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‘I’ve lost it here *dè a bh’ agam*:’ Language Shift,  
Maintenance, and Code-Switching in a Bilingual  
Family

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Submitted in fulfilment for the requirements for the  
Degree of PhD  
School of Humanities  
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For anyone who's ever lost something, be it a  
language or someone you love

*Gad Chuimhneachadh*  
Ian Smith-Christmas 1989-2010

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the language shift, maintenance, and code-switching of three generations of a bilingual family on the Isles of Skye and Harris, Scotland. Based on ten hours of recorded conversations among family members in the home environment, this thesis focuses particularly on the speakers' alternation between Gaelic and English and uses a microinteractional approach in looking at how code-switching is used in the meaning-making process of this family's interactions. It concludes that although speakers vary in terms of both ability and use of the minority language, code-switching is nonetheless a powerful communicative tool within this family. Additionally, speakers within the three generations have different ways of code-switching for effect as well as various ways of 'doing being bilingual' (cf. Auer, 1984).

In looking at the family's overall use of both languages, the study finds that the first generation proportionally uses more Gaelic than the second and third generations, confirming that language shift is occurring within the family. Analysis of the first generation speakers' intragenerational language use demonstrates that speakers use code-switching in concert with reifying certain stances and in modulating between different stances in the conversation. It also examines how code-switching is used in congruence with rendering constructed dialogue, and argues that these instances of language alternation are related to the narrator's indexical and discourse organisational goals. The discussion of the first generation concludes by arguing that these speakers use code-switching primarily as a strategy to mitigate communicative trouble, a theme which is carried forward in focusing on the use of one first generation speaker's code-switching in two lengthy narratives. This section argues that the use of code-switching is integral to the speaker's success in the storytelling process, and demonstrates how the speaker uses code-switching in oscillating between the storyworld and the real-world interaction, as well uses code-switching in navigating different temporal frames within the narrative.

Although the second generation evidence language shift by their overall low use of Gaelic, they are nonetheless trying to maintain the use of Gaelic with the third generation. An examination of the second generation's language use focuses primarily on their use of the minority language in creating a child-centred context. It also further looks at how the parents of the third generation speakers use Gaelic when taking up authoritative stances towards their children. Discussion of the third generation's language use centres on how the children in turn perceive and use Gaelic as a 'strategy for gain' and focuses in

particular on their occasional use of Gaelic in constructing argumentative stances vis-à-vis their parents' displays of authority. The section concludes by examining an interaction where the youngest speaker in the study uses an increased amount of Gaelic on the telephone, arguing that the use of Gaelic in this context is one of the ways this third generation speaker enacts a first generation identity.

This study demonstrates that although language shift is occurring, the family is nonetheless trying to maintain their minority language. Code-switching is a powerful communicative strategy within the family and all members, and even family members with only passive bilingual skills 'do being part of a bilingual family.'

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### Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that any mistakes are also my own. I have referenced sources in cases where ideas are not my own, and any omission of an accurate reference is an oversight on my part and will be corrected.

## Key to Transcription Conventions Used

:	Elongated Sound
-	Cut-off
<u>word</u>	Emphasis
WORD	Increased Amplitude
°	Decreased Amplitude
<b>HI</b> <	Higher Pitch
<b>WH</b> <	Whispered
<b>CR</b> <	Creaky Voice
<b>H</b> <	Husky Voice
> <	Accelerated Speech
=	Latching speech
[[ ]]	Overlapping Speech
@	Laughter (one pulse)
.hhh	Egressive sound
(.5)	Pause (Seconds)
(.)	Micropause (less than two-tenths of a second)
( )	Uncertainty in Transcription
(( ))	Non-verbal action
{ }	Word/sound said ingressively
/	Rising Pitch
\	Falling Pitch
^	Rise/Fall Pitch
.hhh	Egressive Sound
(?)	Uncertainty in Transcript

## Abbreviations

BFLA— Bilingual First Language Acquisition

CA— Conversational Analysis

ESG—East Sutherland Gaelic

FPP— First Pair Part

FTA—Face-Threatening Act

GME—Gaelic Medium Education

SPP—Second Pair Part

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

This study examines the language use of three generations of a Gaelic-English bilingual family located on the Isles of Skye and Harris, Scotland. It focuses specifically on speakers' use of code-switching, which for now will be defined in the context of this study as the alternation between the family's two available languages, Gaelic and English. The thesis takes a microinteractional approach to discovering how speakers use their two languages on the individual, intragenerational, and intergenerational levels, and looks in particular at how code-switching is integral to the meaning-making process of these bilinguals' conversations. It further examines the family's overall language use from a language shift and maintenance perspective and makes conclusions about how code-switching and the meaning of 'code' may vary in terms of generation.

## 1.2 Language Contact, Shift, and Code-Switching

Language shift is the process by which, in the most basic terms, a group of speakers cease to speak their own language, which can be referred to as the L1, in favour of another language, referred to as the L2. This change in language use is normally the result of cultural and linguistic contact; generally, contacts that induce L1 shift can be broadly schematised into two categories (cf. Weltens, de Bot and van Els, 1986):

Scenario 1: a group of speakers migrate to an area where their L1 is not the majority language

Scenario 2: a group of L1 speakers are made a minority by the L2 language speakers, usually by processes such as colonialism

In both scenarios, there is a dominance dichotomy, illustrating that language shift not only involves two (or more) linguistic and cultural groups in contact, but the asymmetrical power relationship between these groups. This asymmetrical power relationship usually manifests itself so that one language is associated with power and its various forms: economic, political, social, or having access to knowledge. Thus, the shift from the L1 to the L2 is induced either by the desire of the L1 speakers to gain access to the power advantages of the dominant group or by the dominant group's ability to exert social control over the subordinate group, i.e. by actively suppressing the L1. Gardner-Chloros (2007, p. 469) states that the main difference between the two contact scenarios is that with

autochthonous or indigenous groups (Scenario 2), their language(s) become ‘superfluous to practical requirements— the country’s majority language is almost guaranteed to be more widely spoken, more useful in the job market, more prestigious, and more acceptable for communication with the outside world.’ In contrast, immigrant languages (Scenario 1) may be minority languages in a particular context, but may be prestigious and have high number of speakers in the home country. Thus, most of the world’s minority and endangered languages have primarily been a result of Scenario 2 situations.

The rate at which language shift occurs is contingent on a variety of factors, and it is possible that the two languages might co-exist in a bilingual community for generations. Romaine (1995, p. 40) points out that while prototypically bilingualism is seen as an intermediary step in the progression from monolingual use of the L1 to monolingual use of the L2, the existence of a bilingual community and the division of languages by domain may be important factors in maintaining the overall use of the L1. This view is perhaps most famously explored by Fishman (1965), who stipulates that in order for stable bilingualism to occur, the domains of use must not be blurred: one language must be used for one set of functions, the other for a complementary set of functions, which is commonly referred to as ‘diglossia.’

Within bilingual communities, the process of code-switching, which will be discussed extensively in Chapter 2 but for the time being will be defined as the alternation between the bilingual’s available languages, is common. Like bilingualism, code-switching has also been viewed as a stepping stone in the process of language shift (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1992). Gardner-Chloros (2010, p. 191), however, argues that although code-switching often occurs concurrently with language shift, this does not necessarily mean that the code-switching itself is exacerbating the shift. In formulating this argument, Gardner-Chloros draws on observations of other scholars who maintain that code-switching seems to be more the remit of balanced bilinguals than less-proficient bilinguals (see also Poplack, 1987; Bentahila and Davies, 1995; Meisel, 1994). Poplack (1987: 71), for example, writes that ‘smooth, skilled switching is the domain of highly fluent bilinguals,’ and as Auer (1984, p. 7) puts it, it is through the ‘on stage’ use of two languages that speakers evidence their bilinguality.

Despite the concept that code-switching may evidence bilinguality, Gafaranga (2007, p. 12) notes that code-switching is often met with negative attitudes, especially in the case of bilinguals themselves. The view is often perpetuated that code-switching occurs because

of a deficiency in one of the languages (see Sounkaulo, 1995); similarly, Gafaranga emphasises speakers often attribute code-switching to ‘laziness.’ This negative view of code-switching also applies to the concept of ‘borrowing.’ Although the line, or even the existence of a line, between ‘code-switching’ and ‘borrowing’ remains debated in the contact literature (see Poplack, Sankoff and Miller [1988] and Myers-Scotton [1993] for different views), it is generally held that borrowings consist of single linguistic elements, whereas code-switching involves longer strands of discourse. Most commonly, borrowings consist of single lexical items and Poplack et al. (1988, p. 52) famously distinguish between ‘nonce’ borrowings and loanwords. Both types of borrowings may be linguistically integrated into the recipient language, but whereas nonce borrowings tend to be single occurrences of lexical items from the donor language into the recipient language, loanwords tend to have an established presence in the particular speech community. Winford (2010) notes that in contact situations, subordinate languages tend to borrow more from dominant languages than do dominant languages from subordinate languages. It is sometimes hypothesised that borrowing fulfils lexical gaps, and with an asymmetrical power distribution, it is also conjectured that borrowings happen because the subordinate language lacks words for technical and intellectual advancements. Winford (2010, p. 177) further points out that this view has led to active measures against borrowing, which is perhaps most famously characterised by the French Academy’s negative sanctioning of borrowing, most recently as a result of English’s sociocultural hegemony.

Negative sanctions against borrowing and code-switching are illustrated by discussing the contact between English and Scottish Gaelic; although the focus of the thesis is code-switching, not borrowing, both topics are introduced in this chapter, as research into Gaelic contact phenomena has tended to focus more on borrowing than code-switching. This discussion is foregrounded by a very brief sociohistorical overview of the Gaelic language shift, and the chapter concludes by hypothesising that research into Gaelic-English code-switching has remained largely underdeveloped due to views of code-switching as a symptom of language shift, not as a bilingual phenomenon.

### 1.3 Language Shift and Gaelic: A Very Brief Sociohistorical Overview

The minority status of Scottish Gaelic is a result of a Scenario 2 contact. Traditionally purported to have been brought over from Ireland in the fifth century AD,<sup>1</sup> Gaelic emerged as the socially-dominant language in the eleventh century and was not only spoken across most of what is modern-day Scotland, but was the language of the court, church, and literature. However, following the adoption of Norman French as the court language, Gaelic's fortune began to change (MacKinnon, 1974; Ó Baoill, 2010). Social restructuring to a feudal system and the establishment of commercial centres known as burghs meant an influx of Flemish and English speakers into Scotland, and a divide between the more urbanised area in the south and east of Scotland, known as the 'Lowlands' and the rural mountainous northern area known as the 'Highlands' began to emerge. Power and progress were associated with the Anglophone Lowlands, while the Highlands, which remained predominantly Gaelic-speaking, connoted barbarity and backwardness. Active measures were taken to suppress the language, one of the most notorious being the Statutes of Iona in 1609, in which nine clan chiefs were kidnapped and forced to sign an agreement which suppressed their language and culture (Withers, 1984). The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge's (SSPCK's) banning of all Gaelic reading material in schools in 1713 is another example of such hostile attitudes toward the language and had far-reaching detrimental effects for the language (Durkacz, 1978). Post 1750, the dominant social structure of the Highlands was that of landlord-tenant, where the fate of the tenant, who rented a small croft (farm) from a large landowner, was largely contingent on the benevolence of his landlord (Withers, 1988). The aftermath of the unsuccessful Jacobite Rebellion of 1746 saw further repression of Highland culture and during the dark period of Scottish history known as the Clearances, which lasted from 1792-1886, many Gaelic speakers were forced off their land and sent away to places such as America and Canada (MacKinnon, 1991). Although the Crofter's Act of 1886 gave some assurance to tenants that they could not be evicted from their land, the problem of land and poverty was far from over. The terrain and harsh climate made farming at anything but a subsistence level difficult, and the structuring of the land into small holdings made expansion problematic (Caird and Moisley, 1961). Efforts at industrialisation in the Highlands and especially the Hebrides did not prove very successful (MacLeod, 1996). It was therefore common for Gaelic speakers to migrate abroad or to

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<sup>1</sup> For an example of an alternative view, see Campbell (2001).



urban centres such as Glasgow with the hope of making a more lucrative living (Withers, 1998). Further contributing to the de-population of the Highlands and Islands were the effects of the First World War. Besides the devastating numbers lost on the Western Front, the Western Isles were the site of one of the worst peacetime maritime disasters in British history, which was made all the more tragic by its circumstances. In the early hours of the morning of New Year's Day 1919, the *Iolaire* sailed to Stornoway, carrying what is believed to be 284 servicemen, predominantly from Lewis, who were going home to their families after surviving World War I. The boat, however, struck rocks and because of the cold sea and the darkness, 205 men lost their lives (Commun Eachdraidh Nis, 2012). However, despite the magnitude of this tragedy, it remains a story little remembered outside the Hebrides (MacLeod, 1996).

The Highlands remained an area of underdevelopment both economically and in terms of infrastructure well into the mid-twentieth century. Roads were poor, if they even existed in some places at all,<sup>2</sup> and even into the latter half of the twentieth century, clean running water and electricity remained unavailable in some parts of the Highlands and Islands (MacLeod, 1996). The 1872 Education Act had made no provision for Gaelic in schools, and because of the perceived relationship between Gaelic and poverty, children were discouraged from using their native language. As late as the 1930s (and perhaps even later) an implement known as the *maide-crochaidh* ('hanging stick') was used to punish children who spoke Gaelic at school (MacKinnon, 1977). Although this overtly negative attitude towards Gaelic in education was reversed with the advent of bilingual, and later, Gaelic Medium Education (GME), its effects were far-reaching. Chapter 3 will argue that the education young Gaelic speakers received was instrumental in perpetuating the language shift from the 1950s to the present, and thus, despite the considerable efforts that have been made on behalf of the language's maintenance since the 1970s, Gaelic has continued to decline.

Today, the Gaelic language and its peoples exist as a minority within Scotland and within the wider socio-political structure of the United Kingdom. According to the most recently published Census (2001), there are only 58, 652 speakers of Gaelic in Scotland. However, with Gaelic's history of subjugation and migration, compounded with the devastating

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<sup>2</sup> One of the most poignant examples of this is 'Calum's Road,' as described in the book by Roger Hutchinson (2006). A man named Calum MacLeod on the Isle of Raasay repeatedly wrote to the Council asking for a certain road to be built. When this was not forthcoming, he and his brother built the road themselves.

population loss of two world wars, it is remarkable that the language has survived until the present day. Gaelic sociolinguist and historian Kenneth MacKinnon (1991) writes:

The Gaelic communities have surprisingly maintained themselves into the late 20th century despite the most formidable adversaries [...] The modern history of Gaelic society since the Clearances and the establishment of the crofting community, has included two world wars, a profound intervening depression, and a subsequent history of both neglect and exploitation with little regard for community and ecological values. (p. 181)

A more detailed description of recent developments in Gaelic's decline and maintenance in the late twentieth century will be given in Chapter 3. The following section will move on to discussing research on borrowing and code-switching in a Gaelic context.

## 1.4 Contact Phenomena in a Gaelic Context

Although this thesis and indeed most studies dealing with contact phenomena in a Gaelic context focus on the contact with English, other studies have given attention to Gaelic's linguistic relationship with other languages, such as Pictish (see Ó Maolalaigh, 2008), Latin and Anglo-Norman (see Watson, 1997) and most notably, Old Norse and Scots. As in other places in the British Isles and Ireland, toponyms are reflective of the Viking influence; suffixes such as *-bost* meaning 'farmstead' and *-dal* meaning 'valley,' are common in the Hebrides (Cox, 2010). Stewart (2004) further argues that it is possible to show the etymological relationship between a number of Old Norse lexical items beginning with s + stop and semantically similar words in modern Scottish Gaelic. Additionally, the phenomenon of pre-aspiration in Scottish Gaelic has gained the attention of a number of scholars; because of its prevalence in modern Scandinavian languages, it has been hypothesised that pre-aspiration is a reflex of contact between Gaelic and Old Norse (Oftedal, 1956; Borgstrøm, 1974), though this theory has been problematised in more recent work (see Ó Murchú, 1985; Ó Maolalaigh 2010). Quick (1988) argues that Scots<sup>3</sup>, the Germanic language spoken by inhabitants of the Lowlands, can also be found in Gaelic lexical items, especially those related to the household domain; however, one of the potential problems in examining the influence of Scots on Gaelic is the linguistically-close relationship between Scots and English. However, Ó Baoill (1997, p. 554) points out that some words, such as *froca* ('dress') and *prìne* ('pin'), originate from Scots (*frog[e]*; *preen*), not English.

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<sup>3</sup> Scots has also suffered language shift due to its prolonged contact with English (see MacAfee and Ó Baoill, 1997).

The bulk of Gaelic contact research deals with the influence of English on Gaelic and looks mostly at borrowings, a process that has been evidenced in Gaelic literature from at least the seventeenth century. Gillies (1993, p. 22) explains how these early borrowings can be found in Gaelic poetry and usually take the form of an English lexical item for a military term or a luxury good; MacAulay (1982a, p. 208) cites such examples of seventeenth century borrowings as *baiteal* ('battle') and *ra-treuta* ('retreat'). He then goes on to illustrate that the practice of borrowing in literary works continued into the eighteenth century, but tapered off in the nineteenth and twentieth century due to normative register constraints. He emphasises, however, that borrowing continued within the spoken register.

The resistance to borrowing in the literary register meant that the use of loanwords became most associated with an informal speech style. In 1961, John Lorne Campbell undertook a project in which he recorded and transcribed the autobiography of Aonghas Mac'III' Fhialain, a crofter in South Uist. In the introduction to this work, entitled *Sabhal an Treobhaiche*, or *The Furrow Behind Me*, Campbell emphasises that the style Aonghas Mac'III' Fhialain used in his narration was very vernacular. As evidenced by the excerpt below, Campbell's main reason for this assertion is Mac'III' Fhialain's constant use of English within the Gaelic discourse:

The language in which these reminiscences were told was extremely colloquial. In fact, *The Furrow Behind Me*, or *Saoghal an Treobhaiche* as I have called it in Gaelic, is by far the longest text in modern colloquial Scottish Gaelic that we possess. Scots or English loanwords are frequently used, usually for things for which spoken Gaelic has no actual equivalent, sometimes for elegant variation or for effect; sometimes whole English sentences are quoted verbatim. This corresponds to the realities of life for a native Gaelic speaker: there is no attempt to provide Gaelic equivalents for things for which only English names are actually current. Words like 'bicycle,' 'hire,' 'hotel,' 'fence,' 'well' (exclamation), 'wire', are part of the Scottish Gaelic language today, however one spells them. Any reader of *Paris Match* will be well aware that Scottish Gaelic is not the only language that borrows English terms in this manner. (p. 2)

The correlation of English loanwords and a more informal speech style is also noted in MacAulay (1982a,b) and Dorian (1994). In her famous 1981 book *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*, Dorian argues that it is through the use of borrowing that East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) speakers are able to discuss even the most technical topics in Gaelic, and observes that English loans are often integrated into Gaelic morphology. This observation runs somewhat counter intuitive to MacAulay's (1982b)

later conclusion that the more technical a conversation is, the more likely the conversation will occur in English rather than Gaelic. Despite these differences in opinion, however, the anecdotal observation that the use of loanwords indexes a more informal speech situation has recently been quantitatively substantiated by Lamb's (2008) study of Gaelic register variation. Lamb found that use of English borrowing is most characteristic of the spontaneous spoken register as opposed to more formal registers such as prose or spoken media. In comparing radio interviews and the spontaneous conversations, for example, Lamb (2008, p. 194) writes that in radio interviews, 'a greater self-consciousness arising from its public nature is probably responsible for the lower level of English borrowing evinced than in conversation.'

The confinement of borrowings mainly to the spoken register, and Lamb's (2008) conclusion that speakers might be 'self-conscious' of using loanwords, suggests that the use of English borrowings in Gaelic may have received negative sanctioning. One reason for this sanctioning may be that Anglophone culture has had, and continues to have, a sociocultural dominance over Gaelic culture, and therefore using an English word is sometimes viewed as indexing this hegemony. This concept is poignantly illustrated in the following excerpt from the *Còmhradh nan Cnoc* (Conversation of the Hills), written by the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod (*Càraid Nan Gàidheal*, 'Friend of the Gaels') in 1831. This excerpt is one of a series of dialogues that were intended as a medium of didacticism, and generally, the structure of the dialogues consisted of one speaker acting as the teacher or informer, and the other characters interjecting with questions (see Kidd, 2000). In this particular dialogue, the character Mòr Òg has just returned from spending time in the Lowlands. She begins by criticising the clothes of the people around her, and is then reprimanded for her use of English loanwords, especially for her use of the English kinship term 'uncle:'

**Excerpt Reproduced from *Còmhradh nan Cnoc* (p. 197)**

Mòr: *Tha e coltach nach feumadh duine aodach decent sam bith a chur orra san duthaich so*  
(It seems that people don't need to put on 'decent' clothes at all in this land)

Pàra: *Tha iundrainn agads' air a Ghalldachd [...]*  
(You're missing the Lowlands)

Mòr: *O Uncle! Is droll an duine sibh: bithibh sibh daonnan ri fun 's ri magadh*  
(Oh Uncle! You're so 'droll': You're always about fun and teasing)

Pàra: [...] *Uncle ars' ise!! Nach iongantach nach dubhairt i, Mr. Finlay agus Mr. Peter mar thuirt am Bodach Gallda.*  
( 'Uncle' she says!! Isn't it a wonder she didn't say Mr. Finlay and Mr. Peter like the old Lowlander man said)

This excerpt illustrates why speakers might have had negative reactions to instances of English borrowing. Here, the borrowing occurs in the context of Mòr Òg's critical stance towards the people in her homeland, and as Pàra points out, Mòr has quickly acquired a Lowland outlook. He pokes fun at the use of the Anglophone kinship term 'uncle' and takes the jibe further by suggesting that she might even refer to him and the other character, Fionnlagh Pìobaire, by the Anglophone equivalents of their names (Finlay and Peter);<sup>4</sup> he also suggests that Mòr might use the Anglophone term of address 'Mr.' in speaking to them. Thus, the use of borrowing might have carried, and arguably still does carry, the connotation not only of the English-speaking peoples' sociocultural hegemony, and may additionally conjure the image of the Gaelic speaker who, after a time away from the Highlands, views Gaelic language and culture in a disparaging light. This sentiment is reiterated more than a century later in Dorian's (2010) re-examination of the East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) community: speaking English was associated with snobbery and Dorian (2010, p. 241) writes of one speaker who, upon returning to the ESG community after working in London, was reprimanded for using English and accused of being 'too proud' to use Gaelic. Dorian also (p. 98) relates an incident in which a husband corrects his wife for using *tunaichean* (tunes), which is the English word 'tune' with a Gaelic plural suffix instead of the Gaelic word *puirt*, and writes that 'For all their ubiquity, loanwords were still linguistic bad form in this community if there was a well-known Gaelic equivalent.'

Another reason why speakers might be resistant to borrowing is the perception that borrowing indicates a lack of proficiency in the language. Dorian (1986), for example, noted that speakers she terms 'semi-speakers' did not borrow an English word when they lacked a basic word in Gaelic, but would find another way to phrase the same semantic content. This presumably stemmed from a belief that borrowing was in some way indicative of their linguistic shortcomings as well as the overall negative sanctioning against borrowing as illustrated from the previous quote in Dorian (2010). The sentiment that linguistic insecurity may lead to heightened resistance to borrowings is echoed in O'Malley-Madec's (2007) work on two Irish-speaking communities, in which speakers from the 'less traditional' Irish-speaking community were much less likely to adapt English discourse markers into their Irish speech. In keeping with Gafaranga's (2007, p. 12) observation that bilingual speakers often see code-switching as 'lazy,' in 1927 eminent Gaelic scholar W.J. Watson proclaimed (p. 324): 'I incline to think that a good deal of this

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<sup>4</sup> For an example of the significance of using Anglophone names, see the discussion of an 1832 Irish poem in Mac Mathúna (2007).

mixture of languages is due to a lazy habit of speech rather than to a real lack of Gaelic terms.’ McLeod (2004) addresses the concept of ‘lack of terms,’ explaining that mainstream monoglot Anglophone culture is permeated with the perception that Gaelic speakers borrow words because they lack the concepts or technology in their own culture. In reaction to this belittling view, speakers may be less likely to borrow and instead create new terms.

The creation of new terms can also be the result of lexical corpus planning which has involved calques, neologisms, and semantic extensions. Lamb (1999) writes that in news-speak, calques and semantic extensions tend to be more common than neologisms, but that when neologisms are needed, news writers try to devise ones that are shorter than their English counterparts. The radio has been an important source in the creation and dissemination of these new terms, as has the internet, especially *Stòr-Data Briathachais*, the recently online dictionary published by the Gaelic college *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig*. However, the existence of new terminology does not necessarily mean that it is used or met with enthusiasm by Gaelic speakers. Calques can often be awkward and a literal translation of the English can result in a Gaelic word that is semantically confusing or meaningless. For example, *Stòr-Data Briathachais* lists *meanbh-thonn* (literally meaning ‘little [water] wave’) as meaning the electrical appliance ‘microwave,’ which semantically reflects nothing of a ‘microwave,’ as of course the ‘English’ word is not based on the concept of a water wave. Lamb (1999, p. 144) gives an example of *reidio-beò* being used to mean ‘radioactive,’ which is in fact quite a confusing calque as it could easily be interpreted as ‘live radio,’ meaning a program that is being aired live. Another criticism of language planning terms is that many speakers find them inauthentic, as McEwan-Fujita (2008) discusses in describing how office workers view a colleague who uses *An Ubhal Mac an Tòisich* (‘Apple Macintosh’) to refer to his Mac computer with great amusement. Other office workers describe how although they use certain terms in the work environment, such as the Gaelic for ‘answering machine,’ they would not normally use these terms in other contexts.

Resistance to borrowing suggests that speakers might look unfavourably on the longer strands of language alternation, which is more commonly referred to as ‘code-switching’ as opposed to ‘borrowing.’ Returning to the 1831 text (p. 198), the character Pàra didactically says, ‘*Nuair a bhios sinn a’ bruidhinn Beurla, bruidhneamaid Beurla; ach an uair a tha sinn a’ bruidhinn Gaelic, labhramaid Gaelic.*’ (‘When we are speaking in English, let us speak English; but then speaking Gaelic, let us speak Gaelic’). In the text,

this statement is framed not as account of habitual action, but as a prescriptive and didactic articulation of language use. This need to separate the use of the two languages and negative attitudes towards mixing the languages is echoed in McLeod's (2004) satirically-titled article '*Feumaidh sinn a' Ghàidhlig a chumail pure*:<sup>5</sup> The Problems of linguistic purism in Scottish Gaelic,' in which McLeod (p. 41) quotes the Gaelic writer Aonghas Caimbeul describing Gaelic as 'one third [...] in English, one third in neither English nor Gaelic, but rubbish of both sloshed around together.'<sup>6</sup> This sentiment is echoed in Dorian (2010):

In each of the three fishing communities, courtesy dictated that one should reply in the language one was addressed in. A few individuals had a habit of code-switching, and by this local courtesy rule they imposed code-switching behaviour on their partners, too, willy-nilly. A fluent Brora bilingual complained in 1972: 'There's a woman down there at the end of the street, she starts off with the Gaelic. I answer her back; but in the middle of it, then she starts the English, so English then I've got to answer back.'

This may have been annoying behaviour, but it was not offensive. (p. 240)

These strong reactions to code-switching and borrowing may be the reason why studies have shied away from examining Gaelic-English code-switching in depth. Studies that approach Gaelic-English code-switching at all, and especially as a *bilingual* phenomenon, not a language shift phenomenon, are relatively scarce. MacAulay's (1982b) analyses of three exchanges between a vendor and a customer clearly illustrate that Gaelic-English bilinguals use code-switching for emphasis and effect and further shows that social deixis plays an integral role in how these speakers code-switch with each other. However, although these examples are insightful, they are limited to the code-switching patterns in one specific context. Additionally, the author notes that although he wrote down the exchanges shortly after they occurred, the exchanges were reconstructed, not recorded and transcribed from the recordings. Cram (1986) highlights the need to investigate code-switching in more depth, and suggests that the reason the study of Gaelic-English code-switching has remained underdeveloped may be due in part to the potential difficulty in gaining access to the intimate speech style that elicits code-switching. He discusses the problems of the Observer's Paradox and states that code-switching would not occur in the traditional Labovian interview. He then outlines a method by which code-switching data

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<sup>5</sup> 'We must keep Gaelic pure,' which McLeod acknowledges as an often ridiculed phrase first used in the Gaelic magazine *Gairm* in 1953.

<sup>6</sup> McLeod's own translation of Gaelic text *Suathadh ri Iomadh Rubha* by Caimbeul, A. (1973). Glasgow: Gairm.

could be collected at the preface and the closing to an interview; however, despite his description of a method and the promising title of ‘Patterns of English-Gaelic and Gaelic-English Code-Switching,’ the author does not present any actual code-switching data other than observations of literary works and reference to his 1981 analysis of code-switching in the film *Whisky Galore*. In 1993, Mertz published an article on the metapragmatic functions of code-switching based on her ethnographic experience in Cape Breton, the traditionally Gaelic-speaking area of Nova Scotia, Canada, where rapid language shift has occurred. Although her observations and analysis are insightful in terms of use of Gaelic in the wider public arena of Cape Breton, they do not shed much light on the use of code-switching by bilinguals in their natural conversations. MacEwan-Fujita’s (2008) discussion of code-switching is also limited to a more public arena, as she focuses on the use of neologisms and speakers’ attitudes towards them in looking at the language use of workers in a Gaelic office.

## 1.5 Aims and Outline of the Current Study

It is clear that a study of the code-switching patterns in a recorded corpus of naturally-occurring Gaelic-English speech has not been undertaken. The possible reasons for this have been outlined, and it is clear that such a study is needed in order to understand a key, and under-researched, component of this minority’s language vernacular usage. This study will therefore examine the language use of three generations of a bilingual family located on the Isles of Skye and Harris. The focus on a particular family allows for natural everyday conversation in the home environment—the kind which previous research suggests is most conducive to code-switching—to be recorded and analysed.

Additionally, using the family framework allows for comparison of the different generations, which will mean that conclusions drawn from this microcosm increase their applicability in terms of language alternation studies in general.

The study has three main research questions:

- 1) How do the speakers use their two languages on the individual, intragenerational, and intergenerational levels?
- 2) What role does code-switching play in the meaning-making process of this family’s interactions?



3) How does code-switching, and the meaning of ‘code,’ vary in terms of generation?

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 2 gives the relevant sociolinguistic framework of the study, and Chapter 3 then outlines the historical background of Gaelic’s shift and maintenance within the context of these three generations. Chapter 4 describes the methodology and Chapter 5 outlines the main quantitative findings of the study. The qualitative analysis begins in Chapter 6 with a discussion of the first generation’s language use, and centres on two major analytic constructs— stance and constructed dialogue—in looking at how these older speakers (aged 55-77) use code-switching for effect. Chapter 7, *Nana’s Narratives*, continues these themes further in looking at how one first generation speaker’s use of code-switching contributes to her success in the telling of two lengthy narratives. Chapter 8 examines the second generation (aged 17-38), and discusses how although these speakers are English-dominant, they occasionally switch to Gaelic in certain contexts, particularly when they explicitly direct talk at the third generation. The discussion of the third generation (aged 3 and 7) in Chapter 9 takes a child language socialisation perspective in arguing that the third generation’s sporadic use of Gaelic is reflective of the adults’ language practices. The conclusion in Chapter 10 will discuss the further implications of this family’s language use in terms of bilingual and code-switching research.

## 2 Sociolinguistic Framework: Code-Switching and Bilingualism

### Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the main sociolinguistic issues in this study, and the chapter will focus primarily on the concept of code-switching. This topic is foregrounded by a brief overview of bilingualism, as code-switching is essentially viewed as a bilingual phenomenon. Because this thesis takes a sociolinguistic as opposed to a linguistic approach to code-switching, the discussion will focus primarily on sociolinguistically-oriented code-switching studies. This chapter demonstrates how this subfield has been developed from different analytic practices and details the shift in perspective from a view of code-switching as necessarily indexical of macrosocial categories towards looking at how the code-switching functions at the microinteractional level of conversation. It demonstrates the utility of using the latter approach, further exploring its application in studies of bilingual families as well as in studies of bilingual children. The chapter then addresses the critiques of *a priori* equation of ‘code’ to ‘language’ by drawing upon evidence of ‘mixed codes’ and concludes by highlighting the need to approach code-switching from a more bilingual perspective.

### 2.1 Bilingualism

#### 2.1.1 Who is Bilingual?

Romaine (2004, p. 385) states that for the majority of the world’s population, bi- or multilingualism is the norm. However, despite the prevalence of bilinguals, agreement on the definition of ‘bilingualism,’ or determining who bilinguals are, has remained in some ways, an on-going question. Bloomfield’s (1933) often-cited definition of bilingualism as having native-like abilities in two languages, juxtaposed with Weinrich’s (1953) also often-cited definition of bilingualism as the alternate use of two languages, highlights the divisions in conceptualisations of bilingualism, and consequently, who bilinguals are. This lack of an agreement in the definition of bilingualism has been met with criticism (e.g. Swain and Cummins, 1979), but this ontological debate is perhaps more a reflex of the intricacies in studying bilingualism and bilinguals rather than a lack of cohesion on the part of the researchers in the field.

Baker (2011) emphasises that there are number of dimensions to being bilingual and to studying bilinguals. One of the first and foremost dimensions, as foreshadowed by Bloomfield's (1933) definition, is the question of ability in the two languages. Differing measures of abilities have led to adjectives to describe varying degrees of abilities in the two languages (for a full inventory, see Li Wei, 2000). For example, a 'balanced' bilingual is the prototype of someone who, like Bloomfield's definition, appears to have native-like control of both languages. In contrast, an 'asymmetrical' bilingual has, as the name suggests, more abilities in one language than in the other, and a 'passive' bilingual is usually referred to as a person who has receptive abilities in one of the languages but has limited abilities in other key language areas. As Silva-Corvalán (1991, p. 151) points out, however, labelling does not always present a full picture of a bilingual's linguistic capabilities, and therefore the concept of a 'bilingual continuum' is perhaps a more useful way of conceptualising and describing the bilingual individual.

The means by which the speaker acquired his or her two languages is another issue in bilingual research, and also gives rise to a number of labels. The distinction is usually drawn between speakers who have acquired the two languages more or less from birth (simultaneous bilinguals) or have acquired their second language later in their development (successive bilinguals). In looking at simultaneous bilinguals, one of the main questions is the extent to which the child develops as a bilingual, as a number of studies (e.g. Fantini, 1985; de Houwer, 1990; Döpke, 1992, Lanza 1997) show that a variety of factors affect the child's abilities in his or her two languages, and in some cases, the child may develop fully in one of the languages, but may only possess passive skills in the other language (de Houwer, 2009). It is also quite possible that through a bilingual's lifetime his or her language dominance might change (see Seliger and Vago, 1991), resulting in him or her becoming a 'recessive' bilingual. In contrast to this concept, the term 'additive' bilingual is used to refer to someone who has learned a second language at no cost to the first language (Myers-Scotton, 2006). The reasons for acquiring a second language may play a role in the bilingual's development in each language; motivations may be instrumental, which refers to learning because of the need to access necessities or to gain employment (e.g. an immigrant learning a new language because he or she has moved to a new country) or integrative, which refers to learning because of cultural or personal reasons (e.g. someone learning a 'heritage' language even though he or she could function in everyday life without it). The attitudes which a speaker may have towards a particular language and its speakers may play an important role in the abilities he or she develops in both the languages (for a good overview of this subject, see Gardner, 1988).

Besides the linguistic skills and the means by which the bilingual acquired the two languages, the degree of communicative competence in each language is another dimension in assessing someone's bilingualism. This has to do with what Baker (2011, p. 4) refers to as being bicultural, where besides having abilities in both languages, the bilingual is able to function appropriately in the cultural context of each language. Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 41) writes that many second language learners have greater linguistic abilities in their second language than they do an understanding of appropriate cultural norms, causing them, as she shows with an illustrative example, to sometimes make inappropriate pragmatic choices. The domains in which the bilingual uses the two available languages is another question to consider in examining someone's bilingualism; for example, is the bilingual able to use the two languages in a variety of different situations and contexts or is his or her language use limited to certain domains?

This last question raises an important point about conceptualising bilingualism. Thus far, the questions have centred around bilingualism on the individual level; the issues and terminology used have mostly described the individual in terms of how he or she processes and produces speech. It has not discussed the way bilingualism operates at the societal level. It is the intersection of the individual and the societal that lays the basis for Grosjean's (1989; 1992) paradigm-shifting work that criticised studies of bilingualism for their monolingual outlook. He argues that what he terms the 'fractional' view of bilingualism has presented the concept of the bilingual as the sum of two monolinguals. A bilingual's abilities are compared to monolingual standards, and this, Grosjean argues, gives an inaccurate picture of the bilingual, as the bilingual is a 'speaker-hearer' in his or her own right. Grosjean (1992, p. 51) thus defines bilingualism as 'the regular use of two (or more) languages' and bilinguals as those people who 'who need and use two (or more) languages in their everyday lives.' He writes:

The bilingual uses two languages—separately or together—for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. Levels of fluency in a language will depend on the need for the language and will be extremely domain specific (hence the 'fossilized' competencies of many bilinguals in each of their two languages) (p. 55)

Grosjean's definition is more concerned with the domains in which a bilingual uses the two available languages than perceived fluency, and in some ways, implies that a community of speakers is a necessary provision for the existence of a bilingual speaker. It also

assumes that there will be a reason for domain allocation and this domain allocation is a social reality; part of being bilingual, in this definition, after all, involves appropriate domain usage. This concept of domains, and their role in the conceptualisation of bilingualism, will be discussed in the next section, as domain usage and associations play formative roles in sociolinguistic, and especially macro-sociolinguistic, approaches to code-switching.

### **2.1.2 Domains, Diglossia, and Language Shift**

Just as deciding who is bilingual raises many questions, the concept of deciding what constitutes a bilingual community also raises several issues. To provide context for this study, this section will focus on pertinent dimensions of bilingualism which are useful in examining a community that is undergoing language shift.

In the brief discussion about language shift in Chapter 1, the idea was presented that although bilingualism may be viewed as an intermediate step in the process of language shift, communities that are bilingual are not necessarily undergoing language shift. Bilinguals may maintain use of their languages in complementary domains, in which one language operates as the H(igh) variety and the other operates as the L(ow) variety. This is commonly known as diglossia, a term coined by Ferguson (1959); typically the H variety is used in higher education, religion, higher government, and mainstream media, while the L variety constitutes more local contexts and is used in the home domain. This concept was expanded upon by Fishman (1965) who conceptualised different scenarios of the interface between bilingualism and diglossia in his article ‘Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism.’ He argues that when languages are no longer allocated for specific functions, language shift begins to occur.

Edwards (2010, p. 4) points out that stable domain usage is difficult to maintain, as it is clear to see that as one language occupies the place of prestige, it may spread to other domains. Fishman’s (1965) three-generation model of language shift further illustrates how lack of domain allocation leads to language shift. In the prototypical scenario where immigrants move to an area where their language is a minority, the first generation are mainly monolingual in the L1, while the second generation are generally bilingual, and the third generation are mainly monolingual in the L2. Fishman (1965, p. 86) illustrates how language shift occurs when the domains are blurred and how, in the prototypical three generation model, the L2 pervades the L1 home environment, resulting in intergenerational

language shift. Fishman's later work (1991; 2001) focuses on how to reverse this process of language shift, and his work with Nahirny (1965) specifically addresses the issue of language maintenance in the three generational framework, characterising (p. 312) ethnic identity maintenance efforts such as learning a heritage language as 'what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember.'

In a community undergoing language shift, domains may become opaque, or certain domains which once entailed one language's use now no longer require the use of that language. Speakers may no longer 'need,' as Grosjean (1992, p. 52) says, a particular language to function in their daily lives; daily life can now be carried out solely through the medium of the L2, and speakers' use and proficiency may vary considerably with regard to certain factors, especially age (see Dorian, 1981; Kulick, 1997; Li Wei, 1994 for good examples of this). Some speakers may be recessive bilinguals, some passive bilinguals. The point in this discussion is to highlight that while domain usage may be important in conceptualising bilingualism at the individual or community level, it becomes slightly more problematic when examining a community that is undergoing language shift. It is also to suggest that the degree to which a community may be characterised as a bilingual community can be difficult to determine, and just as a bilingual is thought of in gradations, so too may bilingual communities be conceptualised on a continuum.

The problems that are presented here in defining 'bilingual' at the individual and community level are meant to illustrate that there are not fixed definitions of 'bilingual.' At some abstract level, bilingualism involves the use of two languages, and it is up to the researcher to look at language use before ascribing the term 'bilingual' to an individual or community, and is also his or her duty to defend how and why this label is being applied. In his landmark study *Bilingual Conversation*, Auer (1984) argues against defining bilingualism in terms of cognitive function or as appropriate language domain display. He emphasises (p. 7) that studies need to look at *how* that status of bilingual is achieved and that this ultimately involves looking at the multiple ways that the bilingual uses two languages; in other words, how does one 'do being bilingual?' It is this question that will inform assessment of 'bilingualism' for the remainder of the thesis, as not only is the data concerned with speakers' language use in one particular domain (the home domain), but it is interested in how the various speakers over the three generations 'do being bilingual.'

## 2.2 Code-Switching

### 2.2.1 Introduction

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, Gaelic scholarship has not seriously tackled code-switching phenomena. It was hypothesised that this gap in the research may be due in part to ideological factors, especially views that code-switching is a reflection of Anglophone sociocultural hegemony. This gap in research may also be due to the fact that despite the prevalence of code-switching in bilingual and bidialectal communities worldwide, the study of this phenomenon has, until about forty years ago, existed at the periphery of linguistics and sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1977, p. 4; 1982, p. 63; Milroy and Muysken 1995, p. 8; Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 9). Part of this peripheral existence may be due to the perception that code-switching is unsystematic (Gafaranga, 2007 p. 279). This was alluded to in Dorian's (2010, p. 240) quote in Chapter 1, in which she described speakers as 'imposing code-switching behaviour on their partners, willy-nilly.' In 1971, Labov also conceptualised code-switching as a random occurrence in his article '“System’ in creole languages,’ where he examined a strand of Spanish-English code-switching<sup>7</sup> and concluded:

So far, however, no one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints, and we therefore must describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems. (p. 457)

Gumperz (1977, p. 9; 1982, p. 70) responds to Labov's assertion on this exact account and through his own pioneering work (Blom and Gumperz, 1972), and other studies such as Poplack (1979), Myers-Scotton (1988; 1993), and Auer (1984; 1988), have illustrated that code-switching is not a random, haphazard phenomenon. Typically, code-switching studies have sought to explain language alternation using one of two major frameworks: the grammatical approach or the sociolinguistic approach (Gafaranga, 2007, p. 35). The grammatical approach is primarily concerned with constraints that operate in code-switching, and takes a theoretical linguistic perspective in demonstrating how at the level of grammar, code-switching is orderly. Focus tends to be on intrasentential switching (i.e. within the prototypical unit of the 'sentence') not intersentential switching (across

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<sup>7</sup> The beginning of the passage is as follows:

*Pos so cada* you know it's nothing to be proud of, *porque yo no estoy* proud of it, as a matter of fact

Therefore

*because I'm not*

I hate it, *pero viene* *Vierne y Sabado yo estoy*, *tu me ve haci a mi, sola* with a, *aqui solita*

but Friday and Saturday I am, you'll see me like you see me alone just alone

sentences). Important work within this framework includes Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1979), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), and Muysken (1995). Sankoff and Poplack's (1981) statement that code-switching only occurs when the interface between the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule in either language has remained an important observation and object of inquiry. Other concepts, such as Clyne's (1967) notion of 'triggering' in which he theorised that the insertion of one lexical element from one language may 'trigger' a switch into the other language, remain intriguing questions, and additionally, the idea of a 'base' language has remained an important question in linguistic conceptualisations of code-switching. This idea of a base language is perhaps best illustrated by Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF), which asserts that one language operates as the grammatical frame for the unit of analysis (i.e. the sentence) and the other language, the embedded language (EL) is subsumed into ML's grammatical structure. Both languages are activated during bilingual speech but the alternation between ML and EL is contingent upon the amount of activation of each language at a particular time.

The sociolinguistic perspective, on the other hand, examines social and/or interactional motivations for code-switching. The difference between the linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches can be conceptualised as similar to the divide between theoretical linguistics and sociolinguistics; however, this is not to say that researchers do not incorporate elements of both approaches in their studies, synchronically or diachronically (e.g. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller; 1988 Myers-Scotton 1988; 1993; Li Wei, 1994). In terms of the sociolinguistic approach, a traditional division is drawn between macrosocial approaches to code-switching and microinteractional approaches to code-switching. The division between the two approaches is well attested in the literature (see for example, Auer, 1998; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998), but perhaps in highlighting the differences, the similarities have become obscured. Essentially, both approaches are looking at *why* code-switching occurs and how this relates to the social meaning of the code-switching. The main difference, however, is the starting point for the analysis: the macrosocial approach uses higher order social constructions as an explanatory framework, while the microinteractional approach looks to the local level of the conversation as the locus of the analysis. The following sections will detail these analytic practices and will consider how the overall development in sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching has led to investigation that looks at how the local functioning of code-switching not only indexes higher order social roles, but in turn creates them.



## 2.2.2 Macrosocial Approaches

Blom and Gumperz' (1972) study of a bidialectal town in northern Norway is arguably the first major landmark developing the field of sociolinguistically-oriented code-switching studies. Blom and Gumperz looked at speakers' alternation between Ranamål, the local dialect, and Bokmål, the standard dialect, and on the surface, speakers evidenced a diglossic usage of the two codes. The standard dialect was used in the more institutional settings, such as schools and church services, and the local dialect was used in more locally-oriented activities. However, although the situation resembled diglossia, and the speakers themselves reported that they conformed to the dichotomy of the standard versus dialect based on particular settings, the reality was more complex. This led Blom and Gumperz to distinguish between situational and metaphorical code-switching. Situational code-switching, they explain, is code-switching constrained by the given social situation, such as the location and relationship of the speakers to each other, i.e. the use of the standard in a church sermon versus the use of dialect in a heart to-heart chat between two friends (p. 126). Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is related to the indexing power of the two languages and their relationship to particular settings. As Blom and Gumperz write:

The semantic effect of metaphorical switching depends on the existence of regular relationship between variables and social situations of the type just discussed. The context in which one of a set of alternates is regularly used becomes part of its meaning, so that when this form is then employed in a context where it is not normal, it brings in some of the flavour of this original setting. . . . . Similarly when (R) [Ranamål] phrases are inserted metaphorically into a (B) [Bokmål] conversation, this may, depending on the circumstances, add a special social meaning of confidentiality or privateness to the conversation. (p. 127)

The concept of one language indexing solidarity, or as Blom and Gumperz (1972, p. 121) put it, indexing being part of the 'local team,' and the other language indexing participation in an outside membership is further explored in Gumperz' (1977; 1982) distinction between a 'we' code and a 'they' code. This distinction has been touted as one of the main facets of the macrosocial approach: a code indexes a particular social group and these social groups are drawn across traditional in-group/out-group divisions. The terms 'we' code and 'they' code are fairly transparent, and as Gumperz (1977, p. 6) explains, the 'we' code designates the 'ethnically-specific' in-group language, and the 'they' language signifies the majority language. Gumperz further explains, however, that the real

difference between ‘we’ group interactions and ‘we’-’them’ group interactions is that in ‘we’-’them’ interactions, the majority ‘style’ prevails (in other words, the majority language is used out of necessity) but in ‘we’-only interactions, the interactants are aware of the range of linguistic varieties at their disposal: they can use the ‘we’ code, the ‘they’ code, or switch between both codes.

The other most influential approach within this macrosocial perspective is Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model, which is based primarily on data of multilingual encounters in East Africa. Myers-Scotton (1988) proposes that for every interaction, speakers have a socially-conditioned sense of ‘markedness;’ in any particular speech event, a co-present set of code options are available, and a speaker has a conditioned knowledge of where a particular choice falls in the continuum of marked-unmarked. Appropriate manipulation of the marked-unmarked continuum determines the success of a speaker in a given interaction. For example, Swahili might be the unmarked choice for strangers interacting in urban areas in East Africa, but a speaker might switch to English as a marked choice to index authority or socially distance himself from his interlocutor, as Myers-Scotton shows (p. 151) when a speaker uses English to demand his change from a bus conductor. In other cases, a switch might occur because speakers recognise that they share the same ethnic language, such as Luyia, as shown in the example of an interaction between a visitor and the security guard of a company (p. 139). This example highlights the use of code-switching as the unmarked choice, as it is expected that if two speakers find out they share the same language they will switch from the urban lingua franca of Swahili to their ethnic language. Myers-Scotton also contends that overall code-switching can operate as the unmarked choice, as she shows in an example where two educated professionals have a casual conversation on a veranda.

It is perhaps this last concept, code-switching as an unmarked choice, coupled with Myers-Scotton’s bold opening statement that (p. 176) ‘ This chapter provides an overall explanation of code-switching, using primarily an East African base,’ that has elicited criticism of the Markedness Model (see, for example, Auer, 1998; Li Wei, 1998; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998). The category ‘code-switching as the unmarked choice’ has proved unsatisfactory, as it subsumes complexity under one large heading, and additionally, it is difficult to accept that Myers-Scotton’s examples, which are limited to exchanges by strangers and casual acquaintances in East Africa, can truly provide a definitive theory of ‘code-switching’ that is applicable to all multilingual groups, as well as various social situations.

Although it has been emphasised so far that this thesis is taking a microinteractional approach to code-switching, certain concepts, such as ‘we’/‘they’ codes, and the idea that particular language use may be ‘marked,’ will be discussed in the analysis, especially in discussing each generation’s overall use of code-switching and further exploring how the meaning of ‘code’ varies in terms of generation.

## **2.2.3 A Microinteractional Approach**

### **2.2.3.1 Discourse Function and Contextualisation Cues**

The microinteractional approach, or Conversational Analytic (CA) approach as it is sometimes referred to, is arguably best characterised by the pioneering work of Peter Auer (1984, 1988); however, the work of Gumperz (1977; 1982) played an important role in the naissiance of this new analytic view of code-switching. First in 1977, Gumperz re-examined metaphorical code-switching, and adopted the term ‘conversational’ code-switching to refer to code-switching that is not the product of a change in domain, but to language alternation within an exchange that usually occurs at the sentence boundary or within the sentence. In this article, he looks at three bilingual communities and concludes that, although the ‘we’/‘they’ code dichotomy is present in each community, the relationship between these categorisations is more complex in actual language use.

Gumperz’ 1977 article and the later 1982 book examine how the study of code-switching may be furthered by analysis of conversational structures in which code-switching occurs. He outlines several key functions of code-switching in conversation (1977, p. 14-21): quotations, addressee specification, interjections, repetition, message qualification, and personalization vs. objectivization. In discussing quotations, which will form a large part of the analysis presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis, Gumperz (examples 14-15) shows that when speakers code-switch in the context of rendering someone else’s speech, the switch usually occurs between the contextualisation of the reported speech and the actual reported speech (i.e. ‘he said’ will occur in Language A and the content of what ‘he’ said will occur in Language B). However, Gumperz does not further discuss the direction of the switching in the case of reported speech. His discussion of addressee specification and interjections is also sparse, but he shows clearly that in repetition, a speaker will juxtapose the same semantic content in two different languages. Message qualification is similar to repetition; the message will be given in one language, and the qualifying semantic content will be delivered in another language. Gumperz notes (1977: 18) that the process of code-switching between what he refers to as ‘personalisation vs. objectivization’ is ‘somewhat

more difficult to specify in purely descriptive terms;’ this will be discussed further in Chapter 6, as it will be argued that this category can be equated to the concept of ‘stance.’ In general, Gumperz’ discussion on some of his enumerated key functions of code-switching remains underdeveloped; however, this work is nonetheless important in beginning the process of viewing code-switching as related to a local, conversational goal rather than necessarily functioning as an index of a larger macrosocial category.

One of Gumperz’ (1977; 1982; 1992) other main contributions to the microinteractional approach to code-switching is the concept of ‘contextualisation cues.’ Closely related to Goffman’s (1974) notion of frames, contextualisation cues are the means by which speakers signal their meanings and how interlocutors come to the correct interpretation of the speaker’s meaning. As Gumperz (1992) writes:

conversational interpretation is cued by empirically detectable signs, contextualization cues, and the recognition of what these signs are, how they are related to grammatical signs, how they draw on socio-cultural knowledge and how they affect understanding, is essential for creating and sustaining involvement and therefore communication as such. (p. 42)

A contextual cue may range from the global to the local at all levels of speech, linguistic and paralinguistic. For example, in most varieties of English, a speaker will increase his or her pitch at the end of a sentence to contextualise a question. This would be an example of a more global contextualisation cue; other contextualisation cues are more locally-situated and dependent on a context only meaningful to a particular group of speakers, as Gumperz (1992, p. 42) demonstrates in the analysis of one speaker imitating a mutual friend by animating the friend’s reported speech using a ‘whiney’ voice. Because of a shared context, the interlocutor correctly interprets that speaker’s referential meaning, and this correct interpretation is contingent upon shared knowledge and relevant in the immediate conversation, which are the parameters by which interactants both create and interpret meaning within an interaction. Auer (1992, p. 26) enumerates on contextualisation cues by emphasising how context is both ‘brought along’ and ‘brought about;’ the social roles, relationships, and frames for interpretation are not only endogenous to an interaction, but exist as a creation *within* the interaction. For example, in an interaction between a boss and an employee, the roles ‘boss’ and ‘employee’ are not necessarily established by titles and salaries, but in the way that these two interactants create a power dichotomy within the conversation, such as the employee’s use of deferential language and the boss’ lack of deferential language. As Ochs (1996, p. 416) puts it, ‘This property of language means

that, when interlocutors use indexical forms, they may *constitute* some social structure in the immediate situation at hand.’

Gumperz (1977, 1982) argues that code-switching, like other linguistic and paralinguistic features, may operate as a contextualisation cue, stating (1982, p. 98): ‘Code-switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactical or lexical processes.’ The relationship of code-switching and contextualisation cues will be further discussed in Section 2.2.3.2, as not only do contextualisation cues play a large role in looking at code-switching from a Conversational Analytic (CA) perspective, but they are one of the main theoretical underpinnings in examining the code-switching of the Gaelic-English bilinguals in this study.

The importance of looking at discourse functions in explaining instances of code-switching is also explored in Zentella’s (1990) article ‘Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in the Study of Bilingual Code-Switching.’<sup>8</sup> Zentella’s study of Spanish-English bilingual children growing up in the Puerto Rican community of *el Barrio* in New York City shows that at a young age, bilingual children are competent code-switchers and are able to alternate languages for a variety of discourse functions. Zentella (1990, p. 84) groups the discourse functions as ‘crutching,’ ‘footing,’ and ‘emphasis and appeal.’ The ‘crutching’ category resembles more or less a momentary ‘borrowing’ due to a momentary lack of linguistic competence in the language or because a certain word or concept is more apt in one language than in the other. Zentella also states that taboo words fall into this category, and that the young bilinguals would use taboo words in the language in which they were first acquired. The ‘footing’ category, as the name suggests, is based on Goffman’s (1979) concept of the way a speaker re-aligns the discourse between him/herself and the interlocutor. Zentella found that her young bilinguals were very productive in using code-switching for a variety of footing functions, including topic changes; contrasting between interrogatives and declarations; appositives; changes in discourse frames, such the closure of a narrative; and in changing roles, such as shifting from actor to narrator. In discussing the last category, ‘emphasis and appeal,’ Zentella finds that the children tended to use code-switching in requests, which included both mitigating requests and threatening requests, an observation that, as will be discussed in

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<sup>8</sup> This article is based on Zentella’s (1981) unpublished PhD thesis, *Hablamos los dos. We speak both: Growing up bilingual in el Barrio*, which Auer makes specific reference to in *Bilingual Conversation* (1984, p. 4-5, 29).

Chapter 9, resonates with the children in this study of Gaelic-English code-switching. Additionally, children would use code-switching with repetition used as a means of amplifying requests. The examination of the relationship of code-switching to discourse functions led Zentella to conclude that although the symbolic ‘we’/‘they’ code distinction was in operation, the use of each language was not necessarily related to this larger concept, but that:

the end result was the fact of the switch itself was more important than the language of the switch. Apparently, code-switching is an organizing feature that highlights aggravation, mitigation, and other discourse strategies, often regardless of the language chosen. (p. 85)

### **2.2.3.2 Code-Switching and Conversational Analysis**

This idea that it is the code-switching itself, not the language, that is an important organisational tool is echoed in the work of Peter Auer, who can be considered the foremost pioneer of the microinteractional approach to code-switching. Auer (1984; 1988) expands on the work of Gumperz and Zentella by using the discourse functions as a starting point for analysis. However, unlike previous research, Auer’s aim is procedural rather than classificational, and his approach focuses more on the processes by which speakers arrive at their interpretations of code-switching rather than listing the discourse functions that code-switching may serve. Additionally, Auer’s analysis is not situated in single examples which are isolated from their conversational context; Auer instead uses a rigorous Conversation Analysis (CA) method in looking at code-switching in extracting meaning from rapid switching. Auer (1984, p. 5) notes that it is surprising that until his work, few attempts had been made to integrate with tenants of the ground-breaking method of CA as pioneered by Goffman, Sacks, and Schelgoff, among others, in the 1960s, with analysis of bilingual conversations. He emphasises (p. 3) that the use of CA in examining code-switching marks a shift in analytic practice.

One of Auer’s (1984; 1988) contributions to this new analytic practice is conceptualising the motivations for language alternation as being a product either of the individual speaker (and his or her language attitudes, preferences, and/or abilities) and/or as a product of the speaker’s goals in terms of the organisation of the discourse. This distinction, which Auer terms participant-related versus discourse-related code-switching, can be further understood by discussing the simplest prototype of language alternation: a speaker begins an utterance in Language A, then finishes his or her utterance in Language B. If the

speaker switched because he or she lacked the competence to express him/herself in Language A, or because he or she prefers Language B (which Auer [1988, p. 173] notes often go hand in hand), then the code-switching would be categorised as participant-related code-switching. In contrast, if the switch in language had been in order to signal a change in the conversation, such as a topic change, for example, then the code-switching could be categorised as discourse-related code-switching. Language B may still be the speaker's dominant or preferred language, but the point to be made here is that while linguistically speaking, participant and discourse-related code-switching may look the same, the motivations and the impact on the interaction are fundamentally different.<sup>9</sup> These differences concern what Auer (1988, p. 176) refers to the 'signalling process' of conversation: in participant-related code-switching, speakers are signalling some relationship between themselves and the language, which is usually related to some larger order category, such as language attitudes or competence issues. However, in discourse-related code-switching, the speakers' use is not indexical of some feature between the speaker and the language, but is a means of negotiating changes in the interaction itself.

Like Gumperz, Auer (1988) also argues that code-switching functions as a contextualisation cue, and that for bilingual speakers, the use of different codes may be used to signal the microchanges occurring within the interaction. Effectively signalling the changes and co-navigating through the changes is how interactants communicate with each other, and Auer (1988, p. 176) enumerates some of the discourse-related code-switching found in his corpus of Italian-German bilinguals living in Constance, Germany. For example, a speaker might impart information in Language A and then evaluate it in Language B. Similarly, a speaker might mark an elaboration, reformulation, or a repetition. In narratives, code-switching can mark the change between a preface to a story and the narration of the story, or might signal the coda to a story. Speakers may also switch languages as they oscillate between 'setting the scene' and the actual events in the narrative as well as information that is 'given' and 'new' ([c.f. Chafe, 1987]). However, by highlighting the different discourse functions in which code-switching may be employed, Auer's intention is not to provide a classificatory template for code-switching, but to see how participants procedurally arrive at these interpretations; in other words, how interpretation is situated in a turn by turn analysis. Auer (1984) writes:

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<sup>9</sup> Auer (1984) makes the point that the two terms are not mutually exclusive; instances in which the two coincide are what he terms 'polyvalent.'

Participants apparently do not interpret code-switching or transfer by subsuming a given instance under one of a pre-established set of types; instead, they dispose of certain procedures for coming to a local (situated) interpretation where the exact meaning or function of language alternation is a result of both contextual information and these more general procedures. (p. 11)

The goal of the analysis, therefore, is to look at these procedures, how they are interpreted within the interaction, and to see the role that language alternation plays in bringing about these interpretations. This differs from the other approaches in that the main interest is not ‘Code-switching fulfils discourse functions X, Y, Z’ but rather, looking at *how* the code-switching is used to achieve different discourse functions. In looking at the conversational context as a whole, and not just isolated examples of code-switches, the analyst is in a stronger position to make postulations about what the code-switching *means* within a particular conversation. It is this analytic vantage point that will inform the discussions of the Gaelic-English code-switching that form the core of this thesis.

### **2.2.3.3 Discourse Force and Code-Switching**

Auer’s development of using a sequential, locally-embedded approach to interpret language alternation has proved an important analytic perspective in a variety of studies. Following Auer’s approach, a number of studies have used CA methods in looking at code-switching, and have revealed the potential of code-switching to add an extra layer of ‘discourse force’ to the ongoing conversation.

One of the first studies to use this approach was Alvarez-Cáccamo’s (1990) study of Galician-Spanish bilinguals. Alvarez-Cáccamo found that the use of language alternation may be integral in establishing the opening of a conversational frame as he shows in the analysis of a museum board meeting of Spanish-Galician bilinguals. In his example, a speaker negotiates a non-business-oriented humorous frame by switching to Galician. Alvarez-Cáccamo (1990, p. 7) emphasises that while it might be tempting to analyse this as a way of indexing solidarity and a more casual group dynamic, he argues that this particular switch does not function as a way of indexing these macrosocial entities, but functions simply as a way of navigating frames within a discourse. The work of Nishimura (1995) also illustrates the use of code-switching in terms of frame negotiation, and her study of Japanese-English bilinguals also illustrates Auer’s conclusion that code-switching is often found in conjunction with prefacing or closing a narrative. These studies have further built on Gumperz’ (1977; 1982) relatively underdeveloped observation that code-



switching is used to contextualise reported speech, a phenomenon which is tempting to attribute to the idea that speakers code-switch in reporting someone else's speech because that was the language in which the person originally said his or her utterance (see Gal 1979, p. 109). However, Nishimura (1995) shows that this is not necessarily the case; speakers may render reported speech in a different language from its original utterance for certain highlighting techniques. Similarly, Alvarez-Cáccamo (1996) gives an example where an older speaker switches from Galician to Spanish in reporting the speech of a younger speaker. He demonstrates that although the younger speaker indeed was speaking Spanish when he originally said what he said, the older speaker's use of Spanish in this example serves as an iconic representation of a younger speaker in this community. Because of language shift, many younger speakers tend to be Spanish-dominant, and therefore the code-switch in this case not only highlights the quote's separation from the surrounding discourse, but gives a further dimension of indexing power to the quote.

Sebba and Wootton (1998) also explore quotations in their work that incorporates traditional macrosocial views (i.e. 'we'/'they' code concepts) into a CA analysis of code-switching between a London Jamaican dialect and a London English dialect. They demonstrate how code-switching is used as an additional resource to set off the quote from the surrounding discourse and also show how it can be integral in bestowing a particular identity on a character in the narrative. They further show that within the narrative, a speaker may code-switch in delineating certain actions in a narrative (e.g. [p. 282-3] a speaker narrating his own actions in London English and a shop customer's actions in London Jamaican, despite the presumption that both interactants were London Jamaicans) as well as code-switching in taking up certain identities within a narrative (e.g. [p. 280-1] where a speaker code-switches to London Jamaican when she takes up a morally conservative identity within her narrative).

This additional dimension that code-switching brings to a discourse is explored in Gardner-Chloros, Charles, and Cheshire's (2000) article 'Parallel Patterns? A Comparison of monolingual speech and bilingual discourse.' This article is instrumental in tackling the important question of why speakers code-switch in some instances and not other instances. Gardner-Chloros et al. compare monolingual speech and bilingual discourse from speech samples of the same Punjabi-English speakers in the same interaction. They analyse how speakers achieve certain discourse functions; namely, asides, repetitions, quotes, and the pragmatic contrastive 'but' both monolingually and bilingually. For example, a speaker may monolingually set off a quote by imitating the original speakers' voice, or may

bilingually set off a quote by switching between the framing of the quote and the reported speech. Gardner-Chloros et al. find that when the discourse functions were achieved with code-switching, they had more discourse force. For example, the separation of the quote from the surrounding discourse was made doubly salient by the code-switch, and repetitions were made noticeable by the change in language over repeated semantic content.

#### 2.2.3.4 Code-Switching and Family Interactions

Because this study looks at code-switching within a family, this section will briefly discuss other studies that use the family as the locus of their studies. Li Wei's (1994) monograph *Three Generations, Two Languages, One Family: Language Choice and Language Shift in a Chinese Community in Britain* is an ambitious study that seeks not only to explain language choice in the Tyneside Chinese community by approaching code-switching from linguistic, macro and interactional frameworks, but also incorporates Milroy's (1987) social network approach in its scope. In his study, Li Wei argues that in terms of macrosocial conceptions of code-switching, Gumperz' 'we'/'they' code distinction is relevant, but is drawn along generational lines, with Chinese<sup>10</sup> operating as the 'we' code for the older generation and English operating as the 'we' code for the younger, mostly British-born generation. He also shows, however, that although the 'we'/'they' code according to the generations is relevant, it does not fully account for the language alternation in his corpus, which consists mainly of family dinnertime conversations. He therefore applies a CA approach in looking at how conversational structures are integral to an understanding of these speakers' language use with each other and in his other works (1995; 1998), he emphasises the importance of forging a link between the macro and the micro in viewing language alternation. Li Wei demonstrates, for example, that in Chinese culture, children are expected to show deference to their parents. This is the macrosocial operational frame. This macrosocial frame can then be 'brought about' by a parents' refusal to comply to a child's request if the child uses English while the parent uses Chinese. In other words, in this situation, the macrosocial structure is motivating the parent's insistence on using Chinese and refusal to answer when confronted with a request in a divergent code choice; at the same time, this power relationship between parent and child is being created within the scope of the conversation. Li Wei (1998) emphasises that this conceptualisation again points back to a theoretical weakness in Myers-Scotton's

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<sup>10</sup> 'Chinese' is the broad term used for the different varieties, i.e. Mandarin, Hokkien, etc. that were examined in this study.

(1988) idea of ‘markedness;’ instead of applying a social structure to a case of divergent language choice and explaining it in terms of adherence to that social structure, it is important to look at how that social structure is *brought about* by language choice. As Li Wei (1998) succinctly summarises it:

Thus, the fact that a bilingual speaker has chosen to code-switch invites a more detailed, perhaps multi-layered analysis which can demonstrate that in addition to its capacity of highlighting the status of the on-going talk, code-switching as a contextualisation cue has the capacity to ‘bring about’ higher level social meanings such as the speakers’ language attitudes, preferences, and community norms and values. (p. 173)

The use of code-switching in family interactions, and its importance in role relationships, is also explored in Ng and He’s (2004) study of three generations of Chinese immigrants in New Zealand, which found that the second generation took on the role as ‘interpreter’ by code-switching in interactions when the third generation and first generation members were co-present. Williams (2005) demonstrates that the use of Cantonese is integral in indexing the role of ‘parent’ in an interaction between a mother and daughter, where the daughter uses Cantonese in taking on the role of ‘knowing adult’ vis-à-vis her mother. The implications of this study point back to Gumperz’ (1972) early observation that a language variety becomes associated with a particular domain (i.e. in this case, the mother), and therefore its use in another setting (i.e. in this case, another speaker—the daughter), brings with it a certain ‘flavour’ of the original setting.

### **2.2.3.5 The Macro and Micro in Children’s Use of Code-Switching**

As part of this study of Gaelic-English bilinguals involves looking at children’s use of code-switching, this section discusses several studies from a CA framework that demonstrate how even at a young age, children have the ability to code-switch for effect. For example, Cromdal’s (2005) and Jørgensen’s (1998) respective studies of Swedish-English and Turkish-Danish bilingual children demonstrate that the young bilinguals would code-switch between doing a task and talking about the task. In Jørgensen’s (1998) study, he argues that the code-switching is in many ways reflective of the languages’ disparate statuses: the children use Danish in doing and talking about school tasks, and Turkish is used for the teasing and arguing that accompanies the task. This falls into the prototypical ‘we’/‘they’ code distinction and is further reflective of the prominence of Danish in public and educational life. However, Jørgensen also shows how the symbolic

function of the minority language, the ‘we’ code, is critical in power-wielding in the children’s interactions.

Cromdal (2001a; 2001b; 2004) also shows the use of code-switching in power negotiations; however, in the English school in Sweden which was the object of his study, the ‘we’/‘they’ code is more complicated, as although Swedish is the majority language in this context, English has status as a wider global language, and the international nature of the school meant that the children’s home languages varied. Overall, his studies clearly illustrate how it is not the use of one particular code over the other that is important, but rather the contrast created by employing different codes. In the 2001a study, Cromdal demonstrates how children use code-switching to gain the floor; in instances of bilingual overlapped speech, speech in the language that deviates from the prior turns secures the floor. He argues that this pattern operates as an important contextualisation cue in bringing the interactants’ attention to the code-switched utterance (and therefore the code-switcher), thereby ensuring success of turn-taking.

Similarly, as shown by Cromdal’s (2001b) study, code-switching may be operationalised to gain entry to play. Cromdal (2004) also demonstrates how code-switching can also be used as a means of ‘peaking’ the argument and an important source of alignment/disalignment in arguments. In this study, he also shows how speakers might exploit their bilinguality and others’ lack of bilinguality in power plays. This, he demonstrates, illustrates what Auer (1984) refers to as ‘polyvalence’ in terms of the participant/discourse-related distinctions, as in Cromdal’s example, a proficient bilingual speaker draws on her less-proficient interlocutor’s preference for English in wielding power. By speaking Swedish, the more proficient bilingual girl not only escalates the argument (discourse-related code-switching) but orients (negatively) to the preferences of the interlocutor (participant-related code-switching).

Heller’s (2003) study of students in a French-language school in Ontario also gives an example of a girl using her bilinguality to manage control in a task situation. Here, the student uses juxtaposing semantic equivalent utterances, and Heller (2003, p. 197) argues that girl is trying to draw on her linguistic resources to maintain the peer group norms of English dominance, while at the same time emphasising that the task at hand is in French. Heller’s earlier work (1995) focuses on looking at the relationship between power and language use, focusing the complex situation of French in Canada as a locus of analysis.

She highlights the need to focus on the reflexive nature of the ‘macro’ and the ‘micro’ in code-switching, writing:

In attempting to understand such important processes through an analysis of code-switching, we have in fact had to call into question the distinctions we were making between ‘micro’ levels of social interaction and ‘macro’ levels of social processes. If we can use code-switching to understand processes like power and solidarity, it is because code-switching shows us how specific interactions are mediated through social institutions and linked across time and space to other interactions, through their intended and unintended consequences. (p. 172)

The ‘macro’ associations children might develop regarding different codes is exemplified by Paugh’s (2005) study of Dominican children (some under the age of three) who although they were discouraged from using Patwa in any circumstances, occasionally code-switched to this stigmatised minority language in child-only play. Patwa was sometimes used in congruence with enacting roles of rural, adult males (i.e. who would most likely speak the vernacular) and English was used in taking up roles of authority and prestige in play. Clearly, the studies discussed in this section demonstrate that despite their young ages, children, like adults, can manipulate code-switching for a variety of functions and that their language use can also be reflective of the macrosocial contexts of the different languages. It has also shown the value of incorporating the ‘macro’ and the ‘micro’ in the analysis, and this perspective will be adopted especially when forming hypotheses about how the children in this study of Gaelic-English code-switching view their minority language.

#### **2.2.4 Breaking down the equation of ‘codes’ to ‘languages’**

Thus far, this chapter has presented code-switching as a prototypical alternation of two separate languages or dialects. These languages or dialects are easily distinguished from each other, and the alternation from Language A into Language B is meaningful within the framework of the social situation or within the context of the conversation, or both, depending of the theoretical lens of the research. The reality of the distinctness of the two codes, however, is usually not so simple, and the discussions over whether an instance of language alternation is code-switching, borrowing, or signals the emergence of a mixed code, has led to criticisms that code-switching can be rather ontologically lax, perhaps best summarised by Gardner-Chloros’ (2007, p. 11) allusion to Humpty Dumpty’s line in *Through the Looking Glass*: ‘It just means what I choose it to mean.’

Gafaranga's (2000; 2007; 2011) research on Rwandans living in Belgium is part of a body of work that questions the value of using languages as the starting point for interpreting language alternation. He argues that the language use of his speakers demonstrate that, contrary to Auer's (1984) assertion that speakers in general prefer same-language talk, speakers prefer 'same medium talk.' He argues that for the Rwandans in his study, code-switching between Kinyarwanda and French constitutes a 'medium' of interaction, and that participants orient to, or deviate from this medium through language alternation by, for example, negotiating a monolingual French medium, as demonstrated in his 2011 article on language practices of Rwandan families and their role in exacerbating Kinyarwanda language shift. In this article he also acknowledges that his conceptualisation of language alternation itself as the medium of interaction bears resemblance to Myers-Scotton's (1998) classification of code-switching as the unmarked choice. It could also be argued that Poplack's (1979, p. 254) early equation of code-switching to a 'discourse mode' in the Puerto Rican Barrio community is similar to Myers-Scotton's (1993) category of 'code-switching as the unmarked choice.'

The normative use of two or more languages that appear to operate as a single communicative code are usually referred to as a 'mixed code.' Looking at mixed codes, however, involves more than just determining that the use of both codes and of itself constitutes a mode of interaction; Oesch Serra (1998) and Maschler (1998), for example, demonstrate how the differentiated use of pragmatic connectives and discourse markers in French-Italian and Hebrew-English, respectively, evidence the possible emergence of a new code. They argue that the way that the linguistic elements here are used in the code-switched variety are not congruent to the way that they are used in the monolingual codes and that a new code arises when the codes are mixed. This question has also been tackled by Auer (1999), where he proposes a continuum of code-switching to language mixing to fused lects, where fused lects contain the highest sedimentation of the two languages with each other.

Determining that the alternation of particular languages in a particular context is not meaningful does not preclude the interpretation of *code-switching* as meaningful; rather it simply requires a new vantage point. This new vantage point is probably best characterised by Meeuwis and Blommaert's (1998) conception of 'layered code-switching' as discussed in their study of Zaireans in Belgium. Like Gafaranga's observation that in many ways alternation between French and Kinyarwanda constituted an entity in its own right, Meeuwis and Blommaert show that Zaireans' alternation between Lingala and

French and Swahili and French constitute two codes, Lingala-French and Swahili-French. They argue that monolingual use of any of these three languages would seem artificial to speakers and the authors clearly show how code-switching between these codes, not languages, is meaningful. This is what they term ‘layered code-switching’—that is, code-switching within what, to the linguist, is obviously language alternation. This leads to one of Meeuwis and Blommaert’s most important points, one that is also emphasised in Auer (1984), which is that code-switching should be judged from the speakers’ point of view, not the linguists’ point of view, which is a view adopted in this study and will be discussed further in Chapter 4. The importance of a speaker-centred view of code-switching is also expressed in Swigart (1992), who argues that in Dakar, a variety that can be termed ‘urban Wolof’ has emerged, and that although a linguist might view it as switching between Wolof and French, it functions as a code in its own right. Meeuwis and Blommaert further argue that it is important not only to look at what code or language is being used, but what linguistic varieties are being employed (e.g. Parisian French versus Zairian French). They also argue against the tendency for code-switching to be viewed as a product of balanced bilinguals, and illustrate that meaningful code-switching can occur when speakers may not be monolingually fluent in a particular language.

These last two points—that looking at what particular varieties are being deployed may be as important as looking at what languages are being alternated, and that speakers with mixed proficiencies are also of interest—are emphasised in Rampton’s (1998) exploration of code-switching. Rampton’s earlier (1995) notion of ‘crossing’ has gained currency in sociolinguistics, and this concept of crossing, which Rampton defines as the use of a particular variety that does not ‘belong’ to a particular speaker (i.e. an Anglophone British student using a Punjabi phrase), is integral to looking at code-switching from a more multi-layered point of view. Speakers who code-switch do not exist in social worlds in which only two varieties co-exist; they have access to a number of varieties, which may be more or less, depending on the relative isolation of the community. The urban youth that Rampton presents in his studies (1995, 1998) have access to varieties within their own culture, the urban London culture, and different varieties of what can be conceptualised as the mainstream British culture. Rampton demonstrates how the speakers use these different styles<sup>11</sup> effectively and meaningfully, even though they might not have full access to a particular variety. This concept will become particularly important in this study in discussing the second generation’s use of Gaelic.

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<sup>11</sup> It is not possible to enter into a discussion of ‘style’ at this point; see Eckert and Rickford (2001) for a good overview of the key issues.

These ideas are carried forward in Jørgensen's (2003; 2005) longitudinal study of Turkish-Danish bilinguals; Jørgensen finds that besides using their two languages, the bilingual adolescents use a number of different languages and varieties, including English, German, Swedish, and a stigmatised Danish variety called Sealand. He argues that while sometimes the Turkish-Danish code-switching is ordered, such as in the differentiation between task-doing and talking about the task, sometimes it is not. Additionally, there are the extra layers that the 'other' varieties add to the conversation, and Jørgensen (2003, p. 146) argues that what the teenagers are doing is 'linguaging.' They are using a variety of the linguistic resources and indexical cues available to them in the act of 'performance;' in other words, they are 'doing' language. This concept of 'linguaging' will become very relevant when discussing the third generation's use of their minority language.

## 2.3 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the differences, and similarities, of the various sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching. It has detailed the shifts in analytic practice and shown how the dialogue between the different approaches has resulted in a perspective that takes into account the reflexive relationship between local meaning and broader social categories. Along the way, it has questioned assumptions about how to treat *a priori* social categories as well as predilections that languages necessarily constitute codes. What has emerged is a focus on interpreting 'code' as it is displayed and understood by its speakers, putting aside the need for a single definition of code-switching, and instead calling for ethnomethodological and conversational analytic practices that define code-switching within the bounds of specific groups of speakers.

Despite the gains of code-switching research, however, perhaps one of the shortcomings of different approaches to code-switching, both linguistic and sociolinguistic, is that for the most part, research has been underpinned by a monolingual outlook. The question of *why* code-switching occurs is in and of itself reflective of the idea that at some level, switching languages is a deviation from the norm. Concepts such as code-switching as the 'unmarked choice' or as a discourse mode illustrate that code-switching is not always marked, and mixed codes illustrate that *language* alternation is not always meaningful; however, these important observations do not fully break down the monolingual bias that has permeated code-switching. It could also be argued that the very act of defining an entity as a 'mixed code' is trying to articulate a phenomenon in monolingual terms; although there are two or more languages involved, they operate as a unified code, just as language operates as a



unified code in monolingual speech. The reason that monolingual interactions are monolingual is because that is the only way they can occur, but somehow, this norm has been applied to bilingual interactions, and bilinguals are seen to need ‘motivations’ for their switches. Thus, perhaps the question should not be *why* do bilinguals code-switch and how is this related to local or global social meaning, but rather, *when* bilinguals do switch, how do these occurrences relate to local and global meanings?

## 3 Language Shift and Maintenance over Three Generations

### Chapter Overview

To contextualise the discussion of language use over the three generations in this study, this chapter gives an historical overview of the key developments in Gaelic's shift and maintenance over the span of these three generations. The main topics covered are education, media, official language provisions, and these topics are embedded within a discussion of each generation. The chapter begins with a brief introduction to the Isles of Skye and Harris before moving on to examine the first generation. Most of the discussion centres on the findings of the Scottish Council for Research in Education's 1957 survey of pupils in Highland schools, as the majority of the first generation speakers were returns on this particular survey. The discussion of the second generation begins with the landmark event of the formation of *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (Western Isles Council) in 1975, and examines Gaelic maintenance efforts in terms of Gaelic Medium Education (GME) and the development of Gaelic media. The discussion of the third generation centres upon Gaelic's status as an official language of Scotland since 2005. The chapter will underline a striking irony: in the first generation's time, although there was very weak institutional support for the language, Gaelic remained their peer group language, but by the third generation, despite the advances of language maintenance efforts, English has supplanted Gaelic as the community language.

### 3.1 The Isles of Skye and Harris

#### 3.1.1 Skye

The Isle of Skye (*An t-Eilean Sgitheanach*) is the second largest island in Scotland, covering an area of 645.8 square miles (167261.18 hectares). Its topography is mountainous with a number of unusual geological features, and MacDonald (2005, p. 401) points out that this 'wild' landscape has been an important part of the romantic image of Skye and the subsequent tourist industry that has developed since the mid-nineteenth century. Currently, the tourist industry accounts for the bulk of the island's revenue (Duwe, 2006). Other sources of income include crofting and fishing, and it is not unusual

for these occupations to be combined; a crofter might let out several rooms for Bed and Breakfast guests during the summer, for example. The main urban centre on the island is Portree, the population of which was 1,917 people in the most recently published Census (2001). Portree is located on the eastern side of the island, as are the two other main urban centres, Broadford and Kyleakin, both of which lie about an hour's drive south of Portree. The northwest part of the island, namely the peninsulas of Minginish, Duirinish, and Trotternish, are less urbanised and consist of small crofting townships spread over vast tracts of land, the total population of which was 4,200 in the 2001 Census.<sup>12</sup> Skye is under the remit of the Highland Council, which is based in Inverness.

Traditionally, Skye has been considered a Gaelic-speaking stronghold. As of the 1881 Census, the island was reported as entirely Gaelic-speaking, with one-third of the population of the northwest part and one-quarter of the more urbanised southeast part monoglot Gaelic speakers. However, continuing depopulation of the island has been an important contributing factor in the decline in Gaelic speakers; in 1881, for example, the population for the eastern half of the island was 7,800 inhabitants, whereas in 2001 it was 5,800, and this number even reflects considerable population increase. Between 1931-51, the northwest half of the island lost 20% of its population. Not only has the number of Gaelic speakers dropped as a result of migration from the island, but there has been an influx of English monoglots into the island, beginning at the turn of the century and gaining momentum in the 1980s. These 'incomers,' as they are referred to locally, are typically attracted to the beauty of the Hebrides and are usually better off financially than the local population, meaning that housing prices have increased and in some places, the local population has been made a minority. However, although incomers are mostly English-speaking, a considerable number of them have been supportive of Gaelic and are eager to engage in Gaelic maintenance activities (MacDonald, 1997).

Compared to the Outer Hebrides, the Isle of Skye is easily accessible in terms of transport. In 1995, a bridge was built connecting Skye to the mainland. In addition to the bridge, a ferry service run by Caledonian MacBrayne, the main ferry service for the west coast of Scotland, operates between Mallaig on the mainland and Armadale in the south of Skye. A small private ferry service also operates between Glenelg on the mainland and Kyle Rhea, also in the south of Skye. Skye is connected to Harris (and Lewis) by a Caledonian

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<sup>12</sup> Unless stated otherwise, specific references to Skye and Harris in terms of census figures are from Duwe (2006) Vol. 6 (*Na Hearadh*), Vol. 11 (*An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Trodairnis, Diùrinis, and Minginis*) and Vol. 12 (*An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Port Rìgh, An Srath, and Slèite*).

MacBrayne ferry service that runs from Uig to Tarbert and to the Uists by another service that runs from Uig to Lochmaddy. These links to the Western Isles also contribute to the popularity of Skye as a tourist destination, as often trips to the Outer Hebrides will require a stop-over in Skye.

### 3.1.2 Harris

A name made famous by Harris Tweed, the Isle of Harris (*Na Hearadh*) is not a separate island in its own right, but together with the Isle of Lewis, forms the largest island in Scotland. Geographically, the two areas are separated by mountains and vast moor land, and are culturally considered different islands. Until the formation of *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (Western Isles Council) in 1975, Harris, along with Skye, was under the remit of the Inverness-shire Council, while Lewis was under the jurisdiction of the Ross and Cromarty Council. The main urban centre on Harris is Tarbert, which is located on an isthmus that divides north Harris from south Harris. The other more urbanised area is Leverburgh, in the south, and most of the island's approximately 2,000 inhabitants live near or in one of these two settlements. The terrain of Harris is mountainous and rocky, and like Skye, the traditional occupations of the inhabitants have been crofting and fishing, and which are now often supplemented by the tourist industry. Stornoway, which is the largest urban centre in the Western Isles, is approximately a forty minute drive from Tarbert, and it is possible to reach the mainland via the Stornoway-Ullapool crossing serviced by Caledonian MacBrayne. Additionally, the previously-mentioned service between Tarbert and Uig enables access to the mainland via the Skye bridge. Harris is also connected to the Uists and Benbecula by a ferry that goes from Leverburgh to the island of Berneray, which is connected to the Uists by a causeway.

Historically, Harris has remained a Gaelic-speaking stronghold and arguably exists as one today. In 1891, the entire population was reported as Gaelic-speaking, with half of these speakers being Gaelic monoglots. Even by 1931, 93.1% of the population was Gaelic-speaking. However, Harris, like Skye, has suffered from significant depopulation due mainly to the lack of economic and educational opportunities available in the Hebrides. In 1881, for example, the population of Harris was 4, 800, which is more than twice the current population. After World War II, many inhabitants left Harris and although Harris has also had in-migration in the form of incomers, the post-World War II population has remained low.

### 3.2 First Generation

All of the first generation speakers in this study were either born on Skye or Harris. The oldest first generation speaker, who is naturally the oldest speaker in this study, was born in 1938, and the remaining first generation speakers were born after 1946 (see Table 5.1 for speaker' ages). Therefore, the discussion of the first generation will focus on the 1950s and 1960s, as this is when all of the speakers save for the eldest would have entered primary school.

In 1951, the Census reported that 90,630 people in Scotland spoke Gaelic, and of these, 2,652 were monolingual Gaelic speakers. These numbers reflect a one-third decrease of in total Gaelic speakers, as the 1931<sup>13</sup> Census reported 129,419 speakers, 6,716 of which were monolingual. Despite this decline in speakers overall, however, Harris remained strongly Gaelic-speaking, with 91.9% of the population (3,666 speakers in total) reported as Gaelic-speaking in 1951. This percentage reflects only a slight decrease in speakers over twenty years, as the 1931 Census reported that 93.1% of the population (4,160 speakers in total) spoke Gaelic. In contrast, the Census figures for Skye reflect a decline in Gaelic over the two decades. In 1931, the Census reported that 91.4% of the population in northeast Skye spoke Gaelic, while in 1951 only 83.3% of the population (4,043 speakers in total) were reported as Gaelic speakers. This approximate 8% decrease over twenty years is mirrored in the urbanised southeast of the island; the 1931 Census reported 83.9% of the area population as speaking Gaelic, while the 1951 Census only reported 71.9% of the population (2,713 speakers in total) as speaking Gaelic. Duwe (2006, p. 11) emphasises that the shift was most acute in Portree.

The discussion of the language shift during the first generation's early years will centre mainly on the concept of the education system as a major force in perpetuating the language shift. The landmark 1872 Education Act (Scotland) made no provision for the teaching of Gaelic in schools, and as late as the 1930s, children were reportedly beaten for speaking Gaelic in school (MacKinnon, 1977). In 1957 and 1959, two surveys detailing the bilingual experiences of children in primary and secondary school in Highland areas were undertaken by the Scottish Council for Research in Education. As most of the speakers in this study were returns for this survey, the following sections detail the results of the two surveys, and demonstrates how although Gaelic was still relatively strong at

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<sup>13</sup> No census was taken in 1941 due to the war.

this point, there were already significant signs of shift, which was further perpetuated into the second generation.

### 3.2.1 Primary Education: The 1957 Survey

The focus of the 1957 survey was the area designated by the researchers as the ‘bilingual area,’ and therefore the four councils surveyed were Argyll, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. The report found that 15% (3, 829 children) of children in Primary I-VII spoke Gaelic as their first language. In Skye, the total number of first language Gaelic pupils in Primary I-VII was 415, which comprised 51% of the total primary school population of Skye. In Harris, the total number of pupils with Gaelic as their first language was 356, which comprised 94% of the Harris primary school population and was the largest percentage for any of the islands surveyed. The other Gaelic heartland islands of North Uist, South Uist, Barra, and Lewis ranked at 88%, 82%, 84%, and 66% respectively.

The survey further examined the dimensions of the home language of Primary I and II (pupils aged 5-7).<sup>14</sup> Overall, there were 1,063 children in Primary I and II whose first language was Gaelic. In all cases, these children had at least one Gaelic-speaking parent. However, there were 263 cases in which both parents were Gaelic speakers but English was the home language. A further 51 cases indicated that while Gaelic was the language of the home, the child’s first language was English. Both numbers are illustrative of the language shift in the community; a number of Gaelic-speaking parents did not speak Gaelic with their children, and even if they did speak Gaelic with their children, the children were not necessarily acquiring and/or using the language. More than one-fifth of the overall pupils whose parents did not raise them as Gaelic speakers were from Skye; nearly half of the English first language children in Skye (53 out of 125) had Gaelic-speaking parents.

In the survey, only Lewis had comparable signs of language shift to Skye in terms of Gaelic-speaking parents using English with their children. Out of 210 children whose first language was English, 129 had two Gaelic-speaking parents, while a further 64 had at least one Gaelic-speaking parent. Both Skye and Lewis have the two largest urban areas in the Western Isles and Skye, the largest being Stornoway, on Lewis, and the second largest being Portree on Skye. The 1957 report notes that these two port towns have been the

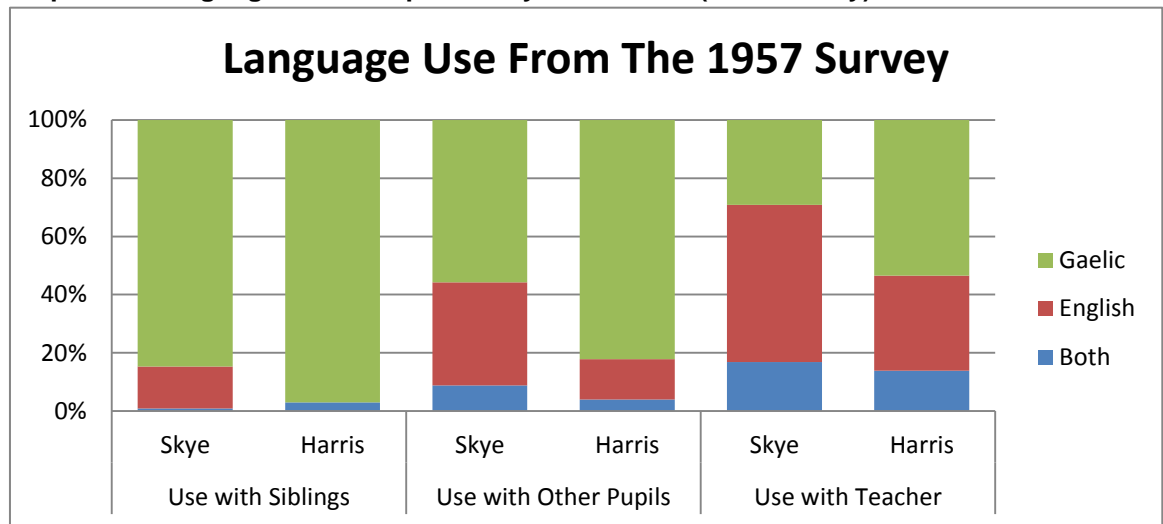
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<sup>14</sup> This survey was filled out by the child’s parent or guardian.

epicentre of the language shift on their respective islands, and that an ‘English pale’ (p. 31) was developing from the port inland. The relationship between urban centres and language shift is clearly illustrated by the number of children with Gaelic as their first language in Portree and Stornoway. In Portree, for example, there were 44 children with Gaelic as their first language, which comprised 19% of the P I-VII population of 226 children in the area. This was the smallest proportion of Gaelic-speaking primary students in all of Skye, with the next smallest being Strath at 32% Gaelic-speaking and Glendale at 47%. In Stornoway, only 4% of P I- VII students reported having Gaelic as their first language.

In terms of language use, in Skye, out of the 113 Primary I and II pupils with Gaelic as their first language, only 94 pupils reported to use Gaelic with their siblings; 16 pupils reported to use English with their siblings and 1 pupil reported to use both languages with siblings. The number further decreases when looking at the children’s intragroup language, as only 63 out of 113 pupils reported to use Gaelic with other pupils; 40 reported to use English with other pupils, and 10 reported to use both languages with other children. In terms of use of Gaelic with the teacher, the number students using Gaelic grows less still; only 33 reported to use Gaelic with their teacher, while 61 reported using English with their teacher, and 19 reported as using both languages with their teacher. In nearly all cases in the survey, the teacher was Gaelic-speaking, but English was the medium of instruction for the classroom.

In contrast to Skye, in Harris there were only 9 children in Primary I and II whose first language was English and 101 whose first language was Gaelic. However, the numbers in terms of the children’s Gaelic usage follow the same declining pattern as in Skye, with use with peers being less than use with siblings, and use with their teacher even less. All children used either Gaelic or both languages with their siblings, but only 83 reported using Gaelic with other children, and only 54 reported using Gaelic with their teachers. 33 reported using English with their teachers, and the remaining 14 reported using both languages to their teachers. This is represented visually by the following graph:

**Graph 3-1: Language use of Pupils in Skye and Harris (1957 Survey)**

In the summary of the Primary I and II survey, the researchers emphasise (p. 46) that in areas where Gaelic is strong, English-speaking pupils might have some knowledge of Gaelic; however, Gaelic-speaking pupils usually have more knowledge of English than their counterparts do of Gaelic. In areas where Gaelic is weaker, such as Portree, English-speaking pupils do not speak Gaelic but Gaelic-speaking children speak English. This asymmetry of language skills in the bilingual area illustrates the language shift in progression, as do the other results of the survey; namely, the number of Gaelic-speaking parents using English with their children, the lower numbers of children using it as their peer group language, and the still lower rate of Gaelic use with pupils' teachers. This last observation underlies one of the main points in this section; not only did the education system at this time mean that children were exposed to, and therefore acquired, English at a very young age, but the exclusion of Gaelic from education meant that children were instilled with the view that Gaelic was not suitable for educational life.

### 3.2.2 Secondary and Higher Education

The Highlands, and especially the Western Isles and Skye, have long been neglected in terms of infrastructure commonplace in other parts of Britain. Secondary schools were no exception to this general trend, and during the 1950s, some students on Skye and Harris had to leave home for their secondary education. Previously on Harris, and as was the contemporary practice on other islands at this time, pupils had to leave their island in order to obtain a secondary education at all, junior or senior. This meant boarding away from home in more urbanised areas, such as Stornoway, on Lewis, Portree, on Skye, or Fort William or Inverness, both located on the mainland. Skye had senior secondary school in Portree, meaning that pupils could take their Highers, which are necessary for entry into



university, but Harris only had a junior secondary school. Thus, from the ages of 16-18, any pupil on Harris wishing to continue their education had to leave Harris and board away at school. In Skye, those students who lived too far away for a daily commute into Portree also had to board away as well.

Leaving home at an early age was not unheard of in British society; after all, elite society usually sent their children off to boarding schools. However, these secondary schools were not elite, and unlike boarding schools on the mainland, because of transport issues in the Highlands, and especially in the Western Isles and Skye, visits home were usually difficult for students who boarded away for secondary school. MacKinnon (1977, p. 105) writes that boarding at ‘hostels,’ as they were known, had very anglicising effects on the pupils. As the earlier discussion of the 1957 survey demonstrates, the language shift in urban areas such as Stornoway and Portree was far more advanced than anywhere else on these islands, and thus the students’ lives now were centred in more English-dominant areas. Mackinnon writes (1977, p. 105) that one student described his experience with the hostel and Gaelic as ‘the older boys soon knocked my Gaelic out of me.’ MacKinnon also reports that students also felt stigmatised for coming from strong Gaelic communities. He further observes that this practice of sending students away meant that not only were Gaelic-speaking areas deprived of their potential leaders, but also that if these potential leaders chose to return to their native homes, they would most likely have a more anglicised worldview than if they had been permitted to attend secondary school in their own communities.

In 1959, the Scottish Council for Research in Education conducted a secondary school survey similar to the primary school survey of 1957. This survey focused on pupils in their first year of study at secondary school, and for this survey it was necessary to have a ‘mainland’ category for each of the island groups by council area due to the centralisation system previously discussed. The researchers’ discussion of the survey points out that in general, the results of the secondary school survey map onto to the results of the primary school study. However, the secondary school survey highlights that in some cases, the pupils’ Gaelic has possibly undergone attrition. Out of the 591 students whose first language was Gaelic, four responded that they were able to understand Gaelic but not speak it; 11 responded that they could conduct elementary conversations in it, and 28 students described themselves as having ‘fair’ fluency in it. The remaining 548 students described their Gaelic as ‘considerably’ fluent. Although it is clear that the majority of students thought of themselves as fluent, the fact that 7% of speakers whose first language

was Gaelic did not consider themselves fully fluent suggests these pupils' linguistic abilities in their first language had deteriorated. Two of the four students who responded that they had passive abilities in the language were housed at mainland secondary schools, which possibly adds further credence to MacKinnon's (1977) observation that boarding away had anglicising effects on the pupils.

It is again emphasised in the 1959 report that although all children with Gaelic as their first language had at least one Gaelic-speaking parent, there were a number of cases where both parents spoke Gaelic, but the pupil's first language was English. Of the 317 pupils who considered their first language English (but who had described themselves as having some ability in Gaelic), there were 162 cases where both of the pupil's parents spoke Gaelic and 122 cases where one parent was a Gaelic speaker. In only 33 cases were neither of the parents Gaelic speakers. These numbers again highlight parents' reluctance to use Gaelic with their children and foreshadow the decline of Gaelic as the home and community language. Another interesting aspect of the 1959 survey was that it deliberately did not ask pupils what language they used with their teachers, as the researchers explicitly presumed that all students would use English exclusively with their teachers by this point.

In terms of tertiary education, even if the pupils had the provisions to stay on their native islands for secondary school, tertiary education meant moving to cities such as Aberdeen, Edinburgh, or Glasgow, and as Mackinnon (1977) emphasises, this perpetuated the sense that success was contingent on leaving Gaelic, and one's own Gaelic-speaking community, behind.

### **3.2.3 Summary**

From detailing these two surveys, it is possible to surmise that as the first generation members progressed through school, the language shift was steadily gaining momentum. Arguably the most indicative aspect of the language shift as evidenced by the surveys is the high numbers of Gaelic-speaking parents who raised their children as English speakers. The numbers for Gaelic-speaking children using English as their peer group language also illustrate the language shift, and to some extent, so does the number of secondary school pupils who claim Gaelic as their first language but do not claim full fluency in it. It is also evident that the language shift is most acute in urban areas such as Portree. Finally, it can be surmised that from the low amount of Gaelic that pupils received in school and the use

of English as the medium for student-teacher interactions, students were instilled with a sense that Gaelic was unfit for academic life.

### **3.3 The Second Generation**

The eldest second generation speaker was born in 1971. The census at this time reported 88,892 Gaelic speakers, which indicates a loss of only approximately 3,000 speakers in twenty years. However, although the Census does not indicate the generational language shift at the national level, other studies confirm that language shift was steadily progressing at the local level. In northwest Skye, the percentage of Gaelic speakers had fallen from 83.3% in 1951 to 72.8% in 1971; in the more urbanised southeast, the decrease was even more marked, with 71.9% in 1951 and 55.5% in 1971.

Gaelic remained strong in Harris, but the percentage of speakers (86.9%) was no longer above the 90% level. In 1973, MacKinnon undertook a survey of pupils in Harris that was based on the 1957 and 1959 surveys discussed earlier. He compared the results of these surveys, and his juxtapositions clearly indicate that in just over a decade and a half, even on Harris, language shift had taken place. In the summary of his many findings, he emphasises (1977, p. 94) that while in the 1957 survey, Gaelic was the language of the home for 91.8% of PI and II students, in 1973, it had declined to only 66.3% of the PI and II students. Gaelic as the exclusive sibling language had declined from 97% to 75.9%, and in terms of the playground language, Gaelic declined from being the sole language used by 83.2% of Gaelic-speaking pupils to 17.2% of Gaelic-speaking pupils.

#### **3.3.1 Bilingual and Gaelic Medium Education**

##### **3.3.1.1 Pre-School and Primary Level**

The eldest of the second generation speakers would have entered primary school in 1976, which is one year after *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (Western Isles Council) was formed. The creation of this council meant that all of the Outer Hebrides were united under one jurisdiction and that the governing area was no longer divided between Inverness and Ross. The Isle of Skye, however, remained with Inverness, which became the Highland Regional Council. One of the first initiatives of the newly-formed *Comhairle* was the introduction of the Bilingual Education Project for primary schools, which sought to introduce the use of Gaelic as a medium of teaching beside English (MacLeod, 2003; McLeod, 2003;

Robertson 2003), as well provide students with an education that was more centred on their local environment (Mitchell, 1989; MacLeod 2003). The project came into effect in 1976, and initially involved 20 primary schools under the council's remit. By 1981, all 54 Western Isles schools were involved in the Bilingual Education Project, which by that time was re-named the Bilingual Curriculum Development Unit. Following the example of the Western Isles Bilingual Project, Skye set up bilingual provisions in northern Skye in 1978, and by 1985, all primary schools in Skye had bilingual provisions (MacKinnon, 1991; Robertson, 2003).

MacLeod (2003, p. 3) suggests that while the Bilingual Education Project succeeded in its goal of providing students an education more centred in their local environment and experiences, it fell short of its aim to introduce Gaelic as a medium of instruction. The latter goal, he suggests, was perhaps unrealistic; after all, the teachers themselves had been educated through the medium of English, and had access to a far greater amount of teaching materials in English. He aptly also points out that while the Project sought to provide bilingual education for bilingual children, because of the omnipresent language shift in the communities, children were not necessarily entering the school as bilinguals. MacLeod recounts an often-heard phrase among parents who had raised their children speaking Gaelic: the children 'lost their Gaelic' when they went to school. Although MacLeod does not go into this in detail, one of the reasons that children might lose their Gaelic would be that English was now replacing Gaelic as the peer group language.

The conception of solely Gaelic, not bilingual, education is attributed to the formation of infant (aged 3-4 years old) playgroups. Inspired by the success of Welsh immersion education, parents concerned with the maintenance of Gaelic advocated the formation of playgroups where infants could be fully immersed in the language. They subsequently set up four '*cròileagan*' (playgroups), and by 1981 there were playgroups operating in Oban, Edinburgh, Pitlochry, and Sleat, on Skye (MacLeod, 2003). In 1982, *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich* (Council of Nursery Schools) was established to facilitate the provision of Gaelic playgroups through Scotland (Robasdan, 2006). In 1985, immersive Gaelic education extended to primary level, as parents, frustrated with the lack of Gaelic fluency pupils were attaining in the bilingual program, witnessed the comparative success of the immersive infant playgroups (Robertson, 2003). The first two Gaelic Medium Education (GME) units were established in Glasgow and Inverness, the total number of students of which was 24. In 1986, a GME unit was established in Portree, Skye, but was initially set up as a P1/P2 class only. Between the years of 1989-93, the number of GME classes rose

nationally by an average of six per year. This then slowed down to an average of three classes per year between 1994 and 1999 (MacLeod, 2003).

The term ‘unit’ is used here because with the exception of free-standing GME schools in Glasgow and Inverness and the designation of five schools in the Western Isles as ‘Gaelic schools’ (McLeod, 2003), GME schools are usually part of English primary schools. This means that although the students receive their education through the medium of Gaelic, their wider social life within the schools is conducted through the medium of English. Because of the situation, there is the possibility that pupils in the GME unit might feel disconnected from mainstream school-life. In Morrison’s (2006, p. 145) study of GME pupils in the Western Isles, she noted that some students reported that they felt like a different ‘tribe’ from the mainstream English-speaking school.

### 3.3.1.2 Secondary and Tertiary Level

In terms of secondary education, GME has not been as successful. As of 2001, Robertson (2001, p. 94) notes that 700 students in Scotland were following fluent speakers’ courses, while 2,200 were following learner’s courses. More recently, Robasdan (2006, p. 90) reports that 400 pupils in secondary schools in the Western Isles were taking Gaelic as a subject, but only 70 were taking courses through the medium of Gaelic. MacLeod (2003, p. 7) quotes the Scottish Office Report of 1994 (p. 3) in summarising the difficulties GME has had establishing itself at the secondary school level: ‘the provision of Gaelic-medium secondary education in a number of subjects, determined by the vagaries of resource availability, is neither desirable nor feasible in the foreseeable future.’ This declaration is clearly reminiscent of the earlier discussion that Gaelic was not, and arguably even today, is not viewed as fit for modern intellectual life; while it might be fine for children to learn Gaelic, important education must take place through the medium of English.

However, despite this overarching negative view of Gaelic, GME has persisted at the level of higher education. The college *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* located in Sleat on Skye was established in 1973 as part of the initiative of the Highlands and Islands Development Board. Now part of the University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI), *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* only offers degree courses through the medium of Gaelic and ‘has proved to be a key factor in bringing Gaelic back into the mainstream of the region’s culture and —through publishing and television in particular— of its economic life’ (Hills and Lingard, 2003, p. 20). Also part of UHI, Lews Castle College in Stornoway offers several higher education

degrees through the medium of Gaelic. The universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow offer classes taught through the medium of Gaelic as part of their Celtic/Gaelic department programs.

### 3.3.1.3 Challenges

Despite its successes, GME education has faced and continues to face many challenges. Within the classroom, one of the challenges is meeting the demand for GME teachers (Rogers and MacLeod, 2006; Stephen et al., 2010), as well as the quality of specialised training that GME teachers receive (Robertson, 2003). Additionally, the availability of suitable course materials in Gaelic has been a problem since the inception of GME (McLeod, 2003). Although studies have shown that GME students' academic capabilities are equal to or greater than their monolingual counterparts' academic abilities (Johnstone, 1999; O' Hanlon, 2010), GME students' academic skills are more advanced in English than they are in Gaelic (Johnstone, 1999; Müller, 2006; O'Hanlon, McLeod and Patterson, 2010). This suggests either a deficit in the pupils' Gaelic tuition or a lack of support for Gaelic outside the classroom, or both.

In terms of language support outside the classroom, as previously mentioned, one of the difficulties is that with a few exceptions, GME students school-day experiences outside the immediate GME classroom are in English (Morrison, 2006). With the exception of *Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu* in Glasgow and *Bùn-Sgoil Ghàidhlig Inbhir Nis* in Inverness, initiatives for stand-alone GME schools have not only been largely unsuccessful, but have also been met with fierce opposition. This was recently illustrated by a controversy over building a stand-alone GME school in Sleat, on Skye, which now operates mostly as a stand-alone GME school with an English Medium stream. Additionally, GME students do not necessarily receive Gaelic reinforcement at home. Roberts (1991) found that while parents in the Western Isles who sent their children to GME had very positive attitudes towards the language, only 39% of pupils had two Gaelic-speaking parents. Stockdale, Munro and MacGregor's (2003) study of three GME units located in Laxadale (Lewis), Castlebay (Barra) and Ullapool (Mainland Highlands) showed that only 28% of parents who described themselves as fluent or native Gaelic speakers sent their children to GME units, suggesting that the rest of the children with Gaelic-speaking parents attended English medium school. The children who were most likely to go to GME were the children whose parents were learning Gaelic or could understand Gaelic. The proportion of children attending GME was highest in the community where Gaelic was the weakest (Ullapool)

and least in the area where the largest proportion of people spoke Gaelic (Laxdale). These findings all highlight that the fact GME students do not necessarily come from Gaelic-speaking homes, and as such, it is not surprising that Stockdale et al. (2003) also found that English was the language of the playground. This finding also raises the question of why Gaelic-speaking parents seem less likely to send their children to GME schools than parents who have no or limited abilities in the language.

Spolsky (1991) emphasises that one of the most important challenges to overcome in terms of language planning is for children learning the minority language in school to start using it as their peer group language. For Gaelic, this does not seem to have happened (Stockdale et al. 2003; Stephen and McPhake 2010; Nance 2011). Nance (2011), in her study of adolescents in the *Sgoil Gàidhlig Ghlaschu*, reported that Gaelic was only ever used as a joke, and Stephen and McPhake (2010) reported that pre-school aged children immersed in Gaelic nurseries never used the language as a peer group language; Gaelic use was mainly limited to direct interactions with the teacher. This situation is nearly a mirror of the first generation, whose education was in English, but whose playground language was Gaelic. Thus, although the gains of GME have been considerable, it is important to bear in mind that English appears to be the peer group language of the younger generations.

### **3.3.2 Gaelic Media**

#### **3.3.2.1 Broadcasting**

The first instance of Gaelic broadcasting media was a fifteen minute broadcast of a religious address in 1923. Gaelic programmes were infrequent on BBC radio; it was not until 1939 that news was even broadcast in Gaelic. Lamb (1999, p. 143) argues that Gaelic broadcasting did not truly come into being until after the Second World War. Even so, the output of radio in Gaelic remained low, with only one and a half hours of broadcasts per week in the 1950s and about 3 ¼ hours of broadcast per week in the 1960s. In 1985, however, *Radio nan Gàidheal* was formed and by the 1980s, this Gaelic radio service was providing about 28 hours of broadcast per week (Mackinnon, 1991). In 1996, the service expanded, and as of 2002, 11 hours of Gaelic radio programming were available during the weekdays (Cormack, 2004). The radio service is also currently available online to listeners in the UK.

The late 1980s saw campaigning for Gaelic television; although Gaelic television was already in existence, the production of programmes was few and far between, with the first truly Gaelic television production being aired in the 1970s. By the late 1980s, the annual production of Gaelic television was 20 hours for adult programmes and 40 in terms of children programmes, meaning that the average weekly air time for Gaelic TV was about an hour per week (MacKinnon, 1991). Arguably, it was not until the Broadcasting Act of 1990 that Gaelic Television fully came into prominence (Dunbar, 2006; Cormack, 2006). This Act provided substantial financial support to Gaelic language television programming, and in 1996 this provision was expanded to include both radio and television broadcasting (Dunbar, 2006). As was the case with Gaelic radio until 1985, Gaelic TV was subject to the schedules of larger TV stations, and Cormack (2004) notes that this resulted in Gaelic programs often being pushed to inconvenient times, such as the after- midnight slots. The year 2008 saw the birth of BBC Alba, the Gaelic television channel. This channel, however, was not initially available on the standard television service, and therefore viewers had to pay for a more expensive television service or watch a limited selection of the programs when they were broadcast on the internet. In 2011, BBC Alba was put on the standard television service, meaning that anyone in Scotland could watch it in real time, and viewers in the rest of Britain could watch it on the internet.

The impact of Gaelic media provisions beginning when most of the second generation would have been 15-25 years old was more far-reaching than simply having access to radio and TV through the medium of Gaelic. As Cormack (2006, p. 12) discusses, one important aspect of the creation and production of Gaelic media is its role in status planning. Media in the context of a minority culture and language not only signals the culture's ability to participate in contemporary social life, but provides a forum for the exchange of ideas and intellectual thought to take place in the language. In the case of Gaelic, this is very important in combatting notions that Gaelic is not fit for the intellectual domain. Further, Gaelic media has been an important source in the creation of jobs for Gaelic speakers and a significant source of industry in the Western Isles and Skye, even though a large amount of the media production remains in Glasgow. It is also valuable in the reification of group identity, and its very existence is an important resource for learners of the language. It also has the potential to encourage native speakers to use their language more. In terms of the the third generation in this study, the provision of a number of popular children's programmes, such as Peppa Pig and Thomas and Friends, in Gaelic means that not only do children have a further medium of exposure to the language, but the existence of these programmes is integral in creating the image that Gaelic is part of



normal public life (see Milligan, Chalmers, Danson, and Lang, 2011, p. 354). This in turn may be an important factor in influencing the children's attitudes, use, and even possibly of acquisition of the language.

Gaelic media, however, is faced by many challenges. One challenge is resources, both financial and in terms of human resources. With less than 60,000 speakers, finding Gaelic speakers for the appropriate broadcast roles can be difficult, and this is exacerbated especially in the TV sector. Another challenge has been in defining and developing programmes specifically for its audience. Cormack (1993) discusses how early TV programming catered mostly to the ageing sector of the population, providing mainly music and religious programming; in essence, early programming was rooted in the stereotype of the 'Gael.' Although more recent Gaelic programming has tried to reach a more diverse audience of older speakers, younger speakers, and learners, Cormack (2003) discusses that one of the problems with minority TV is that it tends to look to the majority culture for templates of 'cool,' and this can result in programming that is inauthentic or simply does not work as well in the minority language and culture. Thus, even though Gaelic media has made many advances, it continues to face challenges and its presence is still dwarfed by the amount of media available in English.

### 3.3.2.2 Print Media

In terms of print media, Gaelic has not fared as well as it has in comparison to broadcast media. This is not to say that Gaelic does not have a rich literary tradition, but rather, as a small industry, the print costs accrued are much higher than an English print company with a large output (Robertson, 2001). Although the printing of Gaelic books has existed since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, its output has been sparse and mainly limited to a few publishers who would occasionally publish a Gaelic title or two (MacDonald, 2007). In 1968, a grant was administered to *Comhairle nan Leabhraichean* (Gaelic Books Council) in order to fill the large gaps in publishing. At that time, the bulk of Gaelic publishing lay under the remit of two main publishers, Acair, based in Stornoway, and Gairm, based in Glasgow. Between 1968 and 1999, 427 Gaelic books were published (an average of about 14 books per year), nearly half of which (197) were published by either Acair or Gairm. However, Gairm is no longer in existence (Cox, 2007).

In 1972, *The West Highland Free Press* was established in Skye with the slogan '*An Tìr, an Cànan, 'sna Daoine,*' ('the land, the language, the people'); however, despite the

promising slogan, it only occasionally features articles in Gaelic. Other newspapers, such as the *Stornoway Gazette*, *The Scotsman*, *The Oban Times* and the *Free Press and Journal*, also have occasional Gaelic articles, but as Cormack (1995) notes, Gaelic is hardly ever used to report 'real news' and its use is largely symbolic. In 1997, a Gaelic monthly newspaper, *An Gàidheal Ùr* was launched. This, however, has ceased to be in existence, as has *Gairm*, the quarterly Gaelic magazine. With the advent of *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* in 2000, there has been an increase in academic publishing through the medium of Gaelic, and in 2007, the academic journal *Aiste*, which publishes a variety of articles either in Gaelic or about Gaelic, was launched at the University of Glasgow.

Although the successes of Gaelic print media seem few and far between, this has to be taken into context. Until the 1970s, speakers received little to no education in Gaelic, resulting in a low literacy rate of Gaelic speakers. Thus, the Gaelic readership of the first generation is severely limited (Robertson, 2001). In terms of the impact of the second and especially the third generation, there have been considerable efforts to provide attractive reading material for young adults and children. Children's books include both books originally written in Gaelic and popular children's books translated into Gaelic, such as Emma Thompson's new *The Further Tale of Peter Rabbit* (*Sgeulachd Eile Mu Pheadar Rabaid*), as well as Beatrix Potter's original children's tales and Julia Donaldson and Axel Scheffer's popular Gruffalo books. However, although there has been a concerted effort to provide young readers with materials in Gaelic, the output is still dwarfed by the amount of reading material available in English. For example, in 2012 the Gaelic Books Council reported the publication of ten new children's books (*Comhairle nan Leabhraichean Annual Report, 2012*), which, although it is an achievement in its own right, nonetheless is miniscule compared to the amount of children's reading material available in English.

### 3.4 Third Generation

The eldest third generation speaker was born two years after the 2001 Census was taken. This most recent census reported 58,652 speakers of Gaelic, indicating a decrease of 7,300 speakers from the previous 1991 Census. In the following quote, Duncan MacNiven, Registrar General for Scotland, summarises the situation of Gaelic as such:

This report, based on detailed analysis of the 2001 Census, shows that Gaelic is thriving as well as declining. The number of Gaelic speakers fell by 7,300

during the 1990's. However, the number of Gaelic readers increased by 3,200 and the number of people able to write in Gaelic rose by 3,100.

The Census suggests that Gaelic is declining in its traditional heartlands, particularly in the Western Isles, but growing in many other parts of Scotland – and among young people. Around 430 more young people, aged five to nine, could speak Gaelic in 2001 than in 1991. (General Register Office for Scotland, 2005)

This quote highlights both the success of maintenance efforts as well as reality of the Gaelic situation: language shift is still occurring, and rapidly, with a loss of over 10% of speakers in a ten year period. Although there is a growth of speakers aged under fifteen years, MacKinnon (2003) points out that in every other age bracket, the number of Gaelic speakers has decreased. MacKinnon attributes the growth of younger speakers to the success of GME, but points out that the number of speakers declines in the teenage age bracket. This 'school-age bulge' (Hindley 1991, p. 27) has also been a feature of Irish censuses, and may falsely represent the number of speakers of the language, as children report that they 'speak' a language simply because they are learning it in school, and may not necessarily speak it proficiently or use it in contexts other than school. Even if this is not true and the children do actively speak the language, the decline in speakers when the children reach their teenage years means a loss in potential parents for the next generation of speakers.

The on-going language shift is also evidenced on the local level by the 2001 Census figures. In northwest Skye, over the period of the two generations, use of Gaelic declined from 72.8% in 1971 to 39.7% in 2001. The decline within this period is incrementally steady, with 67.2% reported in 1981 and 52.8% in 1991. The southeast also shows the incremental shift, with a decline from 49.4% in 1981 to 39.9% in 1991. In Harris, the percentage of Gaelic speakers remained constant at 86.9% in 1971 and 1981, but dropped to 78.8% in 1991, and was 68.2% in 2001. In all cases, it is clear that language shift has occurred in these areas over the past three generations; with the 1951 Census as the starting point, it is possible to see a 23.7% decline in the percentage of speakers in Harris, a 37.4% decline in southeast Skye, and a 43.6% decline in northwest Skye.

This language decline from the second to third generation is detailed by a number of studies. In 1995, MacKinnon published another survey as part of the EuroMosaic project, which details the status of a number of minority languages within Europe. This study confirmed the ongoing language shift within Scotland as a whole, noting the low usage of

Gaelic in the youngest generation when compared to the older two generations. It also emphasised the lack of Gaelic usage in children's various social activities as well as the low incidence of Gaelic used in the community overall.

The Western Isles Language Project (2004) further confirms the decline of Gaelic in the traditional Gaelic-speaking heartland. This study highlights the unfortunate situation of Gaelic in the home, stating that (p. 19) 'Within the family, there is evidence that the use of Gaelic within the family is dying out, as the older generations themselves pass on.' It also reflects a low incidence of community usage, demonstrating that speakers' knowledge that they *can* use the language in a particular situation does not necessarily result in actual language use in that particular situation. Similarly, in their study of Shawbost on Lewis, Munro, Taylor and Armstrong (2011) find that although support and positive attitudes towards Gaelic are high, there is little community use of the language, despite that 66% of Shawbost's adult population is proficient in Gaelic. Intragenerational transmission of the language is low, with only one in five parents speaking Gaelic to their children; additionally, only half of the grandparents in Shawbost speak Gaelic to their grandchildren, despite these older speakers' advanced fluency in the language.

Despite the decline of Gaelic, especially on the community front, the third generation has seen significant advancements for the language, especially on the national level. The following sections will detail these advancements.

### **3.4.1.1 Official Support for Gaelic**

Gaelic has never played the role in national identity formation that the autochthonous languages of its Celtic cousins, Wales and Ireland, have played in the conceptualisation of these countries' national identities (Durkacz, 1983; McLeod, 2006). The reasons for this lack of association between language and a national entity are complex, but one of the main overarching reasons lies in the historical divide between the mountainous Highlands and the more urbanised Lowlands. Whereas during the Enlightenment in Ireland, the ancient ancestors of Gaels were touted as the height of civility, in Scotland, the economic problems of the Highlands meant that Gaeldom was viewed with embarrassment by most Scottish patriots (Kidd, 1994). In 1707, the Scottish Parliament was adjourned and parliamentary powers were ceded to Westminster with the Act of Union. This strengthening of the political relationship between England and Scotland meant Lowlanders were more likely to ascribe to the socio-political concept of 'Britain' rather

than to Scotland as a nation-state (Withers, 1988). Even with the formation of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in the 1930s and its political breakthrough in the 1960s following the discovery of North Sea oil, cultural reasons, such as language, have not played a significant role in the discourse of Scottish autonomy (McCrone, 1992, p. 212).

In 1999, the Scottish Parliament was re-convened with some devolved powers. Six years later, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 was passed. This act, modelled on the Welsh Language Act of 1993, made Gaelic an official language of Scotland for the first time, and placed it on equal footing with English. It also set up *Bòrd na Gàidhlig*, the Gaelic language planning body, the duties of which include promoting Gaelic language, education, and culture through the implementation of language plans. Its tasks also include advising the Scottish Executive and other public and private bodies in matters relevant to Gaelic and reviewing how the Scottish Executive implements policy in relation to European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which was ratified by the United Kingdom in 1998 and 2001. The Act also gives *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* the authority to ask public bodies such as councils to devise their own Gaelic language plans (Dunbar, 2006, 2010; McLeod, 2006). Although the Gaelic Language Act's importance cannot be overlooked, it has been criticised for vagueness and significant gaps (see McLeod and Walsh, 2007 for a full discussion of the shortcomings).

The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 stipulated that within one year, *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* must devise a national plan for Gaelic to be implemented over the following five years, and that after this date, a new five-year plan must be implemented. The National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012 (p. 12-13) focuses on four key areas: acquisition, usage, status, and corpus, and claims acquisition as its primary area of importance. Within these four major areas, the Plan outlines specific goals, how to implement these goals, and how to monitor the implementation. The Plan also sets out speaker-number targets for years 2021, 2031, and 2041, which are 65,000, 75,000, and 100,000, respectively. The goal for the year 2041 also includes as a goal 100% literacy in the language. The Draft National Plan for Gaelic 2012-2017 focuses on the same four major areas, but does not include speaker number targets, perhaps due to the seemingly over-ambitious nature of the previous targets.

### 3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the main sociohistorical developments in terms of language shift and maintenance within the span of three generations. Although the language shift was underway when the first generation speakers were young, Gaelic was still by and large their community and peer group language. However, the education they received was in English and the educational infrastructure meant that they were instilled with negative views of Gaelic's role in academic and modern life. This then continued the trend noted in the 1957 survey; even though parents spoke Gaelic, they did not necessarily speak it to their children. Thus, despite the availability of bilingual or Gaelic education for the majority of the second generation speakers, English emerged as their peer group language. Gaelic has made significant gains in terms of media and its official status, but the language shift has continued on to the third generation.

In 1991 Joshua Fishman criticised Gaelic for relying on too many 'higher order props' (p. 380). The point that he was making was a valid one, especially taking into context his emphasis on home language maintenance as vital to any language's survival. However, in the context of Gaelic, the continuing shift is arguably not due to the focus on 'higher order props,' but the fact that these maintenance efforts have come too late. The efforts have been made to redress the largest underlying culprits in the language's shift: the lack of education available in the language and its low status. Had the first generation and second generations in this study been able to be educated in Gaelic, had wide access to Gaelic media, and had official status for the language existed, maybe the language would be in a stronger position today.

## 4 Methodology

### Chapter Overview

The aim of this chapter is to provide an account of the methodology used in recording, transcribing, and quantitatively analysing the corpus of natural, spontaneously-spoken Gaelic-English speech used for this study. Discussion of the recording process centres mainly on efforts to mitigate the Observer's Paradox, and also details the interactions that were captured on the recordings. Section 4.3 describes the various difficulties that arose in transcribing the interactions and how these difficulties were overcome, resulting in a corpus of approximately ten hours of speech. Section 4.4 gives an account of the analytic practices involved in this study. It focuses mainly on the quantitative component of the study and discusses the various ontological issues that arose in the coding of speakers' turns for 'language,' but re-iterates that the main analysis of the thesis is based on a microinteractional approach to the data. It concludes by detailing the efforts taken to gain a deeper understanding of using a microinteractional approach in analysing the data.

### 4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, code-switching in a Gaelic context is indexical of an informal speech register, and the negative sanctions against borrowing and code-switching, such as illustrated by Dorian (2010) and Lamb (2008), suggest that code-switching is more likely to occur in interactions where speakers are familiar with each other. Cram's (1986) proposal of recording speech before and after the traditional sociolinguistic interview for the purpose of capturing code-switching also illustrates that an informal context is required for obtaining code-switching data. Although Lamb (2008) was not examining code-switching specifically, his study exemplifies a method of obtaining speech in which code-switching is likely to occur; his strategy was to record speakers who were all close friends or family members of the researcher. Lamb emphasises (p. 58) that within minutes, any self-consciousness about being recorded soon vanished and the recordings he obtained were indicative of how the speakers spoke normally.

The focus on code-switching within a family naturally implies that the speech situation will be informal and that interactants will be familiar with each other. The use of the family framework also plays an important factor in mitigating what Lamb referred to as 'self-consciousness' and what is commonly referred to as the Observer's Paradox. Labov (1972, p. 113) succinctly summarises this conundrum as: 'To obtain the data most

important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed.’ Some of Labov’s (1970, 1972) work on lessening the effects of the Observer’s Paradox involved recording members of the same family, as he found that in becoming engrossed in their own conversations, speakers were more likely to forget or disregard the presence of the recording device and/or researcher, thereby revealing their vernacular usage. Using a family as a means to obtaining natural spoken data has been exemplified by a number of studies, (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1993; Li Wei 1994; Lanza 1997; Quay 2008) many of which use family dinnertime interactions as the locus of analysis; dinnertime, after all, is a time not only when most family members are present, but an important part of family social life. The ‘dinnertime’ conversation is probably best exemplified by Tannen’s (1984) work, *Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk Among Friends*, in which Tannen, as the title suggests, recorded and then later analysed the talk of her and her friends, which happened to take place over an American Thanksgiving dinner.

The Campbell Family<sup>15</sup> was chosen as the locus of this study because of my personal friendship with the family, especially with Nana, who can be considered the main speaker in this study. Although I had originally met the family in a research capacity while doing my MA in 2007, by staying with the family for an extended period of time, my status quickly changed from that of ‘researcher’ to ‘friend of the family.’ During and after my MA, as well as throughout my PhD, I have made numerous trips to Skye to stay with Nana. During these trips, I simply visit with Nana and her family. We have meals together, play with the grandchildren, drink tea, and go shopping in Portree, among other things. Thus, in writing a thesis on code-switching, it seemed intuitive that I would record this family with whom I already had formed a close relationship and whom I had witnessed code-switching countless times before. Recording the family naturally brought my role of ‘researcher’ rather than ‘friend of the family’ to the forefront, but because of the ongoing friendship, I would argue that my role as a researcher was more or less obscured during the recording process as a whole. This was mostly because, when making the recordings, I was as much a part of them as were the speakers, and I interacted as I normally did when visiting the family. In interactions where I was more or less on the sidelines, speakers were more concerned with speaking to each other than worried about my presence.

The approach to this study and especially to the data collection component is largely ethnographic, and with obtaining the data in particular, the approach is centred on the

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<sup>15</sup> This is a pseudonym, as are all names in the corpus.



method of participant observation. These methods have proved successful in a number of sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Milroy, 1987; Eckert, 1989; Li Wei, 1994) and by using participant observation, I was able not only to experience social interactions as the Campbell family experienced them, but I was able to draw on key contextual elements of these interactions when analysing the conversations in the later chapters. Over the five years I have known the Campbell family and intermittently stayed with them, I have been able to observe their language usage patterns and their social spheres, and I would argue that my status as ‘friend of the family’ has played a large role in allowing me to be an ‘ethnographer’ of the family with minimal disruption to their normal social interactions.

Although the family framework in and of itself is conducive to mitigating the Observer’s Paradox, and although I had a good relationship with the family before I recorded them, the effects of the Observer’s Paradox are never completely avoidable. In one instance, for example, I noticed Isabel, who, as will be explained in Chapter 5, proportionally uses the least amount of Gaelic of all the first generation speakers, using nearly monolingual Gaelic. I hypothesised that this was due to the presence of the recording device and her wanting to display a ‘Gaelic’ identity in the presence of an outsider. I subsequently deleted the recording not only because I felt that it deviated from her normal language use, but also because the sound quality was bad due to it being recorded in a car while driving on Harris. In describing the recording process in general, the following section will also explain how I further tried to minimise the effects of the Observer’s Paradox.

## **4.2 Recording**

Recordings were made using an M-Audio microtrack 24/96 recorder using the microphone provided with the microtrack and an omnidirectional microphone, all of which were borrowed from the University of Glasgow’s Department of English Language. In most cases, the omnidirectional microphone was used, as it had a greater capacity for picking up the nuances of multi-party interactions, and the microtrack microphone was reserved mainly for use in the car, as the omnidirectional microphone picked up too many vibrations from the car itself.

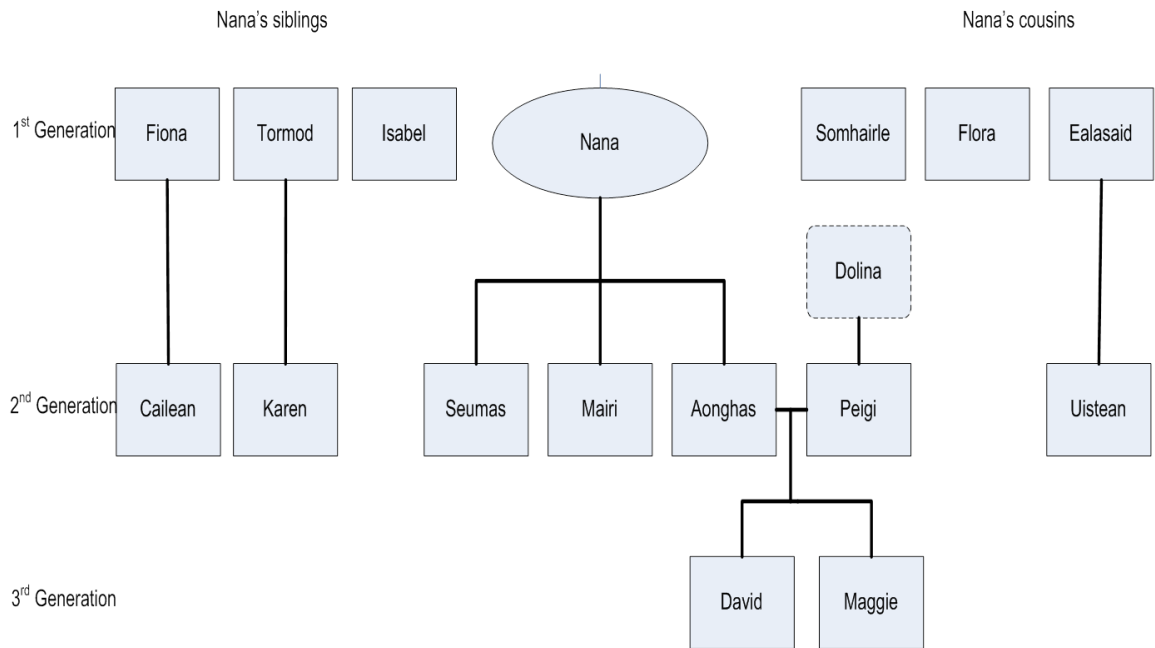
Before they were recorded, speakers signed permission forms. This process was slightly embarrassing for me, as it brought a level of formality that seemed inappropriate to the situation and emphasised my role as a researcher, not as a friend of the family. However, I

explained that it was only a formality required by the University of Glasgow, and speakers soon forgot about the permission forms after they had signed them and received the obligatory copy. If asked specifically what I was looking for in the recordings, I would tell them that I was looking at the alternation between Gaelic and English. However, most speakers did not ask about the specifics of my study, and they simply knew that I wanted to record their natural speech for my PhD research.

In April 2009, I piloted the recording process. Although there was initially some reluctance to have the microtrack turned on, once it was on, speakers did not seem to take much notice of it. The only behaviour that seemed to deviate from the norm was when Nana's son Seumas addressed his aunt Isabel in Gaelic. The unnaturalness of the language choice was met with laughter from both Nana and Isabel, to which Seumas explained that he thought that he was supposed to speak Gaelic when the microtrack was on. I therefore had to clarify that what I hoped to gain on the recordings was natural interactions in whatever language(s) the speaker would normally use.

As I knew from the pilot that recording the family in their natural environment would yield the type of data suitable for analysing their language use, and particularly their code-switching patterns, I arranged to record the family over two continuous weeks in July 2009. My plan was to capture daily life as it was taking place and to record as many interactions as possible. Speakers were reminded that I would be recording frequently, and in most cases, it was quite evident that I was recording; in a few cases, speakers would walk in while I was recording an interaction, and either Nana or I would remind the speaker that I was recording. In only one case was the recording deleted as a result of the speaker not realising that the microtrack was on at that particular moment. Another part of a conversation was deleted because the speaker said something that in retrospect she thought she should not have said. As Nana usually has her phone, both mobile and landline, on speakerphone, I recorded a number of phone conversations between Nana and her family members (who had previously signed permission forms), and Nana's interlocutor was reminded that I was recording. This did not result in any phone conversations being deleted.

The following diagram details the members of the Campbell family who took part in the study and their relationship to Nana:

**Figure 4-1: The Extended Campbell Family who Participated in the Study**

### 4.2.1 Locations and Interactions

The first week of the recording process was spent in a rental cottage on Harris, which was located within walking distance from Nana's nephew Cailean and Nana's cousin Somhairle, both of whom are fishermen. During this time, Nana's daughter-in-law Peigi and her two children, David and Maggie, came to stay with us for two days. Two of Nana's other cousins, Flora and Ealasaid, lived within easy driving distance of the cottage. The fact that Nana's immediate family was staying in the same house with us for a short time, and the close proximity of Nana's other relatives, meant that I was able to record a variety of interactions. Additionally, Nana received several calls from her siblings and children which were also recorded.

Although I do not have the personal relationship with Nana's cousins on Harris that I have with Nana's family on Skye, I do not think that this impacted on the naturalness of the recordings. The cousins were eager to catch up with Nana, and Nana was equally keen to share her news of the past year with them. At one point, Nana and her cousin Flora clearly forgot they were being recorded, as they started talking about me when I left the room. They then burst out laughing as they realised that I would be listening to the recording later.

For the second week, Nana and I stayed at her house in Skye. In Milroy's Belfast study (1987, p. 67), she writes of people just walking into other people's houses. No description could be truer of anything than Nana's house. As Aonghas, Peigi, David and Maggie live 200 metres behind Nana's house, the two children often come unannounced to Nana's house to play and spend time with their grandma. This also means that the parents, Aonghas and Peigi, are usually at Nana's house minimally once a day to collect the children and chat with Nana. The children's other grandma, Dolina, who runs a B&B and lives with her husband in a nearby village,<sup>16</sup> also sometimes stops in to collect the children. Nana's other children, Màiri and Seumas, both live in a nearby village and will visit Nana at least a few times a week. Additionally, Seumas partly runs his business out of Nana's house and will sometimes temporarily live with Nana. As Nana's house is located halfway between her sister Isabel's place of work and house in another village, Isabel and Nana often eat lunch or dinner together in Nana's house and will always have their Sunday lunch together after church. Nana's brother Tormod also lives in the same village as Isabel and he usually visits Nana sometime during the week, often after the Wednesday church service. Besides being the physical epicentre of the Campbell family, Nana's house is also the source of many incoming phone calls. Daily phone calls to and from Nana's children are not uncommon, as are daily phone calls from Isabel. Nana also calls Tormod, and Fiona, who lives on the mainland, at least once a week. She also keeps in touch with her cousins in Harris via the telephone.

The recordings made in Skye reflect the daily social rhythm of the Campbell family. My involvement in the conversations varied according to situation, and in general, the recordings took minimal orchestration on my part. When things were especially 'quiet' at Nana's house, I would venture to Peigi and Aonghas' house to see if anyone was around to be recorded, and the children even began calling the microtrack my 'teddy bear,' as I appeared to always have it with me.

The recordings made over this two-week period in July capture a number of different interactions, which are listed in chronological order and briefly described in the table below:

**Table 4-1: Descriptions of Interactions**

Name	Duration (Min.Sec)	Brief Description
'Peeling Prawns'	7.38	Nana and I are peeling prawns when Peigi, David, Maggie, and

<sup>16</sup> The lack of specificity of place names is due to reasons of anonymity.

		Niamh (Maggie and David's cousin who is too young to speak) enter. David and Maggie try to help peel the prawns.
'Playground'	10	Maggie, David, and Niamh are having fun on a playground in Harris. Peigi and Nana are facilitating the play.
'Sand'	10.23	Maggie, Nana and I are driving through Harris, and Maggie is complaining about the sand on her legs. During the drive, Nana stops at a lay-by to take a phone call from Isabel.
'Evening in Harris'	25.6	Cailean, Nana's nephew, comes to visit and catches up on the news from Peigi and Nana. Peigi is trying to get the children to bed; David goes to bed, while Maggie stays up and is fascinated by a candle she thinks is made out of jelly.
'Morning in Harris'	2.31	There is commotion as Peigi, David, Maggie, and Niamh get ready to leave for the ferry.
'Phoning Isabel'	11.07	Nana phones Isabel from Harris and tells about children's visit, and they both discuss mutual friends visiting from overseas who are staying in Harris.
'Phoning Fiona'	7.05	Nana phones Fiona and tells about the children's visit and Fiona talks about her plans to come to Harris soon.
'Ealasaid's House'	29.46	Nana and I visit her cousin Ealasaid. Ealasaid's son is also present; the recording is comprised mostly of Nana and Ealasaid catching up with each other on the events of the past year.
'Somhairle's House'	15.9	Nana and I visit her cousin Somhairle; they mainly catch up on goings on of the members of Somhairle's extended family as well as discuss a fishing matter in Harris.
'Flora's House'	47.33	Nana catches up with her cousin Flora. A large part of this discussion is devoted to travel, where Flora tells about her trip to South Africa and both women discuss trips to St. Kilda. Part of this interaction includes the 'Flannan Isles' story discussed in Chapter 7.
'Aonghas' House'	15.44	Aonghas is at home with Maggie and David; they are playing and watching 'Ninja Turtles' and are generally being very lively, which requires some disciplining from Aonghas.
'Birthday Party'	32.58	Seumas, Màiri, Aonghas, Maggie, David, Nana and I are gathered at Nana's house to have cake for Màiri's birthday. Topics vary, and often there are two or more conversations happening simultaneously. The children periodically need to be disciplined, especially Maggie when she starts crying.
'Sitting Room and Story'	1.10.2	Nana and I are interacting with Maggie as she plays in the sitting room while Seumas fixes a computer. Before Nana reads Maggie the story 'Little Teddy Left Behind,' there is a discussion of what language in which to read the story. Although Maggie wants the story in English, Nana and Seumas insist that the story is told in Gaelic. Maggie is highly engaged in the story, but is less so for the second story, 'The Little Red Hen,' which Nana also reads.
'Dinner'	30.41	Maggie and I are playing with Play-Doh in the kitchen and Nana interacts with us while she finishes up making dinner. Isabel joins us for dinner and Seumas also pops in to get something he needs for work. Most of the discussion revolves around Maggie, who is misbehaving.
'Lunch'	20.41	Nana and Isabel have lunch together and mostly discuss a friend of theirs who has fallen ill.
'Phoning Ealasaid'	21.47	Nana calls her cousin Ealasaid to thank her for giving us dinner on Harris. The discussion centres mostly on mutual acquaintances.
'Flowers'	28.04	Maggie brings Nana flowers and the two playfully engage in various household tasks together.

‘Playing Outside’	31.6	Maggie and David are playing while Nana and I have tea outside. The children find a caterpillar and also play rounders. David also describes a circus he and Maggie recently attended.
‘Tea with Peigi’	14.16	Nana and I have tea with Peigi at her house while David and Maggie are in the kitchen.
‘Collecting Maggie’	5.36	Peigi stops to chat while collecting Maggie to go home.
‘Dolina Visiting’	26.33	Peigi’s mother Dolina visits during the evening and much of the discussion between Peigi and Dolina centres on Peigi’s infected eye. As the BBC news is on in the background, various discussion topics stem from current events, such as the recent swine flu epidemic. Maggie and David, who are supposed to be getting ready for bed, intermittently join the interaction, and thus, some argument about bed times ensues.
‘Phoning Tormod’	38.44	Nana phones her brother Tormod and tells him about her recent trip to Harris.
‘Tormod’s Visit’	24.42	Tormod and his daughter Karen, who does not speak Gaelic, visit Nana after church. The conversation largely is centred on Nana’s visit to Harris and Tormod and Karen’s recent trip to Glasgow.
‘Pirates’	20.55	Maggie and David are dressed as pirates when they come over to Nana’s for hot chocolate. The children argue over who gets to ride Maggie’s pink motorbike.
‘Isabel Phoning Maggie’	12.5	Isabel phones and engages Maggie in a long phone conversation.
‘Isabel’s House’	60.16	Nana and I are at Isabel’s house relaxing before dinner. Nana tells the ‘Fuse Wire’ story, also discussed in Chapter 7 and the two sisters discuss the recent swine flu epidemic. We then have dinner, and the conversation mostly centres on cooking and mutual acquaintances.
Total	10 hours 3 minutes 1 sec	

### 4.3 Transcription

The recordings were transcribed using the program Transcriber. Standard English orthography was used to transcribe speech in English, and the transcriptions of the Gaelic speech generally adhered to the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions (GOC). However, Transcriber does not allow use of accents, and therefore accents for Gaelic words, as well as most pauses, prosodic and extralinguistic cues, were transcribed in Word after the initial transcribing process. Certain decisions had to be made regarding both languages of how to best represent certain features of ‘natural’ speech, i.e. dialectal features, non-standard forms, etc. For example, in two instances Nana clearly says ‘bub’ instead of the English ‘bulb,’ and these instances are transcribed accordingly. In terms of the Gaelic, it was deemed especially important that particular features of these speakers’ ‘natural’ use were preserved in the transcriptions, as there are very few recordings of spontaneous Gaelic speech in the home environment (cf. Lamb, 2008). For example, Nana often says (and

writes in e-mails to me) ‘*a’ smaointeachadh* (‘thinking’)’ in place of what is written in standard Gaelic orthography as ‘*a’ smaoineachadh*,’ and therefore the word is often written in the transcriptions as ‘*a’ smaointeachadh*’ to represent Nana’s pronunciation of the word. In all excerpts presented in the thesis, Gaelic is represented in italics 12 pt Times New Roman, English in 12 pt Times New Roman, and the translation of the Gaelic in Courier New 10 pt.

As Gaelic is not my native language, and as various realities of the home environment, such as extraneous noise or frequent overlapping speech, compounded my difficulties in accurately transcribing some sections of the recordings, it was decided that Nana would help in ensuring the accuracy of the transcripts. I therefore spent two weeks in Skye going through the transcripts with Nana; in cases where I was unable to transcribe part or all of an utterance, Nana would repeat the content slowly, and in a few cases, would have to spell the word to me. She also explained any deictic references that were particularly impenetrable (e.g. the fact that a certain postman’s nickname is the name of a bird). In the few cases where Nana was not in the recording, Peigi checked over the transcriptions, and in the recordings where neither Nana nor Peigi were present, I simply decided that they did not need to be checked, as they were mostly in English with few interferences. Although sometimes both Nana and Peigi were occasionally tempted to represent their speech in a more ‘correct’ manner (i.e. omit disfluencies) in transcribing, I explained to them that representing the speech as it was on the recording was paramount to my research, and they quickly overcame the temptation to ‘correct’ their speech.

Because these recordings were made in the context of a small close-knit community, and because of the nature of spontaneous speech, in which speakers are apt to gossip, for example, the issue of anonymity became very pertinent. All speakers were assigned code names, which are the code names that are used in this thesis and have been used in other publications about the family. Code names were matched with real names for possibility of lenition.<sup>17</sup> Any person mentioned in the corpus who was not a speaker in the immediate study was given a random letter during the initial transcription process, but in presenting excerpts of the conversations, I have used further code names for the referents and have tried to match this to how the speakers referred to them in the corpus (i.e. if the speaker used the referent’s given and surname, I try and give that referent a given and a surname).

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<sup>17</sup> For example, Nana uses the vocative in addressing her son Seumas, which becomes ‘Sheumais’ because of lenition. However, a name like Niall could not be represented orthographically as leniting, and thus I ensured that if speakers’ real names could lenite, so could their code names.

In doing this, I have tried to ensure that the code names are not names that any of the Campbells have mentioned anywhere in the corpus, and hence, the majority of the referent code names chosen are very ‘un-Highland’ for this reason (i.e. the Campbells in all likelihood do not know a woman named ‘Ursula,’ which is a referent’s name mentioned in Example 6-5 ‘Ursula’s Face’). Additionally, the name of Nana’s dog, who has sadly since passed away, was anonymised. Lack of specific place references as well as changes to occupation designations, and in one case, a nationality reference, are all due to reasons of anonymity.

## 4.4 Analysis

### 4.4.1 Coding and Quantitative Analysis

Approximately ten hours of complete, correct transcripts emerged from the transcription and verification process described above. This corpus of transcriptions was then coded using the program Nvivo for speaker and language (English, Gaelic, or Mixed<sup>18</sup>, or Undetermined). The goal of the coding process was to ascertain the overall language use of each speaker and to be able to aggregate these speaker usages in terms of generation. This coding is an example of characterising a bilingual corpus in terms of what Deuchar, Muysken, and Wang (2007, p. 300) refer to as the ‘absolute use of different languages,’ which the researchers emphasise is not explicitly stated in many code-switching corpus studies, despite the fact that this seems like an intuitive question in bilingual speech. The reason for this is that usually only the parts of the recording that involve code-switching are transcribed because often, especially with linguistic approaches to code-switching, the researcher is primarily interested in isolated instances of intrasentential code-switching.

The unit of analysis used for this coding is the turn. The turn, as Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974, p. 700) emphasise, is the basic unit of conversational organisation, and as this study is using a microinteractional, or CA approach, to the data, the turn seemed the most transparent unit for quantitative analysis. Additionally, the unit of the turn has proved useful in analysing code-switching corpora, such as demonstrated in Lanza (1997) and Reyes (2004). However, using the turn as the unit of analysis is not without its problems. As Sacks et al. also emphasise (p. 701), turn length is variable. Thus, in using a turn as the unit of analysis, there is not a distinction between one-word turns and turns that

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<sup>18</sup> This is not to be confused with ‘code-mixing,’ which Muysken (2004, p. 4) points out often is used to refer only to intraclausal language alternation. I am using ‘Mixed’ to refer to turns where language alternation occurs within the turn.



consist of long stretches of speech. This means that an accurate representation of how frequently a speaker switches may be distorted, as a speaker may alternate languages several times in one turn, but the turn would simply be coded as a ‘Mixed’ turn. However, as the goal of the coding was to give a very broad overview of language speakers’ use, the matter of turn length variability was not deemed a reason to disregard the turn as the unit of analysis.

Coding for ‘speaker’ was a very straightforward process<sup>19</sup>. ‘Language,’ however, was not always easy to determine, and thus, the category ‘Undecided’ was created for instances in which it was hard to argue definitively that a turn was monolingual (in most cases, monolingual Gaelic) or ‘Mixed.’ This was mostly an issue with coding the first generation’s turns, and to some extent, an issue in coding Peigi, a second generation speaker’s, turns. It was decided that the coding should reflect the speakers’, not the linguists’, view of code as closely as possible (cf. Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998), and therefore it was further decided that because of the ubiquity of the English words ‘aye’ (which can be seen in Gaelic texts as *aidh*), ‘so,’ ‘oh,’ and ‘well’ (which can also be spelled *uill/uell*; cf. the quote from *Sabhal an Treobhaiche* on p. 17 of this thesis), if a turn was entirely in Gaelic except for one of these words, the turn would be coded as Gaelic (e.g. ‘Oh *chunna mi Jasmine nuair a bha mi ann an-dè*’ [I saw Jasmine today]). Turns consisting of solely of ‘uh-huh’ or *seadh* or *sheadh* (roughly equivalent to ‘uh-huh’) were excluded from coding because of reticence to assign language to either expression<sup>20</sup>. As mentioned in Chapter 1, borrowing is a common occurrence in Gaelic and it might be possible that a speaker might not know or might consider the Gaelic language equivalent of an English lexical item very artificial (cf. MacEwan-Fujita 2008; Wells 2011). Therefore, if it seemed that this was the case, the turn was coded as ‘Gaelic’ (e.g. ‘oh *na shuidhe a-muigh ann a’* wheelchair’ [sitting outside in a wheelchair]). The category ‘Undecided’ was created for cases that were similar to these phenomena, but in which the language mixing was arguably more deliberate (e.g. ‘of course’ *’s dòcha gun robh e mi-mhodh an uair sin cuideachd*’ [maybe he was misbehaving then too]). It should be emphasised here again that the purpose of the quantitative analysis was to provide an *overall* picture of language choice within the family, and that the finer details of language alternation will be discussed

<sup>19</sup> My turns, although they occur as part of transcriptions, were not coded simply because I am not a part of the family

<sup>20</sup> This decision was based on the prevalence of speaker’s use of it in backchanneling even though the interlocutor was speaking in the other language. It is an issue that would be very fruitful to investigate further, but was not realistic within the scope of this thesis. Additionally, Nana’s lenited ‘*sheadh*’ sometimes was hard to distinguish from her expression of ‘help’ (i.e. ‘help us’) when said ingressively.

in the following chapters; therefore, although these ontological issues could be further debated, it is not within the scope of this thesis. Luckily, many of these more ontologically difficult cases were solved by the fact that clear language mixing often occurred in conjunction with particular instances in question; for example, in the turn ‘it’s all right going there *mura h-eil crowd ann*,’ [if there’s not a crowd]), ‘crowd’ could have been ambiguous and therefore coded as ‘Undecided.’ However, because of the preceding phrase, the turn was coded as ‘Mixed’ anyway.

#### 4.4.2 Microinteractional Analysis

Because Chapter 2 gives an in-depth description of using a microinteractional framework to analysing code-switching and emphasised its basis in CA methodology, this aspect of the methodology will not be dwelt upon in detail, and the analytic constructs that are used (i.e. sequence, repair, adjacency pairs, etc.) will be discussed when they become relevant to the analysis. Although I was familiar with CA methodology before I undertook the analysis, I furthered my understanding and ability to effectively use CA constructs at a training course led by Paul Drew at the University of York in January 2011. Experiences at the the Summer School of Sociolinguistics 2010 at the University of Edinburgh also further contributed to my understanding of this analytic practice.

For the most part, analysis of the examples is based on the transcripts and recordings of the conversations, and is internally situated within the examples themselves (i.e. what emerges from the conversation itself, which does not focus so much on the context, but what the speakers are doing within the conversation to create the context). Sometimes I have drawn on my ethnographic knowledge of the family to help make sense of the conversations. For example, in the pre-telling to ‘Fuse Wire’ which will be discussed in Chapter 7, Isabel asks Nana if she got a (news)paper today. When Nana answers in the negative, Isabel asks the whereabouts of Nana’s son, Seumas. I know from my experiences with the family that Isabel’s second turn is sequentially relevant to her first one because I have observed Seumas bringing Nana the newspaper from town many times, and thus am able to correctly interpret the relationship of Isabel’s follow-up question to her initial question. Had I not had this knowledge of the family’s daily lives, these two questions might have looked rather non-sequitur. Occasionally, I have asked Nana for additional contextual knowledge, but these questions have mainly centred on the linguistic abilities of certain referents in the conversations, and the reasons for doing this will become evident in Chapter 7.

## 4.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the recording, transcribing, and quantitative coding of the corpus of Gaelic-English interactions in the home environment. It has argued that there were several key actions taken to mitigate the effects of the Observer's Paradox. First, I was friends with the family long before the recording process, and most speakers were very familiar with me and my presence. Second, the fact that speakers were interacting with each other in their natural environment meant that they were less likely to be overtly conscious that they were being recorded. The frequent presence of the microtrack recorder also meant that speakers became more accustomed to being recorded, and therefore, less overtly aware of their speech during this process. Finally, having Nana in nearly all the recordings meant that even speakers who were not very familiar with me were speaking to someone with whom they were very familiar. From the recording process emerged a variety of interactions consisting of different participant constellations in different settings. The chapter described how the various difficulties in accurately transcribing these interactions were overcome, which resulted in a corpus of approximately ten transcribed hours of natural speech. Using the turn as the unit of analysis, the corpus was coded for speaker and language, and it was emphasised that although various ontological issues arose in assigning 'language' to certain turns, the goal of ascertaining an overall view of speakers' language use was achieved. The chapter concludes by describing the steps taken to gain a fuller understanding of how to use a microinteractional approach in analysing the data.

## 5 A Quantitative View of Language Use Over Three Generations

### Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the quantitative results of the coding process. It will look at individual language use within each generational cohort, and then examine the differences in language use over the three generations.

### 5.1 Overall Language Use

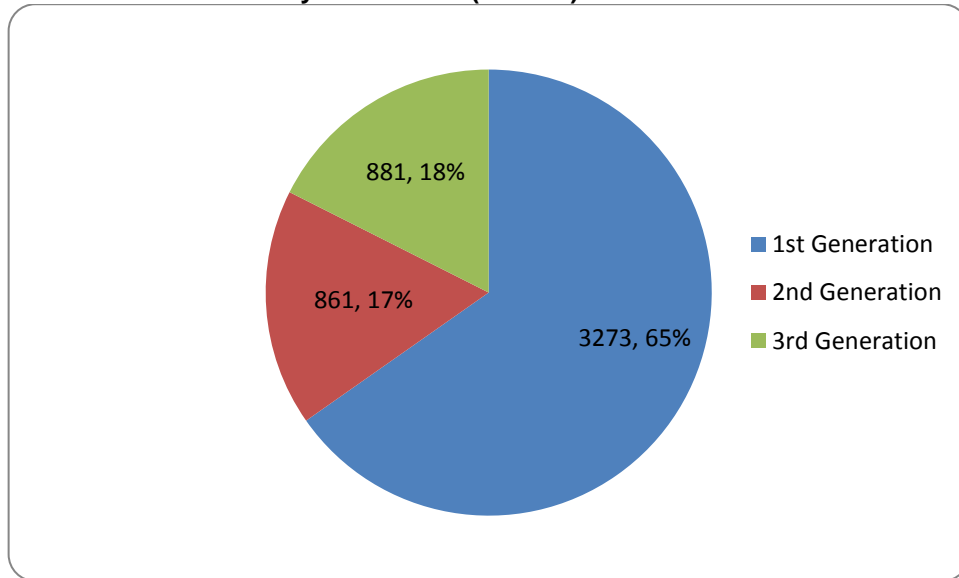
The following table lists the turn types for each speaker: Gaelic, English, Mixed, or Undecided. Speakers are grouped according to their generation and are arranged in ascending order in terms of total number of turns. Total turn types and total number of turns are given for each generation and for the corpus as a whole. Additional speaker information (age, sex, and place of residence) is also listed in the table below.

**Table 5-1: Turn Types and Total Turns in the Campbell Family Corpus**

Speaker	Age	Sex	Place of Residence	Gaelic	English	Mixed	Undecided	Total
<i>1<sup>st</sup> Generation</i>								
Fiona	63	F	Mainland	37	18	4	2	61
Dolina	58	F	Skye	49	20	6	8	83
Somhairle	71	M	Harris	90	25	9	10	134
Ealasaid	53	F	Harris	98	37	5	3	143
Tormod	61	M	Skye	125	18	2	3	148
Flora	63	F	Harris	171	12	7	9	199
Isabel	53	F	Skye	172	215	44	15	446
Nana	62	F	Skye	1342	303	326	88	2059
Total				2084	648	403	138	3273
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> Generation</i>								
Ùistean	33	M	Harris	0	7	0	0	7
Karen	16	F	Skye	0	8	0	0	8
Cailean	25	M	Harris	1	44	0	1	46
Màiri	33	F	Skye	1	97	0	1	99
Aonghas	31	M	Skye	16	125	6	2	149
Seumas	37	M	Skye	39	157	3	0	199
Peigi	31	F	Skye	265	35	23	30	353
Total				322	473	32	34	861
<i>3<sup>rd</sup> Generation</i>								
David	7	M	Skye	5	191	5	0	201
Maggie	3	F	Skye	75	542	57	6	680
Total				80	733	62	6	881
Total				2486	1854	497	178	5015

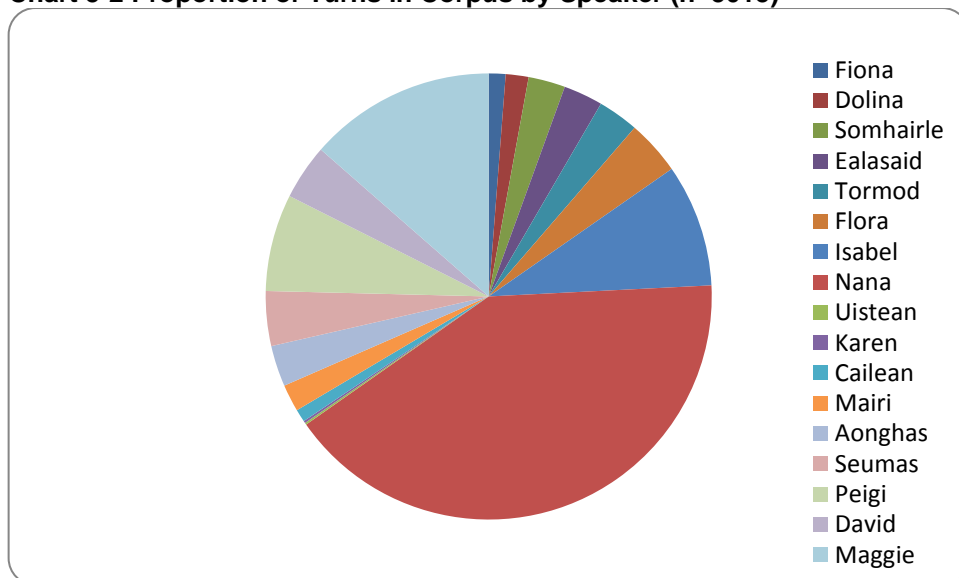
From the table, it is clear to see that the first generation's turns comprise the majority of the corpus. Overall, the first generation makes up 65% of the corpus, while the second and third generation account for 17% and 18% of the corpus respectively. This is represented by the following pie chart:

**Chart 5-1 Total Turns by Generation (n=5015)**



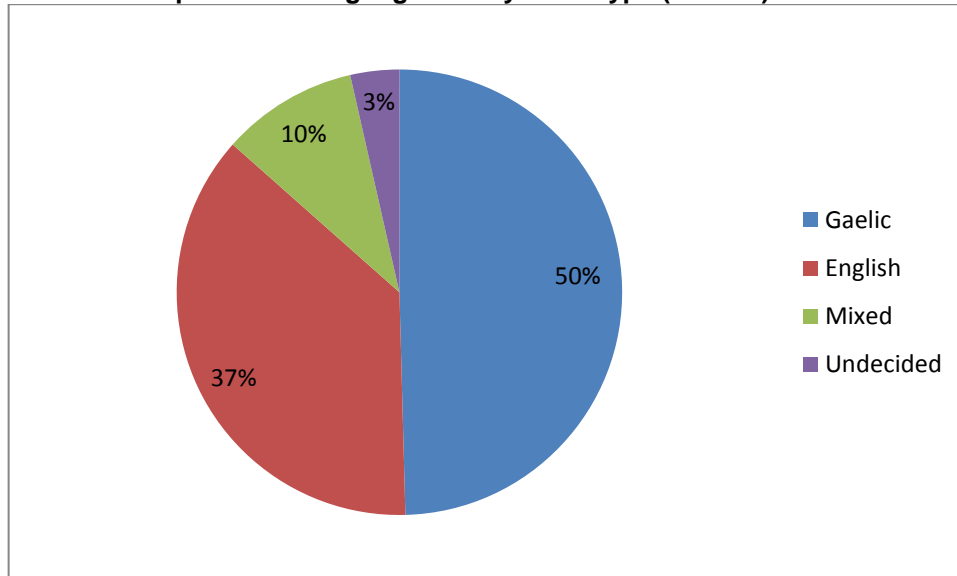
As mentioned in Chapter 4, Nana was present for nearly all of the recordings, and her turns account for 41% of the corpus overall, which explains why the first generation is dominant in terms of total numbers of turns. Following Nana, Maggie's turns account for 14% of the corpus, and the remaining speakers' contributions each account for less than 10% of the corpus per speaker. This is illustrated in the following chart:

**Chart 5-2 Proportion of Turns in Corpus by Speaker (n=5015)**



In terms of turn type, there are 2,486 total Gaelic turns, which accounts for exactly half of the corpus. English turns number 1854 in total, which comprises 37% of the corpus. Mixed turns (n=497) and Undecided (n=178) account for 10% and 3% of the corpus, respectively. These proportions are displayed in the following graph:

**Chart 5-3 Proportional Language Use by Turn Type (n=5015)**



From this chart, it is evident that overall, the family uses both their languages monolingually in single turns. Instances of mixing account for at least 10% of the turns and possibly a further 3% when taking into consideration that Undecided turns consist of linguistic elements of both languages. The higher proportion of Gaelic use when compared to English use is accounted for by the fact the most Gaelic-dominant group (the first generation) comprises a disproportionately large amount of the corpus. The differences in terms of language use over the generations and individuals' language use will be discussed in the following sections.

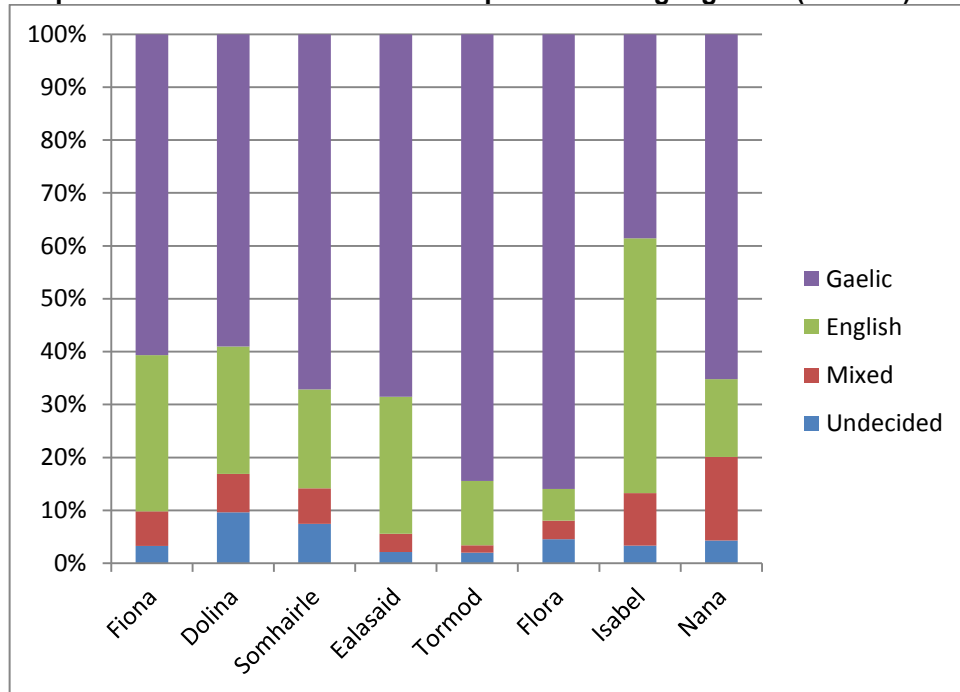
## 5.2 Generational Language Use

This section looks at the differences in language use over the three generations. It begins by looking at each generation separately, then looks holistically at the differences across the three generations and will draw on pertinent ethnographic information in offering explanations for observations of the graphs.

## 5.2.1 First Generation

The proportional language use of the first generation speakers is represented by the following graph:

**Graph 5-1: The First Generation's Proportional Language Use (n= 3273)**



It is clear from this graph that in general, the first generation speakers use more Gaelic than English. With the exception of Isabel, at least 60% of the first generation's turns were coded as Gaelic. English accounts for the next largest proportion of turns, with speakers tending to use English for 10-20% of their turns. On average, mixing accounted for approximately 5%-10% of speakers' turns. Turns that were considered 'Undecided' in general account for less than 5% of the turns.

The high use of Gaelic, occasional use of English, and occasional use of intraturn mixing are not surprising characteristics of this generation of older speakers (cf. Chapter 3). All of the first generation speakers in this study were raised in Gaelic-speaking households and Gaelic was still by and large the community language when these speakers were growing up. It is clear from Graph 5-1 that these speakers have maintained predominant use of Gaelic into their adult lives. The speaker who uses the least of amount of Gaelic is Isabel; she is the youngest of Nana's siblings, and Nana has commented to me that she believes Isabel's high use of English in comparison to the other siblings is due to the ten-year age gap between Isabel and Fiona, the eldest of the siblings. As evidenced in Chapter 3, the span of a decade could have an effect on how much Gaelic was used in the community,

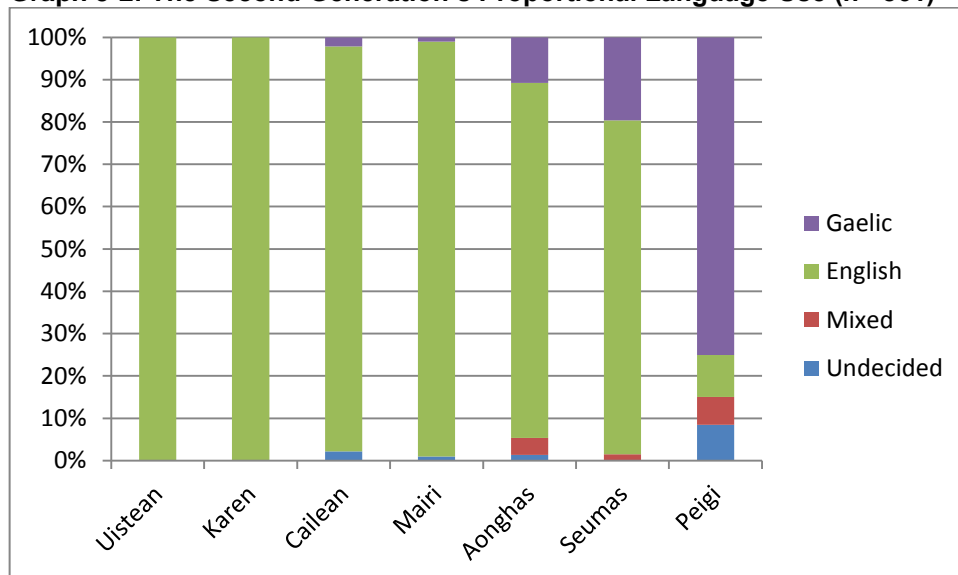
and consequently, how much Gaelic a speaker experienced during his or her formative years. Although Nana's explanation is a satisfactory diachronic account for why Isabel uses proportionately more English than the other speakers, Chapter 6 will look at the synchronic motivations for Isabel's language use in particular situations.

The problem of using the turn as the unit of analysis is further illustrated by the relatively low proportion of mixing evidenced by the first generation members. Turns were coded as 'Mixed' regardless of how many times code-switching occurred within the turn; as will be seen in Chapters 6 and especially Chapter 7, this means that the actual amount of code-switching that occurs within first generation's turns is higher than the proportion represented by the category 'Mixed.' The graph also of course does not take into account switching across speakers' turns, and both these subjects – multiple intraturn switches and interturn switches—will be looked at in the microinteractional analysis of the first generation's use of code-switching.

### 5.2.2 Second Generation

In contrast to the first generation, the second generation, with the exception of Peigi, is clearly English dominant, as shown by the graph below:

**Graph 5-2: The Second Generation's Proportional Language Use (n= 861)**



The second generation's language usage illustrates the point made in Chapter 3 that English was steadily replacing Gaelic as the peer group language by the time the second generation members attended school. With the exception of Peigi, Gaelic turns account for 20% or less of speakers' total turns. Again with the exception of Peigi, English comprises



at least 75% of the second generation speakers' language use on average, and there are two speakers who use exclusively English in the corpus. One of these speakers, Karen, is learning Gaelic as a subject in school, although her father Tormod is Nana's brother (and therefore a first generation Gaelic speaker). Gaelic is not used in Karen and Tormod's household, presumably mainly because Tormod's wife is an English monoglot, although it is interesting to note that as evidenced from Graph 5-1, Tormod uses a high proportion of Gaelic overall. One possible explanation for his high use of Gaelic in these interactions is because as Gaelic is not used in his home, he is perhaps eager to negotiate an all-Gaelic context when speaking with another Gaelic speaker. Another possible explanation for this is that in one of the interactions, Karen and I are also present, and perhaps the high use of monolingual Gaelic can be attributed in part to Tormod's desire to keep the interaction as a more private conversation between him and Nana.

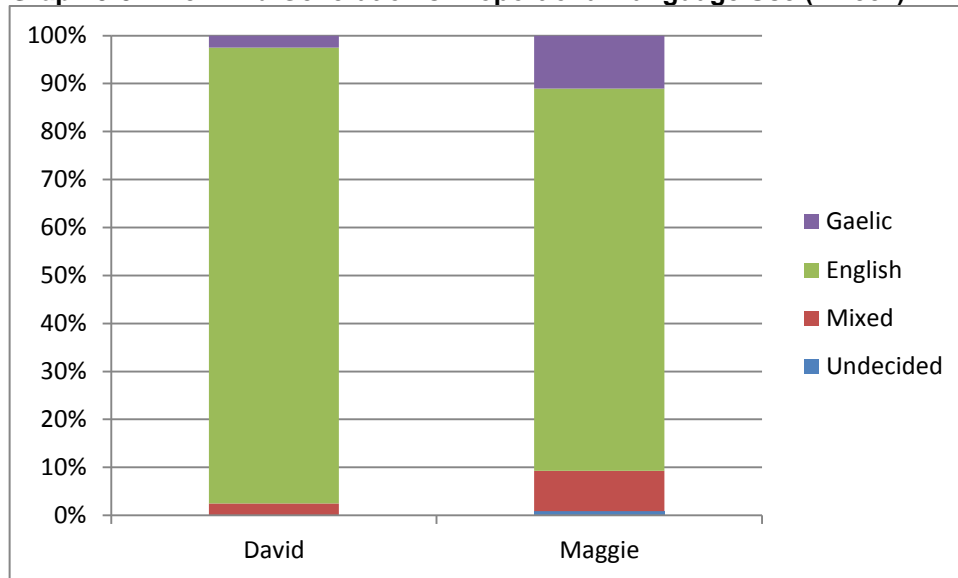
The other speaker who used exclusively English is Ùistean, who although he was raised speaking Gaelic, he commented to me that he seldom uses it. This seems to be a common feature of the second generation, as Nana's children— Seumas, Màiri, and Aonghas— were all raised as Gaelic speakers but now predominantly use English. Reportedly, when the eldest of Nana's children, Seumas, went to school, he 'brought home the English' and began speaking English to his siblings. Eventually, English became the 'sibling' language and the three children also began responding to their parents in English, a practice that would anger their late father. Both Cailean's parents are also Gaelic speakers, but the language was confined mostly to use between his parents, not amongst their nuclear family as a whole.

It is clear that Peigi differs markedly from her second generation peers. Gaelic turns comprise 75% of Peigi's turns, while for Seumas, the second most frequent Gaelic, only 20% of his turns were coded as Gaelic. Although it will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, Peigi is a heritage learner of Gaelic: Peigi's parents speak Gaelic, but because of the low prestige of the language when Peigi was growing up, her parents decided to use English in the household. Peigi learned the language as an adult and now has an overtly positive attitude towards the language. She is explicit in trying to foster a Gaelic-speaking home and as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8 and 9, Peigi conscientiously uses Gaelic with her two children, David and Maggie.

### 5.2.3 Third Generation

Although in the last section it was emphasised that Peigi actively uses Gaelic with her children, the following graph indicates that the children did not evidence a great deal of Gaelic usage:

**Graph 5-3: The Third Generation's Proportional Language Use (n= 881)**



David and Maggie, aged 7;11 and 3;4, respectively, further illustrate the language shift in progress. Both the children evidence a high degree of English language use, David more so than Maggie, with English accounting for 95% of his turns. For Maggie, English accounts for 80% of her turns. Only 2% of David's turns were coded as Gaelic and 2% of his turns were coded as Mixed. 11% of Maggie's turns were coded as Gaelic and a further 8% were coded as Mixed. As will be discussed further in Chapter 9, it should be noted that Maggie's Gaelic and Mixed turns tend to be one-word Gaelic utterances or single lexical insertions in otherwise English sentences. Although some of David's Gaelic and Mixed utterances are more complex grammatically, his use of Gaelic tends to be limited to short phrases as well.

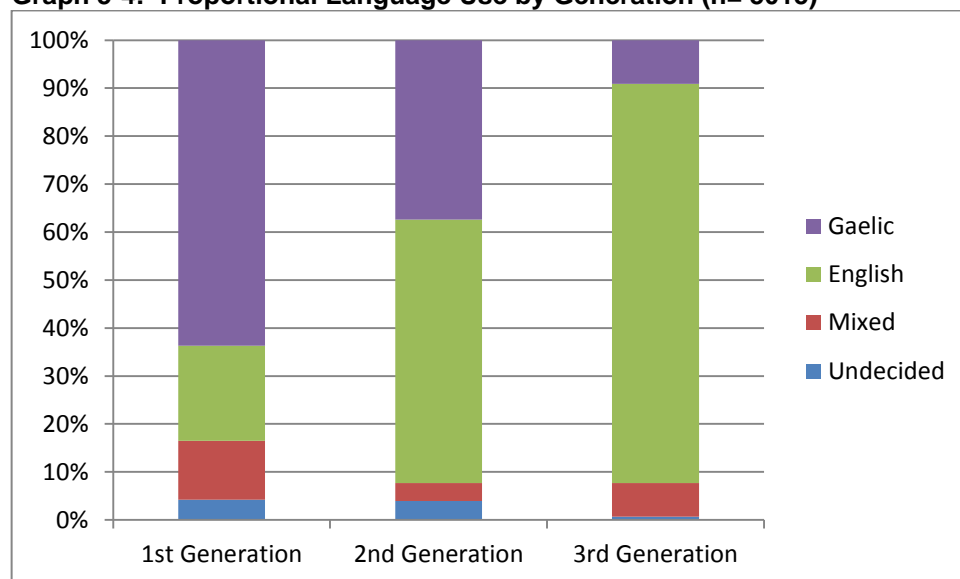
The children's English dominance is not surprising in terms of the overall shift of Gaelic as discussed in Chapter 3. However, the children's lack of Gaelic is still disappointing to the family, especially Nana and Peigi, who, as will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, both actively use and encourage the use of Gaelic with the children. Diachronically speaking, when I first met the family in 2007, David (then aged 4;7) was a fluent Gaelic speaker and appeared to actively use Gaelic, especially with Nana. Now, however, despite attending GME, his Gaelic use is limited. This further supports the claim made in Chapter 3 that in

spite of the advent of GME, English is still the peer group language (cf. Stockdale et al., 2003); children are still ‘bringing home the English’ and in turn, using English with their siblings. This supposition is confirmed by the corpus, as none of David’s Gaelic turns were directly addressed to Maggie (cf. Döpke [1992, p. 197], who discusses several studies, her own among them, in which the first-born child is an active bilingual and the second child is a passive bilingual). The dominance of English as the peer and sibling language is also illustrated by the following anecdote relayed to me by Peigi during the recording process but not actually captured on the recordings: David said ‘Mom, mom, Maggie’s starting *Sgòil Àraich* soon! We have to teach her Gaelic!’ to which Peigi replied ‘Well *feumaidh tusa ga bruidhinn rithe*’ (‘Well you have to speak it with her’). David then answered ‘Nah, everyone speaks English anyway.’ Besides illustrating David’s perception of ability to speak Gaelic not being necessary for a Gaelic-speaking school, Peigi’s response implies that David does not speak Gaelic to his younger sister. It is also interesting that David assesses his younger sister as non-Gaelic-speaking, even though Graph 5-3 suggests that Maggie uses more Gaelic than David. This seeming anomaly may be explained by David’s previously-mentioned high fluency in Gaelic when he was Maggie’s age, and in comparison, her lack of fluency at the time of the recordings.

### 5.2.4 Differential Language Use by Generation

In terms of the family’s language usage within the corpus as a whole, the following graph illustrates the differences in overall language usage in terms of generation:

**Graph 5-4: Proportional Language Use by Generation (n= 5015)**



The graph clearly illustrates that language shift is occurring in the family increasingly through the generations, as Gaelic usage declines from 64% in the first generation to 37% in the second generation and only 9% in the third generation. The decline in Gaelic is matched by an increase in English, from 20% in the first generation, 55% in the second generation, and 83% in the third generation. The graph also suggests that intraturn mixing is more the remit of the first generation when compared to the other two generations, as Mixed accounts for 12% of the first generation's turns, when compared to 4% and 7% for the second and third generations, respectively. This observation supports the view mentioned in Chapter 1 that code-switching is more the remit of balanced bilinguals than asymmetrical bilinguals.

Because differential use of the minority language is so central to this thesis, it was decided to test this difference for statistical significance. It was also decided that the variables 'place' (Skye or Harris), 'sex,' and 'relationship to Nana' (cousin or sibling, which only apply to six speakers) would be tested in addition to the 'generation variable.' A logistic mixed effects regression with speaker as a random intercept was used to test the probability that the speaker would use English on any one turn. A baseline model with speaker as a random effect was constructed and then subsequent models tested the contribution of each predictor variable. The contribution of each predictor variable was tested using a one-way ANOVA with significance set at  $p < 0.05$ .

The variable 'generation' significantly contributed to the model ( $df (2,4)$ ,  $p= 0.0006$ ), as did 'relation to Nana' ( $df (2,3)$ ,  $p=0.0283$ ). 'Sex' and 'place' did not significantly contribute to the model. Therefore, as expected, a speaker's amount of English versus Gaelic use can be predicted by generation. As also foreshadowed by Graph 5-1, there was a difference in amount of English used between Nana's siblings and Nana's cousins, which is most likely explained by Isabel's high use of English, which therefore explains the statistical significance of 'relation to Nana.'

### **5.3 Conclusion**

In terms of the historical background given in Chapter 3, this particular family's language use in the corpus patterns fairly congruently with the expectations outlined in the chapter. It also conforms to my observations of the family's language use throughout the five years I have known them. The purpose of briefly discussing the quantitative results is not to

present new, surprising information, but to foreground the discussion of the language use in the conversational excerpts that will be the focus of the following four chapters.

In referring to this family as ‘bilingual,’ it is clear that family members vary in terms of their bilingualism, if bilingualism is taken to mean ability in and regular use of two languages. In terms of language use, the first generation members all cluster at the high end of the bilingual continuum. As will emerge from the following two chapters, the first generation speakers can best be described as ‘balanced bilinguals,’ as their bilingualism is evidenced not only by their use of the two languages as detailed in the quantitative results, but by their ability to skillfully alternate between the two languages. The second generation speakers, however, are scattered along the bilingual continuum in terms of actual language use and ability. At the upper end, near the first generations speakers, is Peigi, who clearly uses both languages ‘on stage’ (cf. Auer 1894, p.7), though it will be argued in Chapter 8 that she evidences a less dynamic use of language alternation than the first generation speakers. Following Peigi on the bilingual continuum are the second generation speakers who, although they may possess equivalent linguistic skills to Peigi, do not evidence much or any use of the two languages. These speakers – Ùistean, Seumas, Màiri, Aonghas—can be classified as ‘recessive bilinguals,’ in that their bilingual use has declined diachronically. Cailean does not evidence much bilingual use, and Karen, who is learning Gaelic as a subject in school, evidences no bilingual language use, and it is uncertain if she possesses many linguistic skills in the language at all. As to the third generation, David exhibits very little use of the two languages, and it is possible to also classify him as a ‘recessive bilingual.’ Although the quantitative results indicate that Maggie uses both languages, as it will further be described in Chapter 9, Maggie’s use of Gaelic is mostly limited to single lexical items. Therefore, it will be posited that ‘developing bilingual’ may be a more apt term in describing Maggie.

## 6 The First Generation

### Chapter Overview

This chapter examines the code-switching of the first generation speakers. It centres on two main concepts: speakers' use of code-switching in concert with stance-taking, and the use of code-switching in speech that contains constructed dialogue, a term which, following Tannen (1995), will be used in lieu of 'reported speech.' In terms of stance-taking, the chapter examines how code-switching is used in highlighting and reifying acts of affective and epistemic stance-taking. It will also look at how code-switching is used in signaling speakers' modulation between different stances. The constructed dialogue section examines how code-switching is used to set off the quote from the surrounding discourse, as well as how language choice is integral in indexing important features of these speakers' sociocultural landscapes.

The chapter begins with describing the initial analysis in terms of what will be referred to as the 'secondary' coding, then moves on to analysing excerpts from interactions where it will be argued that speakers' code-switching relates to the stance-taking process. The chapter then discusses examples in which speakers code-switch in conjunction with constructed dialogue, and concludes by summarising the main arguments presented in the chapter.

### 6.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Auer's (1984) approach to code-switching is critical of what he refers to as 'classificational' views of code-switching, where meaning is realised through listing a number of discourse functions which code-switching can fulfill (e.g. repetitions, asides, etc.) and where examples are usually divorced from the conversational context as a whole. Auer's approach emphasises the importance of turn-by-turn analysis in unpacking meaning; in his 1988 paper he lists the discourse functions in which code-switching is likely to occur in his German-Italian corpus, but stresses that this list merely serves as an illustration of the different ways speakers may use code-switching to convey meaning. As Auer clearly states in *Bilingual Conversation* (1984):

Classificatory approaches investigate language alternation by listing its functions— in whatever way these may be shown to be relevant. It was been mentioned that the limitations of such a way of proceeding can be seen most

clearly in its inability to cope with the in-principle infinite number of ways in which language alternation may become meaningful. Participants apparently do not interpret code-switching or transfer by subsuming a given instance under one of a pre-established set of types; instead, they dispose of certain procedures for coming to a local (situation) interpretation where the exact meaning or function of language alternation is a result of both contextual information and these more general procedures. (p.11)

Perhaps one of the reasons that many code-switching studies have tended to centre on a classificational approach is that it provides a satisfactory method for dealing with large amounts of data and different discourse phenomena. An initial exploratory step to gaining insight into the first generation's code-switching was done through a secondary coding of the first generation speakers' Mixed turns (n=403). This was used as a type of note-taking process in order to gain a basic understanding of the first generation's code-switching and to flag up particular instances which might be of interest later in discussing the examples within their conversational contexts. This secondary coding is not the analysis, but rather, provided a means to arrive at the analysis, as the more time that was spent analysing the turns from this categorical perspective, the more unsatisfactory the emergent categories became, i.e. a 'question' might also serve as a 'topic change' depending on what was going on in the conversation. It therefore quickly became clear that in order to get to grips with *how* the speakers use and interpret code-switching, simply listing the discourse functions in which code-switching appeared would not be an appropriate explanatory framework. However, because examining the discourse functions played an integral role in the decision to discuss these speakers' code-switching using the analytic constructs 'stance' and 'constructed dialogue,' the following table lists the categories and the frequency of the occurrences:

**Table 6-1: Categories Emergent from the Secondary Coding**

Category	Number of Occurrences	Description of Category
Cause and Effect	15	Instances of a code-switch between the language relaying the cause of something and its effect
Clarification	7	Instances of a code-switch between an utterance and a direct clarification, or switching within an utterance that could be considered a clarification
Commands	2	Instances of a code-switch between the surrounding discourse and a direct command
Conclusions	21	Instances of a code-switch in providing the coda to a strand of discourse, usually a short narrative
Constructed Dialogue <sup>21</sup>	61	Instances of code-switching between framing the quote and the quote, or a code-switch within the quote itself

<sup>21</sup> In all cases in which there was a switch between the framing of the quote and the quote itself, the framing was in Gaelic and the quote was in English. Further, it should be noted that the number 61 is only

Elaborations	36	Instances, where speakers tended to introduce a topic and further elaborate on it in the other language
Evaluations	27	Instances of a code-switch between the surrounding discourse and giving an overt evaluation of something
Questions	39	Instances of code-switching between the surrounding discourse and asking a question; turns were also coded as 'questions' if there was code-switching within the question as well as in instances in which the question was asked in one language and then repeated in the other language
Recipient Directing	7	Instances of code-switching in overtly directing the discourse towards their interlocutors and in some cases, inviting them to respond
Repair	8	Instances of a code-switch between the surrounding discourse and what appeared to be an overt repair
Repetition	18	Instances where an utterance was said in one language and then repeated in the other language
Self-Talk	6	Instances of code-switching between the discourse and utterances that appeared directed towards the speakers themselves (i.e. speakers 'talking to themselves')
Temporal changes	7	Instances where there appeared to be a code-switch in the utterance indexing a temporal shift in the narrative
Topic changes	8	Instances where a contrasting code was used to introduce a new topic

Because Chapter 7 will focus exclusively on Nana's language use in the telling of two lengthy narratives, it was decided that an analysis of the first generation would focus specifically on speakers other than Nana. This is not to say that Nana, who is very much the epicentre of the first generation interactions, will be discounted from the analysis; rather the examples were initially chosen because they are most indicative of other first generation speakers' use of code-switching. Nana's turns were included in the secondary coding (and it will be emphasised again here that the secondary coding was more of a note-taking process to be drawn on in later analysis), and in looking at the use of the other first generation speakers' code-switching overall, it appeared that they were primarily using code-switching to achieve one of two main overarching communicative goals: to navigate their positionality, either in terms of the discourse or their interlocutor, or to report what someone else had said, which will henceforth be referred to as 'constructed dialogue.' Thus, it was chosen to discuss the first generation's use of code-switching in terms of 'stance' and 'constructed dialogue;' there is a good deal of overlap between the two concepts (cf. Nimela, 2005; Clift, 2006; Gunther, 2006), but it was decided that although many of the examples to be discussed in the stance section involve the use of constructed dialogue, the concept of stance would be discussed first, and then would be further explored in looking at constructed dialogue.

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reflective of the number of Mixed turns in which this phenomenon occurred; it could be possible, as will be illustrated in Chapter 7, that this phenomenon could occur several times within a single turn.



## 6.2 Stance

### 6.2.1 Introduction

Closely related to Goffman's (1979) notion of 'footing,' the term 'stance' has gained currency in recent sociolinguistic literature. In taking stances, speakers position themselves in terms of their discourse and in terms of their interlocutors. The interlocutors in turn may positively align or negatively align with the speaker's prior stance(s), and thus, as Du Bois (2007, p.163) emphasises, the process of stance-taking is dialogic. This relationship is illustrated in Du Bois' (2007) conception of the 'stance triangle,' and is summarised by his definition of stance:

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, or other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (p. 163)

Generally, stances are categorised into two overarching types: affective, which is the way in which a speaker indexes particular emotions or evaluations towards a proposition, and epistemic, in which a speaker signals the extent to which knowledge can be claimed, and the validity of such claimed knowledge. Ochs (1996, p. 419-20) highlights that these two types of stances are 'central meaning components of social acts and social identities and that linguistic structures that index epistemic and affective stances are the basic linguistic resources for constructing/realizing social acts and identities.' The relationship between stance and social identities is illustrated, for example, in Johnstone's (2009) analysis of the American politician Barbara Jordan's speeches, where Johnstone argues that the various stances, such as an authoritative stance, and forms used to index these stances, such as explicit indexes of evidentiality, contribute to what can be referred to as 'the Barbara Jordan style' and are integral to her self-presentation as being thoughtful and intelligent. Similarly, the use of particular forms to index certain stances may be crucial in the formation of group identity and norms, such as Kiesling (2004) famously illustrates in his discussion of the word 'dude' and the polysemous use of it in the stance-taking of US university fraternity boys.

Stance-taking is a dialogic process; stances may arise on a turn-by-turn basis or over a series of turns (Clift, 2006). Similarly, stances may be taken over a series of interactions, which Damari (2010) terms 'accreted stances.' Through her discussion of a bi-national

couple, Damari demonstrates how the two speakers do not necessarily orient to stances taken in previous turns, but index stances that have been taken in previous interactions and orient towards these ‘accreted’ stances. Her study also illustrates speakers’ use of attributive stances, whereby one speaker indexes a particular stance, either epistemic or affective, that he or she perceives to be held by another speaker. This concept is clearly illustrated in Coupland and Coupland’s (2009) study of body weight discourse, which shows how a variety of magazine texts structure their articles around stances they presume their readers to take towards the subject.

The first mention of the concurrence of stance-taking and code-switching arguably is Gumperz’ (1977, p. 18) reference to code-switching occurring between ‘objectivization vs. personalization,’ the phenomenon of which he described as being hard to articulate. His examples, however, show how a speaker displays stance by relaying a proposition in one language and then evaluates it in another language. Auer’s (1984) observation that footing is integral to understanding code-switching also highlights the importance of ‘stance’ in discussing code-switching. Cromdal’s (2004) work on code-switching and children’s disputes in an English language school in Sweden shows the value of explicitly using stance as an analytic framework, as he demonstrates how code-switching often coincides with heightened (usually argumentative) acts of stance. Jaffe (2009) also explicitly states stance as an analytic construct in her work on Corsican-French code-switching, but because of the particular sociolinguistic situation, the discussion mainly focuses on how speakers’ use of code-switching evidences their stances to larger language ideologies. Thus, although studies have discussed the interface between stance and code-switching in various other ways, the use of stance, especially epistemic stance, as an explicit analytic construct has remained relatively underdeveloped in code-switching studies, despite what Ochs (1996) refers to as stance’s centrality in social and identity acts.

### **6.2.2 Affective Stance**

The discussion of stance begins with illustrating how speakers use code-switching in congruence with taking an affective stance towards a proposition. For clarity, the term ‘narrator’ will be used to mean the speaker who is speaking at the time (i.e. whose turn it is), and the term ‘interlocutor’ is used to refer to the person(s) present in the interaction; thus, the roles of ‘narrator’ and ‘interlocutor’ are determined on a turn by turn basis. When speakers in the immediate interaction are talking about a previous interaction, this

interaction is referred to as the ‘embedded interaction’ and any speakers within this embedded interaction will be referred to as ‘embedded speakers’ or ‘embedded interactants’ (cf. Selting’s [1992] term of ‘embedded short stories’).

The following example shows an excerpt from a conversation between Nana and her sister Isabel. Here, Isabel relates an embedded interaction in which her praise of Teresa’s tearoom results in another woman’s (Beatrix’s) displeasure: ostensibly, Isabel is praising one of Beatrix’s competitors. Isabel then reiterates this positive evaluation in the immediate interaction between her and Nana, as seen below:

**Example 6-1 ‘Teresa’s Tearoom’ (Isabel’s House)**

- 1 Isabel *cha robh i air a dòigh idir nuair a thuir mise*  
 she wasn’t pleased at all when I said  
*cho math ’s a bha (.) tearoom aig Teresa*  
 how good Teresa’s tearoom was
- 2 Nana *Beatrix (.) cha robh*  
 Beatrix (.) wasn’t  
 (1.4)
- 3 Isabel that’s where we should have gone for afternoon tea
- 4 Nana aye (.) we /should

This example illustrates stance-taking on several levels, both in the embedded interaction and in the immediate interaction. Isabel’s first turn is in Gaelic, and here, she relates the two stances taken by the embedded interactants: Isabel’s positive evaluative stance towards Teresa’s tearoom, and as a result of this, Beatrix’s non-aligning stance of displeasure. In Turn 2, Nana makes a request for clarification and then self-answers this request, both of which are accomplished in Gaelic. In Turn 3, Isabel code-switches to English and frames her positive evaluative stance as salient to the immediate interaction, not the embedded interaction. In using ‘we’ to refer to herself and Nana, Isabel invites Nana’s next turn to align with Isabel’s evaluative stance, and Nana’s next utterance aligns not only in content, but in code choice as well.

In this example, the contrastive function of code-switching serves to contextualise the salience of Isabel’s stance in terms of the immediate interaction as opposed to the embedded interaction. The motivation for relaying Isabel’s positive evaluative stance in Turn 1 is primarily to give a reason for Beatrix’s stance of displeasure in the embedded interaction. In Turn 3, code-switching and using the present tense (‘that’s’), Isabel highlights that her positive evaluative stance is now relevant to the immediate interaction. As Nana has previously made a request for clarification, however minor, in Turn 2, Isabel

perhaps takes this as a cue to make her meaning more explicit, and in doing so, draws on one of the tools most readily available to her as a bilingual: she code-switches.

This concurrence of an evaluative stance and code-switching is evident in another conversation between Nana and Isabel. This example is somewhat more complicated; here, although Isabel at first glance appears to merely be recounting a conversation she had with Fiona, Nana and Isabel's other sister, what Isabel is actually doing is offering a subtle critique of Nana. Nana's grandchildren have just visited Nana while she was on holiday in Harris. However, because they did not behave well, the children had to go home early with their mother. Here, Isabel suggests that if Nana had offered to take the children with her at the start of the holiday, things would have gone more smoothly. Isabel then positions herself so that she takes an overt negative evaluative stance towards Nana's grandchildren in Turn 3:

**Example 6-2 'Childish Children' (Phoning Isabel)**

- 1 Isabel *bha mi ag ràdh ri Fiona*  
I was saying to Fiona  
*'s dòcha gun deach thu*  
perhaps you went  
*an ra- mm rathad ceàrr timcheall air (.)* you know  
the wa- the wrong way about it  
*(biodh aca) 's dòcha*  
(let them be) perhaps  
*nam biodh tu air a ràdh riutha air an toiseach*  
if you had said to them at the start  
*faodaidh tu a' chlann a thoirt leat*  
you can take the children with you  
(0.4)
- 2 Nana oh >aye aye<
- 3 Isabel they're so ver- they are so childish
- 4 Nana aye:::
- 5 Isabel they're so too (.) they're still t- too child-like themselves
- 6 Nana aye (.) *'s dòcha*  
perhaps

Structurally speaking, this example is very similar to Example 1. Here again, Isabel speaks Gaelic in relating the embedded interaction mostly and also using constructed dialogue to do so (i.e. *bha mi ag ràdh ri Fiona* ['I was saying to Fiona']) before switching to English in overtly taking an evaluative stance. However, in this example, the use of deictics seems to cause some communicative trouble (cf. Goffman's 1981 notion of 'faultable'); it would be expected that in the embedded dialogue, the *thu* ('you') would refer to Fiona, but the contextual evidence suggests that the second person pronoun actually refers to Nana. It appears that Isabel is taking a negative evaluative stance towards Nana's actions. The

disfluencies, pauses, and use of modals suggest that Isabel is aware that she is committing a face-threatening act (FTA) (see Brown and Levinson, 1978), and Isabel's choice to frame this critique of Nana as an embedded interaction is analysed as a strategy for Isabel to mitigate the critique by temporally distancing herself from her assertion. The pause and Nana's quick 'aye aye' (equivalent to 'yeah yeah') suggests either that Nana is marking her dispreference or that she has not fully understood Isabel's utterance, which is not surprising given the repairs and hesitancy inherent in Isabel's turn. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the ubiquity of 'aye' in Gaelic discourse makes it difficult to assign language to the word, thus making it difficult to argue that Nana is using a contrasting code to further mark her dispreference.

In Turn 3, Isabel code-switches to English and takes an evaluative stance towards the children (*a' chlann*), who have been mentioned in her previous utterance. The taking of this stance is analysed as a strategy to mitigate the FTA committed in Turn 1; Isabel is shifting the blame from Nana to the children, and takes an overtly negative stance in evaluating them. Isabel stresses the words 'are' and 'child,' and this emphasis, coupled with the code-switch, suggests that it is very important to Isabel that her stance is communicated to Nana, as presumably this stance is meant as a form of repair for the previous FTA. The use of code-switching with other cues illustrates Gardner-Chloros et al.'s (2000) conclusion that although speakers may choose a variety of cues to communicate their meaning, when code-switching is used, especially in conjunction with other cues, it has the power to compound the salience of an utterance. Here, Isabel is drawing on a number of linguistic resources to communicate her stance, and Isabel further reiterates this stance in Turn 5. However, Nana does not positively align with Isabel's stance, and Nana's utterance of 's *dòcha* ('perhaps') could even be read as a means to align negatively (i.e. disagree) with Isabel's stance, both in content and language choice. It is hypothesised that this lack of positive alignment is because Isabel is now criticising Nana's grandchildren, which presumably does not meet with Nana's approval.

These examples both highlight the use of code-switching in positioning a stance in terms of the embedded interaction and the immediate interaction. The use of code-switching also highlights the stance itself, further reifying its meaning and its salience within the interaction. Highlighting a particular stance becomes especially important in interactions such as Example 2, which evidences not only communicative trouble but an FTA as well. By using the contrastive function of code-switching, the narrator is attempting to ensure

that she clearly communicates her meaning, thereby allowing the interaction to progress smoothly.

### 6.2.3 Epistemic Stance

While affective stance involves the narrator's evaluations or reactions towards a proposition, epistemic stance allows for the narrator to signal his or her certainty towards a proposition. As will be seen in the following examples, speakers use code-switching in concert with epistemic stance-taking and like the affective stance examples, the code-switching is analysed as stemming from a need to reify a stance and its salience to the interaction. This section will also include two examples, Examples 6.4 and 6.6, that focus more on the use of code-switching and stance as a means of signalling general positionality rather than overtly signalling evidentiality, although it will be noted in both examples that the code-switching occurs in conjunction with indexing uncertainty.

The following example is taken from Nana and Flora's conversation over lunch, during which the two cousins catch up on the events of the past year. Flora is talking about a mutual acquaintance, Scarlet, and how she intended to build a house in Geocrab<sup>22</sup>; however, Flora is unsure whether the house has been built or not. A clear example of code-switching coinciding with signaling epistemic stance occurs in Flora's turn in Line 3:

#### Example 6-3 'New House' (Flora's House)

- 1 Flora *bha an triob mu dheireadh mun àm seo an-uiridh*  
the last time was about this time last year  
*chunna mi Scarlet 'sin 's bha i ag ràdh gun robh i a' dol a thogail*  
I saw that Scarlet and she was saying that she was going to build a  
*taigh ann a [[sheo] (.) anns a' Gheocrab*  
a house here in Geocrab
- 2 Nana *[[ (?) ]* **HI** < a bheil?  
really?
- 3 Flora *nise chan eil mise an còmhnaidh ga faicinn* I'm wondering  
now I don't often see her
- 4 Nana mmm/ [[ mmm /]
- 5 Flora *[[an] deach sin scuppered no deis'*  
did that get scuppered or finished?
- 6 Nana oh *smaointich* (1.1) oh well  
imagine

Flora introduces her proposition in Turn 1; again, as seen with Isabel's two examples, the proposition is introduced by the use of constructed dialogue. Flora relates her meeting with Scarlet, in which Scarlet said that she was going to build a house in Geocrab. Nana's

<sup>22</sup> Place name changed for reasons of anonymity.

noticeably higher pitch and the rising contour in Turn 2 suggest that she is surprised by the content of Flora's utterance. Flora's next turn begins in Gaelic, but she code-switches to English in taking an overtly uncertain epistemic stance towards the proposition that follows in Turn 5. Flora's utterance takes the form of a question, which further reifies the uncertainty of her stance. The use of the word 'scuppered' is not being analysed so much as a code-switch as more of a borrowing, but it is worth noting that this borrowing occurs in the environment of an uncertain proposition.

Just as seen in Isabel's examples, the code-switching occurs in conjunction with the overt marking of stance. As also seen in Isabel's examples, Flora's code-switching along with an overt temporal marker (in this case, *nise* 'now') contextualises the temporal change in the discourse in terms of the embedded interaction versus the current interaction. The signalling of an uncertain stance and its overt marking here may also serve an additional function in the discourse: the uncertainty may be a strategy for Flora to introduce a topic that could be considered 'gossip,' as suggesting that the house has not been built could perhaps raise questions about Scarlet's financial situation, etc. Thus, the overt marking of an uncertain stance as achieved by the code-switch helps to frame the topic as an introspective musing as opposed to gossip, and thereby signals to Nana that the implications of Flora's should not be construed as gossip. Nana's next turn then puts a close to the topic, suggesting that both speakers do not wish to dwell on what could be considered a gossipy topic.

In the examples discussing affective stance and epistemic stance thus far, the overt stance-taking has taken place in English, while the surrounding discourse has been in Gaelic. The following example shows the opposite in terms of language choice and stance-taking, as the re-positioning statement occurs in Gaelic. Here, Nana, her brother Tormod, his monoglot English-speaking daughter Karen, and the researcher ('R' in the transcript) are talking about how Tormod and Karen jointly run a Bed and Breakfast. Karen has previously asserted that she 'runs the ship,' and Nana continues the previous topic of Bed and Breakfast guests, but as seen from the following, is having trouble eliciting responses from the rest of the group. In Turn 14, Tormod says that he was going to say something but forgot what it was:

**Example 6-4 'What was it?' (Tormod Visiting)**

- |   |       |  |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | R     | do you make the breakfasts?                  |
| 2 | Karen | well it's sort of a self-service but         |
| 3 | Nana  | <b>WH</b> <oh they help themselves do they=? |

- 4 Tormod =aye  
 5 Nana **WH**< oh that's very >**WH** oh they just go down and have it=  
 6 Tormod ={aye} yep  
 7 Nana get them to pay the night they come in?  
 8 Tormod uh [[sometimes  
 9 Nana [[@@@  
 10 Tormod you can clear the breakfast away before they come down  
 11 Nana aye mmm-hmm (.5) oh /well (1.7) Did Is- I don't think Isabel had  
 anybody tonight  
 12 Tormod I don't know if [[she had]  
 13 Nana [[ I don't] think she was (.) expecting anybody she  
 was catching up she said (1.5) she was doing a catch-up (1.2) mmm-  
 hmm  
 14 Tormod I was going to say something but see I've lost it here °*dè a bh' agam?*  
 what was it?  
 15 Nana *Na Hearadh*  
 Harris  
 16 Tormod ummm=  
 17 Nana =*am fac' thu an deanntag?*  
 did you see the nettle?

In this example, Tormod's Turn 14 was initially coded as 'Self-Talk,' where a code-switch was evident between the discourse directed at the interlocutor and the discourse that seemed to be directed at the speaker. In this instance, Tormod's self-direction takes the linguistic form of a self-directed question. Although this example is perhaps not as clear in terms of overt stance-taking as the other four examples have been, it illustrates a re-positioning of the speaker in terms of the discourse; until now Tormod seems to have been positioning his turns towards the group discussion about running a Bed and Breakfast. However, in re-positioning his utterance introspectively, and in using Gaelic to do so, Tormod positions his discourse away from the group discussion to a more private dyad between him and Nana, as the linguistic capabilities of Karen and the researcher for the most part preclude their discussion from this dyad. It is clear that Tormod's code-switching to Gaelic invites a change of language in the interaction, as in Nana's subsequent turns she uses Gaelic.<sup>23</sup> In Chapter 5, it was noted that Tormod uses a high amount of Gaelic and this high use of Gaelic was postulated to perhaps be Tormod's preference for Gaelic in the context of speaking with his siblings, as he does not have the opportunity to use Gaelic with his wife and children. It was also postulated that his high use of Gaelic could be seen as a way of negotiating exclusive dyads between him and Nana, as his daughter Karen does not speak Gaelic. This excerpt seems suggestive of these premises: Tormod's use of Gaelic in re-positioning the interaction may be indicative of participant-related code-switching (cf. Auer, 1894), where Tormod turns back to his preferred

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that Nana uses both '*Na Hearadh*' and 'Harris' to refer to the Isle of Harris; therefore, the use of Gaelic is not seen as simply occurring because Nana is talking about Harris.



language for the interaction. As well, by virtue of the utterance being in Gaelic, Tormod signals a private conversation between him and Nana. Nana picks up on this cue, and indexes a reference that is presumably only shared by the two of them, as Nana brings up a picture of a nettle growing out of the concrete that she recently e-mailed to Tormod.<sup>24</sup>

Additionally, like Flora's 'I'm wondering,' Tormod's self-directed questioning frames his utterance as a musing and the content of what he says indicates general uncertainty, so to speak. The reason for this indication of uncertainty may be meant as a sort of repair for his reticence; judging by Nana's pauses in Turns 11 and 13 and repetition in Turn 13, it can be surmised that she expects someone else to take a turn. Tormod's lack of response, therefore, can be explained by that fact that he is unable to contribute to the conversation because he lost his train of thought.

The following example more clearly evidences Nana and Tormod's positioning of the discourse specifically in terms of their claims to evidentiality. This excerpt sequentially follows shortly after Example 6-4, as Nana and Tormod are discussing a relative (Ursula) of someone who is looking to buy the property where Nana took the picture of the nettle:

**Example 6-5 'Ursula's Face' (Tormod Visiting)**

- 1 Tormod *Ursula am fac' thu Ursula?*  
Ursula did you see Ursula?
- 2 Nana I saw Ursula when I was driving down well-  
*tha mi a' smaointeachadh gur i a bh' ann*  
I'm thinking that it was her  
I've never actually [[seen her face to be honest with you]
- 3 Tormod [[No no nor have]  
I (. ) no I wouldn't have (0.9) I shook a woman's hand once in Tarbert  
*a' smaoineachadh gur i a bh'ann ma-tha chan i sgath dhi*  
thinking that it was her then but it wasn't her at all
- 4 Nana oh help

In Turn 1, Tormod asks in Gaelic if Nana saw Ursula when she was in Harris. Nana subsequently states that she saw Ursula, but then indexes uncertainty towards this proposition (*tha mi a' smaointeachadh* 'I'm thinking') and code-switches in relaying this uncertainty. Although this switch to Gaelic could be seen repair for Nana's initial non-aligning code choice (i.e. not following the code choice used in Tormod's question),

<sup>24</sup> This is one of the conversations where I had to explicitly ask Nana about some of the referents and in general, what was transpiring in the conversation. Nana of course obliged, and even showed me the picture she took of the nettle on Harris.

Nana's further code-switch to Gaelic suggests that, as it being argued in this section, the code-switching occurs in congruence with stance. Nana then switches back to English in claiming evidentiality for her uncertain stance; in the same way Nana would give a reason for *knowing* something, in this case she is proving that she *does not know* something:

**Diagram 6-1: Nana's Epistemic Stance in Example 6-5**

**Uncertain Stance Towards Proposition**

*tha mi a' smaointeachadh gur i a bh'ann*

I'm thinking that it was her

**Reason for Uncertain Stance**

I've never actually seen her face to be honest with you

The language contrast between these two segments of the utterance highlight the micro-changes taking place in the discourse, and in doing so, further contributes to their meaning-making potential. The final part of Nana's Turn 2 is overlapped with Tormod's stance-aligning utterance; he reifies that he has never seen Ursula's face nor would he know who she was (if he was to see her). Following a nine-tenths of a second pause, he relates his own similar experience with Ursula, and code-switches to Gaelic in describing his thought process during the interaction. Here, not only does Tormod positively align with Nana's uncertain stance in terms of the content of his utterance, but also in the form: the code-switch occurs at the part of the utterance that indexes a thought process. In Nana's case, the thought process is in relation to the immediate interaction, as she is clarifying what she is saying by taking an uncertain stance towards her proposition. In Tormod's case, the thought process is a stance taken during the embedded interaction, and in indexing this previously-taken stance, Tormod positively aligns with Nana's stance both in content and the form of his utterance.

This example highlights the dialogic nature of the stance-taking process. Speakers not only index and reify stances within their own turns, but they also set up stances that can be taken up in subsequent turns; the interlocutor has a choice of how to align with the previous stance and may choose not only to index this alignment by the semantic content of his or her stance but by the structural components of the stance. Both Examples 6-4 and 6-5 also illustrate how, unlike the other examples in which English was used for the stance-taking process, Gaelic is also used for stance-taking, suggesting that, as discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g. Auer, 1984; Zentella, 1990), it is not the use of one code for a particular function that makes the code-switching meaningful, but rather, it is the juxtaposition of the two codes that is important in the meaning-making process of conversation.

Code-switching in taking epistemic stances and in what bears resemblance to 'Self-Talk' is also evident in the following example, taken from a phone call between Nana and her sister

Fiona while Nana is in Harris. Nana is talking about how busy Harris is at the moment and Fiona then tells about her own plans to come over to Harris:

**Example 6-6 ‘Busy Ferries’ (Phonecall between Nana and Fiona)**

- 1 Fiona mmm-hmm (.) *tha iad uamhasach trang an ann sheo* (.) aye  
they are awfully busy here
- 2 Nana *tha phrìs cho math ’s iad trang* (.)  
the price’s so good (.) and them busy (.)  
*tha aon rud tha seo* (.)  
the same thing here  
*chan fhaigh- chan fhaigh thu air bòrd ann mura h-eil thu=*  
(you) won’t get you won’t get on board if you don’t
- 3 Fiona =*tha sinne sinn fhèin ’n dòchas a-null air a’ twentieth no*  
we ourselves are coming over the twentieth or  
on the twenty-first
- 4 Nana oh (.) *a bheil?*  
oh really?
- 5 Fiona I don’t know what we should maybe we should put the van over a night  
or two before or [[? ]
- 6 Nana [[\oh ’s e.] yeah good idea.  
right
- 7 Fiona because that’s I think that’s the Monday of that stupid Celtic thing and  
that would be [[ ?]
- 8 R [[@]
- 9 Nana [[@ oh *tha thu tha thu tha thu tha thu*] (.)  
Uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh hu-huh (.)  
*bhiodh e, bhiodh a t-*  
It would be (?) would
- 10 Fiona [[ ?]  
*a bheil reidio* (.) *a bheil reidio no càil agad*  
do (you) have a radio do you have a radio or anything  
*ann taigh aig Ola?*  
in Ola’s house?
- 11 Nana *chan eil* (.) *tha reidio brist* (.) *tha reidio brist*  
no (.)the radio’s broken (.)the radio’s broken  
*ach tha telebhisean ann*  
but there’s a television

In this example, Fiona’s first utterance is referring to the ferries, which Nana then elaborates on in her next turn, citing the reduced ferry prices as the reason for their increased activity, and further elaborates by saying that *chan fhaigh- chan fhaigh thu air bòrd ann mura h-eil thu* (‘(you) won’t you won’t get on if you don’t’) which gets cut off by Fiona’s statement that she (and presumably her husband) are coming to Harris. Fiona then switches to English in relating the uncertain aspect of her trip: she does not know yet if she is coming over on the twentieth or twenty-first. From a linguistic perspective, this code-switch could be viewed as ‘triggered’ (cf. Clyne, 1967) by the use of the English word ‘twentieth,’ but although this could be a valid reading of the motivation for the code-switch, it does not take into account the interactional motivation for the code-switch, which

can perhaps only be fully realised by Fiona's next turn. Fiona's Turn 5 continues in English, and does not overtly address Nana's question; the expected response to Nana's question would be something either confirming or disconfirming Fiona's prior utterance (e.g. 'tha' or 'yes' as a response). Instead, Fiona carries on in her own narrative, and this example bears similarities to 'Self-Talk;' like Tormod's code-switching to ask himself the question *dè a bh'agam?*, Fiona's question is directed towards her own activities, not towards Nana or towards a broader topic. After Nana's reply in Turn 6, Fiona continues on her vein of uncertainty, citing 'that stupid Celtic thing' (meaning the Hebridean Celtic Festival; the researcher laughs because she finds this title for the festival amusing) as the reason for her indecision. After Nana's extensive backchanneling in Gaelic in Turn 9, Fiona takes up Nana's code choice in orienting the conversation towards Nana, changing the topic completely by asking if there is a radio in the house in which Nana and the researcher are staying. This decisive topic change can perhaps be viewed as a repair strategy, as Nana's excessive backchanneling has signaled to Fiona's that the topic of transportation issues has been exhausted. In making this repair, Fiona switches to Gaelic, the language that she and Nana have been using until Fiona's self-directed musing that began in Turn 3.

The previous examples have focused mainly on single instances of switching in reifying particular stances. The next example, however, evidences multiple stances, and looks at how code-switching interfaces with this ongoing stance modulation. In this example, Nana asks Isabel if she knows what Tormod has been doing lately. Isabel responds that he has been installing bookshelves, but then confusion ensues as to where he is actually installing them:

**Example 6-7 'Bookshelves' (Isabel's House)**

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Nana   | ... <i>dè tha Tormod fhèin a 'dèanamh an-dràsta?</i><br>what's Tormod himself doing <u>now</u> ?   |
| 2 | Isabel | <i>cò aig' tha fios (.4)</i> doing something upstairs<br>who knows   |
| 3 | Nana   | <i>sheadh</i><br>uh-huh  |
| 4 | Isabel | <i>seilfichean airson leabhraichean no rudeigin</i><br>shelves for books or something<br><i>no sin a bha iad a' dèanamh a-raoir</i><br>or that's what they were doing last night<br><i>co-dhiù nuair a bha mi ann</i><br>anyway when I was there |
| 5 | Nana   | <i>anns na \bedrooms (.6) no anns an loft</i><br>in the bedrooms or in the loft  |
| 6 | Isabel | (it wa- it was )   |
| 7 | Nana   | <i>anns an loft</i>  |



This example presents a complex interweaving of stances and clearly demonstrates that stance is a dialogic, fluid process; even if this conversation were to be monolingual, it would be interesting in the way Isabel rapidly shifts between the certain and uncertain stances. However, because this is a bilingual conversation, the code-switching adds another layer to the stance and indexing process. Following Du Bois (2007, p. 153), who maps speakers' utterances onto each other in order to show divergences and convergences in stance, the following diagraph outlines the conversation in terms of language choice and salient stance:

**Diagram 6-2: Isabel's Stance-Taking in Example 6-7**

2	Isabel	<b>Affective</b>	<b>Neutral</b>
		Gaelic	English
		<i>cò aig' tha fios</i>	doing something upstairs

4	Isabel	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Certain</b>
		Gaelic..... ...		
		<i>seilfichean airson leabhraichean</i>	<i>no rudeigin</i>	<i>no sin a bha iad a' dèanamh a-raoir co-dhiù nuair a bha mi ann</i>

8	Isabel	<b>Proposition</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Certain</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>
		Gaelic.....			English
		<i>anns an loft</i>	<i>chan ann</i>	<i>ach shuas an staidhre</i>	I don't know

12	Isabel	<b>Proposition</b>	<b>Certain</b>
		English	Gaelic
		it won't be in the loft	<i>'s duine aca</i>

From these diagraphs, it is clear that when intraturn switches occur, they occur concurrently with changes in stance. This does not mean that there is a one-to-one mapping of stance change to code-switch, but rather, when intraturn code-switches do occur, they happen in conjunction with changes in stance. The correlation between code-switching and stance modification in Isabel's utterances reiterates the contrastive function of code-switching; here, it is the use of contrasting codes that allow for Isabel to clearly

demarcate differing stances in what is a communicatively tricky strand of interaction. Again, this use of code-switching illustrates Gardner-Chloros et al.'s (2000) conclusion that although bilingual speakers have a variety of cues to draw on in communicating their meanings, code-switching is an exceptionally powerful one. Isabel's choice to code-switch some times and not others is postulated to be a strategy to highlight the particular stances that are *most* integral to communicating her intended meaning. For example, the code-switch and stance change in Turn 1 is in concert with a modulation between taking a negative affective stance towards her brother, which is then somewhat softened by the subsequent neutral stance. The code-switch in Turn 8 occurs after a string of oscillating stances, clearly demarcating the uncertain stance from the other stances. After some communicative trouble, the uncertain stance in the coda of Turn 8 is then modified in Turn 12, where Isabel clearly states her proposition and further reifies its certainty by code-switching. Thus, code-switching is a communicative strategy that Isabel frequently uses, but which she tends to reserve for instances in which it is most important to make her meaning clear.

It was noted in Chapter 5 that of the first generation, Isabel uses the least amount of Gaelic and this lower use was viewed by Nana as a facet of Isabel's age as compared to the other Campbell siblings. However, in looking at the matter from an interactional point of view, perhaps it is not so much that Isabel uses a far greater amount of English, but rather, that she tends to rely heavily on code-switching in trying to communicate her particular point or stance. As has been seen in the previous examples, and as will be explored more in this and the next chapter, code-switching often occurs in instances where the speaker encounters communicative trouble. It appears that Isabel favours code-switching as a strategy for mitigating communicative trouble.

#### **6.2.4 Summary**

This section has illustrated how first generation speakers code-switch in concert with stance modulation in conversation. The signaling of a particular stance may be achieved through a number of different forms and or the convergence of particular forms, and a particular form may have several potential ways for indexing a particular stance (Kiesling, 2009); these observations are evident in the first generation's examples, where it is not the language choice itself that indexes a particular form, but rather, the contrast between the two languages that aids in the meaning-making process of the interaction. As many of the

examples have indicated the need for the speakers to make their stances explicitly understood, as there has sometimes been some form of communication trouble or need for repair in the conversation, it is clear why speakers would draw on code-switching as a powerful linguistic tool for making their meanings understood.

## 6.3 Constructed Dialogue

### 6.3.1 Introduction

As has been seen in the previous examples, constructed dialogue plays an integral role in how these speakers relay embedded interactions to each other. Often a significant part of the embedded interaction is narrated through the use of constructed dialogue, such as seen from the first example discussed in this chapter:

#### From 'Teresa's Tearoom' (Isabel's House)

Isabel *cha robh i air a dòigh idir nuair a **thuir** mise*  
 She wasn't pleased at all when I **said**  
*cho math 's a bha (.) tearoom aig Teresa*  
 how good Teresa's tearoom was

In this example, Isabel uses constructed dialogue (in this case, what she herself said in a previous interaction) as a way of moving the narrative forward, and as mentioned in the analysis of this example, the constructed dialogue here provides a motivation for Beatrix's stance of displeasure. The use of a verb denoting speech, (in this case, *thuir*, bolded in the example) is a common cross-linguistic feature of instances of constructed dialogue, although this 'speaking' verb may not traditionally be associated with speech events, such as the quotative use of 'like' in American English, for example (Romaine, 1991). The 'speaking' verb is often accompanied by a complementiser (Li, 1986) which is clearly illustrated in the 'New House' example discussed earlier (and reproduced below). The use of a complementiser is a key function in distinguishing between indirect and direct constructed dialogue, as are pronouns and verbs (Holt, 1996). Here, Flora's utterance in the 'New House' example is a clear instance of indirect constructed dialogue: there is a complementiser (*gun*), as well as a concordance between the pronoun used in the framing the quote and the content of the quote (using *i* in both cases). Additionally, although this is not obligatory depending on the semantic content of the quote, there is also a concordance between the verb tense (past) in the framing of the quote and the verb tense used in the quote (*bha* and *robh*):



**From 'New House' (Flora's House)**

Flora ... 's *bha i ag ràdh gun robh i a' dol a thogail*  
 and she was saying that she was going to build

To illustrate the difference between indirect and direct constructed dialogue, if the content of Flora's utterance were to be hypothetically changed to an instance of direct reported speech, it would look like this, in which there is an absence of the complementiser, use of the first person (*mi*), not the third person, in the quote itself, and use of the present (*tha*), not past tense in the quote:

**New House: Direct Constructed Dialogue**

1 Flora *bha i ag ràdh 'tha mi a' dol a thogail'*  
 She was saying 'I am going to build'

In conjunction with and in addition to setting off reported speech grammatically, narrators have at their disposal a variety of ways with which they may mark the constructed dialogue, both linguistically and extralinguistically, such as gesturing in congruence with instances of constructed dialogue. Speakers may change tempo or pitch when contextualising constructed dialogue; they may somehow mimic the speakers of the reported speech, or present an iconic version of the speech. Rice (1986, p. 47) describes reported speech as 'an evocation of the original speech situation,' but although it may be the narrator's aim to present as accurate an account as possible of the constructed dialogue in the embedded interaction, the constructed dialogue is still the product of narrator's own voice. Bahktin (1986 [1971]) famously refers to this metaphorical injection of the narrator into the instance of constructed dialogue as 'double voicing,' writing:

We can create an image of any speaker, we can objectively perceive any work or any speech, but this objective image does not enter into the intent or project of the speaker himself and is not created by him as the author of the utterance.  
 (p. 109)

This sentiment is echoed in Voloshinov's work (1986 [1930], p. 119), who emphasises that it is the 'interrelationship' between narrator and the reported speech that gives the reported speech its meaning within narrative. Drawing on this work and the work of Bakhtin, Tannen (1995) suggests using the term 'constructed dialogue' in lieu of reported speech, arguing that speech within a narrative is *constructed*, not simply animated or reported, by the narrator, hence the use of the term 'constructed dialogue' in this chapter. Lucy (1993) also emphasises that one of the most salient features of constructed dialogue is that it is

metapragmatic; essentially, constructed dialogue is ‘talk about talk’ and its use provides narrators with a wide scope to index relevant aspects of their sociocultural landscapes.

From the emphasis on the narrator’s own role in the interpretation of constructed dialogue, it is clear to see the overlap between constructed dialogue and stance as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Gunthner (2002), for example, clearly demonstrates the various ways speakers take affective stances towards embedded speakers by the manner in which they render the constructed dialogue. Similarly, Clift (2006) shows that the use of constructed dialogue plays an integral role in establishing evidentiality; by using constructed dialogue, speakers are indexing first-hand knowledge to a source, and thus are making a claim to epistemic authority.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Auer (1984, p. 64) questions the assumption that code-switching occurs in the context of constructed dialogue simply because it reflects the language in which the utterance was originally said. Gumperz (1977; 1982) also questions this assumption, and demonstrates in several examples that it is quite implausible that the embedded utterance occurred in the language in which it was rendered. In addition to Auer and Gumperz, Nishimura (1995) and Alvarez-Cáccamo (1996) clearly address the assumption that code choice for constructed dialogue is contingent on the language in which the utterance originally occurred. They show that this is not necessarily the case and demonstrate the additional discourse work that the code-switching is achieving. Gardner-Chloros et al. (2000) emphasise that code-switching is used as a strategy to clearly demarcate the quote from the surrounding discourse, but other types of switching, often within the quote itself, are important in organising that quote as a function of the narrative.

Dorian (1997) notes that East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) speakers tend to quote embedded referents’ speech in Gaelic if the surrounding narrative is in Gaelic, even if the real-world referent was a monolingual English speaker. She further elaborates that this practice of quoting referents in Gaelic despite the referent’s monolinguality makes it hard to distinguish monolinguals from bilinguals based on the language of their quotations. In some studies, macrosocial context can play a role in deciding if a particular code choice is realistic, i.e. Gafaranga’s (2007, p. 152) example of a Belgian immigration official using Kinyarwanda, which Gafaranga concludes is an unlikely code choice in this instance. As there were no examples of this type (i.e. an ‘outsider’ speaking Gaelic in a formal context) in the Campbell Family Corpus, it was difficult to ascertain whether or not a particular code choice was unrealistic for a particular referent unless I either knew or knew of the

referent personally. In many instances, the Campbell speakers could very easily be exhibiting the same phenomenon as Dorian's speakers, where Anglophone monolinguals are presented as Gaelic speakers; for example, in Example 6-3, the referent 'Scarlet' could presumably be an English-speaking monolingual even though her constructed dialogue is rendered in Gaelic. In some instances, I was able to confirm that speakers' code choices for the referents indeed did not coincide with 'real world' code choices; for example as will be discussed in Chapter 7, I surmised that a man that Nana met on a boat to St. Kilda was not a Gaelic speaker, even though Nana sometimes renders his speech in Gaelic. However, I had to check with Nana before concluding this fact for certain, as it could be possible that, although the man is presented as an 'outsider' in the story, he could still speak or be learning Gaelic. Thus, it appears that there is some evidence of unrealistic code choice being used in the corpus. However, in looking at the instances of constructed dialogue in which code-switching was used, which is the focus of this section, the constructed dialogue is in English or in a few cases, rendered using code-switching. Therefore, the code choice of the quote is not overtly unrealistic, as even if the embedded speaker was a Gaelic speaker, he or she would of course be bilingual.

Dorian (1997) also concludes that when ESG speakers did choose to render the embedded speakers' speech in English, this was related to how the speaker wished to convey certain facets of the embedded speaker or of the speech itself, such as the embedded speaker's allegiance with the upper echelons of social class, or in conveying a particular positive or negative affect. English, therefore, is integral to how a speaker may 'double voice' a particular strand of constructed dialogue. The analysis in the following sections uses Bakhtin's (1986) notion 'double voicing' as a central concept in examining the code-switching, but first discusses how the first generation Campbell Family speakers use code-switching in delineating quotes from the surrounding narrative. It then looks at the role of code-switching in indexing salient features of the speakers' sociocultural landscapes, examining how 'realistic' code choices might be manipulated for further meaning. Finally, the chapter concludes by examining where it will be argued that code-switching co-occurs with constructed dialogue as a means to make claims to evidentiality.

### **6.3.2 Framing and Indexing Potential**

This section examines the way that code-switching is used to set off the quote from the surrounding narrative and further explores the indexing potential of code-switching. Using

code-switching to delineate between the framing of the quote and the quote itself is clearly evidenced in the following phone conversation between Nana and Isabel. Nana is in Harris and asks Isabel the general question of if she has seen anyone today (i.e. is there any news from Skye). Isabel initially answers that she has not seen anyone, but then says that Tina (Tormod's daughter) is coming home today:

**Example 6-8 'Tina's coming home' (Phoning Isabel)**

- 1 Nana *chan eil* ^oh well *am fac' thu duine an-diugh?*  
no did you see anyone today?
- 2 Isabel oh *chan fhaca* Tina's coming home today  
didn't see
- 3 Nana is she what's wrong
- 4 Isabel /e::h .hh she was supposed to be doing  
a photography course herself *thuir iad*  
they said
- 5 Nana uh-huh
- 6 Isabel for a /week

In this example, Isabel frames the statement in Turn 4 'she was supposed to be doing a photography course herself' as constructed dialogue through use of a quotative (*thuir* 'said'). The structural realisation would have also been accomplished if Isabel had only used English (i.e. she had said 'they said' in English), but the use of code-switching provides an overt marking of the information as constructed dialogue. There is a contrast between the two languages, and thus, a greater contrast between the constructed dialogue and the framing, making the realisation of the constructed dialogue more overt.

Although overt marking of a constructed dialogue structure seems to provide satisfactory motivation for a speaker to code-switch, this analysis does not take into account the other discourse work that the code-switching is accomplishing. Initially in Turn 2, Isabel asserts '*chan fhaca*,' meaning that she has not seen anybody [today]. However, she then code-switches to English in relaying the news that 'Tina is coming home today.' Her access to new information implies that she has spoken to someone today, and given that Tina is Tormod's daughter, further implies that Isabel has been speaking to a member of Tormod's family. Therefore, in Turn 2, Isabel has changed her position: she might have not physically 'seen' anyone today (even though that is the most likely scenario, as Tormod's family lives in the house directly in front of Isabel's), but she has spoken to someone, which is really what Nana's initial question in Turn 1 is asking. Isabel goes from implying that she does not have access to any news to relaying news. In signalling this change, Isabel code-switches, which, after analysing Isabel's language use in the previous examples, especially Example 6-7 'Bookshelves,' seems to be one of Isabel's most

frequent strategies for signalling changes in positionality. In Turn 3, Nana reifies that the statement ‘Tina’s coming home today’ should be construed as news, further signalling that this news is problematic. Isabel’s Turn 4 begins with an elongated ‘e:h,’ followed by a brief pause, suggesting uncertainty or hesitation. She then states the information that Tina was supposed to be doing a photography course, and concludes by framing it as constructed dialogue. Here, the constructed dialogue and the overt framing achieved by the code-switching is analysed as a means for claiming evidentiality, which is seen to be a strategy for counteracting Isabel’s previous statement in Turn 2 and the hesitations and pauses in Turn 4.

Additionally, the use of English in Turn 2 may serve as an additional contextualisation cue in setting off the constructed dialogue in that it indexes Tormod’s family’s habitual language choice: English is the language *iad* (‘they’) would speak. The use of an oppositional stance is reified by rendering the constructed dialogue in English and then using a Gaelic quotative marker; as seen in Example 6-7 ‘Bookshelves,’ the type of distant stance Isabel takes towards her brother appears to be an accreted stance, as in Example 6-7 Isabel implies that she would not have access to knowledge to what he was doing at that particular time. Interestingly, in both Example 6-7 ‘Bookshelves’ and Example 6-8 ‘Tina’s Coming Home,’ Isabel initially lays no claim to knowledge, but then works hard to authenticate her claim to epistemic authority.

This use of indexing the habitual language choice of a particular speaker is also evident in the following, in which Ealasaid code-switches to English in relaying the speech of her son, who speaks Gaelic but, like most of his second generation peers, habitually speaks English:

**Example 6-9 ‘Sold the Flat’ (Ealasaid’s House)**

- |   |          |  |
|---|----------|--|
| 1 | Nana     | good for <u>him</u> /o::h we=  |
| 2 | Ealasaid | =so bha e ag ràdh (.)<br>he was saying<br><i>bha e a’ coiseachd an uair sin</i><br>he was walking then<br><i>ann an Greenock a’ faighinn trèana</i><br>in Greenock getting a train<br><i>air ais nuair bha e ag ràdh</i><br>back when he was saying<br>I’ve sold the /flat |
| 3 | Nana     | uh-huh   |

In this example, Ealasaid is imparting to Nana the good news that Ealasaid's son has sold his flat. The initial part of Ealasaid's utterance in Turn 2 frames the constructed dialogue; however, after a micropause, Ealasaid chooses to further contextualise the constructed dialogue by narrating what her son was doing at the time he gave her the good news. She then code-switches to English for the constructed dialogue. In doing so, she not only provides a clear contrast between the direct reported speech and the surrounding narrative, but also indexes the language choice of the embedded speaker. Her code-switching to English seems to be a strategy for accurately rendering her son's words, and her earlier repair in further contextualising the constructed dialogue (i.e. telling what her son was doing in the embedded interaction), suggests that Ealasaid wishes to provide an accurate rendering of the embedded interaction. Therefore, she re-constructs the dialogue in its original language.

In looking at the further indexical function of the code-switch, it is particularly useful to revisit Alvarez-Cáccamo's (1996, p. 37) example of an older speaker switching from Galician to Spanish in iconically portraying the speech of an eight year-old. Alvarez-Cáccamo concedes that the eight year-old was indeed speaking Spanish in the utterance, but draws attention to the further indexical function of this instance of code-switching in terms of a particular sociocultural context. In Galicia, as in Skye and Harris, language shift is occurring, and using the majority language to iconically represent a younger speaker reflects the language shift in progress. Besides providing an accurate portrayal of her son's speech, Ealasaid is also indexing the language shift in progress, which is arguably a salient feature of her sociocultural landscape.

### 6.3.3 Code-Switching within the Constructed Dialogue

Just as code-switching to English can be used to present realistic, or arguably, iconic versions of certain embedded speakers' speech, so too can the use of code-switching within the quote be used in presenting true-to-life, or as will especially argued in Example 6-11, iconic versions of Gaelic-English bilinguals' speech. In both instances, the constructed dialogue is amusing to the interlocutor (in this case, Nana). In the first example, Ealasaid recounts what a mutual friend said. As personally confirmed by Nana to me, the referent in this case is a Harris bilingual.

#### Example 6-10 'Got to Keep the Queen Happy' (Phoning Ealasaid)

1 Nana        *uh-huh* (.) *air a' run fad a' cola-deug, a bheil?*  
                  on the run for the fortnight, is he?



instances of constructed dialogue in Turn 2, Somhairle relays each embedded interactants' constructed dialogue as code-switched. Interactant 1 first uses a Gaelic discourse marker (*Tii* [oh Lordy]), then switches to English in commenting on the beauty of the night, then switches to English in giving a command to Interactant 2 (*thalla a-mach ach am faic thu a' gheallach* [go outside so you can see the moon]). The 'g-' preceding *thalla* (which is equivalent to 'go' in this case) suggests that Somhairle starts to render this part of the constructed dialogue in English, but decides to render it in Gaelic.. Somhairle then continues on in Gaelic in rendering the constructed dialogue of Interactant 2 and it is only through context that it is clear that this strand of constructed dialogue is intended to 'belong' to Interactant 2, who states in Gaelic that he does not need to go outside (*cha leig mi leas*), then switches to English in giving the reason for not needing to go outside 'I can see it through the roof.'

In this example, the habitual language choice of the embedded speakers is impossible to ascertain. However, in using code-switching in rendering their speech, Somhairle presents the speakers as bilinguals and confers upon them a local identity. As the subject is a storm that caused serious damage in the Hebrides, it is quite likely that the two embedded interactants are indeed bilinguals, and the rendering looks very realistic in terms of what has been observed about Gaelic-English bilinguals in this chapter, as both interactants' use of code-switching signals a microchange in the conversation. In Interactant 1's case, this is the change between commenting on the weather and giving a directive; Interactant 2 in turn takes up Interactant 1's previous code-choice in (his) initial statement, but code-switches in giving the reason for not needing to go outside. It is also clear that the use of code-switching is important in telling this anecdote, as Somhairle presumably repairs 'go' to the Gaelic *thalla*.

Nana's laughter in Turn 3 and her re-formulation in Gaelic are integral to analysing the importance of code-switching in this excerpt. The lack of real-world referents and Nana's amusement here suggest that Somhairle's attention to code-switching in this excerpt is motivated by the humorous nature of his vignette. It is entirely possible that the little anecdote is intended as a joke, and not as a recounting of real-world events, or perhaps as an exaggeration of real-world events. As the use of English has been argued to be iconic for younger speakers, it is argued here that code-switching within the utterance can also be used to create an iconic portrayal of a local Harris resident. It is also evident that the use of code-switching here helps to emphasise Somhairle's punchline of 'I can see it through the



roof,' further suggesting that Somhairle is using code-switching to highlight the humour of the anecdote.

### 6.3.4 Constructed dialogue, Code-Switching and Evidentiality

The following examples illustrate the need to claim epistemic authority as motivation for code-switching in conjunction with constructed dialogue. The first example is what can be conceptualised as 'multimodal' constructed dialogue (cf. Prior et al., 2006), which are instances in which the origin of the constructed dialogue is not an embedded speaker, but simply a source other than the narrator. In this excerpt taken from a conversation between Nana and Isabel, both speakers are presenting information about the recent swine flu epidemic. The source of Isabel's information appears to be a newspaper or TV headline, while the source of Nana's information is a text that was sent to her daughter Màiri:

#### Example 6-12 'Swine flu' (Isabel's House)

- 1 Nana ... *cò an tè tha thu a dol a dhèanamh*  
what one are you going to do?
- 2 Isabel *leabaidh ann rùm cùl (1.5)*  
bed in back room  
**FIFTY-TWO** *ann a- ann a- hotel ann a' Beijing*  
in in in  
British: school (.) children with swine flu
- 3 Nana Màiri sent me well Màiri phoned me today  
*thuir i gu robh s:: d' fhuair i à Magdalena a-raoir*  
she said that s::: she got from Magdalena last night  
.fff swine flu's in Skye::
- (.5)
- 4 Isabel aye (.) what swine's got it
- 5 Nana [[ @ @ @
- 6 Researcher [[ @ @ @
- 7 Nana *chan eil fhios a'm*  
I don't know
- 8 Isabel ach it was supposed to be in Broadford hospital Americans had it
- 9 Nana a woman died in (?)

In this example, Isabel's Turn 2 begins with the answer, in Gaelic, to Nana's question about the beds. After a pause, Isabel initiates a topic change, and contextualises this new topic as 'new information' (cf. Chafe, 1987) by increasing the amplitude to this framing of the new information. Although 'fifty-two' is an English word, Gaelic speakers nearly systematically use English numbers when speaking Gaelic (MacAulay, 1982a,b), and thus it is difficult to argue that the topic change and contextualisation of new information is also accompanied by a code-switch, especially given the Gaelic preposition following the

number. The head of the prepositional phrase, however, is an English word. Although the word ‘hotel’ could be treated as a codified borrowing, it could also be analysed as a code-switch for indexical purposes; the Gaelic for ‘hotel’ (*taigh-òsta*) is also used to mean ‘pub’ (as often the hotel bar serves as the village pub), and given the content of the utterance, it is possible that Isabel chooses to use the word ‘hotel’ to index a large, international hotel, as opposed to a local hotel and village pub. This use of indexing is supported by Isabel’s repairs in the prepositional phrase preceding the word ‘hotel,’ as the repairs perhaps suggest that Isabel is deciding what word would most correctly index her intended meaning. After the prepositional phrase *ann a’ Beijing*, (‘in Beijing’), there is a clear code-switch to English. This code-switched utterance is being treated as an example of multimodal constructed dialogue, and it is being treated as such because of the form of the utterance: the syntactic form of the utterance is reminiscent of a news headline. It is of course probable that Isabel read the information in a newspaper, but what is of interest here is not the original language of the source, but the fact that Isabel chooses to contextualise the information as originating from a source other than herself and the form this contextualisation takes.

Isabel chooses to render the information as a headline; the rendering in this manner can be viewed as an epistemic stance-taking act of certainty, as the form of the proposition itself indexes its authority. The language chosen for this form is English; English is after all the language of mass media. Isabel’s choice to use English for the last part of her utterance is metapragmatic: it both reflects the status of English in Skye, as well as locally creates this authoritative status of English in the course of the discourse. It is possible that the earlier part of the utterance is also part of this ‘headline’ framework; the repairs suggest that there was some communicative trouble, and a plausible reason for this was that the headline framework was not working in Gaelic, as the use of Gaelic did not index the same authority in this particular context. Additionally, as seen in the stance examples, code-switching in conjunction with reifying an epistemic stance of certainty appears to be one of Isabel’s most frequently-used communicative strategies.

Nana reacts to this stance of epistemic authority by re-situating the topic locally. Her turn begins in English, and she repairs the ‘sent’ to ‘phoned,’ then switches to Gaelic in framing the constructed dialogue. The elongated s::: suggests that Nana was originally going to render the constructed dialogue as indirect speech (i.e. say ‘swine flu’) following the complementiser *gun robh*, but Nana then self-repairs, clarifying that what Màiri actually said is that she received a text from Magdalena. Nana renders the constructed dialogue,

understood to be the text that Màiri received, as direct speech and in a manner that can only be described as ‘sensationalised.’ she uses elongated vowels and changes her voice quality.

In Nana’s complicated entextualisation of multimodal constructed dialogue, the metapragmatic use of English is evident and mirrors Isabel’s previous utterance in that it both reflects the authoritative status of English and also, within the scope of the discourse, creates it. The contextualisation itself is complex and multi-layered; it might seem that Nana’s intention is to take an uncertain stance towards the proposition, as she is emphasising her distance from the original source. However, in light of the ‘sensationalised’ tone of the constructed dialogue as well as the following dialogue, this does not seem to be the case. After Isabel’s witty quip and Nana and the researcher’s subsequent laughter, Nana answers the question and it is clear given the context that she did not take Isabel’s question to be literal. Isabel then provides further information about the topic in English, to which Nana follows with further information on the topic.

From this last part of the conversation, several observations can be made. First, throughout the whole episode, Nana is taking a certain stance towards her propositions, as is Isabel. The information each speaker presents is not as ‘new’ as it seems, as both Isabel and Nana are in the know about the swine flu situation on Skye, and thus, the conversation seems as if both speakers are relating evidence to show what they themselves have heard about the topic. Thirdly, it is clear that English is the preferred choice for the stances of epistemic authority in this interaction.

This indexing of an epistemic stance of certainty through the use of constructed dialogue is also exemplified in the following excerpt from a conversation between Nana and Somhairle. The part preceding this excerpt has been indicative of communicative trouble between the two interlocutors; there is some confusion about the particulars of a certain (sensitive) topic and Somhairle takes several turns in clarifying something for Nana. Somhairle then introduces the topic of Ben Johnson in the following:

**Example 6-13 ‘Fish Farms’ (Somhairle’s House)**

- |   |           |  |
|---|-----------|--|
| 1 | Somhairle | Ben Johnson the uh the fish fa:rms <i>aige</i>   |
| 2 | Nana      | mmm-hmm  |
| 3 | Somhairle | <i>thàinig fear dhen a Ruis</i> <sup>25</sup> <i>bad an robh e airson reic=</i><br>A man from Russia went to where he was to buy |

<sup>25</sup> Nationality has been changed to protect anonymity.

- 4 Nana =oh uh *sheadh*  
right
- 5 Somhairle 'son a=  
for
- 6 Nana =fish farms *a reic ris na*  
to sell fish farms to
- 7 Somhairle *chan e ach an iasg*  
no the fish
- 8 Nana oh *t-iasg* oh >*seadh seadh*< uh-huh  
the fish right right
- 9 Somhairle and he was offering a good pri:ce=  
10 Nana =mmm-hmm mmm-hmm
- 11 Somhairle *thuirt* Ben no  
said
- 12 Nana no
- 13 Somhairle so *bha Harry ag ràdh* oh why didn't you sell  
Harry was saying
- 14 Nana aye sell
- 15 Somhairle oh aye yes they're all right in the start
- 16 Nana yeah
- 17 Somhairle but in the end it's in the Russian that'll do you
- 18 Nana yes >yes yes<
- 19 Somhairle which is tr/ue
- 20 Nana yes yes mmm-hmm (1.0) so *tha iad bha i cear- ceart gu leòr*  
they are it was ri- all right  
mmm-hmm mmm (2.5) well *chan eil e cho dòna*  
that's not so bad
- 21 Somhairle now would either of you have a cup of tea?

Somhairle's first turn initiates a self-repair with the 'uh' and he repeats the determiner 'the' preceding 'fish farms,' then uses Gaelic in marking possession (*aige*, literally 'at him' but translated as 'his') in marking Ben Johnson as the owner of the fish farms. Somhairle's use of the word 'fish farms' could be viewed similarly to Isabel's use of the word 'hotel,' in that although one could say 'fish farms' in Gaelic, this rendering might lack the correct index or may even seem artificial (cf. McEwan-Fujita, 2008). His utterance is followed by Nana's 'mmm-hmm,' and as Somhairle's previous turn was repairable, Nana's 'mmm-hmm' is interpreted as signalling her understanding of the conversation thus far. Somhairle's Turn 3 is in Gaelic, and Nana again indicates that she understands the conversation in Turn 4. It is evident that Nana perceives communicative strain on Somhairle's role of narrator, and thus tries to help in Turn 6 by offering what she thinks will be Somhairle's next utterance. However, this only leads to further repair, as in Turn 7 Somhairle then has to clarify Nana's statement. In Turn 8, Nana again shows that she understands the conversation by repeating the most important part of Somhairle's clarification (that it was not the fish farms that the Russian wanted to buy, but the fish).

Somhairle's Turn 9 is in English, which contrasts with the language choice used in the last two turns. This could be because Somhairle is setting up the following embedded interaction, the constructed dialogue of which is transmitted through English. It is also possible that the code-switching is used as a strategy to mitigate the communicative trouble; Somhairle perceives Nana's feeling the need to assist in the communication, and the code-switch is an acknowledgement of the communicative trouble. It is interpreted as saying 'The communication is not working in this language, so I'll try it in another language for the time being.' Nana then further reifies that she understands the conversation in Turn 10.

Somhairle's Turn 11 begins with the narration of the constructed dialogue; the direct reported speech is framed with the quotative followed by the constructed utterance 'no.' Nana then repeats the constructed utterance. Following the word 'so' in Turn 13, Somhairle then frames the constructed speech of a new character in the embedded interaction, Harry. The nature of this new instance of constructed dialogue possibly indexes two separate interactions: the conversation between Ben Johnson and the Russian, in which Ben refused to sell his fish, and the subsequent conversation between Ben and Harry. After Harry's constructed dialogue, Nana again repeats the key word in the constructed dialogue, and Somhairle's next utterance is an unframed strand of constructed dialogue, understood contextually to be Ben speaking. Nana utters 'yeah' in Turn 16 and in Turn 17, Somhairle provides the proverbial punch line to the story, which again appears to be conveyed by means of constructed dialogue. After Nana's further reification of understanding the story, Somhairle appears to offer his own evaluation of Ben's statement. After Nana's very neutral evaluative comments, the topic is closed by Somhairle's asking Nana and the researcher if they would like some tea.

From this conversation, several observations emerge that are worth discussing in terms of how code-switching interfaces with constructed dialogue. First, much of the conversation consists of the two speakers trying to mitigate communication trouble. Second, in terms of the constructed dialogue, there appears to be two separate embedded interactions and it is not clear from the excerpt or the interaction as a whole whether Somhairle was actually present at either one of the embedded interactions, or if the knowledge of the situation was gained through another interaction; for example, a conversation with either Ben or Harry. It is also impossible to establish the original language of the embedded interactions or the habitual language choice of the embedded speakers. Presumably, the conversation between Ben and the Russian took place in English, as it seems quite unlikely that a

foreign businessman would speak Gaelic; however it is impossible to establish whether the other embedded speakers even speak Gaelic themselves. Even though it is not evident that Somhairle himself was at either of the embedded interactions related here, his choice to use constructed dialogue creates the image that Somhairle does have first-hand knowledge of the subject, and the language Somhairle chooses in creating this image of first-hand knowledge is English. It is highly possible that this establishing of authority is a reaction to the earlier (and continual) communicative trouble. As the last instance of constructed dialogue, could possibly be considered offensive, attributing the words to Ben allows Somhairle to take a neutral stance towards the proposition. After Nana's indication that she does not find this proposition offensive, Somhairle then takes an evaluative stance in the immediate action, which provides a close to the topic.

The code-switching to English, has several functions in the dialogue. First, it provides a contrast, which in a strand of conversation in which there is communicative trouble, has the potential to be very useful in guiding the interlocutor through the discourse. Secondly, in terms of the use of English, this example, like Isabel's previous example, also is metapragmatic in its establishing English as the language of authority. Using English, not Gaelic, to re-construct a dialogue that transpired during a business interaction indexes English's dominance in a wider sociocultural context, and by using it here in turns that establish evidentiality, the status of English as the language of authority is locally created within the discourse. Additionally, by rendering this constructed dialogue using the more realistic code in this context, Somhairle is conveying the image that he does have first-hand knowledge of the embedded interaction.

## 6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how code-switching is used in congruence with the stance-taking process of interaction and has also discussed the closely-related and often overlapping concept of constructed dialogue in concert with code-switching. In analyses of both phenomena, it is clear that the code-switching is integral in the boundary reification process of conversation; that is, how speakers signal the micro-changes in their ongoing discourse, such as modulations of stance or in separating embedded interactions from the current interaction, for example. The contrast in language highlights these changes, thus making the bilingual interlocutor's task of correctly interpreting the narrator's meaning easier.

In addition to the local level of the interaction, the code-switching can also play an integral role in indexing salient features of the first generation speakers' sociocultural landscapes. As seen from the examples, this most often takes the form of indexing the language shift in their community as well as their own family, such as was illustrated in Example 6-9 'Sold the Flat.' Similarly, the use of code-switching within a particular strand of constructed dialogue such as in Example 6-11 'Wild Night' may be used to iconically present someone as a local bilingual. The fact that of the Mixed utterances secondarily coded as 'constructed dialogue,' the switch always occurred from Gaelic to English for the constructed dialogue (and never for the converse, i.e. switching from English to Gaelic in relaying the constructed dialogue) is arguably illustrative of language shift, as it suggests that many of the conversations in these speakers' social experiences are in English. The metapragmatic use of English in locally establishing authority within a conversation is also arguably reflective of the sociocultural hegemony of English.

Finally, many of the examples exhibit speakers' use of code-switching in the context of communicative trouble. This communicative trouble has taken an array of forms over the various examples, and it has been argued that often the narrator will code-switch as a possible means to mitigating this communicative trouble. However, the source of the trouble is usually not related to the language per se, but with a difficulty in the fine-grained, elaborate meaning-making process of conversation. To these bilingual Harris and Skye speakers, one of the most obvious solutions to these communicative hurdles seems to be code-switching. This observation may be pertinent to widespread lay perceptions (cf. Gafaranga, 2007) that speakers often code-switch because of an inability to effectively communicate something in one language, which is usually equated to a lack of ability in a particular language. This perception of code-switching may be borne in part out of observations of bilinguals who, like the Skye and Harris bilinguals, often code-switch in the context of communicative trouble. However, the Skye and Harris bilinguals clearly demonstrate that the communicative trouble has little to do with the language at hand, but with trying to guide the interlocutor through the often complex meaning-making task of everyday conversation.

## 7 Nana's Narratives

### Chapter Overview

This chapter deepens the arguments made about the first generation's use of code-switching in Chapter 6 by examining Nana's telling of two lengthy narratives, which will be referred to as 'Fuse Wire' and 'Flannan Isles.' The chapter focuses on how code-switching plays an integral role in how Nana attempts to successfully narrate her stories and begins by outlining some of the main theoretical issues pertaining to narratives before briefly summarising the main events in the two stories. Analysis of the narratives begins with examining the pre-tellings to each of the stories, then looks at the complicating action to the stories and concludes by examining the resolutions to each of the stories. The chapter illustrates how code-switching plays a key role in how Nana moves between the 'storyworld' and the immediate interaction, as well as how she attempts to distinguish different embedded interactions and embedded speakers from each other. It will further examine how code choice is important in indexing salient features of Nana's sociocultural landscape.

### 7.1 Introduction

The narrative is central to human interaction and to human experience as a whole; it is one of the means by which individuals make sense of the events they experience and how they communicate these experiences to others. As Toolan (2001, p. iii) writes in the preface to *Narratives: A Critical Introduction*, 'Narratives are everywhere, performing countless different functions in human interactions.' According to Thornborrow and Coates (2005, p. 3), narratives, or stories, as the two terms will be used interchangeably in this chapter, minimally consist of two events temporally and sequentially linked together. The particular sequencing is understood to imply a causal relationship between the two events, and the meaning of the story depends on how this relationship is indexed. Example 6-1 'Teresa's Tearoom' in the last chapter provides a good example of this premise: the two 'events'—Isabel's telling Beatrix how good Teresa's tearoom is, and Beatrix's subsequent display of displeasure—are viewed as having a temporal and causal relationship. Changing the order of the events (Beatrix was displeased and Isabel told Beatrix how good Teresa's tearoom was) would constitute a different, and arguably less pragmatically-coherent, story.



Early sociolinguistic work on narratives arguably began with Labov and Waletzky's (1967) work on the stories arising from sociolinguistic interviews where participants recounted near-death experiences. Analysis focused primarily on the structure of the story, which was concluded to minimally consist of a conflicting action and a resolution. Ten years later, Labov and Fanshel (1977) directed their attention towards the storytellers themselves, delineating three types of events with regards to who is qualified to tell a particular story. In what they term 'A' events, the events are accessible only to the teller of the story. In 'A-B' events, one person is telling a story, but there is another person present in the interaction who has access to knowledge of the events and can, and perhaps does, join in the storytelling. In 'O' events, the event is knowledge of a particular culture or group of people, and therefore the story may be told by any, or ostensibly all members of the group present in a particular interaction. An example of this latter type of storytelling would be a family recounting a shared experience, as Blum-Kulka (1993) demonstrates in examining family dinner conversations, in which a story is collectively co-constructed and the roles of storyteller and interlocutor(s) shift as this collaborative process progresses.

Establishing oneself as the 'storyteller' is not always a seamless process in everyday conversation. Speakers may have to forge through surrounding talk to gain the floor in the first place, and then must maintain the requisite turn space in order to tell the story. Schegloff (2007, p. 43) notes that the process usually involves 'pre-telling,' in which the narrator establishes that he or she is about to tell a story. This 'pre-telling' can take a variety of forms depending on the context, and is sometimes predicated on emphasising that the narrator has access to information that is unknown but would be of interest to the interlocutor(s). This relates to the 'tellability' of the story (cf. Norrick, 2000; Labov, 2006), which is something that the narrator must continuously establish during the entire storytelling process. As Polanyi (1981) points out:

stories are socially constrained to be worth telling in some sense. Narrators are under a positive obligation to construct their stories around salient material and also to signal to their hearers what they believe their story to be about, what, if you will, is interesting about it. (p. 99)

Polanyi (1982) further enumerates that telling an unsuccessful story results in a loss of face; after all, the storyteller is taking up an extended period of turn space, and the interlocutor more or less, depending on the situation, is socially obliged to listen to the story. It is to the narrator's advantage in telling a story that the interlocutor's needs are met, and therefore the narrator might periodically check to make sure that the interlocutor is

following the narrative or explicitly emphasise why the interlocutor should find the story interesting. Leith (2005, p. 136) points out that the interlocutor may have an integral role in the shape that the story takes, as the interlocutor may 'guide' the narrative through use of questions or comments. Polanyi (1981) further explains that one way that the narrator might justify the story's tellability is by periodically offering evaluations throughout the interaction. This tellability strategy was also illustrated by Example 6-1 'Teresa's Tearoom' in which Isabel gave an evaluation that was salient to the immediate interaction and in the discussion of this example, it was emphasised that Isabel's evaluation was constructed so that it highlighted the relevance to Nana ('that's where *we* should have gone for afternoon tea').

It is clear that the distinction made in Chapter 6 between the 'immediate' interaction and the 'embedded' interaction is pertinent to a discussion of narratives. In the last chapter, the 'embedded interactions' equate to what Polanyi (1982, p. 517) refers to as the 'storyworld,' which she defines as the events, real or imagined, as imparted by the narrator in the storytelling process. As will unfold in the excerpts to follow, the 'storyworld' in these narratives consist of a series of embedded interactions and Nana's experiences throughout these embedded interactions. It is of course possible that narratives do not involve embedded interactions per se, as a narrator could be describing an event that did not involve other interactants. However, as will be seen from the excerpts from 'Fuse Wire' and 'Flannan Isles,' past interactions are central to the development of these particular narratives.

Blum-Kulka (1993) distinguishes between tale, teller, and telling, and this distinction is useful in focusing this chapter on how Nana uses code-switching to successfully narrate two stories. The 'tale' can be used to refer to the storyworld: what is happening in the narrative. The 'telling' on the other hand, refers to the 'text' itself, i.e. what Nana says in her narration, and what will be examined is how Nana uses code-switching in creating the 'telling' of the story. This will look at how the code-switching in the storyworld is reflective (or not) of aspects of the 'real' world, and how Nana uses code-switching in signaling changes within the storyworld. Finally, the 'teller' is expanded to mean the 'immediate interaction,' and one of the focuses of the analysis will be how Nana uses code-switching to shift between the storyworld and the immediate interaction.

In terms of code-switching and narratives, Koike (1987) demonstrates that alternation between Spanish and English plays a role in speakers' delineation between the different

parts of the narrative, such as between the complicating action and the resolution. Auer (1988) and Nishimura (1995) both find that code-switching may be used in marking the change from the preface to a narrative and the narrative itself, or in the coda to a narrative. Sebba and Wootton's (1998) work illustrates how code-switching is used in separating the actions of two characters by narrating one character's actions in London Jamaican and the other's in London English, though both characters in the narrative are of African-Caribbean origin. Sebba and Wootton (1998, p. 283) postulate that this use of code-switching illustrates the use of code-switching as narrative strategy rather than the invocation of 'we'/'they' code identities within the story. They also demonstrate (p. 270) how switching to London Jamaican can highlight the climax, or most salient part of a story. In the following sections, it will be discussed how Nana is using code-switching in similar ways to these findings, and how ultimately, code-switching plays an important part of her successful narrations of the two stories.

### **7.1.1 The Stories**

As evidenced in Chapter 6, the first generation interactions involve an abundance of narratives. Everyday events are relayed through short vignettes, and the use of constructed dialogue is often integral to the telling of these narratives (cf. Example 6-13 'Fish Farms'). As Nana's turns account for 41% of the corpus, it is not surprising that Nana tells a number of narratives. The choice to focus on two narratives was borne out of a desire to look at the stories in their near entirety. As 'Fuse Wire' and 'Flannan Isles' are four minutes and thirty seconds and eight minutes and twenty seconds respectively, it was practical to limit the scope to these two stories. These two stories appear not only the longest narratives in the corpus, but they also contain a minimal amount of sensitive or uncomfortable material in comparison to other narratives. For example, in one of the other longer narratives, Nana talks about her bank account, and in another, she tells about a friend who is dying of cancer. Additionally, the two stories provide a contrast both in terms of interaction and in terms of the content and scope of the stories. In the shorter of the two stories, 'Fuse Wire', Nana tells her sister Isabel, whom Nana sees nearly every day, the events surrounding a fuse wire that broke the night before. In contrast, 'Flannan Isles' is told to Nana's cousin Flora, whom Nana has not seen since the previous summer. The contents of the story span nearly a year in time and involve a complex interweaving of referents and individual narratives about several of the referents. The basic storyline to 'Flannan Isles' is that Nana almost gets to go to the Flannan Isles but does not; as will be seen in the following

summary and excerpts of the story, there are also many substories contained within this basic storyline.

#### 7.1.1.1 'Fuse Wire'

In terms of Labov and Fanshel's (1977) storyteller/interlocutor paradigm, 'Fuse Wire' falls under more or less of an A-B framework; I had been present for the phone conversation related in the story, as well as the actual changing of the fuse wire, but aside from initial introduction of the story, my participation in the storytelling was nearly non-existent. Part of the reason for this reticence was that I was not very fluent in Gaelic at the time; additionally, Nana framed the story as 'her' story, and thus Nana was the storyteller and Isabel the principal interlocutor.

In 'Fuse Wire', Nana tells of how there is a problem with the wires in the extensions. Initially, Nana's son Seumas assists with the problem, but when there is additional trouble after Seumas has left, Nana calls Seumas on the phone. Nana asks Seumas to phone Neil, who presumably wired the extensions in the first place. Seumas tells Nana that he has texted Neil, but Neil is not responding to the texts. Seumas then suggests that Nana phone Neil's house, to which Nana replies that Seumas can phone Neil's house himself. Seumas then complains that he will have to come all the way from Portree to fix the fuse wire. Nana then says that she will fix the fuse wire herself. She fixes the problem, and then Neil surprisingly shows up at Nana's house and concludes that Nana has successfully solved the problem.

#### 7.1.1.2 'Flannan Isles'

'Flannan Isles' falls under the remit of an A framework in terms of Labov and Fanshel's storyteller/interlocutor paradigm; the events were experienced by Nana and, access to these events is through Nana's experiences and her experiences alone. However, although the main events are centred around Nana, the story involves folklore and cultural experiences that is shared by Nana and her interlocutor, Flora. 'Flannan Isles' begins with Nana's detailing an experience on the boat to St. Kilda, an island that has long been steeped in legend and mystique, considered a remote exotic outpost at least since Martin Martin's visit in 1697 (Stiùbhart, 2012). Lying some 55 miles off the west coast of Harris, St. Kilda, or *Hiort* as it is referred to in Gaelic, was evacuated in 1930 due to its remoteness, and early accounts of the island paint the native inhabitants as idyllic, 'noble savages,' far removed from contemporary society (Spring, 1990). The island has remained uninhabited

since the evacuation and has been designated as a world heritage site. It attracts a number of tourists, but as it is only accessible by a few small private tour companies who are very much restricted by the weather conditions, it still remains quite an intrepid destination.

The ‘title’ islands of this narrative, the Flannan Isles, are less well-known than St. Kilda, but nonetheless mysterious in their own right. Located twenty miles off the west of Lewis, the Flannan Isles have remained uninhabited save for a lighthouse built on the largest island, *Eilean Mòr* (meaning ‘Large Island’ in Gaelic) in 1899 (Anderson et al, 1961). Three men lived on *Eilean Mòr* to tend the lighthouse, but in 1900, the island was found uninhabited, and according to legend, with the lighthouse keepers’ dinner still on the table. The disappearance of these three men from this remote island have inspired a number of theories, and a poem as well as a drama sprung from this event (see *Commun Eachdraidh Uig* 2012; Museum of Scottish Lighthouses, 2012).

Nana’s own narrative about these two islands begins with her meeting a man named George while on the boat to St. Kilda. George says that his family is from a village near Nana’s on Skye, and he and Nana begin to talk. While on the boat, they also meet a man whose grandfather was one of the three men who disappeared from the Flannan Isles lighthouse. When Nana returns home to Skye, she receives an e-mail from Larry Jay, the skipper of the St. Kilda boat. Larry Jay says that George wants Nana’s e-mail address, and Nana and George correspond via e-mail. George sends Nana an e-mail with a picture of his grandmother’s house in Skye and relays his experience in finding his grandmother’s house. George then tells Nana that he is trying to arrange a trip to the Flannan Isles and asks Nana if she would like to join the trip. Nana says that she would love to go to the Flannan Isles; however, she cannot go in May, which is when Larry Jay says he will be able to take the group. Nana then gives up on joining the trip. Nana then tells of buying a voucher from Larry Jay for her brother Tormod to go on the St. Kilda trip. The story then branches off to tell how Larry Jay says that he gives locals and people he knows a discount, to which Nana replies that that is not good for business. She then diverges further to tell of someone who was selling herring and who said that relations do not ‘count’ to receive a discount on herring. Nana then returns to the topic of Tormod’s trip to St. Kilda and relays how Tormod insists that Nana accompany him on the trip. However, Nana hurts her leg, so Tormod’s daughter accompanies him on the trip to St. Kilda instead; the day is hot, and Tormod’s daughter suffers sunstroke afterwards. Tormod tells Nana that there was a crowd in Harris, which Nana assumes was the group going on the Flannan Isles trip. However, she receives an e-mail from George saying that the Flannan Isles trip never

happened because he did not get enough people to go. The story concludes by Nana's relaying how George tells Nana that he recently got divorced and that he is going to meet an old girlfriend who lives in England.

## 7.2 Pre-Telling

Both 'Fuse Wire' and 'Flannan Isles' are unsolicited, and in both instances, Nana has to maneuver carefully to gain the floor space needed for her narratives. In 'Fuse Wire,' the topic is tangentially brought up by Isabel's asking Seumas' whereabouts; I then start laughing and have to explain that I am laughing because of fuse wire episode of the previous night:

### Example 7-1 Pre-telling: 'Fuse Wire' (Lines 1-14)

- 1 Isabel been too busy to be hungry and then I eat rubbish (.)  
you get a paper today?
- 2 Nana mmm-mmm
- 3 Isabel *carson? cà ' Seumas an-diugh?*  
why? where's Seumas today?
- 4 Nana *[[chan eil /fhios a'm] (3.0) cha chuala mi guth*  
I don't know I haven't heard anything
- 5 R *[[@ @]*
- 6 Isabel do you know where he is?
- 7 R no I'm just laughing because last night (.)  
there was- the lights were out and
- 8 Nana oh hhhelp what a carry on
- 9 Isabel the lights were out whe:re
- 10 Nana the lights were /out in the extensions (.) was I telling you about that?
- 11 Isabel oh aye it was just an ((eejit))
- 12 Nana aye *chaidh iad às*  
they went out
- 13 Isabel he didn't put the fuse in
- 14 Nana *fhuair Seumas (.) thàinig N-Neil an uair sin an oidhche roimhe*  
Seumas got (.) N-Neil then came the night before

Isabel's question in English in Line 1<sup>26</sup> gives rise to Nana's non-committal (and arguably, annoyed) response of 'mmm-mm' in Line 2. This response signals to Isabel that Nana has not seen Seumas today, as Seumas usually brings the newspaper when he visits Nana.

Isabel switches to Gaelic enquiring about Seumas' whereabouts, and Nana's response in Gaelic to this question again sounds annoyed. At this point I start laughing, and ostensibly as a means of highlighting the intended recipient of the question, Isabel code-switches to English in asking me if I know Seumas' whereabouts. I then cite the reason for my laughter, as I presume that is the reason Isabel has chosen to direct her question at me.

<sup>26</sup> Because of the extended turns in this chapter, the term 'Line' will be used in lieu of 'Turn' to demarcate different sections of talk.

Nana then comments on my utterance, characterising the events as a ‘carry on’ and in Line 10, Nana begins the pre-telling: ‘was I telling you about that’ Isabel’s response is rather oblique, and Nana continues the topic of the lights in Line 12. Isabel then makes a supposition about what happened (‘he didn’t put the fuse in’), but in Line 14, Nana appears to ignore Isabel’s supposition and begins narrating the events of the lights going out.

It is clear that once the topic is introduced, Nana attempts to gain the floor. Isabel’s question in Line 9 and suppositions in Lines 11 and 13 show that she is at least mildly interested in the topic, which provides a platform for Nana to further elaborate. However, Nana’s lack of response to Isabel’s supposition in Line 13 suggests that Nana thinks that she might be in danger of losing the floor, and in turn Nana launches straight into the story she has foreshadowed in Line 10. In Line 12, Nana speaks Gaelic, which contrasts to her code choice in Line 10. The use of Gaelic also diverges from Isabel’s code choice in Line 11. Lines 13 and 14 also exhibit the same example of divergent language choice: Isabel speaks English, while Nana speaks Gaelic. This possibly suggests that Nana is using divergent language choice to bring attention to her utterances (cf. Cromdal 2001a), thereby ensuring that she gains the floor space necessary to tell her story. It also suggests, although this is not entirely clear at this early stage in the narrative, that Gaelic is the storyworld language and Nana switches to Gaelic here as a means of contextualising transition into the storytelling event. This argument that Gaelic is the storyworld language will be further developed in the excerpts discussed later in the chapter.

The pre-telling to ‘Flannan Isles’ also illustrates Nana’s maneuvering in order to gain the floor. The two speakers have been talking about Larry Jay, the skipper of the St. Kilda tour boat and musing about what other tours the boat may do. Flora introduces the proposition that she has no interest in going to the Shiantas, and Nana in turn agrees that she has no interest in going to the Shiantas either. Nana then introduces the topic of the Flannan Isles:

**Example 7-2: Pre-telling: ‘Flannan Isles’ (Lines 1-8)**

- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Flora | <i>chan eil ùidh sam bith agam a dhol dha na Shiantas ge-tà=</i><br>I don’t have any interest in going to the Shiantas however  |
| 2 | Nana  | <i>=ach chan eil [[na agamsa ]</i><br>no me neither   |
| 3 | Flora | <i>[[ ((’s dòcha cà))]</i><br>( ( maybe where))   |
| 4 | Nana  | <i>innsidh mi dhut cà am bu thoil leamsa a dhol e:::h em</i><br>I’ll tell you where I’d like to go<br><i>dha na Flannan Isles (.) dha na Flannans</i><br>to the Flannan to the Flannans |
| 5 | Flora | <i>tha pìos ann a sheo =</i><br>there’s a piece here [i.e. that’s a trek]   |

- 6 Nana = { } *tha*  
   it is
- 7 Flora *chan eil [fhios a'm] a bheil trips a' dol?*  
   I don't know do trips go?
- 8 Nana [ ((?) ]  
   well well (.)  
   *bha mise nuair a bha mise oirre an-uiridh*  
   I was when I was on her [the boat] last year

In the pre-telling sequence to the Flannan Isles story, there is a substantial amount of overlapping speech, suggesting that either one or both of the speakers are vying for floor space. The overlapping speech between Lines 2 and 3 suggests that Flora is trying to gain the floor. However, it is Nana who gains the floor in Line 4 and successfully delivers the pre-telling statement to the story: *innsidh mi dhut cà' am bu thoil leamsa a dhol e:::h em dha na Flannan Isles* ('I'll tell you where I'd like to go e:::h em to the Flannan Isles'). The hesitation suggests that Nana knows that she is about to embark on a risky endeavour, as telling the Flannan Isles story will take up a good deal of subsequent floor space. Nana's short pause and near-repetition of *dha na Flannans* ('to the Flannans') suggests that Nana is expecting Flora to take a turn, but Flora waits until Nana finishes her near-repetition to comment on the proposition of going to the Flannan Isles. Nana then quickly interjects, and Flora's question in Line 7 provides Nana a clear path for further introducing her story. However, the overlapping speech between Lines 7 and 8 suggests that prior to Flora's Line 7, Nana has already decided that she will tell her story, and thus she is vying for floor space before Flora finishes her question. Nana then gains the floor, starting her turn with 'well well,' then speaks Gaelic in providing the opening to 'Flannan Isles.' Like in the pre-telling to 'Fuse Wire,' Nana does not directly address her interlocutor's question, which lends further credence to the argument that Nana has already decided that she is going to tell her story and is trying to ensure the necessary floor space. In one respect, the Flannan Isles story is an answer to this question *a bheil trips a' dol?* ('do trips go?'), as the short answer is 'no;' however, Nana does not immediately attend to Flora's question in the opening of the story.

In this excerpt, there is very little language alternation. Both interactants speak Gaelic; the only arguable instances of language alternation are use of Nana's use of the word 'isles,' the English plural suffix '-s' on Flannans in Turn 4, and the 'well well' in Line 8. The use of English in the name of the Flannans could be possibly attributed to Nana's familiarity with the English name for the Flannan Isles. As mentioned in Chapter 4, instances of 'well' in an otherwise-Gaelic turn were not viewed as constituting language alternation per se, although in this particular instance if 'well' were taken to be English and English only, it



could be argued that here again Nana is using a contrasting code choice to gain floor space. In any case, the overlaps in this pre-sequence suggest that Nana is actively vying for the floor, and the use of Gaelic in opening the story again lends itself to the concept that Gaelic is the storyworld language.

### 7.3 Complicating Action

The following excerpts show the initial complicating action to the two stories. The first excerpt is taken from ‘Fuse Wire,’ in which Nana describes the initial problem of the bulb falling out. After Line 20, Nana relies heavily on the use of constructed dialogue in moving the action of the narrative forward. The constructed dialogue is rapid and the use of deictics sometimes confusing, as seen below:

**Example 7-3: Complicating Action (1) ‘Fuse Wire’ (Lines 14-44)**

- 14 Nana *fhuair Seumas (.)*  
Seumas got  
*thàinig N-Neil an uair sin an oichdhe roimhe*  
N-Neil came then the night before
- 15 *'s chuir e 's wire e suas an rud ceart*  
and he wired the thing up right
- 16 *a h-uile a h-uile càil a h-uile càil a' dol 's (.)*  
everything everything going and
- 17 *an oidhche sin nuair a chaidh mise chadal*  
that night when I went to sleep
- 18 *chunnaic mi am bulb air an làr*  
I saw the bulb on the floor
- 19 *cà' an (do?) bubs?*  
Where are (your?) bulbs?
- 20 *eh na well thàinig Seumas an uair sin an ath latha 's*  
Seumas then came the next day and
- 21 *.hhh cuir am bulb tha siud ars mise*  
Put that bulb I said
- 22 *thuit e mach cuir air-ais e*  
it fell out put it back
- 23 *.hhh chuir Seumas 's chuir e air-ais am bulb*  
Seumas put and he put the bulb back
- 24 (EGRESSIVE SOUND) blew up in his face
- 25 Isabel {hmmm}
- 26 so
- 27 Isabel it was o:n was it on?
- 28 Nana must have been or something and he went
- 29 and checked th- the thingy put in a new fuse wire
- 30 *cha robh e càil ach a rud a chuir e*  
it wasn't anything but the thing he put  
*nuair a dh'fhalbh a-rithist 's (.)*  
when [it] went [out] again and
- 31 *dh'fhalbh fuse a-ri::thist*  
fuse went out again

- 32            *so th-thuirt mise* phone Neil  
                   I s-said
- 33            oh he said he texted and he didn't reply to his texts
- 34            oh *ars' mise* it's no good if he'd still replied to your texts  
                   I said
- 35            he says he's not responding not he hasn't responded to you
- 36            *ars' mise* no /good  
                   I said
- 37            oh I'll phone him and he's phone back and he said he's not answering his  
                   phone will you phone the house
- 38            **HI**< phone the house yourself>**HI** *ars' mise*  
   I said
- 39            phoned the house phoned back and he s-said (.)
- 40            not answering the phone in the house either (.)
- 41            right *ma-tha so mise cuiridh mi fhèin air dòigh*  
                   then I'll put it right myself
- 42            **H**<oh no oh a::h I'll have to go is Aonghas in?>**H**  
                   I'll have to go /down just to put a bit of wire in
- 43            *arsa mise* I'll [[try ((?)) ]  
                   I said
- 44 Isabel    [[was he in Portree at this point]

In this excerpt, Lines 14-23 are in Gaelic; Nana uses Gaelic both to narrate the events and render constructed dialogue, both when Nana appears to talk to herself (*cà' an do bulbs?* [where are (your?) bulbs?]) and later when she speaks to Seumas and takes an authoritative stance towards him in Lines 23 and 24. In taking this authoritative stance towards Seumas, Nana uses the standard pronunciation of 'bulb' (Line 23) instead of the liquidless pronunciation of 'bub' that she has been using until now. In Line 26, at the coda to Nana's extended turn, Nana code-switches to English; this switch is accompanied by her making a popping noise, which is presumably meant to imitate the sound of a bulb blowing up. By providing such an animated account of this particular event, Nana highlights its importance, which is even further reified by the code-switch that occurs in Line 26. It is clear from Isabel's emphatic response that she understands this information to be noteworthy. It is also clear that Nana means for this information to conclude the story thus far, as she stalls with 'so,' to which Isabel asks a follow-up question. Nana answers Isabel's question in English and then carries on in English for the next line before switching back to Gaelic. This suggests that Gaelic is the storyworld language, and further suggests that shifts to English are sometimes in response to the interaction at hand. This bears similarity to the stance examples in Section 6.2 of the last chapter, where a code-switch marked an utterance as relevant to the immediate interaction as opposed to the embedded interaction.

After the repetition of *dh' fhalbh fuse a-rithist* ('fuse went again') in Line 31, Nana begins animating an embedded conversation. There are several aspects that make this embedded

conversation potentially confusing to the interlocutor: first and foremost, until Isabel makes a request for clarification in Line 44, Nana does not contextualise the conversation as occurring as a phone conversation between her and Seumas while Seumas is in Portree. Secondly, the constructed dialogue is not always clearly delineated from the surrounding narrative, which is particularly problematic in terms of deictics because the ‘he’ is understood to refer to Seumas when it occurs in the ‘action’ discourse of the narrative, but refers to Neil when it occurs as part of either Seumas or Nana’s constructed dialogue.

Until Line 41, Nana constructs both her and Seumas’ speech in English. However, she switches to Gaelic whenever she quotes herself (*ars’ mise* [‘I said’]) and uses English quotatives (‘he said’) whenever she renders Seumas’ constructed dialogue. This use of quotatives in delineating speakers is seen as a strategy for marking who is speaking when, which becomes particularly useful such a rapid and potentially confusing strand of constructed dialogue. Nana then switches to Gaelic in constructed her speech in Line 41, which is accompanied by Nana’s assertive stance vis-à-vis Seumas. This contrasts with Nana’s previous authoritative stances towards Seumas that could perhaps be construed as ‘bossy’ or ‘nagging.’ This switch marks not only a modulation in stance from authoritative to assertive, but also marks the resolution to the escalation of the problem as conveyed in the constructed phone conversation. Nana says she will fix the problem herself; however, Seumas does not see this as a resolution to the problem, but as a request for assistance. Nana then lowers her pitch and uses a husky voice in rendering Seumas’ speech in Line 42; she has not contextualised Seumas’ voice in this manner thus far in the narrative, and so it can be posited that Nana is not simply contextualising Seumas’ voice as Seumas’ voice, but is highlighting something else in the discourse. The lowered pitch suggests that Nana is indexing Seumas’ masculinity and given both the context and the content of Seumas’ utterance, it seems as if Nana is attributing the stance of an ‘annoyed male’ to Seumas. Seumas is perturbed by what he considers by Nana’s request for assistance and he clearly thinks that fixing a fuse wire is ‘man’s work,’ as the other person he suggests to help is his brother Aonghas.

Nana is trying to accomplish a number of tasks within this excerpt. It is her job to make the story understandable and entertaining to the interlocutor; after all, Nana has to justify why she is taking up such an extended turn space. In trying to accomplish these tasks, Nana draws on a range of linguistic resources, including code-switching, which plays role in differentiating the two speakers in the embedded phone conversation. It can also be postulated that Nana’s switch to English for the constructed dialogue from Lines 32-40 is

an attempt to differentiate the embedded phone conversation from the previous embedded conversation where Seumas was physically at Nana's house. The use of English as contextualising this temporal and physical change in the embedded interaction, however, it is unsuccessful, as evidenced by Isabel's request for clarification in Line 44. Additionally, as illustrated in Chapter 6, Nana frequently uses Gaelic on the phone, so there is no reason why the use of English should index a phone conversation as opposed to a face-to-face interaction.

In this interaction, the constructed dialogue used in the embedded interactions represents Nana as a bilingual (i.e. using Gaelic in Lines 21 and 22 and then English after Line 32) and creates a strong English-speaking identity for Seumas, which seems fairly congruent with both speakers' actual language use. Nana has therefore given an accurate depiction of her sociocultural reality as a member of a family that is undergoing language shift. The next excerpt, taken from the initial complicating action to the Flannan Isles Story, illustrates Nana's choice *not* to index important features of her sociocultural landscape or of reality itself, as here she renders a non-Gaelic speaker's speech in Gaelic. It was initially surmised through analysis of the 'Flannan Isles' that George, who Nana meets on the boat to St. Kilda and who later tries to arrange the trip to the Flannan Isles, is not a Gaelic speaker. This hypothesis was then confirmed by Nana afterwards. Like the previous excerpt from 'Fuse Wire,' this excerpt involves two separate embedded interactions: one where Nana and George speak on the boat to St. Kilda and another in which Nana returns to Skye and receives an e-mail from Larry Jay, the skipper of the St. Kilda boat, saying that George was asking Larry Jay for Nana's e-mail address. In the case of the e-mail, Nana partly renders the e-mail in Gaelic although the e-mail exchange occurred through the medium of English.

**Example 7-4 Complicating Action (1) 'Flannan Isles' (Lines 8-33)**

- 8 Nana [ ((?)) ]  
 well well (.) *bha mise nuair a bha mise oirre an-uiridh*  
 I was when I was on her [the boat] last year
- 9 *bha fear a bha seo-*  
 There was this man  
*'tha fios agad mar a bhios mi a' bruidhinn*  
 you know how I talk  
*ri fear a bha seo*  
 with this man
- 10 he was a talker you know  
*agus thoisich e ag introdusadh a h-uile duine*  
 and he started introducing everyone
- 11 *tha thusa às an Eilean Sgitheanach*  
 you're from the Isle of Skye
- 12 *^ OO::H bha mise dìreach a' tighinn ron Eilean Sgitheanach*

- I was just coming through the Isle of Skye  
*an latha roimhe agus*  
 the day before and
- 13 *'s ann às an Eilean Sgitheanach a dh'fhalbh mo chuideachd*  
 my family's originally from the Isle of Skye
- 14 *(.) oh an ann ars mise ca às?*  
 are they I say from where?
- 15 *Slèite: dè a chanadh iad riut ((riutha)) Rosses (.)*  
 Sleat what did they call you ((them))
- 16 *ach cha robh e cinnteach (.) cha robh e cinnteach (.)*  
 but he was not sure he was not sure
- 17 *ach tha:: he would like to do more of research to find out*  
 but is
- 18 *but they were definitely from Slèite*
- 19 *((CLICK)) so anyway (.)*
- 20 *ach (.)*  
 but
- 21 *bha e a' bleadaraich air ais 's air adhart an uair sin nuair a-*  
 he was blethering back and forth then when  
*nuair a chaidh mi dhachaigh (.2)*  
 when I went home
- 22 *chuir Larry Jay e-mail thugam 's thuir e gu robh fear a bha seo*  
 Larry Jay sent me an e-mail and he said that this man  
*uh e:h rud a chuir fear bha seo*  
 a thing that this man had sent
- 23 *Thompson George Thompson an t-ainm air*  
 Thompson George Thompson (was/is) his name  
*gun do chuir e e-mail thuige*  
 that he sent an e-mail to him
- 24 *tha:: (.3) ag iarraidh orm (2.5)*  
 wanting me
- 25 *e-mailadh air-ais thuige agus an an uair sin*  
 to e-mail him back and then
- 26 *> cha do chuir thugam an e-mail <*  
 he didn't send me the e-mail
- 27 *cha d' fhuair mi an e-mail my his e-mail address*  
 I didn't get the e-mail
- 28 *cha do chuir e thugam an email*  
 He didn't send me the e-mail
- 29 *WELL an uair sin chuir Larry Jay tèile thugam*  
 then Larry sent me another one  
*ag ràdh gun do chaill e e-mail a chuir-*  
 saying that he lost the e-mail that [...] sent
- 30 *@@@ I must have deleted it*
- 31 *So (.) I'll give you his e-mail address ars 'esan but I hope-*  
 he says
- 32 *I hope he won't be pestering you*
- 33 Flora *@@@*

In this excerpt, the action of the story is mainly moved forward by two constructed dialogue exchanges: one between Nana and George and one between Nana and Larry Jay. These constructed dialogue exchanges are different in terms of modes; the conversation with George is indexed as being a face-to-face interaction, while Larry Jay's constructed dialogue comes in the form of an e-mail exchange. In the first exchange, the initial

instance (Line 11) of the constructed dialogue is realised through the use of deictics; there are no quotatives to contextualise the subsequent constructed dialogue, which follows very quickly on Nana's evaluation in English of George. It actually is not clear until Line 14 that the constructed dialogue thus far is meant to 'belong' only to George, especially because the elongated 'oh' sounds like Nana's reaction to the utterance, *tha thusa às an Eilean Sgitheanach* (you're from the Isle of Skye). In Line 14, Nana renders her own constructed dialogue in the exchange, after which George answers that his family came from Sleat; however, the next utterance in Line 15 is ambiguous as to the speaker, as there seems to be a deictic repair. The whole exchange thus far is rendered as direct reported speech and Nana appears to be more of an animator of constructed dialogue rather than an omniscient narrator. In Line 16, however, Nana moves from her role as animator to narrator and uses the third-person deictic *e* ('he') in relaying George's uncertainty. She then switches to English in further elaborating on this topic.

Nana then moves on to the second embedded interaction, the e-mail exchange between her and Larry Jay, and initially signals this shift with the double use of discourse markers in the utterance 'so anyway.' She then code-switches to Gaelic in introducing the new interaction, but the temporal change that accompanies this new interaction is not necessarily clear until the end of the utterance, as it is only then that Nana indicates that this interaction occurred after she had returned home from the St. Kilda trip. Nana then entextualises the e-mail as an instance of indirect reported speech and from Lines 22-25 it is evident that the entextualised e-mail is meant to 'belong' to Larry Jay's voice. However, it is unclear in Lines 27-8 who is the author of the embedded e-mail (or even if the content of what Nana is saying is an embedded e-mail) especially with repairable 'my his email address.' After the emphatic 'WELL,' Nana clearly demarcates Larry Jay as the author of the next e-mail. She then switches to English in relaying the contents of this e-mail, which, as evidenced by the laughter, are amusing both to Nana and to Flora.

In this interaction, the first code-switch occurs between Nana's opening to the narrative and her evaluation of George as a 'talker,' (Line 10) which bears resemblance to the Stance examples in which the speaker would evaluate the proposition in a contrasting language. Nana then switches back to Gaelic in relaying the constructed dialogue, and both speakers' constructed utterances are in Gaelic even though the original interaction would have been in English, as George does not speak Gaelic. The next code-switch occurs after the repair signifier in Line 17 (*ach tha*), which seems to suggest that Nana is going to change tack in the story; however, she does not change tack at this point, and instead elaborates on the

previous topic. After the repair sequence of ‘so anyway *ach*’ in Lines 19-20 Nana does change tack and moves on to the next embedded interaction, and code-switches to Gaelic in doing so. The next code-switch occurs in Line 27 in the midst of the utterances that are ambiguous with regards to the author of the utterance. This brief switch itself is repairable and confusing, after which Nana switches back to Gaelic in her utterances that marks Larry Jay as the author of the next entextualised e-mail. She begins the entextualisation of e-mail in Gaelic, but then switches to English in providing the humorous punch line, so to speak.

The fact that in this excerpt the code-switches are often accompanied by repairs and hesitations lends further support to the argument put forth in the last chapter that when first generation speakers find themselves in spots of communicative trouble, they often draw on code-switching as a resource for mitigating the trouble. The code-switching that occurs between Lines 18-21 is analysable as a way for Nana to mark the change between the two different embedded interactions, and it was argued that she also did this in Line 32 of the Complicating Action to ‘Fuse Wire.’ What is most puzzling about this excerpt, however, is Nana’s choice to narrate the constructed dialogue between her and George in Gaelic when it occurred in English and arguably to a lesser degree, the choice to entextualise the e-mail from Larry Jay partly in Gaelic while the e-mail was entirely in English. In the case of the constructed dialogue involving George, rendering it in Gaelic not only misrepresents it in terms of ‘actual’ reality, but in terms of sociocultural realities (i.e. that a conversation with a non-local would almost always necessarily be in English). Similarly, the entextualised e-mail also ignores ‘actual’ reality as well as possible sociocultural realities (i.e. that Larry Jay probably e-mailed Nana in English because he, like many of his generation, is not literate in Gaelic). It is hypothesised that these two perplexing choices are related to the argument being put forth that Gaelic is the language of the storyworld. The conversation between Nana and George happened over a year ago, and it is highly possible that it did not happen as Nana has rendered it at all; for one, the conversation would have originally occurred in English while Nana renders it in Gaelic. Therefore, the constructed dialogue appears to be more of a means for advancing the story rather than an accurate account of the embedded interaction. The concept that Gaelic is the storyworld language is also compounded by the fact that Nana switches from Gaelic to English in giving her evaluation of George, which allows her to shift from storyworld to the present interaction. In terms of the e-mail exchange, Nana’s rendering of the e-mail is confusing, and in code-switching to English, the ‘real’ language, not the storyworld language of the e-mail, Nana produces what seems to be a more primary version of the e-mail. This primary rendering in turn is more understandable and is also humorous. Nana’s interlocutor Flora

laughs and Flora's indication of both understanding and enjoying the story lend credence to the story's 'tellability' and to Nana's skills as a storyteller.

This excerpt has shown how the storytelling code and the code of the actual interaction becomes blended in Nana's narration. This is further illustrated by the following excerpt, which sequentially follows from the excerpt just discussed. Here, Nana is entextualising another e-mail, this time one from George, in which he tells Nana about his visit to Sleat and how he found his grandmother's house:

**Example 7-5 Complicating Action (2) 'Flannan Isles' (Lines 34-55)**

- 34 Nana @@@ so, anyway, h-  
 35 oh, if that's all right with you  
 36 *thuir mi ris* so that's all right  
 I said to him  
 37 but I'll make sure he won't pester me @@ don't worry, he won't pester  
 me!  
 38 *agus* (SNIFF)  
 and  
 39 *chuir e an uair sin thugam tè agus dealbh dhen*  
 and then he sent me one and a picture of  
*an taigh nuair a thill e air ais stad e ann an Slèite*  
 the house when he returned he stopped in Sleat  
 40 *agus ghabh e dealbh-*  
 and he took a picture  
 41 *fhuair e chunnaic e cuideigin a bh' ann*  
 he got he saw someone that was there  
 42 uh Clachan  
 43 he recognised Clachan and he went up to Clachan the road  
 44 *agus chunnaic e fear ann a shin*  
 and he saw a man there  
 uh a Mr. L. A. MacKay well (.)  
 45 *Lachie Angus dh'aithnichinn an duine*  
 I knew the man  
 46 so he told him he showed him where his- his grannie's house was=  
 47 Flora =uh-huh [uh-huh]=  
 48 Nana =a' chiad [taigh] mar a thèid thu suas Clachan  
 the first house as you go up Clachan  
*taigh Murdo Don bh' againne riamh air*  
 Clachan Murdo Don's house we called it  
 49 anyway (.) *chuir e dealbh dhen an taigh sin* and he was  
 he sent a picture of that house  
 so pleased he had found his grannie's house  
 and all that and that and that (.)  
 50 h...oh that was all right  
 51 so *chuir mi a-rais tè thuige 's thuir mise*  
 I sent him back one and said  
 52 I know who you've met (.) and I'm maybe meet him and find out more  
 but anyway *cha d'fhuair mi riamh*  
 I didn't ever get  
 53 @ \ oh *thàinig an uair sin an ceann lathachan*  
 then after a few days  
*no seachdainn 's dòcha tè eile uaithe*



- 54 or week maybe another one came from him  
(SNIFF) *cantainn gun robh* that he wanted to do  
saying that
- 55 more em lighthouse bagging and that he was trying to arrange a:: trip to  
um (.) the Flannan

In Lines 34-37, Nana continues in English the entextualised e-mail exchange between herself and Larry Jay. She then code-switches to Gaelic to relate the subsequent e-mail exchange between her and George; however, deictically speaking, she does not index that she is now speaking about George, not Larry Jay, at this point. It is only through context that the interlocutor understands that Nana is speaking about George. The code-switch between the entextualisations of these two e-mails again bears resemblance to the Complicating Action (1) in ‘Fuse Wire,’ where Nana code-switched between the two embedded interactions, but did not provide any additional cues to let the interlocutor know that Nana is now talking about another interaction, or in this case, another e-mail. In Line 43, Nana switches to English in narrating that George recognised Clachan but she quickly switches back to Gaelic in narrating that George saw a man in Clachan. Nana then briefly switches to English in giving the Anglicised version of the man’s name, then switches back to Gaelic in Line 44 in giving her supposition about the man, then switches to English in Line 46 to narrate the action of the man showing George his Grannie’s house. Nana then switches back to Gaelic in making a comment about the house, then after use of the English word ‘anyway,’ Nana narrates the action (that George sent a picture of the house) in Gaelic then switches back to English in narrating George’s reaction to finding his grandma’s house. The next utterance acts as a sort of closing to the entextualised email with Nana saying ‘and all that and that and that.’ She then offers her own evaluation of the email (that it was ‘all right,’ presumably in reference to the earlier discussion of George ‘pestering’ Nana).

Lines 34-50 illustrate rapid code-switching. The code-switch between Lines 37 and 38 appears to be an attempt to distinguish George’s e-mail from the previous discussion of Larry Jay’s e-mail. The switches between Lines 44-45 and 46-48 are analysed as marking a change in positionality: Nana goes from describing the storyworld action to providing her own comments on the events in the storyworld. However, there is still a substantial amount of code-switching within the narration of the e-mail itself, the contents of which, in the real world, were in English. What appears to be happening is that in entextualising the information in the e-mail, Nana is making it a story of its own, and to some degree, a story of *her* own, even though she herself did not experience the real-world events as they happened to George. It is clear that Nana wishes in some way to index George’s own

voice, as she says ‘a Mr. L. A. MacKay’ when, as evidenced by the next utterance, she obviously knows the man and his locally-used name. There is a tension between making this a story of her own, and thus using the storytelling language, and preserving the original voice of George in the entextualised e-mail. This tension seems to manifest itself in the quick oscillation of codes, where Nana uses both codes to narrate the experience of George as relayed in e-mail.

In Line 51, Nana then switches to Gaelic in relaying her next action, which was to reply to George’s e-mail. Her entextualisation of the e-mail occurs in English but the comment on what she did after the e-mail occurs in Gaelic in Line 52; she then moves ahead in the narrative temporally. The explicit temporal shift in Line 53 *ceann lathachan na seachdainn* (‘end of a few days or a week’) is preceded by a rise/fall ‘oh,’ as well as a code-switch into Gaelic, showing the range of linguistic tools Nana has available to her in indexing the changes in the narrative. Nana then code-switches in the indirect rendering of George’s speech; however, even though it is indirect, the use of the term ‘lighthouse bagging’ suggests that Nana is again trying to preserve George’s voice in the entextualisation of the e-mail. It is here that the interlocutor finally is explicitly notified that Nana is actually telling a story about the Flannan Isles, as this has not been entirely clear until now.

In the next excerpt, which follows directly from the Complicating Action (2) of ‘Flannan Isles,’ Nana now fully introduces the topic of the Flannan Isles, saying that George is trying to arrange a trip to the Flannans. Nana then recounts another incident from the St. Kilda boat trip, where she and George meet a man who is descended from one of the three men who disappeared from the island. This incident is very important in the narrative, as it presumably provides part of the inspiration for George’s efforts to arrange a trip to the Flannan Isles. In the immediate interaction, Flora signals that she finds this piece of information very interesting, and it will be argued that Nana begins to make more of an explicit effort to emphasise shared contexts between her and her interlocutor in order to attend to her interlocutor’s needs. Nana, after all, has already taken up a very extended turn space already, and has only now arrived at the part of the story that is directly relevant to Flora’s initial question of *a bheil trips a’ dol?* (‘do trip go [to the Flannans]?’).

**Example 7-6: Complicating Action (3) Flannan Isles Story (Lines 56-99)**

56 Flora °=mmm-hmm

57 Nana =isles (.) *bha mi air a cantainn ris air a’ bhàta that-*  
I had been talking to him on the boat

- 58 *fear eile air a' bhàta anns a' bhàta cuideachd*  
there was another man on the boat as well
- 59 *'s bha a sheanair air-*  
and his grandfather was on
- 60 *bha e ag ràdh gun robh a sheanair gu robh a sheanair*  
he was saying that his grandgather that his grandfather
- 61 *fear dhen a dhiubh 's e fear Mac- Mac MacArthur a bh' ann*  
was one of them he was a MacArthur
- 62 *uh tha e- 's e architect a bh' ann ann an Inbhir Nis (.)*  
is he is an architect in Inverness
- 63 *agus his his grandfather was one of the three men*  
and
- 64 *in the in the on the island nuair a*  
when
- 65 Flora =°a bheil  
really
- 66 Nana = {aye} so he says I would love to go (.)
- 67 no (.) *chan eil fhios a'm an robh an e-mail*  
(or?) I don't know did the e-mail
- 68 *no an d' fhuair ann an touch ris an fhear sin*  
or did he get in touch with the man
- 69 *gus nach d' fhuair co dhiù (.)*  
or he didn't anyway
- 70 *rud a bha e ag iarraidh (.)*  
what he was wanting
- 71 he was trying to arrange for some of the group would we like to \go
- 72 I would /love to go so *fhuair mi air ais thuirt mi ris*  
I got back said to him
- 73 I would \love to go so one of the a- one of the wee places (.) *fhios agad*  
you know
- 74 Flora [[aye]
- 75 Nana *[[bàrd]achd 's stòraidh mu dhèidhinn*  
poetry and story about
- 76 *chuala mi mo mhàthair cho tric a' bruidhinn air agus (.)*  
I often heard my mother talking about it and
- 77 *co-dhiù (.) tha an uair sin tèile air ais ag ràdh*  
anyway then another one back saying
- 78 that um he had been speaking to um some
- 79 geographical *rudeigin* or other or whatever *agu:s* Larry  
something and
- 80 and that Larry would be happy to do it in (.) May (.) (CLICK)
- 81 o:::h right (.) *chuir mi air ais tèile*  
I sent another back
- 82 I'm sorry but I'll be invigilating during the months of May
- 83 and I couldn't sort of say I did (.)
- 84 I couldn't you know *chan [eil] fhios agad dè*  
you don't know
- 85 Flora [uh]
- 86 Nana *na lathachan a bhios tu air*  
the days you will be on
- 87 but *thuirt mi ris* June I could I could go in June  
I said to him

- 88 OH\ *chuir e an uair sin tè air ais*  
 he sent another one back
- 89 oh no that it was May that was the best time (.)
- 90 any:way: *ann a sheo o chionn tut dha na trì sheachdainnean*  
 here two or three weeks ago
- 91 *ach bha mi riamh a' gabhail iongnadh an deach iad ann (.)*  
 but I was always wondering if they went
- 92 *chan e (.) bha g- gille aig bha Tormod sixty*  
 no the fellow had Tormod was sixty
- 93 *an-uiridh bha mise air a bhith (.)*  
 last year I had been
- 94 *ann a Hiort 's bha mi ag ràdh chòrdadh seo ri Tormod*  
 in St. Kilda so I was saying that Tormod would enjoy that  
 so *thuir mi ri ri Fiona*  
 so I said to to Fiona
- 95 *tha ach mi a' dol a thoir dha*  
 I was just going to give him
- 96 *a' dol a dh' fhaighinn voucher na rudeigin ach so*  
 going to get a voucher or something but
- 97 *dh' fhaighnich do Larry an robh e dèanamh leithid a rud*  
 asked Larry was he doing something like that
- 98 *^ OH aye so ars' mise chan eil fhios a'm cuine a thèid e ann*  
 I say I don't know when he will go there
- 99 oh well *ars esan bidh e uair sam bith an ath-bhliadhna*  
 he said it will be any time next year
- Flora [[mmm]]

In this excerpt, Nana introduces information that is very important to the contextual development of the story, and arguably, it is strange that this information was not presented in the initial complicating action where Nana recounted the boat journey to St. Kilda. In Line 57, Nana begins narrating in Gaelic what looks like another contextualisation of constructed dialogue, but her next utterance in Gaelic in Line 58 seems to be a further narration, not an instance of constructed dialogue. Nana then relates that *fear èile air a' bhàta ann a' bhàta cuideachd 's bha a sheanair air* ('there was another man on the boat on the boat as well and his grandfather was on-'), but stops before she relates what is so interesting about the grandfather. She then frames the next utterance as constructed dialogue in trying to communicate what is so interesting about this man's grandfather, and relates that the grandfather was *fear dhen a dhiubh* ('one of them'). This re-framing of the utterance as constructed dialogue suggests that Nana is making a claim to epistemic authority, and it is postulated that the motivation for claiming epistemic authority is that, as has been argued discussing previous examples, it serves as a way to rectify face loss after repairable utterances. The need to claim epistemic authority is also seen to be motivated by the fact that the utterance contains surprising information. However, the surprising and interesting content of the utterance is not actually relayed until Lines 63 and 64, and it is

only in Flora's Line 65 that the surprising nature of this utterance is reified. Clearly, the *fear dhen a dhiub* ('one of them') did not communicate that the man on the boat was related to one of the lighthouse keepers who disappeared from the Flannan Isles. In Lines 61-62, Nana gives more information about the man, but the fact that his name is MacArthur, which is a fairly common surname, and the fact that he is an architect in Inverness, do nothing to illuminate the fact that that the man is related to one of the disappearing lighthouse keepers. It is in Line 63 where Nana switches to English that the important information is relayed; because of the shared cultural knowledge of the Flannan Isles, the interlocutor is able to correctly interpret the 'one of the three men on the island' to refer to one of the disappearing lighthouse keepers. Nana's emphatic 'aye' in the beginning of Line 66 reifies that Flora's show of interest is the preferred response to the information that Nana has just imparted.

In terms of the code-switching, with the exception of the 'that' in Line 57, Lines 57-62 are in Gaelic. The 'that' seems to be an attempt to highlight a change into constructed dialogue; however, as previously discussed, Nana seems to change her mind about rendering constructed dialogue here, and switches back to Gaelic in imparting more information. Lines 59-62 are in Gaelic and the number of disfluencies and reformulations highlight that Nana is having trouble communicating. The code-switch to English in Line 63 is therefore analysed as being another illustration of how Nana (and other first generation speakers) draw on code-switching as a readily available resource for mitigating communicative trouble. It is also possible that Nana chooses to render this information in English because it is part of the constructed dialogue indexed in Line 60 and this information would have originally been imparted in English, as Nana confirmed that MacArthur man is not a Gaelic speaker; she therefore is lending credence to her epistemic authority by rendering the constructed dialogue in its original language. The code-switch in Line 63 also serves to draw attention to the utterance, and it is posited that Nana wishes draw attention to the utterance because it reifies a shared context between Nana and her interlocutor. Blum-Kulka and Hamo (2011, p. 152) point out that in addressing an interlocutor's 'positive face,' speakers will use various means to highlight shared knowledge or belonging. In drawing on shared cultural knowledge, Nana is making the story more relevant to the interlocutor, thereby highlighting the story's 'tellability.'

This highlighting of the shared context of the mystery of the Flannan Isles is further evident in Lines 75-76. Prior to this, in Lines 67-73, Nana has entextualised another e-mail exchange, but this strand of discourse is particularly confusing. It seems that perhaps

George has gotten in touch with the MacArthur man, but this is unclear due to the ambiguous deictics and the lack of temporal contextualisation. There is also minimal contextualisation of what appears to be the constructed dialogue in this passage as well, especially in Line 71 ‘he was trying to arrange for some of the group would we like to go.’ Lines 72-73 are clearer, and again, this passage seems to illustrate that Gaelic is used to narrate the events (i.e. Line 72 *fhuair air ais thuir mi ris* [‘I got back I said to him’]) and switches to English are used to render constructed dialogue or entextualise e-mails. In Line 73, Nana explicitly positions the narrative towards the interlocutor with the phrase *fhuair agad* (‘you know’); although it could be argued that this functions simply as a discourse marker, Flora’s response in Line 74 and Nana’s further highlighting of the shared context in Line 75 (*bàrdachd ’s stòraidh mu dhèidhinn* ‘poetry and story about [it]’), suggests that Nana intends to reify this shared context as a way of justifying why Nana is telling this story to Flora. Her overt positioning of the narrative towards Flora is accompanied by a code-switch, further supporting the argument that Nana uses code-switching to move between the storyworld and the immediate interaction, as well to highlight aspects of the story that are particularly important. As evidenced by Flora’s responses, Flora correctly interprets Nana’s use of code-switching in this manner.

Nana then continues on the animation of a further e-mail exchange in Lines 77-83. She then further highlights a shared context between her and her interlocutor in Line 84: both Nana and Flora are retired teachers, and have been involved in the invigilating of exams. Flora responds to this indexing of shared context and Nana continues on the narrative. At this point, Nana sharply veers off from the main narrative line of ‘I almost got to go to the Flannan Isles, but did not.’ This material can be found in the appendix; Nana tells about how she got her brother a voucher for the St. Kilda trip, which further leads to the animation of an embedded conversation between her and Larry Jay, the skipper of the boat, which then further leads to another embedded interaction between someone who is selling herring and a relative of the herring vendor. She returns to talking about Tormod’s trip to St. Kilda and how his daughter reportedly got sunstroke there. The concluding excerpt of the Flannan Isles begins after Flora expresses surprise by this news and how Nana reifies her certainty of this event. She then returns to entextualising an e-mail from George that indicates that the Flannan Isles trip never went ahead.

## 7.4 Resolutions

It is clear from the complicating action to both stories that Nana knows that she is dealing with a difficult task. Neither of the stories have been solicited, and Nana has to ensure that the interlocutors stay interested as well as are able to understand the complex series of events that Nana has experienced. Nana is not always successful in this venture; there are multiple parts in both narratives where what is happening is not always clear, and this is mostly due to lack of delineating deictics or temporal contextualisations. In ‘Flannan Isles,’ Nana takes a long time in getting to the main action of trying to arrange a trip to the Flannan Isles, and then later veers off into separate sub-stories. The following excerpts show how Nana brings both the Fuse Wire and Flannan Isles stories to each of their respective endings, and how it is evident that Nana recoups the face loss that perhaps has occurred at certain points during these tellings. In particular, it illustrates how code-switching plays an integral role in how Nana regains face in the resolutions to these stories.

### Example 7-7 Resolution: ‘Fuse Wire’ (Lines 58-72)

- 58 Nana =so *chuir e sin ann 's* (.) /ok  
he put that in and
- 59 (2.0)
- 60 Isabel mmm-mmm
- 61 Nana so *chuir e sin ann 's bha e ok*  
he put that in and it was
- 62 Isabel mmm-mmm
- 63 Nana: I thought perhaps I wouldn't get the use of that thing
- 64 but there was nothing wrong but he says sometimes these bulbs do that
- 65 I think the switch must have been switched on when he put it in or something
- 66 (1.4)
- 67 *gun robh e air*  
that it was on
- 68 *switch air*  
switch on
- 69 Isabel: it probably was and then when he threw it- away
- 70 when he saw the light come on dropped it
- 71 did it /drop
- 72 Nana I don't know what it did

In this final excerpt, Nana conveys that the fuse wire problem has been fixed. This is related in Gaelic in Line 58, after which Isabel signals to Nana that she is still following the story. Nana then switches to English in Line 63 in relating her supposition, but switches back to Gaelic in the coda to her turn in Lines 67-68. Semantically speaking, it is comprised of information that has already been presented to the interlocutor in English. Preceding the reformulation, however, is a 1.4 s pause, which suggests that Nana is expecting Isabel to take a turn. However, Isabel is not forthcoming in her response, and

Nana in turn code-switches in the re-formulation of the information. The contrast in this particular example overtly marks the final piece of information, which provides the cue for Isabel to take her next turn. Thus, the code-switching is analysed here not only as a strategy for summarising a long chain of events (cf. Auer, 1988), but in forming the dialogic process of storytelling that has been obscured by the turn imbalance between narrator and interlocutor. Isabel then aligns with Nana's utterance, and asks a follow-up question, which Nana then answers and draws the narrative to a close.

The coda to 'Flannan Isles' also evidences Nana's use of code-switching in signalling that the story has come to an end:

**Example 7-8 Resolution: 'Flannan Isles' (Lines 119- 142)**

- 119 Nana Oh *bha i ann an a stad a bha garbh agus dè sgìth done-out*  
 she was in an awful state and what tiredn  
*oh bha i tough thug iad dhan an dotair i*  
 she was tough they took her to the doctor  
*deireadh na seachdainn*  
 end of the week  
*bha iad an toiseach a' smaointeachadh gur e you know sgìth's bh'oirre*  
 at first they were thinking she was tired  
 120 *ach bha i gu math /tinn bha i an uair sin bha iad ag ràdh gun robh*  
 but she was very sick she was then they were saying  
 that  
 blood disor- no virus something- *ach 's dòcha bha e /sun too much /sun*  
 or but perhaps it was  
 121 *° fhuair i seachad air ach rud a bha Tormod ag ràdh gu gun gun*  
 she got over it but the thing that Tormod was saying that  
 that  
 122 *do robh na iad dh'fhòn e dèanamh a' bhooking oh- oh*  
 that was or they he phoned doing the booking  
*bha mi bha mi d- bha mi fhònadh gu Nana dh' fhònadh gu Nana*  
 I was I was I was phoning Nana was phoning Nana  
*tha mi do gu bhi tòrr crowd a-nall anns an Eilean Sgitheanach*  
 I am there is going to be a big crowd over in Skye  
*uh Dimairt bha seo a-null latha an-diugh=*  
 this Tuesday over the day today  
 123 Flora = mmm-hmm  
 124 *bha esan a' dol Diluain 's bha Dimairt*  
 he was going Monday and Tuesday  
*oh ars Tormod cha dèan i càil dhe an-dràsta a dhol dhan na Hearadh*  
 @  
 Tormod said she doesn't do anything now going to  
 Harris  
 125 *tha i fhathast air bàta 's cha dèanadh i càil ann am bàta*  
 she's still on the boat she won't do anything on the boat  
 126 *bha mi an uair sin a' smaointeachadh*  
 I was then thinking  
*'s dòcha gur e seo an fheadhainn a bha dol*  
 perhaps that was the folks that were going  
*gur e- na fheadhainn a dol dha na Flannans a bh' ann*  
 that it was the folks going to the Flannans





ascertain what is really happening until Line 126 where Nana clarifies the point of Tormod's phone call: that it made Nana think that Larry Jay's boat had left for the Flannan Isles. However, in Line 127, Nana reveals that her supposition is not the case, as she receives an e-mail from George saying that the trip never went ahead. She then she relates the other contents of George's e-mail (that he got a divorce and is meeting up with an old girlfriend), which amuses Flora.

In terms of code-switching, there is little language alternation until the entextualisation of the e-mail beginning in Line 127. The phrase 'done out' in Line 119 is analysed an instance of language alternation for the purposes of emphasis, and the 'blood disorder' is analysed occurring because Nana primarily knows or prefers to use the term in English. However, Nana adds the English term 'something' to this phrase, and it seems, coupled with the later phrase of 'sun too much sun,' Nana is trying to make a claim to epistemic authority, but is slightly unclear on the matter. She therefore relies on framing the information as constructed dialogue, either as the doctor's words, or Tormod's family, although the *ach 's dòcha bha e* ('perhaps it was') does not necessarily frame the 'sun too much sun' necessarily as constructed dialogue. However, what is postulated to here is that Nana needs to make some claim to knowledge, especially since Flora has indicated that she is surprised that Nana's niece has contracted sunstroke in St. Kilda. In Line 127, Nana switches to English in the phrase 'so that was out the window,' which is seen as a means of highlighting the close of the events so far. Norrick (2005) notes that stock phrases may be a means of closing a narrative, and here, Nana has not only used a stock phrase, but has chosen to use a stock phrase in English, thereby code-switching and thus presumably highlighting the closure to this particular frame. She then contextualises a temporal change *an uair sin* ('then') but then uses another stock phrase in English 'out of the blue' before narrating that she received an e-mail from George in Gaelic. Nana then switches to English in entextualising the e-mail and in essence, conveying the point of the story: the trip to the Flannan Isles never occurred. Flora then re-formulates the semantic content of Nana's last utterance in Gaelic and Nana repeats Flora's re-formulation in Gaelic, then switches to English in giving a quick formulaic summary-like evaluation ('that was it'). The elongated 'so' suggests that Nana is changing tack in the story, and here she switches to Gaelic in relating more entextualised material. It is not clear, however, that this entextualised material is part of another e-mail or of the same e-mail. Flora then takes a turn in Line 129, and it is worth noting Flora's turns in Lines 129 and 133 are longer than any other of the turns she has taken in the Flannan Isles story. Nana continues with the entextualisation of e-mail in English, the contents of which are amusing to Flora, as

evidenced by her laughter. The tempo is slower here, and again, there is the blending of codes in the entextualisation of the e-mail and with the utterance ‘*fada shios ann an Sasainn*’ (‘way down in England’) in Line 138. This utterance indexes a more uncertain stance and Nana uses code-switching as in moving from what appears to be a more primary rendering of the e-mail to Nana’s own version of the e-mail. Nana then switches to English in bringing the entextualisation of the e-mail to a close, then switches to Gaelic in giving the actual evaluation of her e-mail. This evaluation, however, is barely inaudible and fades into Flora’s laughter.

This example has shown how Nana has managed to save face during the storytelling process; despite the numerous instances in which the narration was not as easy to follow as it could have been, Nana manages to tell a story that her interlocutor has found enjoyable. This last passage has again demonstrated Nana’s tendency to use constructed dialogue as a means for claiming epistemic authority, as well as the tendency to blend the storyworld and the ‘real’ world codes. Nana is signalling that she is ending her story and returning to a more dialogic conversation, and in doing so, she code-switches to English in using stock phrases. This again highlights Gardner-Chloros et al.’s (2000) premise that when code-switching occurs, it often occurs in conjunction with other monolingual cues. Not only does Nana use stock phrases, but she uses stock phrases in English as a means for further amplifying their effect.

## 7.5 Conclusion

Sometime after the recordings had been made and the corpus transcribed, I played the recording of ‘Fuse Wire’ back to Nana and Isabel. They both started laughing so hard they were crying; at the end of the story, Nana made a comment to the effect of: ‘What a long pointless story about nothing.’

However, Nana’s stories are far from being pointless and empty; in both cases, although there are interludes of communicative trouble, for the most part, it appears the interlocutor is both following the narrator and is engaged with the story. As Labov (1997) writes:

The classic image of the storyteller is someone who can make something out of nothing, who can engage our attention to with a fascinating elaboration of detail that is entertaining, amusing, and emotionally rewarding. (p. 395)

Nana is a true storyteller, and has made daily life into a saga of humorous and interesting events. This is not always an easy task for her, and there are several instances in both stories where the content of what Nana narrates is arguably confusing to her interlocutor. Nana draws on a number of strategies to assist her in the storytelling process, and as a bilingual speaking to another bilingual, Nana frequently uses code-switching as a strategy for making her narratives 'tellable.' Code-switching is often used in marking temporal changes, in signalling shifts between the embedded interaction and the interaction at hand, as well as navigating between different embedded interactions and interactants within the narrative. It was also seen that code-switching is used in bringing Nana's stories to a close, and it was also argued that Nana sometimes used code-switching as a means of indexing important features of her sociocultural landscape. Often, however, the 'storyworld' code and the 'real world' code become blended, resulting in a quick oscillation of codes.

## 8 The Second Generation

### Chapter Overview

This chapter examines language use of the second generation speakers. As shown in Chapter 5, the use of Gaelic among this group of speakers is low, especially in comparison with the first generation of speakers. The chapter begins by illustrating the concept of ‘dual-linguality’ (cf. Saville-Troike, 1987) in the Campbell family. Following this, the chapter will centre on the few instances when the second generation speakers *do* use Gaelic, and begins with examining their use of Gaelic for what will be termed ‘referential rudeness,’ then moves on to discussing Peigi’s language use, as she is the only speaker who appears to regularly use Gaelic with the first generation speakers. The chapter then explores the concept that Gaelic is often used in concert with negotiating a child-centred context, and further examines how the parents of the two third generation members use Gaelic in taking authoritative stances towards their children.

### 8.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 5, the second generation varies in terms of the members’ linguistic backgrounds. While Gaelic was the language of the home for all of the first generation members, three second generation members (Karen, Cailean, Peigi) grew up with little or no Gaelic in the home. The remaining four speakers (Ùistean, Aonghas, Màiri, Seumas) all were raised with Gaelic as their home language, but as also discussed in Chapter 5, rarely use the language in their adult lives. Thus, the second generation in this study illustrates language shift from Fishman’s (1991) intergenerational transmission perspective, in that the language was not passed on to some of the second generation members, as well as from a diachronic, speaker-centred perspective, in that use of the minority language by some speakers has decreased over time. Additionally, earlier studies of the family (Smith-Christmas, 2007; Smith-Christmas and Smakman, 2009) evidence decreased linguistic proficiency of second generation members when compared to the first generation.

Although the second generation illustrates language shift in progress, it also shows some evidence of language maintenance. Peigi, who learned Gaelic to fluency as an adult at *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* and who is now raising her children as Gaelic speakers, is what can be

considered a ‘third generation interest’ speaker, to borrow the term from Nahirny and Fishman, (1965, p. 312), who in writing about ethnic identity, highlight the premise that ‘what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember.’ Thus, although Peigi is considered a second generation member in this study, she exemplifies a ‘third generation interest’ speaker: her parents spoke Gaelic, but she did not and therefore Peigi had to learn Gaelic as a second language. Peigi could also be aptly characterised as a ‘heritage learner,’<sup>27</sup> a term that is often applied to speakers who learn a language to which they have familial connections (i.e. their parents or grandparents speak the language). In discussing the specific challenges faced by Gaelic heritage learners, Armstrong (2012) writes:

Heritage speakers straddle the distinction between adult learners and native speakers, and this ambiguous status presents these learners both with opportunities and challenges as they seek to reintegrate into Gaelic-user networks, and particularly as they negotiate language use with family and fellow community members, and work to authenticate themselves as legitimate Gaelic users. (p. 1)

It should be emphasised that the term ‘learner’ in a Gaelic context is sometimes problematic; for example, Morgan (2000, p. 126) characterises it as a very ‘loaded’ term, and MacCaluim (2008) argues that one of the reasons this term has negative connotations is that learners are often seen as inauthentic in their language use or divorced from the traditional communities. By virtue of being learners, heritage learners have to contend with the authenticity of their language use occasionally being called into question. However, perhaps one of the advantages for heritage learners as described by Armstrong is that unlike other learners such as a Gaelic learner from Glasgow or the United States, heritage learners are already seen as being part of the ‘traditional’ culture (cf. Glaser, 2007). Peigi, after all, is from Skye, as are her parents, and she has lived in Skye for most of her life. Ostensibly, the main challenge for Peigi, then, is re-negotiating language use with people with whom, before learning Gaelic, she interacted with in English. The following sections will investigate this challenge, as well as the challenge of speaking to the third generation in Gaelic.

## 8.2 Dual-Lingual Conversations

One of the most striking features in analysing interactions in which second generation members are present is the prevalence of ‘dual-lingual’ conversations. Although the term ‘bilingual’ interactions could be used to describe conversations in which one participant is

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<sup>27</sup> For a good overview of the various issues surrounding this term, see Van Deusen-Scholl (2003).

speaking in one language and the interlocutor is replying in another language, the term ‘dual-lingual,’ as described by Saville-Troike (1987) will be used here. Saville-Troike describes dual-lingual interactions as those in which both speakers have passive and/or active abilities in each other’s codes, but one speaker consistently uses one code and the other speaker uses another code. The term ‘dual’ as opposed to ‘bi’ -lingual seems very apt in describing a typical dyad or multi-party interaction between first and second generation speakers, especially with regards to Nana and her children: the first generation speaker speaks in Gaelic and the second generation member replies in English. This is very different from the truly bilingual conversations between first generation speakers, where both speakers actively use both codes in conversation.

An example of dual-linguality can be seen from the adjacency pair between Nana and Màiri in Turns 3 and 4, drawn from the Birthday Party Interaction, where Nana, her children, and the third generation are gathered to celebrate Màiri’s birthday. Here, Màiri is asked three questions before answering the question that Nana poses in Turn 4:

**Example 8-1 ‘Three Questions’ (Birthday Party)**

- 1 Nana oh is she away now too
- 2 Seumas how old is she now?
- 3 Nana  $\wedge$  *a-nochd a bha seo?*  
tonight that was?
- 4 Màiri aye that was /tonight
- 5 Nana oh dear

This example is typical of the Birthday Party interaction; the quantity of people participating makes orderly turn-taking problematic and questions sometimes go unanswered. Here, Màiri is posed three different questions before finally answering Nana’s question in Turn 3; it is highly possible that the motivation for Nana’s use of Gaelic over English in Turn 3 is to draw attention to her utterance in an otherwise-English language sequence. Nana’s use of Gaelic is also reflective of her and her generation’s norm of Gaelic/Mixed language use, and Màiri’s (and Seumas’) language use both reflects their personal and generational preference for English. This particular adjacency pair between Turns 3 and 4 highlights the dual-lingual nature of interactions between Nana and her children; Nana’s first pair part (FPP) is in Gaelic and the subsequent second pair part (SPP) of the second generation speaker is in English. The dual-lingual nature of first and second generation dyads is also illustrated by the following examples, drawn from a rather hectic dinner-time conversation. The excerpts here are drawn chronologically from various parts of the interaction as a whole, and consist of three adjacency pairs between Nana and Seumas. All three excerpts involve Nana making a comment or asking Seumas a question

about his work. In Example 8-2, she states that if he tells people a certain piece of information, he will put himself out of work. In Example 8-4, Nana asks if Seumas when he is going to see one of clients:

**Example 8-2 ‘Out of Work’ (Dinner)**

- 1 Seumas [[you’re bringing in any]  
 2 Nana [[*shiud thu*]  
     there you are  
     *cuiridh tu thu fhèin a-mach à obair*  
     you’ll put yourself out of work  
     *ma tha thu ag innseadh sin do dhuine*  
     if you tell that to anyone  
     (2.0)  
 3 Seumas a:ye  
 4 Nana {mmm}  
 5 Seumas prob[[ably]  
 6 Nana [[mmm]  
 7 Seumas well I don’t tell it to everybody obvious-  
 8 Nana = no I kno:w

**Example 8-3 ‘Done’ (Dinner)**

- 1 Nana *an d’ fhuair thu dhèanamh?*  
     did you get it done?  
 2 Seumas yeah’ I’m going to see about the driver’s disk  
     I’ve got that she should have given me that before=  
 3 Nana =oh **BR**<aidh>**BR**

**Example 8-4 ‘Seeing a Client’ (Dinner)**

- 1 Nana *cuine a tha thu a’ dol sìos?*  
     when are you going down?  
 2 Seumas she’s going to Dingwall tomorrow  
     there must be some (?) thing on  
 3 Nana oh aye

All three excerpts illustrate the use of Gaelic in Nana’s FPP and the subsequent use of English in Seumas’ SPP. Judging by Nana’s responses in Turn 8 (Example 8-2), and Turn 3 in both 8-3 and 8-4, Seumas’ contrasting code choice to Nana’s Turn 1 is not problematic. It could even possibly be argued that Nana subsequently takes up Seumas’ code choice in the following turns, although, as mentioned in Chapter 4, ‘aye’ is considered ambiguous in terms of a dichotomy between English and Gaelic. Although in terms of the overall conversation, this appears to be an example of participant-related code-switching (cf. Auer 1984; 1988), it could be further argued that although the conversation *looks* like code-switching, it is actually simply a collision of two individuals with different overall language choice preferences. Seumas’ language choice is English, while Nana’s language choice can be said to be Gaelic or Mixed. Each individual is using his/her own preferred code, irrespective of the other person’s code-choice. Thus, it does not appear to



be *switching* so much as simply *using* different codes. Additionally, there does not appear to be a negotiation of codes per se; although Nana does clearly align with Seumas' code choice in Turn 8 Example 8-2 'Out of Work,' there does not appear to be the expectation on the part of either speaker that the other will necessarily take up the other's code.

It will therefore be argued that this conversation is more an example of dual-linguality as opposed to code-switching; however, Nana and Seumas' stance-taking vis-à-vis each other cannot be ignored. In Example 8-2, even though Nana and Seumas are both adults, the dynamic between the two participants is clearly a parent-child dynamic. Nana warns Seumas not to tell people a certain piece of information, to which Seumas initially concedes that Nana is correct, then defends himself. Nana then mitigates the face-threatening act (FTA) with her stance-aligning response in Turn 8; it is interesting that this mitigation of the FTA occurs in English, which is Seumas' preferred code. The other two examples are less transparent in the parent-child dynamic; Nana's questions are mainly friendly, conversational, and chatty. However, the overall context of the questions brings the parent-child dynamic to the forefront. The question in Example 8-3 'Done' leaves open the possibility for Seumas to lose face; he begins his turn by saying that he did accomplish the task, thus asserting his positive face. However, as evidenced from the second part of his turn, he did not fully accomplish the task, as he still requires further material to accomplish the task. In Example 8-4 'Seeing a Client,' it becomes evident that Seumas will not be able to accomplish the task until at least the day after tomorrow, as his client will be in Dingwall. Thus, although the questions are not necessarily nagging by nature and it does not seem to be Nana's intention for Seumas to lose face, the context and content of the utterances do facilitate Seumas' face loss. This face loss as a result of Nana's questions are suggestive of a parent-child dynamic, where the parent inquires of the child whether he or she has accomplished a certain task and the child has to admit that the task has not been accomplished.

Examining the parent-child dynamic present in these examples is not intended to suggest Seumas' English use is necessarily motivated by the parent-child dynamic, as his overall preference shows that English is used for the vast majority of interactions and that Gaelic is reserved for select circumstances. However, in a further analysis of his study of three generations of Tyneside Chinese speakers, Li Wei (1998) discusses that even though the language patterns of older and younger speakers indicate preference for Chinese and English respectively, an examination of how these preferences are locally constructed is also needed. He surmises that the authority family structure is 'brought about' (p. 172) by

the divergent language choices in the family; that is, the attitudes and preferences of different generations are highlighted and that this realisation of differences is instrumental in the reification of the family authority structure itself. Earlier, Li Wei (1994, p. 145) observed that Chinese operates as the ‘we’ code for the first generation and English operates as the ‘we’ code for the younger speakers and notes that older speakers prefer to be spoken to in Chinese. These observations are important in examining how the authority structure is locally created in the dual-lingual dyads between Seumas and Nana. Here, both speakers are using their ‘we’ codes, thus bringing the generational differences to a place of prominence within the interaction. The practice of using English in response to a Gaelic code by an older speaker began when Seumas was a child, and, as mentioned in Chapter 5, would anger Seumas’ father. Although the conversation dyads here do not indicate Nana’s dispreference for Seumas’ use of English, Nana has made several comments about her disappointment over her children’s choice to mostly use English. Thus, for the Campbell family members, the dual-lingual conversations are, among other things, indexical of previous strife over language shift. Although Seumas and his siblings’ use of English is considered for the most part here a matter of individual and generational linguistic preference, it is, as Li Wei advocates, important to see how the language use itself is integral in shaping the context. Seumas’ (and Nana’s) linguistic choices in these examples are shaped by their existence as individuals and as members of a particular generation. In turn, these aspects are integral in ‘bringing about’ the parent-child dynamic that these dyads demonstrate by indexing both diachronic (using English SPPs to the parents’ Gaelic FPPs and subsequent negative reactions from the parents) and synchronic (habitual use of English and Gaelic) processes.

### 8.3 Referential Rudeness

The previous sections have illustrated the second generation’s preference for English. However, in looking at the instances when they did use Gaelic throughout the corpus, an interesting observation was made: in some instances, second-generation speakers would insert a Gaelic word when they are suggesting something impolite about a referent or being rude to them within the narrative. In this excerpt, Nana and Seumas are talking about someone who has been doing work on Nana’s house. Seumas then refers to him as a thief because of something the man has taken from Nana’s house:

#### Example 8-5 ‘Thief’ (Dinner)

1 Nana .... *thug mi rud beag biadh* (.)  
I gave a bit of food

- 's cupa teatha dhan* (.)  
 and a cup of tea to  
*an fhear a bha muigh a siud*  
 the man that was out there
- (1.3)
- 2 Seumas *mèi:rléach*  
thief
- 3 Nana [(( ?))]
- 4 Maggie [[ ('s e 's e) ]  
it is it is
- 5 Isabel *mèirleach cò* (.)  
thief who  
*dè a rinn e?* (.)  
what did he do?  
you can't just leave me in limbo @

In this example, Seumas has said something that could be considered impolite about the referent first indexed in Nana's Turn 1. All interactants present know the referent, and Seumas says the word *mèirleach* ('thief') clearly and emphatically, suggesting that he is trying to mark it. Nana's response to this, however, is obscured by what appears to be Maggie saying ' 's e 's e,' which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is a surprising response from her given it is in Gaelic and is relevant to the adults' conversation. Isabel then reacts to the content of Seumas' utterance, and it is evident that she is interested in his utterance and desires a response, which further suggests that Seumas intended his utterance to be marked.

This use of Gaelic for saying something that is contextually impolite and gossipy is mirrored in Peigi's turn in Line 3, in which she refers to the B&B guest as 'dirty:'

**Example 8-6 'Dirty B&B Guest' (Evening in Harris)**

- 1 Nana aye she said first of all that he was /dirty  
she took all the covers off the bed and  
put on well- (.) not such nice ones (.) mmm-hmm
- 2 Cailean that'd be giving him the  
a- him- the old man the ammo  
they say ACH enough of that=
- 3 Nana =yes probab/ly
- 4 Peigi what was he *salach*?  
dirty
- 5 Cailean I think he was just a=
- 6 Nana =rough-looking aye

Peigi's mixed utterance is one of the few examples where a second generation addresses another second generation member with the use of Gaelic. Arguably, Peigi is directing her question at both Nana and Cailean, as Nana has asserted her own authority on the matter, but as evidenced from Cailean's turn immediately following Peigi's question, he considers himself to be a recipient of the question.

Peigi's use of the word *salach* ('dirty') is similar to Seumas' use of the word *mèirleach* ('thief'), as in both cases, the speakers are suggesting rather unpleasant things about the referents. In this particular case, similar to Example 6-3 'New House,' where Flora code-switched to emphasise her uncertain stance as a way to mitigate the possible gossipy nature of her utterance, Peigi's use of code-switching is analysed as a way of mitigating the evaluative stance. This is presumably because in her case, she does not know the referent and so is trying to distance herself from the gossipy nature of the discourse, whereas in Seumas' case he directly knows the referent and how he has wronged the Campbell family.

The use of Gaelic is also found in the rendering of impolite constructed dialogue. Here, Màiri is talking about a woman who claims that she used to date Nana's late husband:

**Example 8-7 'Old Girlfriend' (Birthday Party)**

- |    |        |   |
|----|--------|---|
| 1  | Màiri  | she said she was one of dad's old girlfriends   |
| 2  | Nana   | [[ <u>she</u> said ]]   |
| 3  | Seumas | [[told you that did she]]   |
| 4  | Màiri  | she said=   |
| 5  | Seumas | oh  |
| 6  | Màiri  | and I said ohhh<br><i>nach e- nach e a shàbhail</i><br>didn't he dodge a bullet (literally, wasn't he wasn't<br>he saved) |
| 7  | Nana   | ^aye  |
| 8  | Seumas | you said <u>that</u> to <u>her</u> ?  |
| 9  | Màiri  | no <u>nearly</u> did  |
| 10 | Seumas | oh right  |
| 11 | Màiri  | no I didn't @   |

In this example, it is established that Màiri has been speaking to one of her father's 'old girlfriends.' (Incidentally, the 'old girlfriend' is the same referent as in Example 8-1, 'Three Questions' and it becomes apparent that the 'old girlfriend's' health is failing). In Turn 6, Màiri renders her own speech towards the woman who knew her father in Gaelic. What she says to the woman (*nach e a shàbhail* 'wasn't he saved') is impolite, especially given the context that the woman is in ill health. However, Màiri never actually said the utterance in real life, as evidenced by her subsequent turns. Rather, the constructed dialogue is used to show Màiri's stance as a character in her own storyworld: the woman was one of Màiri's 'dad's old girlfriends' and as such, in Màiri's narration, Màiri humourously adopts an enemy-like stance towards the woman. Although there is no evidence of laughter in the excerpt, the tone of Màiri's voice in Turns 6 and 11 is joking, and this is especially true in Line 11, where she appears to indicate that she would never say something that impolite to an elderly lady with failing health.

In all three examples, the speakers are taking an evaluative stance towards their referents, and the stance-taking coincides with the code-switching. By taking negative evaluative stances towards the referents, the speakers themselves are not exhibiting their best possible faces; they are accusing someone of theft, participating in gossip, or fictionally being rude to someone. In these examples, the code-switching is not being analysed as coinciding with stance-taking the way it was analysed in the first-generation's examples, but rather, as a contextualisation cue for saying something impolite. Monolingually, speakers have a variety of ways they can contextualise something as 'I know I shouldn't say this but I'm going to anyway,' and for these bilingual speakers, they may choose to do this by code-switching. This bears resemblance to Rampton's (1998) observation that the urban youths in his study 'crossed' in congruence with taboo talk as a way of 'double-voicing' the utterance, thereby distancing the speaker from its content. These examples are obviously not 'crossing' in Rampton's sense of the word, but perhaps exhibit a similar phenomenon. By switching into a language that is not the habitual language of these speakers<sup>28</sup>, they are able to 'double voice' (cf. Bakhtin, 1986) the utterance. It can also be argued that although the 'we'/'they' code is drawn across generational lines in this family, here it operates in the traditional Gumperzian (1972) sense: Gaelic is used to signal a local, in-group identity. By saying something in Gaelic, the speakers are in a way intimating 'This stays within the group and is not to be repeated elsewhere.'

## 8.4 Peigi and Negotiating a Gaelic Context

In contrast to the other second generation members' propensity for dual-lingual interactions, Peigi actively uses Gaelic with the first generation speakers. 40% (115 out of 288) of Peigi's turns that were coded as either Gaelic or Mixed were said directly to a first generation speaker, namely, Peigi's mother Dolina or Nana. The examples and following discussions are drawn from dyads between Peigi and Dolina which occurred over an evening of recording at Peigi's house, during which Maggie, David and Aonghas were also intermittently present. In the first example it will be argued that Peigi is actively trying to negotiate a Gaelic-centred context with her mother, and the second example will posit that while Dolina, like the other first generation speakers, effectively maneuvers between the two languages, Peigi's use of code-switching is more limited.

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<sup>28</sup> Peigi is the exception to this, as she frequently uses Gaelic. However, as this particular interaction involves Cailean, who does not frequently speak Gaelic, the language choice is marked, as Peigi speaks English with other second generation members.

In this particular excerpt, Dolina and Peigi are discussing matters related to the running of a Bed and Breakfast and are particularly interested in what Peigi has done to a tablecloth:

**Example 8-8 'Tablecloth' (Dolina Visiting)**

- 1 Dolina =they're really nice (.) people from all over the globe (.)  
it's amazing (.) it was funny this week-
- 2 Peigi [[did you see I put the the table]]
- 3 Dolina [[it was all French] (.) eh?
- 4 Peigi did you see I put the table cloth on?
- 5 Dolina oh did ya? no
- 6 Peigi *rinn mi an rud a thuir thu*  
I did the thing you said
- 7 Dolina oh (.) did ya?
- 8 Peigi so (.) *tha e gu math fad air a cùlaibh(.)*  
it's quite far from the back  
*chan eil thu ga fhaicinn co-dhiù*  
you don't see it anyway  
(.) so (.)<sup>o</sup> *duilich*  
sorry
- 9 Dolina *dh'fhaodaidh tu (?) a' cuibhrige*  
could you (?) the table cloth
- 10 Peigi no (.) *'s e sin an shape a th' ann*  
that's the shape

This example begins with the coda to a previous conversation mainly between Dolina and me about Bed and Breakfast guests. Peigi then negotiates a topic change in Turn 2, the subject of which is perhaps tangentially related to the previous topic. Dolina, however, does not seem to hear Peigi's question, ostensibly because it overlapped with her own speech; Dolina therefore makes a repair request in Turn 3. Peigi then repeats her question; however, Dolina's response is not the preferred response to Peigi's FPP in this adjacency pair. Peigi then code-switches to Gaelic and elaborates on the topic further. Dolina, however, does not align with Peigi's code choice, and gives the same English response she has given in Turn 5. Peigi further elaborates on the topic in Gaelic, to which Dolina responds in Gaelic and Peigi then further continues in Gaelic.

This excerpt of a conversation between Peigi and her mother Dolina is very different from the dual-lingual conversations between Nana and Seumas. Here, it is the second generation member, not the first generation member, who initiates the use of Gaelic in the discourse. This initiation is met with the use of English by the first generation member for the SPP in the Gaelic-initiating adjacency pair. However, after Peigi's persistence with Gaelic in Turn 8, Dolina responds in Gaelic to Peigi and Peigi in turn continues in Gaelic. This example shows a classic negotiation of codes within a strand of discourse; unlike the first generation dyads presented in Chapter 6, which involved frequent intraturn switches, this particular first-second generation dyad appears to be inter-turn negotiation of codes,

not an intra-turn, intra-speaker negotiation of codes. Although Peigi's use of Gaelic in Turn 6 could be a means of elaboration in another language, thereby highlighting the relevant information, it could be argued that this interturn switch is also an example of negotiation of code choice based on speaker preference. Once Peigi starts speaking in Gaelic, she continues speaking Gaelic, despite her mother's initial use of English in the SPP in Turn 7. In Section 8.2, overall speaker preference was used in analysing the code choices of the second generation members, and here, Peigi's high use of Gaelic compared to the other second generation speakers can be useful in analysing Peigi's interturn code-switch; ideologically, Peigi prefers Gaelic. This negotiation of turns is also perhaps reflective of Peigi's challenges as a 'new' speaker as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Until Peigi learned Gaelic in her early twenties, Peigi and her mother would have spoken English together. Therefore, Peigi ostensibly may sometimes have to work at achieving a Gaelic context, as interacting in Gaelic together is a relatively new phenomenon for both of these speakers.

As Li Wei (1998) advocates, however, it is important not to just analyse a code-switching discourse in terms of macro-levels such as the individual speaker's ideology and overall language preference, but rather, to see how the micro-level orders in turn are 'brought about' by the code-switching. In this conversation, the topic of the table cloth is only the domain of Peigi and Dolina; even though I linguistically understood the utterance *rinn mi an rud a thuir thu* ('I did the thing you said'), I did not have the contextual knowledge to know what the *an rud a thuir thu* ('thing you said') was, and thus, was excluded from the conversation context (though I am by no means implying the the speakers were trying to actively exclude me from the conversation). The use of Gaelic here reifies the conversation as an exclusive in-group conversation, thus 'bringing about' the use of Gaelic in the home, private sphere. Thus, Peigi's use of Gaelic not only reflects her language attitudes, but indexes a close, in-group belonging, which reflexively works to foster these positive attitudes.

This example shows little evidence of intraturn mixing. Peigi's utterance in Line 10 was coded as 'Undecided' because 'no' was taken to be the English 'no' as opposed to the Gaelic *no*, meaning 'or.' Additionally, 'shape' adds to the ambiguity, as 'shape' is obviously an English word (although, as mentioned in Chapter 4, presence of an English word in an otherwise-Gaelic utterance sometimes resulted in the turn being coded simply as 'Gaelic'). Additionally, as with the first generation, the presence of English discourse markers such as 'so' do not result in an otherwise all-Gaelic turn being coded as 'Mixed.'

Therefore, overall, it appears that Peigi uses very little intra-turn code-switching; in the whole interaction between her and Dolina, there were only four turns coded as definitely intra-turn mixing, whereas for Dolina six turns were coded as ‘Mixed.’ Although these numbers do not reflect a real difference in language use, the difference is best illustrated by microinteractional examination of the conversation.

The following example also highlights the juxtaposition between Dolina’s code-switching and Peigi’s apparent reticence in terms of intra-turn code-switching; here, both speakers are discussing Peigi’s eye, which has become infected. Dolina suggests that Peigi wear an eye patch, but Peigi does not like this idea:

**Example 8-9 ‘Eye Patch’ (Dolina Visiting)**

- 1 Peigi *bhiodh e glè mhath*  
It would be very good  
*ann an dòigh (.) tha (.)*  
in a way it is  
*oir an uair sin*  
because then
- 2 Dolina *sin tha mi ag ràdh (.)*  
that is what I’m saying  
*tha fear anns*  
there’s one in  
eh what do you call first aid box *againn*  
...our (‘our first aid box’)
- 3 Peigi *i::st thu*  
quiet you
- 4 Dolina /mmm-hmm  
*a bheil idir eye patch agad ann a sheo (.)*  
do you have an eye patch in here  
you kno::w (.) even refreshing mask  
*no càil mar sin (.)*  
or something like that  
I bet you *gu bheil anns a’ bathroom*  
there is in the bathroom
- 5 Peigi mmm-hmm.
- 6 Dolina *shuas an staidhre=*  
up the stairs
- 7 Peigi *=dh’ fhaodadh dìreach plaster a chur air ’s toilet roll*  
perhaps just put a plaster and toilet roll on it
- 8 Dolina uh-huh
- 9 Peigi *dìreach-*  
just
- 10 Dolina *a bheil e goirt ga fhosgladh?*  
does it hurt to open it?
- 11 Peigi well (.) *’s e dìreach gu bheil e- seòrsa de tha e*  
it’s just that it’s a sort what’s it doing  
*a’ dèanamh irritation air ach*  
irritating it isn’t but  
*bhiodh e nas fheàrr dùinte (.)*  
it would be better closed  
*sin a tha iad a ghràdh ma tha thu ga cleachdadh no*



- that's what they say if using it or  
*a' dèanamh cus blinceadh*  
 doing too much blinking
- 12 Dolina uh-huh
- 13 Peigi *dùnadh- a' priobadh do shùil*  
 closing- blinking your eye  
*bidh a h-uile càil a' tighinn a-mach (.)*  
 everything will be coming out  
*/tha e faireachdainn nas fheàrr tha e doirbh a ghràdh*  
 It's feeling better but it's hard to say  
*oir chan eil contact ann*  
 because there's not a contact in  
*chan eil mi ach faicinn le aon shùil @*  
 I'm not seeing but with one eye

All of Peigi's turns in this excerpt were coded as 'Gaelic,' as, as discussed in Section 4.4.1, the presence of an English lexical item or discourse marker did not mean that the turn was necessarily coded as 'Mixed.' Dolina, however, clearly mixes both codes within her utterances, and in a way that is consistent with the other first generation speakers' utterances (cf. 'Stance' in Chapter 6). In Turn 2, Dolina switches from Gaelic to English in modulating between degrees of certainty in her stance. Peigi then expresses her reservations about the idea of wearing an eye patch (the '*fear*' [thing] indexed in Dolina's Turn 2) with the phrase '*ist thu*' ('quiet you') in Line 3, but Dolina carries on about the topic of an eyepatch in Gaelic, then switches to English for 'you know' and the semantic content that follows it. She then briefly switches to Gaelic and then switches to English in reifying her epistemic stance of certainty in the phrase 'I bet you.' The conversation then continues in Gaelic; Peigi's turn in Lines 11 and 13 are quite long compared to the other turns in the example, and these extended turns are in monolingual Gaelic, as both 'well' and 'contact' are viewed as too integrated into the Gaelic 'code' to consider them instances of mixing (cf. Section 4.4.1).

In this example, Dolina is consistent with other first generation speakers' code use; both Gaelic and English are intertwined, performing various functions within the discourse. Peigi however, uses monolingual Gaelic. In looking at both examples, it appears that Peigi's utterances tend either to be in Gaelic or English in this interaction (cf. Turns 4 and 6 in Example 8-8 'Tablecloth'), and there is little mixing of the two codes. In her study of Irish speakers in areas considered 'traditional' and 'peripheral,' O'Malley (2007) observed that the peripheral speakers tended to alternate the codes within the overall discourse, but not integrate the two codes within smaller units, such as a particular utterance. Like the peripheral speakers, Peigi tends to alternate languages across and it is hypothesised that this is similar to the peripheral Irish speakers' perception of 'pure' Irish and ostensibly

wanting to be perceived as a true Irish speaker. As also extensively discussed in Chapter 1, negative attitudes towards code-switching are prevalent in a Gaelic context, and the perceived relationship between code-switching and lack of proficiency in the language can result in less confident speakers actively avoiding code-switching (cf. Dorian, 1986). Thus, although code-switching seems to be the norm for the first generation, it is posited that Peigi is more reserved about using this style because of negative attitudes surrounding code-switching as well as Peigi's need to authenticate herself as a Gaelic speaker. This could explain Peigi's repair of *blincadh* ('blinking'), which is an English word with a Gaelic verbal noun suffix added, to the actual Gaelic word for 'blinking' — *a' priobadh*.

It is also worth re-visiting the idea that here, Peigi is 're-integrating into a Gaelic-user network,' as Armstrong (2012, p. 1) puts it. As a learner of the language, Peigi is not only aware that she must constantly assert her proficiency in the language, but that she is re-negotiating language use in a context which once called for another language: her interactions with her mother. At the forefront of this re-negotiation process is Peigi's duty to invite her mother to speak Gaelic. It is easy to surmise that Peigi views that the best way to do this, naturally, is to speak Gaelic herself. Thus, by using only Gaelic, Peigi is not only asserting her proficiency in the language, but trying to ensure that the context remains a Gaelic one.

## 8.5 Negotiating a Child-Centred Context

Discussion of the second generation thus far has revealed a more limited use of Gaelic as well as a less dynamic manipulation of code-switching than the first generation. As with the first generation, a secondary coding was used as a sort of note-taking process in order to gain a fuller understanding of the second generation's language use; in this case, the main objective of the secondary coding was to ascertain the answer to the question: When the second generation speakers *do* use Gaelic, what is it used for?

When examining the contexts in which the second generation do use Gaelic, the most striking feature is that Gaelic tends to be used in conjunction with speaking to the third generation. Over half (55%) of the second generation Gaelic and Mixed turns were coded as speech either directly to the third generation members or in speech about the child that encourages the child's participation, such as in the following example:

### Example 8-10 'Reading' (Sitting Room)

1 Nana            *a bheil thu fhèin a' dol a' tòiseachadh air leughadh?*

- are you yourself going to start reading?
- 2 Seumas *tha i math air cunntas*  
she's good at counting
- 3 Nana *^tha (.) aon*  
yes (.) one
- 4 Maggie *dhà*  
two

In this example, the child-centered nature of the interaction is dialogically created through Nana and Seumas' turns. In Turn 1, Nana asks a direct question to Maggie; however, this is unsuccessful in eliciting a response from Maggie. Seumas then makes a comment about Maggie to Nana. However, it is evident that the overall goal of Seumas' Turn 2 is not to impart information to Nana, but to encourage Maggie's participation in the interaction. Nana quickly responds to Seumas' cue, and gives an exaggerated response of *tha* and then begins to count, thus prompting Maggie's response in Line 4. Maggie's participation is dialogically encouraged through Nana and Seumas' turns, and thus, even though Seumas' comment looks as if the intended recipient is Nana, the utterance is coded as child-centred because of its communicative goal.

In looking at the various Gaelic and Mixed utterances that were coded as 'child-centred,' it was noted that one way in which the use of Gaelic interfaced with a child-centred context was through the use of questions. Of the 193 utterances coded as child-centred, 36 were coded as questions, which comprised 19% of the child-centred set. This question set excludes questions in which the primary goal was to discipline the child; these types of questions will be discussed in the next section.

Of the 36 child-centred questions, three were requests for clarification, as in the following example:

**Example 8-11 'What's this?' (Sitting Room)**

- 1 Maggie what is this? Seumas what is this?
- 2 Seumas *dè?*  
what?
- 3 Maggie that

This example is a classic request for clarification; as evidenced by Maggie's answer of 'that' in Turn 3; Seumas' question in Line 2 seeks clarification of the deictic Maggie uses in Turn 1. Seumas' question in Gaelic and Maggie's subsequent answer in English is reminiscent of the dual-lingual conversations in the first-second generation dyads seen in the 'Dual-Lingual' section.

Five more questions are considered to be questions of a ‘practical’ nature; these questions are directly related to an action (such as slicing cake) and are asked of the recipient because subsequent action is contingent on the recipient’s response, such as in the following example:

**Example 8-12 ‘Cake’ (Tea at Peigi’s House)**

- 1 Peigi: *Maggie a bheil thusa ag iarraidh piosa cèic?*  
Maggie are you wanting a piece of cake?  
2 Maggie ya::h

In this example, the emphatic form of the second person pronoun (*thusa* instead of *thu*) suggests that Peigi has offered cake to the other interactants already, and thus Peigi requires Maggie’s response to determine how many pieces of cake to cut.

The remaining 28 questions in the child-centred questions subgroup, however, seek to elicit content talk from the child. The overarching goal of this type of question is very different from the speaker’s aim in formulating the practical questions. In what will be termed ‘content’ questions, the goal of the question is not to determine an immediate action, such as cutting a piece of cake, but to elicit talk itself. This is exemplified by the following:

**Example 8-13 ‘Horgabost’ (Sitting Room)**

- 1 Seumas *an robh uh an robh /sibh ’sna Horgabost?*  
were you were you at Horgabost?  
2 Maggie yeah  
3 Seumas *air an tràigh?*  
on the beach?  
4 Maggie yesterday when (.) Cassie and Nana was the:re  
5 Nana Cassie and Nana was there  
*uh-huh cò eile a bh’ ann?*  
who else was there?  
6 Maggie and Nana  
7 Nana eh?  
8 Maggie and David  
9 Nana David  
11 Maggie and Maggie  
12 Nana *agus Maggie*  
and  
14 Maggie when when there was when I was up- up that (.) that guy he  
said hell/\o::::

In this example, Seumas asks Maggie a question in Gaelic about her recent trip to Harris. Maggie’s response to this, however, is minimal, and Seumas subsequently asks a follow-up question in Turn 3. His follow-up question is clearly a means to simply elicit more talk from Maggie, not to gain or clarify relevant information; Horgabost is a beach, and

therefore Maggie was obviously on the beach if she was at Horgabost. This follow-up question is successful in terms of its goal, and Maggie's use of 'yesterday' as well as a past tense verb (albeit a grammatically incorrect one here) suggests that she means to narrate a particular event. However, the narration of this event does not occur; Nana takes a turn in which she repeats Maggie's exact words and then asks a question in Turn 5. Maggie answers Nana's question, but her response is unsatisfactory, as evidenced by Nana's 'eh' in Turn 7. Maggie then continues to answer Nana's question, and again, Nana repeats Maggie's answers; in Turn 7, Nana recasts Maggie's answer in Gaelic. After this, Maggie changes topic to the guy on the roof saying 'hello' to Maggie.

In this excerpt, both speakers are negotiating a child-centred context; the child is the focus of the conversation and it is clear that the speakers are trying to encourage the child's participation in the interaction. In dialogically constructing this child-centred context, the speakers direct questions at the child and use Gaelic in formulating the questions, even though the child replies in English. It can be postulated that the use of Gaelic in the questions might not only be a strategy to foster a child-centred context, but are attempts to encourage the child to use Gaelic, further illustrating the family's overarching goal of maintenance of their minority language.

As has been previously discussed, English is generally Seumas' preferred language. The motivation here for using Gaelic, therefore, warrants further discussion and is best explained by examining the following excerpt, which directly precedes Example 8-13:

**Example 8-14 'Jaggy' (Sitting Room)**

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Nana   | <i>a Sheumais tha i ag ràdh nach do chòrd na Hearadh idir rithe</i><br>Seumas she is saying that she didn't like Harris at all |
| 2 | Seumas | <i>nach do chòrd</i><br>didn't like  |
| 3 | Nana   | she said it was <u>too jaggy</u> there   |
| 4 | Seumas | jaggy?   |
| 5 | Maggie | y::\es   |
| 6 | Nana   | [[ <i>dè àite?</i> ]<br>what place?  |
| 7 | Seumas | [[ <i>an robh uh</i> ] <i>an robh sibh sna Horgabost?</i><br>were uh were you all at Horgabost?                                |

This excerpt from the Sitting Room interaction occurs when Seumas re-enters the room after having just fetched a screwdriver. Nana's announcement in Turn 1 uses exaggerated intonation, a feature that Blount and Padgug (1977) found was frequently used in child-directed talk in a comparative study of Spanish and English parents' language use. Additionally, Nana uses the vocative form in addressing Seumas; although this is not

unusual in her interactions with Seumas, her arguably exaggerated addressing of Seumas helps to frame the dialogue as a playful dyad that, like Example 8-10 ‘Reading,’ although it is between the two adults, is child-centred: while the adults are talking *to* each other, they are talking *about* Maggie, and the overall goal of their dyad is to encourage a response from Maggie. Nana’s announcement in Turn 1 gently chides Maggie for not liking Harris; Seumas then joins in this child-centred adult dialogue in Turn 2, using Nana’s previous language choice of Gaelic in his utterance. Nana then switches to English in reporting Maggie’s speech and Seumas asks a question in English related to Maggie’s reported speech. Nana then directly asks Maggie a question in Gaelic in Turn 6, as does Seumas in Turn 7.

This excerpt sheds further light on Seumas’ language choice in this interaction. Nana is clearly negotiating a child-centred frame and Seumas follows Nana’s lead in creating this child-centred context. Gaelic, like exaggerated intonation, is used as a contextualisation cue to linguistically delineate this frame. Also, as has been discussed earlier, the family holds the belief that the children should be raised as Gaelic-speaking, and this belief appears to be strongest with Peigi and Nana. In this interaction, Nana is the leader, and Seumas follows along with the creation of this frame. As such, he closely follows the ways in which Nana creates this child-centred frame, namely through the use of exaggerated intonation, and more importantly for the purposes of this study, by the use of Gaelic.

The concept that one speaker may lead in negotiating a child-centred context is also evident in the following excerpt, which is taken from the Birthday Party interaction. Here, Maggie has hurt her nose and is crying. Her father Aonghas begins by teasing her about her nose, then changes the topic to Susan, Maggie’s friend, who has a broken arm. The other adults join in the conversation, as does David, Maggie’s brother. Aonghas then tells a funny anecdote about Susan, and Nana attempts to ask the question ‘Was Dave there at the time?’ four times before she gets an answer from Aonghas.

**Example 8-15 ‘Broken Arm’ (Birthday Party)**

- |   |         |   |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Aonghas | you can pick your nose oh<br><i>innis do Nana dè a thachcair ri Susan - Susan dè a tha[[chcair ri Susan</i><br>tell Nana what happened what happened to Susan |
| 2 | Nana    | <i>bhochd</i><br>poor Susan<br>[[Oh Susan   |
| 3 | Aonghas | <i>dè thachair riutha rithe=</i><br>What happened to them to her  |
| 4 | Seumas  | = <i>Susan cò</i>   |

- Susan who  
 ((Maggie stops crying))
- 5 Nana *Susan à Malcolmina*  
 Malcolmina's Susan
- 6 Seumas *dè a thachair*  
 what happened
- 7 Aonghas do you hear [what she said to her  
 8 David [broke her arm
- 9 Aonghas going to Uist all well I'm off to Uist for my holidays I'm going to  
 miss Mammy and Sally Granny Ferguson and (.) Aonghas  
 (( laughter )) (2.2)
- 10 Nana oh *Susan a bha seo* mmm-hmm mmm-hmm  
 that was Susan
- 11 Seumas when do you see her Aonghas?
- 12 Aonghas when I go over she pops over the fence
- 13 Màiri she's a funny wee thing
- 14 Nana *cà' an do bhrìst i a làmh a ghaoil ciamar a*  
 where did she break her arm love how
- 15 Maggie no
- 16 Màiri *bhrìst Dave e*  
 Dave broke it
- 17 Aonghas no it's Polly
- 18 Nana *an robh Dave ann?*  
 was Dave there?
- 19 Aonghas she was on Polly's piggy-back wasn't she=  
 20 Nana was Dave there (.) no (.) *an robh Dave ann?=  
 was Dave there*
- 21 Aonghas *=siud David gabh pìos cèic eile*  
 there David have another piece of cake
- 22 Nana *@@ an robh Dave ann aig an àm?*  
 was Dave there at the time
- 23 Aonghas what?

In this excerpt, Aonghas' first turn is a continuation of earlier talk surrounding Maggie's nose; she is crying because her nose hurts and therefore Aonghas attempts to tease her, presumably as a strategy to get her to stop crying. However, as this attempt to pacify Maggie fails, Aonghas changes topic and code-switches, asking Maggie in Gaelic to tell Nana what happened to Susan, Maggie's friend. Maggie keeps crying after Nana's comment in Turn 2 and Aonghas repeats his question, repairing his *riutha* (to them) to *rithe* (to her). Maggie, however, does not respond and Seumas asks a clarifying question. It is not clear, however, to whom his question is directed, even though Nana's answer (clarifying that Susan is Malcolmina's daughter) forms an adjacency pair. Seumas then asks a question similar to Aonghas' questions in Turn 1 and Turn 3; Seumas is in turn answered by David, suggesting that Seumas' questions were intended to be answered by the children. After Seumas repeats David's answer, Aonghas shifts the topic in Turn 9 from Susan's broken arm to what Susan said before she left on holidays; he constructs her speech in English, the content of which is amusing to the other adults. Seumas asks Aonghas a direct question in English in Turn 11 and Aonghas answers this in English in

Turn 12. Màiri then comments on Susan in English before Nana shifts the topic back to Susan's arm. Nana's utterance in Turn 14 is directed at Maggie as evidenced by her use of *a ghaoil* ('love,' which is the vocative form) and Maggie's minimal response to the question in Turn 15. After this minimal response, Màiri uses Gaelic in Turn 16 in accusing Dave of being the culprit of Susan's broken arm and says this in a teasing, jocular tone, suggesting that she does not really think that Dave broke Susan's arm. However, Aonghas interprets Màiri's accusation differently and clarifies in Turn 17 that it was Polly, Susan's sister, who is to blame. Nana, then asks in Gaelic if Dave was there during the incident; however, Aonghas' next response does not answer Nana's question, but seeks to clarify his earlier statement to Màiri. Nana then tries her question in English, then in Gaelic. This is unsuccessful in garnering a response from Aonghas, as in Turn 21 Aonghas tells Dave to eat another piece of cake. Nana then repeats her question again, clarifying her meaning with *aig an àm* ('at the time'). Aonghas' response in Turn 23 suggests that he has not heard Nana's question.

Looking at the interaction holistically, a larger structure emerges. Turns 1 to 4 seek to elicit information from the third generation; the second generation uses Gaelic for these utterances. However, when Aonghas turns the conversation away from questioning the children and tells an anecdote to the adults, he switches to English. Although it could be argued that the switch to English is motivated by the desire to index facets of the real-world interaction (i.e. that the utterance was originally said in English), Seumas' and Màiri's use of English in the follow up questions and comments to this anecdote, as well as the three sibling's overall preference for English throughout the corpus, suggest otherwise. The focus of the conversation then is turned back to the third generation with Nana's question to Maggie and although Màiri's next statement in Turn 16 could be viewed as a statement to the whole group, it is interpreted as attempting to elicit a response (most likely a protest) from Dave. This is not successful, as Aonghas incorrectly interprets her meaning and responds to her in English. Aonghas then uses Gaelic in addressing Dave in Turn 21 and then turns to English in Turn 23 to respond to Nana's question. This brief interchange exemplifies the dual-linguality of interactions between him and Nana juxtaposed with his use of Gaelic with his own children.

The children's responses in this interaction suggest that not only do the second generation speakers intend for Gaelic to contextualise child-centred talk, but that the children themselves understand that the use of Gaelic signals a child-centred context. In both instances in which the third generation members speak (Turns 8 and 15), their turns are



preceded by Gaelic turns. In Maggie's case, her turn follows Nana's overt marking of child-directed talk; however, in David's case, his turn is preceded by Seumas' question which is not overtly marked for recipient. This further implies that this family regularly uses Gaelic to negotiate frames, which Tannen (1993, p. 59) defines as 'referr[ing] to a definition of what is going on in interaction, without which no utterance (or movement of gesture) could be interpreted.' She illustrates how a doctor uses linguistic and extra-linguistic cues to move between the frames of examining a child (the patient), speaking to the patient's mother, and providing information for the medical students who will be watching this video-taped interaction. It is possible to see the similarity between this Tannen's example of negotiating frames and what is happening in this excerpt from the Birthday Party interaction. Often in these interactions when both adults and children are present, the adults are having a conversation and the children irregularly interject with some tangential remark or are doing something that require disciplining or, as in this case, requires soothing. Adults have at their disposal the use of code-switching to achieve negotiation between the adult-centred frame and the child-centred frame; by changing languages, they are able to manage their talk with the children as well as continue their conversation with the adults. This is not to say that second generation speakers use Gaelic exclusively to contextualise child-centred talk; rather, it is one strategy in a repertoire of strategies, such as exaggerated prosody or elongated intonation, that these speakers appear to have for managing intergenerational interactions

On another level, this language choice may be reflective of the family's over-arching language beliefs that the children should be raised in a Gaelic-speaking household. Because the speech is directed at the children, the adults are perhaps more overtly aware of their language choice and choose Gaelic because ultimately they wish for the children to speak Gaelic. In conceptualising how the family's language beliefs are integral in using Gaelic for child-directed talk, the idea of 'leaders' in conversation is important. In the earlier examples with Seumas and Nana, it was posited that Nana led the child-centred initiative and that Seumas followed this child-centred initiative and used Nana's language choice in creating this child-centred context. In Example 8-15 'Broken Arm,' Aonghas and Nana are the leaders in the child-centred initiative, and Seumas and Màiri join into this initiative, and in doing so, use the language that the leaders are using to reify a child-centred context. On a larger scale, the family's overt beliefs that the children should be spoken to in Gaelic appear clear even to family members (and non-family members) who do not spend a lot of time with the Skye Campbell family. This is exemplified by the following excerpt, taken from 'Evening in Harris,' in which Cailean is visiting Nana and

Peigi at the rental cottage in Harris. Although she is supposed to be in bed, Maggie is very lively and playful throughout the interaction:

**Example 8-16 'Four in the Morning' (Evening in Harris)**

- |    |         |   |
|----|---------|---|
| 1  | Nana    | he went away but he's back on the-<br>he's back on the <u>Saturday</u><br>for the week-end Grover is home (.) til <u>Friday</u><br><i>tha Manus tha Manus a' falbh a-maireach</i><br>Manus is Manus is leaving tomorrow<br>Jonathan Thursday<br>(3.7) (Maggie is singing) |
| 2  | Nana    | mmm-hmm @   |
| 3  | Cailean | @ (.) <i>dè 'n uair a tha?</i><br>what time is (it)?  |
| 4  | Maggie  | four  |
| 5  | Cailean | four  |
| 6  | Nana    | four mmm  |
| 7  | Maggie  | uh-huh <u>four</u>  |
| 8  | Nana    | four <i>dè</i><br>what  |
| 9  | Maggie  | four three  |
| 10 | Cailean | four <i>anns a' mhadainn</i><br>in the morning  |
| 11 | Maggie  | no  |
| 12 | Nana    | <i>ceithir uairean feasgair</i><br>four in the afternoon  |
| 13 | Maggie  | no what's this Nana   |

This excerpt contains the only two instances in the corpus in which Cailean, who is Nana's nephew and Fiona's son, uses Gaelic. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Cailean grew up on the mainland in a home where Gaelic was used, but mostly as an inter-parent language. Since moving to Harris, Cailean says that he sometimes speaks Gaelic but does not always feel comfortable doing so. Given the other examples in this chapter that illustrate other second generation speaker's occasional use of Gaelic co-occurring with talk directed at the third generation, it is not surprising that Cailean's two instances of Gaelic use also coincide with child-directed talk. As well, this example illustrates that questions in Gaelic form an integral part of how the second generation create a child-centred context. Although it is not immediately clear from Nana's Turn 1 in this example, it will also be argued that this example illustrates the concept that use of Gaelic in fostering a child-centred is often led by certain speakers. Both Nana and Peigi, who are argued to be the impetuses in the family's overarching goal of language maintenance, are present in this interaction as a whole, and therefore it is argued that in this particular instance, Cailean is following Nana and Peigi's lead in speaking Gaelic to the children. His use of a common question *dè 'n uair a tha e?* ('what time is it?') perhaps reflects his limited proficiency in Gaelic; he

chooses a stock phrase, as he is perhaps limited in his ability (or confidence) in conversing in Gaelic.<sup>29</sup>

## 8.6 Authoritative Stance

Indexing authority is a key component of parent-child interactions. Parents' displays of authority and the subsequent displays of appropriate behaviour by the children play an important role in successfully socialising children according to appropriate societal norms. As Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik (2007) write in their article titled 'Morality as Family Practice':

The flow of social interactions involving children is embedded with implicit and explicit messages about right and wrong, better and worse, rules, norms, obligations, duties, etiquette, moral reasoning, virtue, character, and other dimensions of how to lead a moral life. (p. 5)

Given the importance of authority in family life, it is not surprising that nearly half (49%) of the turns coded as 'child-centred' (which consist of both Gaelic and Mixed turns) were additionally coded as 'authoritative stance.' In indexing an authoritative stance, caregivers (mainly, Peigi and Aonghas, the children's parents), are negotiating control over the children. In the corpus, there emerged three main ways in which this authority was indexed: commands, disciplining, and commanding with disciplining. 'Commands' took the form of imperatives, and they do not necessarily imply that the children's behaviour was falling short of expectations. Commands simply are a way of seeing that the child attended to a particular task, such as in the following, where Aonghas commands Maggie to put 'that' in the [rubbish] bin:

Aonghas    *cuir sin dhan a' bhin*  
                  put that in the bin

In contrast, utterances were conceptualised as 'disciplining' if the caregivers implied that the children's behaviour was unacceptable. This may take the form of explicitly stating what the child is doing wrong, as seen in the following example, where Peigi points out that David is complaining:

Peigi        *oh tha thu a' gearan*  
                  you're whining/complaining

---

<sup>29</sup> As this is the only instance in which I have ever heard Cailean speak Gaelic, I cannot say this for sure, but this hypothesis is based on comments he made to me about his language abilities and especially his confidence.

Disciplining might also take the form of warnings or questioning the child's behaviour, both exemplified by the following, respectively. Here, Peigi warns David to watch his language, and then later questions what he has said:

Peigi David (.) *cainnt*  
 speech (i.e. 'watch your language')

Peigi *dè thuirt thusa? dè thuirt thu?*  
 what did you say? what did you say?

Additionally, threats of punishment were also used for disciplining; these included threats of going to bed early, going home, or in one case, not receiving a toy because of misbehaviour. This type of disciplining is exemplified in the following, where Maggie is threatened with going home if she does not behave:

Aonghas right *a' dol dhachaigh*  
 going home

Commands can also be used in disciplining, as seen in the following example, where Aonghas commands Maggie to quit complaining and threatens that if she does not ask correctly, she will not get anything. He then commands Maggie to ask politely for a biscuit (she has previously been whining and crying for a biscuit).

Aonghas *sguir do ghearan no chan fhaigh thu càil faighnich-*  
 quit your whining or you won't get anything ask-  
*faighnich ceart I want a biscuit*  
 ask correctly

It is interesting to note that in this example, Aonghas' re-cast of Maggie's request for a biscuit is in English, while Aonghas' surrounding disciplining action has been in Gaelic. There are several possible explanations for this. First, it is possible that his choice is related to Maggie's real-world language choice; in order to ensure that Maggie understands what Aonghas is referring to, he indexes Maggie's real-world choice to speak English here. It is also possible here that Aonghas is using code-switching as a strategy for bringing attention to the utterance.

### 8.6.1 Aonghas' Authoritative Stance

Of Aonghas' child-centred (either Gaelic or Mixed) turns, 14 out of 20 were coded as taking an authoritative stance towards the children, comprising 71% of his total child-centred turns. For Peigi, 81 of the 145 child-centred turns were coded as authoritative stance, comprising 56% of her child-centred turns. Thus, it appears that for both parents, at least half of their use of Gaelic directly to the children occurs in contexts of the adult taking an authoritative stance vis-à-vis the child. Discussion of the parents' authoritative stances is not to suggest that the parents are more controlling than other parents, nor are the children less behaved than other children; rather, as was highlighted by Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik (2007, p. 5) quote, parents' displays of authority are an integral part of the child's socialisation process. Additionally, circumstances of the recordings may have played a role in the high proportion of authoritative stances taken by the parents; the majority of recordings where the parents interacted with the children were made close to the children's bedtime, and thus, a great deal of time is devoted to the often difficult task of making the children go to bed.

The following example highlights Aonghas' use of Gaelic in conjunction with taking an authoritative stance. The excerpt is taken from the end of the Birthday Party interaction; Aonghas is taking David to spend the night at Dolina's (David's grandmother's) house and Aonghas needs to know if David already has pyjamas at Dolina's house. If David does not have pyjamas at Dolina's house, Aonghas will have to go back to Aonghas and Peigi's house to get David's pyjamas. Thus, Aonghas needs an answer from David in order to determine the next course of action. This urgency is further heightened by the fact the road will be closing at 9 o' clock for repairs, and thus, if Aonghas is going to make it to Dolina's house and back without taking the long way around, he needs a prompt answer from David:

#### Example 8-17 'Pyjamas' (Birthday Party)

- |   |         |  |
|---|---------|--|
| 1 | Aonghas | what did you say now Dave? (0.9) Granny got jammies?                 |
| 2 | Màiri   | now the cake's gone  |
| 3 | Nana    | ah the cake's finished that's the birthday over (.) mmm-hmm<br>(0.7) |
| 4 | Màiri   | that's the birthday over   |
| 5 | Nana    | mmm-hmm  |
| 6 | David   | I don't care where it should   |
| 7 | Aonghas | have you got jammies Dave?<br>(0.9)                                  |
| 8 | Màiri   | thanks for the present Cassie  |
| 9 | R       | [[of course]   |

- 10 David [[oh boy] that was rubbish  
 11 Aonghas *A BHEIL AGAMSA RI BHI FAIGHNEACH ORT A-RITHIST* (.)  
 Do I have to ask you again  
*a bheil jammies aig Grannie [dhut*  
 does Grannie have jammies for you?  
 12 David [yes

In this example, Aonghas' first turn begins the questioning sequence. However, the recipient of his question, David, does not respond. The expected place for David's turn is filled by Màiri's remark in Turn 2 that the cake is gone and Nana's near repetition of Màiri's statement in Turn 3. Màiri then repeats the final clause of Nana's previous statement, to which Nana agrees. David then takes a turn, but his utterance appears neither relevant to Aonghas' question nor to Màiri and Nana's conversation. It is presumed that David's comment is referring to the computer game he is playing. In Turn 7, Aonghas then repeats his question in another form, asking if David (not Grannie) has pyjamas. This sequence is almost parallel to the previous sequence in Lines 1-6; in place of David's expected turn, there is conversation between the adults. In this case, it is between Màiri and the researcher; Màiri thanks me, and I respond. David then takes a turn and again, David's utterance in Turn 10 is seemingly unrelated to either Aonghas' question or the exchange between Màiri and me. Aonghas then switches to Gaelic and raises his voice in Turn 11. The first question in Aonghas' turn is rhetorical; its function is solely to reify the disciplinary nature of the utterance. Aonghas then repeats the initial question about the pyjamas; this finally elicits an answer from David, which overlaps with Aonghas' clarification of *dhut* ('for you').

This excerpt highlights not only the use of Gaelic in conjunction with taking an authoritative stance but also in gaining Aonghas' objective: an answer from David. It is also possible to posit that as 71% of Aonghas' Gaelic child-centred talk occurs concurrently with taking an authoritative stance, David understands his Dad's use of Gaelic to index situations of 'real' trouble, so to speak. Monolingually, parents have a number ways to index heightened authoritative stance (for example, using the child's full name), and given Aonghas' propensity for using Gaelic in taking authoritative stances, it is possible to hypothesise that David understands his father's use of Gaelic to be equivalent to the way other parents use the child's full name in signalling 'real trouble,' so to speak. Additionally, this is another example of the contrastive function of code-switching; it clearly marks the utterance as distinct from both Aonghas' previous discourse and the surrounding discourse, all of which is in English. This highlighting is integral to Aonghas' purpose, as part of the problem seems to be that David either has not heard Aonghas or is

too engrossed in the computer game to answer. It also further supports Gardner-Chloros et. al.'s (2000) claim that while a bilingual may draw on a number of different monolingual cues in communicating intended meaning (as seen here with Aonghas' raised voice), it is arguably the use of these cues, plus code-switching, that is most powerful in successfully achieving understanding.

Aonghas' use of English and then switching into Gaelic when he has not made much authoritative progress is also highlighted by the following example. In this excerpt, Aonghas is disciplining Maggie, who is being rather impish and touching the fireplace and annoying her brother, among other things. After addressing a number of issues in terms of Maggie's behaviour, Aonghas instructs Maggie to *bi modhail* ('be polite;' i.e. 'behave yourself'). Maggie in turn asserts that she *is* being '*modhail*' (polite/well-behaved):

**Example 8-18 'Be Polite' (Aonghas' House)**

- |    |                 |  |
|----|-----------------|--|
| 1  | Aonghas         | no you've touched that already and burnt your fingers (.)<br>keep <u>away</u> from it please         |
| 2  | Maggie          | I did yes-   |
| 3  | Aonghas         | =you didn't do that yesterday you were <u>crying</u> (.) keep<br><u>away</u>                         |
| 4  | Maggie<br>(1.5) | Dave   |
| 5  | Aonghas         | what?  |
| 6  | Maggie          | not what I said (.) <u>Dave</u> ((stomps foot)) Dave ((humming<br>2.0))                              |
| 7  | Aonghas         | don't do <u>that</u>   |
| 8  | Maggie          | @ @  |
| 9  | Aonghas         | it's not funny   |
| 10 | Maggie          | yes it is  |
| 11 | Aonghas         | no it's not  |
| 12 | Maggie          | yes it is (0.7) why you looking at me stop looking   |
| 13 | Aonghas         | I'm allowed to look wherever I want  |
| 14 | Maggie<br>(2.8) | Is that David?   |
| 15 | Aonghas         | I'm looking at you because I'm speaking to you (.)<br><i>bi modhail</i><br>be polite (i.e.' behave') |
| 16 | Maggie          | I am <i>modhail</i><br>polite  |
| 17 | Aonghas         | no you're not  |

The disciplining in this excerpt begins in Turn 1, where Aonghas asks Maggie politely not to touch the fireplace. Maggie's incomplete response, however, does not indicate that she intends to heed Aonghas' command. Aonghas then counters Maggie's partial response and repeats the command to 'keep away,' this time without the use of the word 'please.'

Maggie then turns her attention to annoying her brother Dave. In Turn 7, Aonghas commands Maggie to stop whatever she is doing, which is met by Maggie's laughter in Turn 8. Aonghas then critiques Maggie's behaviour, to which a yes-no argument ensues until Turn 12. Maggie then in turn chides her father and issues him a command, which is met with his rebuttal in Turn 13. Maggie then changes the subject by asking a question about a picture Dave has drawn. However, this change of topic is not successful in mitigating the argument, as Aonghas continues to rebut Maggie's previous command. He switches to Gaelic for the disciplining command at the coda of Turn 15. Interestingly, Maggie, who speaks very little Gaelic, partially uses Aonghas' last code choice in her argument by use of the word *modhail* in her utterance. Aonghas then counters Maggie's last statement in English.

Both these excerpts highlight how Aonghas generally uses English when disciplining the children. However, when his disciplining is unsuccessful, he uses a variety of strategies, including code-switching, in obtaining his objective. In Excerpt 8-17 'Pyjamas,' it is clear that the contrastive function of code-switching is integral in gaining Dave's attention, and thus, obtaining Aonghas' objective. In Excerpt 8-18 'Be Polite,' Aonghas also uses English in disciplining Maggie and then switches to Gaelic when it becomes clear that he is not achieving his objective of ensuring that Maggie behaves. Although the argument between him and Maggie continues in this example in English, Aonghas' use of Gaelic still appears to have drawn attention to the utterance. Maggie, after all, repeats the word *modhail*, and it will be discussed in the next chapter how Maggie uses Gaelic in the construction of an argumentative stance, often in opposition to the adults' authoritative stance. She therefore perhaps understands Aonghas' last command as highly authoritative and thus counteracts that with her own use of Gaelic.

In addition to the contrastive function that code-switching serves, Aonghas' language use may reflect other aspects of family life and language, both diachronically and synchronically. When Aonghas was younger, the authoritative stances taken by his parents, Nana and her late husband, would have been taken using Gaelic, almost exclusively, as reported by the family. Harris, Aycicegi and Gleason (2003) found that speakers showed greater physiological responses for reprimands in their L1 than in their L2; even though these Turkish-English bilinguals were 12 by the time they acquired their L2, while Aonghas would have only been three or four when his siblings started using English, it is therefore possible that the Gaelic reprimands Aonghas received during his childhood may



still seem more powerful to him, and thus, he uses them when he becomes extremely frustrated with his own children.

In terms of the possible synchronic explanations for Aonghas' Gaelic use in this context, Aonghas' wife Peigi, with the help of Nana, who can also be considered one of the children's main caretakers, appears to try to foster a Gaelic-only environment with the children. Thus, perhaps Aonghas' use of Gaelic with the children, and especially in disciplining them, is reflective of Aonghas' metalinguistic awareness; Aonghas is speaking directly to the children, and therefore is more aware that Gaelic is the language that 'should' be spoken to the children, a concept which is also mentioned in the discussion of 8-15 'Broken Arm.' Additionally, it is worth mentioning that commands in Gaelic are linguistically simpler than other possible utterances<sup>30</sup>, and although both Peigi and Aonghas are fluent in Gaelic, their diachronic use of the language, and therefore presumably their ease in speaking the language, is not equal to the first generation's use of language. Many of the disciplining forms are stock phrases, such as *sguir dhe* ('cut it out') and use of the word *modhail* ('behaved'); for Aonghas, these could be fossilised from childhood and for Peigi, might be a simple way and convenient way to speak Gaelic to her children as well as discipline them at the same time.

### 8.6.2 Peigi's Authoritative Stance

The previous excerpts have illustrated how Aonghas tends to use Gaelic as a disciplining strategy, and this use of Gaelic tends to appear as a last resort in the disciplining sequence. In contrast, Peigi, who uses more Gaelic in general, tends to use Gaelic more consistently when taking authoritative stances towards the children. In this example, Peigi is trying to get Maggie to go to bed. Maggie, however, is busy re-arranging various items in the room, and is particularly interested in a candle she thinks is made out of jelly. David is already in bed and has caused minimal trouble, and Peigi introduces the idea that Dave will get 'something' for his good behaviour. Maggie then asks if the reward is a toy, as seen below:

#### Example 8-19 'Toy' (Evening in Harris)

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Maggie | will it be a toy?  |
| 2 | Nana   | maybe mmm-hmm  |
| 3 | Peigi  | <i>chan fhaigh <u>thusa</u> chan eil thu modhail gu leòr</i><br>you won't get you're not behaving enough |

<sup>30</sup> Commands consist of the uninflected form of the verb, whereas in most other types of utterances, either use of an inflected verb or the verbal noun would be required.

- thalla 's cuir- na coinneallan air ais right now*  
 go and put the candles back  
 4 Maggie ok  
 (2.8)
- 5 Nana *sin a-nise a::ch nighean laghach*  
 that's it so good girl  
*cuir a-nise an cloc air ais*  
 put the clock back now  
*cuir air-ais an cloc cuid[[eachd]*  
 put the clock back too
- 6 Peigi *[[suidh] sìos*  
 sit down
- 7 Nana *sin thu nighean mhath*  
 that's you good girl
- 8 Maggie what is the middle of it
- 9 Nana *chan eil fhios a'm in the middle of it*  
 I don't know
- 10 Maggie in the middle
- 11 Nana *sin a-nise*  
 that's it now  
*^o:h nach eil thu dòigheil oh nach eil thu glan*  
 aren't you organised aren't you tidy  
 [[@@@@@]
- 12 Peigi *[[right tha sin gu leòr a-niste]*  
 that's enough now
- 13 Maggie no it's not
- 14 Peigi ok *ceart gu leòr chan fhaigh thu toy a-màireach*  
 fine you won't get a toy tomorrow
- 15 Maggie yes I am

This excerpt begins with Maggie's question to what can be considered Peigi's pre-threat; Peigi has introduced the idea that Dave will get 'something' tomorrow. The disciplining threat is then carried out in Turn 3, as Peigi says that Maggie will not get 'something' because she is not behaving properly. Peigi then commands Maggie to put the candle back, switching to English in saying 'right now' in the coda of her utterance. Maggie then obeys Peigi's directive. First, she agrees to accomplishing the task in Turn 4, and, as evidenced by Nana's praise in Turn 5, accomplishes the task. Nana then asks Maggie to put the clock back as well, and then Peigi directs Maggie to sit down, after which Nana praises Maggie. Maggie then draws Nana's attention to the candle again, which has some sort of jelly-like centre; periodically during this interaction, Maggie can be heard shouting the word 'jelly!' Nana then begins her response in Turn 9 to Maggie's question by using Gaelic, then switches to English in repeating Maggie's speech. After Maggie's repetition of the phrase 'in the middle of it,' Nana again praises Maggie in Turn 11; Maggie is moving things in the room, and Nana implies that Maggie is 'organising' them. However, Maggie's 'organising' does not meet with Peigi's approval, who tells Maggie, essentially, to stop it in Turn 12. This is then met with opposition from Maggie in Line 13. Her

argumentative stance is then met by Peigi's disciplining threat in Turn 14, to which Maggie further argues against.

In terms of language use, both caretakers use Gaelic almost exclusively with Maggie, which differs from Aonghas' use of Gaelic with the children. The high incidence of Gaelic usage is not surprising, as Nana is a first generation speaker and Peigi is the highest Gaelic user in the second generation. Furthermore, Peigi's use of Gaelic with Maggie is posited to be related to the prestige of Gaelic in Peigi's view; whereas Nana's children grew up in a time where speaking Gaelic was undesirable, Peigi voluntarily learned Gaelic in an institutional environment where speaking 'good' Gaelic was very prestigious. Smith and Durham (2007) find that caregivers tend to use the standard accent as opposed to the local Buckie dialect when taking an authoritative stance towards the children, and Peigi's language use suggests that she too uses the prestige language in disciplining her children. Although in the wider context of Scotland and even Skye, Gaelic is of course the minority language, in a more localised modern context, and especially with regards to the wider Gaelic learner community, Gaelic is the prestige language. Thus, Peigi's use of Gaelic in taking an authoritative stance towards her children is not only reflective of Gaelic's position as the prestige language of the family, but in and of itself creates this micro-locally-situated prestige.

It is also interesting to note that in this example, Maggie appears to adhere to Peigi's request in Turn 3 after Peigi code-switches to English in saying 'right now' at the coda to her turn. This appears similar to Aonghas' use of Gaelic in the coda to his Turn 15 in Example 8-18 'Behave Yourself.' However, in Peigi's case, this amplificatory directive does not appear to occur as a last-resort strategy for getting Maggie to behave. Rather, it simply brings attention to the utterance, and in looking at the excerpt as a whole, it is clear that Peigi uses Gaelic with occasional emphatic use of English discourse markers ('right' in Turn 12, 'ok' in Turn 14) in creating an authoritative stance vis-à-vis Maggie. Therefore, the instance of 'right now' is not seen as a switch to English for heightened authoritative stance, but rather, as a general use of code-switching in bringing attention to an utterance.

## 8.7 Conclusion

Analysis of the second generation adds to the complexity of a picture of language choice within a bilingual family. Just as the second generation reflects language shift in progress,

it also shows evidence of language maintenance efforts. In terms of overall language use, the use of English exceeds the amount of Gaelic spoken; intragenerational Gaelic language use is weak, if almost non-existent among the second generation, and intergenerational language use with first generation members is also weak, as illustrated by the discussion of dual-lingual conversations dyads between first and second generations, with the exception of Peigi.

This chapter focused mainly on the Campbell siblings and Peigi; two speakers, Ùistean and Karen, were included but not discussed because of the scarce amount of data they contributed to the corpus. The decision to still include them in an overall discussion about the second generation is because they contribute to a larger picture of language shift in the community. Karen, after all, hardly speaks any Gaelic at all, even though her father Tormod is a first generation speaker and uses Gaelic in his daily life, such as in his conversations with Nana.

Despite the language shift within the second generation, there is an overarching sense of language maintenance as well. Peigi actively uses Gaelic with first generation speakers, such as her mother and Nana, as well as her own children. It is argued that Peigi is a leader in perpetuating the belief that Gaelic should be spoken to the children and that this belief plays an integral role in the few instances in which the second generation members do use Gaelic. It is argued that the family uses Gaelic to negotiate child-centred contexts and the Gaelic is an integral part of how Aonghas and Peigi take authoritative stances towards the children. It is posited that code-switching is used partly as a strategy for gaining the child's attention and therefore achieving the parental goal of making the child behave.

Although the second generation members do code-switch, not only is their use of Gaelic more limited than the first-generation's use, but their code-switching is more uni-dimensional as well. Code-switching is determined by frames, such as child-directed talk, and does not usually involve the complex intra-turn code-switching moves that the first generation members employ. This suggests not only that the second generation are less bilingual than the first generation, but that they operate in a more monolingual framework; even though two languages are available to them, the use of the two is rather monolithic when compared to the first generation.

The analysis of the second generation juxtaposed with the first generation yields a very similar picture to Li Wei's (1994) important observation that 'we' and 'they' codes do not

necessarily follow community-based lines, but may be demarcated within a single community in terms of generation, with the minority language as the 'we' code for the first generation and the majority language as the 'we' code for the second generation, an observation which further bears resemblance to Fishman's three-generational model of language shift. Although in general the first and second generation in this study pattern along these lines, the use of Gaelic in 'referential rudeness' and Peigi's overall use of Gaelic suggest that even within one generation within one family, the 'we'/'they' distinction remains complex. It was posited that the use of Gaelic for referential rudeness was in reifying an insider, 'us' versus 'them' context. For Peigi, her frequent use of her reclaimed heritage language and her comments about her language use suggest that for her, Gaelic is a 'we' code and the 'we' means a local, language-based identity, not a generational identity. Thus, within this microcosm of speakers, the relationship between code and macro associations remains a complex question.

## 9 The Third Generation

### Chapter Overview

This chapter discusses the language use of the two third generation members, Maggie (3;4) and David (7;11). The chapter begins by briefly outlining some of the key issues in discussing bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) before looking at Maggie's use of Gaelic from a lexical perspective. It then discusses excerpts which evidence the children's awareness and attitudes towards the two languages used in their household. Because the third generation, like the second generation, evidence a low amount of Gaelic usage overall, the chapter centres on identifying the particular contexts in which the third generation speakers *do* use Gaelic and postulates reasons for the use of Gaelic in these particular contexts. Examining the particular contexts begins with looking at the use of Gaelic as part of 'storytime,' then moves on to the main focus of the chapter, which is the children's 'strategic' use of Gaelic. It identifies three main facets of the use of Gaelic as a strategy: use of Gaelic in gaining attention, making appeals, and in formulating an argumentative stance. It postulates that the association with these particular communicative activities are primarily influenced by the adults' language use and beliefs. The chapter then examines an interaction in which Maggie uses a relatively large amount of Gaelic on the phone and analyses this increased use of Gaelic as Maggie's way of indexing that she is 'doing being Nana.' The chapter concludes by postulating that the children's use of Gaelic is an illustration of Jørgensen's (2003) term 'linguaging:' they are trying out different varieties in different contexts, and as they are being raised in a bilingual environment, they are learning and experimenting with the two codes that are used in this environment.

### 9.1 Introduction

As has been seen in the previous chapters, the bilinguality of the different family members varies, as does the the degree to which and the various ways the two languages are used, depending on the interaction and the participant constellations present in the interaction. It is clear, however, that Maggie and David are being raised in an environment that can be classified as 'bilingual,' and therefore, the term bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA), a term that was briefly introduced in Chapter 2, will be adopted here in looking at Maggie and David's language use. De Houwer (2009, p. 2) defines BFLA, a term she attributes to both Swain (1976) and Meisel (1989), as 'the development of language in young children who hear two languages spoken to them from birth.' One of the main

questions of BFLA research is the extent to which the child(ren) become bilingual and the various reasons why some BFLA children may become more active bilinguals than others. Arguably one of the first and most famous BFLA studies is Leopold's (1939 [1970]) study of his daughter Hildegard's English-German development; other monograph-length studies such as Fantini's (1985) study of a Spanish-English child, De Houwer's (1990) Dutch-English child, Döpke's (1992) German-English children and Lanza's (1997) Norwegian-English child have revealed the complex dimensions of looking at families in which one-parent one-language is the usual strategy for parent-child interactions. A large component of these studies usually involves looking at the child's development from a linguistic perspective, which usually centres on various lexical items and grammatical/syntactic structures the child shows competence in using. A further point of interest is the degree to which contact phenomena, such as lexical mixing or code-switching, is evidenced in the child's language use.

In her sociolinguistic approach to BFLA, and in looking at language mixing in particular, Lanza (1997) emphasises the importance of a language socialisation perspective in studying child bilingualism. She draws on the work of Schiefflin and Ochs (1984; 1986), who maintain (1984, p. 317) that 'the process of acquiring language must be understood as the process of integrating code knowledge with sociocultural knowledge.' This article critiques earlier work that treats acquisition and socialisation as separate processes; by examining three different cultures, Schiefflin and Ochs demonstrate that child language acquisition is as much a process of acquiring appropriate usage norms as it is about acquiring the grammar of a language. They maintain that children acquire sociocultural norms and the appropriateness of certain forms in concert with acquiring the language itself. For example, Sachs and Devin (1976) find that children as young as 3;9 use the 'motherese' register when talking to children younger than themselves but not to peers or adults. Smith, Durham and Fortune (2007) argue that the way children in Buckie use the standard dialect in conjunction with an authoritative stance is reflective of the wider sociocultural norms concerning the relative statuses of the local Buckie dialect and standard Scottish English. In terms of bilingual language socialisation, considering how a child differentiates his or her two languages inherently involves examining how the child uses the appropriate language with the appropriate interlocutor (i.e. using English with a monolingual English speaker), which in and of itself is evidence that a child is acquiring context-appropriate knowledge along with language. It is generally agreed that children can differentiate between their two languages between the ages of 2;0-3;0 (Fantini, 1985; de Houwer, 1990; Genessee, Nicoladis, and Paradis, 1995; Paradis and Genessee 1996;

Lanza, 1997; Deuchar and Quay, 1999). Although code-mixing has sometimes been viewed as an indication that the child lacks the ability to differentiate between codes, Genessee et al. (1995) and Lanza (1997) argue that mixing does not indicate a lack of differentiation; Lanza (1997, p. 67) even contends that ‘the child’s bilingual awareness may then actually be manifested in language mixing — in contexts in which this mixing is appropriate.’ Although code-switching in very young children has not been extensively studied, Lanvers (2001) shows that the German-English bilinguals in her study have developed the ability to code-switch for effect by the age of 1;6, and de Houwer (1990, p. 339) discusses how code-switching provides evidence of her Dutch-English child’s bilinguality in the same way that code-switching is evidence of balanced bilingualism in adults.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Cromdal’s (2001; 2004) work on children in an English language school in Sweden shows that the young speakers use code-switching for a variety of functions, such as negotiating entry into play activities as well as signalling heightened acts of affective stance, particularly when arguments arise. Zentella’s (1990) work also demonstrates children’s productivity in code-switching, as she shows that children often code-switch in conjunction with making appeals. In Paugh’s (2005) study of children in Dominica, she finds that despite being actively discouraged from using Patwa, a French-based creole, at home and in school, children code-switch between English and Patwa in peer-only play. The code-switching, however, is socially constrained in terms of the children’s make-believe worlds; in role-playing, English is used when the children enact roles of prestige or authority, such as a teacher or parent. Patwa is used when the children enact roles of rural males, such as fieldworkers or bus drivers, as seen in an example (p. 74) of three boys under the age of three using Patwa in playing ‘bus driver and passengers.’ Patwa is also often used to indicate negative affect, and this means that sometimes code-switching occurs when enacting the ‘authority’ roles, i.e. when a child enacting the role of teacher switches to Patwa in using strong disciplinary measures against her ‘pupils,’ a practice that is not uncommon among the children’s actual teachers. Thus, it is clear to see that despite being actively discouraged to use the language, the children’s language use in play reflects the sociocultural realities in this community and indicates that they use the two codes as part of their ‘doing being adults.’

As turns that were coded as Gaelic or Mixed accounted for 18% of Maggie’s turns in total), but only 4% of David’s turns (10 turns in total, exactly half of which were coded as ‘Gaelic’ and the other half of which were coded as ‘Mixed’), Maggie will be the primary



focus of the chapter. The chapter begins in a more traditional BFLA vein by examining the various Gaelic words that Maggie uses, then examines evidence from the corpus of both children's language attitudes. It then moves on to taking a much more language socialisation-oriented approach to looking how the children's use of Gaelic relates to particular contexts, and focuses in particular on their use of Gaelic as a strategy to gain what they want.

## 9.2 Use of Gaelic from a Lexical Perspective

In examining Maggie's overall use of Gaelic, it appears that many of the turns coded as either Gaelic or Mixed consist of single lexical items occurring as the single element in the turn (i.e. a one-word utterance in Gaelic) or a single lexical item in an otherwise English utterance. Table 9-1 lists Maggie's use of Gaelic single lexical items; the words and their frequency are listed alphabetically and are grouped according to word class. Following Lanza (1997) and Deuchar and Quay (1999), the decision was made to base the frequency of words on the turn; for example, for a few words, namely, *brèagha*, *cas*, *casan*, *ròpa*, Maggie repeated them playfully several times in one turn. Thus, the Nvivo word frequency count included all instances of the word, but as the overall framework for the project has been the 'turn,' the word was only counted once per turn, as it was felt that this gives a more accurate description of Maggie's lexical mixing. The table includes only single lexical items of nouns/pronouns, question words, adjectives, and verbs, which amount to usage in 91 turns overall. Examples of turns that include more complex usages of Gaelic will be discussed in later excerpts in the chapter.

The following chart also specifies whether or not the word can be found in the adults' preceding utterance, a distinction also made in Deuchar and Quay (1999) in looking at whether or not mixes were 'supplied' by an adult. In all cases, the relationship between Maggie's use of the word and the adult's prior use of the word was immediately clear in the corpus; in most cases, the word was found in the adults' turn immediately preceding Maggie's utterance, and in a few cases, within the adult's two preceding turns in relation to Maggie's use of the word.

Table 9-1 Maggie's Lexical Use of Gaelic by Word Class

Word Class	Word	Turns with Word	Translation	Instances where word is found in adult's preceding utterance
<b>Nouns/Pronouns</b>				
	<i>bainne</i>	2	milk	
	<i>beul</i>	1	mouth	1
	<i>Beurla</i>	5	English	
	<i>bramag</i>	2	fart	
	<i>briogais</i>	1	trousers	1
	<i>cas</i>	1	leg	1
	<i>casan</i>	2	legs	1
	<i>clachan</i>	1	stones	
	<i>cluasag</i>	1	pillow	1
	<i>corragan</i>	2	fingers	1
	<i>doras</i>	5	door	
	<i>eaglais</i>	1	church	
	<i>feusag</i>	1	beard	
	<i>froca</i>	1	dress	1
	<i>gealach</i>	1	moon	
	<i>làmhnan</i>	1	hands	
	<i>mathan</i>	1	bear	1
	<i>mise</i>	1	I (emphatic form)	
	<i>ròpa</i>	4	rope	
	<i>seacaid</i>	3	jacket	
	<i>seanair</i>	2	grandfather	
	<i>spaid</i>	2	spade (plastic shovel)	
	<i>sùil</i>	1	eye	1
	<i>tòn</i>	1	butt	
<i>Total</i>	24	43		9
<b>Question Words</b>				
	<i>carson</i>	11	why	1
	<i>cò</i>	2	who	
	<i>dè</i>	7	what	
<i>Total</i>	3	20		1
<b>Adjectives</b>				
	<i>brèagha</i>	3	pretty	1
	<i>briste</i>	1	broken	1
	<i>dorcha</i>	1	dark	1
	<i>dùinte</i>	2	closed	
	<i>fiadhaich</i>	1	angry	
	<i>fliuch</i>	1	wet	1
	<i>fuar</i>	1	cold	
	<i>(gu) math</i>	1	good/well	
	<i>modhail</i>	1	polite	1

	<i>sgìth</i>	1	tired	1
	<i>teth</i>	2	hot	
	<i>tioram</i>	4	dry	
	<i>trang</i>	1	busy	1
	<i>aon</i>	1	one	
<b>Total</b>	14	21		7
<b>Verbs</b>				
	<i>dùin</i>	5	close	2
	<i>fònadh</i>	1	phoning	1
	<i>sgriobh</i>	1	write	
<b>Total</b>	3	6		3
<b>Total</b>	44	91		20

From the table, it is evident that Maggie uses 42 different Gaelic lexical items in the corpus. Of the 91 turns in which a Gaelic lexical item is used, in 20 cases the word was used by an adult in a prior utterance, meaning about 22% of the utterances appear to have been ‘supplied’ by the adult. The remaining 78% of the turns using Gaelic lexical items appear to be spontaneous usages. The most frequently-occurring item was *carson* (‘why’), which occurred 11 times. The second most frequently-occurring item was also a question word, in this case, *dè* (‘what’), which occurred 7 times. Proportionally-speaking, question words had the greatest use when considering that use of the three question words accounted for 22% of total turns in which a Gaelic lexical item was used. In only one instance was the question word ‘supplied’ by an adult.

Nouns account for the largest proportion of turns in which a Gaelic lexical item was used, comprising almost half (47%) of the turns. Of the nouns, 21% were used in the adult’s previous turn. Four of the words (*doras*, *ròpa*, *seacaid*, *spaid*) are fairly homophonous with their English equivalents; it could be further argued that *froca*, which was used in Nana’s previous turn, could also be considered homophonous (cf. English ‘frock’). When the words are integrated into otherwise English utterances, they tend to remain in their uninflected forms; in other words, the English content of the utterance does not affect the Gaelic morphology. For example, Maggie says ‘my *casan*’ (‘legs’); in Gaelic, a preceding possessive pronoun would cause lenition (i.e. *mo chasan*). To delve into this matter further would fall under the remit of a more linguistic approach to language mixing, but it is possibly a moot point because Maggie perhaps has not acquired lenition. In another instance, she says *aon feusag* (‘one beard’); the following noun usually lenites after *aon*, but Maggie clearly does not lenite the noun.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that ‘f’ is one of the consonants that adult speakers regularly fail to lenite.

Maggie's use of Gaelic includes the use of fourteen different adjectives, which comprise 23% of the lexical turns. 33% of the total adjective uses were supplied by the adults. Within the adjective category exist two 'opposites' pairs: *tioram/fliuch* ('dry/wet') and *teth/fuar* ('hot/cold'). Maggie uses three verbs in Gaelic; '*fònadh*' is supplied in Nana's preceding utterance and has the appropriate morphology. The two others, *sgriobh* ('write') and *dùin*, ('close') occur in English utterances and are used in their bare forms in place of the English equivalent. It is interesting to note that when Maggie uses the word *dùin* ('close'), she uses this in conjunction with *doras* ('door') as she repeatedly says 'I'm going to *dùin* the *doras*', which will be looked at in further detail in Example 9-11.

Besides the lexical items listed in Table 9.1, Maggie also evidences that she can use Gaelic syntactical structures. The most frequently occurring Gaelic syntactical structure is the periphrastic *aig* ('at') construction to show possession, which occurs six times in the corpus. For example, Maggie says *taigh aig Nana* (literally, 'house at Nana,' meaning Nana's house) twice, and uses the construction four other times in denoting things that are hers (i.e. *briogais aig Maggie*, 'Maggie's trousers').<sup>32</sup> She also once uses the prepositional pronoun, and in this case, the emphatic form of the first person prepositional pronoun, in clarifying that she is talking about her mommy: 'mommy *agamsa*' (*my* mommy). Maggie also uses a Gaelic syntactical structure when clarifying that she took something from the shed (*às an shed* 'out of the shed'). She further demonstrates that she can use the copula past tense (*bha*) as well as negate it in the present tense (*chan eil*), as well as negate the verb 'to see' (*chan fhaca*).<sup>33</sup> She can also use the question form of the copula, as she says *a bheil?* ('is it?') and also *cà' bheil iad?* ('where are they?') Most of these examples, along with Maggie's use of deictics (*seo*, in this case) and conjunctions (in this case, *agus* 'and'), will be discussed in the following sections.

### 9.3 Language Attitudes

The excerpts in this section demonstrate instances in which Maggie and David overtly express their language attitudes; additionally, as will be seen in the following discussion, the excerpts also evidence the children's passive bilinguality. The first excerpt is taken

<sup>32</sup> In all cases, Maggie does not use the definite article, which is normally expected in such constructions. It will be seen in the later examples that Nana often omits the definite article when using this construction with Maggie, and this is analysed as one of ways Nana uses a child register with Maggie.

<sup>33</sup> The reason these verbs are listed here and not in Table 9.1 is that they form more syntactically-complete units and as will be seen in the following examples, are more indicative of all-Gaelic usage rather than insertion of a Gaelic element into an otherwise English structure.

from the ‘Sitting Room,’ which will be discussed in several examples throughout the chapter. In this particular excerpt, Maggie asks Nana to read her a book, *Little Teddy Left Behind* by Anne Mangan and Joanne Moss. Nana, as I have observed her do on several other occasions, asks Maggie what language she would like the book read in. In this excerpt, Maggie asserts that she wants the story read to her in English:

**Example 9-1 ‘I like *Beurla*’ (Sitting Room)**

- |    |        |  |
|----|--------|--|
| 1  | Nana   | <i>cò?</i><br>who?   |
| 2  | Maggie | nobody   |
| 3  | Nana   | hmm?=<br>=nobody (.) there read <u>that</u> book   |
| 4  | Maggie |  |
| 5  | Nana   | <i>dè fear?</i><br>which one   |
| 6  | Maggie | <u>that</u> one.   |
| 7  | Nana   | <i>ann a’ Ghàidhlig</i><br>in Gaelic   |
| 8  | Maggie | yes  |
| 9  | Nana   | <i>oh /glè mhath</i><br>very good  |
| 10 | Maggie | no <i>B- B[ʌ]rla</i><br>English  |
| 11 | Nana   | eh?  |
| 12 | Maggie | <i>B[ʌ]rla</i><br>English  |
| 13 | Nana   | <i>Beurla?</i><br>English?   |
| 14 | Maggie | yes  |
| 15 | Nana   | <i>carson?</i><br>why  |
| 16 | Maggie | I ↑like <i>B[ʌ]rla</i> (.) I don’t like (.) <i>Gàidhlig</i> <sup>34</sup> (.)<br>English<br>can you read it? |
| 17 | Seumas | (( repressed)) laughter (0.7)  |
| 18 | Maggie | ((?))  |
| 19 | Seumas | you don’t like <i>Gàidhlig</i> ?   |
| 20 | Maggie | <b>WH</b> < aye > <b>WH</b>  |
| 21 | Nana   | <i>carson?</i><br>why?   |
| 22 | Maggie | ’cause I like <i>B[ʌ]rla</i> (.) so what?<br>English   |
| 23 | (10.3) | (Seumas and Nana trying not to laugh)  |
|    | Maggie | so what? so what? so what?   |

<sup>34</sup> Although this word is italicised, it should be emphasised that Maggie is not using the Gaelic as opposed to English word for ‘Gaelic,’ like she does in using *Beurla* for English. *Gàidhlig* [galIk] is simply what the language is called in speaking either English or Gaelic.

- 24 Seumas you don't like *Gàidhlig*?
- 25 Maggie d- no- o
- 26 Seumas no?
- 28 Maggie so what? so what Nana?
- 29 Nana *bheir mise so what ort*  
I'll give you a 'so what'
- 30 Maggie I want to read *B[ʌ]rla*
- 31 Seumas a:h *leugh ann a' Ghàidhlig e Nana*  
read it in Gaelic
- 32 Maggie no=
- 33 Nana =*leughaidh Nana ann a' Gàidhlig iad*  
Nana will read them in Gaelic
- 34 Maggie no (.) I to want ((to leave it))
- 35 Nana o:::h (.) *dhùì:\sg Teddy Beag 's thòisich e air sreothart/aich.*  
Little Teddy woke up and he started to sneeze

This excerpt provides an illustrative example of Maggie's passive bilingualism; Maggie clearly understands what Nana is saying, as Maggie's English replies to Nana's Gaelic turns form adjacency pairs. This conversation looks very similar, if not identical, to the dual-lingual conversations discussed in Section 8.2. In addition to demonstrating Maggie's passive bilingualism, this excerpt also shows that Maggie is able to differentiate between the two languages used in her household. It further evidences that she has developed attitudes to her two languages, as seen from her insistence that the book is read to her in English. Even more indicative of her language attitudes is the overt metalinguistic comment, 'I like B[ʌ]rla I don't like *Gàidhlig*' in Turn 16 and her reifications of this statement in Turns 20, 22, and 25. Interestingly, Maggie uses the Gaelic word 'B[ʌ]rla' in reference to the English language, which seems ironic given that she is stating her dispreference for Gaelic. I have transcribed this word as 'B[ʌ]rla' because Maggie does not employ the convention of pronouncing the 'eu' in this word as the diphthong [ia], which is the more standard form and also the form used by her caregivers. This instance of using the word '*Beurla*' in reference to the English language here is consistent with Maggie's use of the word throughout the corpus; in only one instance does she use the word 'English,' and has the very non-target-like pronunciation of [ʌ]nglish. Both Nana and Peigi confirmed to me that Maggie says '*Beurla*' instead of 'English.' A possible explanation for this is that Maggie's exposure to metalinguistic discussions is primarily through Nana and Peigi, both of whom use Gaelic fairly consistently, and would use the word '*Beurla*.' Additionally, there are several instances in the corpus where either Nana or Peigi play translation games with Maggie, and either Nana or Peigi will ask *dè Bheurla a th' air* ('what's the English of') a particular word.

This example also further illustrates the argument put forward in the last chapter that the family believes that the children should be raised as Gaelic speakers. Nana's offer to read the story in Gaelic while the story is in English is, from my observations, a routine part of storytime, and I have also observed Màiri who, as mentioned in Chapters 5 and 8, rarely uses Gaelic, participate in this ritual offering to read the story in Gaelic. This component of storytime in the Campbell family strengthens the argument put forth in Chapter 8 that Gaelic is used to negotiate a child-centred context and is also reflective of efforts to foster a Gaelic environment in the home, which, as also mentioned in Chapter 8, is mostly led by Nana and Peigi. In this particular excerpt, Seumas' insistence in Turn 31 that the story be read in Gaelic and his language choice for this insistent utterance further is analysed as being an indication of the family's language beliefs concerning the third generation and Gaelic. Additionally, in this particular instance, the Observer's Paradox seems to play a role in his language choice. Although in most cases the Observer's Paradox was avoided as much as possible during the recordings, in this particular instance, the reality of the Observer's Paradox works to the advantage of the analysis. Here, it is the concept of the 'outside world,' whether it is me as the researcher or the recording that will result in a physical record of this family's social life, that appears to motivate Seumas' insistence that the story should be read in Gaelic, which suggests that he wishes a 'Gaelic' image to be presented to the 'outside,' whatever that outside may be. This hypothesis also explains Nana and Seumas' suppressed laughter in Turn 23; it is not that Maggie's declaration of not liking Gaelic is necessarily funny, but it is amusing given that the recording is being made for a project in the Department of Celtic and Gaelic at the University of Glasgow.

Although Maggie's preference for English and dislike of Gaelic seem fairly transparent in this excerpt, in the following excerpt, she asserts that she harbours favourable attitudes towards the language. This claim is set up in opposition to her brother's David's display of dispreference for Gaelic, as seen below:

**Example 9-2 'David don't like Gàidhlig' (Pirates)**

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Maggie | David don't like <i>Gàidhlig</i>   |
| 2 | Nana   | <u>David</u> don't like <i>Gàidhlig</i> ?  |
| 3 | Dave   | yeah no I don't like <i>Gàidhlig</i>   |
| 4 | Nana   | <i>carson a ghaoil?</i> you don't?<br>why love?                                  |
| 5 | R      | <i>carson?</i><br>why?   |
| 6 | Nana   | <i>carson nach toil leat Gàidhlig?</i> =<br>why don't you like <i>Gàidhlig</i> ? |
| 7 | Dave   | =cause   |
| 8 | Nana   | eh?  |





## 9.4 Gaelic and Storytime

In Example 9-1, it was seen that although Maggie argued that the story should be read in English, Nana started reading the story in Gaelic. The story continues in Gaelic; this does not seem to bother Maggie anymore, and the following examples show how Maggie uses Gaelic to participate in the storytelling process. In this excerpt, Nana narrates how the protagonist Little Teddy is put in the washing machine. Nana uses hand motions in illustrating that Little Teddy is going around in the washing machine, and Maggie joins Nana in making these motions in Turn 2:

### Example 9-3 'Teddy in the Washing Machine' (Sitting Room)

- 1 Nana .... oh *bha e uamhasach anns a' washing machine.*  
it was terrible in the  
*bha Teddy a' dol timcheall (.) 's timcheall (.) 's*  
Teddy was going around and around
- 2 Maggie *[[ timcheall timcheall]] timcheall timcheall [[timcheall]]*  
around around around around around
- 3 Nana *[[timcheall timcheal]] [[ timcheall]]*  
around around around  
*chaidh a nighe 's chaidh a spionadh (.)*  
he was washed and spun  
*tioram (.) oh bha ag ro::lich 's ag ro::lich.*  
dry it was rolling and rolling  
*ach cha tàinig dui:\ne ga thogail (.)*  
but no one got him out  
*thòisich an uair sin a' dol timcheall nas luaithe*  
He started then to go faster  
*'s nas luaithe 's nas luaithe (.)*  
and faster and faster  
*gus an robh luaithean na cheann mu /dheireadh thall=*  
until he was dizzy finally
- 4 Maggie =he's dirty
- 5 Nana */mu dheireadh thall*  
finally
- 6 Maggie he's dirty Nana
- 7 Nana *chan eil e nise (.)*  
he's not now  
*tha e glan (.)*  
he is clean  
*chaidh a nighe's a spionadh tioram (.)*  
he was washed and spun dry  
*mu dheireadh thall stad a' mhachine*  
finally the machine stopped  
*agus bha Teddy na /shìneadh ann a shiud*  
and Teddy was stretched out there  
*am measg na h-aodaich fliuch.*  
among the wet clothes  
*dè bha còmhla ris a's a' washing machine?*  
what was with him in the washing machine?

- seall dè tha siud*  
Look what's there
- 8 Maggie um (.) *fliuch*  
wet
- 9 Nana *dè tha siud?* (.) eh?  
what's that?
- 10 Maggie clo[f]
- 11 Nana clo[f]?
- 12 Nana *dè tha siud?*  
what's that?
- 13 Maggie clo[f] again

It is clear from this excerpt that Nana intends for this story to be a collaborative process, and actively encourages Maggie's participation in the story through use of direct questions as well as hand movements. It is quite possible that part of the motivation for creating this collaborative process is due to the teaching potential of story participation, as Boyd and Naucmér (2001, p. 141-2) demonstrate with their example of a Swedish pre-school teacher asking what might be considered 'excessive' questions of the child. It is also clear that Nana intends for this collaborative process to be on her terms, not Maggie's, as evidenced in Turn 5 by her ignoring Maggie's comment of 'he's dirty' in Turn 4. Maggie, however, has very different ideas about the collaborative nature of the storytelling process being on Nana's terms; although only seen in this example from Maggie's persistence with 'he's dirty' in Turns 4 and 6, throughout the storytelling process, Maggie often tries to gain the floor, and persists until Nana acknowledges her utterances.

In the first instance where Maggie uses Gaelic, she does so in concert with moving her hands in circles to illustrate the word '*timcheall*,' a motion that Nana has initiated. The movement is playful, and Maggie eagerly joins in this playful aspect of the storytelling process. In the second instance, Maggie uses Gaelic in answering Nana's direct question of '*dè bha còmhla ris a's a' washing machine*' ('what was with him in the washing machine?') in Turn 7. The word *fliuch* has appeared in Nana's previous utterance, and Maggie seems to think that this word, and using Gaelic, is the appropriate response to Nana's question. However, this response does not seem to be the preferred response, as Nana's questioning continues; Maggie's next response, in English, does not seem to be the preferred response either, and afterwards Nana simply continues the story. From these two instances, it appears that Maggie is being encouraged to participate in the storytelling, and that she perhaps partially perceives Gaelic to be the appropriate code to participate in the storytelling process. This is further illustrated in 9.4, where Maggie spontaneously produces the word '*gealach*' ('moon') in answer to Nana's question:

**Example 9-4 ‘Moon’ (Sitting Room)**

- 1 Nana ... *dè tha shuas an seo?*  
what’s up here?
- 2 Maggie *gealach*  
moon
- 3 Nana *gealach*  
moon

Nana has not used the word ‘*gealach*’ in her previous utterance, and it is evident from Nana’s response in Turn 3 that Maggie’s spontaneous production of the word ‘*gealach*’ is the preferred response, both in content and language. Here, Nana is successful in garnering a Gaelic answer, and it possible that her success is due in part to her, and the rest of the family’s, creation and reification of the storytelling environment as a Gaelic-language environment.

These excerpts from the reading of ‘Little Teddy Left Behind’ have demonstrated Maggie’s passive bilinguality as well as instances in which she temporarily becomes more of an ‘on-stage’ (cf. Auer, 1984) bilingual. They further reveal that although Maggie initially wanted the story read to her in English, she periodically uses Gaelic in engaging in the storytelling process, which perhaps suggests that Maggie perceives Gaelic as having an integral role in this ritualised event. Her participation using Gaelic also illustrates the ambiguity of her language attitudes as mentioned in the discussion following Example 9-2 ‘David don’t like *Gàidhlig*.’

## 9.5 Gaelic as a Strategy

### 9.5.1 Introduction

One of the observations made during the recording process was that the children appeared to be using Gaelic as a strategy for gaining ‘something,’ whether it was attention or a physical object, such as milk. Gaelic was also observed to be a strategy for opposing an adult’s authoritative stance. This has already been seen in Example 8-18, where Maggie countered Aonghas’ command of *bi modhail* (‘be polite’) with the statement ‘I am *modhail*.’ Given the arguments put forth in the previous chapters that code-switching is often used as a means of drawing attention to a particular utterance, as well as Chapter 8’s demonstration of Gaelic being used in conjunction with the adults’ creation of an authoritative stance, it is not surprising that the children’s language use parallels these tendencies. The following examples will illustrate this argument, and will begin by examining the use of Gaelic as a strategy for gaining attention and objects of appeal, then

look at how Gaelic is used in the context of being disciplined, especially as a means to counter the adult's authoritative stances.

### 9.5.2 Gaining Attention and Making Appeals

Lanvers (2001, p. 461) notes that developing code-switching for the purpose of 'emphasis and appeal' occurred before the age of 2;0 in her German-English bilinguals. She analysed this as being part of Piaget's (1926) theory that child's early language is inherently egocentric. While this might have been adequate in an explanation for her bilinguals' language use, in the Campbell children's case it is also important to consider how the adults display the meaning of Gaelic in their family, namely as a strategy for gaining attention (cf. Example 8-15 'Broken Arm' and 8-17 'Pyjamas'). Additionally, Gaelic is the language the caregivers, especially Peigi and Nana, *want* the children to speak. Thus, it is easy to see how a child in the Campbell family would understand Gaelic as beneficial for gaining something, whether it is an adult's attention or having another story read aloud. This premise is illustrated by the following excerpts, the first of which is an example of David using Gaelic to gain his mother's attention on the playground. Nana and Peigi are having a conversation beside me on the bench outside the play area and David can be heard in the background:

#### Example 9-5 'Look at Me' (Playground)

- |   |       |  |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Nana  | [[ <i>bodach beag gloinneachan air</i> ]]<br>wee old man with glasses  |
| 1 | David | [[ <i>mom (.) seall mise</i> ]]<br>Look at <u>me</u>   |
| 3 | Nana  | [[ <i>tha e uabhasach laghach</i> ]]<br>He is very nice  |
| 2 | David | [[ <i>mommy seall mise</i> ]]<br>look at me  |
| 4 | Nana  | <i>tha aodach</i> - outdoor clothes <i>agus baganann</i><br>there's clothe(s) and bags<br><i>'s:: mapaichean 's leabhraichean 's</i><br>and maps and books and<br><i>tha- tha teatha 's cofaidh rud aige</i><br>there is there is tea and coffee his stuff |
|   | Peigi | uh-huh   |

((Peigi's walks away from the bench))

David's turns were both coded as 'Gaelic,' even though it could be argued that the absence of the vocative in addressing David's mother would constitute a Mixed utterance. In any case, it is clear that David wants his mother's attention and that he is using Gaelic in trying to divert Peigi's attention away from the conversation with Nana to David's own actions. It could be also argued that David compounds this bid for attention by using the emphatic

form of the first person pronoun *mise* as opposed to *mi*.<sup>35</sup> Although from the recording it does not appear that Peigi directly responds to David's appeal for attention, her movement away from the bench suggests that David's bid for attention has been successful, as Peigi's turns following this extract indicate that she is now playing with the children on the playground. This example shows a very overt request for attention, and I have often heard both Campbell children using instances of *seall* or *seall mise* to gain their caregivers' attention, even though not all of these instances were captured on the recordings.

Later on in the interaction, David again makes another bid for his mother's attention (and possibly her praise), using Gaelic in asserting that he is not complaining:

**Example 9-6 'Complaining' (Playground)**

- |   |       |  |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Peigi | <i>Niamh chan eil <u>ise</u> a' gearan</i><br>Niamh <u>she's</u> not complaining |
| 2 | David | <i>agus mise</i><br>and me   |

Unfortunately in this example, because of the dynamics of the location (i.e. I had the microtrack beside me on the bench while the main action was going on on the playground and at this particular moment, Nana and I were having a conversation), it is impossible to hear David's and Peigi's speech following the short exchange, so it is impossible to say whether David's assertion has been successful in gaining his mother's attention and praise. However, it is evident that in drawing attention to himself and to his purportedly good behaviour, David chooses to use Gaelic in this particular instance.

A further instance of Gaelic being used in conjunction with making appeals is illustrated in the following, in which David asserts that he wants an object. As seen in the following example, David uses *mise* when affirming that he wants hot chocolate:

**Example 9-7 'Hot Chocolate' (Pirates)**

- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Nana  | right <i>cò tha ag iarraidh</i> hot chocolate?<br>who wants |
| 2 | David | <i>MISE</i> my turn (.)<br>ME                               |

<sup>35</sup> However, this could be more a product of linguistic dissimilation rather a further strategy for gaining attention. David always appears to use the emphatic form when using the first person pronoun, and in looking at Maggie's Gaelic use, it is evident that she also favours the emphatic form. Though heightened emphasis on the first person (i.e. 'me') concurs with Piaget's (1926) theory that child language is inherently egocentric, in this case the children's preference for the emphatic form could be viewed as a product of linguistic dissimilation. *Mi* can sound very much like English object pronoun 'me,' and therefore it is hypothesised that using the clearly different emphatic form of '*mise*' serves as a way for the child to clearly mark that he or she is speaking Gaelic. Additionally, in looking at Peigi's language use, it seems that she also tends to prefer '*mise*' to the un-emphatic '*mi*.'

- 3 Maggie [[NO]] hot chocolate  
 3 Maggie [[ ?]]  
 no I'm getting ((crying))

The '*mise*' here is analysed as forming an adjacency pair with Nana's question, while the 'my turn' is analysed as part of an argument between Maggie and David of who gets to ride on Maggie's plastic pink motorbike, and David's 'no' is also analysed as being part of this argument, as is Maggie's utterance in Turn 3. The *mise* in David's turn is seen as directly correlate to Nana's mention of 'want;' David is emphatically affirming that he wants hot chocolate. David's utterance 'hot chocolate' in Turn 2 is seen as being a further reification of his wanting hot chocolate, which suggests that his *mise*, which was said very loudly, is being deployed as a strategy for highlighting his utterance in order to ensure that he obtains the hot chocolate. Again, this further supports Gardner-Chloros et al.'s (2000) argument that when code-switching is used, it is often used in conjunction with other cues as a means of compounding the importance of an utterance.

David's use of *mise* in this example is similar to the following excerpt which occurs as part of the 'Birthday Party' interaction. As previously mentioned, 'Birthday Party' is a rather chaotic interaction, where gaining turn space can often be problematic. In the following example, the talk surrounding this particular adjacency pair is entirely unrelated to Nana and David's short exchange about a cup of tea:

**Example 9-8 'Tea' (Birthday Party)**

- 1 Nana Dave a bheil thusa a' gabhail teatha  
 Dave do you want tea?  
 2 David u:m yes (.) *tha*  
 yes

Besides being related to the concept of 'want,' David's affirming in Gaelic may also indicate that he perceives Gaelic to be the 'polite' code, as it appears to be both Nana's and Peigi's preferred code as well as the code that Nana and Peigi wish the children to speak. This hypothesis is explored in the discussion following the next example in which David initially orders me to hold a caterpillar. I counteract this request by telling him to ask me nicely, to which he uses Gaelic in re-formulating his initial request:

**Example 9-9 'Ask me Nicely' (Playing Outside)**

- 1 David not you, Maggie (.) I'll take it (.) Cassie  
 (.) hold that in your hand (.) hold it  
 2 R ask me nicely  
 3 David *am faodaidh tu em* (.) uh (.) em you  
 can you

know *carson* ((the end)) I'm taking it (.)

why

**HI**<where is it?>**HI** don't touch it.

In this example, David uses the question form of 'can you' (*am faodaidh tu*<sup>36</sup>) in reformulation of the initial request. Not only is using a question form in lieu of a direct request considered polite by monolingual English standards (cf. Brown and Levinson, 1978), but it would also be considered a polite form by Gaelic standards as well. In this example, however, David is either unconcerned with finishing the question in Gaelic or lacks the proficiency to do so, as evidenced by the long strand of fillers 'em uh em em you know.' After the Gaelic word *carson* ('why'), the speech becomes unintelligible; David then continues in English, both in narrating his intentions and in issuing more directives.

David's use of Gaelic in response to being overtly asked to say something 'nicely' supports the claim that Gaelic is associated with politeness. It follows that the children will be more disposed to use a polite form when they want something, as it is reinforced in the family that polite forms are more successful in gaining objectives than impolite forms (cf. Section 8.6, where Aonghas commands Maggie to ask politely for a biscuit). It has been hypothesised that the relationship between Gaelic and politeness stems from Nana and Peigi's indexing of Gaelic as their preferred code as well as their overt wishes for the children to speak Gaelic. Both the children have commented on my use of Gaelic, and David once asked me why I speak Gaelic when he speaks to me in English. Thus, he too might perceive that I, like Nana and Peigi, prefer Gaelic and also wish for him to speak Gaelic, and thus, he uses Gaelic in being polite to me after my overt request for repair.

It is evident from these examples that the few instances in which David uses Gaelic often coincide with his drawing attention to himself and his needs. In these instances, the motivation for gaining attention may be related to the busy nature of the interactions; the caregivers' attentions are divided, and David must draw on additional resources in seeing that his needs are met. Additionally, his use of Gaelic to me when requested to 'ask nicely' suggests that he perceives Gaelic to be the polite, and the preferred, code.

Although from my observations Maggie also uses Gaelic in gaining attention much the same way David does, the following excerpt evidences a different, and arguably more sophisticated manipulation of code in gaining attention. In the following example,

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<sup>36</sup> In this instance, David shows evidence of generalising the independent form, as *faod* would be expected in this instance.

Maggie's use of Gaelic is not an overt bid for drawing attention to herself, but an attempt to draw attention to the question she is trying to get answered. This bears striking similarity to Nana's use of code-switching in Example 8-15 'Broken Arm:'

**Example 9-10 'Computer' (Sitting Room)**

- 1 Maggie is that your (1.4) your 'puter?  
(.6)
- 2 Nana *a bheil thu faighinn ga ri dhèanamh nise, a Sheumais?*  
are you getting it done now, Seumas?
- 3 Seumas no (.) not really (.) no (.) it's in a right state
- 4 Nana X<sup>37</sup>
- 5 Seumas mmm-hmm(.) well she tried to fix it herself
- 6 Nana Ach
- 7 Seumas and uh
- 8 Maggie is that your new=
- 9 Nana *=rinn i barrachd*  
she did more
- 10 Seumas *call*  
loss
- 11 Nana {aye} mmm-hmm.
- 12 Maggie is that your new 'puter?
- 13 Seumas *chan e coimpiutair aig Seumas idir a th' ann*  
it's not Seumas' computer at all  
*coimpiutair aig boireannach eile*  
[it's] another woman's computer  
(2.1)
- 14 Maggie *dè a tha sin?*  
what's that?
- 15 Seumas Mmm?
- 16 Maggie /d'i [In/  
(i.e. *dè sin*, 'what that?')
- 17 Seumas *dè?*  
what?
- 18 Maggie *dè a tha siud?*  
what is that?
- 19 Seumas *dè a tha siud? coimpiutair briste*  
what is that? a broken computer
- 20 Maggie no it's not

In this example, Maggie initiates her question in Turn 1. However, she is not successful in obtaining an answer, as Nana then asks Seumas a related question. The exchange continues between Nana and Seumas in Turns 2-7; in Turn 8, Maggie tries again to interject with her question, but again is unsuccessful, and Nana and Seumas continue their

<sup>37</sup> This line was changed to protect Seumas' anonymity.



exchange.<sup>38</sup> In Line 12, Maggie is finally successful in asking her question and subsequently receives an answer. Seumas' answer is child-centred both in prosody and his use of the third person to refer to himself also suggests the he intends his utterance to be child-centred. However, this use of the third person and then *boireannach eile* ('another woman') is clearly confusing to Maggie. In Line 14, Maggie changes her questioning tactic and code-switches in asking *dè a tha sin?* ('what is that?'). Seumas, however, does not understand this question; perhaps he simply has not heard her correctly because he is preoccupied with fixing the computer, or, because he is not expecting a Gaelic question from her, does not initially process it correctly. In Turn 16, Maggie tries her question again, but her question is very non-target-like and therefore is transcribed in IPA rather than Gaelic orthography. Seumas clearly still does not understand, and Maggie tries again, this time changing the deictic pronoun from *sin* to *siud* (*Siud* puts more distance between the speaker and the object than *sin*.). Seumas finally understands the question and after repeating it, gives Maggie a satisfactory answer, even though Maggie chooses to respond to this answer by negating it, which, from my observations seemed to be the way Maggie responded in many interactions with adults.

Maggie's code-switching to Gaelic as a strategy for drawing attention to her question follows the general language strategy employed by this family: if the interlocutor does not appear to hear or understand the utterance, switch languages. It is also possible that Maggie tries her question in Gaelic because she thinks that her question is being ignored because of lack of appropriate language choice, which has become more salient because Seumas, who normally answers Nana in English (cf. Section 8.2), uses Gaelic in his Turn 10. This example further highlights Maggie's greater productive and communicative competence in Gaelic; here, after her repairable utterance in Turn 15, she manages to effectively clarify her question by using a different referential, i.e. changing *sin* to *siud*.

Even in instances where Maggie does not overtly seem to want to draw attention to her speech, it is evident that lexical mixing can be useful in getting noticed by the adults. In the following example, Maggie declares that she is going to *dùin the doras* ('close the door'). Nana and Seumas clearly find this instance of mixing humorous and repeat Maggie's utterance, as seen below:

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<sup>38</sup> It is interesting to note here that Seumas answers Nana in Gaelic in Turn 10, which, as seen from Chapter 8, is unusual for him. This instance might be related to ethnographic observations I have made of the family where Gaelic is sometimes used when the child is present and not necessarily as a means for encouraging the child's participation.

**Example 9-11 ‘Close the door’ (Sitting Room)**

- 1 Maggie I *dùin* the *doras*  
close door
- 2 Nana *dè?*  
what?
- 3 Maggie I *dùin* the *doras*  
close door
- 4 Nana [[*dùin* the *doras*]  
close door
- 5 Seumas [[you *dùin* the *doras*]  
close door
- 6 Nana you *dùin* the *doras*  
close door
- 7 Maggie yes
- 
- 
- 
- 14 Maggie I better go and  
*dùin* the *doras* go *dùin an doras*  
close door close the door
- 15 Nana you better go and *dùin* @@  
close
- (2.6)
- 16 Maggie going to *dùin* the *doras*  
close door

As seen in Example 9-10 ‘Computer,’ the adults do not always initially understand Maggie when she uses Gaelic or Mixed utterances. Example 9-11 is a further exemplification of this occurrence, as evidenced by Nana’s *dè?* in Turn 2. Maggie then repeats the initial declaration made in Turn 1. Both Nana and Seumas then subsequently repeat Maggie’s utterance and the tones of their voices suggest that they are amused by this utterance. Later, Maggie repeats her intention to close the door, and Nana expresses her amusement at Maggie’s statement by laughing. As I have observed that often the objectives of Maggie’s utterances in general are to attract the adults’ attention, the use of Gaelic or code-mixed utterances serves as a useful tool in achieving her goal: the adults react to her utterances, and as shown in this example, the reactions take the form of repeating Maggie’s utterances or giving other cues of attentiveness, such as laughing. Lanza (1997, p. 203) notes that in one instance, Siri did not get her mother’s attention until she finally mixed in her utterance, suggesting that the attention-getting power of mixing is not limited to the Campbell family.

This section has argued that some instances in which Maggie and especially David use Gaelic can be correlated to attracting attention and making appeals. It has further postulated that the adult speakers' strategy of code-switching when they wish to draw attention to an utterance, as well as Nana and Peigi's overarching desire for the children to speak Gaelic, play an integral role in how the children use Gaelic strategically in trying to gain what they want. The next section details how David and especially Maggie use Gaelic in formulating argumentative stances vis-à-vis their caregivers' displays of authority.

### 9.5.3 Arguing and a Disciplinary Context

In the last chapter, it was noted that at least half of the utterances in which Maggie and David's parents used Gaelic with the children occurred in conjunction with taking an authoritative stance towards one or both of the children. Thus, it is not surprising that Gaelic plays a role in the children's constructions of argumentative stances vis-à-vis their caregivers. A clear example of this was already clearly demonstrated in Example 8-18 'Behave yourself' and also arguably demonstrated in Example 9-6 'Complaining,' where David's affirmation that he is not complaining can be construed to pre-emptively counteract Peigi's implication that either Maggie or David is complaining. Discussion of the use of Gaelic in a disciplinary context will start by specifically examining Maggie's use of question words in formulating an argumentative stance, then look at other examples in which the children use Gaelic as a strategy for mitigating blame.

As was seen in Table 9-1, the second largest word class of Maggie's Gaelic use was questions, with twenty turns consisting of a question in Gaelic. The most frequently used word was *carson* ('why'), which Maggie used 11 times in the corpus. Of these uses of *carson*, five occurred when directly preceded by a command from an adult, as illustrated in the following example:

**Example 9-12 'Carson?' (Dolina Visitng)**

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Peigi  | ai yi yi yi no: (.) na <i>dùin an /doras</i><br>don't close the door |
| 2 | Maggie | <i>carson?</i><br>why?   |
| 3 | Peigi  | <i>sea::ll</i><br>loo::k   |

This type of interaction may look familiar to any parent or to anyone who has worked with children: the adult issues a directive and the child questions the directive by asking 'why?'

The ‘why’ may be an attempt at undermining the validity of the adult’s statement or as a technique for stalling the requested action; however, it may also be simply a mechanism of the child’s curiosity. Usages of ‘*carson*’ not preceded by commands appear to fall more into the latter category, though it could be argued as well that some of them are weak attempts at questioning the validity of the adults’ statements.

A further three instances of questions occur in a context which is clearly disciplinary. The following example evidences use of two of these questions; part of this example has already been shown in Example 8-19 ‘Toy.’ Here, Nana and Peigi are trying to get Maggie to go to bed. However, their efforts thus far have been unsuccessful, as Maggie is very lively and extremely interested by a candle which she thinks is made out of jelly. Peigi then resorts to the tactic of emphasising the good behaviour of the other sibling, then implicitly threatens that if Maggie does not behave, Maggie will not receive ‘something.’

**Example 9-13 ‘Well-behaved Dave’ (Evening in Harris)**

- |    |        |  |
|----|--------|--|
| 1  | Peigi  | <i>tha David modhail</i><br>David is well-behaved  |
| 2  | Nana   | <i>tha Dave air cadal</i><br>Dave’s asleep<br><i>tha Dave air cadal</i><br>Dave’s asleep<br><i>chan eil guth agadsa air cadal</i><br>there’s no sign of sleep from you |
| 3  | Maggie | <i>a bheil</i><br>really   |
| 4  | Peigi  | <i>Dave modhail=</i><br>Dave (is) well-behaved   |
| 5  | Nana   | <i>=cuir air ais e</i><br>put it back  |
| 6  | Maggie | put that [on   |
| 7  | Nana   | [o:h ] <i>bidh Dave faighinn rudan a-màireach</i><br>Dave will be getting things tomorrow  |
| 8  | Maggie | is he  |
| 9  | Nana   | {mmm-hmm}  |
| 10 | Maggie | <i>dè</i><br>what  |
| 11 | Nana   | <i>dè?</i><br>what?  |
| 12 | Maggie | yes  |
| 13 | Nana   | <i>chan eil fhios /a’m</i><br>I don’t know   |
| 14 | Maggie | will it be a toy?  |
| 15 | Nana   | maybe mmm-hmm=   |
| 16 | Peigi  | <i>chan fhaigh <u>thusa</u> chan eil thu modhail gu leòr</i><br>you won’t get you’re not well-behaved enough   |

In this example, there are two instances of Maggie using Gaelic for question words (even though her prosody does not indicate that she is asking a question). In this excerpt, the adults are clearly setting up a disciplinary context; in Turn 2, Nana sets up the comparison between David and Maggie with remarking on how David is asleep, while Maggie is still awake, and therefore defying the caregivers' wishes. Maggie then questions Nana's statement with her use of *a bheil* ('really'). Peigi then emphasises David's good behaviour with her comment in Turn 4, thus furthering the comparison of the two siblings. Nana makes an implicit threat in Turn 6, which is followed by Maggie's question in English. Nana's ingressive answer, however, does not seem satisfactory to Maggie, who in Turn 10 questions in Gaelic the content of what David will be 'getting.' Nana, of course does not know what David will be getting, as she has made up this whole scenario, and answers accordingly. Maggie continues her questioning, to which Nana gives a non-committal response in English. Peigi then reifies the implicit threat indexed in this conversation, clearly stating that Maggie will not get anything, as she is not behaving. Maggie's questions here are seen as attempts to undermine the adults' displays of authority, and the language that Maggie chooses in two out of her four questions is Gaelic.

During this interaction just presented in Example 9-13, Maggie also is commanded not to put the candle in her mouth. As seen below, Maggie uses the Gaelic word for 'mouth' (*beul*) in asserting that she is not putting the candle in her mouth:

**Example 9-14 'Candle in Mouth' (Evening in Harris)**

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Nana   | <i>cuir e air ais a-nise</i><br>Put it back now<br><i>NA CUIR NA DO BHEUL IDIR E (.)</i> oh <i>gaoch</i><br>DON'T PUT IT IN YOUR MOUTH AT ALL      gross |
| 2 | Maggie | ((?))  |
| 3 | Maggie | I'm not putting it=  |
| 4 | Nana   | = <i>oh gaoch</i> =<br>oh gross  |
| 5 | Maggie | =I'm not putting it in my <i>beul</i><br>mouth   |
| 6 | Nana   | <i>no cuir air ais e</i><br>put it back  |

This example illustrates Maggie's echoing of the most salient word in the preceding disciplining command ('*beul*') into her otherwise-English sentence. This is very similar to Example 8-18, where Maggie says 'I am *modhail*.' Maggie's choice of Gaelic here is analysed as a subtle way of indicating to the adults that she too can manipulate the adults' authoritative code.

Additionally, Maggie also shows the ability to morphologically manipulate the ‘echoed’ word to suit her purposes in formulating an argumentative stance. This is evidenced in the following example, where Maggie asserts that a pair of candles (which are different candles in Example 9-14) are not *briste* (‘broken’):

**Example 9-15 ‘Broken’ (Sitting Room)**

- |   |        |   |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Nana   | <i>tha {tha}</i> <b>HI</b> < oh <i>na brist iad</i> uh ta ta ta ta= > <b>HI</b><br>don't break them |
| 2 | Maggie | = ( ? )   |
| 3 | Nana   | <i>dè?</i><br>What?   |
| 4 | Maggie | they're not <i>briste</i><br>broken   |
| 5 | Nana   | oh <i>bristidh tu iad</i> (?)<br>you will break them  |

In this example, Nana uses the imperative form of the verb *brist* (‘break’) in admonishing Maggie not to break the candles. Maggie then echoes the word *brist* in her utterance in Turn 4, but uses the past participle form of the word: *briste* (‘broken’). This not only shows Maggie’s propensity to use Gaelic in an argumentative context, but also evidences that she has more linguistic abilities in Gaelic than she often chooses to display.

In other instances of Gaelic lexical mixing in the context of being disciplined, there is no evidence that Maggie is simply echoing the adult’s words. In the following examples, both drawn from the ‘Sitting Room,’ Maggie has just spilled bubbles over her father’s important-looking mail. Here, Maggie spontaneously produces the word *fiadhaich* in musing about her father’s reaction to spilling the bubbles:

**Example 9-16 ‘Wet Letter’ (Sitting Room)**

- |   |        |   |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Nana   | oh <i>litir aig Daddy bog fliuch</i> (1.2)<br>Daddy's letter soaking wet<br>'s <i>math gur tu fhèin a rinn e</i><br>good it was you yourself who did it |
| 2 | Maggie | Daddy will be <i>fiadhaich</i> ?<br>angry   |
| 3 | Seumas | yes he will be <i>fiadhaich</i><br>angry  |

The absence of a verb and definite article in Nana’s Turn 1 suggests that she is simplifying her utterance as a way of making it child-centred. However, Maggie does not initially respond, and after a pause, Nana emphasises that Maggie’s action is not a commendable one. Maggie then responds, and uses the word *fiadhaich* in supposing her Daddy’s reaction to her action. The disciplining context in this example is immediately clear, and,







have at their disposal a variety of means by which to communicate their intentions. The following example, also taken from the ‘Sitting Room,’ and occurring directly after Nana has read ‘Little Teddy Left Behind,’ shows the various communicative tools Maggie uses in first accusing David writing on her book and then trying to get Nana to read another story:

**Example 9-20 ‘Who wrote on my book?’ (Sitting Room)**

- 1 Maggie who *sgriobh* on my book there?  
wrote
- 2 Nana who *sgriobh* on your book there?  
wrote  
*chan eil fhios a'm*  
I don't know
- 3 Maggie David
- 4 Nana oh *fear nach tu fhein a bh'ann?*  
it wasn't you yourself?
- 5 Maggie [[David]
- 6 Nana [[mmm] *an robh sin s-math?*  
was that good?
- 7 Maggie uh yes
- 8 Nana *a bheil e math stòraidh aig Ted-n Little Ted bochd*  
is it good poor little Ted's story?
- 9 Maggie **WH**<so *seo* oh>**WH**  
here
- 11 Nana mmm?
- 12 Maggie *seo* another one  
here
- 13 Nana *seo* another one? *dè fear a tha seo?*  
here what's this?  
*oh tha fear mhòr do Nana*  
oh this is a big one for Nana
- 14 Maggie that was a lang one
- 15 Nana mmm?
- 16 Maggie that was a lang one
- 17 Nana oh *tha e trom*  
it is heavy

This excerpt begins with Maggie's question of ‘who wrote on her book,’ in which she inserts the Gaelic for *sgriobh* (‘write/wrote’<sup>39</sup>) into the otherwise English sentence. Nana then repeats Maggie's utterance exactly, which, as evidenced by the previous excerpts of interactions between Nana and Maggie, seems to be something Nana does quite frequently.<sup>40</sup> Maggie then blames David for writing on her book, and Nana suggests that it was Maggie herself who wrote on the book. Here, although Maggie is simply asking a

<sup>39</sup> Unlike other instances where Gaelic verbs show past tense through lenition, *sg* does not allow lenition, and thus the imperative (uninflected) form and the past tense are identical.

<sup>40</sup> This was fortuitous in transcribing the material, as when Maggie's utterances were sometimes difficult to hear, Nana's repetitions clarified most ambiguities.

question in Turn 1, the question carries with it the context of disciplining: Maggie would most likely get in trouble if she was caught writing on a book. By blaming her brother, she not only deflects the blame from herself but also takes an authoritative stance towards him, which is analysed as paralleling her parents' use of Gaelic in a disciplining context.

Nana then changes the topic by asking Maggie if the story was good; however, it is not immediately clear that the deictic *sin* refers to the story. Maggie then gives a minimal response and Nana in turn re-formulates her question so that it is clear that she is referring to the story about 'Little Ted *bochd*,' which in and of itself is an interesting instance of language alternation. This re-formulation is not successful in gaining a more elaborate response from Maggie, who says 'so *seo* oh' in Turn 9. During the interaction and in initially playing back Line 9, I was not sure that Maggie was saying the Gaelic word for *seo*, especially since it was preceded by what appears to be the English word 'so.'

However, after Nana's request for clarification, Maggie appears to say '*seo* another one,' and this supposition is confirmed by Nana's clear repetition of Maggie's utterance. In this instance, Maggie's use of the referent *seo*, which in this case is equivalent to the English 'here,' is being used as an appeal: Maggie wants another story read to her, and in making this request, Maggie uses a mixed utterance.

After Maggie's appeal to have another story read to her, Nana comments on the size of the book, and there is a subsequent breakdown in communication after Maggie's further comment in Turn 14. It appears that Maggie says the word 'lang,' which is a Scots pronunciation of the word 'long,' and is typically not used in Highland English. The interpretation of the pronunciation of 'lang' to mean 'long' is based primarily on how the word sounds on the recording and Nana's subsequent comment that the book is heavy. It is of course possible that Maggie is simply providing a non-target-like pronunciation of 'long,' but the fact that 'lang' exists in a variety that is within Maggie's sociocultural realm makes the hypothesis that she is using a Scots pronunciation possible. Within the corpus, it is evident that the third generation members are acquiring knowledge of variants far-removed from their immediate sociocultural sphere; for example, in the 'Birthday Party,' David uses a stereotypically Glaswegian accent in saying 'You're on the druggies tonight, man.' The phrase occurs as an isolated utterance that is not at all contextually relevant to the adults' conversations, and it is unclear where he heard this phrase, or if he knows what it means at all. What is interesting is that he is able to use a Glaswegian accent and that it occurs talking about an activity (drugs) that is stereotypically associated with Glasgow. This use and Maggie's use of 'lang' are possibly instances of 'crossing' (cf. Rampton,

1995) or can perhaps more accurately be described as instances of ‘*linguaging*’ (cf. Jørgensen, 2003). The children are exposed to a number of different variants within their wider social worlds, and they are acquiring certain variants as well as the contextual relevance of these variants. This premise of ‘*linguaging*’ is useful in understanding the children’s sporadic use of Gaelic. As arguably the most important component of the children’s social sphere is interacting in the home environment, the use of two codes, and the certain contexts that appear to be related to use of the codes, forms an integral part of how the children ‘do language.’ Gaelic is not used exclusively as a strategy in gaining attention, making appeals, or formulating an argumentative stance, but it is one of the varieties the children may draw on in their ‘doing’ language and in making their intentions clear to the adults, whose own goals are sometimes at odds with the children’s particular wishes.

## 9.6 ‘Doing Being Nana’

The following excerpts are drawn from a phone conversation between Maggie and her great-aunt Isabel. This interaction is the only interaction within the corpus which was intentionally staged; during the recording period, Peigi told me that the place she notices Maggie using the most Gaelic is on the phone. I was intrigued by this, and asked Isabel to call and speak to Maggie while Maggie was at Nana’s house. Although the phone conversation had been planned, it does not mean that this type of interaction would be out of place in the Campbell household. Both Maggie and David will answer the phone if they are in their own home or at Nana’s house, and it is not unusual for their relatives to converse with the children before asking to speak to the adult for whom they are calling.

As the following excerpts show, Peigi’s observation appears valid. The discussion following the excerpts will also posit that the reason for Maggie’s increased Gaelic usage is that Maggie perceives the phone as part of the ‘adult’ social sphere, and that in speaking on Nana’s phone, she is ‘doing being Nana.’ Like the children in Paugh’s (2005) study who used Patwa in enacting adult roles such as bus driver and passenger, part of Maggie’s ‘doing being Nana’ involves using Gaelic.

The following excerpt is taken from the beginning of the phone interaction; prior to this excerpt, Isabel has been pretending that she thinks she is talking to David, even though she knows that she is talking to Maggie. This play-acting is the cause of David’s interjection in Turn 3, as seen in the following:

**Example 9-21 ‘Yesterday’ (Isabel Phoning Maggie)**

- 1 Isabel *ciamar a tha thu an-diugh?*  
how are you today?  
(2.2) (David singing unintelligibly)
- 2 Maggie I’m not David
- 3 David she’s Maggie by the way
- 4 Isabel oh /hello Maggie (.) *dè tha dol an-diugh?*  
what’s going on today?
- 5 Maggie *tha ma:th*  
is good
- 6 Isabel *tha e math an robh thu tinn? (1.5) dè tha thu a’ dèanamh?*  
it’s good were you sick? what are you doing?
- 7 Maggie I’m at Nana’s house (.) and my brother
- 9 Isabel *cò? fear eile? (.) cò (tha?) còmhla riut?*  
who? someone else? who’s with you?
- 10 Maggie *um Nana agus Cassie agus mise agus David*  
and and me and
- 11 Isabel *oh David agus dè tha iad a’ dèanamh an-diugh?*  
what are they doing?
- 12 David oh ha mr. fing mr. k [[back] and play back and play back and play  
[[ (( singing to himself)) ]
- 13 Maggie [[wel]] yesterday [[YESTERDA::Y]
- 14 Isabel \o:h
- 15 David what?
- 16 Maggie *an-dè::*  
yesterday
- 17 Isabel *an-dè dè tha thu a’ dèanamh? (.)*  
yesterday what are you doing?  
*chunnaic mise thu shuas aig taigh Grannie (.) am fac’ thu mise?*  
I saw you up at Grannie’s house did you see me?
- 18 Maggie uh-huh

Isabel’s first turn is a standard greeting; however, in Turn 2, Maggie does not answer this salutary question, as she is still talking about the previous confusion over whether Isabel is speaking to David or Maggie. Although Isabel’s speech is sometimes difficult to hear due to the fact that she is on the other end of the telephone, it is evident that she is using an exaggerated prosody, which is analysed as a way of contextualising her speech as child-centred. Maggie’s response in Turn 5 to Isabel’s question in Turn 4 is in Gaelic; the absence of a subject in this utterance may be related to the existence of the stock salutary response of *tha gu math* (literally ‘is well’), and what Maggie has done is simply missed out the *gu*. Isabel then re-casts Maggie’s response in a syntactically complete utterance *tha e math* (‘it is good’). Although this re-cast does suggest that Maggie’s response in Line 5 is repairable, it is less repairable when it is also taken into consideration that with natural, rapid Gaelic speech the *e* (‘it’) is sometimes lost and the utterance would sound closer to Maggie’s rendition of *tha math*.

Isabel's next question in Turn 6 is related to Maggie's cough. Isabel then changes the subject and asks what Maggie is doing. Maggie then answers in English in Turn 7; however, after Isabel's next question, Maggie uses Gaelic, repeating the Gaelic conjunctive *agus* ('and') in naming who is present, as well as using the Gaelic emphatic first person pronoun in reference to herself. In Turn 11, Isabel asks what everyone else is doing, which is sequentially followed by Dave's unrelated comment about his own activities. In Turn 13, Maggie appears as if she is going to embark on a narrative, as evidenced by her use of 'yesterday' to temporally contextualise her following utterance as past tense. Maggie then repeats the word 'yesterday' slowly and loudly, presumably because David is making so much noise in the background. After Isabel's minimal (and difficult to hear) response in Turn 14, Maggie switches to Gaelic in saying *an-dè* ('yesterday') which she also says loudly and emphatically. This use of Gaelic in the context of communicative trouble bears similarity to the arguments put forth about the first generation speakers, namely, that they use code-switching as a means for mitigating real and potential communication problems. Isabel then repeats Maggie's utterance of *an-dè*, reifying that she has at last understood Maggie's utterance, then elaborates on the topic further, ending her turn with a direct question to Maggie, to which Maggie gives a minimal response

In considering Maggie's often minimal responses to her interlocutors' questions, and the fact that for the most part, these answers are in English, it is worth discussing the relative linguistic simplicity of answering 'yes/no' questions in English in comparison to Gaelic. As there are no single words for 'yes' or 'no' in Gaelic, a response to a 'yes/no' question requires either the positive assertion of the verb or a negation of it. Thus, a Gaelic answer to Isabel's question in Line 18 would either have been *chunnaic* ('saw;' equivalent to 'yes') or *chan fhaca* ('didn't see'), as the verb *faic* ('see') is irregular. As mentioned in Chapter 4, responses of 'uh-huh' were not coded for language anyway, but the point being made here is that Maggie's use of English in response to adults' Gaelic questions might sometimes be partially motivated by the linguistic simplicity of using English over Gaelic. This is of course compounded by the fact that English is clearly Maggie's dominant language.

In the following excerpt, Maggie does use the correct negated form of verb '*faic*;' however, this correct usage occurs only after Nana herself supplies the answer:

**Example 9-22 'Phoning' (Isabel Phoning Maggie)**

1 Isabel *am fac' thu (Màiri?) an diugh*  
did you see (Màiri?) today

- (0.5)
- 2 Nana *chan fhaca*  
didn't see
- 3 Maggie [[ *chan fhaca*  
didn't see
- 4 Nana [[ *bha i a' fòn]adh*  
she was phoning
- 5 Maggie *fònadh*  
phoning
- 6 Isabel eh?
- 7 Maggie *fònadh*  
phoning
- 8 Isabel *fònadh*  
phoning
- 9 Maggie yes
- 10 Isabel (?) *chan fhaca*  
didn't see
- 11 David now you have to get on it [on it on it
- 12 Maggie [[ *^bha ^bha*  
it was it was
- 13 David [[ oh my ]
- 14 Maggie [[ *bha Sean] bha Sean*  
Grandpa was Grandpa was
- 15 Isabel *dè tha Sean a' dèanamh?*  
what was Grandpa doing?
- 16 Maggie *Sean ok Sean tha Sean okay*  
Grandpa ok Grandpa is okay

As seen in other examples of phone conversations between Campbell family members, very rarely are phone conversations truly dyadic. In Turn 1, Isabel asks Maggie a question; however, this question is answered by Nana, not Maggie. Maggie then repeats Nana's answer, and further partially repeats the verbal noun *a' fònadh*. After Isabel's request for clarification, Maggie then repeats *fònadh* and Isabel clarifies that that is what Maggie is saying, to which Maggie confirms that she is indeed saying *fònadh*. What follows next is hard to hear not only because Isabel is on the phone, but also because David is being noisy. However, Maggie's response of *bha bha* ('it was it was') with the rise/fall intonation is remarkable in that it sounds nearly identical to the way the first generation speakers, especially Nana, backchannel.<sup>41</sup> Maggie then imparts to Isabel that 'Sean' (Dolina's husband and Maggie's grandfather; *Sean* is short for *seanair* 'grandfather') is 'okay' and uses a Gaelic syntactic structure in this utterance. Although the word 'okay' is an English word, as seen throughout the first generation speakers' examples, it is frequently used in otherwise Gaelic utterances. Thus, Maggie is not only using a relatively

<sup>41</sup> Although Nana does not specifically use *bha* in the excerpts analysed in the previous chapters, for examples of her extensive backchanneling see Examples 6.6 and 6.12.

large amount of Gaelic on the phone, but is using Gaelic in a way that makes her sound more like a first generation speaker than she has anywhere else in the corpus. Maggie's enacting of a first generation role is further illustrated by the following excerpt which occurs later in the phone interaction:

**Example 9-23 'Getting B &Bs' (Isabel Phoning Maggie)**

- 1 Maggie mmm-hmm I just I just had to get B and Bs and  
stuff
- 2 Isabel **HI** <de? >**HI**  
What?
- 3 Maggie I had to get B and Bs and stuff

Maggie is clearly taking on an adult role here; 'getting B and Bs' (i.e. 'Bed and Breakfast guests') is something that Maggie's mother, and especially, grandmothers Nana and Dolina and great-aunt Isabel do, and as seen from various extracts throughout the thesis, often a topic of conversation among family members. The very act of talking on the phone is also an adult activity, as although the caller may speak to Maggie for a while if she answers phone, the purpose of the call is usually to talk to one of the adults in the household. It does not seem to be a coincidence that at the same time Maggie appears to be taking on an adult, and especially female first generation role, she also uses proportionally more Gaelic and evidences her 'on-stage' (cf. Auer, 1984) bilinguality with syntactically-complete utterances, a phenomenon that has not been seen thus far in the chapter. The hypothesis is that the 'Phone' domain is associated with first-generation females; even though Maggie's mother is a second generation speaker, the last chapter discussed how Peigi is more like a first-generation speaker in terms of the amount of Gaelic she uses. Although I have not observed or recorded a number of phone conversations in Maggie's own household, judging by the phone calls Nana receives from Peigi, Peigi is the primary phone user, and if talking to a family member, Peigi will use Gaelic. In Nana's house, the person Maggie hears speaking on the phone is Nana, who, if the interlocutor is a relative, will use the normal 'Nana pattern' of Gaelic and English code-switching. Thus, for Maggie, speaking on the phone entails a first generation identity, and part of this first generation identity requires the use of Gaelic, just like for Paugh's (2005) Dominican children, part of 'doing being' a rural male adult entailed the use of Patwa. In speaking on the phone, and perhaps especially the case with Nana's phone, Maggie 'does being Nana,' as in her world, it is primarily 'Nanas' who speak on the phone.

Maggie's association of Gaelic with the phone is interesting considering the observation that Dorian (1981) made about Gaelic being used little in the phone domain, as her

speakers considered it strange to use Gaelic on the phone, as the phone was relatively new technology for them. Forty years later, a young speaker who has very little command of Gaelic now associates Gaelic mainly with the phone. Of course, a landline phone is not considered new technology anymore, but the point is still an interesting one. Maggie's language use also resonates with one of Dorian's more famous observations, namely that while semi-speakers lacked many linguistic features, they had the communicative competence that could only be acquired through intense exposure to the community, and that their culturally-appropriate knowledge sometimes masked their linguistic shortcomings. To some degree, Maggie demonstrates this phenomenon at a very young age; it is clear that while she has linguistic shortcomings concerning Gaelic, she is able to 'sound' like an older Gaelic speaker when she deems it contextually appropriate.

## 9.7 Conclusion

Because of the relatively small amount of Gaelic used by the third generation, this chapter, like the second generation chapter, has focused primarily on examining the instances in which the third members *do* use Gaelic and has focused on hypothesising about why Gaelic use appears to be most strongly associated with certain contexts. Drawing on BFLA and child language socialisation literature, a substantial portion of the chapter has been devoted to correlating the adults' use of Gaelic with the children's use of Gaelic and has demonstrated the existence of a relationship by looking at the use of Gaelic as a strategy for gaining attention, making appeals, and in formulating argumentative stances. It has also further postulated that certain language practices, such as conducting storytime in Gaelic even though the story is written in English, help to foster environments in which the children are encouraged to use Gaelic. Gaelic may also play a role in the way in which certain social identities are enacted, as seen in Maggie's using Gaelic on the phone, which was analysed as a way of 'doing being Nana.'

As the excerpts have shown, the children's use of Gaelic is sparse and sporadic. However, it is also clear that the children are acquiring one of the family's most central norms when it comes to the two languages used in the household: when communicative trouble occurs, use code-switching. Thus, although the children do not evidence much use of Gaelic, the examples have shown that they understand code-switching to be a powerful communicative strategy, and in their social worlds, the need to effectively communicate is often motivated by their desire to gain something from the adults, whether it is attention or



exoneration from blame (cf. Piaget's [1926] assertion that children's communication goals are egocentric). It is argued that the children's use of Gaelic exemplifies 'linguaging;' as young communicators, the children are learning how to manipulate different codes, styles, and variants in their development as linguistic individuals. They are also forming associations between linguistic varieties and certain contexts, which explains what appears to be their increased use of Gaelic in specific contexts within the home environment.

## 10 Conclusion

### 10.1 Summary of Main Arguments

This thesis has examined the language use of three generations of a bilingual family on the Isles of Skye and Harris and has focused in particular on the family's use of code-switching in conversation. Chapter 1 describes the three main research aims: to examine how the speakers use their two languages on the individual, intragenerational, and intergenerational levels; to look at how code-switching operates as part of the meaning-making process in these bilinguals' conversations; and to examine how the use of code-switching, and the meaning of 'code,' varies at the generational level. Chapter 1 also evidences a gap in research concerning Gaelic-English code-switching and hypothesises that this gap in research may be due in part to views of code-switching as symptomatic of language shift as well as the perspective that code-switching is indicative of limited proficiency in Gaelic. Chapter 2 then examines previous code-switching literature and outlines the main motivations for using a microinteractional framework in answering the research questions set forth in Chapter 1. Chapter 3 then provides the sociohistorical context for a discussion of language use within these three generations, as it details the main sociohistorical developments in Gaelic's shift and maintenance over the span of the three generations discussed in this thesis.

The methodology in Chapter 4 outlines the key motivations for using an ethnographic, participant observation approach in obtaining natural, everyday interactions of a bilingual family and also outlines the main issues in transcribing and quantitatively analysing the data. The quantitative analysis presented in Chapter 5 reveals that the family's differential use of two languages conforms to the expectations outlined in Chapter 3: proportionally-speaking, the first generation evidences a far greater use of Gaelic than the second and third generations. With the exception of Peigi, the second and third generations are clearly English-dominant, confirming that language shift is occurring within the family. However, Peigi's existence as a 'heritage learner' and her efforts at fostering a Gaelic environment in the home is also indicative of language maintenance.

Serious attention to the question of how these bilinguals use their two languages as part of the meaning-making process of conversation began with the qualitative analysis. Chapter 6 focuses on two major constructs—stance and constructed dialogue—in exploring the various ways that the first generation speakers use code-switching as a communicative

strategy. The chapter begins by looking at how code-switching is used in conjunction with signalling affective stances, then moves on to looking at the use of code-switching in congruence with epistemic stance-taking. Example 6-7 ‘Bookshelves’ then demonstrates the use of code-switching in concert with modulating between different stances within a particular strand of discourse. The main argument put forth in this section is that speakers code-switch in congruence with some acts of stance-taking as a means to highlight their various stances, and the discussion of the examples provides reasons, such as the need to make a repair, for why it may be so important for speakers to make certain stances explicit at particular points in the conversation. The chapter then moves on to discuss constructed dialogue and demonstrates that the phenomenon of code-switching in concert with constructed dialogue does not necessarily occur solely because the original utterance was said in that language, but can be further understood by examining other aspects of the narrator’s communicative and indexing goals. It examines the use of code-switching in overtly delineating quotes from the surrounding narrative, such as seen in Example 6-8 ‘Tina’s Coming Home,’ then looks at the use of code-switching to English as a way of indexing important features of the first generation speakers’ sociocultural landscapes, as discussed in Example 6-9 ‘Sold the Flat.’ It also examines the use of code-switching within a quote as a means of bestowing a local identity on the embedded speaker. The section concluded by discussing two examples, Example 6-12 ‘Swine Flu’ and Example 6-13 ‘Fish Farms,’ where the reflexive nature of language was explored in arguing that by indexing English’s sociocultural hegemony in this particular conversations, the speakers were locally creating English as the language of authority within the discourse. The chapter concludes by discussing how these speakers appear to use code-switching as one of their resources for mitigating communicative trouble and that they tend on draw on this resource where making their meanings explicit becomes especially important.

The main argument put forth in Chapter 6—that code-switching is used mainly as a highlighting strategy in instances where there is a strong motivation to make one’s meaning explicitly clear—is further discussed in Chapter 7, ‘Nana’s Narratives,’ which looks at Nana’s code-switching in two lengthy narratives, ‘Fuse Wire’ and ‘Flannan Isles.’ Throughout the excerpts presented, it becomes evident that Nana occasionally has trouble in successfully communicating the events of the narratives, and it is posited that she fears she might lose face for telling a pointless story. To mitigate these problems, Nana draws on code-switching as a communicative strategy, and frequently code-switches between different frames within the story, and also code-switches in instances where she moves between the storyworld and the present interaction. The chapter argues that for the most

part, Gaelic operates as the ‘storyworld’ language, although code-switching also occurs within the storyworld as a means to delineate different frames within this entity. The conceptualisation of Gaelic as the ‘storyworld’ language plays an integral role in explaining Nana’s use of unrealistic code choices in rendering the constructed dialogue and e-mail entextualisations, as these unrealistic choices are viewed as a tension between the storyworld and a desire to index features of the ‘real world.’ It was concluded that Nana does not lose face during the narrations of the two stories, and that part of her success is achieved by her ability to effectively use code-switching as a communicative strategy.

Chapter 8 then moves on to discussing the language use of the second generation speakers. Because the second generation’s overall language use indicates English dominance, the chapter centres primarily on identifying and analysing the contexts in which the second generation speakers *do* use Gaelic. The chapter begins by examining dual-linguality and its role in the Campbell family, arguing that incidences in which a first generation speaker speaks Gaelic and a second generation speaker answers in English are a fairly well-established norm within certain networks of speakers, namely between Nana and her children. The chapter then looks at the use of Gaelic for ‘referential rudeness,’ arguing that the use of Gaelic here momentarily breaks down the designation of English as the ‘we’ code for the second generation, with the insertion of an impolite Gaelic word or phrase in reference to someone signalling a private ‘we’ code-like context for the conversation. The chapter then discusses Peigi, who is the only second generation speaker who evidences a high proportion of Gaelic usage, and discusses how although Peigi’s overall Gaelic use is similar to a first generation speaker’s in terms of quantity, her language use differs by her apparent willingness, and perhaps ability, to manipulate the two codes effectively. The chapter argues that Peigi’s reluctance to code-switch could be explained by the various challenges Peigi encounters as a heritage learner of the language and focuses in particular on the difficulty of negotiating a Gaelic context when certain interactions, such as those between Peigi and her mother, would have previously taken place through the medium of English. The chapter then demonstrates that the second generation speakers often use Gaelic in creating a child-centred context either by utterances said directly to the child or in utterances that are intended to encourage the child’s participation in the conversation, and focuses in particular on the use of questions in Gaelic as a component of creating a child-centred context. It also examines the concept of ‘leaders’ in creating a child-centred context, arguing that use of Gaelic with the children is largely influenced by Nana and Peigi’s language ideologies and practices. Additionally, as seen in Example 8-15 ‘Broken Arm,’ use of Gaelic allows for the adults to navigate between different frames in an

oftentimes hectic interaction. The chapter then further examines Aonghas and Peigi's use of Gaelic in disciplining the children, arguing that for Aonghas, who evidences far less Gaelic use than Peigi, Gaelic is integral in displaying his authoritative stance towards the children, as he tends to use the language mainly when he becomes particularly frustrated with them, as seen in Example 8-17 'Pyjamas' and 8-18 'Be Polite.' As shown by the examples in both Chapters 8 and 9, the children in turn appear to understand the power of their father speaking Gaelic and act accordingly.

Chapter 9 then draws on the concept of Gaelic indexing an authoritative stance in arguing that the children's own use of the language reflects the way the adult speakers, and especially the children's parents, use the language with them. As Maggie, who evidences the greater use of Gaelic of the third generation speakers, was 3;6 at the time of the recording, the chapter begins by taking a more acquisitional approach to looking at her language use, and details the instances of Maggie's lexical mixing and her ability to use more complex syntactical structures. The chapter then examines evidence of the children's abilities to differentiate between the two languages used in their household and further explores instances in which the children express their language attitudes, postulating that what appears to be the children's preference for English may be in part influenced by English's higher status in a wider sociocultural context. Example 9-3 'Teddy in the Washing Machine' and Example 9-4 'Moon' examine the use of Gaelic in 'storytime' and these examples suggest that Maggie's use of Gaelic in this interaction may be indicative of Nana's success at fostering a Gaelic-centred context by reading an English language book in Gaelic. The chapter then argues that the children primarily appear to use Gaelic as a 'strategy for gain.' It further argues that several facets of the adults' language use and beliefs—namely, the use of Gaelic in taking authoritative stances, the use of code-switching in attracting attention to an utterance, and the overarching desire for the children to speak Gaelic, as well as Nana's and Peigi's indications that Gaelic is their preferred code—are integral to the children's use of Gaelic as a strategy. The chapter demonstrates how Gaelic is used in making appeals, and more specifically, how Gaelic is used in making bids for attention. It then moves on to looking at the use of Gaelic in a disciplinary context and shows how the children sometimes employ the use of Gaelic in formulating argumentative stances vis-à-vis their caregivers' displays of authority. The chapter then examines Maggie's proportionally high use of Gaelic while speaking on the telephone, arguing that this increased use of Gaelic can be explained by Maggie's association of the phone with first generation speakers, and thus, in speaking on the phone, Maggie is 'doing being Nana.' The chapter concludes by putting forth the argument that the use of Gaelic is

evidence of the third generation's 'linguaging,' and that they are acquiring, and subsequently experimenting with, the use of certain varieties in certain contexts.

## 10.2 Further Discussion: 'Doing Being a Bilingual Family'

The Campbell Family clearly evidences the use of Gaelic and English in a variety of ways and different contexts. Throughout the chapters, it has shown how the different speakers use their two languages on the individual, intragenerational, and intergenerational levels. In using a microinteractional approach, the analysis has clearly presented how the family members use code-switching as part of the meaning-making processes of their conversations. Now that each generation had been examined individually, it is possible to enter a fuller discussion of how code-switching and the meaning of 'code' varies on the generational level.

In terms of the more 'macro' meanings of code, this thesis has evidenced that as Li Wei (1994) finds in his three generational study of the Tyneside Chinese community, the 'we'/'they' code distinction may be drawn along generational lines. Generally, Gaelic can be said to operate as the 'we' code for the first generation and English operates as the 'we' code for the second and third generations. However, there are exceptions to the latter part of this observation, most notably Peigi's language use and the second generation's use of Gaelic in 'referential rudeness.' In terms of the first generation, although Gaelic tends to be their 'we' code, the frequency which code-switching occurs as shown by the examples in Chapter 6 and 7 suggests that there is an expectation that intragenerational interactions will involve occasional alternation between Gaelic and English for effect. As can also be seen from the examples in Chapters 6 and 7, the use of Gaelic also involves a use of English discourse markers and English lexical items within the Gaelic speech, which could possibly at times suggest the emergence of a 'mixed' code; additionally, the expectation that code-switching will occasionally occur in some ways bears resemblance to Myers-Scotton's (1988) concept of 'code-switching as the unmarked choice,' or Gafaranga's (2000) concept of the 'medium of interaction.' However, Chapter 2 argued against the need to articulate language alternation in terms of 'mono-entities' (i.e. one 'mixed' code, one medium, or Auer's [1984] concept of concept of preference for 'same-language talk') and also argued that Myers-Scotton's (1988) category of 'code-switching as the unmarked choice' had the potential to subsume complexity into one entity. The discussion of the first generation speakers' use of both languages demonstrates that although there is at some

level the expectation that interactions will involve language alternation, the switching between the both languages is integral and important to the conversation. It has showed that code-switching is used to emphasise certain utterances, and that this emphasis is a valuable resource these speakers use, especially when it comes to mitigating communicative trouble. It was argued in the discussions of Example 6-10 ‘Got to Keep the Queen Happy’ and 6-11 ‘Wild Night’ that it was the use of code-switching within the instance of constructed dialogue that bestowed a local in-group identity on the referent, which adds further credence to the argument that will be put forth here: Gaelic *and* code-switching operate as the first generation’s ‘we’ codes. The effective use of code-switching in conversation is as much a defining characteristic of the first generation as is their high use of Gaelic when compared with the second and third generations. This argument is not surprising considering the observations mentioned in Chapter 1 that code-switching is arguably more the remit of balanced bilinguals than less-proficient bilinguals, but it is an important point to make when looking holistically at the generational differences in code-switching.

The juxtaposition of the first generation with the second and third generations lends further evidence to the argument that the way the first generation alternates between their two languages is a defining characteristic of their generation. The first generation’s code-switching appears to be more bi-directional, whereas the code-switching of the second and third generation speakers appears to be more unidirectional. With the exception of Peigi, code-switching for these speakers is from English into Gaelic, as they mainly operate through the medium of English, and their switches predominantly occur in specific contexts. For the second generation, they deploy Gaelic mainly as their ‘child-centred’ or ‘authoritative’ code. The third generation in turn appear to understand this association between the second generation’s use of code and context, as seen from the children’s answers in Example 8-15 ‘Broken Arm,’ and 8-17 ‘Pyjamas,’ for example. They further demonstrate an association between code and context by their own use of Gaelic, which is mainly used as a ‘strategy for gain,’ and is especially deployed as their ‘argumentative’ code when setting up oppositionary stances towards their caregivers. Views of Gaelic as an ‘adult’ and especially ‘first generation’ code was also seen from Maggie’s increased use of Gaelic in the phone as seen from Example 9-21 ‘Yesterday’ and 9-22 ‘Phoning.’

Although the second and third generation speakers evidence less bilinguality than the first generation speakers, they nonetheless demonstrate that they are ‘doing being part of this bilingual family.’ Their ‘doing being,’ however, takes a different form than the first

generation, who frequently display their ‘on-stage’ (cf. Auer, 1984) bilingualism. The second and third generation members primarily only make overt displays of their bilingualism in certain contexts, but the fact that these overt displays tend to coincide with specific contexts, and are not spontaneously random occurrences, is an important component of illustrating how the less bilingual speakers are nonetheless ‘doing being bilingual.’ Less overt displays of bilingualism, such as the ‘dual-lingual’ conversations also evidence ‘doing being bilingual.’ Even Karen, who appears to be mostly monolingual, ‘does being part of this extended bilingual family;’ she does not signal that it is problematic that she cannot understand the interaction between Nana and Tormod, whereas in other situations, a speaker might show his or her dispreference at two speakers conversing in a language that the third speaker cannot fully understand. Thus, although it has been argued that ‘we’/ ‘them’ code distinctions can in many ways be drawn across generational lines in this family, the Campbell family clearly illustrates the Gumperz’ (1977, p. 6) premise that the difference between ‘we’ and ‘them’ interactions is that ‘them’ interactions can only take place with use of the majority language, while ‘we’ interactions can occur in the ‘we’ code, the ‘they’ code, or code-switching between the two. The interactions in the Campbell Family Corpus are clearly ‘we’ interactions; even though all members do not necessarily have the linguistic skills or the desire to use the two codes, part of ‘doing being a bilingual family’ involves participating, either actively or passively, in interactions which may involve the Gaelic, English, or code-switching between the two languages.

Overall, this thesis has re-iterated that code-switching is a powerful communicative tool. This conclusion is certainly not new within the scope of code-switching research, but in looking at code-switching in the context of three generations of this family, the thesis has demonstrated the various forms that ‘code-switching as a communicative tool’ may take over different generations and different individuals with varying levels of proficiency and willingness to use both languages. It is clear that for most of the speakers in this study, code-switching is an important part of their repertoire in communicating with each other, even if they may only choose to deploy this tool in limited contexts.

### **10.3 Suggestions for Further Research**

As was discussed in Chapter 1, research on code-switching in a Gaelic context has not been very extensive. Thus, while this study has offered insight into code-switching from a sociolinguistic perspective, there is certainly scope to examine Gaelic-English code-



switching from a linguistic perspective, and it might be particularly insightful to focus on grammatical aspects of Gaelic that are not present in many other Indo-European languages (i.e. lenition). Additionally, the first generation's Gaelic usage indicated a high degree of integration of English lexical items into Gaelic morphosyntax, and a fine-grained analysis of the mechanics of this sedimentation, as well as identifying any items that may prove particularly resistant to this integration, may prove fruitful in gaining a further understanding of Gaelic-English contact phenomena.

Further, from a sociolinguistic perspective, this study, for various reasons, has focused on a particular microcosm, and it could be even be argued that it has focused especially on a 'microcosm of a microcosm' with the emphasis on the Skye Campbells and the particular focus on Nana. Thus, there is a wide scope for further research on other speaker networks, and also a scope for looking at the use of code-switching outside the family environment. As well, the examples presented in this chapter have pointed to the need to further research the use of discourse markers and their role in English-Gaelic contact; it might, for example, be interesting to see if there was a correlation between discourse markers and subsequent code-switching following the discourse marker. Further, it was noted that instances of backchanneling were not coded for language, and looking specifically at backchanneling in terms of code-switching may shed further light on the nature of Gaelic-English language alternation. In a more general vein, there is a further need for more recording and analysing spontaneously-spoken Gaelic conversations, as to the best of my knowledge, this corpus, Lamb's (2008) corpus, and the conversational component of the *Language Engineering Resources for the Indigenous Minority Languages of the British Isles (BIML)* project, are the only corpuses of this type in existence. There is also a wide scope for work that deals with how to best represent Gaelic speech for analytic purposes such as Conversational Analysis. Because this thesis has been concerned primarily with code-switching, it has not examined other interactional aspects of the conversations; again, to the best of my knowledge, this study is the only study that has applied a CA methodology to the interactions of Gaelic-English bilinguals, and as such, there is a clear need to conduct similar research to gain a fuller understanding of this language's natural, vernacular usage.

## 10.4 Language Shift and Maintenance in the Campbell Family: A Post-Script

Although the focus of the thesis has mainly been code-switching, this thesis has painted a portrait of language shift and efforts at language maintenance within three generations of an extended family. It is very clear that language shift is occurring, but it is also evident that for many of the family members, creating an environment conducive to language maintenance is important to them. It was concluded that the language maintenance efforts are largely led by Nana and Peigi, but that other speakers, even though they may not use much Gaelic themselves, also evidence that they feel that maintaining Gaelic with the third generation is important. In turn, these speakers occasionally contribute to the creation of Gaelic-centred contexts and try to foster a Gaelic environment in the home.

In terms of the third generation's actual Gaelic use, the examples presented in the thesis do not give a very encouraging depiction of language maintenance. However, it is important to emphasise that although I believe that the Campbell Family Corpus is an accurate reflection of their language use at the time of the recording in 2009, since the recordings were made, I have witnessed other instances of the family's language use that is more encouraging in terms of language maintenance. Maggie, who in Section 9.4 insisted that she have the story read to her in *Beurla* ('English') because she 'did not like *Gàidhlig*,' once appeared to base her book choice on language, and deliberately brought me a Gaelic book to read to her. After she started attending school, I have noticed her using more Gaelic at home, and I have heard her speaking in full sentences, as well as using Nana's '*smaointeachadh*' in place of the standard '*smaoineachadh*.' Although this could be variant her teacher uses, her use of '*smaointeachadh*' could possibly indicate that she has acquired and is using Nana's preferred variant. Additionally, there has been a new arrival in her family, and Peigi relayed to me that she told Maggie that 'babies only speak Gaelic.' I have since witnessed both Maggie and David using Gaelic with their baby brother. Further, their father Aonghas has since started attending a GME university course, and he and I now occasionally speak to each other in Gaelic, whereas previously Peigi was the only second generation who showed willingness to use Gaelic with me. Although these instances are only anecdotal, I feel that it is necessary to relay them in the conclusion of the thesis, as they present an accurate depiction of the family overall.

As anyone reading this thesis has had an intimate glimpse into these speakers' personal lives, and because the conclusions made from the thesis have been drawn from

excerpts of this family's conversations, I would like to end on a more personal note by showing one more conversation. Although the conversation is very interesting in terms of the code-switching, the reason I am showing it is because of what I deem its striking symbolism: in terms of their struggle to maintain Gaelic in the home, the Campbell family is like the nettle in this conversation. (Although nettles are not thought of as the most attractive plants, the photograph referenced in this conversation is a particularly striking and beautiful photograph of a nettle). The Campbell Family are forging through the concrete that is the language shift in their community and even within their own family; they are trying to maintain the Gaelic language despite the formidable adversity in doing this:

- 1 Nana *am fac' thu an deanntag? (7.2)* poor Jamie  
did you see the nettle?
- 2 Tormod you didn't chop it down
- 3 Nana I didn't chop it down no I didn't
- 4 Tormod aye
- 5 Nana I didn't but I just saw it and I thought
- 6 Tormod *=nach e fhuair thu greim?*  
didn't you take root?
- 7 Nana *{nach e}*  
didn't
- 8 Tormod eh?
- 9 Nana *às a' choncrete mar gum biodh*  
from the concrete as it were
- 10 Tormod [[aye aye]]
- 11 Nana *[[às a' chladach]]* you know what I mean oh  
from the (rocky) beach  
*tha e breagha ann an shin an-dè diluain* oh *tha e breagha*  
it is pretty there yesterday Monday it is pretty



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## Appendices

### 'Fuse Wire'

- 1 Isabel been too busy to be hungry and then I eat rubbish (.)  
you get a paper today?
- 2 Nana mmm-mmm
- 3 Isabel *carson? cà' Seumas an-diugh?*  
why? where's Seumas today?
- 4 Nana [[*chan eil /fhios a'm*] (3.0) *cha chuala mi guth*  
I don't know I haven't heard anything
- 5 R [[@ @]
- 6 Isabel do you know where he is?
- 7 R no I'm just laughing because last night (.)  
there was- the lights were out and
- 8 Nana oh hhhhelp what a carry on
- 9 Isabel the lights were out whe:re
- 10 Nana the lights were /out in the extensions (.) was I telling you about that?
- 11 Isabel oh aye it was just an ((eejit))
- 12 Nana aye *chaidh iad às*  
they went out
- 13 Isabel he didn't put the fuse in
- 14 Nana *fhuair Seumas (.) thàinig N-Neil an uair sin an oidhche roimhe*  
Seumas got (.) N-Neil then came the night before  
15 *'s chuir e 's wire e suas an rud ceart*  
and he wired the thing up right  
16 *a h-uile a h-uile càil a h-uile càil a' dol 's (.)*  
everything everything going and  
17 *an oidhche sin nuair a chaidh mise chadal*  
that night when I went to sleep  
18 *chunnaic mi am bub air an làr*  
I saw the bulb on the floor  
19 *cà' an do bubs?*  
Where are (the?) bulbs?  
20 *eh na well thàinig Seumas an uair sin an ath latha 's*  
Seumas then came the next day and  
21 *hhh. cuir am bulb tha siud ars mise*  
Put that bulb I said  
22 *thuit e mach cuir air-ais e*

- it fell out put it back  
 23 .hhh *chuir Seumas 's chuir e air-ais am bulb*  
 Seumas put and he put the bulb back  
 24 (EGRESSIVE SOUND) blew up in his face  
 25 Isabel {hmmm}
- 26 so  
 27 Isabel it was o:n was it on?  
 28 Nana must have been or something and he went  
 29 and checked th- the thingy put in a new fuse wire  
 30 *cha robh e càil ach a rud a chuir e*  
 it wasn't anything but the thing he put  
*nuair a dh'fhalbh a-rithist 's (.)*  
 when [it] went [out] again and  
 31 *dh'fhalbh fuse a-ri::thist*  
 fuse went out again  
 32 so *th-thuirt mise* phone Neil  
 I s-said  
 33 oh he said he texted and he didn't reply to his texts  
 34 oh *ars' mise* it's no good if he'd still replied to your texts  
 I say  
 35 he says he's not responding not he hasn't responded to you  
 36 *ars' mise* no /good  
 I said  
 37 oh I'll phone him and he's phone back and he said he's not answering his  
 phone will you phone the house  
 38 **HI**< phone the house yourself *ars' mise*  
 I said  
 39 phoned the house phoned back and he s-said (.)  
 40 not answering the phone in the house either (.)  
 41 right *ma-tha so mise cuiridh mi fhèin air dòigh*  
 then I'll put it right myself  
 42 oh no oh a:h I'll have to go is Aonghas in?  
 I'll have to go /down just to put a bit of wire in  
 43 *arsa mise* I'll [[try ((?)) ]  
 I said  
 44 Isabel [[was he in Portree at this point]  
 45 Nana he was in Port/ree I'll try it myself then *arsa mise*
- so go down and screw and turned the one  
 46 on the right uh uh thug mi as a cheile e  
*chuir mi ann* fuse wires ((SNIFF)) (.)  
 I put in  
 47 Isabel probably got the wrong fuse wire  
 48 Nana he tried Neil no he had  
 the right fuse wire /in tried Neil again and couldn't get Neil  
 49 so he phoned Jamie 's (.) *cha robh Jamie 's thuirt Jacob ris*  
 Jamie wasn't and Jacob said to him  
 five amp is fine
- 50 for it e:h but it might be something  
 faulty with the (.) bulb in the socket you know the s- so anyway  
 51 *tha mise su- suas chuir mi ann an fusewire*  
 I was u-up I put in the fusewire  
*'s thuirt mi thuirt °thuirt mi an uair sin*

- and I said said I said then  
 52 oh just don't use the switch don't use the switch  
 just in ca- Jamie said just in case it's faulty  
 53 *WH*<anyway *fhuair mi switch* >*WH agus*  
 I got (the) switch and  
*o deich mionaidean às dèidh sin* (.) all right  
 ten minutes later  
 54 *bha e greis às dèidh sin bha iadsan air tighinn*  
 it was a while after that they had come  
*cò thàinig ach /Neil* (.) left his phone  
 who came but Neil  
 in the van and just- just- just got the text then  
 55 *ars mise* I managed to sort it myself I put the fuse wire in myself  
 I say  
 come and check have a look at the socket *ars mise* the bulb  
 56 f- och *ars esan* sometimes the bulbs  
 he says  
 do that they cause an awful- (.) they can cause  
 that might there's nothing wrong  
 57 with it get another bulb so  
*dh'fhalbh mise dhan a' phreas a dh'iarraidh*  
 I was away to the press to seek  
*bulb eile fear dhen na low burners tha siud*  
 another bulb one of those low burners  
 58 Nana =so *chuir e sin ann 's* (.) /ok  
 he put that in and  
 59 (2.0)  
 60 Isabel mmm-mmm  
 61 Nana so *chuir e sin ann 's bha e ok*  
 he put that in and it was  
 62 Isabel mmm-mmm  
 63 Nana: I thought perhaps I wouldn't get the use of that thing  
 64 but there was nothing wrong but he says sometimes these bulbs do that  
 65 I think the switch must have been switched on when he put it in or  
 something  
 66 (1.4)  
 67 *gun robh e air*  
 that is was on  
 68 *switch air*  
 switch on  
 69 Isabel: it probably was and then when he threw it- away  
 70 when he saw the light come on dropped it  
 71 did it /drop  
 72 Nana I don't know what it did

'Flannan Isles'

- 1 Flora *chan eil ùidh sam bith agam a dhol dha na Shiantas ge-tà=*  
 I don't have any interest in going to the Shiantas however  
 2 Nana =*ach chan eil* [[*na agamsa* ]  
 No me neither  
 3 Flora [[ (*'s dòcha ca*)]  
 (( maybe where))  
 4 Nana *innsidh mi dhut ca am bu thoil leamsa a dhol e::h em*  
 I'll tell you where I'd like to go

- dha na Flannan isles (.) dha na Flannans*  
to the Flannan to the Flannans
- 5 Flora *tha pìos ann a sheo =*  
that's a piece there (i.e. that's a trek)
- 6 Nana = { } *tha*  
it is
- 7 Flora *chan eil [fhios a'm] a bheil trips a' dol ?*  
I don't know if trips go?
- 8 Nana [ (??) ]  
well well (.) *bha mise nuair a bha mise oirre an-uiridh*  
I was when I was on her [the boat] last year
- 9 *bha fear a bha seo-*  
There was this man  
*'tha fios agad mar a bhios mi a' bruidhinn*  
you know how I talk  
*ri fear a bha seo*  
with this man
- 10 *he was a talker you know*  
*agus thòisich e ag introdusadh a h-uile duine*  
and he started introducing everyone
- 11 *tha thusa às an Eilean Sgitheanach*  
you're from the Isle of Skye
- 12 *^ OO:::H bha mise dìreach a' tighinn ron Eilean Sgitheanach*  
I was just coming through the Isle of Skye  
*an latha roimhe agus*  
the day before
- 13 *'s ann às an Eilean Sgitheanach a dh'fhalbh mo chuideachd*  
my family's originally from the Isle of Skye
- 14 *(.) oh an ann ars mise ca às?*  
are they I say from where?
- 15 *Slèite: dè a chanadh iad riut ((riutha)) Rosses (.)*  
Sleat what did they call you ((them))
- 16 *ach cha robh e cinnteach (.) cha robh e cinnteach (.)*  
but he was not sure he was not sure
- 17 *ach tha:: he would like to do more of research to find out*  
but is
- 18 *but they were definitely from Slèite.*
- 19 *(CLICK) so anyway (.)*
- 20 *ach (.)*  
but
- 21 *bha e a' bleadaraich air ais 's air adhart an uair sin nuair a-*  
he was talking back and forth when  
*nuair a chaidh mi dhachaigh (.2)*  
when I went home
- 22 *chuir Larry Jay e-mail thugam 's thuirt e gu robh fear a bha seo*  
Larry Jay sent me an e-mail and he said that this man  
*uh e:h rud a chuir fear bha seo*  
a thing that this man had sent
- 23 *Thompson George Thompson an t-ainm air*  
Thompson George Thompson (was/is) his name  
*gun do chuir e e-mail thuige*  
that he sent an e-mail to him
- 24 *tha:: (.3) ag iarraidh orm (2.5)*  
wanting me
- 25 *e-mailadh airais thuige agus an an uair sin*  
to e-mail him back and then
- 26 *A> cha do chuir thugam an e-mail*



- he didn't send me the e-mail  
 27 *cha d' fhuair mi an e-mail my his e-mail address*  
 I didn't get the e-mail  
 28 *cha do chuir e thugam an email*  
 He didn't send me the e-mail  
 29 **WELL** *an uair sin chuir Larry Jay t-èile thugam*  
 then Larry sent me another one  
*ag ràdh gun do chaill e e-mail a chuir-*  
 saying that he lost the e-mail that [...] sent  
 30 @@@ I must have deleted it  
 31 So, I'll give you his e-mail address *ars' esan* but I hope-  
he says  
 32 I hope he won't be pestering you[...  
 33 Flora @@@  
 34 Nana @@@ so, anyway, h-  
 35 oh, if that's all right with you  
 36 *thuir mi ris* so that's all right  
 I said to him  
 37 but I'll make sure he won't pester me @@ don't worry, he won't pester  
 me!  
 38 *agus ((SNIFF))*  
 and  
 39 *chuir e an uair sin thugam tè agus dealbh dhen*  
 and then he sent me one and a picture of  
*an taigh nuair a thill e air ais stad e ann an Slèite*  
 the house when he returned he stopped in Sleat  
 40 *agus ghabh e dealbh-*  
 and he took a picture  
 41 *fhuair e chunnaic e cuideigin a bh' ann*  
 he got he saw someone that was there  
 42 uh Clachan  
 43 he recognised Clachan and he went up to Clachan the road  
 44 *agus chunnaic e fear ann a shin*  
 and he saw a man there  
 uh a Mr. L. A. MacKay well (.)  
 45 *Lachie Angus dh'aithnichinn an duine.*  
 I knew the man  
 46 so he told him he showed him where his- his grannie's house was=  
 47 Flora =uh-huh [uh-huh]=  
 48 Nana =a' chiad [taigh] mar a thèid thu suas Clachan  
 the first house as you go up Clachan  
*taigh Murdo Don bh' againne riamh air*  
 Murdo Don's house we always called it  
 49 anyway, *chuir e dealbh dhen an taigh sin* and he was  
 he sent a picture of that house  
 so pleased he had found his grannie's house  
 and all that and that and that (.)  
 50 h...oh that was all right  
 51 so *chuir mi air ais tè thuige 's thuir mise*  
 I sent him back one and said  
 52 I know who you've met (.) and I'm maybe meet him and find out more but  
 anyway *cha d' fhuair mi riamh*  
 I didn't ever get  
 53 @ ^ oh *thàinig an uair sin an ceann lathachan*  
 then after a few days  
*no seachdainn 's dòcha tèile uaithe*  
 or a week maybe another one came from him

- 54 ((SNIFF)) *cantainn gun robh* that he wanted to do  
saying that
- 55 more em lighthouse bagging and that he was trying to arrange a:: trip to um  
(.) the Flannan
- 56 Flora =mmm-hmm
- 57 Nana =isles (.) *bha mi air a cantainn ris air a' bhàta that-*  
I had said to him on the boat
- 58 *fear eile air a' bhàta ann a' bhàta cuideachd*  
there was another man on the boat in the boat as well
- 59 *'s bha a sheanair air-*  
and his grandfather was on
- 60 *bha e ag ràdh gun robh a sheanair gu robh a sheanair*  
He was saying that his grandgather that his grandfather
- 61 *fear dhen a dhiubh 's e fear Mac- Mac MacArthur a bh' ann*  
was one of them he was a MacArthur
- 62 *uh tha e- 's e architect a bh' ann ann an Inbhir Nis (.)*  
is he is an architect in Inverness
- 63 *agus his his grandfather was one of the three men*  
and
- 64 in the in the on the island *nuair a*  
when
- 65 Flora= °*a bheil*  
really
- 66 Nana ={aye} so he says I would love to go (.)
- 67 no (.) *chan eil fhios 'am an robh an email*  
(or?) I don't know did the e-mail
- 68 *no an d'fhuair ann an touch ris an fhear sin*  
or did he get in touch with the man
- 69 *gus nach d' fhuair co dhiù (.)*  
or he didn't anyway
- 70 *rud a bha e ag iarraidh (.)*  
what he was wanting
- 71 he was trying to arrange for some of the group would we like to \go
- 72 I would /love to go so *fhuair mi air ais thuirt mi ris*  
I got back said to him
- 73 I would \love to go so one of the a- one of the wee places (.) *fhios agad*  
you know
- 74 Flora [[aye]
- 75 Nana *[[bàrd]achd 's stòiridh mu dhèidhinn*  
poetry and story about
- 76 *chuala mi mo mhàthair cho tric a' bruidhinn air agus (.)*  
I would often hear my mother talking about it and
- 77 *co dhiù (.) tha an uair sin tè eile air-ais ag ràdh*  
anyway then another one back saying
- 78 that um he had been speaking to um some
- 79 geographical *rudeigin* or other or whatever *agu:s* Larry  
something and
- 80 and that Larry would be happy to do it in (.) May (.) (CLICK)
- 81 o::h right (.) *chuir mi air ais tèile*  
I sent another back
- 82 I'm sorry but I'll be invigilating during the months of May
- 83 and I couldn't sort of say I did (.)

- 84 I couldn't you know *chan eil fhios agad dè*  
you don't know
- 85 Flora [uh]
- 86 Nana *na lathachan a bhios tu air*  
the days you will be on
- 87 but *thuir mi ris* June I could I could go in June  
I said to him
- 88 OH\ *chuir e an uair sin tè air ais*  
he sent another one back
- 89 oh no that it was May that was the best time (.)
- 90 any:way: *ann a sheo o chionn tut dha na trì sheachdainnean*  
here two or three weeks ago
- 91 *ach bha mi riamh a' gabhail iongnadh an deach iad ann* (.)  
but I was wondering if they went
- 92 *chan e* (.) *bha g- gille aig bha Tormod* sixty  
no the fellow had Tormod was sixty
- 93 *an-uiridh bha mise air a bhith* (.)  
last year I had been
- 94 *ann a Hiort 's bha mi ag ràdh chòrdadh seo ri Tormod*  
in St. Kilda so I was saying Tormod would enjoy  
*so thuir mi ri ri Fiona*  
that so I said to to Fiona
- 95 *tha ach mi a dol a thoir dha*  
I was just going to get him  
*a dol a dh' fhaighinn voucher na rudeigin ach so*  
going to get a voucher or something but
- 96 *dh' fhaighnich do Larry an robh e dèanamh leithid a rud*  
asked Larry was he doing something like that
- 97 ^ OH aye so *ars mise chan eil fhios a'm cuine a thèid e ann*  
I say I don't know when he will go there
- 98 oh well *ars' esan bidh e uair sam bith an ath-bhliadhna*  
he said it will be any time next year
- 99 Flora °[[mmm]
- 100 Nana [[Sept]ember *agus an ath bhliadhna faodaidh e dhol ann uair sam bith*  
and the next year he can go any time  
well (.) *bha Tormod air a arrangadh gun dheidhinn-sa còmhla ris*  
Tormod had arranged it so that I would go with him  
*bha Larry air a chantainn* that he w-  
Larry had said  
*he gun toireadh e mach mi air latha eile=*  
that he'd take me out another day
- 101 Flora =mmm-hmm
- 102 Nana *Thug mi dha* (.) ts- *rud beag extra dìreach-*  
I gave him just a little bit (extra)  
*ann a' cash* (.) *tha fhios agad bha e cho diombach*  
in (cash) you know how he was indignant  
*bha e ag ràdh* that uh he gives people he knows and locals a discount  
he was saying
- 103 Flora mmm-hmm
- 104 Nana oh well  
*thuir mise oh chan e business mar sin idir* you know @ *mar gum bhiodh*  
I said that's not a a business at all as it were
- 105 *a' fear eile ag ràdh ri Layla air a' mhachaire*  
another fellow was saying to Layla on the machair

- nuair a bha e a' reic na sgadan reic na sgadan*  
 when he was selling herring selling herring  
*chan eil càirdeas a' cunntas seo ann @@*  
 relations don't count here at all  
 106 Flora @@
- 107 Nana *Layla ag ràdh ris oh tha thu càirdeach dhomhsa*  
 Layla saying to him you're related to me  
 108 *oh chan eil càirdeas a cunntas @*  
 relatives don't count  
*tha mi ag ràdh ris chan eil càirdeas a cunntas*  
 I am saying to him relations don't count  
 109 *@ a seo ann tha- tha chan dean math dhut a bhith dèanamh sin*  
 here there is is it doesn't do you good to be doing that  
*ars' mise cha dèan thu prothid sam bith*  
 I say you won't make a profit at all  
*co-dhiù thuirt e- thuirt e rium bheii:r m- bheir mi mach thu air latha-*  
 anyway he said he said to me I'll take take you out on a  
 day  
 110 *an ath shamraidh thig a-nall ath shamraidh*  
 next summer come over next summer  
*bheir mi mach thu agus*  
 I'll take you out  
*um ma bhios mi làn ars esan faodaidh tu- faodaidh tu crew dhèanamh*  
*dhomh*  
 and if I'm full he says you- you can do a crew for me  
 111 Flora @@ [[@@]]
- 112 Nana @@ aye *ars' mise* we're going over the sick bags [[@@]]  
 I say  
*co-dhiù bha Tormod ag ràdh uell thèid thu fhèin còmhla rium*  
 anyway Tormod was saying you'll come with me  
*latha thèid mi ann thèid thu fhèin còmhla rium (.)* of course  
 day I will go you will go with me  
 113 Flora [[ ( ? ) ] ]
- 114 Nana [[*Thuit mise 's bhr- ghortich mi mo chas* out of action]  
 I fell and I br- hurt my leg  
 (.) so first of june (.)  
*bha Tormod ag ràdh (.) oh bha t-side dìreach goileach 's*  
 Tormod as saying weather was just boiling and  
*ann a bha e ro theth ro theth Paula nam aite*  
 and it was too hot too hot Paula in my place  
*dh'fhalbh Paula còmhla ris*  
 Paula went with him  
 115 *agu:s: (.) cha robh e gu math an dèidh tilleadh ghabh i* sunstroke  
 and it was not good after returning she got  
 116 Flora HI> [[Really?]]
- 117 Nana [[sun] ^aye (.) *bha i dìreach an t- seachdainn sa chaidh a dh'fhas i na b'fhearr*  
 it was just last week that she got better  
*no bidh all right*  
 or will be
- 118 Flora Really?  
 119 Nana *Oh bha i ann an a stad a bha garbh agus dè sgìth done-out*  
 she was in an awful state and what tiredness  
*oh bha i tough thug iad dhan an dotair i deireadh na seachdainn*  
 she was tough they took her to the doctor end of the week

- bha iad an toiseach a' smaoin eachadh gur e you know sgith 's bh' oirre*  
 at first they were thinking she was tired  
 120 *ach bha i gu math /tinn bha i an uair sin bha iad ag ràdh gun robh*  
 but she was very sick she was then they were saying  
 that  
*blood disor- no virus something- ach 's dòcha bha e /sun too much /sun*  
 or but perhaps it was  
 121 *° fhuair i seachad air ach rud a bha Tormod ag ràdh gu gun gun*  
 she got over it but the thing that Tormod was saying that  
 that  
 122 *do robh na iad dh'fhòn e dèanamh a' bhooking oh- oh*  
 thatwas or they he phoned doing the booking  
*bha mi bha mi d- bha mi fònadh gu Nana dh' fhònadh gu Nana*  
 I was I was I was phoning Nana phoning Nana  
*tha mi do gu bhi torr crowd a-nall anns an Eilean Sgitheanach*  
 I am is going to be a big crowd over in Skye  
*uh Dimairt bha seo a-null latha an-diugh=*  
 this Tuesday the day today
- 123 Flora = mmm-hmm  
 124 Nana *bha esan a' dol Diluain 's bha Dimairt*  
 He was going Monday and (it) was Tuesday  
*oh ars Tormod cha dèan i càil dhe an-dràsta a dhol dhan na Hearadh*  
 Tormod said she doesn't do anything now going to  
 Harris  
 @
- 125 *tha i fhathast air bàta 's cha dèanadh i càil ann am bàta*  
 she's still on the boat she won't do anything on the boat
- 126 *bha mi an uair sin a' smaoin eachadh*  
 I was then thinking  
*'s dòcha gur e seo an fheadhainn a bha dol*  
 perhaps that this was the folks that were going  
*gur e- na fheadhainn a' dol dha na Flannans a bh' ann*  
 that it was the folks going to the Flannans  
*ach:: uh anyway*
- 127 *that was out the window so an uair sin out of the blue ann a sheo*  
 then here  
*thàinig email à George Thompson ag ràdh*  
 An e-mail came from George Thompson saying  
*that the um Flannan trip didn't*  
 take off they didn't get enough people to go=
- 128 =oh *cha robh gu leòr ann*  
 129 Flora there were ont enough there
- 130 Nana *cha robh gu leor so (.) that was it so: there weren't enough*  
 there were not enough
- 131 *an uair sin ag innseadh dhomh that he got a*  
 then telling me
- 132 divorce and eh @ he got divorced recently and eh=
- 133 Flora = started looking for someone else=
- 134 Nana CR> no no /no he met
- 135 Flora @@@
- 136 Nana : he met he met an old girlfriend that he had but she's living down in
- 137 Flora @@
- 138 Nana *fada shìos ann an Sasainn*  
 way down in England
- 139 Flora @@

140 Nana and uh but he's meeting up with her and so I thought  
141 oh phew °*cha robh cha* oof  
wasn't no  
142 Flora @@