Scottish Gaelic Language Shift Reversal: Revitalization and Language Policy

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This project investigates how promotive policies in Scotland help to revitalize Scottish Gaelic. Previous research describes promotive policies and the effects of speakers' attitudes towards minority languages; this project connects the two in seeing how individual organizations enact promotive policies creatively. Previous research also offers a theoretical analysis lens with Language Shift Theory and specifically utilizes the reversal aspect of the theory. Document analysis was the main form of data collection for this process with ten language policies from ten different organizations across five social sectors. Thematic coding revealed patterns of language shift reversal, promotional tactics, and cultural care. The promotive policies in place stimulate parts of society to engage with Gaelic and revitalize the language. With language revival, the creative liberties towards the same goal for organizations reveal the desire of the collective. Research into how language policies reflect society's value of the communication facilitates a comprehensive plan of action into language and cultural revitalization.

Key words: language policy, revitalization

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The etymology of my first name initially sparked an interest in the Gaelic language. Growing up hearing about the whimsical magic of the Gaelic countries from the Irish side of my family encouraged an intrigue in how words transfer power through meaning. In translations, meanings can get lost through literal interpretations or the words simply not existing outside the native derivation. I didn't know the name "Erin" holds the definition of "Ireland" until further research into Gaelic culture—in this research the decline of the Gaelic languages was prevalent. Additionally, exposure to the 2014 *Outlander* series showcasing the Scottish Gaelic culture specifically instigated an interest redirection into how the dying language was coming back to life. This research delves into how attitudes, willpower, and desire stimulate a language's life cycle.

In the last decade, Scotland has taken direct action to revive Scottish Gaelic. The Scottish government, in working towards reviving the language, passed the 2005 Gaelic Language Act creating the Bòrd na Gàidhlig—an organization dedicated to the promotion of Scottish Gaelic. The Bòrd na Gàidhlig, or BnG, inhibits a modicum of power through analyzing, deciding, and creating goals for Scottish Gaelic and instructing participating public organizations on how to create plans to reach the desired outcomes, as the 2005 Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act decreed (The National Archives, 2023). Since the first iteration of BnG guidelines, the speakers of Scottish Gaelic have doubled in the last decade (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, n.d., p. 2). The BnG's guidelines set precedence for public organizations of differing societal roles to prepare individual plans—meaning the organizations have creative liberty in preparations of the language plans. Creative liberties suggest a level of care the organizations exhibit in the language plans and how much desire the collective has in revitalizing Scottish Gaelic.

Regarding collective desire, the popular television series *Outlander* showcases the historical usage of Scottish Gaelic in the series through the dialogue of the characters of Scottish descent in a modern medium. The crossover of both past and present in terms of the language utilization demonstrates how Scottish Gaelic has persisted to exist today. A community contributor on a web forum known as *The Herald* comments that with the popularity of the series, there is an increase in tourism in Scotland and promotion of a large fanbase ("Outlander is the reason," 2024)—meaning the Gaelic culture and language is gaining attention and public support. Within the series, the actors use Gaelic dialog to demonstrate passion, community, and familiarity; in season one episode five of Outlander, the head of a Scottish family uses Gaelic to rally support for the Jacobite rebellions, and the main protagonist notes the efficacy of communicating in the culture's language—the shift in people's emotions (Roberts & Woolfenden, 2020). Having a modern take, even through a historical fiction adaptation, emphasizes the *why* of reviving a minority language: popular interest drives the efforts of language policies.

Careful consideration of what is necessary to reestablish a supporting foundation for a language is found in the general populous' perception.

The question for this project was if participating organizations utilize the BnG guidelines uniquely to put in place creative language plan policies or generalized plans. As the BnG's efforts persist in revitalizing Scottish Gaelic, public organizations are expected to adhere to the guidelines set forth. In theory, organizations with unique plans are taking the revitalization efforts seriously and wish to actively engage in the established role. A generalized language plan policy will meet the requirements but will not exert much more effort to see the language spoken more widely. So, finding out if multiple participating organizations are actively creating plans unique to their role and leaning into the type of social contribution associated will explain the level of desire to see a language thrive. Furthermore, the expectation of supporting a language revival extends into the support of an entire culture.

Promotive policies in Scotland encourage language revitalization for Scottish Gaelic. Individual organizations enact promotive policies unique to their function, but work towards the same goal through creative means. The literature review explains the theoretical lens in which the data was filtered through. Specifically, Language Shift Theory, promotive policies, as well as the cultural connections to language revival. The research design lays out the data collection and thematic coding process to give details into what phrases are relevant. The analysis section goes in depth into how the policies demonstrate promotive policy characteristics that support language shift reversal and the noticeable cultural encouragement.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous research reveals a pattern of language and identity being closely linked to culture. In practicing traditions of a culture, language is an external connection for people as well as an internal processing tool. Gebel (2002), in looking at the history of Gaelic and Sorbian history, infers a connection of language and consciousness, constructing identity and individual reality, to be a linguistically sensitive process (pp. 25-26). Moreover, the author suggests language provides access to the generational knowledge of "codified socially relevant knowledge" as well as "discursively constructed distinct (mental) realities," but not guaranteeing reproduction (Gebel, 2002, p. 148). However, support of reproduction for cultural values and knowledge through linguistic access may be found in promotive language policies. Looking specifically at current Scottish Gaelic language policies as an example of promotive policies explains how language policies reflect community cultural values.

Existing research indicates language shift, meaning the process where speakers of one language shift to another, disrupts cultural continuity. Language shift challenges the maintenance of culture through generations as when societal value of the associated language decreases, there is a block in

access to the oral archives of cultural history. Losing a language is not only about the loss of numbers in speakers, but also the loss of valued social constructs of a culture (Fernando et al., 2010, p. 49). Research reaches even the microscopic level, as demonstrated by Burling (2007) discussing the genetic trends of ethnicity and languages shifts through migration—suggesting language and ethnicity, in some relation culture as well, is not permanent (p. 226). Additionally, McEwan-Fujita (2011) investigates the social decay language shift causes for the affected culture through the impact of disparaging discourse around the language (p. 49). Regarding the current research project, the inquiry into language policies' characteristics delves into how Scottish Gaelic promotes the idea of a community practicing cultural continuity through language revitalization. Furthermore, this project works to address how the connection of revitalization and cultural continuity are an equally desirable goal of promotive policies.

Past researchers note reversing language shift, also known as revitalization, is dependent on the attitudes of the speakers. A language loses speakers because of a lack of supporting resources (i.e., any economic or societal valuing), but a supporting framework and willing participants can revitalize a language. McEwan-Fujita (2010) describes the socialization of some Gaelic speakers and the impact on the willingness to engage with the language due to the perception attitudes (pp. 41-44). Additionally, Schiffman (1996) defines language policies to be a cultural construct. The assumptions, behaviors, thoughts around a language make up the linguistic culture affecting the speakers' attitudes and beliefs (Schiffman, 1996, pp. 5-22). Considering the influence of speaker attitudes on current language policies, the positive or negative perception of the language will affect the attitude on the reception of the language policies. Understanding if potentially unique language policy designs of Scottish Gaelic are a sign of community care fits into how policies reflect the speakers' attitudes on the language.

Previous research suggests Scotland utilizes promotive language policies for the revitalization of Scottish Gaelic. Promotive policies enact active supportive change for a language and the specificity of goals in the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 is indicative of promotive efforts. Schiffman (1996) reviews the typologies of language policies and defines promotive typology as an overtly promoting type of policy that *encourages* the use of the minority language (pp. 28-29). McEwan-Fujita (2011) specifically acknowledges the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 as a demonstration of revitalization promotion (p. 57). As the act is a direct component of individual public organizations' language policies, the previous research connects to the current project through the analysis of the individual plans and how promotive the designs are. The current research adds to the past findings by offering an updated analysis of the policies.

As current research looks at the history of language shift, language and identity through culture, and reversing language shift, my research relates

to the topic by examining a reemerging language following a promotive language policy plan: Scottish Gaelic. Scottish Gaelic, having undergone a language shift with English, demonstrates the intensity of efforts necessary to reverse a shift and work towards revitalization; current research supports the idea that reversing a shift is a collaborative effort and Scottish Gaelic language policies are an example of what that means. Examining the current promotive policies of Scottish Gaelic to deduce if creative liberties produce unique plans communities are receptive of contributes another perspective of a minority language. Understanding Scotland's take on promotive policies extends current research's scope by applying pattern recognition in searching for the effective details found in the individual plans of the country to identify, or introduce, in other related regions. Focusing on a specific language, and the subsequent policies, is a tact already in use for researching language planning; however, connecting Gaelic into the scene broadens the range while narrowing the criteria. Therefore, examining Scottish Gaelic's current language policies for unique application of the general requirements helps answer the efficacy of promotive language policies as well as uncover supportive revitalization factors.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The theory in this project followed the logic of an initial language in an area shifting out of common usage by the, often, gradual process of a new language dominating. Encompassing the entirety of language shifting is known as Language Shift Theory, but another aspect of the theoretical framework was the main focal point for this research process. Specifically, this project utilized the language shift reversal, LSR, position of the theory—from Joshua A. Fishman's 1991 book *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, LSR takes "thought, effort, and conviction," (p. 67). Taking into consideration what "thought, effort, and conviction" means establishes how language planning policies are supportive proof for revitalizing the goal language. Regarding Scottish Gaelic, the LSR position of the theory is currently active in Scotland and the current project aimed to establish how the policies follow the logic of the theory. The theory defines how much effort, passion, and desire it takes to revitalize a language, and the promotive language policies of Scottish organizations are embodying the definition.

One piece of data for this project is the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. The Scottish government passed the act in 2005 to take an active role in revitalizing Gaelic in Scotland. The act's direct purpose is to govern the Bòrd na Gàidhlig and grant the organization power to oversee the creation of language policies. The Bòrd na Gàidhlig, or BnG, is another piece of data as the organization has a responsibility to create guidelines for the language policies of individual public organizations every five years to help increase Gaelic language usage and exposure. The BnG promotes Gaelic usage through

specific goals that evolve with each iteration of guidelines. Within the next set of data for this project, individual public organizations' language policies from five sectors of society, is an example of each goal. Two language policy documents of the most recent iteration of BnG guideline requirements are included from organizations that contribute to society in different ways: Community, Culture, Economy, Education, and Public Authorities. Each sector individually interacts with Gaelic, having a defined set of terminology and meanings to work with—and so how each one plans to promote Gaelic within their roles is the main purpose of this project. To examine a modern example language shift reversal, or revitalization, through the implementation of promotive policies, each piece of data was necessary as one would not necessarily exist without the other—the act created the BnG and the BnG creates required guidelines for organizations to use in creating their unique language plan policies.

To collect the data, each piece started with a simple Google search with the words: "Scottish Gaelic revitalization" and "language policy." The first page of results displayed the name of the BnG, which prompted another Google search about the organization. From there, the results yielded a link to the official website of the organization. After clicking the link and finding the homepage, selecting the "About Us" tab led to a link to a page summarizing the purpose and provided another link directly to the official document. After saving the document to a file and navigating back to the "About Us" tab on the home page, another link specified "The National Gaelic Language Plan" and provided another purpose summary as well as a link to the most recent, 2023-2028, language plan of the BnG. Back to the homepage of the BnG website and this time to the tab "Gaelic Language Plans," where a link to "Approved Plans" provided 57 links to organization's official website homepages. To filter out which links to follow when gathering PDFs of language plans, I selected a few at random to see what common characteristics were shared and categorized them based on the social contribution/function. After deciding the five sectors, I narrowed my selection process of the links by following links with words specific to the sector I was searching for—see Table 1 for examples. On an organization's homepage, I would use the search function to find "Gaelic language plan" and navigated to the download the document. This process makes sense for this project as the flow of collection follows the order of authority and creation—the search for data gets narrower from the very beginning of the Scottish Gaelic revitalization process starting at the government level all the way to the level of individual organizations of a community.

Sector:	Community	Culture	Economy	Education	Public Authorities
Word Examples:	"sports" "library" "creative"	"national" "nature" "visit"	"enterprise" "assets"	"university" "skills"	"authority" "police" "Scottish"

Table 1

Analyzing the collected data started with simply reading the documents. First, I read the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 and the BnG's 2023 National Gaelic Plan each individually, then in tandem to see how the BnG followed the act's guidance. The next step was to read each language plan policy individually while copying and pasting text specific to the set goals to a separate word document to create source files. Each policy document had a variation of "Key Principals" or "Core Commitments" specifying the goals set by the organization from the BnG's requirements—the defined goals of this iteration, in summary, are as follows: Gaelic is equal to English, active offerings of Gaelic to staff and the public, and Gaelic is normalized. While identifying the goals, I also noted if the organization had a Gaelic version available in addition to the English translation in consideration of the first defined goal for Gaelic. To see how the goal requirements were unique to each organization, I looked at the process of implementation; each document had an "Implementation" section wherein the goal, plan of action, target date, and responsible party were identified. With the implementation sections, I compared each document of the same sector to each other to see the differences and similarities. This method is perfect for this research project as it considers the documents in relation to policies of the same sector, in relation to the overarching guidelines, and in relation to the language revitalization progress to garner how unique the application of the policies is to the same goal.

ANALYSIS

Language Shift Reversal

Language shift reversal (LSR), interchangeable with "revitalization" in the context of this research project, requires a mutual agreement for effortful continuation actions and planning. The pipeline of language planning policy development disperses the duties for LSR through the collective agreement of individual organizations to enact the planned supportive actions from The Bòrd na Gàidhlig (BnG). The BnG specifies Gaelic revitalization requires continued promotion, support, and growth at all levels of Gaelic education (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, n.d., p. 5). The Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) follows the guidance of the Scottish Government and the BnG in continual strategic initiatives to commit to revitalizing Gaelic long term (Highlands and Islands Enterprise, n.d., p. 3). Additionally, as an educational institu-

tion, the University of the Highlands and Islands recognizes the core academic purpose of revitalizing the language through commitment to making ongoing, significant contributions toward the goal of reviving Gaelic into a dynamic, living, and vibrant language (University of Highlands and Islands, n.d., p. 4). The recognition of the Gaelic language needing careful tending in a continuous manner by individual organizations' policies acknowledges the LSR requirement. Furthermore, individual pledges of continuation indicate a mutual agreement of continuous effort as well as imply a desire to cooperate within the pipeline of goal dictation.

Following the theme of LSR requirements, collaboration is a core initiative for organization in the efforts of revitalizing Scottish Gaelic. Collaboration within and between organizations is a priority in most organization's language policies. The National Gaelic Plan of the BnG states promoting Gaelic is a shared responsibility of a significant number of organizations to make important contributions in supporting Gaelic (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, n.d., p. 1). One of the organizations the BnG refers to, Caledonian Maritime Assets Ltd (CMAL), works in a concerted effort with the government, the public, private and third sectors, and other community organizations to revitalize Gaelic into a living language (Caledonian Maritime, n.d., p. 4). Likewise, Skills Development Scotland (SDS) addresses the effective nature of collaboration and alignment with other enterprises and skills agencies in promoting the Gaelic language, education, and culture across Scotland (Skills Development Scotland, n.d., p. 7). Prioritizing collaboration agreements establishes a mutual aid assurance through accountability and cooperation. Collaboration instills a connective responsibility in promoting Gaelic by sharing an obligation of achieving the same goal.

People's desire to see the language revived curates a supportive framework of connection. Social structures support Gaelic usage in various contexts while Gaelic supports community connection as a shared communication goal. Skills Development Scotland (SDS) states the key economic sectors of Scotland, including tourism, hospitality, creative industries, food and drink, and retail businesses, support Gaelic—reviving the language and supporting usage across geographies, sectors, and occupations (Skills Development Scotland, n.d., p. 2). The BnG acknowledges the National Gaelic Language Plan is only successful through commitment, collaboration, investment, and action from each organization; the organizations support the Plan's success as much as the Plan supports Gaelic revival (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, n.d., p. 3). Therefore, having access to Gaelic in multiple contexts stimulates growth as the language reaches new levels of versatility. Additionally, the symbiotic relationship of the BnG and various social structures manifests revitalization while also facilitating communication and connection opportunities for people.

Promotion Tactics

Organizations promote the same goal of normalizing Gaelic with similar actions, like organization events incorporating Gaelic use. Social events are unique to the organization, and so the topics of discussion differ between contexts but allow Gaelic to thrive in multiple environments. For example, Creative Scotland works to provide a visible presence of Gaelic in all regional, national, and international events as well as continue to hold Gaelic specific events such as the Gaelic arts showcase (Creative Scotland, n.d., p. 61). Additionally, National Galleries Scotland prioritizes opportunities for Gaelic in the delivery of public exhibitions bilingually or solely in Gaelic (National Galleries Scotland, n.d., p. 11). But then, Police Scotland also follows a similar prioritization of Gaelic being the method of delivery in public exhibitions, especially for interacting with the target audience of young people (Police Scotland, n.d., p. 22). Exposure to the language in environments of different social sectors normalizes Gaelic. Contextual differences broaden Gaelic meanings for the speakers and thus eliminates the occurrences of Gaelic communication *only* in specific conditions

Similarly, social media and official websites are modern mediums for Gaelic content and provide individualistic space for displaying Gaelic. Like organizational events, social media and official websites are an exposure tool to the language through the same medium for different topics. Police Scotland has Gaelic available on the official site for content about Gaelic as well providing quotes, news releases, and campaign materials in Gaelic (Police Scotland, n.d., p. 21). Creative Scotland plans to establish a baseline of yearly social media posts in Gaelic and increase the number every year across all social media platforms (Creative Scotland, n.d., p. 65). The Scottish Government specifies promoting Gaelic content on Twitter with a Gaelic Twitter account and look to further increase Gaelic frequency on @scotgovedu as well (The Scottish Government, n.d., p. 34). Social media specifically is a modern tool to display Gaelic and organizations can customize the Gaelic content to their unique function while displaying the content in similar styles (i.e., captions, tweets, or infographics). So, across multiple social sectors, Gaelic content is available and provides information for various topics of different natures—promoting the language normalization.

Organizations have the opportunity to demonstrate Gaelic use specific to their function through bilingual signage, memorabilia, and other communication content. Specifically, they restructure official communication and promotional items to incorporate Gaelic in equal standing with English. NatureScot plans to renew Gaelic use on National Nature Reserve signs as well as utilize a bilingual logo for the organization (NatureScot, n.d., p. 11). Sportscotland takes advantage of institute uniforms and the National Centre to incorporate appropriate Gaelic words and phrases for public displays (Sport Scotland, n.d., p. 16). The National Galleries of Scotland implements Gaelic stories across the National gallery audio guide content (National Gal-

leries Scotland, n.d., p. 8). Incorporating Gaelic into a more permanent medium elevates the language into equal standing with English, indicating the revitalization efforts are serious and productive enough to compete with a dominant language. Furthermore, encouraging dual orthography promotes Gaelic outside of policy by creating a bilingual sociolinguistic reality.

Gaelic incorporation and bilingual signage display Gaelic consistently and publicly in the same manner as English, elevating Gaelic status to the same level as English. To provide Gaelic equal respect, the incorporation of Gaelic into corporate identity elevates the language in a professional display. The presence of Gaelic in CMAL's corporate identity produces opportunities for more visibility of Gaelic, increasing the status of the language (Caledonian Maritime, n.d., p. 9). A fully bilingual logo, as the SDS plans to exhibit, is a goal to raise Gaelic into equal standing with English and promote a new standard for the organization (Skills Development Scotland, n.d., p. 27). Corporate identities adapting to Gaelic incorporation demonstrates a public usage of the language and brings in more passive participants through exposure, integrating the language further into society. Furthermore, creating equal respect demonstrations through public signage promotes language usage.

Organizations implement the goal of having active offerings of Scottish Gaelic made available to staff and public. Creative Scotland advertises active offerings of Gaelic services, so Gaelic users are aware of the language specific services the employees offer to further encourage usage (Creative Scotland, n.d., p. 18). Police Scotland welcomes Gaelic communications by including a message when publishing in Gaelic to encourage Gaelic interactions (Police Scotland, n.d., p. 19). The Scottish Government aims to have Gaelic as accessible as English through active offers of Gaelic services and actively encourages using the language (The Scottish Government, n.d., p. 16). Active encouragement of the language, such as Gaelic services being available and organizations advertising it, follows promotive policy requirements. Promotive policies implementing and ensuring Gaelic services are available encourages the public to engage with the language and interact with Gaelic speaking staff.

The National Gaelic Language Plan encourages job recruitment tactics to advertise Gaelic as a desirable or essential skill for applicable jobs. In following promotive policy techniques, the active search for bilingual Gaelic speakers in the workforce encourages the use of Gaelic by valuing both the knowledge of the language and speaking proficiency. Sportscotland plans to advertise Gaelic as an essential and/or desirable skill for vacancies, specifically for roles in advertising at the national centers and other areas where 20% or more of the population speaks Gaelic (Sport Scotland, n.d., p. 24). National Galleries Scotland will continue the current practice of including Gaelic as a desirable skill in front-of-house job descriptions (National Galleries Scotland, n.d., p. 10). Having Gaelic in the workforce promotes the

language in professional settings and curates Gaelic as a self-sustaining attribute—further instilling a Gaelic identity. Integrating Gaelic into individual functional roles promotes a socially desired characteristic amongst speakers to then advertise as a skill set.

Funding Gaelic programs, services, and promotions follows different disbursement protocols for organizations but, overall, is a high priority. Organizations assign funds for Gaelic services and promotion, but each have differing methods. For example, the Scottish Government, a major resource for Gaelic revitalization, plans to continue supporting all Local Authorities wishing to deliver or expand Gaelic education, at all levels, through grant schemes (The Scottish Government, n.d., p. 21). NatureScot, when deciding how to allocate funds, will require applicants to describe the projects use and promotion of Gaelic for consideration (NatureScot, n.d., p. 10). Creative Scotland has goals of using existing funding to more successfully support Gaelic, providing new resources in developing new opportunities and to overall facilitate a change in how to think about Gaelic (Creative Scotland, n.d., p. 35). Promotional programs for Gaelic require funding. To get funding, society must value Gaelic in a large enough capacity to allocate money towards revitalization efforts.

Cultural Stimulation

Opportunities for both learning the Gaelic language and learning in the language fosters the relationship with the Gaelic culture. Complementary benefits materialize within the aforementioned relationship because as more overt language usage and acceptance occurs, the culture receives more active participants. The University of the Highlands and Islands will conduct short courses in Gaelic for tourism and heritage—strengthening the visibility of Gaelic and providing learning opportunities about the Gaelic culture (University of the Highlands and Islands, n.d., p. 14). NatureScot takes a more nuanced approach to learning opportunities by featuring Scotland's nature impact on Gaelic; in turn, the language provides linguistic structures and heritage to understand the natural world and celebrate the innate connection between nature and language (NatureScot, n.d., p. 3). Learning in Gaelic, or even about Gaelic, shifts a person's mind with new word meanings and conceptual processing tools. Introducing new vocabulary, definitions, and providing cultural connections, like understanding the land and country's history through Gaelic, deepens the internal connection a speaker associates between culture and language.

The Gaelic language shapes thoughts, ideas, and personal perceptions, influencing cultural aspects of society, such as identity and creativity. Language and culture both rely on community to flourish so the nuances of the relationship manifests in social aspects and people's identities. The Highlands and Islands Enterprise determines the simple statement of relating Gaelic to Scotland's culture and identity does not encapsulate the complex connection

of the language as a conveyance tool for both aspects enough (Highlands and Islands Enterprise, n.d., p. 3). The Gaelic language is an intrinsic part of Scotland's culture and creativity; the language shapes literature, music, art, film and TV, festivities, and not only in a hereditary way, but in way of future creations having a modern Gaelic influence (Creative Scotland, n.d., p. 9). With recent efforts, people's attitudes towards the language have noticeably shifted to regard the language with positive recognition of the importance of an individual's own cultural heritage, and the overall future of Gaelic (Sport Scotland, n.d., p. 9). Gaelic taking an active role in speaker's thought processes influences self-expression as speakers engage with Gaelic meanings, traditions, and perception. As Gaelic speakers normalize creative outlets and heritage celebration, communities are reestablished and society values all forms of Gaelic.

Respecting and elevating Gaelic to equal status with English helps to contribute a linguistic understanding of traditions and celebrations tied to the Gaelic culture. Mutual respect for the native language of Scotland reinforces the speakers' confidence in practicing Gaelic customs. For individual organizations, like Police Scotland, the plan's promotion of equal respect for the language translates to culture, heritage, and community as well (Police Scotland, n.d., p. 25). The Scottish Government published *A Culture Strategy for Scotland* to recognize the Gaelic language in celebrating the Gaelic culture and how acceptance provides opportunities for language skills development and expression—marketing the language to strengthen the appeal and raise confidence levels (The Scottish Government, n.d., p. 19). With equal respect, Gaelic speakers can confidently practice the language and further stimulate a community to practice cultural celebrations as well. Having space to practice cultural traditions encourages utilization of the language and allows a natural dialog flow between speakers.

Opportunities for both learning the Gaelic language and learning *in* the language creates space for individuals to learn about and interact with the Gaelic culture. Having an understanding of Gaelic to any degree broadens an individual's insight to the surrounding culture. The University of the Highlands and Islands will conduct short courses in Gaelic for tourism and heritage—strengthening the visibility of Gaelic and providing learning opportunities about the Gaelic culture (University of the Highlands and Islands, n.d., p. 14). NatureScot's approach to learning opportunities targets understanding the bond between Scotland's nature and the Gaelic language (NatureScot, n.d., p. 3). Teaching cultural topics in the native language stimulates growth in both the speaker's language acquisition and Gaelic culture awareness. Opportunities to understand the culture further comes from the same opportunities of learning the language.

DISCUSSION

This research supports the idea of language shaping personal and societal identities. Individuals curate a sense of self by moving through society and language through both internal and external interactions. Gebel (2002) identifies individual identity and reality construction as a linguistically sensitive process—a process requiring societal support as the language encompasses generational knowledge of linguistic meanings (pp. 25-26, 148). Within promotive policies from organizations specific to celebrating, appreciating, and displaying Gaelic culture, the language is credited with providing creative and definitive meaning to the work or service. For creative outlets and the individuals fueling the industry, Gaelic can influence the message or simply *be* the message behind the creation. Policies from these organizations indicate a respect for personal identity expression, but specifically to support those with a Gaelic connection.

The current research emphasizes the importance of linguistic diversity through minority language revitalization and cultural respect. As globalization occurs, dominant languages threaten linguistic diversity by instigating language shifts; however, revitalization efforts are indicative of a desire to preserve the native languages. Fernando et al. (2010) determined culturally valued social constructs are lost as a language loses speakers (p. 49). Current research finds Scottish Gaelic being elevated, figuratively and literally, into equal standing with English and an increase in confidently displaying or participating in Gaelic culture. English caused the decay of Scottish Gaelic, so with the recent elevation in status and societal value, cultural understanding increases as well. Having both languages supported within Scotland demonstrates linguistic diversity with cultural respect of Gaelic and any English adoptions.

Positive attitudes derive positive policies and positive policies facilitate positive attitudes. Research has indicated speakers' attitudes about the language contribute to the language either thriving or decaying and the individual language policies in the current research reflect positive attitudes to the language with creative implementation strategies. Like Fishman (1991) suggests, language shift reversal is a value issue where society's attitude about, and desire for, the language determines if policy is regarded with same importance as other social policies (p. 33). Since the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, subsequent policies and participation of public organizations reflect society's value of Gaelic by the creation of a supportive framework through language policy to ensure growth. LSR's symbiotic nature explains the nuanced relationship between people and language; because communities and culture are defined by sharing similar traits, language is often a connecting commonality. However, communities and cultures sharing the language must value that specific form of communication over others available—such as a potential encroaching language.

Furthermore, previous research connects language loss to also losing an associated culture, while current research finds promotive policies for

language revitalization also stimulates intrigue for cultural continuity. As policies reflect society's values, specifically about language here, cultural care influences the construction of the plans. Schiffman (1996) determines language policies are culturally constructed—reflecting the perception and value of the language. He also defines promotive policy typology as policies supporting the use of specific languages through administrative and legal guarantees, allocation of resources, and designation of usage domains; they may be explicit (naming languages and rights in law) or implicit by promoting languages without direct mention (Schiffman, 1996, pp. 5, 29). Scotland utilizes promotive language policies, so culturally centered organizations receive funding, staffing, and space, supporting the observance of cultural displays. Promotive policies demonstrate the level of value revitalization efforts receive from the associated society.

CONCLUSION

Promotive policies are indicative of a society with a desire to share responsibility in revitalizing, maintaining, and celebrating a language. Attitude towards a language causes the decay or flourishing of the language, having explicit positive encouragement increases the chances of language and culture survival. Promotive policies are a social structure created to actively encourage the language use, but require substantial community support which relies heavily on perception, attitude, and desire. In terms of modernity, Gaelic revitalization is the process of creating an equilibrium for English and Gaelic to coexist in Scotland.

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