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The Status of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland*

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Although it is too early to predict a permanent resurgence for Scottish Gaelic, recent developments have been encouraging. Employment opportunities for Gaelic speakers are better; government support for more Gaelic television, radio, and the arts has increased; and, most important of all, there has been an increase in the last two years in the number of Gaelic learners, including the number of Gaelic-medium playgroups and elementary schools and the overall number of young adults and teenagers claiming some level of Gaelic skill. Although absolute numbers are still relatively small, percentages of increase are very large (doubling in some cases), and the enthusiasm of participants is quite high.

"Tha Gàidhlig beo!" ('Gaelic lives!')—motto, *An Comunn Gàidhlig*

AN OVERVIEW¹

The bad news is that only 1.45% of the population of Scotland spoke Gaelic at the time of the 1991 census, many (not surprisingly) elderly. The number of fluent speakers was still decreasing, and some long-standing, negative social and linguistic stereotypes still existed.

* A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. The information contained in this paper may usefully be compared with similar earlier surveys (for example, Mackinnon, 1993; Thomson, 1981).

However, there is considerable good news as well. Although it is of course too soon to be overly sanguine, there are at present encouraging increases in every aspect of Gaelic usage. The number of Gaelic learners is much larger than before, and some of these learners are already approaching fluency. Percentages of learners and speakers under 25, especially those aged 5-15 in the Highlands and Western Isles, have increased. Learners' materials and teaching methods have greatly improved in the last ten to twenty years, and this is now bearing fruit. Gaelic is no longer seen as so difficult as to be "unteachable" and "unlearnable"—an attitude that previously prevented attention to pedagogy. Generally negative societal attitudes toward Gaelic, while still present, have also dramatically decreased. Although the reported numbers may in fact be high, given the Gaelic learners' association (CLI) estimate presented below, a general change of attitude is indicated by recent surveys by the BBC and others that claim that over 250,000 people are actively learning Gaelic, about 1 million Scots (about one-fifth of the population of Scotland) are interested in learning Gaelic (although many people may confuse Scots and Gaelic when asked; Hardie, 1995), and more than 1.5 million people are regularly watching Gaelic television programs.

SOME BACKGROUND

Scottish English is Standard English spoken with a distinctive regional accent and with lexical and other influences from Scots and Gaelic. Scots is an independent development from Northern Anglo-Saxon. Scottish Gaelic, or just Gaelic, is Celtic. Norse was also a linguistic influence in Scotland, especially in the north. Although Scottish English is spoken throughout the country, the historic "Highland Line" dividing the Gaelic-speaking areas of the "Gàidhealtachd" (the regions of Argyll, Sutherland, Ross

and Cromarty, Inverness, and the Western Isles, including Skye, Lewis, and Harris) from the Scots-speaking areas (the "Lowlands") is still useful (see Figure 1).

The chief reasons for the post-medieval decline of Gaelic in Scotland may be summarized as follows (after K. MacKinnon, in Withers, 1984, 4-5): (i) influx of English speakers; (ii) association of English with prestige and power, and Gaelic speakers' acceptance of a negative evaluation of Gaelic, (iii) forced emigration of speakers (the "Clearances"), (iv) economic and associated cultural changes leading to a decline in Gaelic use.

The crowns of Scotland and England have been politically united since 1603, and the parliaments since 1707, although periodically "Scottish" cultural revivals have occurred in Gaelic or Scots. Currently there is renewed interest in some form of constitutional separation (see below).

CENSUS FIGURES

The latest census (1991) indicated a decrease in the number of people knowing Gaelic, from about 83,000 (approximately 1.6%) in 1981 to roughly 70,000 (about 1.4%) in 1991 (General Register Office for Scotland, 1993, 755). (The census question asked, for persons at least three years of age, "Can the person speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic?" and provided tick boxes for the three options, although without attempting any assessment of fluency; the results have been tabulated both separately and in combination, by age, and by location; see General Register Office for Scotland, 1993, Tables M and 67; 1995, Table 4.) Regardless of the shortcomings of census figures, these numbers are sobering, and follow a century of decreases in absolute numbers (except for an increase from 1961 to 1971), although the percentage of total population (about 1.6%) remained the same in 1961, 1981, and 1991. (For detailed analyses of earlier census figures,

see Withers, 1984, pp. 213-239, and the various publications of K. MacKinnon.) However, we can hope that



Figure 1: The Gàidhealtachd
and the Highland Line

with the present surge in learners the next census will show an increase.

Gaelic speakers live primarily in the Highland counties and the Western Islands; in the Glasgow City/Strathclyde region (about 1.1% of Glasgow City's 900,000 population speaks Gaelic); and in pockets in the rest of Scotland, including Edinburgh and other Lowland cities.

EMPLOYMENT AND GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

Fewer medical, social, church, and local government workers than before need Gaelic, although they still occasionally learn it (D. Meek, personal communication, December 12, 1995). Unlike Irish, Scottish Gaelic has not had an official status in the civil service.

In general, however, the number of jobs for which Gaelic is desirable or even required has been increasing during the last ten or fifteen years, especially lately. At least one thousand jobs today require Gaelic speakers (G. Parsons, personal communication, December 6, 1995); a knowledge of Gaelic is useful in many others. According to an informational flyer about the Department of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh, "Employment opportunities for graduates fluent in Scottish Gaelic . . . are more plentiful now than they have ever been. Indeed in some areas there are more Gaelic-related jobs than there are people qualified to fill them" (University of Edinburgh, Department of Celtic, 1995). However, it has been pointed out that this is in fact a precarious situation, since the Gaelic-essential posts involve "teaching, broadcasting or otherwise promoting the language," with the result that "their existence is due, directly or indirectly, to public interest" and "public demand." Therefore, if these posts are not filled due to an insufficient present number of competent speakers, the future of Gaelic may ironically be endangered (Galloway, 1994, p. 144).

One of the major areas of Gaelic-related jobs is that of teaching. There is increasing enrollment at all levels, from Gaelic-medium preschool playgroups and primary schools, to some secondary schools, to universities, colleges, and continuing education programs (see below).

The second major area of Gaelic-related jobs is that of the media, especially television. The 1990 Broadcasting Act allocated considerable monies to increase the number of hours of Gaelic programming. Some monetary support has also been provided by the Celtic League, since proponents of Manx Gaelic see progress in Scottish Gaelic as helpful to them. In December 1995, daily children's programming in the afternoons—up to two hours on some days—provided animated and live action television programs hosted by fluent Gaelic speakers in their twenties. (The first children's television program in Gaelic began in 1981.) Since 1993 there has been an evening Gaelic program on current European issues (interviews and discussion with fluent Gaelic speakers involved in European affairs) called *Eòrpa*; there are five-minute news summaries twice a day; and *Machair*, a soap opera for Gaelic learners, has reached the intermediate level (third series) and is extremely popular. There are Gaelic learners' programs on the radio (for example, in Perthshire), although Radio nan Gaidheal is not yet available throughout Scotland.

At least two newspapers (one quarterly) are published wholly or partly in Gaelic, and book publishing has been flourishing. Gaelic books have been featured in the British booth at the important international Frankfurt Book Fair, and in 1994 television-related learners' materials were selected for promotion throughout Scotland by the Scottish Publishers Association (Sabhal Mór Ostaig, WWW, accessed December 1995). However, "the greatest overall commitment by publishers was to work for children and young people" (Gaelic Books Council, 1993, p. 19), and the first Gaelic-Gaelic dictionary (for schools) was

published in 1992. There are many established and new publishers of books and pedagogical material, both large (Gairm, Acair, Cànan) and small.

The Scottish Arts Council has provided monetary and other support to literature, drama, and other arts, in part through the Gaelic Arts Project. Singing in Gaelic (for example, the National Mod) has also grown in public interest and participation. National and local cultural organizations devoted to the promotion of Gaelic also receive government funding.

Some businesses and local development agencies are actively seeking Gaelic speakers. For example, in December an advertisement seeking a Gaelic-speaking "Project Manager" for a three-year joint public/private local development project was posted at the University of Aberdeen. Government support is provided through regional development boards and Local Enterprise Companies, which support cultural and economic "development of the Gaelic language and culture as a means of raising self-confidence and stimulating economic and social development" in order to "raise the profile of Gaelic, consolidate the Gaelic infrastructure and integrate Gaelic initiatives into general [community] development policies" (Fenton and MacDonald, 1994, p. 178). Gaelic-related tourism (hotels, tours, national and local festivals of poetry and music) is also increasing.

EDUCATION

The area with the most promise for the long-term survival of Gaelic is of course that of new learners, both adults and children, and once again the current increase in popular interest is encouraging. A 1995-96 United Kingdom survey conducted by Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (CLI, a Gaelic learners' association) reported evening and daytime courses (weekdays and weekends), from beginners to advanced, at schools, community centers, colleges, and

continuing education centers, and by Gaelic societies. Estimates are that in 1995 about 6000 people were attending classes, with another 20,000 learning by television, distance learning, and so on.

Teaching materials and Gaelic-medium schools have received funding through the Scottish Office, including grants of more than half a million pounds total to Sabhal Mór Ostaig (see below) and to the Gaelic Playgroups Association (Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich) alone. Fenton and MacDonald (1994) have estimated that over 1700 children were enrolled in over 100 playgroups or preschools in 1993-94; more recent estimates (Sabhal Mór Ostaig, WWW, accessed December 1995; G. Parsons, personal communication, December 6, 1995; J. Malone, personal communication, December 23, 1995; Rigby, 1995) suggest that the number of groups across Scotland is now about 150 to 200 and the number of children over 2500. The first Gaelic-medium unit in a primary school was established ten years ago in Glasgow; there are now well over 1000 children enrolled in about fifty Gaelic-medium units in primary schools throughout Scotland (G. Parsons, personal communication, December 6, 1995; Sabhal Mór Ostaig, WWW, accessed December 1995; Kemp, 1994). Gaelic is an elective in a few secondary public schools (for ages eleven and above); a few secondary schools offer Gaelic as a medium of instruction (e.g., Stomoway and one Edinburgh high school). The Scottish Language Project is currently working on school materials in English, Scots, and Gaelic, with support from the national government and regional councils.

The five levels of post-secondary Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) National Certificate modules for Gaelic (as for other languages) are offered by several educational institutions, either all or in part. Sabhal Mór Ostaig and Telford College (Edinburgh), offer some or all of these modules by distance learning. Telford currently offers three of the four levels required for

the National Certificate, and is preparing to offer the fourth.

Classes (full-time and part-time) require sixty or eighty hours of instruction per level. Reasons given by students for enrolling include personal interest (taking holidays on the islands, having Gaelic-speaking relatives or ancestors, singing in a Gaelic choir) and for jobs (especially broadcasting); a few (mainly in their thirties and older) who learned to speak Gaelic as a child want to learn how to write in Gaelic (C. Redpath, personal communication, December 11, 1995).

Sabhal Mór Ostaig was established in 1973 on the Isle of Skye, and since 1983 has been a registered College of Further Education. It is at present the only institution in Scotland offering post-secondary education through the medium of Gaelic. They offer full-time post-secondary diploma and certificate courses taught in Gaelic in business studies and computer skills (Business Administration with Gaidhealtachd Studies or Information Technology; Rural Development; Gaelic and Communications; Gaelic Arts [forthcoming]). (The one-year Higher National Certificate and the two-year Higher National Diploma courses are made up of SCOTVEC Higher National units.) The number of full-time students is admittedly small, but the annual percentages of increase are not: in 1994-95, they had forty-one students, but that was up from only twenty-seven the previous year; in 1995-96 the number increased to fifty.

In general, the 1970s were bad years for university degree courses in Celtic. Pedagogical materials and approaches for Gaelic were very inadequate, based on a somewhat defeatist attitude: the language was sometimes thought to be "too hard" to teach or learn. Interest and numbers remained low in the early 1980s, but between 1989 and 1992 "a remarkable resurgence" in numbers and commitment began (D. Meek, personal communication, December 12, 1995). At the University of Edinburgh, for example, there are over 150 students in the Department of Celtic (first year to postgraduate); these numbers have

been steadily increasing in the 1980s and 1990s, "due partly . . . to the increasing material and intellectual importance of the Gaelic language in Scotland" (University of Edinburgh, Department of Celtic, 1995).

Similarly, in the academic year 1995-96 there were ten students at the fourth level of Gaelic at the University of Aberdeen; twenty-five new students will be moving on from general studies to Honours Gaelic in 1996-97; and the number of Gaelic Studies Honours students has quadrupled since 1993. The students are very enthusiastic, and are asking for more instruction; they are determined to learn the language fluently, idiomatically, and with native competence (D. Meek, personal communications, December 12, 1995; October 7, 1996). In 1995-96 there were three young (aged seventeen, eighteen, and early twenties) native Gaelic speakers of excellent fluency. Even with these small numbers, a "critical mass" (Meek) seems to have been reached, and the numbers are projected to grow a few percent every year. Furthermore, the postgraduate emphasis is shifting away from "retrospective" Celtic studies (mainly medieval) to "pro-spective" studies (such as the production of a Gaelic-Gaelic dictionary) (the terms are Professor Meek's).

As already mentioned, television (with related materials) has been the means of learning Gaelic for a large number of people in Scotland and worldwide. Cànan's "Speaking Our Language" course, for example, began in 1993 with about 30,000 worldwide inquiries, and has now reached the intermediate level, remaining very popular.

Telford's Open Learning program had already enrolled as many students worldwide by December, 1995, as it had during the entire previous year, and most of their beginning students continue with the language (C. Redpath, personal communication, December 11, 1995). Continuing education programs affiliated with universities (Aberdeen, Strathclyde, Glasgow, Edinburgh), usually composed of sequential modules lasting two or three

months each, also enroll adults at various levels from beginners to advanced. There are an estimated 200 regular learners, at least, in the city of Glasgow, whether in university programs or other classes, and this number may be rather low (J. Malone, personal communications, December 23, 1995; October 1, 1996), and in 1995-96 the University of Edinburgh had to schedule a second beginners' evening class to accommodate their overflow demand.

The University of Edinburgh's summer class had twenty-one students in 1994, but forty in 1995. Sabhal Mór Ostaig offers summer short courses at all levels, focusing on conversation and activities; over 500 students attended in 1994. Other, smaller, programs offering immersion and other courses in the Gaelic language, literature, and culture exist in other parts of Scotland. The first year-long Gaelic immersion college course began in 1994-95 at the Inverness College Lochaber Center at Fort William, aiming to provide fluent Gaelic speakers for Gaelic employment. Funded by Lochaber College, the local authorities, and the European Union's European Social Fund, interest from both Scotland and abroad for the few places was extremely high. More such courses are planned for sites throughout Scotland.

Also associated with many of the formal and informal classes and programs are various organizations, including local societies and festivals. At the universities, student groups sponsor ceilidhs and other entertainment, talks by Gaelic poets and broadcasters, additional language classes, and trips to Gaelic-speaking areas and to see Gaelic plays; many of these student groups also publish their own Gaelic journals.

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Scotland has established a separate identity in the European Union, and there are two Scottish National Party

(SNP) EuroMPs (MEPs), one of whom has learned Scottish Gaelic and makes an explicit connection between Gaelic and national identity. Scottish Gaelic (as well as Scots, Cornish, and Welsh) is among the European Union's forty 'lesser used languages,' and there is a "campaign for greater official recognition" of these languages (Palmer, 1994). A resolution was passed almost unanimously in February 1994 by the European Parliament "to encourage the learning of minority tongues and to help publishers of books and magazines for the young," in order, as Donall Ó Riagain, Secretary of the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages, has said, to help maintain and promote "the cultural and linguistic diversity of the EU" (Palmer, 1994). As already mentioned, part of the funding for the Lochaber College immersion program came from the EU.

Within Scotland, too, the language issue is often seen as part of educational policy, "as part of their [primary school pupils'] cultural heritage and as a contribution to a multicultural, multilingual education, appropriate to a modern European nation" (Law, 1994).

Although support for the current movement for independence for Scotland now tends to be based much more strongly on political and economic grounds than on cultural issues, including language (C. Milroy, SNP Assistant Press and Research Officer, personal communications, December 11, 1995; October 1, 1996), for some the political issues surrounding constitutional change (whether independence or devolution) and language issues are indeed linked. Recent research by Kim Hardie into the connection between the Scots language and nationalism suggests a model that views popular definitions of national (self-)identity as strictly political, strictly cultural (including language), or both (Hardie, 1995). I am currently investigating the question of links between Scottish Gaelic and nationalism.

CONCLUSION

Nancy Dorian's important work—which was clearly labeled as a study of a Scottish Gaelic *dialect*—was valid for that dialect at that time (1981). Now, however, at all levels and in all respects from economic to cultural, although perhaps not in all previously-Gaelic-speaking areas, Gaelic in Scotland seems to be in a period of revival. It is too early yet to say whether or not the language has been permanently rescued from the decline so clearly seen in the census figures, but there is certainly hope. The increase in Gaelic beginners, most of whom have been continuing to more advanced levels of the language, has been present for some years now, but has taken a great leap in just the last couple of years. If these learners show the persistence shown by previous beginners, the numbers of intermediate and eventually advanced Gaelic speakers should soon show a similar leap. The large percentages of increase in numbers of preschoolers participating in Gaelic playgroups is also encouraging, as is the increase in materials for children and the emphasis put on young children by language groups and publishers. As elsewhere, the Gaelic revivalists recognize that a language can only be truly rescued through the children.

Nor is it likely to be accidental that this upsurge of interest in Scottish Gaelic comes at a time of increasing "nationalism" on the part of minorities throughout the world, and coincides with increased popular support for some degree of Scottish independence from governmental control based in London. The details are complicated by the decade or so of some degree of Conservative promotion of Gaelic in the Highlands through government aid (one person, however, suggested that this support was largely done as public relations, to present the Conservative Government as "benevolent to minorities").

Thus, despite the worrisome question publically raised by Dolina MacIennan, an actress on the extremely popular continuing Gaelic soap opera *Machair* (more than 500,000 viewers estimated in 1994), that "The language is being saved but the culture, the way of life is dying and that is what gave the language its meaning" (Kemp, 1994), as a linguist it is hard not to be gladdened by the current state of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland. (The issue of associated cultural activities is properly the subject of another paper.)

The bad news is that Gaelic is certainly not out of danger yet. Nonetheless, the good news was summed up (personal communication, December 12, 1995) by Professor Meek at the University of Aberdeen, a native speaker of Gaelic from Tiree who has been teaching in departments of Celtic in Scotland since the 1970s. He has seen the slow, almost dead, times as well as the current rise in student demand and enthusiasm. According to Professor Meek, who is now viewing an increasing demand actually somewhat difficult to meet in light of the current level of programs and number of instructors, in a way "the problem today for Scottish Gaelic is not language death, but language life."

And—although it would be premature at this time to rejoice too much in the certainty of a permanent state of improvement for Scottish Gaelic—that is good news indeed.

Note

1. This article is based on interviews in Scotland in December 1995, personal e-mail correspondence, the Worldwide Web, e-mail lists, materials collected or seen in Scotland, and published materials (catalogues and informational flyers, newspaper and journal articles, books).

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- [See also journals (varying dates of publication): *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, *Proceedings of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (*Inbhir Nis*), & *Proceedings of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow*.]

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APPENDICES: ADDITIONAL REFERENCES AND ADDRESSES

(valid as of April, 1996)

APPENDIX A: SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS (*addresses given in English*):

•*Language organizations:*

- An Comunn Gàidhealach (109 Church Street, Inverness IV1 1EY, Scotland)
(http://www.glen.co.uk/mod/an_comun.html)
- An Comunn Gàidhealach America (P. O. Box 5288, Takoma Park MD 20913)
(<http://www.clark.net/pub/biscuit/acga.html>) (e-mail: William Roy: roy@geoserv.isgs.uiuc.edu)
- Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (CLI) (Gaelic learners' organization)
(3 High St., Dingwall, Ross-shire IV15 9HL, Scotland)
(<http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaidhlig/buidhnean/cli/>)
- Comunn na Gàidhlig (5 Mitchells Lane, Inverness IV2 3HQ, Scotland) (<http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/cnag/>) (e-mail: Ailean Caimbeul Stiùiriche/Allan Campbell: ailean@cnag.org.uk)
- "Forum for Research into the Languages of Scotland and Ulster": <http://ling.ed.ac.uk/~kim/Forum.html> (e-mail: Kim Hardie: kjmh@festival.ed.ac.uk; mail: Dr. Colin Milton, FRLSU, Department of English, University of Aberdeen, King's College, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland)

•*Universities and colleges*

- Edinburgh's Telford College, Open Learning (Crewe Toll, Edinburgh EH4 2NZ, Scotland)
(<http://www.ibmpcug.co.uk/~ecs/telford/telford.html>)
(e-mail: etc@etel.exnet.com)

- University of Edinburgh, Department of Celtic, David Hume Tower, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JX, Scotland
(<http://www.ed.ac.uk/edinfo/cgi/deptinfo.cgi?35>)
 - University of Edinburgh, Summer School (Centre for Continuing Education, 11 Buccleuch Place, EH8 9LW, Scotland)
(www.ed.ac.uk/edinfo/CCE/SUMMERSCHOOLS_MENU.html)
 - University of Aberdeen, Department of Celtic, Taylor Building, King's College, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland
(http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~Ing014/celtic_dept/index.html)
 - University of Glasgow, Department of Celtic, 5 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ, Scotland
(<http://www.gla.ac.uk/>) (Also the address for the Gaelic Books Council)
 - University of Strathclyde (Scottish School of Further Education, 76 Southbrae Drive, Glasgow G13 1PP, Scotland) (<http://www.strath.ac.uk/Strath.html>)
(Unconfirmed: Gaelic teacher training)
 - Stirling Gaelic Home Page:
http://www.stir.ac.uk/gaelic_index.html
- Some residential programs (no endorsement implied)*
- Sabhal Mór Ostaig (Isle of Skye IV44 8RQ, Scotland)
(<http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk>) (e-mail: Gavin Parsons: gavin@smo.uhi.ac.uk) [Also many very useful links, including language lessons and dictionaries.]
 - An Ceathramh (Muie East, Rogart, Sutherland IV28 3UB, Scotland)
(<http://www.cs.toronto.edu:80/~maclean/AnCeathramh.html>)
(e-mail: anceathramh@mail.enterprise.net)
 - Cothrom na Fèinne (Balmacara Mains, Balmacara by Kyle IV40 8DN, Scotland)
- Selected publishers and booksellers*
- Gairm Publications (29 Waterloo St., Glasgow G2 6BZ, Scotland)

- Cànan (P.O. Box 345, Isle of Skye IV44 8XA, Scotland)
 ([http://tarbh \[or www\].smo.uhi.ac.uk/canan/](http://tarbh [or www].smo.uhi.ac.uk/canan/))
 (canan@smo.uhi.ac.uk)
- James Thin Ltd. (53-59 South Bridge, Edinburgh EH1
 1YS, Scotland)
 (http://www.almac.co.uk/business_park/thin/thinhome.htm)
 (e-mail: james.thin.ltd@almac.co.uk) [Scottish
 books,, including some Gaelic; new and antiquarian]

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL SELECTED WWW SITES

- “Angus Og’s Hotlinks to the Celts” (“Every Celtic Thing on
 the Web”): <http://www.mi.net/users/ang/anglink.html>
 (Very useful links, and lots of them.)
- “Rampant Scotland”:
http://users.colloquium.co.uk/~scott_awa/intro.htm
 (Over 600 links, including newsgroups.)
- “*Ethnologue*”:
<http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/ethnologue.html>
- “Gaelic and Gaelic Culture” (Irish and Scottish):
<http://sunsite.unc.edu/gaelic/>
- “Less Commonly Taught Languages Project”:
<http://lctl.acad.umn.edu>
 (List of North American courses.)
- “European Minority (or Minoritized!) Languages”:
<http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/saoghal/mion-chanain> (in
 Scottish Gaelic) or [add /Failte_en.html](http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/saoghal/mion-chanain) (in English)
- Gaelic lessons, dictionaries: see Angus Og, Sabhal Mór
 Ostaig, Rampant Scotland for links; also GAELIC-L
 list.
- “Scottish National Party”: <http://www.snp.org.uk>

APPENDIX C: SELECTED E-MAIL LISTS

- GAELIC-L: listserv@irleam.ucd.ie (subscribe GAELIC-L
 yourfirstname yoursumame)
 (<http://sunsite.unc.edu/gaelic/Celts/lists.html>)
 (archives: <http://yeats.ucs.csufresno.edu/GAELIC-L.HTML>)
- CELTLING: listserv@mitvma.mit.edu (subscribe celtling
 YOUR NAME)