior high school.[37]

There are many facets to a successful educational program. The curricula of courses in majority languages cannot simply migrate over to lessons for minority languages. New, feasible

[33] "Ös (Chulym)."
[34] "Ös (Chulym)."
[35] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 50.
[36] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 51.
[37] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 51.

methods must be developed to accommodate the unique and individual nature of a minority language and its community. Different types of learning methods employed by communities, families, and individuals include immersion schools like the Pūnana Leo, master-apprentice programs, learning from documentation, and family programs in the home that assist parents. In California, there is too small a population of indigenous speakers in each speech community for universities to have language programs.[38] To address this challenge, Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS) developed a program called the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MAP). Teams are comprised of a master (the fluent speaker) and an apprentice (the learner). They meet ten to forty hours per week so that the apprentice can achieve conversational fluency. The master-apprentice model is found throughout the United States and Canada and is emerging in other countries, like Australia and Brazil.[39] These programs work to combat the many challenges of teaching minority languages compared to common, well-known languages. Another significant challenge is the tendency of fluent speakers of endangered languages to be elderly and not trained in educational theory or practice.

There is an overall shortage of fluent teachers and resources in small communities, and one must consider how the passing of cultural traditions and values is influenced when classes are taught by professional educators who are not native speakers of the endangered language. Furthermore, linguists, who are knowledgeable on the inner workings of language, understand concepts of language acquisition, and have access to data and research, are not typically trained in methods of teaching, either. Therefore, an interweaving of linguistics and educational theory, and "the guidance of experts in language and teaching methods…could be of great assistance in

[38] Leanne Hinton, "Language Revitalization and Language Pedagogy: New Teaching and Learning Strategies," *Language and Education* 25, no. 4 (July 2011): 314.
[39] Hinton, "Language Revitalization and Language Pedagogy," 314.

language revitalization."[40] Museums, also, could be a medium to successfully educate the general public and specific communities on endangered languages. They can potentially communicate linguistic research and terminology in a more accessible manner, alleviating hardships or barriers associated with teaching endangered languages in the classroom.

C. Language Globalization and Identity

As exemplified in the previous section, the spread of English, especially through schooling, has been prioritized by authorities. English has over one hundred million speakers, reaching 309,352,280 in 2007.[41] Around two billion people are trying to learn English worldwide.[42] Large groups of English speakers are found in the United Kingdom, United States, New Zealand, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. English is the "dominant de facto or official language in over 70 countries."[43] Given its number of speakers and geographic spread, English is referred to as a global language.[44] Some people see this globalization of English as beneficial. For example, Jay Walker, entrepreneur and inventor, views the widespread use of English as an opportunity "for a better future…where the world has a common language to solve its common problems."[45] Having a common world language would not be at the expense of minority languages. Rather, communities would be bilingual with English as the lingua franca.[46] Walker's perspective, though, is one of a businessman and founder of three companies. He approaches the benefits of a shared world language in a very practical sense and only briefly touches upon

[40] Hinton, "Language Revitalization and Language Pedagogy," 317.
[41] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 118.
[42] Jay Walker, "The World's English Mania," uploaded March 1, 2013, TedEd, video, 4:32, https://ed.ted.com/lessons/the-world-s-english-mania-jay-walker#review.
[43] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 122.
[44] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 119.
[45] Walker, "The World's English Mania."
[46] Lingua franca is a term that refers to a common language used for communication between people. For instance, there could be someone who speaks Spanish and someone who speaks Arabic. They do not know each other's language, but they both know English, so they use English to communicate.

endangered languages. A linguist or anthropologist might consider the topic differently.

Ultimately, whether there are advantages to a global language, there still exist downsides which cannot be ignored. In particular, the spread of majority languages influences communities' sense of identity. Members of some native communities sympathize with the viewpoint of prominent government figures or businessmen like Walker. The following poignant reflection from linguist Peter Ladefoged highlights this phenomenon:

> Last summer I was working on Dahalo, a rapidly dying Cushitic language, spoken by a few hundred people in a rural district of Kenya. I asked one of our consultants whether his teen-aged sons spoke Dahalo. 'No,' he said. 'They can still hear it, but they cannot speak it. They speak only Swahili.' He was smiling when he said it, and did not seem to regret it. He was proud that his sons had been to school, and knew things that he did not. Who am I to say that he was wrong?[47]

While educational opportunities can be important avenues for the success of youth in modern societies, it is equally important for native languages to be preserved alongside their community's identity and cultural values. As Joshua A. Fishman, a leader in the field of language revitalization, states, people "maintain their languages far beyond what might be predicted, not necessarily because the language is serving any practical purpose in their lives but instead because it carries important meaning as a badge of identity and key to their continuity as a people."[48] As keepers of cultural knowledge and as institutions of public service, museums, libraries, and archives have great potential in cultivating this "language loyalty"[49] and re-instilling a sense of pride and identity in native languages when linguists feel unable to.

[47] Mesthrie et al., "Language Contact," 266.
[48] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 49.
[49] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 49.

D. Language Documentation and Current Museum Efforts

With this unique opportunity to act as trustworthy bridges between linguists and native communities, what, if anything, are cultural institutions currently doing? Many programs today in the U.S. connect archival documentation with Native American tribal members. Documentation derives from the initial efforts of linguists to preserve languages, which mainly focused on establishing grammars and dictionaries, due to a "tendency to reify languages as artifacts."[50] In order for documentation to prove useful for the active approach of modern revitalization efforts, focus should be placed on "living communities and language ecologies."[51] One example of the importance and usefulness of documentation is the Recovering Voices initiative put forth by the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of the American Indian, and the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. The mission of the Recovering Voices effort is "to collaborate with communities worldwide to sustain and celebrate linguistic and cultural diversity."[52] Recovering Voices achieves its mission through research, community collaboration, outreach, and self-evaluation. The museums work with communities and other institutions around the world "to support collaborative research in the sociology of knowledge, language documentation and revitalization and culturally informed analysis of collections."[53] There is focus on an interdisciplinary approach, and they link their collections with language fieldwork and cultural practices. To demonstrate the importance of these efforts, emphasis is placed on "the sustainability of knowledge systems" and the direct relationship

[50] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 126-127.
[51] Romaine, "Preserving Endangered Languages," 126-127.
[52] "About Us," *Smithsonian Institution,* Recovering Voices, accessed October 31, 2018, https://recoveringvoices.si.edu/about.html.
[53] "Research," *Smithsonian Institution,* Recovering voices, accessed October 31, 2018, https://recoveringvoices.si.edu/about.html.

between language and knowledge.[54] In their words, "every language is a window into the human mind. It is a record of the knowledge that societies have gained over generations of successful adaptation."[55] Extinction of a language results in the subsequent loss of the knowledge unique to that community that has been handed down through the generations.

Another example of museums partnering with communities to revitalize languages through documentation is the National Breath of Life (BoL) workshop. The mission of the National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages is "to work with endangered language communities to build capacity around methods in archives-based research for community-directed revitalization efforts."[56] The participants in the workshops are called Community Researchers (CRs), and they represent the communities who have lost speakers or need access to language archives in order to help recover their languages.[57] There are two versions of the National Breath of Life workshop. The National BoL 1.0 connected tribal communities with archival collections at the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives (NAA) of the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), and the Library of Congress. The workshops lasted two weeks and the CRs partnered with trained linguists to understand and interpret the archival collections and to learn fundamental concepts of linguistics.[58]

The National BoL 2.0 focuses on more advanced archival research for revitalization. For example, it "offers training in the management of digital archival collections and advanced

[54] "Research," *Smithsonian Institution.*
[55] *Recovering Voices Brochure* (National Museum of Natural History: Smithsonian Institution, 2017).
[56] "About: National Breath of Life," *Miami University*, accessed October 31, 2018, http://miamioh.edu/myaamia-center/breath-of-life/about/index.html.
[57] "About: National Breath of Life," *Miami University.*
[58] "FAQ: National Breath of Life," *Miami University,* accessed October 31, 2018, http://miamioh.edu/myaamia-center/breath-of-life/faq/index.html.

linguistic analysis of data for language revitalization to community researchers who already possess archival materials."[59] The Indigenous Languages Digital Archive (ILDA) is utilized for this training because it is "the only available software that allows for the organization, storage and retrieval of digital copies of linguistic archival materials, and directly links independent data derived from linguistic analysis to the original manuscript pages."[60] Between 2011 and 2017, the National BoL assisted 117 tribal representatives from 55 language communities in completing archival and linguistic research.[61] Workshops are still being held, with upcoming ones taking place at the Myaamia Center at Miami University in 2019 and the Northwest Indian Language Institute at the University of Oregon in 2020, both to follow the 2.0 model.[62]

National Breath of Life is not the only one of its kind. In fact, it was modeled after the Breath of Life Language Restoration Workshop for California Indians. The Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival offered the first workshop in 1996 with the University of California at Berkeley. Its long-term success has inspired other programs and workshops, including the first one held outside of the United States at the University of British Columbia, Canada.[63] Hinton, herself, is one of the co-organizers of the Breath of Life Institute at Berkeley[64] and describes it as a workshop where Native Californians come to "find materials on their languages, to learn to read the materials and do fundamental grammatical analysis, and to extract 'useful language' from the materials for purposes of language revitalization."[65] However, some

[59] "FAQ: National Breath of Life," *Miami University.*
[60] "FAQ: National Breath of Life," *Miami University.*
[61] "History: National Breath of Life," *Miami University,* accessed October 31, 2018, http://miamioh.edu/myaamia-center/breath-of-life/about/history/index.html.
[62] "FAQ: National Breath of Life," *Miami University.*
[63] "History: National Breath of Life." *Miami University.*
[64] "Breath of Life 2018," *Berkeley Linguistics,* accessed October 31, 2018, http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~survey/aicls-breath-of-life/.
[65] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 45.

potential barriers to participation in the workshops could be the application limitations and the conference fee. Only sixty community researchers and up to thirty linguistic partners are accepted. Furthermore, the conference fee is three hundred and fifty dollars.[66]

In addition to challenges related to workshop planning and implementation, like locating funding, there are other instances concerning the languages themselves in which documentation is inadequate. One major consideration is that some languages are primarily oral while some, such as minority languages in Europe, have long literary traditions. Therefore, language revitalization for oral languages must focus on conversational fluency.[67] But, there are insufficient "recordings of natural conversation, rules of address politeness, turn-taking, and other discourse aspects of endangered languages" despite that "it is conversation, and the ability to converse in the language, that modern language activists seek to re-establish in their communities."[68] In order for a language to revive, the applications and cultural contexts of that language must be evaluated. With practices in oral history already established, museums could be capable of obtaining and safeguarding conversations for linguistic applications.

Upon evaluating all of these different facets of language preservation and revitalization, it is clear the potential cultural institutions have in joining the effort, from providing educational programming alongside kindergarten through twelfth grade schools, being community-oriented, fostering a sense of cultural identity in face of language globalization, and collecting recordings of conversation. Today, "language revitalization is not only an applied field, but also a very interdisciplinary one."[69] Museums and linguists can work together, each filling in where the

[66] "Breath of Life 2018," *Berkeley Linguistics.*
[67] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 44.
[68] Hinton, "Language Revitalization," 46.
[69] Wilhelm, "Language Revitalization."

other one falters, to achieve a common goal. To explore these possibilities in greater depth, the next section examines the endangered language Scottish Gaelic and the efforts currently in place to preserve and revitalize it, including government policy, education, cultural institutions, and digital resources. Although difficult to quantify, the success of these initiatives will be considered by looking at the changes of policy over time, the level of engagement of the public, and the number of speakers and learners of Scottish Gaelic. By attempting to evaluate what is currently working and what is not, suggestions can be made for a more fruitful partnership between languages and cultural institutions, not only in Scotland but also in other parts of the world.

III. Case Study

A. Scottish Gaelic Overview and Context

Historical Timeline

The Celtic languages were the first identifiable languages on the British Isles. Nothing is definitively known about the languages of the people during the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic time periods.[70] Some hypotheses exist about the pre-Celtic population that trace similarities of Welsh and Irish to the Hamitic languages of North Africa and to ancient Egyptian and its descendant, Coptic. These similarities might reveal migratory patterns and suggest who was settling on the British Isles and intermingling with the pre-Celtic peoples.[71]

The Celtic languages fall into two categories. The first is Goidelic, also known as Q-Celtic, and it includes Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx. The second is referred to as Brittonic or P-Celtic, and it includes Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. The main difference between the two

[70] Glanville Price, ed. *Languages in Britain & Ireland* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 3.
[71] Price, *Languages in Britain & Ireland*, 3.

branches is a phonetic feature: the [k^W] consonant. From the beginnings of Goidelic to its modern usages, this consonant evolved from [k^W] to [k] and is now written as *c*. In contrast, the consonant in Brittonic morphed from [k^W] to [p].[72] Because they fall within the same branch, Scottish Gaelic is closely related to Irish and Manx. In the Middle Ages, Scottish Gaelic and Irish "shared a common literacy standard, sustained by hereditary literary orders and travelling bardic schools."[73] As a result, both languages have "a rich and extensive ancient literature."[74] In addition, the spread of Celtic Christianity in the 6th century also encouraged the spread of literacy and learning.[75] This literary tradition will be important to note later on when investigating the National Library of Scotland's digitization efforts.

With an intertwined literary history, Scottish Gaelic and Irish also have "strong common cultural roots."[76] In fact, Gaelic arrived in Scotland around 500 CE through the Irish Kingdom Dàl Riata, which expanded into the western Highlands and Islands in Scotland.[77] The expansion also encompassed the territories of the Pictish kingdom in northern Scotland, the British kingdom Strathclyde in southwestern Scotland, and a section of Northumbria in the southeast. Together, they all formed a Scottish kingdom that, for the most part, spoke Gaelic.[78]

Gaelic began to lose its predominance first with the Norman Conquest of 1066, after which French took over as the language of court and aristocracy. Then, Scots became "the language of state administration in late medieval and reformation Scotland."[79] Furthermore,

[72] Price, *Languages in Britain & Ireland*, 4.
[73] Kenneth MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," in *Languages in Britain & Ireland,* ed. Glanville Price (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 44.
[74] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 44.
[75] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 44.
[76] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 44.
[77] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 44.
[78] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 44.
[79] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 44.

English had a significant impact in the history of language in Scotland, as seen with its status as the majority language in the country today. English's influence can be traced through its many loanwords in Gaelic, such as: *breacaist* 'breakfast,' *brot* 'broth,' *paidhir* 'pair,' *sràid* 'street,' and *targaid* 'target.'[80]

From the 15th to 18th centuries, the Scottish and British Parliaments viewed Celtic language and culture as harmful to the greater state. Therefore, they instituted multiple acts that promoted "English-language education first amongst the aristocracy and subsequently amongst the general population" and were intent on "outlawing the native learned orders, and…disarming and breaking the clans and outlawing Highland dress and music."[81] By the 17th century, Gaelic existed primarily in the Highlands and Islands (see Fig. 2),[82] both of which were the remaining areas that "still retained much of their political independence, Celtic culture, and social structure."[83] Then, the 19th century saw the Highland Clearances, which consequently furthered the decline in Gaelic usage. In 1872, the implementation of a national English-medium school system "resulted in [Gaelic] surviving as an oral rather than a literary medium for many of its speakers."[84] A census taken in 1891 recorded only 254,415 Gaelic speakers (see Fig. 3).[85] Today, Scottish Gaelic is used, but in even smaller numbers. According to a 2011 census, 87,056 of approximately five million people are reported to have "any Gaelic skill," which represents only

[80] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 45.
[81] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 45.
[82] All figures are located in the appendix, beginning on page 58.
[83] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 45.
[84] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 45.
[85] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 45.

1.7% of the Scottish population (see Fig. 4).[86] Of these 87,056 people, 57,602 speak Gaelic, 38,636 read Gaelic, and 24,974 (0.5% of the population) use Gaelic in the home.[87]

To counter this long history and the various events that resulted in the endangered status of Scottish Gaelic, efforts began in the 1970s to rejuvenate Gaelic in education, media, and public life.[88] The following sections will consider what is being done on the national and local level to preserve and revive Gaelic and where cultural institutions play a part.

Policy

The Scottish government has enacted various legislative initiatives to address the diminishing number of Gaelic speakers. For example, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act of 2005 is a significant milestone for Scottish Gaelic because it established the public organization called Bòrd na Gàidhlig (also referred to as 'the Bòrd'), which aims to preserve Gaelic as an official language in Scotland of the same prestige and respect as English.[89] According to the Act, Bòrd na Gàidhlig must prepare a National Gaelic Language Plan every five years. The most current National Gaelic Language Plan is for the 2018-2023 period. In addition, it must request that certain public bodies create and implement their own Gaelic language plan.[90] An official list of the Bòrd's duties and responsibilities reads:

> To give advice to Scottish Ministers on Gaelic matters;
> To prepare and steer the National Gaelic Language Plan;
> To give advice on Gaelic and Gaelic Education in Scotland;
> To provide guidance to public bodies in Scotland on Gaelic Language Plans; and
> To monitor the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and report the findings to the Scottish ministers.[91]

[86] West, Catriona and Alastair Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings* (The Scottish Government, 2011): 4, accessed January 2019, https://www2.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/355398/0120024.pdf.
[87] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language*, 4.
[88] MacKinnon, "Scottish Gaelic," 47.
[89] "Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005," Bòrd na Gàidhlig, accessed January 2019, http://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/about-us/.
[90] "Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005."
[91] "Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005."

The Scottish Government provides a Grant-in-Aid award to the Bòrd each financial year so that it can carry out its responsibilities and achieve its goals.[92] Then, the Bòrd itself allocates funding to public entities who are implementing their Gaelic language plans and will partner with other organizations to fund certain initiatives. Additionally, in order to achieve specific strategic goals, the Bòrd will sometimes award contracts to particular individuals or organizations.[93] Examples of funding opportunities include: education grants for Gaelic teaching students, early years education grants, the Gaelic Arts Fund, the Taic Freumhan Coimhearsnachd (which helps community groups gain footing with projects that support the National Gaelic Language Plan), the Gaelic Language Act Implementation Fund, and the Colmcille, a funding opportunity that promotes "cultural exchanges between Scotland and Ireland, and in particular the Gàidhlig and Gaeilge languages."[94] With its support and funding, the Bòrd prioritizes Gaelic development in the areas of the home and early years, schools and teachers, post school education, communities, the workplace, arts and media, heritage and tourism, and corpus development.[95]

Education

Gaelic medium education (GME), or *Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig*, is an opportunity for the younger generation in Scotland to gain fluency in Gaelic. The GME schools provide an immersive experience with an entire curriculum taught in Gaelic. GME typically begins at preschool age (three to five years-old), called the 3-5 provision, or occasionally at

[92] "Funding Schemes," Bòrd na Gàidhlig, accessed January 2019, http://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/about-us/.
[93] "Funding Schemes."
[94] "Funding Schemes."
[95] "About Us," Bòrd na Gàidhlig, accessed January 2019, http://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/about-us/.

Primary 1 (between ages four and six), and is offered through primary and secondary school.[96] There are two main delivery options: the "free-standing provision known as Gaelic schools or Gaelic Medium schools" or with the "English medium provision under the leadership of the same headteacher."[97] GME is available in fourteen out of thirty-two Scottish local authorities in approximately sixty primary schools and their associated secondary schools (see Fig. 5). Parents must contact their local authority (council) to register their children. GME is open to anyone, regardless of current level of fluency.[98]

Gaelic medium education is definitely a step in the right direction for exposing children to Gaelic in the school setting. But, have the efforts to produce more bilingual speakers been successful? Fiona O'Hanlon, Wilson McLeod, and Lindsay Paterson completed a study through the University of Edinburgh and funded by Bòrd na Gàidhlig "to analyse the attainment of pupils in Gaelic-medium primary education (Primaries 3, 5 and 7) and that of pupils taking Gàidhlig for fluent speakers in secondary education (Gaelic-medium or English-medium) at primary and secondary school."[99] The data in the study come from three sources: the Scottish Survey of Achievement in 2007, a survey of Primary 5 and Primary 7 students in Gaelic medium schools and streams, and a 2009 survey of primary schools with a Gaelic-medium stream and of secondary schools that offer Gàidhlig for fluent speakers, focusing on Primary 3, 5 and 7 and Secondary 2.[100] A "stream" refers to a separate grouping of students within the same school system. In this case, the streams are based on what language the students are learning in.

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[96] "Gaelic Medium Education," Education Scotland, accessed February 6, 2019, https://bit.ly/2kWY8rk.
[97] "Gaelic Medium Education."
[98] "Gaelic Medium Education."
[99] Fiona O'Hanlon, Wilson McLeod, and Lindsay Paterson, "Gaelic-Medium Education in Scotland: Choice and Attainment at the Primary and Early Secondary School Stages," (University of Edinburgh, September 2010), iv.
[100] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," iv.

To compare levels of achievement between students in Gaelic medium education and English medium education, and between students taking Gàidhlig in secondary school versus those who are not, the researchers surveyed sixty-one primary schools with a GME provision and thirty-nine secondary schools that offer Gàidhlig for fluent speakers. In summary, Gaelic medium education students were often female and "less likely to be living in deprived social circumstances than the average Scottish pupil."[101] The social circumstance is a reflection of where Gaelic medium education is provided. At the Primary 3 level, English attainment is higher for English-medium students than for Gaelic-medium students. However, that is no longer the case by Primary 5. Gaelic-medium pupils even display a higher level of English attainment through Primary 7, but the evidence does not strongly support this high level attainment in Secondary 2.[102] Regardless of whether Gaelic-medium students have higher grades in English when in secondary school, their achievement in English is at least on an equal level to their English-medium counterparts. Therefore, the data demonstrates that learning Gaelic is not at a detriment to English. Instead, Gaelic-medium students have the benefit of learning a new language or developing their skills in it (if already used at home) while maintaining the same levels as English-medium students.[103] Students can thrive using both languages.

In terms of other specific subject areas, the survey does not definitively point in one direction or the other. For example, some evidence suggests that Gaelic-medium students have higher achievement in science in Primary 5. However, it must be noted that the evidence comes from students in schools with an overall high science attainment, rather than a comparison

[101] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," v.
[102] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," v.
[103] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," vi.

between Gaelic-medium and English-medium streams within the same school.[104] Furthermore, there were no differences observed in mathematics.[105]

In addition to examining achievement in various school subjects, the researchers supplemented the study with interviews of pupils, parents, headteachers, and Local-Authority advisors. On the one hand, many parents who chose English medium education were not fluent in Gaelic and were afraid that they would be unable to help their kids with homework and assignments.[106] Learning Gaelic themselves in order to help or teach their children would be too difficult or time-consuming with their full-time jobs.[107] Some parents acknowledged or appreciated Gaelic, but more so in informal situations, like cultural events. Many respondents "would like English-medium pupils to have more opportunities to learn Gaelic than are available at present, and some would like all pupils in Scotland to study the language. The main reason given was that the language is perceived to be an important part of Scotland's heritage."[108] However, they did not like the setup of Gaelic medium education. They did not favor the separation of the streams and would prefer they just be taught together like any other subject.[109] Other respondents just genuinely did not have interest in Gaelic[110] or did not identify the language as part of their family's identity or traditions.[111] Furthermore, some did not see a usefulness to the language, given that it is rarely spoken in Scotland.[112]

[104] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," v.
[105] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," v.
[106] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," vii.
[107] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 61.
[108] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," vii.
[109] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 61.
[110] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 62.
[111] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," vii.
[112] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 62.

For parents who did enroll their children in Gaelic medium education, two significant reasons behind the decision were: the prospect of bilingualism and the importance of heritage. Parents were aware of the benefits of bilingualism, especially with cognitive development.[113] In regard to heritage, interviewees exhibited four distinct versions or interpretations of heritage: family heritage, general cultural heritage, Highland and Islands heritage, and Scottish heritage.[114] First, family heritage referred to ancestors or current family members who speak Gaelic. Interviewees wanted to re-establish a connection with the language after it had been lost in a previous generation (especially the generation of the grandparents).[115] Second, general cultural heritage was "an allegiance to the locality, a sense that Gaelic medium was maintaining a community tradition."[116] One parent thought her family might move back to the Islands one day, so even though they were living in a mainland town that did not speak Gaelic, she still wanted her children to be fluent. As she explained, "Even though we were on the mainland, even though we were among non-Gaels all the time, I could see the benefit there would be in [my child] being bilingual."[117]

Next, heritage of the Highland and Islands was a commitment to this geographic area as part of a Gaelic or Celtic identity. As illustrated in the history of the language, these were the areas of lasting Celtic culture and Gaelic usage in the country. Finally, Scottish heritage encompassed a "wider allegiance to Scotland" and a greater national identity.[118] There is interest

[113] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," vi.
[114] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 46.
[115] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 46.
[116] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 47.
[117] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 47.
[118] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 48.

in Scotland and its history. One respondent's quote eloquently expresses the ties between language and heritage:

> There's so many ways of communicating in Gaelic that we can't do in English…Because there's so much attached to the land. So much attached to the sea. The way people react. The way people talk and relate to each other…That has been buried somewhere in that language… It's a community language. It's not a individual language…a lot of these words are tied to behaviours and activities and shared working.[119]

Maintaining heritage was sometimes directly expressed by interviewees as related to maintaining the language, which indicates that at least a portion of Scottish natives acknowledge the importance of language revitalization.[120] This strong sense of heritage, whether it be any of the four versions identified by the survey respondents, suggests a great potential for cultural institutions. Museums can build on this interest and expand on it through onsite and online exhibitions, programs, and various outreach initiatives. Furthermore, museums and local cultural institutions might be easier to access for parents. Some had stated that the location of a Gaelic-medium school influenced their choice.[121] If it was nearby, it was a plausible option. However, for those not near any Gaelic education opportunities but who still identify the language as part of their heritage, they can bring their children to places like museums. Lastly, there might be opportunities for museums to fill in teaching gaps in Gaelic medium education. Previous studies have unearthed inconsistencies in GME. For instance, in less than half the schools, courses in modern foreign languages and the arts were taught in Gaelic, whereas three quarters of schools "taught Environmental Studies, Mathematics, Personal and Social Development and Religious

[119] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 50.
[120] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 46.
[121] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 59.

and Moral Education wholly or predominantly through Gaelic."[122] The discrepancy is due to the difficulty of finding teachers who can instruct these respective subjects in Gaelic.[123]

While this study highlighted achievement levels within school, it would be beneficial to conduct or examine future research about language attainment in extracurricular activities. GME does offer opportunities outside of school to further develop the children's language capabilities. Field trips to museums could be a part of this extracurricular component, if it is not already. Seeing Gaelic in places like museums, especially the national institutions such as National Library of Scotland or National Museums Scotland, could help convey the importance of the language to visitors and students. In a professional establishment like the museum, Gaelic might obtain a more prestigious standing in the public's eye and consequently motivate parents and children to pursue a bilingual education, or at least encourage a greater awareness.

Public Perception

As seen in the previous section, it is not only the availability of Gaelic education but also the decision of parents to enter their children into Gaelic classes that influences the bilingualism of the younger generation. The public, especially families, is a driving force in language revitalization. Similarly, it is the public that chooses to engage with museum exhibitions, programs, outreach and other educational initiatives. As institutions serving the public, museums must take into account audience types and their needs, interests, and learning preferences. Therefore, if both cultural institutions and educational efforts in Scotland are to help preserve and revitalize Scottish Gaelic alongside relevant policy, it is useful to consider how the Scottish community today views the language and the role it plays in cultural identity.

[122] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 3.
[123] Fiona O'Hanlon, et al., "Gaelic-Medium Education," 3.

In 2011, TNS-BMRM (British Market Research Bureau), now known as Kantar Public, conducted a research study surveying how adults (defined as aged sixteen years or older) view Gaelic. The Scottish Government and the Bòrd na Gàidhlig funded the research. The study came about as the end of the National Gaelic Language Plan 2007-2012 iteration drew near. In preparation for the next period of implementation, the Scottish Government wanted to review current undertakings and revise where appropriate.

Five main objectives guided the research: (1) to gauge public awareness of Gaelic on the national level, (2) to determine how that awareness was obtained (in other words, how people were made aware of the language), (3) to determine the extent that people knew of Gaelic provisions, including Gaelic in education, public services, media, and culture, (4) to consider the value people held concerning Gaelic as part of Scotland's identity, at home and overseas, and (5) to investigate Gaelic usage, in general and in specific settings.[124] In terms of methodology, the research team utilized the Scottish Opinion Survey (SOS), defined as "a monthly omnibus survey conducted in-home amongst a sample of around 1,000 adults in Scotland using Computer Aided Personal Interviewing (CAPI)."[125] Specifically, 1,009 interviews were obtained, in addition to a booster survey of fifty-six in-person interviews with adults fluent in Gaelic and residing in communities with a high density of Gaelic users.[126]

Overall, there is a high level of awareness of Gaelic being used. First, 80% of respondents were aware of the use of Gaelic in the country, with the highest awareness (61%) a result of the media. Awareness of Gaelic through schools reached 39% in the survey, while awareness from music/arts represented 30% of respondents, and travel signage 27%. Moreover,

[124] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 1.
[125] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 2.
[126] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 2.

39% of respondents said they actually encountered Gaelic, and television was the most common mode of contact, reaching 32%.[127]

Despite a high percentage of awareness, however, only 13% claimed to have some knowledge of Gaelic. Only 2% were fluent in reading, writing, or speaking. Of the survey respondents from the Highlands and Islands region, 34% had knowledge of Gaelic, and 21% from these regions had fluency. Of the fluent speakers, 98% use it currently (at the time of survey). Fluency did not indicate an equal level of understanding between reading and speaking among respondents, however. A significant portion of the group were able to speak (91%) and understand (93%) spoken Gaelic, but only 72% were able to read fluently. The number was even lower for those able to write Gaelic, with a percentage of 51%.[128] Recognizing the different layers of language fluency will be important for cultural institutions when implementing Gaelic in various ways, such as bilingual didactic panels, which would require reading proficiency, or bilingual guides, which would require listening proficiency.

Many of the fluent speakers used Gaelic at home (64%), while even more (83%) reported using Gaelic when out socializing. Fewer claimed to use Gaelic when working or during business excursions (28%). This division indicates how Gaelic is "the norm in the informal settings of home and with friends and a more limited occurrence in more formal environments."[129] With levels of fluency and domains of Gaelic usage established, the study then queried whether there were different motivating factors to learning and/or speaking Gaelic. For 12% of survey respondents, a greater number of people speaking Gaelic would motivate them to learn or use it more. Another 12% said that access to education or courses would provide

[127] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 2.
[128] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 2.
[129] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 2.

encouragement. However, half of the respondents "stated that nothing would encourage them to use Gaelic more or to learn Gaelic."[130] A lack of engagement with Gaelic was demonstrated again when 38% of respondents reported being neutral about whether Gaelic should be used in Scotland, 51% in favor of Gaelic usage, and 9% against.[131] Would representation in cultural institutions provide a level of encouragement, especially when the language is associated with cultural and historical significance?

In general, positive responses were closely linked to the fluent speakers. For instance, 80% of respondents with any level of fluency in Gaelic were strongly in favor of the use of the language in Scotland. In addition, 90% of fluent speakers stated that they would like to see and hear more Gaelic, and 92% said the language was important to their national identity, 86% to their local identity, and 89% to their personal identity. These numbers contrast sharply to the mere 40% of other respondents who claimed that Gaelic was important to their national identity. The percentage was even lower in the context of personal and local identity. Furthermore, fluent speakers have a much higher awareness (94%) of Gaelic education in their local communities, compared to the 23% of other survey respondents who reported an awareness of Gaelic education in their area. The ones conveying more negative opinions were respondents over the age of sixty-five and in the AB[132] socio-economic group.[133] This data points towards a correlation between level of knowledge of Gaelic and the desire to use and learn it.

[130] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 2.
[131] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 3.
[132] The UK Office for National Statistics created a socio-economic classification system that consists of six social grades (A, B, C1, C2, D and E). A and B belong to high and intermediate management, administration, and professional positions, representing 22.17% of the Household Reference Persons (HRP) population (UK Geographics, 2014).
[133] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 3.

Is there a way to spread the positive outlook of fluent speakers to other areas of Scotland, where Gaelic is not as widely spoken or used, through museums, especially the larger, national institutions, like the National Museums Scotland and National Library of Scotland? As elucidated in the study, "knowledge and fluency was higher in the Highlands and Islands region, often leading this region to have a different perspective on the language than the rest of Scotland."[134] The following case studies will consider what cultural institutions in Scotland are currently doing for the Gaelic preservation and revitalization effort, and if they are, indeed, contributing to a greater understanding of Gaelic, its cultural and historical significance, and its role in Scottish identity.

B. Scottish Gaelic in Cultural Institutions

National Museums Scotland

National Museums Scotland (also referred to as 'the Museum' hereafter) is the overarching name for four national institutions: National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, National Museum of Flight in East Lothian, National Museum of Rural Life in East Kilbride, and National War Museum in Edinburgh. Covering a wide breadth, the collective mission is to "preserve, interpret and make accessible for all, the past and present of Scotland, other nations and cultures, and the natural world."[135] Between 2015 to 2016, they recorded an approximate 2.4 million visitors across their sites.[136] National Museums Scotland also sees interesting visitor trends. For example, the National Museum of Rural Life and the National Museum of Flight

[134] West and Graham, *Attitudes Towards the Gaelic Language – Research Findings*, 1.
[135] "Vision, Aims and Values," National Museums Scotland, accessed February 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/our-organisation/vision-and-values/.
[136] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, (National Museums Scotland, November 7, 2017), 4, accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1155640/nms-glp-2017-2022-final-english.pdf.

typically welcome local and Scottish visitors, while the National Museum of Scotland and the National War Museum have more UK and international visitors (see Fig. 6).[137]

The four aims guiding the Museum's priorities, programs, and activities are: to put people first, to value the collections, to increase reputation and outreach, and to ultimately transform the organization through new developments and ambitions.[138] One of these new developments is the incorporation of Gaelic. The National Museums Scotland's Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022 is their second iteration, prepared under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act of 2005. In preparation for developing and implementing the second Plan, the Museum reached out to the public, staff, and volunteers from September to November 2016 to get feedback on their first Plan. The Museum announced the consultation in both English and Gaelic,[139] and people had the ability to respond through email or through participation in an open, public meeting. In addition, staff and volunteers could attend a separate internal meeting called a "Listening Group."[140] Unfortunately, despite these options, only eight responses in total were obtained. Three were from staff members and five from public individuals.[141] Although a small response pool, the Museum found the information provided to be "useful and clear," with respondents wanting to see "a greater commitment to raising the profile and visibility of Gaelic."[142] In general, they found the first iteration of the Plan not proactive enough. Some suggestions for improvement included recruitment of Gaelic speakers, greater promotion of learning resources

[137] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 4.
[138] "Vision, Aims and Values," National Museums Scotland.
[139] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 6.
[140] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 10.
[141] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 10.
[142] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 10.

for Museum staff and volunteers, and further consultation with Gaelic medium schools to glean what is useful and relevant to them.[143]

The Museum conducted a second consultation from the end of February 2017 to April 2017 to gather feedback on the draft of the second and most current Plan. The consultation was promoted through the Museum's network and website in addition to the Bòrd's networks. This time, the Museum collected twenty-six responses. The nature of the responses varied, with some being positive, some critical but still useful, and others simply negative and not significantly helpful. Some of the respondents' ideas, which were in line with the Plan, included: developing more Gaelic medium school resources, exhibiting Gaelic books in the children's gallery, and fostering relationships with other public organizations. Suggestions covered areas such as an increase in improved visitor experience training, the use of language skills being harnessed by staff, the desire for more references to the growth and decline of Gaelic usage, and the possible inclusion of Gaelic in merchandising. The Museum cannot currently accommodate a few of the suggestions, including a staff member dedicated to the instruction of Gaelic in children's galleries, a Gaelic Language Officer, and new bilingual brand.[144]

Not having a staff member that specializes in Gaelic, especially one that can provide assistance in the children's galleries, appears to be a significant missed opportunity given that revitalization requires the usage of the language by younger generations. For future iterations of the Gaelic Language Plan, prioritizing a Gaelic Language Officer could help the Museum achieve successful, consistent Gaelic educational opportunities. If it is not feasible to have a paid position, the Museum could offer a volunteer position and recruit Gaelic Language Volunteers

[143] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 10-11.
[144] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 11.

just as they would recruit tour guides. In particular, the Museum could reach out to students enrolled in nearby universities studying Celtic language, culture, and/or history. Volunteering in the museum might appeal to them as a way to practice their language skills, to be immersed in the collections, and to gain skills in public speaking and programming.

Taking both consultations into consideration, National Museums Scotland created and published its second Gaelic Language Plan for the 2017-2022 period. The Plan itself contains five parts: introduction, achievements and reflections, high level aims, actions, and implementation and monitoring. The Museum evaluates its achievements based on the four core areas of service for public bodies (as established by the Bòrd): identity (e.g., corporate identity, signs), communications (e.g., receptions, telephones, mail and email, public meetings, and complaints procedures), publications (e.g., media, printed materials, websites, exhibitions), and staffing (e.g., training, language learning recruitment). One noted achievement under identity is the creation of a Gaelic logo, in use since March 2013. The logo is featured on all Gaelic material, like press releases and strategic plans.[145] However, is it used on non-Gaelic documentation? If not, why? Including the Gaelic logo on all aspects of the Museum's publicity could help convey to public audiences that the institution is engaging with Gaelic efforts.

Highlighted achievements under communications include development of some ability in conversational Gaelic (especially the Visitor Experience team),[146] implementation of a recorded welcome message in Gaelic, availability of the Annual Report and Strategic Plans in Gaelic, and responses in Gaelic to comments, complaints, letters, and emails received in Gaelic.[147] In addition, the Museum added Gaelic media sources and contacts to their media distribution lists in

[145] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 7.
[146] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 7.
[147] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.

April 2013. [148] Next, for achievements in publications, the Museum calls attention to Gaelic content in three exhibitions: *Scotland Creates*, *Next of Kin*, and *Reflections on Celts*. The exhibit *Scotland Creates* was a "partnership project with five Scottish museums and creative partners Live Music Now Scotland, in 2014."[149] *Next of Kin* was a touring exhibition that travelled to eight venues from 2015 to 2017 "showing how families commemorate their loved ones during the First World War."[150] One location it visited was the Inverness Museum and Art Gallery, where they had translated the exhibition into Gaelic. Third, *Reflections on Celts* was another partnership tour, this time with the British Museum. They exhibited two Iron Age mirrors in five venues from 2015 to 2016, including the Inverness Museum and Art Gallery, where it had again been translated to Gaelic.[151] The Plan does not address why Gaelic interpretation was provided only at the Inverness Museum and Art Gallery for these travelling shows.

In hopes of learning more and potentially finding visuals, I investigated a few of these exhibitions in further detail. National Museums Scotland provides a full manual online about *Next of Kin*. The manual was created to provide "a step-by-step best practice guide to planning, promoting and delivering the *Next of Kin* exhibition and associated learning programme."[152] The manual includes the tour schedule, description of exhibition space, content, and installation, marketing and communications, learning activities, and monitoring and evaluations. It is a comprehensive and helpful forty-seven-page overview on the exhibition process.[153] Yet, upon a search of the term 'Gaelic' in the document, no results came up, even in the guidelines for

[148] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.
[149] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.
[150] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.
[151] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.
[152] "Tour Exhibition," National Museums Scotland," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-international/sharing-collections/touring-and-lending/next-of-kin/touring-exhibition/.
[153] *Next of Kin: Scottish Families and the Great War*, (National Museums Scotland, 2015-2017), https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1156460/next-of-kin-tour-manual.pdf.

writing exhibition text. It might be presumed that because Gaelic translations were only provided at the Inverness Museum and Art Gallery, it must not have been included in the manual. However, why not have Gaelic translation at all of the venues, or a general guide on writing bilingual text panels in the manual? After browsing through both the manual and the Museum's website, there is no information on the Gaelic inclusion, at least on a surface level. If there is information, it would require extensive searching through different pages and links, which the general public might not be inclined to do. If people had not read the Gaelic Language Plan or visited the Inverness Museum, the chance is small that they would have known about the Gaelic translations. As for *Reflections on Celts*, the only mention of Gaelic I could uncover was about the Gaelic version of a Celts family and schools trail that led visitors through the exhibition.[154]

Besides these partnership exhibitions, the Museum also lists gallery content within its own space as an achievement. More specifically, there is Gaelic commentary in some permanent galleries, such as a Gaelic poem in an introductory film to *The Making of Scotland*, located in the National Museum of Scotland.[155] Another gallery, *Scotland: A Changing Nation*, also "features a film *One Nation: Five Million Voices* which includes sections of people speaking in English, Scots and Gaelic."[156] Lastly, there are bilingual text panels in the National Museum of Scotland's *Na Gaidheil* gallery, which is "devoted to Gaelic and West Highland culture in the Middle Ages and Highland culture after 1500."[157] However, an initial search of "Na Gaidheil" on the Museum's website yielded no results, though there is information for the Scottish History and

[154] "Celts," National Museums Scotland, accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/things-to-see-and-do/past-exhibitions/celts/.
[155] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.
[156] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.
[157] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 8.

Archaeology galleries. Given its content, *Na Gaidheil* would presumably be one of these galleries, but it is not specifically mentioned on the website.

Furthermore, the Plan's section on communication achievements encompasses learning resources, or supplementary material to the exhibitions and galleries. The Museum highlights involvement and programming with Edinburgh's Gaelic medium school. For example, the Museum hosted a "*Celts* object handling session and a partnership project with BBC Radio nan Gàidheal in August 2016, where the whole-school visit to the exhibition was covered by the radio station and followed up with student blogs."[158] Lastly, what the Bòrd outlines as the Museum's achievements are in line with the accomplishments the Museum highlighted for itself, summarized above. The Bòrd particularly commended them on the use of Gaelic for exhibitions and learning resources, and the creation of Gaelic maps (see Fig. 7-9) and a Gaelic 'Plan Your Visit' webpage.[159]

As for lessons learned, the Museum admits to "overcommitting [themselves] to objectives that are beyond [their] resources."[160] The Museum had spread resources too thinly, and in their words, consequently "diminishing [their] potential impact."[161] The Museum also notes a lack of clarity on their part in their "subsequent prioritisation of effort, about the areas which are less relevant to [their] organisational[*sic*] and the areas where [they] can make a particular and positive impact."[162] And finally, the Museum mentions an issue with "imposing a niche Gaelic documentation category on [their] broad collections" which "works well for Gaelic

[158] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 9.
[159] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 9-10.
[160] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 10.
[161] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 10.
[162] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022,* 10.

language-related collections and for oral history, and not for artefacts."[163] When I searched the term "Gaelic" in their collections, there were seventy-three results, but hardly any images (see Fig. 14-15), which may relate to this last issue documented in the Plan. Without images, it is difficult to visualize the item, especially when the identifier is "book." Brief descriptions of the items are provided, but there is no clear visual connection to Gaelic. What makes this particular book special and important for Gaelic language and culture as compared to any other book? Seeing a book cover fraying from wear or being able to zoom in on a Gaelic inscription would put the historical significance of this item into perspective and compel people to learn more. A lack of imagery in the online collections might be another instance where the language is disconnected from the heritage and history.

After reviewing the first iteration and reflecting on what did and did not go well, the Museum next looks ahead at their actions for the 2017-2022 period. Four aspects of language development are to be addressed. The first is Language Acquisition, defined as "ensuring the language is passed on through the family and through education." Second is Language Usage, or "motivating people and providing them with more opportunities to use the language." Third is Language Status, or "the image of the language and how it is seen within institutions." Finally, number four is Language Corpus, the development of "a standard of language which is popular, well-used and relevant."[164] To address these four aspects of language development, the Museum has identified high-level aims. In table format, the Museum lists the activities, implementation period, department responsible for implementation, and connection to national plans to achieve

[163] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 10.
[164] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 16.

highlighted aims.[165] Aims are delineated as follows (numbers are affixed in order that each aim be easier to refer to):

1. "Continuation of all commitments from previous iterations of National Museums Scotland's Gaelic language plan" and development of a "specialised provision and services for Gaelic-speaking families and Gaelic Medium Education."[166]
2. "Develop Gaelic medium education provision/services in order to increase accessibility for Gaelic speakers."[167]
3. "All Gaelic services and resources to demonstrate equal respect for Gaelic and English, with a demonstrable active offer for those services."[168]
4. "Ensure that staff are aware of the NMS Gaelic language plan and provide opportunities for further Gaelic awareness training, should they wish to do so."[169]
5. "Increase the visibility of Gaelic in NMS communications (internal and external)."[170]

To achieve Aim #1, listed activities include: a storytelling magic carpet activity for children and their families, addition of Gaelic books in the *Imagine* gallery, translation of downloadable, self-guided family resources, planning of a Gaelic music performance in the Free Fringe Music program, and recruitment of volunteers with Gaelic speaking ability to lead gallery tours and oversee Magic Carpet sessions.[171] For Aim #2, the Museum plans on encouraging Gaelic medium school visits, offering CPD (Continued Professional Development) sessions for Gaelic medium school teachers, reaching out to potential partners for joint programming, and

[165] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 17.
[166] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 17.
[167] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 18.
[168] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 20.
[169] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 22.
[170] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 24.
[171] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 17-18.

developing downloadable Gaelic school trails.[172] National Museums Scotland provides exhibition trails online (see Fig. 10-13) that cover various topics and are downloadable. A few of these, such as the "Exploring Space" trail, are offered in Gaelic. It is not entirely clear how the Museum chose which trails to translate into Gaelic. If not done so already, the Museum could begin conversation with Gaelic medium schools about what subjects they are struggling to provide or teach and then create Gaelic trails to boost those areas. The schools could then arrange visits to the Museum and utilize these trails as a special program. Meaningful collaboration between schools and National Museums Scotland will be key in Gaelic revitalization.

Next, for Aim #3, the Museum intends to continue providing Gaelic visitor maps and other Gaelic-related information on the website, identifying and categorizing Gaelic-related objects, and providing "translated exhibition text where either the subject matter is related to the Gaelic language or culture, or the content is targeted for a high Gaelic speaking geographic area."[173] As for Aim #4, the Museum could consider making at least one Gaelic awareness training session required. While offering this training is a great start, it might not be enough to encourage staff to learn some Gaelic. There is potential for the staff's interest to be piqued after one required session, and then they would choose to continually engage with Gaelic. If the staff of a museum is not involved with the language, how plausible is it to expect that the audience will be? If the staff has greater involvement with and interest in Gaelic, there will consequently be an increased Gaelic presence in the museum space, which will then directly affect visitors.

[172] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 19.
[173] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 20-21.

Reading these aims and planned activities elicited a few questions. First, how often is there subject matter in exhibitions relating to Gaelic, and who deems it relevant enough to include Gaelic? The National Museum of Scotland encountered controversy over the lack of Gaelic in their 2017 exhibition on Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites. Bonnie Prince Charlie, formally known as Prince Charles Edward Stuart, was the grandson of King James VII of Scotland and II of England[174] who reigned over Scotland, England, and Ireland as the last Roman Catholic Monarch.[175] King James VII had been removed from the throne, which caused his supporters to initiate the Jacobite Risings. The tumultuous period covered many decades, from 1688 to the death of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1788.[176] Prince Charles, along with his followers, began the famous campaign referred to as The Rising of 1745.[177] He and his followers believed that the House of Stuart had a rightful place on the throne of Great Britain and aimed to overthrow King George II.[178] However, the final Jacobite Rising, called the Battle of Culloden, took place the following year, resulting in a bloody and tragic loss for the Jacobite Army.[179] Prince Charles escaped to France, and his supporters in Scotland suffered the aftermath of the uprisings. The British Parliament imposed various acts "to destroy the clans, their identities and economic structures" by banning tartans and Highland dress and the possession of weapons, among other restrictions.[180]

[174] "Bonnie Prince Charlie," VisitScotland, https://www.visitscotland.com/about/famous-scots/bonnie-prince-charlie/.
[175] "The Jacobite Risings," VisitScotland, https://www.visitscotland.com/about/history/jacobites/.
[176] "The Jacobite Risings," VisitScotland.
[177] "The Jacobite Risings," VisitScotland.
[178] "Bonnie Prince Charlie," VisitScotland.
[179] "The Jacobite Risings," VisitScotland.
[180] "1746 – Highland Dress Proscription Act," ScotClans, https://www.scotclans.com/scotland/scottish-history/jacobite-scotland/1746-proscription/.

Upon covering this topic, deeply entrenched in the history of Scotland, the Museum faced allegations of "'cultural appropriation and English language colonisation'" and overall "minimising the role of language in the exhibition" by excluding Gaelic translations.[181] One of the campaign groups, Misneachd, poignantly stated, "If we present our history without any reference to the important part Gaelic played in it, it is little wonder some Scots still don't understand that Gaelic has relevance in Scotland today."[182] The Museum stated that it was a misunderstanding about the exhibition. It focused on the story of the Jacobites' attempt to restore the Stuart Dynasty, covering a broad timeline of 200 years. It was not narrowly focused on Gaelic or even Scotland.[183] In this case, there was a clear dissonance between the public and the Museum, and it could occur again with future exhibitions. It is crucial for the Museum to connect with the public and understand their audience's perspectives, especially given that they obtained fewer than thirty respondents for feedback on this Plan. The large outcry about this exhibition's lack of Gaelic demonstrates that there is a body of people who would care about the Gaelic Language Plan and the Museum's future actions concerning Gaelic.

A second question raised by the Museum's aims is: in accordance with both the public's wishes and the Museum's plan for greater visibility, will there be information online indicating what exhibits have Gaelic text? Third, what effect is there when the target audience for Gaelic content is primarily Gaelic speakers? The Museum states in another section of the Plan that they "follow the Scottish Government's and the Historic Environment Scotland[*sic*] example of adopting a minimum level of provision which applies to all of [their] areas of operation" and "are

[181] Brian Ferguson, "National Museum facing protests over lack of Gaelic in Jacobites exhibition," The Scotsman, accessed March 2019, https://www.scotsman.com/regions/edinburgh-fife-lothians/national-museum-facing-protests-over-lack-of-gaelic-in-jacobites-exhibition-1-4485300.
[182] Brian Ferguson, "National Museum facing protests."
[183] Brian Ferguson, "National Museum facing protests."

pleased to provide an enhanced level of provision in areas where the number of Gaelic speakers is greater."[184] It is good that the Museum is acknowledging their audience that has skill in Gaelic. However, if a smaller amount of Gaelic is being exposed to the non-fluent visitors, will enough interest be generated? If only scholars or elderly visitors, for instance, are the ones capable of reading bilingual text panels, how will that reach the younger generation? After all, one of the primary goals of including Gaelic is to increase exposure and encourage the non-speakers to learn the language.

At the end of the Plan, the Museum states that it will establish an implementation team to ensure all departments are being proactive in achieving the Plan's goals. Furthermore, the Museum "will submit annual Monitoring Reports to the Bòrd na Gàidhlig, every October from 2018 onwards, responding to any follow-on questions raised."[185] National Museums Scotland's Gaelic Language Plan and actions surrounding Gaelic are important to analyze because of the visibility and mission of the Museum. They are a large institution that plays a significant role not only in Scotland but in the UK and in the world. They "provide advice, expertise and support to museums across Scotland to help them enhance their collections and displays" and also "work closely with many museums and other organisations across…the UK and internationally."[186] As stated by the Museum itself, their collections contain both national and international importance.[187] Therefore, the Museum is in a position to inspire language preservation and revitalization in cultural institutions and potentially start new trends. It can pave the way for language efforts, which is why transparency during this process is crucial.

[184] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 15.
[185] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 26.
[186] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 4.
[187] *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, 4.

Because the Museum seemed to struggle to obtain a large pool of responses and feedback in regard to their Gaelic Language Plan (both the first and second iterations), they should keep looking for ways to garner more engagement with their Gaelic initiatives. The ability for the public to express their opinions and the willingness of the Museum to receive feedback are both great aspects during this innovative process. Given that the TNS-BMRM was able to obtain over 1,000 interviews in their study (discussed previously), National Museums Scotland could consider partnering with another institution or organization like them to reach out to the public. Another way they might widen their response numbers is incorporating questionnaires into their school programming. Asking the students involved in the activities put forth by the Museum might be a secure way of acquiring feedback not only from the younger visitors, who are critical in the long-term survival of Gaelic, but also from people who are experiencing the Museum's Gaelic efforts firsthand.

National Library of Scotland

Alongside National Museums Scotland, the National Library of Scotland is another cultural entity tasked with developing a Gaelic Language Plan every five years. The Library was formally established in 1925 by the National Library of Scotland Act. The Advocates Library in Edinburgh, founded in the 1680s, existed beforehand. However, by the early twentieth century, the collection of the library had grown so large that it was too much to handle as a private entity, so the creation of the National Library commenced.[188] It is now governed by fourteen board members and collects about 150,000 print items every year, in addition to digital, manuscript,

[188] "Brief History of the National Library," National Library of Scotland, accessed January 2019, https://www.nls.uk/about-us/what-we-are/history.

and film material.[189] Their role is "to preserve the memory of the nation through collections that span the centuries, from the earliest times to the digital age."[190] The Library identifies their key audience as Scottish citizens, but the library serves a worldwide audience, similar to National Museums Scotland. In fact, one quarter of their online users are located overseas, especially from countries with large communities of Scottish immigrants or ancestry, including Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States (see Fig. 16).[191]

The Library adopted their first Gaelic Language Plan in June 2012 after the Bòrd na Gàidhlig granted approval. Throughout the implementation of the plan, the Library submitted monitoring reports to the Bòrd. The Library's second and most recent plan spans from 2018 to 2023. The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act "requires public authorities to bring the preparation of the Gaelic Language Plan to the attention of all interested parties."[192] Therefore, between December 2017 and January 2018, the Library opened their Gaelic Language Plan Draft for feedback and consultation. In addition, the Library itself evaluated their first plan and its achievements in preparation for the next interval of implementation.

The Library summarizes their contributions towards the preservation and revitalization of Gaelic as "collecting books, journals and other materials, establishing relations with publishers of Gaelic and hosting a range of educational and public events."[193] During their first Gaelic Language Plan, they invested "in the digitisation of hundreds of thousands of pages of rare Gaelic books, an initiative of global significance"[194] (see Fig. 17-18). In fact, their early Gaelic

[189] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft,* (National Library of Scotland, 2017), 2, accessed January 2019, https://www.nls.uk/media/1556970/2018-2023-gaelic-language-plan-draft.pdf.
[190] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 1.
[191] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 2.
[192] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 3.
[193] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 1.
[194] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 1.

manuscripts have been inscribed in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Memory of the World Register. With this inscription, the manuscripts are "now being recognised for their exceptional historical and linguistic significance."[195] The manuscripts provide insight into the history, medicine, poetry, prayers, genealogy, place-names and more from the 14th to the 18th centuries.[196] One particular item, *Book of the Dean of Lismore* from the 16th century, is an example of the collection's linguistic importance because it provides "a unique first impression of the sound of a regional Scottish Gaelic dialect."[197] The Library recognizes their unique position as holding possibly the largest collection of Gaelic material in the world, and they want to ensure that the Gaelic material is available to those interested as they move forward.[198]

With this in mind, I contacted the National Library of Scotland to better understand their online audience. I first inquired about whether they knew how many of their online visitors were specifically viewing the digitized Gaelic manuscripts and text. Their early Gaelic book collections command about 3% of their overall traffic, and the Gaelic manuscripts about 0.19% of traffic.[199] However, Helen Lessels, External Relations Coordinator, explained that the latter was a "very recent addition, added little over a month ago."[200] It is unclear if this meant that the existence of the manuscripts online was a recent addition, or that the tracking of the online users only began recently. Either way, user statistics in the future will be more useful than current ones in determining online traffic trends regarding Gaelic material.

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[195] "Library Manuscripts inscribed in prestigious UNESCO register," National Library of Scotland, June 9, 2018, accessed April 20, 2019, https://www.nls.uk/news/press/2018/06/unesco-uk-register-2018.
[196] "Library Manuscripts inscribed in prestigious UNESCO register," National Library of Scotland.
[197] "Library Manuscripts inscribed in prestigious UNESCO register," National Library of Scotland.
[198] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 1.
[199] Helen Lessels, National Library of Scotland, e-mail message to author, April 4, 2019.
[200] Helen Lessels, National Library of Scotland, e-mail message to author, April 4, 2019.

Next, I asked if the Library was in the process of digitizing all their collections, or if some material would only exist physically. By 2025, the Library plans to "have completed a full online listing of [their] holdings and have a third in digital format."[201] Lessels also informed me that although all the Gaelic manuscripts will not be transcribed and translated, some manuscripts are being transcribed externally for the Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic. An exciting project is taking place where a corpus of Gaelic texts will be used for the creation of a new Gaelic dictionary, *Faclair na Gàidhlig*.[202] The creation of a dictionary through historical collections highlights the importance of cultural institutions and their repositories in the process of language revitalization. It also demonstrates the essential transition from the preservation of documents into the active use of them for revitalization.

Given their extensive Gaelic material, both onsite and online, and their role as a cultural institution tasked with keeping a Gaelic Language Plan, the Library wanted to determine the extent to which their staff knew the language. Of their 320 staff members, 169 responded to a survey gauging their Gaelic knowledge. Eighteen employees (11%) had some ability of understanding, speaking, reading, or writing Gaelic. One staff member was fluent in Gaelic because of his/her job responsibilities that require "cataloguing, answering enquiries, assisting non-Gaelic speaking colleagues, and conducting media interviews on the work of the Library and its collections."[203] Nine employees stated that they would like to learn Gaelic in some form at work. Knowing this, combined with the initiatives of the Plan, the Library offered Gaelic Awareness Training (GAT) sessions. A total of sixty-five library staff attended a GAT session

[201] Helen Lessels, National Library of Scotland, e-mail message to author, April 4, 2019.
[202] Helen Lessels, National Library of Scotland, e-mail message to author, April 4, 2019.
[203] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 5.

between 2012 to 2018, and some staff from National Galleries of Scotland and National Museums Scotland even attended.[204]

The Library highlights staffing and the training sessions as one of their four achievements, alongside identity, communications, and publications. Identity encompasses their creation and use of a bilingual logo, which is featured on all branded materials, including on their website, email signatures, and press releases. In addition, the language "has been included in interpretation, publications and signage, in visitor facilities and online."[205] Secondly, communications refers to their main library catalogue interface which is bilingual and contains a Gaelic search option.[206] Third, the achievement of publications includes the bilingual aspects of the Library's media, printed materials, websites, and exhibitions. To assist schools and online learners, the Library has created Gaelic learning resources (see Fig. 19). Furthermore, media releases pertaining to the Gaelic collections were written in both Gaelic and English.[207]

In one of their monitoring reports of the Library's Plan, the Bòrd recognized their performance as "making good progress in promoting Gaelic nationally, including community outreach, archival and curatorial work and the creation of new learning resources."[208] In preparation for the second plan, by taking into account the thoughts of the Bòrd, the public, and the Library's staff, the National Library of Scotland has outlined the following areas as high level importance: public services, education, community, workplace, arts/culture/heritage, and economy.[209] Public services prioritizes availability of resources to the public, promotion of

[204] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 5.
[205] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 6.
[206] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 6.
[207] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 6.
[208] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 7.
[209] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 8-9.

collections, and inclusion of Gaelic translations for certain versions of the Library's logo. Education includes providing resources for schools and teachers in their effort towards Gaelic learning.[210] Next, community involves the engagement of the Library with its public to provide educational and entertainment initiatives surrounding Gaelic. Communities specifically highlighted in this aspect of the Plan are: young people, communities comprised of 20% or more of Gaelic users, and communities that offer Gaelic medium education. Workplace is a continuation of staff involvement in Gaelic awareness training and of Gaelic publications. Arts, culture and heritage embodies the importance of connecting Gaelic language to Scotland's culture and history. The Library plans to continue preserving and making accessible Gaelic films and audio visual collections. Lastly, economy is their effort to again make their resources available for Gaelic learners and also provide experience to workers and volunteers with Gaelic knowledge.[211]

Digital Collections and Archives

In addition to the National Library of Scotland's digitization project, there are other digital efforts not necessarily associated with one particular cultural institution that are engaging with Gaelic language and culture. One of these initiatives is the digital archive called Am Baile. Members of a consortium, including The Highland Council, Taigh Chearsabhagh Trust, and West Highland Animation, founded Am Baile in 2000. Their goal was to "create a digital archive of the history and culture of the Scottish Highlands and Islands comprising material which had hitherto been difficult to access."[212] Since October 2011, Am Baile has been funded by High Life Highland and operates as part of the Highland Archive Service. The website "has digitised and

[210] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 8.
[211] *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, 9.
[212] "About Us," Am Baile, accessed March 2019, https://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/pages/about-page.html.

made available tens of thousands of items from archives, libraries and private collections."[213] The online platform is navigable in both English and Gaelic. There are seven tabs which users can select to distill the collections: photographs, video, audio, illustrations, interactive, maps & plans, books & archives. Underneath each tab are the lists of collections and the contributors, which include individuals, organizations, and cultural institutions. Examples of contributors are the Inverness Museum & Art Gallery, Highland Libraries, and the Highland Folk Museum.[214] It is useful how the site documents where every collection item is located so that viewers can re-direct themselves for more information. As a non-native, it is also a great resource to see all the institutions, the areas which they represent, and what types of materials they hold. In addition to the repository, other metadata is provided for each collection item, such as date and creator (see Fig. 22-23).

Another important online resource is the School of Scottish Studies Archives (also referred to as 'the School'). Established in 1951 at the University of Edinburgh, its purpose is "to collect, preserve, research, and publish material relating to the cultural traditions and folklore of Scotland."[215] The bulk of the collection is comprised of ethnological fieldwork conducted by staff and students. The collection is broken up into the following categories: Sound Archive, Photographic Archive, Film and Video Collection, and Manuscript and Special Collections. The Sound Archive contains about 33,000 recordings of "songs, instrumental music, tales, verse, customs, beliefs, place-names biographical information and local history" and is a "rich repository of oral tradition…invaluable for its range of dialects and accents in Gaelic, Scots and

[213] "About Us," Am Baile.
[214] "Collections & Contributors," Am Baile, accessed March 2019, https://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/pages/browse_media.html.
[215] "About the Archives," School of Scottish Studies Archives, *The University of Edinburgh,* accessed March 2019, https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives/about.

English."[216] The Manuscript and Special Collections is also particularly important for Gaelic because it includes the Linguistic Survey of Scotland.

The Linguistic Survey began in 1949 "as a joint collaboration between Professors Kenneth Jackson (Celtic), Angus McIntosh (English Language and General Linguistics) and David Abercrombie (Phonetics)" and was "promoted by the University of Edinburgh which, in these post-war years, was keen to encourage the study of Scottish history and cultural life."[217] The Survey gathered recordings, primarily between 1950 and 1963, of Scots and Gaelic through questionnaires. For Gaelic specifically, over 200 interviews were obtained from different parts of the Gàidhealtachd.[218] Data collection focused on areas where Gaelic was diminishing, including Caithness, Moray and Nairn, Upper Banff and Aberdeenshire, Perthshire, the Trossachs, and Arran and Kintyre. The questionnaire collected information on phonology[219] and asked informants to pronounce over 800 words. Furthermore, informants had to answer questions regarding grammar. Overall, each questionnaire took eight hours to finish.[220] By holding the data of such a detailed survey, the School can provide invaluable information to linguists and to anyone curious about the dialects and language spoken in mid-twentieth century Scotland.

Other resources made available by the School are additional books and websites. For example, *Tocher* is a journal, published by the School since 1971, that "contains songs, stories, music, customs, beliefs, local history, rhymes and riddles transcribed from tapes held in the

[216] "Sound Archive," School of Scottish Studies Archives, *The University of Edinburgh,* accessed March 2019, https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives/sound-archive.
[217] "Linguistic Survey of Scotland," School of Scottish Studies Archives, *The University of Edinburgh,* accessed March 2019, https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives/manuscripts-collections/linguistic-survey.
[218] The area in which Gaelic is spoken, mostly the Highlands and Islands (see Fig. 2).
[219] The branch of linguistics concerning sound.
[220] "Linguistic Survey of Scotland," School of Scottish Studies Archives.

sound archive."[221] Tobar an Dualchais is a website that makes available over 40,000 records from the collections of School of Scottish Studies, BBC Scotland, and the National Trust for Scotland's Canna Collection (see Fig. 20-21).[222] Resources like these provide insight into the collections, but there are still more access restrictions to the School of Scottish Studies Archives compared to Am Baile. For instance, one must pay a subscription for *Tocher*. Moreover, it seems that one must visit the School in person to access most of the collections, which would be difficult for linguists and interested people abroad. The restrictions show that the use of technology and the digital does not necessarily allow unlimited access. Digitization opens many beneficial avenues for long-term preservation and accessibility, but there are still challenges with it that must be considered for language preservation, just like the preservation of any other collection.

Cathlin Macaulay, Curator of the School of Scottish Studies Archives, discusses the relationship between preservation, digitization, and access in her article titled "Dipping into the Well: Scottish Oral Tradition Online." She states, "Preservation is a central aspect of archive work. So too is enabling access – a process that encompasses such tasks as the creation of mechanisms by which users can search for and listen to material."[223] Collections are important to not only researchers but also the communities and individuals from which the collections were obtained. However, she acknowledges that in the case of the School of Scottish Studies Archives, they are "situated in Edinburgh, well away from the areas in which most of the

[221] "Tocher," School of Scottish Studies Archives, *The University of Edinburgh,* accessed March 2019, https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives/archive-pubs/tocher.
[222] "About the Archives," School of Scottish Studies Archives.
[223] Cathlin Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well: Scottish Oral Tradition Online," *Oral Tradition* 27, no. 1 (March 2012), http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.rit.edu/article/499262.

collections were made."[224] To improve access, they have initiated publications, like the aforementioned *Tocher*.

The merit of digitization, in Macaulay's words, is the ability of material "to be transferred to another medium that can be managed and migrated as appropriate without further loss of quality."[225] For the School, the migration process included creating high resolution WAV files to the international standard set by IASA (International Association of Sound and Audio-Visual Archives). Then, "MP3 copies of the files were created for access purposes – these were used in the creation of the online resource and are now used in-house in the archive search room."[226] When creating these digital assets, it was important to include descriptive metadata. The School assigned metadata such as "information on duration, the contributor, the fieldworker, and the date of recording" and details on the actual subject matter, such as "genre, a summary of content, and subject classification."[227] The classification of data has its own challenges, like accounting for cultural shifts. Since the 1950s, when majority of the recordings were collected, "many of the ways of life described…are no longer familiar to people – words referring to particular ways of doing things have been lost or have taken on new meanings."[228] An additional consideration is copyright. The recordings were obtained for research purposes and "there was no anticipation that the World Wide Web would ever exist."[229] Moreover, should access be restricted when the people recorded, the legal owners, cannot be contacted or asked?[230]

[224] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."
[225] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."
[226] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."
[227] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."
[228] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."
[229] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."
[230] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."

The digital age poses both advantages and challenges that cultural institutions must keep in mind when utilizing online resources for language preservation and revitalization. The resources discussed here are successfully gathering substantial collections and increasing accessibility. Therefore, the language preservation component is strong. Where they might be falling short, however, is the revitalization aspect. Moving forward, creators and curators of digital collections should consider the relationship between access and revitalization. Open access to a collection is important, but it does not necessarily indicate that people are using it. First, it will be important to track user statistics, if this is not being done so already. For example, the Sound Archive in the School of Scottish Studies Archives might be receiving more online traffic than the Manuscript and Special Collections. Knowing what is most popular could lend itself to special programming or events. Am Baile and the School of Scottish Studies Archives could partner with schools and invite students to interview relatives who speak Gaelic, and then contribute their oral histories to the collection. If Gaelic medium schools have Gaelic texts, but not enough fluent teachers, or if the children are not exposed to Gaelic at home, then recordings found online could be the auditory component of learning the language.

This idea of connecting communities with collections ties back to the earlier discussion of workshops in the Language Documentation and Current Museum Efforts section. National Breath of Life allowed community participants to examine and learn from language archives to help recover their native languages. Trained linguists were also present to guide the community researchers in understanding the linguistic concepts and archival material. Although from a different geographical and cultural context, these workshops could provide a useful model for the revitalization of Gaelic. They offer an opportunity to connect people with collections rather than have the collections remain static and unused in storage. Linguists and community members

could come together to examine Linguistic Survey in the collection of the School of Scottish Studies Archives and study the differences in phonology and vocabulary compared to modern Gaelic. It would also be interesting to see a similar or equivalent workshop, but for children and teenagers. If the workshops were a partnership between schools and cultural institutions, then travel and cost might not be a barrier for the individual participants. Furthermore, the workshops should not take place in just one location, like Edinburgh. Ideally, they would be hosted in all areas of Scotland, especially the Highlands and Islands where Gaelic is spoken the most.

IV. Conclusion

In summary, there are many exciting efforts happening in Scotland to preserve and revitalize Gaelic. These new initiatives are transformative and malleable, and they will be taking many different shapes as time goes on, actions are evaluated, and the pros and cons considered. One of the first conclusions that can be drawn after analysis is the importance of understanding the public's position. Revitalizing a language begins with the public's drive to learn the language and/or pass it on to the future generations. Communities with endangered languages must determine how individuals perceive the language and its connection to cultural heritage. Similarly, cultural institutions should try to uncover the level at which the public associates language with identity. If there is low association, cultural institutions can use their collections to curate exhibitions and offer programs that delve into the heritage aspect of language. Cultural bodies must go beyond the surface level. Only having bilingual text panels and signage rather than actual exhibitions or content on the usage of language, its evolution, or its ties to tradition, knowledge, and identity will result in the history and the language falling out of tandem.

Conducting visitor studies and determining the composition of visitors is also important for larger institutions like National Museums Scotland and the National Library of Scotland

because of their foreign audience. Cultural institutions, like those in Scotland, should be aware of diaspora communities as a potential audience and factor them into decision-making about language. Gaelic revitalization does not have to take place just in Scotland. As curator Cathlin Macaulay states, "these technological developments have enabled us to return songs, stories, and ways of being to the communities from which they came and, indeed, to make them accessible to emigrants from these communities in every part of the world."[231]

Furthermore, in the twenty-first century, it is necessary and relevant for museums, libraries, and archives to consider what role technology performs in their institutions. Technology not only opens doors for new preservation and storage methods but also allows for widespread communication. Interestingly, though, neither the Library nor the Museum's Gaelic Language Plan discussed social media. Social media is a key aspect of the digital age and would be a potential way for cultural institutions to reach younger audiences. However, not all communities and museums have the means to obtain or access technology. Therefore, working together with other institutions and pooling together resources, much like Am Baile and the School of Scottish Studies Archives, could be a beneficial approach, especially for small grassroots organizations or cultural entities.

The idea of partnership also closely relates to school and education. Cultural institutions and schools share the collective mission of educating the public. In the case of endangered languages, resources in schools might be sparse, and there could be a lack of teachers qualified to instruct the language fluently in different subjects (e.g., art, science, history). Museums, archives,

[231] Macaulay, "Dipping into the Well."

and libraries might help fill in this gap by providing teacher and student resources, special exhibition tours and programs, and hands-on learning activities.

Another important reflection is the acknowledgement that working in the favor of the cultural institutions discussed here is the support from the Scottish government and Bòrd na Gàidhlig. However, there are endangered languages all over the globe in areas without large museums, archives, or libraries, or government initiatives set in place to protect and revitalize the languages. Therefore, a significant step in the future would be recognizing language as a vital aspect of intangible cultural heritage. As explained by UNESCO:

> Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. While fragile, intangible cultural heritage is an important factor in maintaining cultural diversity in the face of growing globalization.[232]

With recognition by UNESCO, the issue of language endangerment will exist not just in the field of linguistics but also in the cultural sector, subsequently encouraging museums and communities to take action. Kate Forbes, member of the Scottish Parliament, has advocated for Gaelic being granted UNESCO Intangible Cultural Asset status. However, they cannot apply for UNESCO status without the agreement and support of the UK Government.[233] Having this official status will be crucial for Gaelic because it will, in Forbes's words, allow for the "safeguarding and passing on [their] language, music and culture to the next generation."[234]

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[232] "What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" UNESCO, accessed February 2019, https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003.
[233] "Kate Forbes Speaking Gaelic in Scottish Parliament (With Subtitles)," Aye for Scotland, uploaded March 30, 2018 on YouTube, video, 2:15, https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=wOpVQrmHS9k.
[234] "Kate Forbes Speaking Gaelic in Scottish Parliament (With Subtitles)," Aye for Scotland.

Gaelic is not just rooted in the past. It very much has a place in the future through the continuation of important cultural traditions and knowledge.

Having a future outlook will also be critical for evaluating the success of revitalization initiatives. Because revitalization involves intergenerational transmission of language, studies should be conducted over extended periods of time to determine the long-term effects of revitalization efforts. Using Scottish Gaelic as an example, these studies could ask: has audience and staff engagement with Gaelic increased? Are there ample opportunities for visitors of all ages to interact with Gaelic in exhibitions and programs? Is enrollment in Gaelic medium education rising, and how might cultural institutions develop more partnerships with schools?

Lastly, future research should consider what forms language preservation and revitalization efforts have in different communities and what works most efficiently in varying contexts. From Language Nests in Hawai'i, Māori preschools in New Zealand, to Native American apprentice-master programs, innovative initiatives are happening all around the world. Language revitalization is a multi-step process involving the assessment of a language's status, an understanding of the causes behind the status, engagement and advocacy with the public, and collaboration with the communities whose languages are threatened.[235] In the case of Scottish Gaelic, the first two steps have been adequately reached. Now, the last two steps must be prioritized, and cultural institutions can help achieve this by taking inspiration from worldwide initiatives and encouraging the active use of collections by visitors and linguists. The audience is an active participant in the revival of a language, and cultural institutions can be a shared space for communities, linguists, and museum staff to come together. If linguists and museum

[235] Wilhelm, "Language Revitalization."

professionals completed research on language revitalization in museums, they could bring expertise from their respective fields and create a solution that blends the two disciplines. Building a large, credible body of research will solidify the potential of cultural institutions in safeguarding language and the knowledge and traditions behind it. Languages are dying at fast rates, but with cultural institutions, which exist to preserve history and stand the test of time, there may be a practical method to halting, and most importantly reversing, these extinctions.

Appendix

Figures

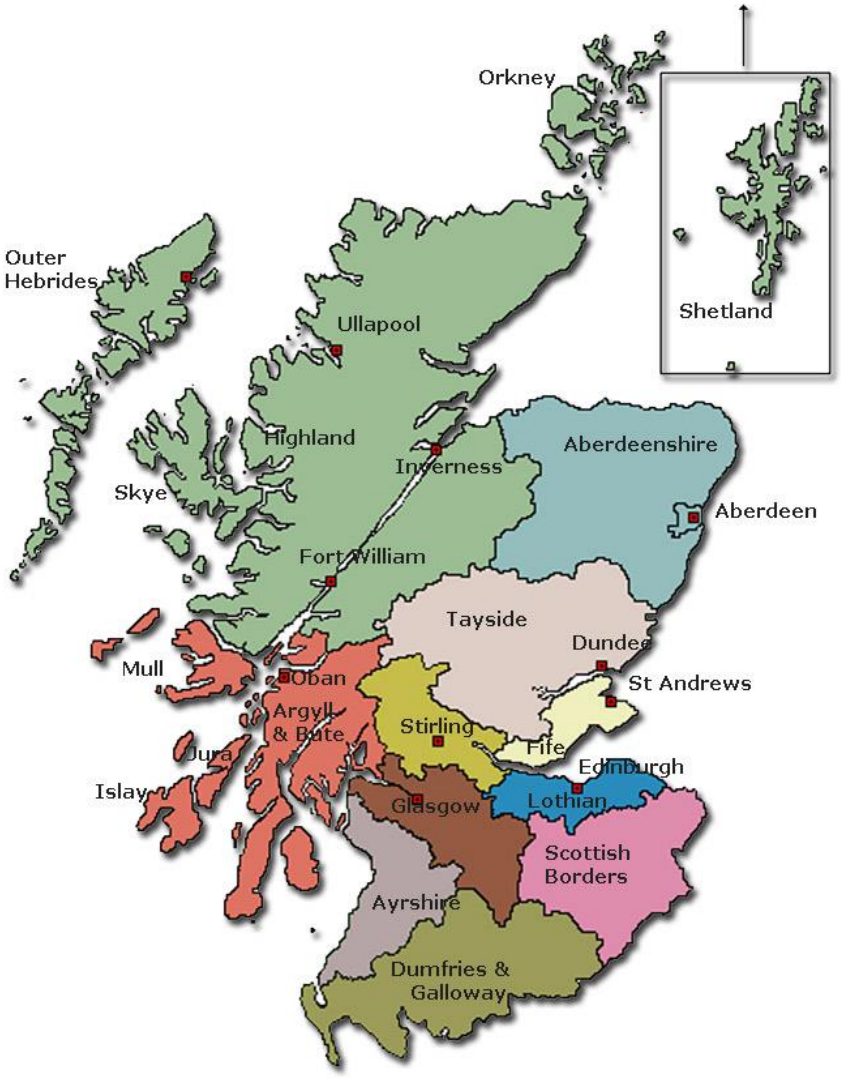


Figure 1. This map of Scotland shows the country's major regions and cities. Map from Scotland Info Guide, "Other Maps of Scotland," accessed March 27, 2019, https://www.scotlandinfo.eu/other-maps-of-scotland/.

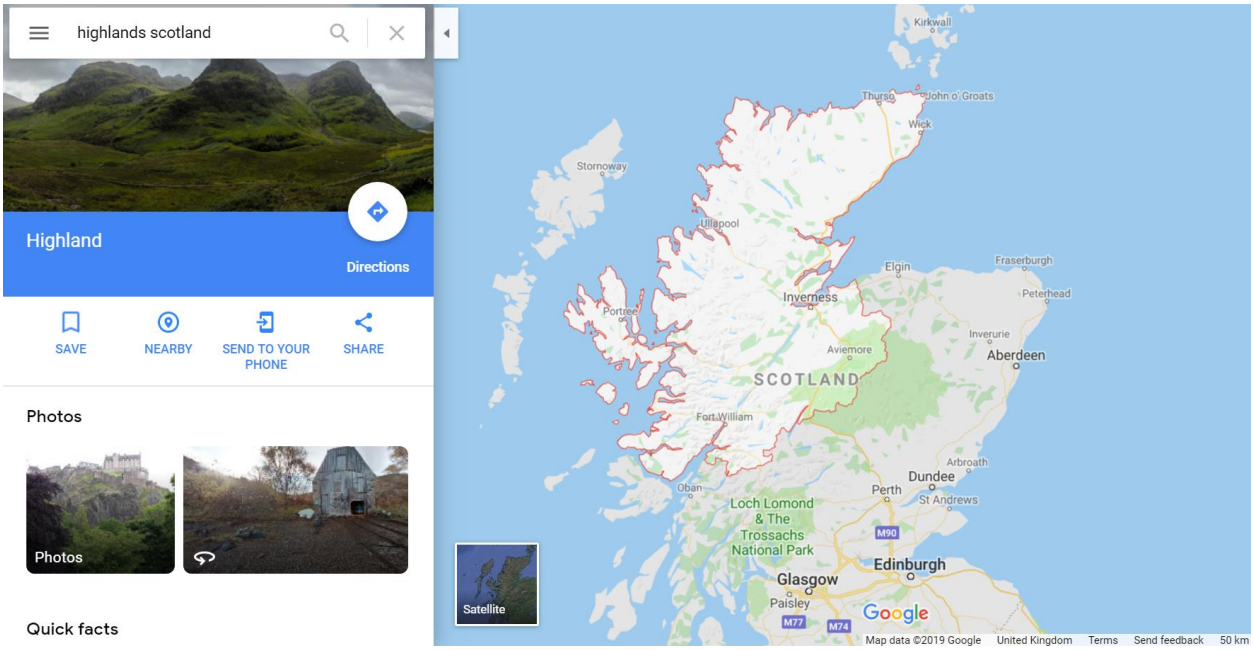


Figure 2. This is a map generated by Google which outlines the Highlands in red. This area, in combination with the surrounding islands, is what is collectively referred to as the "Highlands and Islands." The islands can be further broken down into: Outer Hebrides, Inner Hebrides, Orkney Islands, and Shetland Islands. Map from Google Maps, "Highland," accessed March 27, 2019, https://www.google.com/maps/place/Highland,+UK/@57.5804265,7.1496793,7z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x488f715397e107a5:0x73f7ea226427de38!8m2!3d57.4595749!4d-4.2263955.

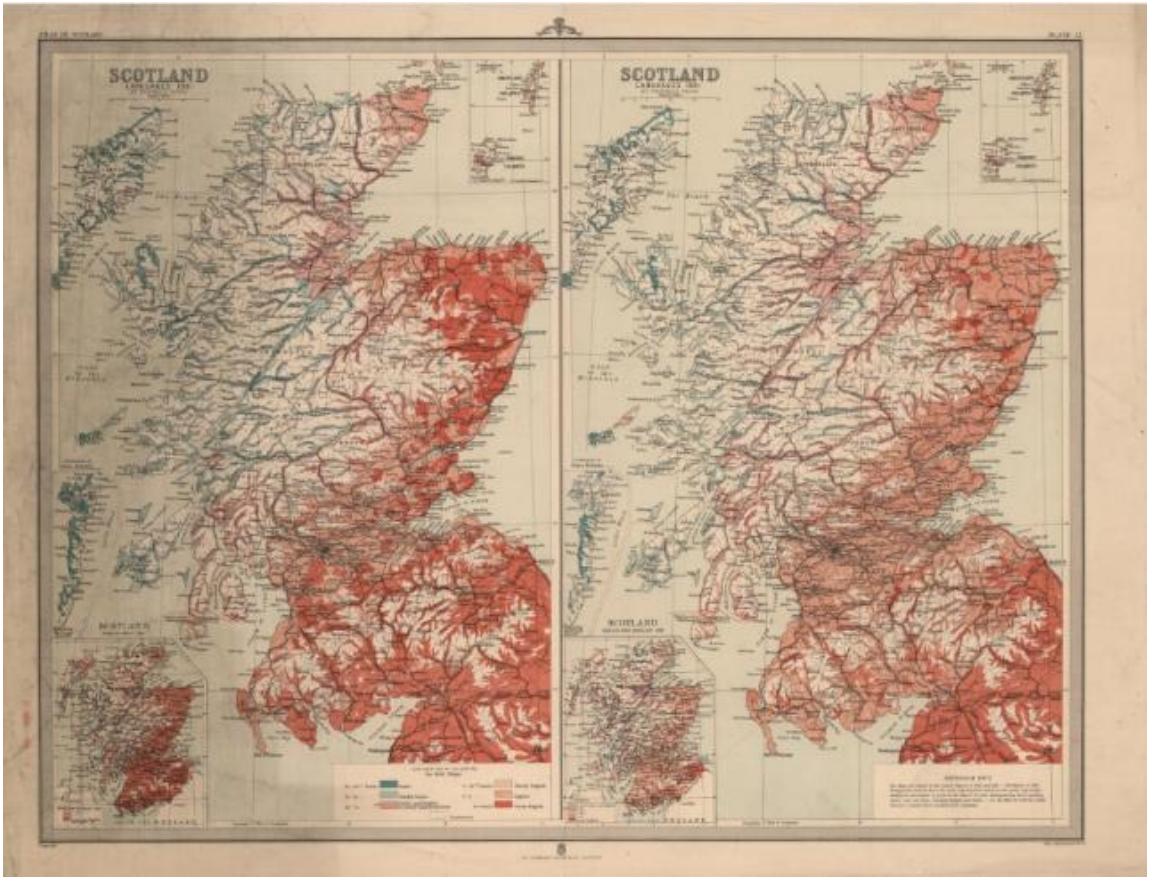


Figure 3. The map on the left is from an 1881 census in Scotland, and the right is from an 1891 census. The dark green denotes Gaelic speaking areas (95%-100% Gaelic speakers) and the light green chiefly Gaelic (75%-95% Gaelic speakers), while the dark red is purely English (100% English speakers) and pink chiefly English (75%-95% English speakers). Already in the late 19th century, Gaelic usage was moving towards the Highlands and Islands. Image from National Library of Scotland, "Bartholomew Survey Atlas of Scotland, 1912," accessed February 2019, https://maps.nls.uk/view/74401064.

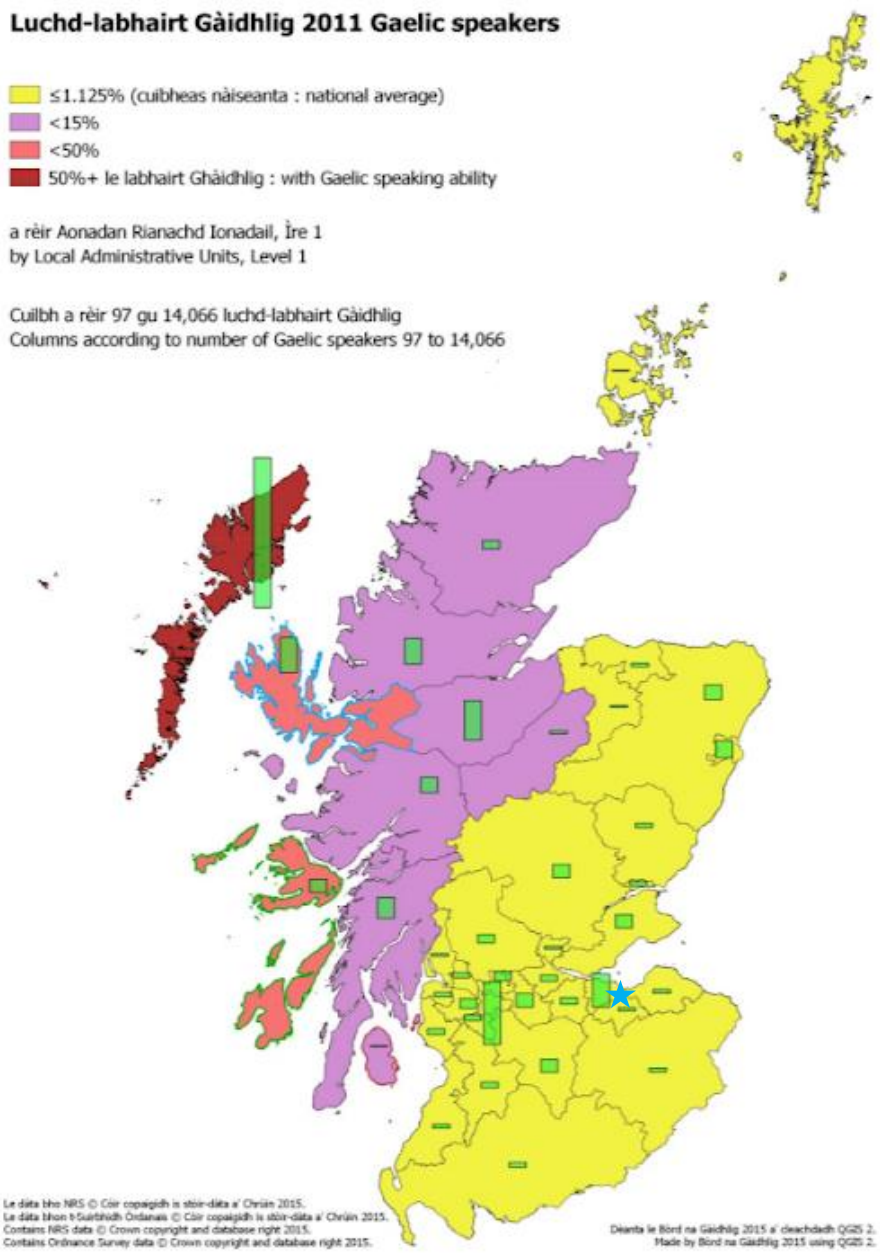


Figure 4. This map highlights areas of Scotland and the corresponding percentages of Gaelic speakers as of 2011. The highest percentage is in the Outer Hebrides, depicted in dark red, and southeastern Scotland in yellow has the lowest percentage of Gaelic speakers. A blue star has been added on the approximate location of Edinburgh where the National Library of Scotland, the National Museum of Scotland, and National War Museum are located. Diagram from National Museums Scotland, *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, page 28, accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1155640/nms-glp-2017-2022-final-english.pdf.

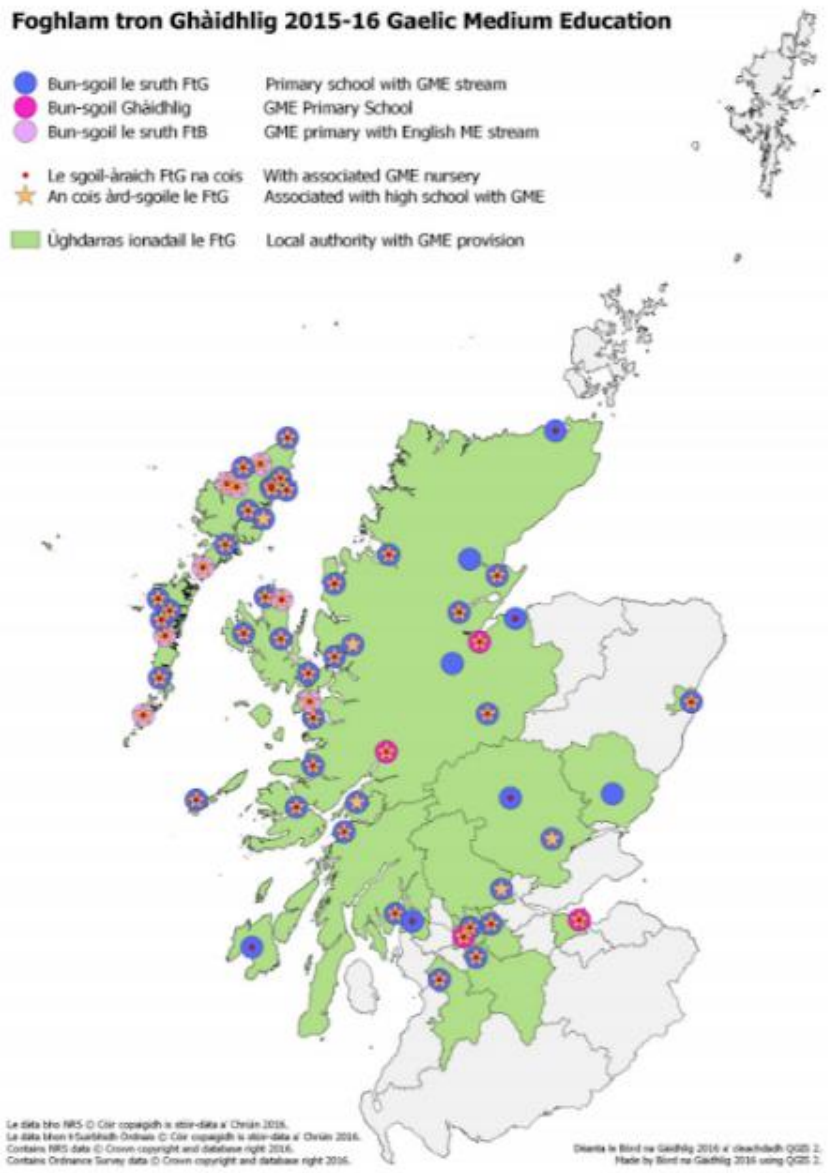
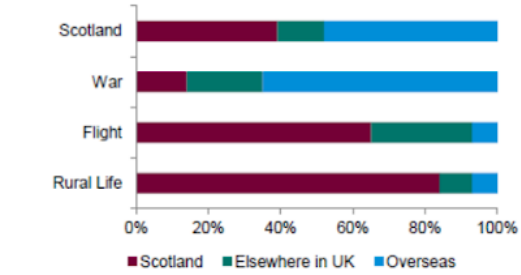


Figure 5. This map depicts locations where Gaelic medium education and its variants are offered in Scotland. Diagram from National Museums Scotland, *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, page 27, accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1155640/nms-glp-2017-2022-final-english.pdf.



At the National Museum of Scotland, a large proportion of overseas visitors are from English speaking countries, however there is a large variety of languages spoken amongst the non-English speaking overseas visitors. The table below shows the breakdown of overseas visitors by country, in 2015/16.

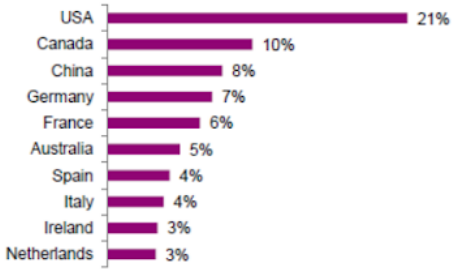


Figure 6. These two charts related to visitor statistics come from the National Museums' Scotland second Gaelic Language Plan. They highlight how a significant portion of their audience is from overseas. Charts from National Museums Scotland, *Gaelic Language Plan 2017-2022*, page 5, accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1155640/nms-glp-2017-2022-final-english.pdf.

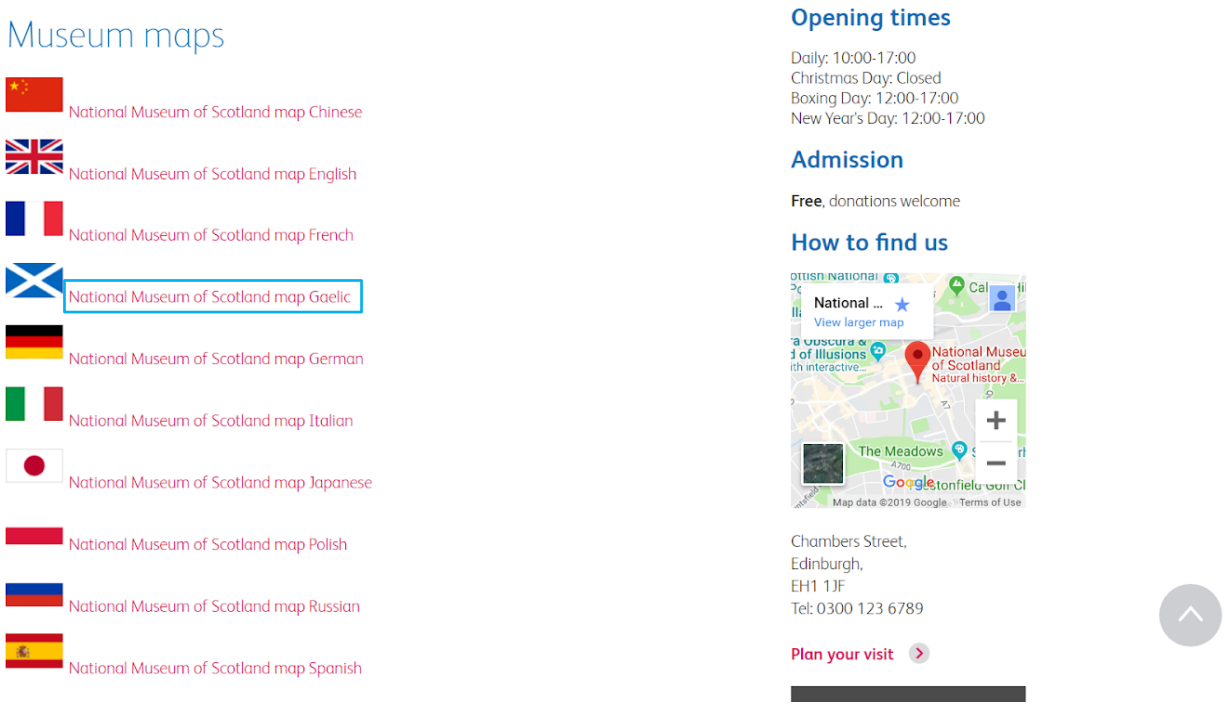


Figure 7. This screenshot from the National Museums Scotland's website shows a partial list of all the languages the National Museum of Scotland's map is offered in. A box has been drawn around the Gaelic map to call attention to it. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Museum Maps," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/maps-and-trails/.

Figure 8. This is the map visitors are directed to when clicking on the link in Figure 7. All text is in Gaelic. Image from National Museums Scotland, "National Museum of Scotland Map Gaelic," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1158697/scotlandmap_feb2019-sc.pdf.

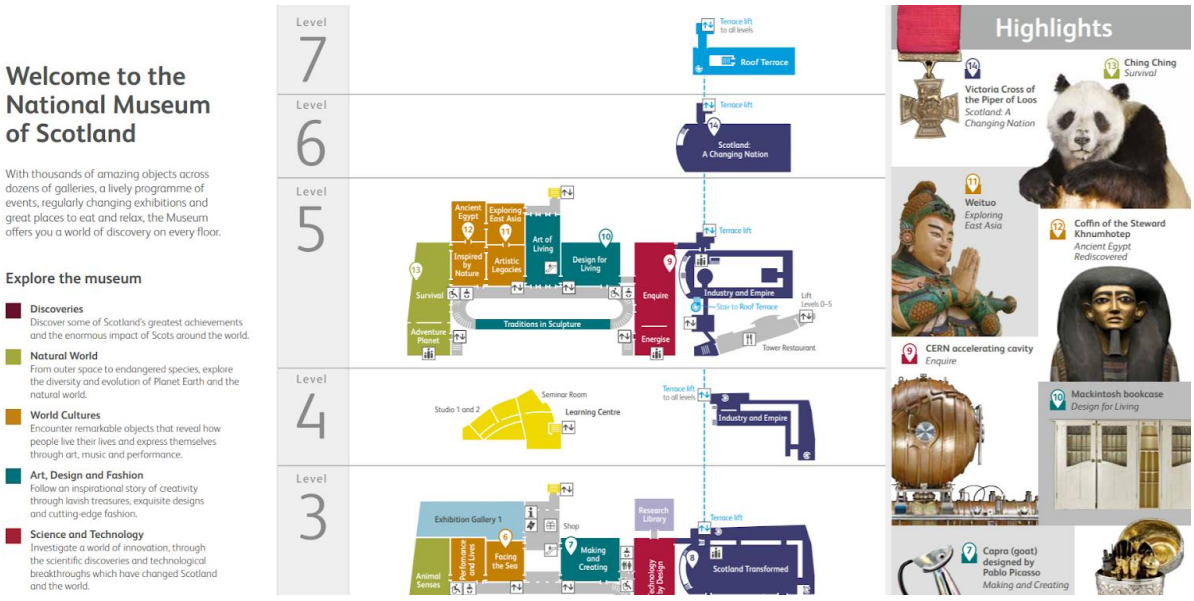


Figure 9. This is the same map of the National Museum of Scotland as seen in Figure 8, but in English. Image from National Museums Scotland, "National Museum of Scotland Map English," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1158691/scotlandmap_feb2019-en.pdf.

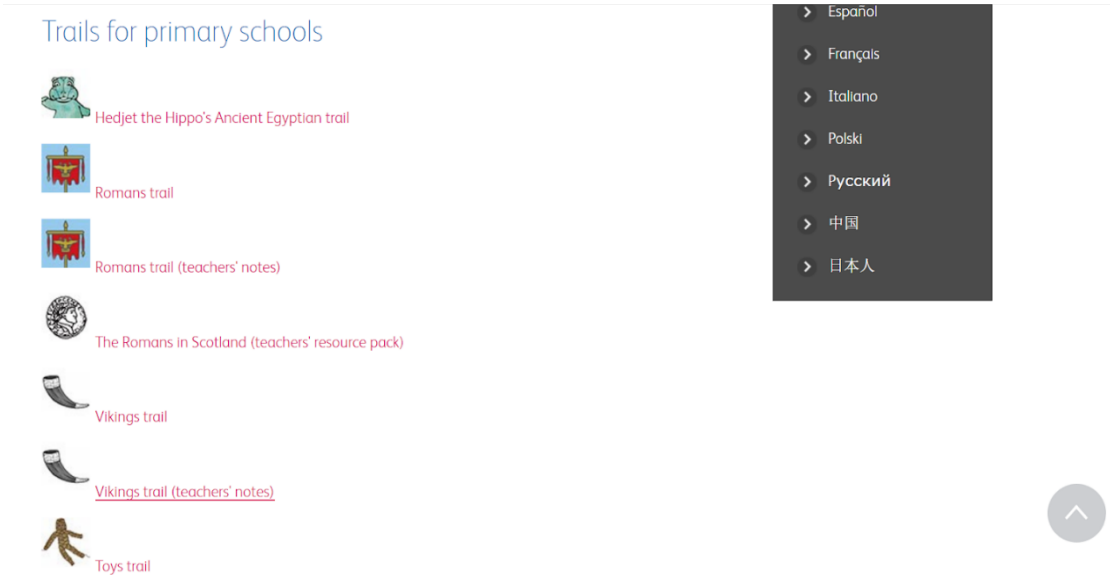


Figure 10. This screenshot shows a partial list of the various exhibition trails offered by National Museums Scotland. The trails are downloadable. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Trails for Primary Schools," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/maps-and-trails/.

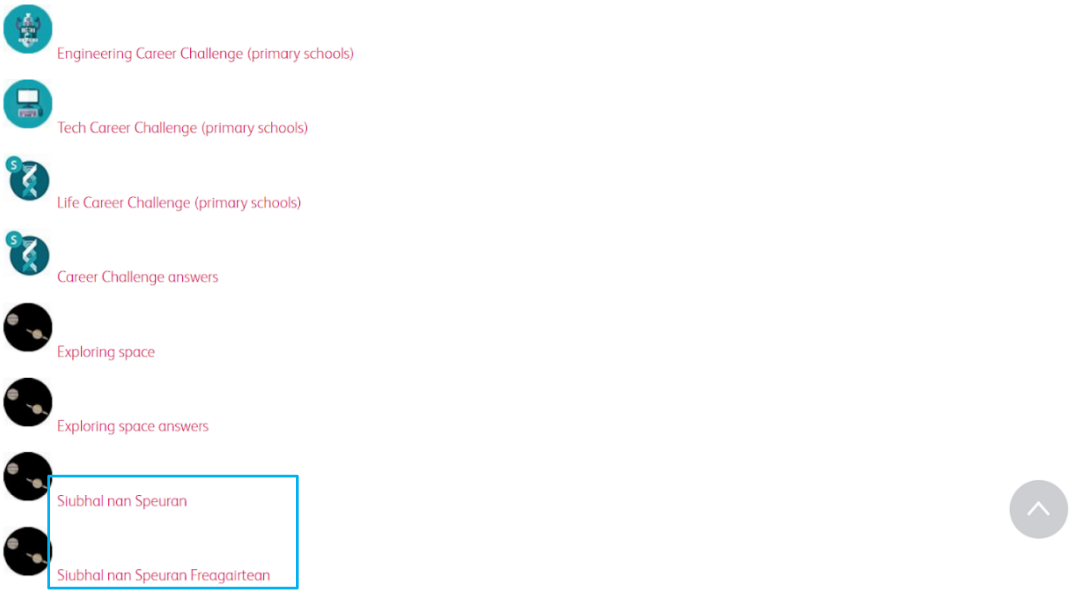
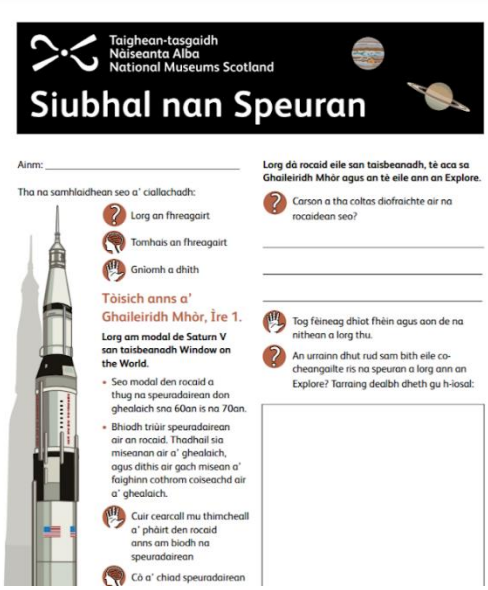


Figure 11. This screenshot is a continuation of the list in Figure 10, showing a few of the trail options offered in Gaelic. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Trails for Primary Schools," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/maps-and-trails/.


Taighean-tasgaidh Nàiseanta Alba
National Museums Scotland

Siubhal nan Speuran

Ainm: _____

Tha na samhlaidhean seo a' ciallachadh:

Lorg an fhreagairt

Tomhais an fhreagairt

Gniomh a dhìth

Tòisich anns a' Ghaileiridh Mhòr, Ìre 1.

Lorg am modal de Saturn V san taisbeanadh Window on the World.

- Seo modal den rocaid a thug na speuradairean don ghealaich sna 60an is na 70an.
- Bhiodh triùir speuradairean air an rocaid. Thadhail sia miseanan air a' ghealaich, agus dithis air gach misean a' faighinn cothrom coiseachd air a' ghealaich.

Cuir cearcall mu thimcheall a' phàirt den rocaid anns am biodh na speuradairean

Cò a' chiad speuradairean

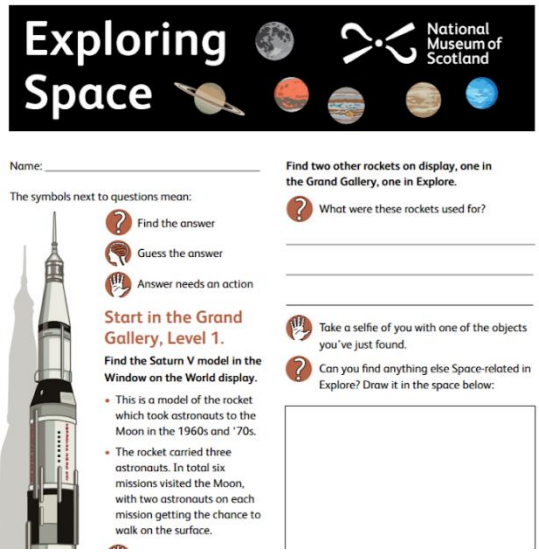
Lorg dà rocaid eile san taisbeanadh, tè aca sa Ghaileiridh Mhòr agus an tè eile ann an Explore.

Carson a tha coltas diofraichte air na rocaidean seo?

Tog fèineag dhiot fhèin agus aon de na nithean a lorg thu.

An urrainn dhut rud sam bith eile co-cheangailte ris na speuran a lorg ann an Explore? Tarraing dealbh dheth gu h-iosal:

Figure 12. This is an example of one of the trail sheets in Gaelic. There are diagrams and prompts for children to follow. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Siubhal nan Speuran," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1158451/exploring-space-leaflet-gaelic-translation.pdf.


Exploring Space

National Museum of Scotland

Name: _____

The symbols next to questions mean:

Find the answer

Guess the answer

Answer needs an action

Start in the Grand Gallery, Level 1.

Find the Saturn V model in the Window on the World display.

- This is a model of the rocket which took astronauts to the Moon in the 1960s and '70s.
- The rocket carried three astronauts. In total six missions visited the Moon, with two astronauts on each mission getting the chance to walk on the surface.

Find two other rockets on display, one in the Grand Gallery, one in Explore.

What were these rockets used for?

Take a selfie of you with one of the objects you've just found.

Can you find anything else Space-related in Explore? Draw it in the space below:

Figure 13. This trail is the same as the one in Figure 12, but in English. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Exploring Space," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/1158451/exploring-space-leaflet-gaelic-translation.pdf.

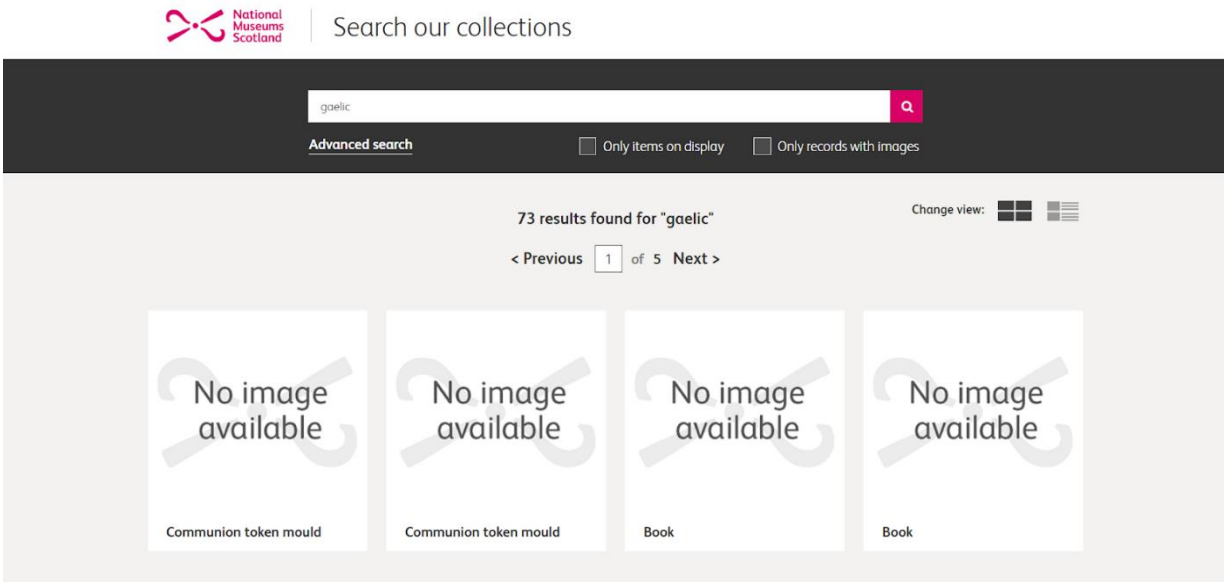


Figure 14. This screenshot is from National Museums Scotland, capturing the result of the search term 'Gaelic' in their collections. Most collections items did not have an image. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Search Our Collections," accessed March 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/.

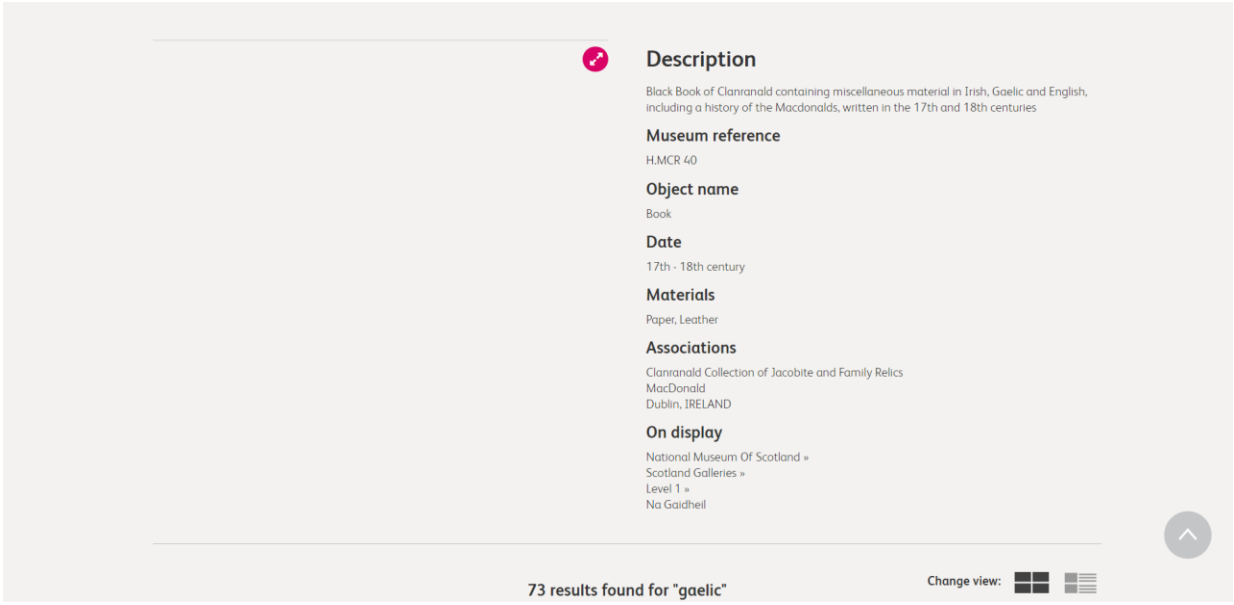


Figure 15. When clicking on the second "Book" item listed in Figure 14, the following metadata is provided. The blank space where an image would be is on the left. Image from National Museums Scotland, "Book," accessed April 2019, https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/?item_id=16547.

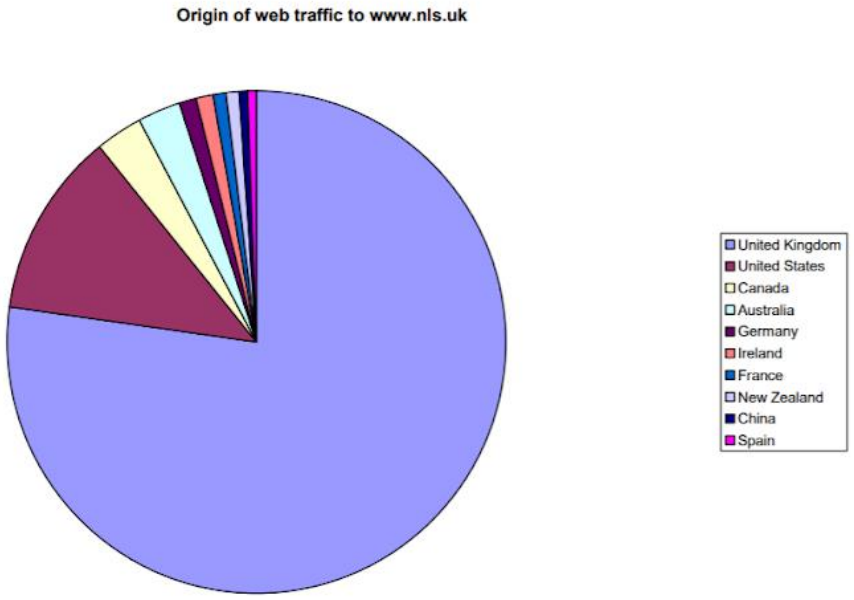


Figure 16. This pie graph portrays the countries from which the National Library of Scotland's online traffic comes. Graph from National Library of Scotland, *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 Draft*, page 3, accessed January 2019, https://www.nls.uk/media/1556970/2018-2023-gaelic-language-plan-draft.pdf.

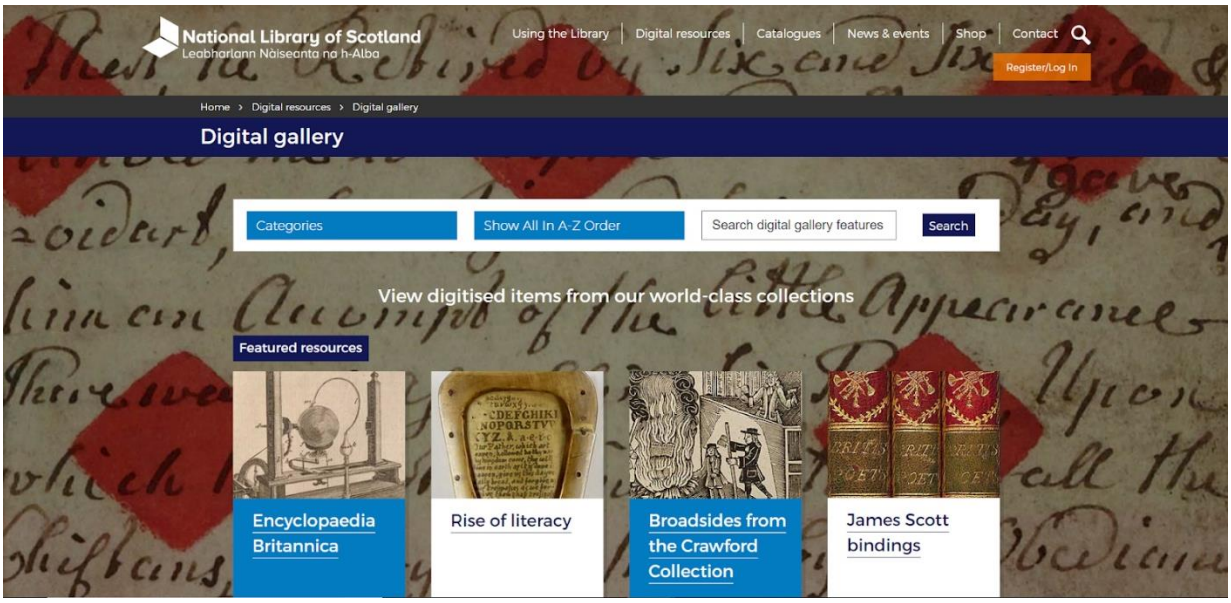


Figure 17. This is the National Library of Scotland's digital collection, searchable by term, category, or alphabetical list. Image from National Library of Scotland, "Digital Gallery," accessed February 2019, https://digital.nls.uk/gallery/.

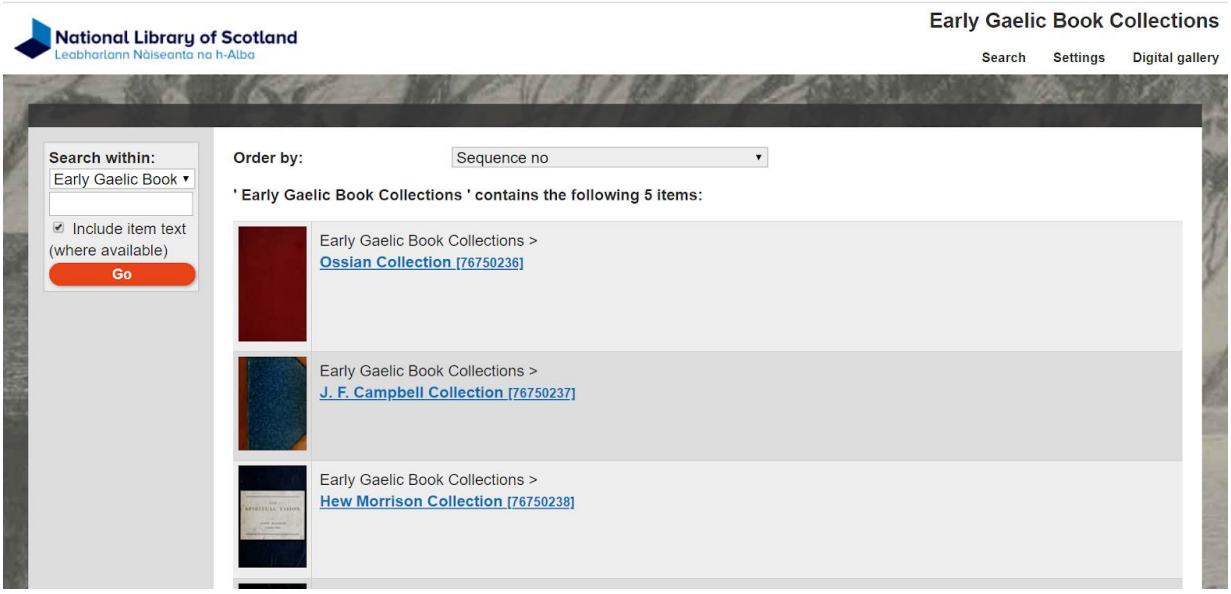


Figure 18. This screenshot provides an example of what searching 'Gaelic' reveals in the National Library of Scotland's digital gallery. The Early Gaelic Book Collection is one of the items that results. Image from National Library of Scotland, "Early Gaelic Book Collections," accessed February 2019, https://digital.nls.uk/early-gaelic-book-collections/archive/75733573.

Figure 19. This is a screenshot from the National Library of Scotland's Teachers' Resources page. The material featured comes from the Library's Gaelic manuscripts collection. Image from National Library of Scotland, "Teachers' Resources," accessed February 2019, https://digital.nls.uk/learning/gaelic-bards/en/teachers-resources/.

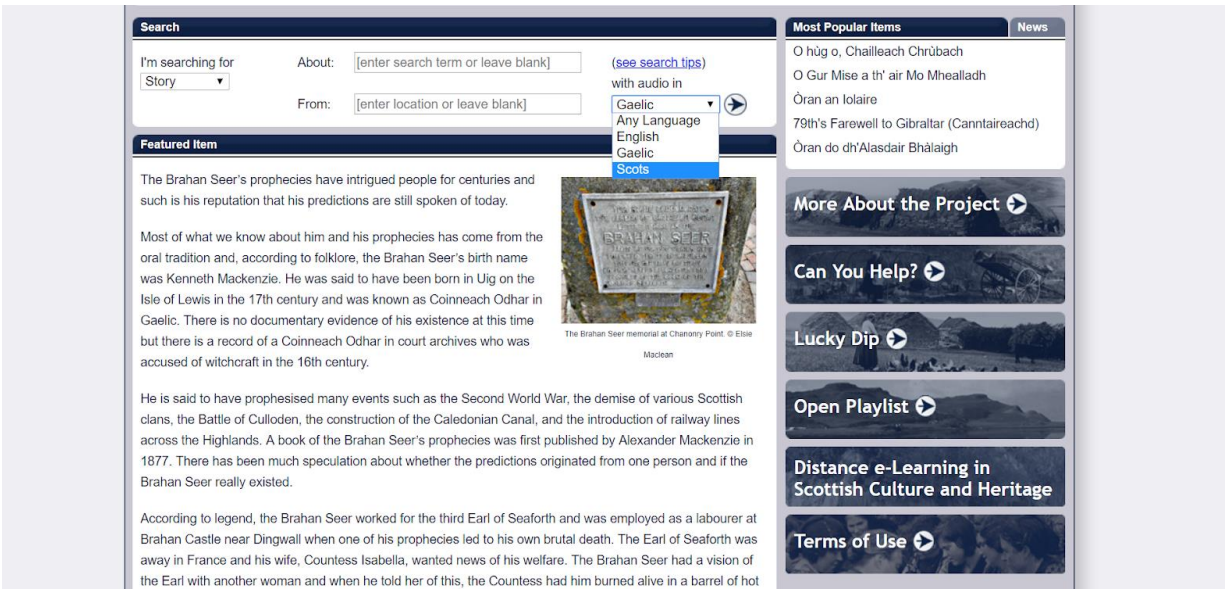


Figure 20. This screenshot is from the home page of Tobar an Dualchais. Visitors can search the collections in Gaelic. The site also features popular highlights to invite visitors to explore further. Image from Tobar an Dualchais / Kist o Riches, "Home," accessed March 2019, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/.

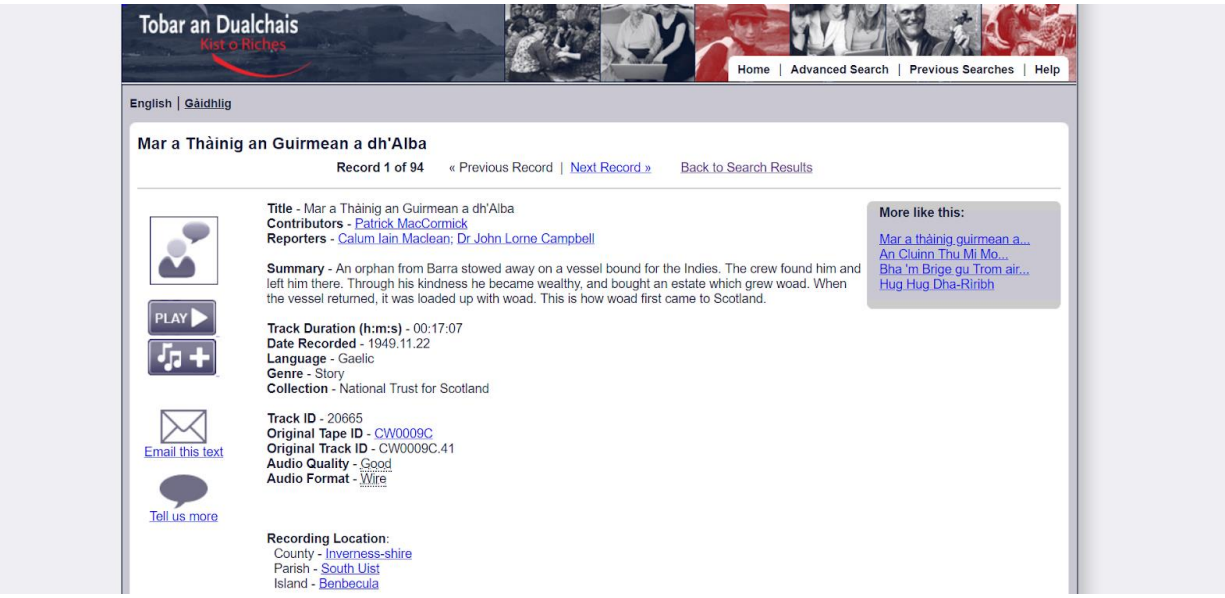


Figure 21. Above is an example of a Gaelic story recording with the metadata provided by Tobar an Dualchais. Image from Tobar an Dualchais / Kist of Riches, "Mar a Thànig an Guirmean a dh'Alba," accessed March 2019, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/fullrecord/20665/1.

Figure 22. This is an example of an audio recording and its metadata on Am Baile. As seen on the top left, users have the option of viewing the information in Gaelic. Image from Am Baile, "Tales of the Islay Giantess, Eagsa Bhuidhe na Fèidh," accessed March 2019, https://bit.ly/2GsnRFk.

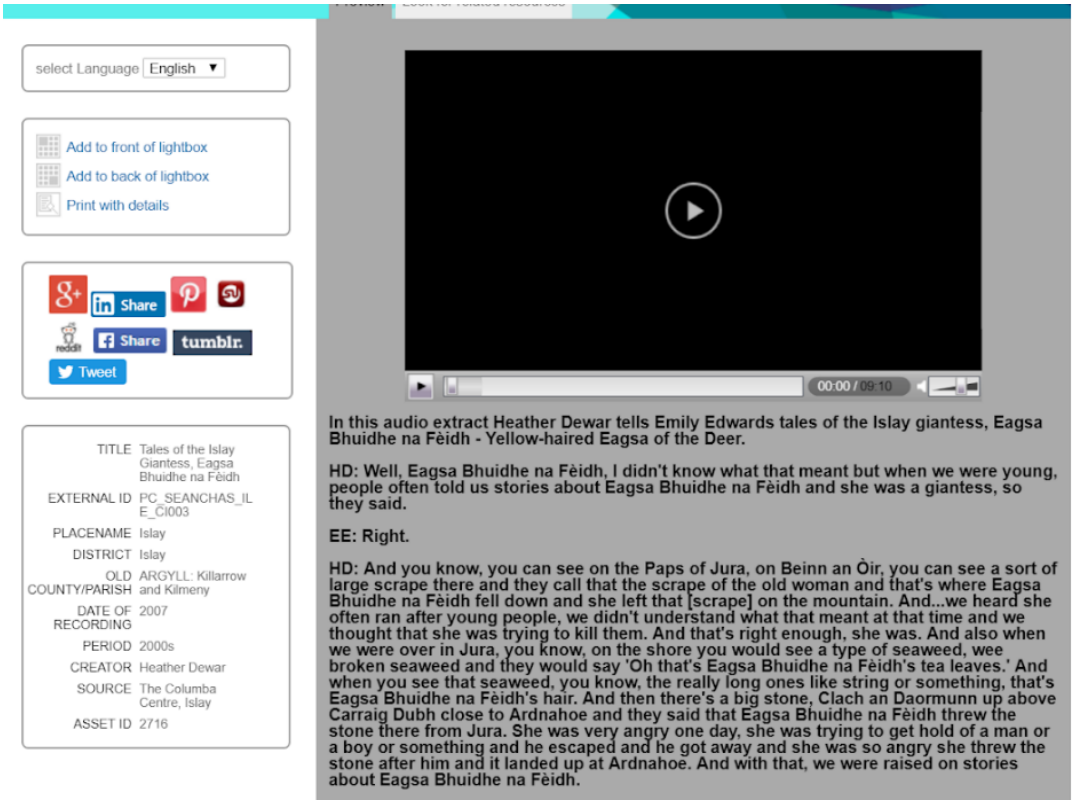


Figure 23. Above is the English version of Figure 22. Image from Am Baile, "Tales of the Islay Giantess, Eagsa Bhuidhe na Fèidh," accessed March 2019, https://bit.ly/2GsnRFk.

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