

The contemporary Scottish Gaelic linguistic and cultural landscape

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B.A., History, Kansas State University, 2017

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Geography
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

Manhattan, Kansas

2019

Approved by:

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Abstract

Language is a key component of human culture that helps us define our world and communicate with others within it. Much like various aspects of material culture, the cultural landscape is rife with displays of the local language(s) and informs us of the values held by a people within a particular region. But what happens to this landscape when a language has fallen into disuse? In Scotland, the Gaelic language is one such example. Scottish Gaelic was dominant in the country, especially the Highland region, between the 10th and 16th centuries. The ascent of James VI of Scotland to the English throne, however, helped to spur the dominance of English in Scotland, with Gaelic falling out of favor as a result. Recent surveys by the Scottish Government have found that fewer than 100,000 speakers of Gaelic remain in Scotland, placing the language within the “endangered” category. What happens to the landscape of a language, in this case Scottish Gaelic, when the language has fallen out of dominance in its native region? Has the landscape of the Gaelic culture changed in the same way? In-depth field research in which elements of the cultural landscape (e.g. signs, shops, and events) were analyzed, aims to answer these questions and help us better understand the importance of and attitudes for a regional language within a culture as a whole.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to firstly thank everyone in the Department of Geography for their support and camaraderie through this process. I would also like to thank my advisor Dr. Jeffrey Smith in his immense help through the entire process of determining this project and the writing of this thesis. His continual push for me to improve my work helped to craft this thesis and has made me a better writer in the process. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Mary Kohn and Dr. Charles Martin, for their valuable input during this process. Lastly, I want to thank my family, especially my parents, and friends who supported me even during times that I did not feel up to the task.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Everyone in the world uses some sort of language. This language may be spoken, written, or even signed. Although they may be vastly different from one another, they all have one thing in common: communication. This is because language is the primary way that we, as humans, interact with each other and convey ideas. Though the primary component of traditional language is the spoken component, the written component can be just as important in the conveyance of ideas. One of the main ideas that is shared with the use of language is that of culture and the beliefs held within a particular culture (Dawson and Phelan 2016). Though language is a tool that conveys culture, culture in turn shapes the language that we speak.

There are thousands of languages spoken across the globe, with unique (and sometimes multiple) cultures belonging to most of them. Many of these languages, however, are slowly dying out in favor of more widely spoken languages such as English, Spanish, and Mandarin Chinese. Knowledge of these languages is seen as more advantageous, as it increases the number of people with which trade and other business can be conducted. This is especially true of languages which were spoken as administrative languages within colonial empires, where external pressure to learn the mother language of the colonizers was present. In fact, more than half of the world's population speaks at least one of twenty-three major languages (*Ethnologue* 2018). Many languages, on the other hand, are being forcefully repressed by a more dominant language or culture group. This leads us to ask, what happens to the linguistic and cultural landscape when the language is no longer dominant in its native region? One method for observing this change in a language is by analyzing the cultural landscape.

The cultural landscape is the environment that is built by humans. Typically, the cultural landscape reflects the local culture's values and traditions (Norton 1989, Foote et al. 1994,

Jackson 1995, Höfer and Trepl 2012, Mendelsohn 2015). This reflection typically includes language as well, primarily represented in signs and place names. The research in this thesis will combine the study of language and the cultural landscape to observe the way in which languages (more specifically languages which were previously dominant but have since become the minority) are reflected on the landscape in their native regions. Because language is so intertwined with culture, studying how languages (especially those which are minority languages) are represented on the landscape provides an opportunity to observe their relation with cultural identity or sense of place (Jackson 1995). This should provide some insight into the cultural practices of a people.

Background

Scottish Gaelic was the language chosen as the subject of this research because there are only approximately 80,000 people who can speak Scottish Gaelic remaining in Scotland (2011 Scottish Census). Scottish Gaelic is a Celtic language, belonging to the Goidelic branch (which also includes Irish Gaelic and Manx) of the language group. The Scottish Gaelic language should not be confused with the language commonly referred to as Scots (sometimes referred to as Lallans), however, as that is a language that is similar to English, which belongs to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family. Due to how close the Scots language is to English, no distinctions between the two were made for this thesis. In this research, the Scottish Gaelic language will be analyzed in relation to the cultural landscape of Scotland. This will exclude other areas in which the language has a presence, such as Nova Scotia, Canada where first language speakers of Scottish Gaelic are also found (Watson and McLeod 2010).

The Scottish Gaelic language, however, is not indigenous to Scotland, having been introduced by the Scoti people (an ancient name for the Irish people) from Ireland sometime

during the late Classical or early Medieval Eras (Magnusson 2000). At this time, Scottish Gaelic was indistinguishable from Irish Gaelic. Over time, Scottish Gaelic became distinct from Irish Gaelic as the language interacted with the now-extinct indigenous Celtic languages of Pictish and Cumbric (which belonged to the Brittonic branch and were akin to Welsh) as well as other non-indigenous languages present in the region such as the Germanic Norse and English languages (Withers 1984). Eventually, Scottish Gaelic became the dominant language in the area now known as Scotland, driving the Pictish language to extinction and forcing Cumbric into the northern areas of England. Historians do not know, however, when exactly these events occurred other than the fact that they occurred during the Medieval Era (Magnusson 2000). The Literature Review chapter of this work is where the decline and current status of Scottish Gaelic will be discussed in detail.

Research Questions

Though the overarching research question is, “what happens to the linguistic and cultural landscape when the language is no longer dominant in its native region?” this question is not specific enough to produce desirable results for a thesis. To remedy this problem, four more specific research questions have been identified to provide a more sturdy base upon which this thesis will stand. I formed these questions as a way to compare and contrast the uses of both the language and culture across Scotland in a manner that allows for the formation of conclusions about attitudes and perceptions towards these elements.

The first question is: How is the Scottish Gaelic language currently manifested on the Scottish cultural landscape? By exploring this question, the study will be able to identify how the language appears on the landscape today. These manifestations will primarily be signs, but what are the purposes of the signs? Are they primarily street signs, billboards, place name signs (i.e.

towns or businesses), monuments/memorials, etc.? Exploring these questions should provide insight into when it is deemed culturally appropriate to use the language.

The second question is: How are elements of the Scottish Gaelic culture represented on the landscape? In other words, do items that are prominent or unique within the Gaelic culture only occur in conjunction with the language, or are they found separately as well? Some examples of these elements include: kilts and tartans, items and names associated with clans, music (bagpipes included), architecture, Scotch whisky, etc. (this will be discussed more in-depth in the methods and results chapters). How these elements are represented on the landscape in contrast to the representation of the language can provide a deeper insight into the overall cultural identity and attachment to place.

The next question is: Is the manifestation of Scottish Gaelic in a particular location vernacular or prescribed for a specific purpose (e.g. tourism or education)? Studying the type of occurrence may provide insight into how the local people interact with the language and culture. With a reduced number of speakers, the distinction between vernacular and prescription related occurrences should provide insight into the value that the locals place on the language. More vernacular occurrences, such as a sign for a small business in the Highlands, could signify that the locals still hold the language as a key component of their culture, though many of them do not speak it. Having more prescription based use of the language could indicate that the locals view Scottish Gaelic as part of their heritage, but do not put an emphasis on displaying the language other than for the purpose of preserving history and influencing foreigners' perceptions of the country.

Finally: What places in Scotland does the Scottish Gaelic language and culture appear? Do they appear together more often than not, or is one more dominant in certain areas than the

other? Do they appear more frequently in the Highlands (where it was most dominant historically), the Lowlands, urban areas, or in rural areas? Studying the frequency, much like the nature of the manifestations, should provide insight into how the locals value the language. If Scottish Gaelic language and/or culture appear just as frequently in the Lowlands (where English was the majority language even before the decline of the Gaelic language) as it does in the Highlands, it could show an emphasis on the preservation of the language and the strong cultural connection that comes with that.

The aim of this thesis is to better understand the relation between the Scottish Gaelic language and culture, especially since the language associated with a culture no longer holds dominant status. This will provide a stepping stone for future projects looking at language-culture relations and the effect that the reduction of a language has on the culture that it has been historically linked to. Some examples of further projects may include Native American languages, the Cornish language, Manx, Coptic, and so on. By looking at these relationships, we can see how the concepts of identity and sense of place extend into the realm of linguistic landscapes. While language is sometimes incorporated into the realm of cultural landscape analysis, there seems to be less emphasis on these elements. People choose how to use language on the landscape based on cultural attitudes. Examining how different regions use language can provide a deeper insight into that region's cultural attitudes.

Outline

This thesis will consist of five chapters. The next chapter is the Literature Review, where the geographical and linguistic concepts used in this thesis and the history of the Scottish Gaelic language will be discussed more in depth. Following the Literature Review, Chapter Three (Methods) will discuss the study area and the ways in which the landscape was analyzed.

Chapter Four (Results) will consist of the landscape and distribution findings found during the research. The final chapter (Conclusion) will present an overview of the findings and include a discussion and more ways in which this research can be continued in the future.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

According to Carl Sauer, the father of American cultural geography, cultural geography is the study of the man-made expressions that are present on the landscape (1931). In other words, cultural geography looks at items made by humans that appear on the landscape (such as buildings, signs, symbols, etc.) as clues as to what the culture of a specific region is like. This is a simple, yet fitting statement that has been greatly expanded upon since he originally wrote on the subject in the early 20th Century.

A more in-depth analysis of cultural geography can be found in the book *Re-reading Cultural Geography* by Foote et al. The edited volume explores three major areas: how the world works, how the world looks, and what the world means (1994). Looking at how cultures form and interact with each other forms the basis of the authors' point about how the world works. How the world looks deals with the landscape section of this research. This concept is rooted in Sauer's definition of cultural geography where the landscape gives insight into culture (Foote et al. 1994, Sauer 1931). What the world means is the last major concept that is discussed by Foote et al. (1994). This is perhaps the most important aspect in the field of cultural geography. What the world means is defined as the meanings behind elements of culture or the cultural landscape, rather than just an observation or description of the material landscape alone (Foote et al. 1994, Rowntree and Conkey 1980, Norton 1989). These social or symbolic meanings give a more in-depth look into the backstory of the elements and why they are present. One example of this concept is a steeple typically denoting a holy place on the American cultural landscape (Foote et al. 1994; Norton 1989).

Some examples of analyzing the meaning behind elements on the landscape are Kevin Blake's analysis of the symbolic meaning of the San Juan Mountains in Southwest Colorado.

The displays of mountains on the landscape, according to Blake, reflect the local ideals of scenery and sanctity that reflect what they call home, giving it a sense of place (Blake 1999). This sense of place refers to strong feelings which people have towards the character of a particular location. Sense of place can also be found in Jeff Smith's analysis of Hispano Urban Centers which discusses the use of traditional Hispano cultural elements, such as murals and music, bringing a sense of the traditional rural life that the people feel attachment to the urban centers in which many of them now reside (Smith 2002). Kevin Blake and Jeff Smith's analysis of the importance and meanings of Pueblo Mission Churches in the American Southwest, reveals that these are symbols of permanence within the Pueblo identity (Blake and Smith 2000).

As discussed in the previous paragraph, the concept of how the world looks presented by Foote et al is a key component of cultural geography (1994). This point made by the authors is based on the study of the cultural landscape, the environment built by humans. One of the leading scholars of landscape studies was J. B. Jackson. In his works, Jackson discussed many aspects of the landscape and how we can learn from it. According to Jackson, looking at the landscape could reveal the history of an area, as the past imprinted itself upon the landscape (Mendelsohn 2015). An analysis of the landscape may bring about a better understanding of regions by providing clues about the people living there or elements that are common across an entire region, as seen in Pierce Lewis' axioms for reading the landscape (Lewis 1976). Not everyone will interpret these landscapes in the same way, however. Where one person may see elements of culture, others may see elements of the natural environment or economy of a region (Meinig 1979). These ideas are the cornerstone of the landscape movement. Studies using this method are prevalent, such as Edward Price's landscape analysis of Viterbo, Italy where he used an analysis of the landscape to interpret the history of the city (1964). These studies provide

guidelines to those who wish to perform studies of this kind by showing the processes. As discussed in some of Jackson's research familiarity with the landscape changes the perception of change to that landscape (1972).

Another major part of the field of landscape analysis is the idea of the vernacular landscape. This phrase was one that was used by Jackson. This is the concept of the common people driving and shaping the cultural landscape by imprinting their culture onto the landscape, possibly without realizing that they are doing so (Norton 1989, Jackson 1995, Höfer and Trepl 2012, Mendelsohn 2015). This means that the vernacular is the everyday landscape that people leave behind, rather than the landscape that is influenced outside of the context of the local community such as government buildings or big box stores (Höfer and Trepl 2012). As the years pass, the vernacular landscape shifts, as shown in the study of the Latino business landscape as a proxy for the expansion of Hispanic communities in Phoenix, Arizona (Oberle 2006). Despite these changes, elements remain of the landscape's past. A related concept is the idea of first effective settlement (Zelinsky 1992). According to Zelinsky, this is the idea that the first people to establish a permanent settlement in an area influence the landscape the most. Typically, the elements of the landscape that is left behind by this settlement stay around longer than elements that develop later. This is exemplified in Susan Hardwick's article about ethnicity on the landscape, where ethnic groups that moved to areas left behind imprints of their culture even after they had gone (2010).

Vernacular architecture also plays a role in the study of the vernacular landscape. This concept is defined as architectures that are "particular to a region and culture, and built with local ingenuity, are vital contributors to sense of place and cultural identity" (Belz 2012). Examples of this include the types of houses that are built by a particular group of people that may be unique

to a particular region, including the shape and material that those houses are made from. Rehder and Coffey discuss this in their studies, finding that Scottish, Scotch-Irish, Irish, and English immigrants to the United States and Canada preferred to use the same materials and building styles they had back in their home countries when the materials were available (Rehder 1992; Coffey 1992). Analysis of this vernacular architecture may also help build an understanding of the landscape, similar to Price's history of the city of Viterbo or Blake and Smith's analysis of Pueblo Mission Churches (Price 1964; Blake and Smith 2000).

Looking at linguistic principles will also aid in the understanding of patterns that languages take within cultures and the cultural landscape. One of the current discussions about linguistics is a paradoxical effect that globalization has on languages. Research shows that while globalization should theoretically reduce the number of languages spoken across the world, it is having the opposite effect of increasing the use of some minority languages instead (Johnstone 2016). These languages, such as Catalan and Scottish Gaelic, are being used because people want to be viewed as unique in an increasingly homogenized world (Johnstone 2016). This has had the effect of increasing the number of speakers of these languages which are resisting the push of globalization.

Certain measures may be taken to help preserve a language. One that is generally discussed is the status of an official language. Though most countries choose an official language(s) for practical reasons, some choose the language for cultural reasons as well (Dawson and Phelan 2016). Choosing a language as an official language preserves it through official channels and ensures that the language will continue to be used at the national level at least. One example of a country who has taken a measure like this is Ireland, where Irish Gaelic is one of the official languages of the country. Another, more extreme, step that has been taken is

declaring a “state of linguistic emergency”. The State of Alaska took this more extreme measure in September 2018 to provide extra governmental support in an attempt to save the state’s twenty official indigenous languages. (Alaska Administrative Order 300). This action was taken due to the rapid decline in the languages so that they may continue to survive and includes increased education and signage in the official languages.

The preservation of these languages is not always through the speakers either. This is where the concept of the linguistic landscape comes in. The study of the linguistic landscape has primarily developed over the latter half of the 20th century as a way to examine how multilingual a region is, and has been defined as “The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.” (Gorter and Cenoz 2008). Studying the linguistic landscape has primarily been a focus in disciplines other than geography, such as sociology and ecology (Shohamy and Gorter 2009). Some of the research has looked at how language policy has shaped the linguistic landscape, such as analyzing the relations between governmental policies and the presence of language in Malaysian marketplaces (David and Manan 2016). Though this particular research was performed from a sociological approach, examining governmental policies of Scotland and the United Kingdom may provide insight into why Scottish Gaelic appears in particular areas. There have been some studies that observe the relations between languages, sense of place, and symbolism (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Dajko 2018). Despite its sharp decline in speakers, Louisiana French and English influenced by Louisiana French are still a prevalent element on the landscape (Dajko 2018). The symbolic uses of the language (such as using the ending *-eaux* on

English words that use the same sound) drive the cultural identity of the people who live in the region, even if they do not speak the language (Dajko 2018).

As stated in the previous chapter, Scottish Gaelic did not originate in Scotland. Experts say that the language was brought over from Ireland during the late Classical or Medieval eras and developed into a distinct language in the following centuries (Magnusson 2000; Watson and McLeod 2010). There remains partial mutual intelligibility between Irish and Scottish Gaelic, indicating that they share a common history. During these centuries, Gaelic became the dominant language among the peoples who lived in Scotland. This included the Picts, whose language and culture was the majority in Scotland prior to Gaelic (Withers 1984). Though the Gaelic language became the major language of Scotland during the Medieval era, the English language grew in prominence in the border region and southern Lowlands. Eventually, English became the *lingua franca* in Scotland and is still the primary language spoken in the country in the present day (Withers 1984; Watson and McLeod 2010).

So why did English become the *lingua franca* in Scotland? There are several theories as to why this happened, but the most prominent theory is that the turning point happened during the 17th Century under King James VI of Scotland. The king believed that Gaelic was a barbaric language that had no place within a “civilized” society and that English, his native language and primary language of the nobility, was far superior (Magnusson 2000; Withers 1984). This belief was accentuated when James VI became James I King of England as well. He believed that the two countries should be wholly unified, including in language and religion (Magnusson 2000).

Various Parliamentary laws over the subsequent three centuries accelerated the decline of the Gaelic language and culture. One of the major laws was the Statutes of Iona in 1604. These statutes effectively ended the clan system, proscribed the traditional bards, and forced the clan

chiefs to learn and speak English (Horton 2010). Another law that had a major impact on the language was the Education Act of 1872, which completely banned the use of Gaelic in schools. In turn, this led to the reduction of use at home as well. During this time period, Gaelic became more commonly used as a liturgical language rather than a language of everyday use (Watson and Macleod 2010, Withers 1984). Other events, such as the dissolution of Scottish Parliament in 1707 and the migration of people from England to Scotland, were also identified as contributing to the decline of Gaelic as well, but the effects of these events are generally considered less impactful (Withers 1984).

The latter part of the 20th Century saw an increased interest in the preservation of the language and culture across the world in regions like Catalonia and Venice. These sentiments have continued on into the 21st Century, and are especially prominent in Scotland (Withers 1984). The reformation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 was cited as one of the drivers for the increase in interest in Gaelic (Magnusson 2000, Watson and Macleod 2010). The Parliament has also passed several laws to aid in the revitalization efforts, most notably the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. This law established Gaelic as one of the official languages of Scotland as well as established the *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* (Gaelic Board) to promote the language and develop a strategic plan for the language going forward (Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005). The plan included the goal of increasing Gaelic education throughout the by the year 2017. Though activism has increased, as of the writing of this thesis, no significant increase in speakers has been identified yet.

The use of Gaelic by the government may also be viewed as using it as a political tool like French is even in English dominant areas of Canada (Heller 2010). The Scottish National Party is the current (as of 2019) majority party within Scotland (Current MSPs). This party

advocates for the independence of Scotland from the United Kingdom, so establishing Scotland as a nation-state (where the majority of the people belong to a single linguistic and cultural group) would help to further their cause (Scottish National Party). To accomplish this, Gaelic would be the preferred choice of language because it would show that they are distinct from the English and deserve their independence. Not everyone within the country shares the positive sentiments about the Gaelic language, however. Many within the Lowlands do not think that Gaelic belongs in the area because of the lack of historic link and the dominance of English within the region. This attitude was reflected by an Edinburgh cab driver I talked with who expressed strong negative opinions of the use of Gaelic on road signs and the push by Parliament to expand the use of Gaelic in the country.

While all of these concepts contribute to a study of the Scottish Gaelic linguistic and cultural landscape, the primary components that I will use are the cultural landscape and the linguistic landscape with heavier emphasis on the former. Not just looking at the landscape, but trying to understand the meanings behind the landscape is an integral component of this research drawing from the studies discussed in the first part of the chapter. Just looking at and dissecting these components may not provide a complete insight either, so looking into the difference between vernacular (vernacular) or prescribed (used for specific purpose) is essential as well. Using these alone will not work, however, as they do not focus on the linguistic side of the story. Looking at how other culture's linguistic landscape have changed and were affected by policy and cultural shifts adds more context to the phenomenon as it is happening in Scotland. Distinguishing between usage based and symbolic use, such as in the studies of David and Manan as well as Dajko, can be combined with the symbolical studies to derive a deeper understanding of the language use. It is expected, however, that most of the Scottish Gaelic

appearances will be primarily symbolic as there are not as many speakers today as in the past. None of this would be possible either without the historical background information on the changes in the language and culture over the past 300-400 years, which gives a frame of reference for the events that are occurring currently. Combining these components will aid in answering the research questions discussed in the previous chapter.

Chapter 3 - Methods

Scotland is a geographically diverse country. It contains a variety of landscapes from coastal plains (that still show some scars of industrialization), to rolling hills, to tall mountains and steep valleys which give the country's famous lochs their unique shapes. This geographic diversity has led to regionally distinct culture groups, the two most prominent being the Gaels (primarily found in the Highlands) and the Scots (primarily found in the Lowland areas). As discussed previously, the research in this thesis will be focusing on the Gaelic language and culture rather than the more Anglicized Scots culture. This chapter will discuss how the Gaelic linguistic and cultural elements were distinguished and how this data is being used and interpreted.

To develop answers to my main research questions, I spent a month in Scotland examining eighteen cities and towns. Each of these cities and towns were selected with purpose. I then categorized these cities into groups based on similar characteristics. One of the major factors that went into deciding which cities and towns to study

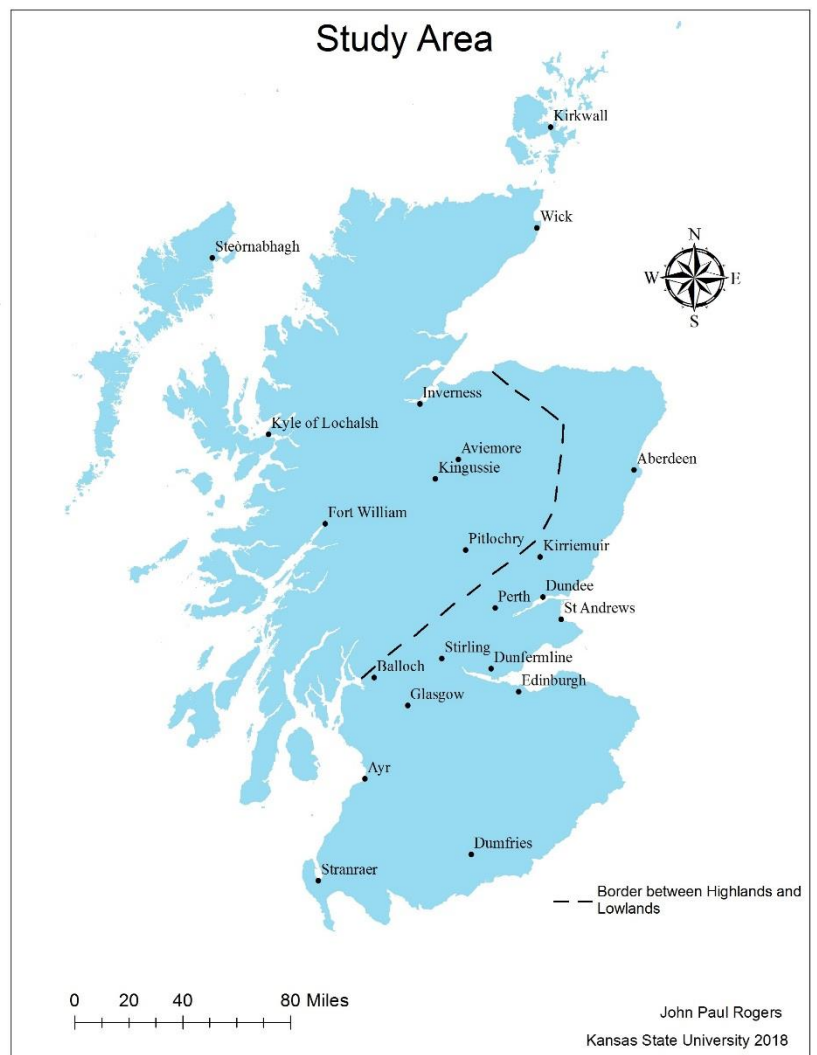


Figure 3.1: Map of Scotland with reference cities and all settlements I studied (except Forfar due to proximity to Kirriemuir)

was the region in which they are found. As discussed previously, Scotland is typically divided into two main regions: the Highlands and the Lowlands. The Lowlands are typically identified as the flatter portion of the country located along the east coast of the country as well as in the southern half of the country. This region came under English influence more quickly than the Highlands (Magnusson 2000). The Highlands, as suggested by the name, is the more mountainous region. The Highlands located in the northern half of the country and along the west coast north of Glasgow. Due to the primarily rural nature of the region, this is the region that has held on to the Gaelic language and culture the longest.

Table 1: Settlement categorization based on geographic similarities

Category	Settlements
Major Cities	Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness
Historically and Culturally Important	Balloch (Loch Lomond), Perth, Stirling, Dunfermline, and St. Andrews
Resort Towns	Aviemore, Kingussie, and Pitlochry
Non-tourist driven settlements	Kirriemuir, Forfar, and Fort William
Galloway (Historically Gaelic Lowland Region)	Stranraer and Dumfries

The first collection of places selected were the major cities of the country. This includes the cities of Edinburgh (the capital and second largest city), Glasgow (the largest city), Aberdeen (the third largest city), Dundee (the fourth largest city), and Inverness (the largest city in the Highlands region). I chose these cities due to their prominence within the country and the large number of people living in them. This prominence and large population means that these areas are more likely to draw tourists and people from more rural areas who need to conduct business. These cities have also been identified as areas that Gaelic-speaking people moved to during the 18th and 19th Centuries (Magnusson 2000, Withers 1984).

Next, I selected cities and towns with cultural and/or historical importance. One region that has a strong Gaelic cultural connection is the Loch Lomond area and the lakeshore town of Balloch. According to a local guide, this area was used heavily by Gaelic rebels during wars and uprisings, possibly including King Robert the Bruce's hideout during the Wars of Scottish Independence. I selected other cities because they have been identified as either *de facto* or *de jure* capitals of the Kingdom of Scotland when it was still primarily Gaelic. This category includes the cities and towns of Perth (more accurately Scone was the capital, but their histories are intertwined), Stirling, and Dunfermline. Perth and Stirling are located just outside of the Highland region, while Dunfermline is situated close to the coast in the Lowlands. I also examined the town of St. Andrews because of its historical status as a Catholic pilgrimage site. The reason this is significant is because during the decline of the Gaelic language, the language began to be used primarily as a liturgical language (Watson and McLeod 2010, Withers 1984).

Third, I selected several Highland resort towns to determine if the usage of the Gaelic language and/or culture changes in areas that are mostly geared towards tourists. The towns I selected were: Aviemore, Kingussie, and Pitlochry. These three towns are all within close proximity to, or located within, Cairngorms National Park, a large forested area in the central part of the Highlands. I selected some other towns as well because they are not as tourist-driven as the previous three and do not behave as resort towns. One of these towns is located in the Highlands, Fort William, while the other two are located on the border between the Highlands and the Lowlands, Kirriemuir and Forfar.

I selected other cities and towns because they lie in a Lowland region, called Galloway, that has been identified as being historically Gaelic due to the region's proximity to where Scottish Gaelic people originated, Ireland. For this region, I selected the city of Dumfries and a

town called Stranraer (which is the primary port between Scotland and Northern Ireland). While these two could have been included in the category with Fort William and the others, their unique historically Gaelic Lowland region sets them apart and provides an opportunity to see how Gaelic regions have changed overtime outside of the core Highland area.

Due to extraneous circumstances, the railroad was the only effective way to reach the different areas during this research trip from my “home base”, located within Edinburgh (though the bus was used to reach Kirriemuir and Forfar). This also meant that the areas visited had to be close enough to the home base of Edinburgh to be able to travel to, explore, and return all within one day. While this was not the ideal circumstance, steps were taken to attempt to gather information from areas that were not accessible during the course of the research trip. Google Earth Street View imagery was used as the source for these areas. One drawback, however, is that there are fewer areas within these towns and cities accessible by the Google imagery than there would be on foot. Many of the Google images in the more rural areas are also nearing a decade old at the time of this writing. While this does provide basic imagery for the area and an idea of what the landscape in the area might look like, a lot can change in a decade especially as attitudes towards the language are changing as well.

Within each of these cities, the primary areas surveyed were the city centers and major tourist attractions present within the cities. Other areas included were traditional restaurants (such as pubs), universities, and museums. The reason I chose these locations was because these areas have the most signage, shops, and other displays of the language and culture. Residential-only neighborhoods were generally omitted because they do not have ample signage. I did visit one primarily residential neighborhood in Edinburgh, however, due to the presence of a Gaelic

language school in the neighborhood. This particular neighborhood did have a lot of signage due to its proximity to the city center though.

Distinguishing between the primary uses of these areas (local, tourist, or mixed) can also help decipher whether an occurrence is vernacular or prescribed (Jackson 1985). If an area has a lot of tourists, for example, then the use of the language and culture may be more prescribed, such as only using elements of the culture or language as merchandise. The reason it may be more prescribed in these areas is to change the perceptions of the visitors or encourage them to buy something. This may suggest that people in these areas see the language and culture as a way to draw tourists in, rather than seeing them as part of their life outside of those ventures. Areas with fewer tourists, however, may have more vernacular or natural uses of the language and culture because the locals want to display them. This may suggest a stronger connection to the language and culture.

My research methods are primarily qualitative in nature. The methods are similar to that of the previously discussed study done by Kevin Blake on the San Juan Mountains in Colorado and how they relate to the cultural identity of the people who live there. In Blake's study, he visited the region, looking for manifestations of the "Peaks of Identity" within the cultural landscape. He then analyzed how these manifestations reflected the cultural identity of the people living in the region (Blake 1999). Like Blake's study, identifying (and photographing) the linguistic and cultural occurrences in the cities listed above allows for analysis to determine the answers to the primary research questions of this study.

Identifying Gaelic linguistic elements is fairly easy. This is because Scottish Gaelic, while using a Latin-based script like English, has a unique spelling system. For example, Figure 3.2 shows a sign written in both English and Gaelic. The unique uses of the letter "h", as well as



Figure 3.2: Picture of a street sign in Inverness with both English and Gaelic writing

the use of the ` (grave) accent mark easily distinguish the written form of Gaelic from English. While signs, such as road/rail signs and signs for shops, were the primary objects that were identified for this portion of the study, other objects such as books, pamphlets, and social events such as classes and meetings were included as well. For the purposes of this study,

bilingual English-Gaelic manifestations were not differentiated from monolingual Gaelic manifestations because the main focus is on the presence of the language and how it is used.

Many cultural elements were included in this study, with some types being identified due to previous knowledge about Scottish Gaelic culture and more being added while in country due to information I gathered. Kilts, a skirt-like garment worn by men, are one of the main elements that people associate with Gaelic culture. These are also tied into the traditional clan system, as modern kilts have tartans (plaid patterns) that are usually linked with the person's ancestral clan. Other elements associated with clans include clan crests and clan names (which are usually Gaelic in origin). Religious elements, such as the Celtic cross (while not uniquely Gaelic, is still associated with Celtic culture), are another element seen as important. Scotch whisky (which is spelled without the "e" in Scotland, unlike other Anglophone countries) is another prominent



Figure 3.3: A statue displaying the traditional kilt and bagpipes in Edinburgh

element within the Gaelic culture. Though whisky (derived from the Gaelic word for water) has become more widespread in the Lowlands, the Highland varieties are distinct as most of them have Gaelic names rather than English ones and generally contain more peat smoke flavor. Quaichs were the traditional ceremonial drinking vessel for whisky in the Highlands, and therefore still have a place within the wider Gaelic culture. The presence of Highland Games, traditional Gaelic sporting competitions, is also considered as a cultural element for the purpose of this study. Musical elements such as bagpipes, harps, and traditional singing are marked as present whether the music was live or the playing of the music was heard. A traditional community gathering often accompanied by music called a *cèilidh* was another identified element.

The last major cultural element that I used is architecture. Each culture typically has a unique architecture that is identifiable as being distinctly from that culture. For this study, I examined the architecture found within the cities and towns examined to determine if there were any unique architectural styles present that appeared to be Gaelic in nature. While the items discussed in this paragraph and the previous one are not all of the cultural elements present, these were the major ones that would be easily identifiable. If another element not discussed here was notable in a particular area, it will be brought up in the appropriate section of the results.

There are some cultural elements that many people believe to be Gaelic, but are actually from other Celtic groups that formerly inhabited Scotland. These items were not included in this study. This includes objects such as the carved standing stones and woad (the blue paint that warriors would sometimes wear). Both of these belonged to the Pictish people, not the Gaelic people. I did not include food because it is harder to assess the cultural significance of food and food in Scotland was pretty mixed between Scottish (no distinction between Highland and

Lowland), English, and Indian. Haggis, a dish native to Scotland, was pretty prominent, however.

The presence of the studied cultural objects was marked, but also how they were being displayed. This display could be in a museum, shop, market, festival, etc. Much like the differences in how the language is used, the differences in how cultural elements are displayed can offer a deeper understanding of how the people view these objects. One example might be if a cultural element is found more often in stores in large cities popular with tourists outside of the Highlands, the people might see that presence as more of a tourism-based manifestation rather than an everyday element within their personal lives.

A side analysis (presented as a vignette in Chapter 4) to study the use of Scottish Gaelic in the town and city names is being performed in relation to the linguistic analysis. This analysis involves comparing the names of these places with their Gaelic names using a book that analyzes the origins of place names within the country of Scotland. These names will then be classified as Anglicized (Original name with English spelling), Partially English (part of the name is in English and another part has been Anglicized), Completely English, Other Celtic (like Pictish or Cumbric), or Foreign (such as Norse) names. One example of this is Inverness. Inverness is the Anglicized form of the Gaelic name *Inbhir Nis* (bh in Gaelic is pronounced the same as the English v). This is a direct Anglicization, unlike Edinburgh. In Gaelic, the name for Edinburgh is *Dùn Èideann*, with the current name retaining the latter part of the Gaelic name. This puts Edinburgh into the category of Partially English. Rather than just listing a bunch of places, however, they are grouped into their general regions, labelled with the category which makes up the majority of the names in the region.

These analyses will help answer the research questions and draw conclusions about the relationship that the language has with the identity of the Scottish people. Providing the structure of categories aids in the analysis and provides a template enabling others to recreate or expand upon my research. These categories will also be useful in creating maps to visualize the analysis.

The maps created for this research provide an easy way to concisely present the analyzed data. These maps were inspired by Richard Nostrand's map of the proportions of Hispanos living within the Hispano Homeland of the Southwestern United States. His map shows the areas where the Hispano people made up almost the entirety of the population, areas where they held a majority, and areas where they held a minority (Nostrand 1980). The maps for this research will cover the frequency or intensity of both the language and cultural elements, each with their own map, throughout the entire country of Scotland. Much like identifying the elements as described above, the linguistic map does not differentiate between monolingual and bilingual signs. The cultural elements were categorized based on frequency or relative intensity of locations which contained, displayed, or sold the Gaelic elements discussed above. Like with the linguistic category, this cultural category does not differentiate places that only contained these items and places which only had a few of these items. Based on the findings of the study, the linguistic and cultural elements will each be divided into three categories: Majority (51%+), Simple Minority (26-50%), and Super Minority (<25%). The reason that there is no Super Majority category is that the findings were not conclusive enough to confidently include this category. These results were then mapped using administrative divisions that are smaller than the council areas, but larger than the civil parishes. This allows for the inference of these categories in the more rural or areas that were not visited by using a quasi-nearest-neighbor interpolation where areas closer together are more alike. If one town in a region has a Majority rating while two others examined

have a simple minority rating, that region would be classified as having a simple minority. While this may cause too much generalization in some areas, this was the most efficient mapping method that could be used given the extraneous constraints on the field research.

The methods put forth in this chapter are the way in which I gathered and analyzed the information and data that constitute this study. Though this is a primarily qualitative study, the methods contained within this chapter should provide enough structure to repeat this study or perform this research on another area, though the results may be slightly different based on the interpretations of the data.

Chapter 4 - Results

The Gaelic language and culture is fascinating and closely tied to the history of Scotland. It was the language of kings, warriors, and bards who shaped the history and culture of the British Isles. In modern times, Gaelic has fallen out of favor as Scotland has become more Anglicized. Although we know its historical significance, we do not fully understand the representation and current use in the face of growing English influence. Using the data collected for each of the categories of cities and towns discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter presents the Scottish Gaelic linguistic and cultural landscape as well as answers the main research questions that formed the framework of this thesis. This chapter is split into subsections of different elements of both the language and culture throughout the regions in order to present a more in-depth look into the makeup of the landscape.

Table 2: Settlement Categorization from Chapter 3

Category	Settlements
Major Cities	Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness
Historically and Culturally Important	Balloch (Loch Lomond), Perth, Stirling, Dunfermline, and St. Andrews
Resort Towns	Aviemore, Kingussie, and Pitlochry
Non-tourist driven settlements	Kirriemuir, Forfar, and Fort William
Galloway (Historically Gaelic Lowland Region)	Stranraer and Dumfries

Gaelic on the Linguistic Landscape

Gaelic Signage

One of the most consistent uses of a language on the landscape is signage. The signage on the Scottish Gaelic landscape varies greatly depending on which region of the country you are

in. The major cities within the country tend to have low levels of Gaelic signage throughout, despite the number of Gaelic speakers who moved to the cities from the Highlands during the 19th Century. Most of the signs in these cities are confined to one or two signs on pubs and a few signs on government buildings. Edinburgh and Inverness are outliers in this category, however.

Within the areas of Edinburgh where the national government buildings (such as

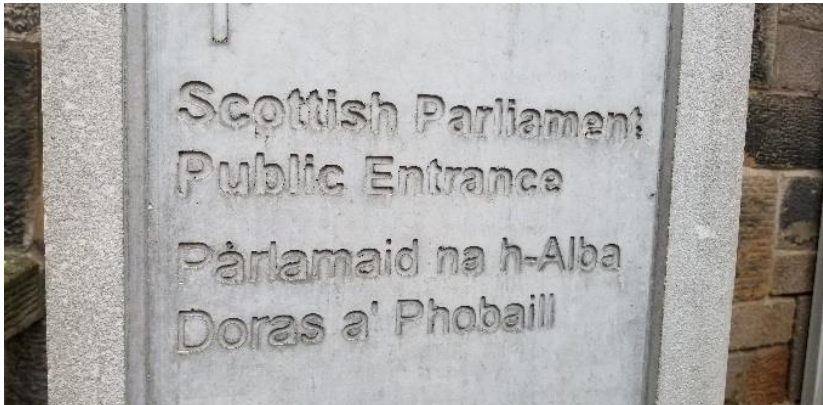


Figure 4.1: A sign for the entrance to the Parliament Building in Edinburgh written in English and Gaelic

Parliament) are located, most signs were presented bilingually in both English and Gaelic. On these signs, Gaelic is the same size and font as English rather than being set apart or shown with less prominence (Figure

4.1). This indicates that the national government treats the languages as equals despite Gaelic being a minority language. Many monuments and museums within Edinburgh also presented signage with at least some Gaelic. This signage, however, did not use Gaelic and English equally. English was the dominant language with a few keywords or phrases presented in Gaelic. Gaelic was almost exclusively used when the subject of the monument or museum display pertained directly to the Highlands. The zoo in Edinburgh also had several displays about animals native to Scotland with the name of the animal given in both English and Gaelic. The rest of the information about these animals was solely in English, however. Outside of these areas, the use of Gaelic in Edinburgh becomes just as sparse as in the other major cities of the Lowland region. Surprisingly, even the area surrounding Edinburgh's Gaelic School does not have very much Gaelic signage with most of the visible signs on the school being written

primarily in English. There does seem to be a push to increase Gaelic road signs in Edinburgh primarily due to Parliamentary Laws, however, but this does not seem to be well received by locals. One taxi driver said that there is no need for such signs in the city because the city is not Gaelic.

Inverness, the *de facto* capital of the Highlands and the only major city located in the region, stands out from the other major cities in that it is the only one which has prominent signage in Gaelic throughout the entirety of the city. Most of the public signs in the city were

bilingual, oftentimes with Gaelic being written in a more prominent fashion than English and with different color fonts to make it stand out. Almost every street name in the city had the Gaelic translation of the name written below the English name. Restaurants in Inverness had signs in both languages which



Figure 4.2: A Gaelic sign at the Inverness McDonald's which reads "Welcome to McDonald's"

welcomed patrons and/or displayed some of the key items on their menus. Even foreign businesses such as McDonald's had signs written in Gaelic, though it did not seem that the menu was available in Gaelic (Figure 4.2). Almost every sign within the primary museum in Inverness was written in both Gaelic and English and a large display of the Gaelic alphabet with the names of the letters and their meanings was present as well. Several businesses in the city also had names which were in Gaelic, such as a bagpipe shop named *Cabarfeidh*, rather than using Gaelic-derived names (covered more in another subsection). The higher prominence of Gaelic

signage on the landscape of Inverness points towards more local support for the language, compared to the other major cities.

The cities that are in the category of being historically and culturally important (Balloch, Perth, Dunfermline, St. Andrews, and Stirling) had low amounts of Gaelic signage, similar to that of the major cities. Most of the uses in these cities and towns were relegated to pubs. These places are home to few national government buildings, potentially limiting the amount of Gaelic signage as well. The exception in this group is the town of Balloch, located on Loch Lomond on the border between the Highlands and the Lowlands. This small town has several monolingual signs in Gaelic; however, their primary use seems to be welcoming tourists who flock to the town for a cruise around Loch Lomond. It is surprising that these cities and towns do not have more signs in Gaelic (even as historical markers), as these places were significant during the period of the Gaelic kingdom in Scotland.

The Highland resort towns of Aviemore, Kingussie, and Pitlochry are where the changes begin to occur in the use of signs. In these towns, signage begins to appear more frequently, though the use varies between each of town. In Aviemore, most of the informational signs about Cairngorms National Park (the main attraction for the town) were in both Gaelic and English. On



Figure 4.3: A sign for a church in Kingussie written in English and Gaelic

these signs, however, English was predominant with Gaelic only having a short paragraph or a couple of sentences on the subject presented. There were also a few road signs as well as welcome signs for hotels and businesses written in Gaelic, but not

very many. This sparing usage suggests that the Gaelic signage is more oriented towards tourists than anything else. Kingussie, however, had more widespread use of Gaelic, with signs on the streets for local services, churches, or businesses written in Gaelic (Figure 4.3). A mosaic on the side of a residential building in the town was also in Gaelic. Pitlochry, on the other hand, only has a few signs displaying Gaelic. Instead, signage in town focuses primarily on Gaelic-derived terms and names (discussed more in-depth in a later subsection).

Within the non-tourist town of Fort William, a vast majority of signage is bilingual with both English and Gaelic. Unlike the other settlements where there is widespread use of Gaelic signage, signs in Fort William tend to display Gaelic more prominently than English on public signs, with the English translation typically being the same size or smaller. Gaelic on these signs was additionally colored yellow to make it stand out from English (Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: A sign in Fort William showing distances to other settlements with Gaelic names in yellow

Many businesses throughout the city have bilingual signage, a few even going so far as to write the business name in Gaelic as well. Even businesses not based in Scotland, such as McDonald's or Morrisons (a British grocery store based in England), follow suit by having bilingual signage, though they tended to keep Gaelic and English the same size. These more mundane uses were not really found in any of the other areas of Scotland. Monuments in the city typically displayed Gaelic, often in the form of a poem or eulogy. Other historic markers and the main museum in the city did not use Gaelic as the primary language, but rather English. These places primarily used Gaelic in the titles of the

display above the blocks of informational text written in English. A higher concentration of signs in Fort William was in Gaelic than there were in any other area studied, signifying that the people in this area perceive the language as an everyday part of life rather than as a cultural relic.

The other two towns in this category, Kirriemuir and Forfar, did not have any Gaelic signage despite their close proximity to the Highlands. Kirriemuir did have one or two road signs with the Gaelic translation, but that was the extent. The town of Stranraer and the city of Dumfries, which make up the last category of the historically Gaelic region of Galloway, did not have any signs in Gaelic either. This lack of use suggests the people within these four settlements do not see any advantage to using Gaelic signage as they are neither in the Highlands nor do tourists often visit them.

There were some generalities that could be made about the use of Gaelic signage across the entirety of Scotland as well. As mentioned previously, most national government buildings typically had some form Gaelic signage, though the amount of which varied from city to city.



Figure 4.5: A sign for Queen Street Station in Glasgow with the Gaelic translation

Almost every train station in the country had the name of the station (which most of the time was also the name of the town) with the Gaelic translation of the name, where applicable (Figure 4.5).

Many of the national train services also had some Gaelic on the liveries of their newer trains. Most pubs across the

country had a Gaelic-derived name and/or a few Gaelic words on the front of the building (most commonly the words *craic agus ceòl* meaning “fun and music”). As seen in this subsection,

Gaelic signage varies greatly depending on which part of the country you are in. The Highlands, especially the major settlements in the region, and the capital generally have higher concentrations than the Lowlands.

Gaelic Reading Material & Broadcasting

As opposed to the high variation in the amount of Gaelic signage across Scotland, the amount of reading material (i.e. books and pamphlets) is consistently low. The main exception, however, is at the Scottish Parliament building, where all reading material is presented in both Gaelic and English. Outside of this, the



Figure 4.6: The front of the Gaelic Bookstore in Glasgow

reading materials in Gaelic become few and far between. The only Gaelic language bookstore that I was able to find in the whole of the country was located in Glasgow (Figure 4.6). This bookstore, run by *Comhairle nan Leabhraichean* (The Gaelic Books Council), sells a variety of reading materials for both learners and those fluent in the language. It is surprising that this bookshop is located in Glasgow and not in the Highlands (such as in Inverness) due to the low amount of Gaelic language elements in the city. There was also a bookstore chain (called Waterstones), found in almost every settlement at least the size of a small city, which typically had some books either in Gaelic or teaching the Gaelic language. The amount of these Gaelic books varied depending on the region, with the Highlands having larger quantities and the southern part of the Lowlands having none. Several historic sites also had pamphlets or informational books available in Gaelic, however, the appearance of this material was inconsistent and primarily relegated to sites run by the national government in Stirling and

Edinburgh. The scarcity of Gaelic reading materials outside of government-run areas is an interesting phenomenon, suggesting that Gaelic is primarily used by the public as a conversational language rather than a literary one. Since there are no known monolingual speakers of Gaelic, people may not see a need for an abundance of reading material in the language (Watson and MacLeod 2010, 2011 Scottish Census).

Despite the low amount of Gaelic reading material in Scotland, access to Gaelic language broadcasting is widespread. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), run by the government of the United Kingdom, provides both a television station and a radio station that exclusively broadcast in Gaelic. *BBC Alba* and *BBC Radio nan Gaidheal* both provide entertainment and news for Gaelic-speaking audiences throughout a majority of the country, but do not broadcast all day like their English counterparts. These are the only two broadcasting stations in Scotland which broadcast in Gaelic. These stations plus the majority of reading material originating from government sources continue to show that the government is one of the strongest supporters of the Gaelic language.

Gaelic Language Learning & Events

Besides the books available for the purpose of learning the language described in the previous section, the primary method of learning Gaelic in Scotland is through Gaelic schools. Surprisingly, at least one Gaelic school is found in most of the major settlements (Dundee is the exception with the school located in nearby Forfar). Many smaller settlements have Gaelic schools as well, but as expected most of these are within the Highlands. These schools do not particularly stand out on the landscape from other schools in the area, except for the names. There are also classes for adults advertised in some cities, like Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but these do not seem to be common. There were a few Gaelic-centered events taking place in

Edinburgh while I was there, including a Gaelic conversation event called *Cearcall Còmhriadh Dhùn Èidinn* (Edinburgh Conversation Circle). A traditional music event known as a *ceilidh* was also somewhat popular across the country, but they did not seem considered to be major events. The amount of schools and events in areas that do not show much enthusiasm for Gaelic is interesting and points to a more recent investment into Gaelic-medium activities which may further change the landscape over the next generation or two.

Gaelic-derived Terms and Names

Throughout the entirety of Scotland, terms and names derived from Gaelic are pretty common. When talking about Gaelic-derived terms and names, I am referring to words and names (generally of businesses, products, roads, landmarks, etc.) that come from originally Gaelic words and are usually Anglicized or changed in other ways to appear less conspicuous. The major cities within the country typically have a few businesses whose names are derived from Gaelic words in the central areas. Much like with the Gaelic signage, Edinburgh and Inverness stand out from the other three cities in this category. Edinburgh had a greater amount of businesses using derived names, but these were primarily located within the more tourist-oriented areas. These business names included the likes of Alba Café, The Albanach (a pub), and Whiski (a restaurant). Outside of the tourist areas of the city, the names are less common but still



Figure 4.7: A picture of a bar in Inverness with a Gaelic-derived name

exist such as a real estate company named Braemore and a neighborhood named Dalry.

Inverness, on the other hand, had many businesses that took their names from Gaelic-derived terms. This is probably attributed to the city's higher number of Gaelic speakers and its

location within the Highlands. Some of these names include MacCallums Bar, Alba Travel, The Glenalbyn, and Urquhart's Restaurant (Figure 4.7). Inverness, surprisingly, does not have many street names that are derived from Gaelic, examples include Duncraig Street and Tomnahurich Street. Rather, most streets have simple English names like Bank Street or Church Street. Given that the region around Inverness has a lot of Gaelic influence, I was expecting more street names based on Gaelic.

The towns which are historically and culturally important also contained numerous uses of Gaelic-derived terms and names, with the exception of St. Andrews and Stirling which did not have any that I was able to find. Balloch and the Loch Lomond area had the most occurrences of these elements. While there were not many businesses with these derived names, there were many streets with names as well as several landmarks and islands on the loch. The most prominent example of this is the golf resort centered on Rosdhu House. Many of the islands in the lake have retained their Gaelic names with Anglicized spelling, such as Inchmurrin (Island of St. Mirin) and Inchtavannach (Island of the Monk's House). Many of the road names in the town are derived from these Anglicized names for the islands or the Gaelic names for other natural features in the area like Craiglomond Gardens.

The city of Perth was the opposite, however, with most of the uses of Gaelic-derived names used as names for local businesses or services. The local traffic management company is called Alba Traffic Management and there is a local school called Balnacraig. A handful of roads in the city have Gaelic-derived names, but these roads were primarily located on the edge of the city rather than in the city center. There are not as many locations with these names as there were in Balloch, but the concentration was similar to that of Edinburgh. Dunfermline (which was a burial place for many Gaelic kings and nobles) did not have any businesses which used a Gaelic-

derived name. The town did, however, have some street names derived from Gaelic. These road names generally referred to the royalty who either reigned from or have graves in the town. One example of these street names being Canmore Street, which refers to King Malcolm III whose grave historians believe to be in the town.

The resort towns tended to have a somewhat higher concentration of these terms and



Figure 4.8: Billboard advertising the Acarsaid Hotel in Pitlochry

names and were at about an equal level with Balloch. Many of the businesses in Aviemore, primarily hotels, also have Gaelic-derived names such as Larrachbeag, Ravenscraig, or Macdui's. A majority of the roads in town also had Gaelic-derived names. In Kingussie, fewer hotels used Gaelic-derived names instead

opting for English or Scots names. Though not many businesses in the town had Gaelic-derived names, many of the streets did with names like Ardbroilach Road and Gynack Street. Pitlochry had the highest concentration of Gaelic-derived elements out of these three towns. Many of the businesses and streets in town have Gaelic-derived names, including the two largest businesses in town: the Blair Athol and Edradour distilleries. Other examples include Toberargan Road, Macnaughtons of Pitlochry, Dundarach Drive, and the Acarsaid Hotel (Figure 4.8). The relatively high use of these elements in the resort towns suggests they are used in order for the towns to seem more Gaelic to tourists who visit these areas.

Fort William contained many places with names derived from Gaelic. This is not surprising given the amount of Gaelic influence in the city. Many of the roads have names such

as Fassifern Road, Argyll Terrace, and Camanachd Crescent. Some examples of the businesses in town with Gaelic-derived names include Mairi MacIntyre (a gift shop), Macari's restaurant, Guisachan Guest House, and Tigh na Drochaid (a bed and breakfast). Several of the landmarks in the city have names like this as well, such as Duncansburgh Church which is a combination of both Gaelic and English elements in its name. Both the abundance of signage and use of Gaelic-derived names shows how the people in this city are still connected to the Gaelic community and the importance placed in the preservation of the language.

Much like with the signage, the towns of Kirriemuir and Forfar along with the Galloway town of Stranraer and city of Dumfries did not have many (if any) instances of Gaelic-derived elements. Even the street names did not contain any trace of Gaelic, opting instead for names like Irish Street, Reform Street, Bank Street, and so on. This lack of even Gaelic-derived street names in these areas is surprising given the historic Gaelic influence or proximity to these settlements. These areas also have relatively few tourists compared to other settlements studied. The patterns seen here suggest that the people do not see advantages to using the language and see themselves as removed from the current Gaelic communities.

Across Scotland, some generalities can be inferred about the use of Gaelic-derived elements. Many pubs, regardless of which part of the country they were located, had names which were derived from Gaelic. This, along with the Gaelic signage, leads to the conclusion that pub culture is seen as being connected with Gaelic culture. Some businesses in the country also choose Gaelic-derived names for the products that they sell. This is especially prominent among the producers of Scotch whisky (no "e" in Scottish spelling), even in the Lowlands. Whiskies with names such as Auchentoshan and Bladnoch are produced in areas that do not otherwise show much Gaelic influence. In these cases, the distilleries are found in Dalmuir, a suburb of

Glasgow, and Wigtown, located east of Stranraer. Other products have Gaelic-derived names as well, such as a heather ale named after the Gaelic name for heather: *fraoch*.

Much like the uses of Gaelic signage, the use of Gaelic-derived terms and names varies greatly across the country. Similarly, the derived elements appear more frequently in the Highlands than the Lowlands. However, in the Lowlands most of these uses are relegated to areas which see high volumes of tourists, It appears that the sporadic use of these elements in areas that otherwise do not display other Gaelic language elements are being used in a manner to seem more Scottish rather than English.

Gaelic as a Liturgical Language

Although the literature talks about Gaelic being used as a liturgical language, a vast majority of churches across Scotland (even in the Highlands) do not have any uses of the Gaelic language (Withers 1984). Out of all the churches studied, only one had any display of Gaelic and it was being used as information for tourists. Even churches labeled as Old Gaelic churches did not display any Gaelic. Names of the churches were usually the English name of the saint for whom the church was dedicated or the name of the town in which the church was located. Granted, I did not get the chance to attend any services at these churches to hear if preachers use Gaelic during the ceremony, but the absence of language material within the churches leads me to believe that this is not the case. This points to the conclusion that Gaelic has fallen out of use as a liturgical language in more recent times and is seen as less important in related matters.

Speakers

Despite the aforementioned results showing a wide usage of Gaelic on the landscape in some areas, particularly the Highlands, it was very rare to hear it spoken on the streets. There were one or two times where I heard people speaking Gaelic, both of which were in the

Highlands. I also heard a man singing in Gaelic in the city of Perth, on the border of the Highlands. There was a woman whom I met on the train who mentioned that her whole family speaks Gaelic, but did not elaborate on when they use it. Even though there are still around 100,000 people who speak the language, the appearance of the language on the landscape might suggest to outsiders that there are many more speakers than that. This suggests that many use it as either a link to their heritage or as a way to stand out from the rest of the peoples in the United Kingdom. Now that the characteristics of the linguistic landscape have been established, the following subsections will discuss the appearance of cultural elements on the landscape.

Gaelic on the Cultural Landscape

Kilts

When most people think of Scotland, they think of men dressed in kilts. This is apparent on the landscape as well. Most places across Scotland have some sort of appearance of kilts whether this be in stores, on monuments, or just seeing people wear them. Many souvenir stores across the country regardless of location sell cheap versions of kilts known locally as “party kilts”. Rather than being made of wool, these versions are made out of a lighter, cheaper material. Tailor shops that specialize in the making of traditional wool kilts can be found in the five cities within the major cities category, with Edinburgh and Inverness having the greatest number of these establishments, especially in tourist-oriented areas. Outside of the major cities, the kilt shops become less common, but they are still present. Many of the medium size settlements have at least one of these shops, including Perth and Fort William.

Besides shops, kilts are also common on monuments, decorative displays and in museums. The monuments which include kilts primarily have the Highland Regiments of the British Army as their subjects (the kilt is part of their official uniform). These monuments can be found in every major city, as well as most of the smaller cities and towns with the exception of Stranraer and Dumfries (Figure 4.9). Kilts can also be found on statues and other decorations which do not have the symbolic meaning behind them. Though these are less common than the monuments, they are still found occasionally in settlements. The city of Perth has a hotel adorned with several statues depicting men in kilts, which make the building stick out from amongst its neighbors. When discussing the history of Scotland, many museums throughout the country included images of men in kilts and/or displayed older kilts. These depictions of kilts were prominent within the museums.



Figure 4.9: A monument to a Highlander regiment outside Stirling Castle

It is not uncommon to see men wearing kilts in the various cities and towns across Scotland. It was more common to see them in the larger cities. Kilts are more commonly worn in these cities by street performers (often playing the bagpipes) or by those who buy the party kilts mentioned previously. At the various Highland Games common across Scotland (discussed more in a later subsection), all participants are required to wear kilts including women (though kilts are traditionally seen as male clothing). Many spectators to the games wear kilts as well. This originally Gaelic attire seems to have become one of the national symbols of the country.

Clans

One of the more lasting effects of Gaelic culture is the clan system. Although the clan system is no longer used as an official means of government, many still hold ties to their ancestral clans. This is apparent on the landscape as well, with the effects of clans still readily present. Edinburgh has the most clan-related elements among places studied. Many stores sell items emblazoned with the crests, mottos, or histories of clans from all over the country, even ones that are smaller or more obscure. There is also a lot of information about clans available in many places, including museums and historic landmarks. The abundance of clan-related materials within Edinburgh appears to be due to the high number of tourists that visit Edinburgh compared to other cities, giving those with Scottish heritage the chance to find information about their ancestral clans.

Outside of Edinburgh, most places focus on clans which were historically found in that

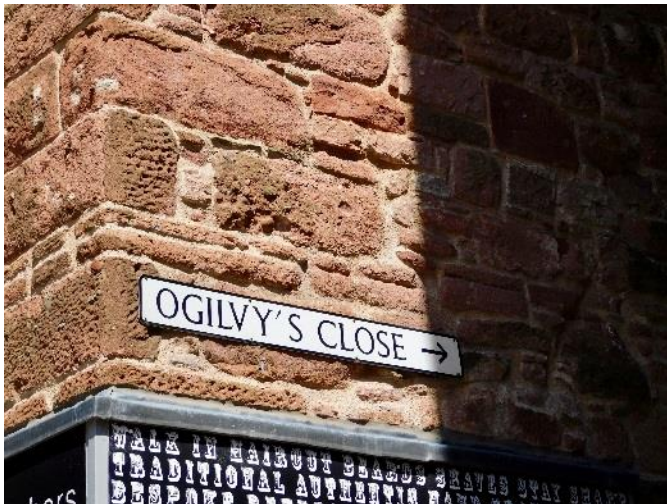


Figure 4.10: A street in Kirriemuir named for the local Clan Ogilvie/Ogilvy

area. One example is the town of Kirriemuir. The town's location is in what historically were the lands of Clan Ogilvie (also spelled Ogilvy). Despite the small size of the town, Kirriemuir has several streets and businesses names after the Ogilvies (Figure 4.10). Information about the clan is also given in the town's

museum. This pattern is common in many communities where clans held influence. In Balloch, it was clans Colquhoun and Stewart, in Inverness, clans MacIntosh and Fraser, etc. Some places even made up their own clan names for their businesses rather than using the local clan names

(this is so that the business does not become associated with a clan that still exists or the head of the clan who owns legal rights to the clan name and symbols). One prominent example of this was the store in Fort William called The House of Clan Jamfries, which sold various goods from across the Highlands.

Clans are also usually linked to kilts as well through what are called tartans. Tartans are the plaid patterns which are usually found on kilts. Many clans have unique tartans registered with the national government and used to distinguish members of that clan from members of others. The use of tartans has expanded to include more clothing besides just kilts, including hats, scarves, and purses. Oftentimes, stores will label which clan the tartan comes from with some information about the clan. Another interesting phenomenon is the languages used for the clan mottos. A majority of clans use Latin or English/Scots for their motto, rather than Scottish Gaelic. It seems that even French is used just as often as Gaelic. This seems to link back to when these languages were seen as prestigious, however, rather than being a reflection of the current views.

Music

Traditionally Gaelic music in Scotland primarily consists of a combination of bagpipes, flutes, and harps. No matter the area of the country, this traditional music can usually be heard playing in a variety of locations including pubs, stores, and even just walking down the street. As mentioned previously, there also exists a music based gathering called a ceilidh which can be found across the country. Out of the three main instruments,



Figure 4.11: A bagpipe shop in Inverness

the bagpipes were the most common, also used as symbols for various businesses or historical sites. Many of the aforementioned street performers seen wearing kilts were playing the bagpipes as well. Several bagpipe shops were also found, mainly in big cities, but they were not as common as kilt shops (Figure 4.11). The flute was less common than the bagpipes, but could still be heard in the traditional music played. The harp, however, was not heard like the other two and was primarily relegated to displays in some museums in the Highlands. By comparison, the bagpipes, much like the kilt, were found in a majority of the museums, often displayed alongside one another. These patterns suggest that emphasis has been placed on the more unique instrument to differentiate themselves from other cultures.

Whisky

Originating from the Gaelic word for water, whisky is a drink which can be found all over Scotland. Also simply called Scotch, this alcoholic beverage originated in Gaelic communities. Now, there are dozens of whisky distilleries in Scotland. A majority of these



Figure 4.12: The Blair Athol distillery in Pitlochry, sporting a Gaelic name

Gaelic-derived names regardless of their location, pointing back to the Gaelic origins (examples provided in Gaelic-derived names subsection). Some towns, like Pitlochry, use the local distilleries as tourist attractions and economic drivers (Figure 4.12). Most stores and restaurants across the country, including grocery stores and gift shops, sell or serve these whiskies as well. There is also a tourist attraction in Edinburgh devoted entirely to whisky known as the Scotch Whisky

distilleries have Gaelic-derived names regardless of their location, pointing back to the Gaelic origins (examples provided in

Experience, which presents information about whisky distilling and boasts the largest collection of Scotch in the world. The popularity of this drink among locals and tourists keeps this aspect of Gaelic culture flourishing.

Another cultural element that traditionally goes hand-in-hand with whisky is quaichs.

Quaichs are two-handed cups from which people would drink whisky. Although they were almost synonymous with whisky drinking in the past, these vessels have generally fallen from use. They are still occasionally used as decorations within the Highlands, but it is extremely rare to see



Figure 4.13: A display of quaichs in a museum in Inverness

anyone drink out of them. Like many other cultural elements that have fallen out of widespread use, quaichs are now primarily found in museums (Figure 4.13). These appearances in museums, however, are almost exclusively in the Highlands. Even museums in Edinburgh shy away from displaying them. This shows that even when a culture is preserved, some elements tend to be favored over others, even ones whose meanings are intertwined.

Highland Games



Figure 4.14: A Highland Games participant wearing the required kilt

Another major cultural element is that of the Highland Games, a series of Gaelic sporting events and other competitions that many see as an epitome of Scottish Gaelic culture. As mentioned previously, all participants in the games are required to wear kilts for the duration of the competition even if the participants are not Scottish (Figure 4.14). These games feature

other elements of Gaelic culture prominently as well, such as bagpiping competitions and traditional dances. Clans are even incorporated, with many games being officially opened by the chief of one of the local clans.

These displays of Gaelic culture are popular throughout Scotland and do not deviate much from the standard events which take place. As expected, the largest of these events are located in the Highland region. Many communities in the Lowlands still host competitions, though these are generally smaller than their counterparts in the Highlands. While most of the major cities do not host their own Highland Games (most likely due to lack of space), there are ones usually held in nearby towns. Almost every settlement studied during my trip hosts Highland games either in the settlement or nearby. Exceptions include Stranraer, Dunfermline, Fort William, Dundee, and Aviemore. Kingussie and Edinburgh do not host highland games, but there are ones hosted in neighboring communities. It makes sense that Stranraer and Dunfermline do not have Highland Games due to their penchant of not associating with Gaelic culture, but the other three come as a bit of a surprise. No matter the location, however, these games are popular to visit for locals and tourists alike. Much like with kilts and bagpipes, it seems as though Scots see the Highland Games as an integral element of “Scottishness” and is therefore seen more favorably.

Celtic Crosses



Figure 4.15: A Celtic Cross gravestone in Glasgow with a non-Gaelic name (Thomson)

Celtic crosses, though not unique to Scottish Gaelic culture, are an important image among Christians in Scotland. These crosses are common regardless of location in Scotland. They appeared as jewelry and church symbols, but most commonly the cross appears as a grave marker. Many of

these crosses can be found walking through any given cemetery. Interestingly, many of the names on these graves are not Gaelic in origin (such as Johnston or Thomson), especially when used in the Lowlands (Figure 4.15). When these graves appear in the Highlands, only about half the names are Gaelic in origin. This leads to the conclusion that although this symbol is Celtic (the group which Gaelic peoples belong) in origin, it is no longer seen in this manner and seen more as a generic Christian symbol.

Architecture

Despite the thistle (discussed in the next subsection) being present on many architectural features throughout the country, there does not seem to be a modern Gaelic architectural style. Most buildings in the country use Victorian, Georgian, or Edwardian styles and do not really stand out from similar buildings found in England. The only real examples of Gaelic architecture are a few museums in very rural areas. These are primarily a style of architecture known as blackhouses and have low, uncut stone walls and a thatched roof. Though they can still be found in some areas, I did not find them currently used for anything besides education.

Other Cultural Elements

There are several cultural elements not covered previously that I want to discuss. The first is the thistle. The thistle is a flower with thorn-like spines and typically has a purple flower. This flower has become one of the national symbols of Scotland.

Historians are not completely sure when it was adopted, but it was probably during the Gaelic kingdom (which is why I am including it here). Presently, the thistle can



Figure 4.16: A thistle incorporated into the metalwork of a gate in Kirriemuir

be found almost everywhere in Scotland. The uses of the symbol range from logos, to coats of arms, to jewelry, and often carved in stone or forged in metalwork as part of architectural designs (Figure 4.16). Another flower, called heather, seemed to be more associated with the Highlands than the Lowlands. It was commonly seen as food products and in place names. Often, the names of these products and places would incorporate the Gaelic name of the flower: *fraoch*.

Heathergems, jewelry made from the dyed stems of the flower, were also more common within the Highlands.

Areas Studied Through Google Earth

To compensate for time constraints during the course of this thesis research, I supplemented my field work with imagery from Google Earth's street view of areas that I was not able to reach during the course of my study. Much like the areas around Inverness and Fort William, the west coast of the Highlands and the Outer Hebrides Islands seemed to have the highest concentration of both the language and cultural elements. Most signs in these areas

displayed Gaelic as the primary language, much in the same way as Fort William. Most of the businesses in these areas have Gaelic-derived names as well, such as The Clachan Bar in Stornoway or The Ceilidh Place Hotel in Ullapool. Though the cultural elements are harder to observe from this imagery, it seems that these regions have prominent displays of these elements, such as whisky and clan-related items, in storefronts. This leads to the conclusion that the language and culture are seen as an everyday part of life, much like in Inverness and Fort William, and not as a tourist commodity.

The Orkney Islands and the northern tip of Scotland (also known as Caithness), much like the southern areas of the country, had little to no Gaelic linguistic or cultural elements (though whisky was still popular). Gaelic language seems to be absent as part of life in this region. This may be due to the historic dominance of Norse in the area. The region of Moray, located between Inverness and Aberdeen, had fewer occurrences of the language but had higher occurrences of culture due to the abundance of whisky distilleries in the area. Most of these distilleries have Gaelic-derived names. These names, like Glenfiddich and Cardhu, make up a majority of the linguistic elements in this region. The use here does not seem to be leaning toward either tourism or everyday use, but rather comes across as more connecting to their heritage.

The Inner Hebrides (the large islands located just off the coast) were more mixed when it came to both elements, with some of the islands having higher concentrations than others. The Isle of Skye seems to have the highest concentrations of Gaelic elements with a majority of road signs written in both English and Gaelic as well as a majority of businesses using Gaelic-derived names, such as MacLeod Pharmacy in Portree. The variety in the amount of usage amongst these islands suggest that the perceptions of Gaelic language and culture varies from island to island,

with some seeing it as a part of everyday life or a way to draw tourists and others seeing it as largely insignificant and holding little value. The Borders region, much like Dumfries, does not have any manifestations of either Gaelic language or culture. This suggests that the people in this area do not see much value in displaying the Gaelic language or culture and perhaps see themselves as far removed from the Gaelic regions of the country. Much like with the Orkney Islands, this may be due to historic influence from a foreign culture, in this case English.

Maps

To present the data compiled above, I distilled the elements discussed above into two overarching categories: Linguistic Landscape and Cultural Landscape. Both categories were mapped based on the relative concentration of the elements within each. Please refer back pages twenty-three and twenty-four for a more detailed explanation of the methods used for creating these maps. These maps can be found on the next page in Figures 4.17 and 4.18.

The linguistic map (Figure 4.17) shows that the distribution of the Gaelic language is primarily centered on the west coast regions and the islands. There are some areas, however, where the higher concentration of Gaelic goes further east, mainly around the city of Inverness, the center of the Highlands between Pitlochry and Fort William, and the city of Edinburgh. Other regions of the Highlands have lower concentrations of these elements, but still retain a noticeable amount. Once outside of the Highlands, the concentration of linguistic elements drops off rather quickly with the exception of the northern Lowlands (around Aberdeen) and the city of Glasgow.

The culture map (Figure 4.18) show a more even distribution of the elements of the culture than the language elements. Much like the language, the cultural elements are highly concentrated in the Highlands and Edinburgh. However, almost the entirety of the Highlands contains the high concentrations, not just the west coast, and expands further into the Lowlands

than the language does. The drop off for cultural elements is also more gradient-like than that of the language, with the areas of lowest concentration being more around the border with England and the extreme north of the country.

Geography of the Scottish Gaelic Language

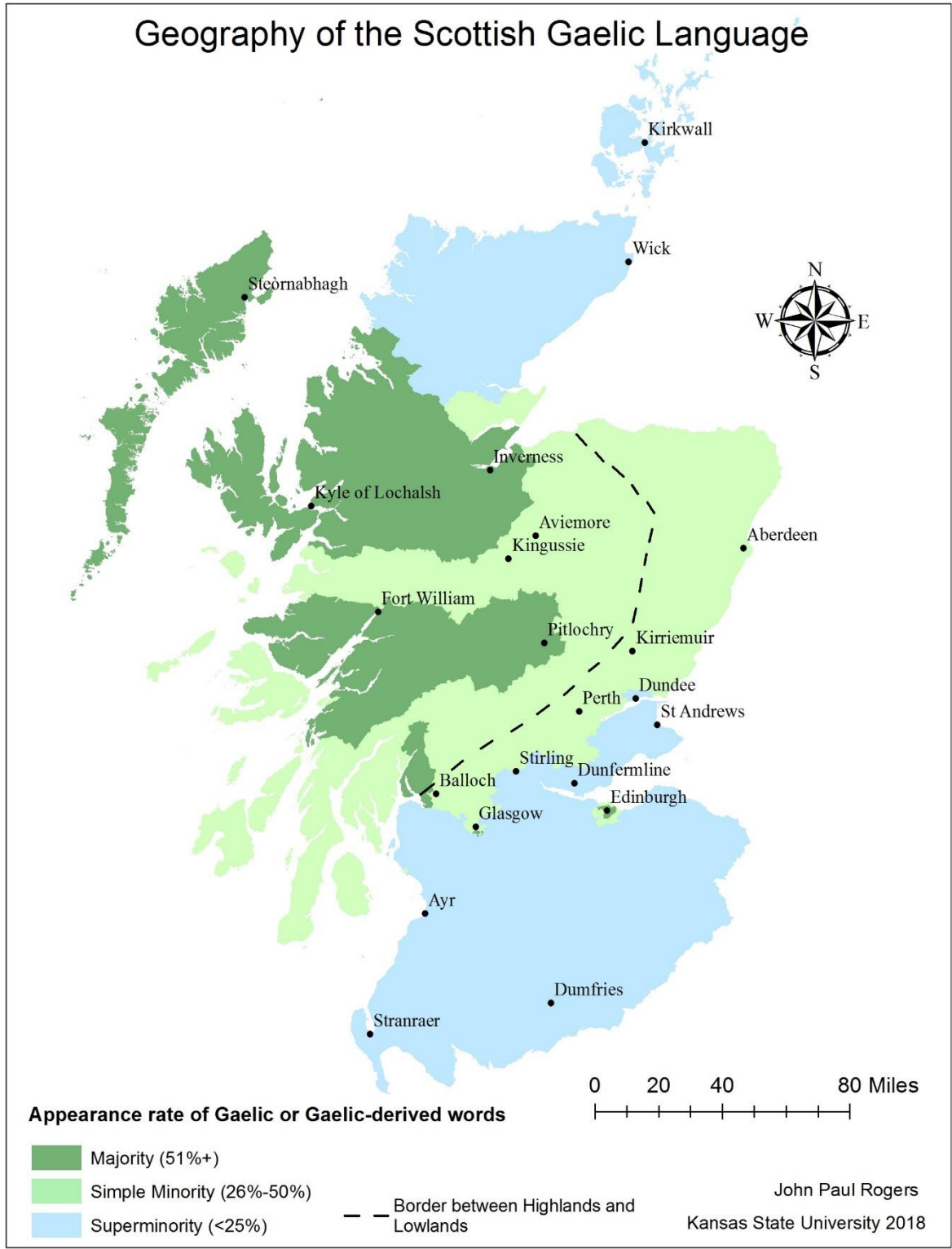


Figure 4.17: Map of the concentration of Scottish Gaelic linguistic elements on the Scottish landscape

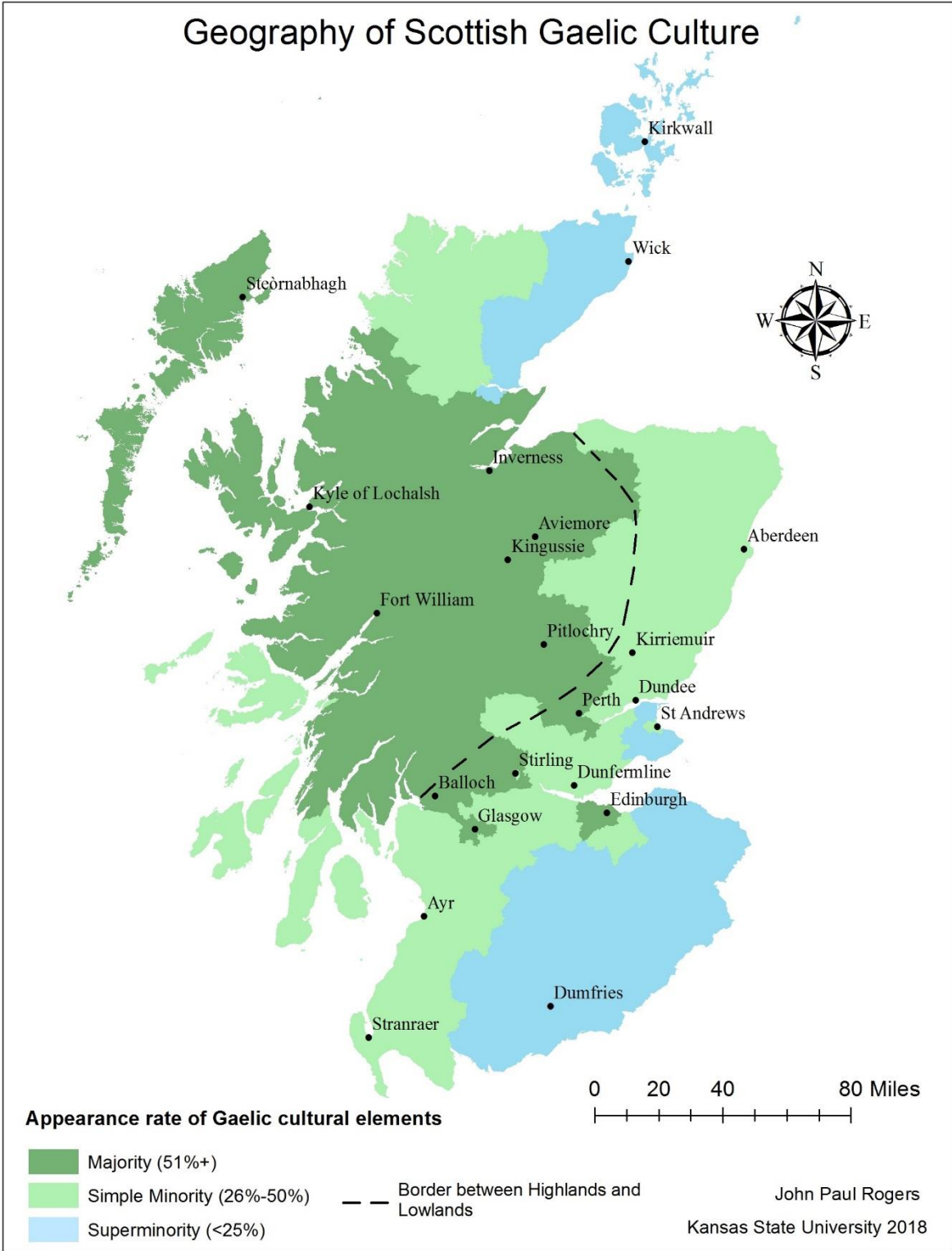


Figure 4.18: Map of the concentration of Scottish Gaelic cultural elements on the Scottish landscape

Vignette: Linguistic Place Name Origins in Scotland

This side study on the origins of place names in Scotland is included to gauge the historic influence of the Gaelic language as well as gain insight into the changes that have occurred in this aspect of the linguistic landscape over the past several centuries. To accomplish this, I used the book *What's in a Scottish Placename?* by Peter Terrell (2016). Rather than using the regions of similar places that I created for the primary research, I will use the names of the general regions identified in the book (these are not necessarily political regions). As a refresher, here are the categories that each region is going to be labeled with: Anglicized Gaelic (Original name with English spelling), partially English (part of the name is in English and another part has been Anglicized), Completely English, Other Celtic (like Pictish or Cumbric), or Foreign (such as Norse) names. This analysis begins with the islands, then moves onto the mainland beginning in the Highlands in the north and working its way south into the Lowlands.

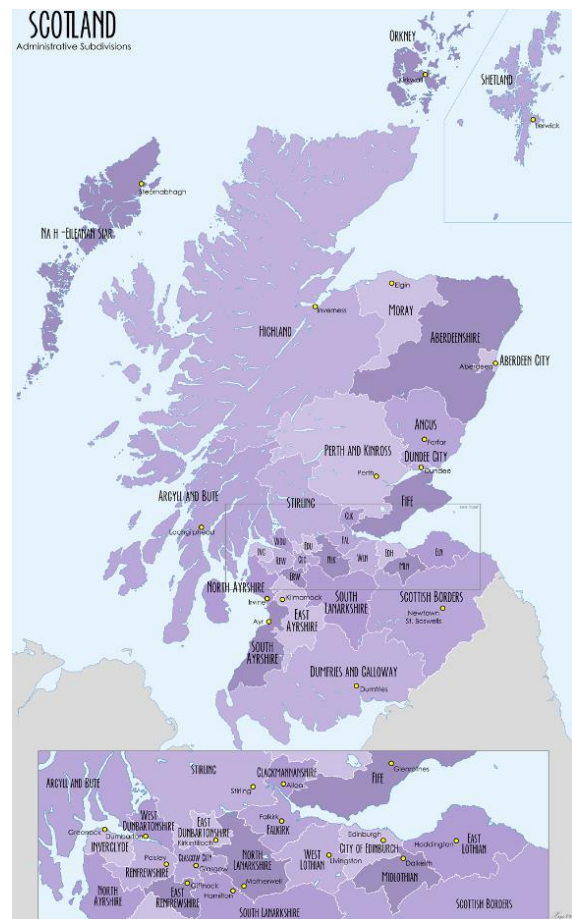


Figure 4.19: A map of the general regions of Scotland with principle cities shown (XrystD 2009)

First I start with the various island regions within Scotland. The first two regions are the archipelagos to the north of mainland Scotland: Orkney and Shetland. Within both of these regions, the classification is Foreign, with most of the names derived from the Norse language in these historically Norse regions. Surprisingly, the Outer Hebrides Islands are also classified as Foreign. Much like the Shetland and Orkney Islands, the majority of the place names originated from Norse (though the names begin to become more Anglicized Gaelic the further south you travel in the archipelago). The largest of the Inner Hebrides, the Isle of Skye, shows mixture between Foreign (again Norse) and Anglicized Gaelic. The Inner Hebrides island of Mull, as well as the surrounding small islands, are predominantly Anglicized Gaelic in its place name origins. The smaller of the Inner Hebrides islands will be included in the Argyll region discussed in the Southern Highlands region. Overall, the islands show more Norse influences in the naming of their places.

Next, I examine the Highland's place name origins. The Northern Highlands region (the peninsula that makes the "tip" of Scotland), much like the Isle of Skye, is split in two between Foreign (Norse) names and Anglicized Gaelic names. On this peninsula, it is split east-west with the east having a majority of the Norse place names. The Central Highlands (the area extending around Inverness), Moray (a region that straddles the northern border between the Highlands and Lowlands), and the Southwestern Highlands (area of the west coast around Glencoe, but still north of the Highland region of Argyll) all have place names are primarily Anglicized Gaelic. The Perthshire region, on the border between Highlands and Lowlands, is again made up of primarily Anglicized Gaelic, but this is where the partially English names (such as Bridge of Balgie) become more common. The last of the Highlands region is the region of Argyll, a region comprised of peninsulas, small islands, and the area around Loch Lomond. The names in this

region are primarily Anglicized Gaelic, but unlike Perthshire, the areas close to the Lowlands do not become more English-influenced. Unlike the Islands, a majority of the Highlands region names originated with Gaelic.

Finally is the Lowlands. Aberdeenshire, comprising most of the northern part of the Lowlands along the east coast, is mostly comprised of Anglicized Gaelic names but begins to see some more partially English names much like Perthshire. This same phenomenon is found in the historic region of Angus, the present day area around Dundee. The Forth Valley (which makes up most of the narrow neck in the southern part of Scotland) is primarily Anglicized Gaelic in origin as well, but unlike some of the other regions, there is more mixture with the older Celtic languages (mainly Cumbric) rather than English. The east coast peninsular region of Fife also has primarily Anglicized Gaelic names, but in some areas both English and Pictish appear mixed with Gaelic. Centered on Glasgow, the Clyde region mixes names between Anglicized Gaelic, Other Celtic (mainly Cumbric), English, and a couple Foreign (mostly Latin) names. Though the area is pretty mixed, the Anglicized Gaelic makes up a slight majority. The region surrounding Edinburgh, known as the Lothians, is unique in this study. This region is the only region of Scotland that is primarily mixed between Other Celtic (primarily Cumbric) and English, with few Gaelic-derived names. Ayrshire (south of Clyde) brings back the trend of Anglicized Gaelic names making up the majority of the place names. Next is the region of Dumfries and Galloway (south of Ayrshire on the southwestern peninsula), which has a majority Anglicized Gaelic as well as a sizable amount of Other Celtic (Cumbric) influence. Last is the Borders region, which, as I'm sure you guessed, is the region along the border with England. Not surprisingly, the majority of place names come from English.

Although English has been the dominant language in Scotland for several centuries, most of the place names in the country are still Gaelic in origin (though almost all of them Anglicized). This shows that the Gaelic language once had strong influence throughout a majority of the country, with exceptions in the areas where Norse and English were historically dominant. Besides Anglicization of many names, it seems that they did not change a great deal from their original names (as seen with now-extinct languages making up the majority in several regions). One thing that surprised me, however, was that there were not more areas with combined Gaelic and English names, especially in the Lowlands.

Answering Research Questions

Having compiled the data above, it is now time to answer the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. Question 1: How is the Scottish Gaelic language currently manifested on the Scottish cultural landscape? As discussed previously, most of the manifestations take the form of signs or Gaelic-derived names. This use, however, varies greatly from region to region across Scotland.

Within the Lowlands region, a majority of the signs that use Gaelic are on governmental buildings and memorials rather than privately owned buildings. While there are some instances of the latter, it is mostly found in Gaelic-derived names rather than manifestations of the written language. Most of the governmental signs on which Gaelic appears have it as a secondary language to English, rather than having it as the primary language. The further south you go, however, the less common the uses of Gaelic are, even on the governmental buildings. These patterns suggest that the people of the Lowlands do not put much, if any, emphasis on Gaelic in

their lives, not seeing much benefit to using the language. Instead, the government is the primary advocate for use within this region.

The Highlands, especially on the west coast, have more consistency with the manifestations of Gaelic. Here, they appear on a wider variety of signs rather than mainly on the government buildings. Stores, street signs, information panels, and the names of a variety of businesses all show use of the language as well. In this region, even some foreign businesses use the language on their signs. Overall, the language appears much more frequently and in more ways here than in the Lowlands, but some areas (especially the resort towns) seem to put more emphasis on the appearance of being Gaelic for the benefit of tourists. However, a firm conclusion can be drawn that people within the Highlands see Gaelic as a part of everyday life.

Throughout the whole country, the language is also seen in books and heard sung music. These manifestations are somewhat rare, however, even within the Highland region. It was also exceedingly rare to hear the language spoken, even in areas with high occurrences of the language on signage. The numerous manifestations of the language would suggest to outsiders that there are more speakers of Gaelic than the approximately 80,000 recorded during the last census (2011 Scottish Census). This shows a pattern where certain elements of the language are more favored than others, even in areas where more speakers are present.

The second research question was: How are elements of the Scottish Gaelic culture represented on the landscape? Compared to the language, there is a bit more variety in the representations of the culture on the landscape. Across the entire country, cultural elements were commonly found in museums that focused on the history of Scotland and items were easy to find in gift shops. There were also the traditional Highland Games found across the country. That is where the similarities end, however. The display of the items in gift shops in the Lowlands

differed from their display in the Highlands. The Lowlands tend to show the more stereotypical elements such as kilts, whisky, and bagpipes. The Highlands, on the other hand, had a greater variety that was more encompassing of Gaelic culture. Shops, museums, and other areas that display the cultural elements in the Highlands show the more obscure (at least to outsiders) elements such as quichs and heather jewelry. There was variety even from town to town across the Highlands, with some towns focusing more on certain elements than others. This shows that while the culture is popular across the country, many use the elements to make themselves appear more Scottish to outsiders especially in the Lowland regions showing a tourism/monetary focus.

Is the manifestation of Scottish Gaelic in a particular location vernacular (used more naturally without a specific purpose) or prescribed (used for a specific purpose like tourism or education)? This third question differentiates the data a bit more than the maps do by adding meaning as to why they are there as opposed to only showing where the elements are located. In the Lowlands, the manifestations of the language are mostly prescribed. These prescribed uses do differ, however. The government is the primary source of the language use in the Lowlands and seems to prescribe the language as a means of retaining the language in the country, educating people about the language, and for tourism purposes. Most of the private uses in the Lowlands, however, are more tourism-oriented, especially in the larger cities. They seemed primarily used to alter the perceptions of foreigners to make it seem like the country is less English-oriented than it actually is.

The Highlands, however, seem to be more of a mix between prescribed and vernacular usage. The resort towns, settlements on the border with the Lowlands, and the larger settlements saw more prescribed uses (though there were many vernacular uses in Inverness as well). These

uses were primarily aimed towards tourists and the preservation of the language. The more rural areas and areas on the west coast had more vernacular uses than prescribed uses. This is likely due to the higher number of people in these areas who use the language in their daily lives. Many of the prescribed uses in these areas were not oriented towards tourists like in the other regions, but rather aimed heavily towards preservation.

These varied uses provide insight into how the regions feel about the language. The government and Highlands lean more towards using the language as a part of everyday life, as a means of retention, and as a tool to differentiate themselves. The Lowlands, however, seem to use it more for the purposes of tourism. While this can also be to set themselves apart, it is more about making money than preserving the culture. Similar patterns occur with the cultural elements as well, but with more vernacular uses throughout the Highlands and prescribed uses in the Lowlands start to shift more towards preservation rather than just tourism, suggesting that elements of the culture are more favorably viewed than the language.

The last of the research questions was: What places in Scotland does the Scottish Gaelic language and culture appear? The Scottish Gaelic culture appears frequently in the same areas as the language, but the inverse is not always true. More often than not, the language does not appear in the same locations as the culture. This is a frequent occurrence in the Lowlands and resort towns, where the language does not have as firm of a base upon which to build. As discussed previously, the cultural elements appear across the whole of the country (with some exceptions in the southern areas) with the Highlands and large cities with lots of tourism being the areas with highest concentrations. These manifestations are mostly in shops and museums. The language, on the other hand, primarily appears in the more rural areas of the Highlands as well as a few of the urban centers in the region. Most of the uses in these areas are on bilingual

public signs and monuments, while occurrences in the Lowlands tend to be more business or government-oriented in use.

Now that the data has been presented and the research questions answered, it is safe to say that the uses of both the language and culture across Scotland are varied and unique. Some areas seem to cling on to their Gaelic roots with pride and display the language and culture wherever they can, while some use it as a means to draw in tourist money. It seems as though the language is starting to rebound through the increase in governmental advocacy and the culture is thriving within the country. The final chapter will discuss the implications of these findings as well as present possible future extensions of this research project.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

The history of the Gaelic language and culture in Scotland is one that is highly interesting. After the Gaelic people migrated from Ireland during the late Medieval Era, Scottish Gaelic diffused to the local populace and flourished in Scotland. This can be seen through the origins of place names throughout Scotland, which was explored in a vignette in the Results chapter. This vignette, based on a book that showed the origins of many place names in the country, showed that a majority of these names were derived from the Scottish Gaelic language. The main exceptions were in the northern and southern fringes of the country, where Norse and English were the primary languages used.

The widespread use of Gaelic remained until the reign of James VI and I when he united the crowns of Scotland and England. There was some decline in the use of Gaelic in favor of English before James' rise to power (the monarchs stopped using it a few generations before James). It was under his rule, however, that the use of Gaelic became actively discouraged. This later led to laws which outlawed Gaelic for most day-to-day activities. During this time, Gaelic became a liturgical language and a language spoken primarily at home (Withers 1984, Watson and Macleod 2010). This had the effect of reducing the number of Gaelic speakers down to around fifty thousand. In recent decades, however, the language and culture have evolved from being discouraged to being encouraged. The government of Scotland is the main driving force behind the effort to promote Gaelic. In recent decades, the Scottish Parliament has passed laws which encourage the use of Gaelic in public and in formal education. This has in-turn increased the amount of people who use the language in their everyday lives.

These patterns led me to the question: what happens to the linguistic and cultural landscape when the language is no longer dominant in its native region? Examining the uses of the language and comparing it to uses of the associated culture can provide insight into the attitudes driving the way in which these elements are used. To accomplish this, four research questions were asked specifically about the Scottish Gaelic language and culture. The first question is: How is the Scottish Gaelic language currently manifested on the Scottish cultural landscape? This question identifies the means by which the language appears on the landscape today and provides insight into when it is deemed culturally appropriate to use the language. The following question is: How are elements of the Scottish Gaelic culture represented on the landscape? Looking at how these elements are found in conjunction with the language teases out more of the cultural identity. Next comes: Is the manifestation of Scottish Gaelic in a particular location vernacular or prescribed for a specific purpose (e.g. tourism or education)? Examining this question assesses the local attitudes towards the language. More vernacular use signifies that locals still see it as part of their culture and more prescription, especially in tourist areas, signifies a possible attempt at influencing outside perceptions. There is some prescription for the preservation of the language, but this was not as common as other prescribed uses. And finally: What places in Scotland does the Scottish Gaelic language and culture appear? Studying the frequency allows for further elaboration on local attitudes towards the language.

Answering these questions provided insight into the overarching research question. Before completing my field work, my expectations for what I was to find were slightly optimistic. I expected to find much more vernacular uses of Gaelic throughout the country, especially in the big cities. This was primarily due to the aforementioned push for more Gaelic in the country, which I thought more people would embrace, as well as the fact that historically

many Gaelic people moved to the cities. However, I did expect some of the cultural elements (like kilts and bagpipes) to be very widespread, as they are seen as being stereotypically Scottish and would draw tourists.

To answer the research questions, I used landscape analysis. Landscape analysis is a tool that draws heavily on the work of Carl Sauer (2009) and J. B. Jackson (1972, 1985, and 1995) which were later expanded upon by generations of cultural geographers including Blake (1999), Blake and Smith (2000), and Price (1964). The cultural landscape serves as a reflection of the people living there, allowing scholars to grasp cultural attributes derived from a detailed analysis. I also incorporated elements of linguistic landscape analyses in order to identify the best places to look for the language on the landscape. For example, Dajko (2018) identified many uses of Louisiana French on the landscape in ways such as names of places or signage in heavily trafficked areas.

For my analysis, I traveled to Scotland and systematically examined the cultural landscape of various cities and towns across the country. Once in these settlements, I marked how often the Gaelic language or cultural elements were being used and the manner in which they were used so that the attitudes of the people in these areas could be teased out. An example of this would be identifying the Gaelic language on a sign and determining how much of the sign is in Gaelic, who posted the sign, what is the purpose of the sign, and the relative prominence of languages present on the sign.

The cities and towns studied during my research were not picked at random, but rather chosen systematically by certain geographic properties. Overall, I examined eighteen settlements in-person. I first categorized these settlements based on similar characteristics (such as large cities or resort towns) and then categorized them based on whether they are located in the

Highland region (the homeland of the Gaelic people) or Lowland (dominated by English-speaking people) regions. By categorizing these places in this way, it became easy to see how historic and geographic factors play into the manifestations of the elements on the landscape. For example, Aviemore is a resort town in the Highland region and Glasgow is a major city in the Lowland region. Thus, it is expected that these geographic differences correlate with differences in representation of the linguistic and cultural elements on the landscape.

This thesis found that elements of both the language and culture on the landscape are highly varied in both concentration and how they are used across all the categories. This variation was mapped out using one map for language and one map for culture (Figures 4.17 and 4.18). Some areas have a high concentration of elements of both language and culture on the landscape. This primarily occurs in the region of the Highlands. The use of these elements varies from place to place, with settlements such as resort towns using them for tourism while other settlements use the elements as a part of their everyday lives. Other areas may have high concentrations of only cultural elements which are used primarily for purposes of tourism or business. This phenomenon is found more often within the Lowland region and settlements with high levels of tourism. I would suggest that cases of the latter are mainly affected by the perception of “Scottishness”.

The usage of these landscape elements in these areas are not based primarily upon the locals’ own notions of “Scottishness”, but rather the notions which outsiders hold. This can be seen through many of these areas’ uses of elements seen as stereotypically Scottish like kilts and bagpipes in areas which are heavily trafficked by tourists. It can also be seen through token, but not widespread, uses of the language and the abundance of Gaelic-derived names in these same areas. This seem to be designed for businesses and other locations to sound more Scottish.

Sounding more Scottish may be used to attract visitors, especially from foreign countries, to these places and advertise a “more Scottish” experience. The use of Gaelic in these areas may also be that of a political tool by the ruling Scottish National Party to establish the notion of Scotland being a nation state which deserves independence from the United Kingdom.

This is in direct contrast to those areas in which Gaelic is a part of everyday life. They do not seem as affected by this outside perception of “Scottishness”. Rather, it seems that they are affected by the people’s use of the language and culture, which marks them as distinctly Scottish without having to engage with the outsiders’ perceptions. This occurs whether the use is active in the community or if preservation is the primary goal. Going back to my example of Aviemore and Glasgow, Aviemore tends to have higher concentrations of both Gaelic language and traditional Gaelic culture elements than Glasgow. Aviemore, though located in the Highlands, still tends to use these elements for tourism and business purposes much like Glasgow does because it is a resort town.

These findings led me to the following answers for my four research questions. Question 1: How is the Scottish Gaelic language currently manifested on the Scottish cultural landscape? The current use of Scottish Gaelic on the landscape is highly variable depending on where you are. Throughout most of the country, and especially in the Lowlands, the manifestations are limited to Gaelic-derived names for places and businesses rather than the written language. The written language is mostly found in the Highlands and on signs used by the government, though the amount varies from town to town with lower amounts found in resort areas. The language can be found in small quantities of books and music throughout the country as well.

The second question I asked was: How are elements of the Scottish Gaelic culture represented on the landscape? Across the whole of Scotland, elements of the culture are

commonly found in gift shops and museums. The items displayed, however, vary between settlements across the country much like the language. The Lowlands tend to use more stereotypical items like kilts and whisky, while the Highlands displayed these elements along with other elements that might be more obscure to outsiders such as quaichs and heather.

The third question was: Is the manifestation of Scottish Gaelic in a particular location vernacular (used more naturally without a specific purpose) or prescribed (used for a specific purpose like tourism or education)? Due to the government being the primary driver of the use of Gaelic in the Lowlands, most of the uses within the region are prescribed with the intent of retaining the language. There are also many businesses in the Lowlands which have prescribed uses of the language for purposes in tourism. In the Highlands, prescribed and vernacular uses are more evenly dispersed. The resort towns, settlements on the border with the Lowlands, and the larger settlements saw more prescribed uses while the rural and west coast settlements tend to have higher concentrations of vernacular use. Inverness, however, has a more even mixture of vernacular and prescribed most likely due to its status as the largest city in the Highlands to which many tourists and locals travel.

The last question was: What places in Scotland does the Scottish Gaelic language and culture appear? The Scottish Gaelic culture appears frequently in the same areas as the language, but the inverse is not always true. Oftentimes, the culture will appear without any use of the language being present, which often happens in the Lowlands and in areas where many tourists visit. Cultural elements appear quite often across the whole of Scotland, often in museums and shops, except in the areas closer to the border with England. The language, on the other hand, primarily appears in the more rural areas of the Highlands as well as a few of the urban centers in the region. Most signs with Gaelic in the Highlands are bilingual as opposed to monolingual and

are most often found on public signs and monuments. Gaelic is most often oriented towards business or governmental use in the Lowlands.

Johnstone (2016) suggested that globalization is leading to an increase in the use of some endangered languages due to people wanting to stand out on an increasingly homogenized world stage. While my thesis does help to support that argument, I posit that Johnstone's argument does not go far enough. My research leads me to the conclusion that the uses of both linguistic and cultural elements, particularly on the landscape, are increased by the phenomenon of wanting to be distinct among a globalized world. In the case of this study, elements that are Gaelic in origin have been adopted by a wider audience within Scotland. Not every element of Gaelic culture has seen wider adoption, however, with elements seen as more stereotypically Gaelic (such as kilts and bagpipes) being the ones that have seen the widest usage. This is seemingly fueled by the previously discussed perceptions of "Scottishness", as many in Scotland want to distinguish themselves from the English by using linguistic and cultural elements which are very different from the corresponding elements which are found in the majority of the United Kingdom.

In order to back up these conclusions, more research should be performed in more regions like Scotland, with a historically or presently dominant linguistic-cultural group that differs from the present majority group of the country in which they are located. Examples of this include Catalonia or the Basques in Spain, Veneto in Italy, the Berbers in Morocco and Algeria, various tribes of Indigenous peoples in the United States and Canada, etc. Examining these groups and others can work to tease out usage patterns which may be present among these groups or highlight differences that emerge. Finding the patterns to be similar or different on a

global scale will help to lay the groundwork for a more definitive conclusion for why these patterns are or are not present in a region.

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