

## Inbhidh a tha ag ionnsachadh Gàidhlig – 2019

### Adults learning Gaelic – 2019

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## Contents

List of Tables.....	4
List of Charts.....	4
Geàrr-chunntas – inblich a tha ag ionnsachadh Gàidhlig 2019.....	5
Summary of findings – adults learning Gaelic 2019.....	7
1. Acknowledgements .....	8
2. Introduction .....	9
2.1. Background.....	9
2.2. Structure of the report .....	9
3. Methodology .....	10
4. Numbers of survey responses.....	10
4.1. Discussion relating to numbers of responses .....	10
5. Analysis of responses to the learner survey .....	11
5.1. The individual.....	11
Geographical location.....	11
Age .....	11
Gender .....	13
Disability.....	13
Employment status.....	13
5.2. Learning.....	14
Self-assessed level of competence .....	14
Motivation for learning Gaelic.....	16
How often learners use their Gaelic.....	18
Settings in which learners use their Gaelic.....	18
Barriers faced.....	19
5.3. Organisation providing the learning.....	21
Type of learning provider.....	21
The distance learners travelled from home to where they learn.....	21
5.4. Creation of case studies.....	22
6. Analysis of responses to the learning provider survey .....	23
6.1. Types of learning opportunity and numbers of learners.....	23
Numbers of learners attending across all types of provision.....	24
Main types of provision offered by learning providers.....	24
6.2. Achievement and attainment.....	25
Accreditation for learning.....	25
Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) .....	26
Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).....	26
6.3. Learning delivery.....	27
Learning settings.....	27
Numbers of paid and volunteer tutors.....	28
Funding for learning opportunities .....	28

7. Conclusions .....	29
7.1. Number of adults currently learning Gaelic in Scotland .....	29
7.2. Key findings .....	29
The typical adult Gaelic learner .....	29
Typical adult Gaelic learning provision .....	30
Trends from previous years.....	30
Appendices .....	32
Appendix 1: Methodology.....	33
Appendix 2: Table showing where learners live.....	36
Appendix 3: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages .....	39
Appendix 4: Case studies of learners' journeys.....	40

## List of Tables

Table 1 – Numbers of completed responses from learners, 2015–2019 .....	10
Table 2 – Numbers of completed responses from learning providers, 2015–2019.....	10
Table 3 – Top five areas for learning activity during the week beginning 4th November 2019 .....	11
Table 4 – Respondents' gender.....	13
Table 5 – Learners' self-assessed proficiency, 2018–2019 .....	15
Table 6 – Frequency with which learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019 use their Gaelic.....	18
Table 7 – Where / in what settings learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019 use their Gaelic.....	19
Table 8 – Types of organisations providing learning during the week beginning 4th November 2019 .....	21
Table 9 – Main provision offered by learning providers at any time of the year.....	25
Table 10 – Availability of accreditation from learning providers' main provision .....	25
Table 11 – Sources of primary funding for learning opportunities .....	28
Table 12 – Where respondents live .....	38
Table 13 – CEFR global scale.....	39

## List of Charts

Chart 1 – Ages of learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019 .....	12
Chart 2 – Employment status of learners active the week beginning 4th November 2019 ....	14
Chart 3 – Self-assessed Gaelic competence on the CEFR of learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019.....	15
Chart 4 – Gaelic learning motivations of learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019.....	17
Chart 5 – Common barriers experienced by learners .....	20
Chart 6 – Distance travelled by learners to the place they learned during the week beginning 4th November 2019.....	22
Chart 7 – Popularity of different types of provision offered by learning providers in the week beginning 4th November 2019.....	24
Chart 8 – Typical start and end points on the CEFR for different types of provision .....	27
Chart 9 – Settings where learning takes place.....	28

## Geàrr-chunntas – inbhich a tha ag ionnsachadh Gàidhlig 2019

Thomhais sinn gu robh **3,935 inbheach ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig** ann an Alba thairis air an t-Samhain 2019. Tha an àireamh de dh'inbhich ag ionnsachadh sgilean Gàidhlig ann an Alba air lùghdachadh an coimeas ri 2018 (mu thuaiream 5,460 inbheach).

Le bhith cleachdadh an dàta a thug **luchd-ionnsachaidh na Gàidhlig ann an Alba** dhuinn, tha e dualtach:

- gu bheil iad a' fuireach anns na h-ùghdarrasan ionadail a leanas: Dùn Èideann, Glaschu, a' Ghàidhealtachd no Earra Ghàidheal is Bòd
- gu bheil iad eadar 25 is 74 bliadhna a dh'aois (bha a' mhòr-chuid de luchd-freagairt eadar 55 is 64)
- gur e boireannaich a th' anna; tha an co-mheas boireannach is fireannach cha mhòr 2:1
- gu bheil iad ag obair pàirt- no làn-ùine, no air an dreuchd a leigeil dhiubh

### A thaobh mar a thathas ag ionnsachadh, tha e dualtach:

- gu bheil inbhich a tha ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig ann an Alba gam measadh fhèin mar luchd-tòiseachaidh
- gu bheil iad ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig air sgàth ùidh ann an cultar agus dualchas, no air sgàth dèidh Gàidhlig a ghlèidheadh
- gu bheil iad gan teagasg fhèin, no a' frithealadh clas no clas còmhraidh a tha ga stiùireadh le oide
- gum bi iad a' cleachdadh an cuid Gàidhlig cha mhòr gach latha, no co-dhiù latha san t-seachdain
- gum bi iad a' cleachdadh an cuid Gàidhlig anns an àite far a bheil iad ag ionnsachadh, aig an taigh no air-loidhne, agus/no aig tachartasan sòisealta
- gum bi iad a' siubhal nas lugha na 10 mìle airson an àite ionnsachaidh a ruigsinn (no 0 mìltean ma tha iad gan teagasg fhèin aig an taigh)
- gu bheil iad air cnap(an)-starraidh an aghaidh an cuid ionnsachaidh a cheannsachadh
- nach eil cothroman gu leòr aca airson conaltradh ri fileantaich no ri luchd-ionnsachaidh a tha nas comasaiche ann an Gàidhlig
- nach b' urrainn dhaibh an cùrsa no cothrom ionnsachaidh as fheàrr dhaibh a lorg gu h-ionadail

Tha a' mhòr-chuid dhe na toraidhean seo a dh'aon inntinn leis na toraidhean air a rinn sinn aithisg ann an 2018, ged a tha beagan atharrachaidhean ann a thaobh aoisean is àiteachan-fuirich an luchd-ionnsachaidh.

Le bhith cleachdadh an dàta a fhuair sinn bho luchd-solair chùrsaichean, **tha cothroman ionnsachaidh buailteach a bhith mar a leanas:**

- is e cùrsaichean no clasaichean thairis air iomadh seachdain, no clasaichean còmhraidh le oide gan stiùireadh, an t-seòrsa de sholaireachd as cumanta
- tha e comasach ìrean nan cothroman ionnsachaidh a cho-thaobhadh ris a' CEFR
- tha iad a' gabhail àite anns a' choimhearsnachd
- tha na h-oidean a tha gan libhrigeadh a' faighinn pàigheadh

- tha an luchd-ionnsachaidh fhèin a' pàigheadh nan cìsean ionnsachaidh
- chan eil teisteanas nan lùib
- chan eil iad air an rèiteachadh ris an Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF), agus chan eil iad a' solaireachadh puingeann creideas SCQF

Is beag a dh'atharraich na toraidhean a thaobh pròifil an t-solairidh ionnsachaidh bho 2018. Chan eil mòran atharrachaidh anns na toraidhean a thaobh solarachadh chùrsaichean o 2018 ach tha e coltach gun robh lùghdachadh air dà sheòrsa solarachaidh gu sònraichte.

## Summary of findings – adults learning Gaelic 2019

We estimate that there were **3,935 adults learning Gaelic** in Scotland during November 2019, a decrease from the previous year (when we estimated there were 5,460 learners in Scotland).

According to the data gathered from learners, **adults who are learning Gaelic in Scotland are most likely to:**

- live in the local authority areas of Edinburgh City, Glasgow City, Highland or Argyll and Bute
- be in the age range 25 to 74 (with the highest numbers in the ranges: 55 to 64)
- be female, by a ratio of female:male of almost 2:1
- be in work (full- or part-time) or be retired

In terms of their learning, **learners are most likely to:**

- consider themselves a beginner learner
- be motivated to learn by an interest in culture and heritage, or by a wish to help preserve the language
- be teaching themselves or attending a class or conversation class that is led by a tutor
- use their Gaelic most days, or at least one day each week
- use their Gaelic in their place of study, at home or online, and/or in a social environment
- travel less than 10 miles to reach their place of learning (or 0 miles if they are teaching themselves at home)
- have had to overcome a barrier or barriers to their learning
- have lacked opportunities to interact with native or more proficient Gaelic speakers, or been unable to find their preferred type of learning provision locally

These findings are in line with our findings from 2018, with some changes to where learners live, and the range of ages.

According to the data gathered from learning providers, **learning provision in Scotland is most likely to:**

- consist of courses or classes run over a number of weeks, or conversation classes led by a tutor
- provide learners with progression that can be matched to the levels of the CEFR
- take place in community-based settings
- be delivered by paid staff
- be paid for by learners themselves
- not lead to a qualification or certificate
- not be levelled against the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) or provide SCQF credit points

Our findings relating to learning provision show very little change in its profile from 2018, though we have identified an apparent reduction in two particular types of provision.

## 1. Acknowledgements

We acknowledge the continued support we have received from Dr Peadar Morgan of Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

We are grateful to Dr Susan Ross for her Gaelic-language feedback and advice, and to Dr Simon Young for assistance with the coding of one chart.

We thank learning providers for the enthusiastic response they gave us. These providers not only responded with data about the learning opportunities they provide, but also shared our online learner survey among learners they support, resulting in a high number of responses.

Most importantly, we wish to thank the adult learners who took time to share their experiences of learning Gaelic. Their responses provided useful and interesting information, and we feel their enthusiasm in taking part in this research reflects their enthusiasm for learning the language.



## 2. Introduction

### 2.1. Background

In 2014, Bòrd na Gàidhlig<sup>1</sup> commissioned research to identify the approximate number of adults who were learning Gaelic. That project provided a baseline for measuring numbers of adults learning Gaelic in subsequent years, and for highlighting trends relating to the number of learners and their learning activities.

Bòrd na Gàidhlig subsequently commissioned Tkm Consulting to undertake research on this subject in each of the years 2015, 2016 and 2017. Reports for these are available on Bòrd na Gàidhlig's website.<sup>2</sup>

In 2018, Bòrd na Gàidhlig commissioned Daniel Sellers, Borge Consulting and Dr Nicola Carty to undertake a three-year continuation of this research. This would provide data relating to numbers of adult learners of Gaelic in each of the years 2018, 2019 and 2020.

This report presents findings relating to data gathered from learners and learning providers in November 2019.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.2. Structure of the report

In this report we describe the methodology used to gather and analyse data, and discuss trends we have identified. Percentages are given to one decimal place.

We provide a profile of adult learners of Gaelic, with information on:

- their location, age and gender
- what, where and how they are learning, and their motivations for learning Gaelic
- any barriers they have faced in accessing, or taking part in, learning

This is followed by a breakdown of information gathered from learning providers, on:

- the types of learning opportunity they offer and learner numbers
- whether learning is accredited in any way
- how the learning is provided, by whom, and how it is funded

We offer a headline estimation of the number of adults who are learning Gaelic, by extrapolating the data we have gathered from learning providers to a wider population.

We present our conclusions around key issues and trends from the data. Finally, we provide two case studies illustrating individual learners' experiences of learning Gaelic.

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<sup>1</sup> Bòrd na Gàidhlig is an executive non-departmental public body, responsible through Ministers to the Scottish Parliament. It was established under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. Bòrd na Gàidhlig is the principal public body in Scotland responsible for promoting Gaelic development and providing advice to Scottish Ministers on Gaelic issues. Bòrd na Gàidhlig is required to exercise its functions with a view to securing the status of Gaelic as an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/research/education-data/>

<sup>3</sup> The Adults learning Gaelic report for 2018, together with an infographic, is available at <http://www.gaidhlig.scot/bord/research/education-data/>

### 3. Methodology

Our methodology for collecting data in 2019 resembled the one we used in 2018, which was based around two online surveys: one for learners and one for learning providers. [Appendix 1](#) explains our methodology, including refinements made to the survey questions.

Both surveys asked respondents to refer to activity that took place during a “snapshot” week: the week beginning Monday 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019.

### 4. Numbers of survey responses

Table 1 shows the numbers of completed responses from **learners** in 2019, alongside numbers of completed responses from previous years.

Year	Number of completed responses from learners
2015	626
2016	383
2017	390
2018	867
2019	661

*Table 1 – Numbers of completed responses from learners, 2015–2019*

Table 2 shows the numbers of completed responses from **learning providers** in 2019, alongside numbers of completed responses from previous years.

Year	Number of completed responses from learning providers
2015	12
2016	16
2017	10
2018	43
2019	44

*Table 2 – Numbers of completed responses from learning providers, 2015–2019*

#### 4.1. Discussion relating to numbers of responses

Although there was a decrease of almost a quarter (23.8%) in the number of responses from **learners**, it was still the second highest number of learner responses since the research began in 2015. Survey fatigue is a possible reason for this decrease. While learner responses surged in 2018, we believe the changed approach to participant recruitment may have piqued the interest of Gaelic learners at that time. By 2019, however, this novelty may have worn off.

The number of responses from **learning providers** increased by one, to 44, but only ten of these respondents said that they were providing Gaelic learning opportunities during the snapshot week. As was the case last year, we believe our pre-survey engagement was an encouraging factor for providers.

## 5. Analysis of responses to the learner survey

661 individuals completed the learner survey. The data in the following analysis is based on responses from these learners, structured around four themes:

- The individual
- Their learning
- Barriers they have faced in their learning
- The organisation providing the learning

### 5.1. The individual

#### Geographical location

We received learner responses from 29 local authority areas in Scotland. We received no response from a small number of areas.<sup>4</sup>

Appendix 2 shows data relating to where learners live.

Table 3 shows the top five areas for learning activity during the snapshot week (excluding 93 responses (16.4%) from learners who told us they were not based in Scotland).

Area	Number of learners active	% of learners active
City of Edinburgh	85	15.0
Glasgow	77	13.6
Highland: Caithness, Sutherland, and East Ross-shire	29	5.1
Argyll and Bute: Oban, Lorn and the Isles	26	4.6
Highland: Inverness City	23	4.1

*Table 3 – Top five areas for learning activity during the week beginning 4th November 2019*

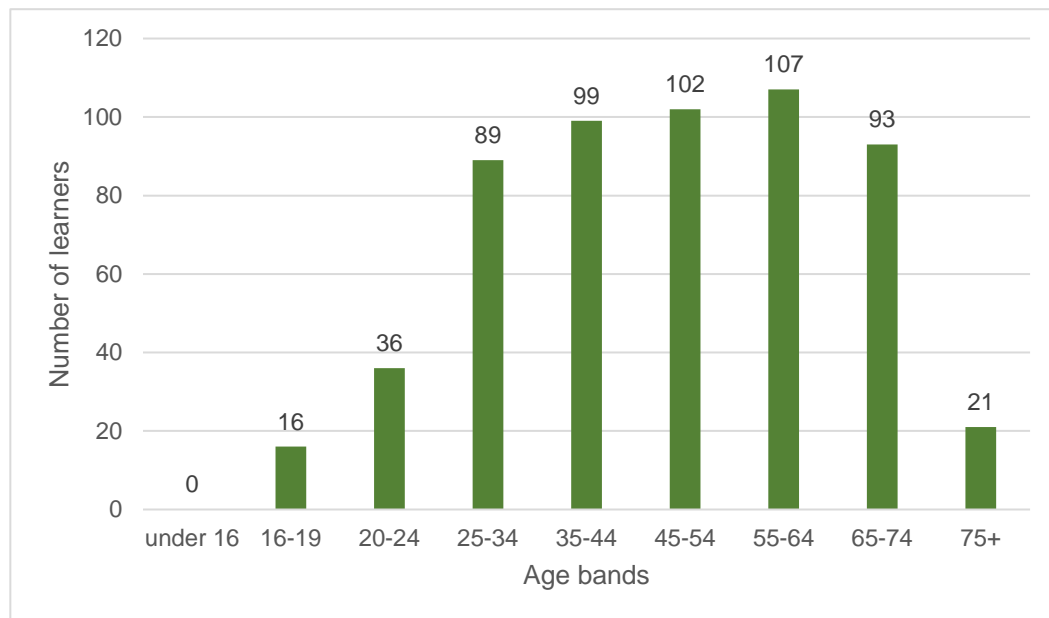
Consistent with previous years, the highest numbers of active learners were in Glasgow and Edinburgh. The cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Inverness all featured in the top five areas for learning activity during the snapshot weeks in 2018 and 2019. There were increased responses in 2019 from Argyll and Bute: Oban, Lorn and the Isles, and Highland: Caithness, Sutherland, and East Ross-shire.

#### Age

563 of 567 learners (99.3%) who were active during the snapshot week responded to this question.

<sup>4</sup> Clackmannanshire, Shetland, West Dunbartonshire, Western Isles: Harris, and Western Isles: North Uist, Berneray, and Grimsay

Chart 1 shows the age bands of the learners who were active during that week.



*Chart 1 – Ages of learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019*

In 2017, 69% of learners were aged 45 and over. In 2018 this had dropped to 58.2%. This figure decreased further in 2019, to 57.4%.

The number of respondents in lower age brackets rose significantly between 2017 and 2018: in 2017, the age range 16–24 accounted for 3.0% of respondents. In 2018 the age range 16–24 accounted for 9.2%, and in 2019, 9.3%.

In 2018 we suggested that the differences reported might have been due to the way we distributed the survey or a reflection of the higher overall participation rate. For example, the extensive and targeted use of social media might have reached more younger learners. We suggest that these reasons also explain this year's results.

## Gender

Table 4 shows respondents' gender.

Gender	Number of learners active during snapshot week	% of learners active
Female	371	65.4
Male	184	32.5
Prefer not to answer	2	0.4
I prefer to self-describe (please tell us how)	<10	<1.8
<i>Non-binary</i>	<10	<1.8
<i>Genderfluid</i>	<10	<1.8
<i>Did not say how</i>	<10	<1.8
No response	<10	<1.8

*Table 4 – Respondents' gender*

We used a new approach to this question in 2019, asking participants to pick their gender from a list or to self-describe. Again, there were more female than male respondents, which may reflect the general trend for women to respond more to surveys than men.<sup>5</sup> Less than 10 participants in 2019 were gender non-binary or genderfluid, [redacted].

## Disability

52 (9.2%) of the 567 learners active during the snapshot week told us they consider themselves to be disabled. Of the rest, 13 (2.3%) preferred not to say.

As in 2018, this rate of disclosure is lower than was indicated for the Scottish population as a whole in the 2011 Census,<sup>6</sup> where 19.6% of individuals reported being disabled or as having a long-term health condition.

As we suggested last year, it is possible that individuals only disclosed a disability when they felt it impacted on their learning.

## Employment status

Chart 2 shows the employment status of the 567 respondents who were active during the snapshot week.

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<sup>5</sup> See Smith (2008), *Does gender influence online survey participation?: A record-linkage analysis of university faculty online survey response behavior*.

<sup>6</sup> Analysis of Equality Results from the 2011 Census (2014, Scottish Government).

The data shows that adults learning Gaelic are most likely to be working (full- or part-time) or retired, together accounting for 454 (80.0%), which is slightly lower than in 2018, when 84% of learners were in one of these categories.

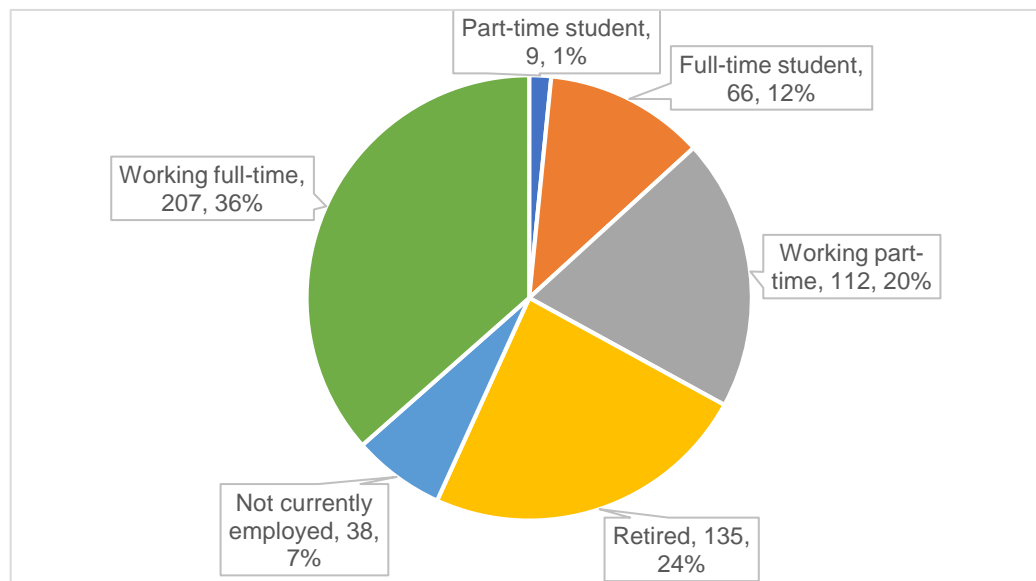


Chart 2 – Employment status of learners active the week beginning 4th November 2019

## 5.2. Learning

The learner survey sought responses from learners in relation to:

- their self-assessed competence in Gaelic
- their motivation for learning Gaelic
- how and in what settings they use their Gaelic

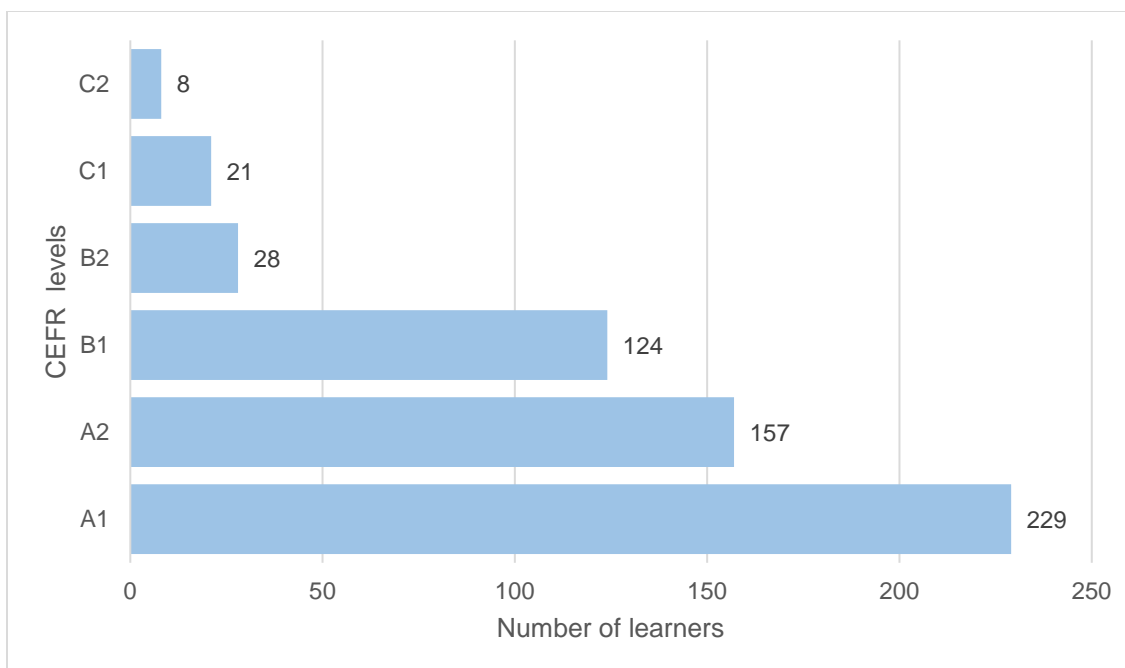
This year we omitted a question we asked in 2018, relating to specific learning activities that learners engaged in during the snapshot week. The question appeared to confuse some of last year's respondents, and we decided to delete it from this year's survey.

### Self-assessed level of competence

We provided learners with descriptors of the six levels of competence in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), where level A1 represents beginner and C2 the most advanced. (These descriptors are attached in [Appendix 3](#).)

We asked learners to read the descriptors and select which level they considered best fitted their overall or general competence in Gaelic (that is, not focusing specifically on reading, writing, speaking or listening).

Chart 3 shows the self-stated competence levels of the 567 learners who were active during the snapshot week, with A1 representing the lowest level.



*Chart 3 – Self-assessed Gaelic competence on the CEFR of learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019*

This data shows, as in 2018, that the majority of learners active during the snapshot week, 386 (or 68.1%), consider themselves to have a basic level of Gaelic language competence (level A1 or A2). In 2018 this figure was higher, however, at 73.7%.

In fact, between 2018 and 2019 we can see a slight shift in the numbers responding to each level. Table 5 shows the shift, by percentage:

	% in 2018	% in 2019
Levels A1 and A2 (beginner)	73.7	68.1
Levels B1 and B2 (intermediate)	22.7	26.8
Levels C1 and C2 (expert)	3.6	5.1

*Table 5 – Learners' self-assessed proficiency, 2018–2019*

Recognising that the number of responses we received this year was lower than in 2018, the proportions still appear to have shifted, with fewer respondents claiming to be at the beginner end of the CEFR and more identifying themselves as being at the B and C levels. This could be because learners who responded last year have responded again and now assess themselves as having progressed up a level or levels.

As we suggested last year, the selection by respondents of a CEFR level was subjective and learners may have under- or over-estimated their competence. It is also possible that, in line with the most common barrier to learning (“Not enough opportunities to interact with native

speakers and fluent learners”, as identified at 5.2.6 below), learners above beginner level do not have the opportunities they need to use their Gaelic, which impacts on their ability to develop their skills.

Use of the CEFR in Gaelic learning is relatively new and learners may be unfamiliar with the framework. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that all 567 learners active during the snapshot week responded to this question.

The CEFR was not used for the learner survey in years prior to 2018.

### Motivation for learning Gaelic

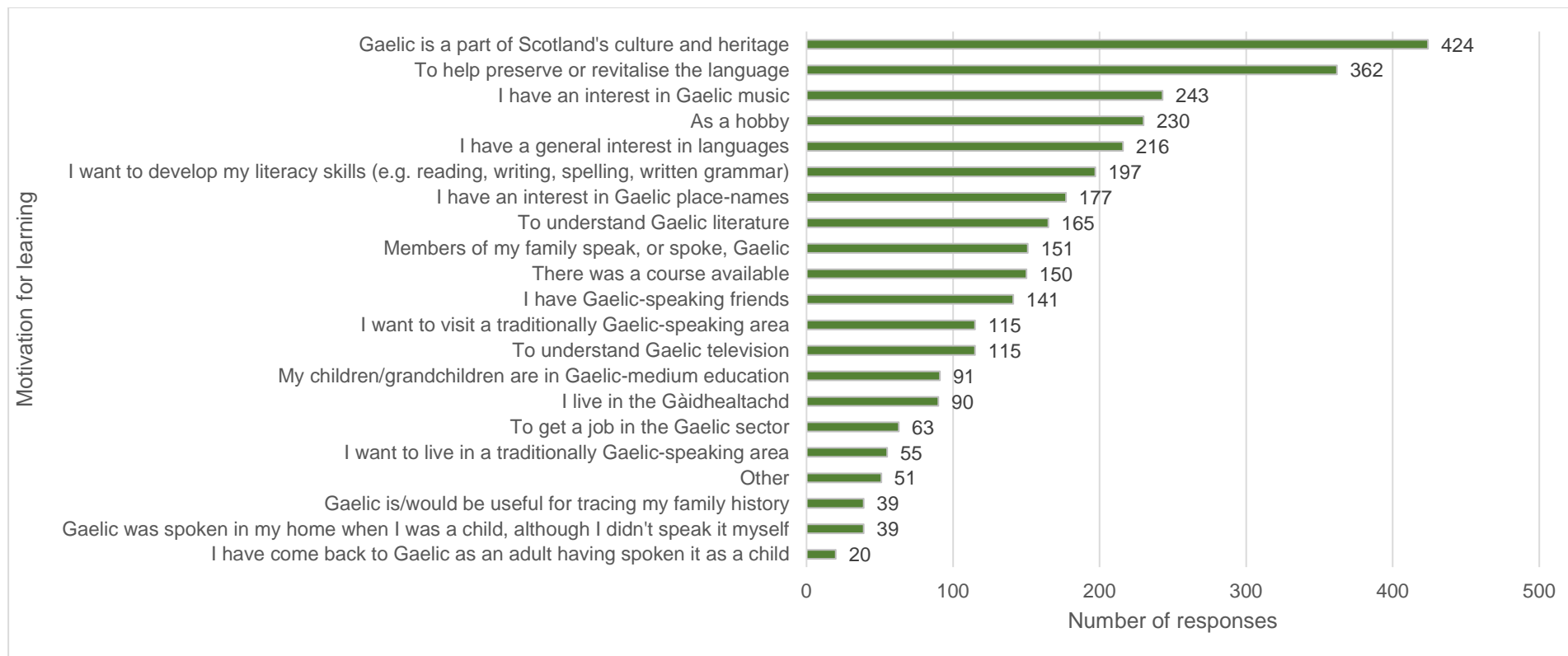
We asked learners to tell us what had motivated them to learn Gaelic. We offered a number of options and respondents could select more than one. These options are listed in Chart 4, in descending order of popularity.

“Gaelic is a part of Scotland’s culture and heritage” and “To help preserve or revitalise the language” were the two most popular motivations reported. These are the same as those identified in 2018. These are, as they were last year, significantly more popular than the third most popular motivation, “I have an interest in Gaelic music”.

The five most popular motivations are the same as last year, but the third and fourth items have swapped places.

Information on learners’ motivations for learning Gaelic was not collected in the years prior to 2018.





*Chart 4 – Gaelic learning motivations of learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019*

### How often learners use their Gaelic

We asked learners to tell us how often they used their Gaelic skills. The results are set out in Table 6, in order of frequency of use.

Frequency	Number of responses	%
Daily	126	22.2
Most days	211	37.2
About once a week	183	32.3
About once a fortnight	16	2.8
About once a month	13	2.3
Less often than once a month	13	2.3
Never	5	0.9

*Table 6 – Frequency with which learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019 use their Gaelic*

More than half (59.4%) of learners active during the snapshot week told us they had the opportunity to use their Gaelic daily or most days. Very few (0.9%) said they never have an opportunity to use it. These proportions, and the distribution of responses, reflect our findings in 2018.

This question was new in 2018.

### Settings in which learners use their Gaelic

We asked where / in what settings learners use their Gaelic skills. Respondents could select more than one option. The results are shown in Table 7.

Previous surveys had asked learners about their opportunities to interact with fluent Gaelic speakers. We created this new question for 2018 to get a broader sense of learners' use of Gaelic.

Again, as in 2018, it is not surprising that the majority of respondents said they had used their Gaelic in their place of study. The number of respondents who used Gaelic on the internet has increased since 2018, perhaps indicating increased engagement opportunities relating to Gaelic learning that are online.

Setting	Number of responses
At a place of study (full-time or part-time), e.g. a Gaelic class in your community or university	357
On the internet (online)	244
At home	237
In an organised social environment which is not part of a class or class activity, e.g. a choir rehearsal, coffee morning, or a meet-up group	126
In any other social setting including casual meetings and conversations	121
At work	85
Somewhere else	35
I never have the chance to use my Gaelic	14

*Table 7 – Where / in what settings learners active during the week beginning 4th November 2019 use their Gaelic*

The number of learners saying they never have the chance to use their Gaelic dropped slightly this year; this could be because of increased opportunities to use Gaelic online.

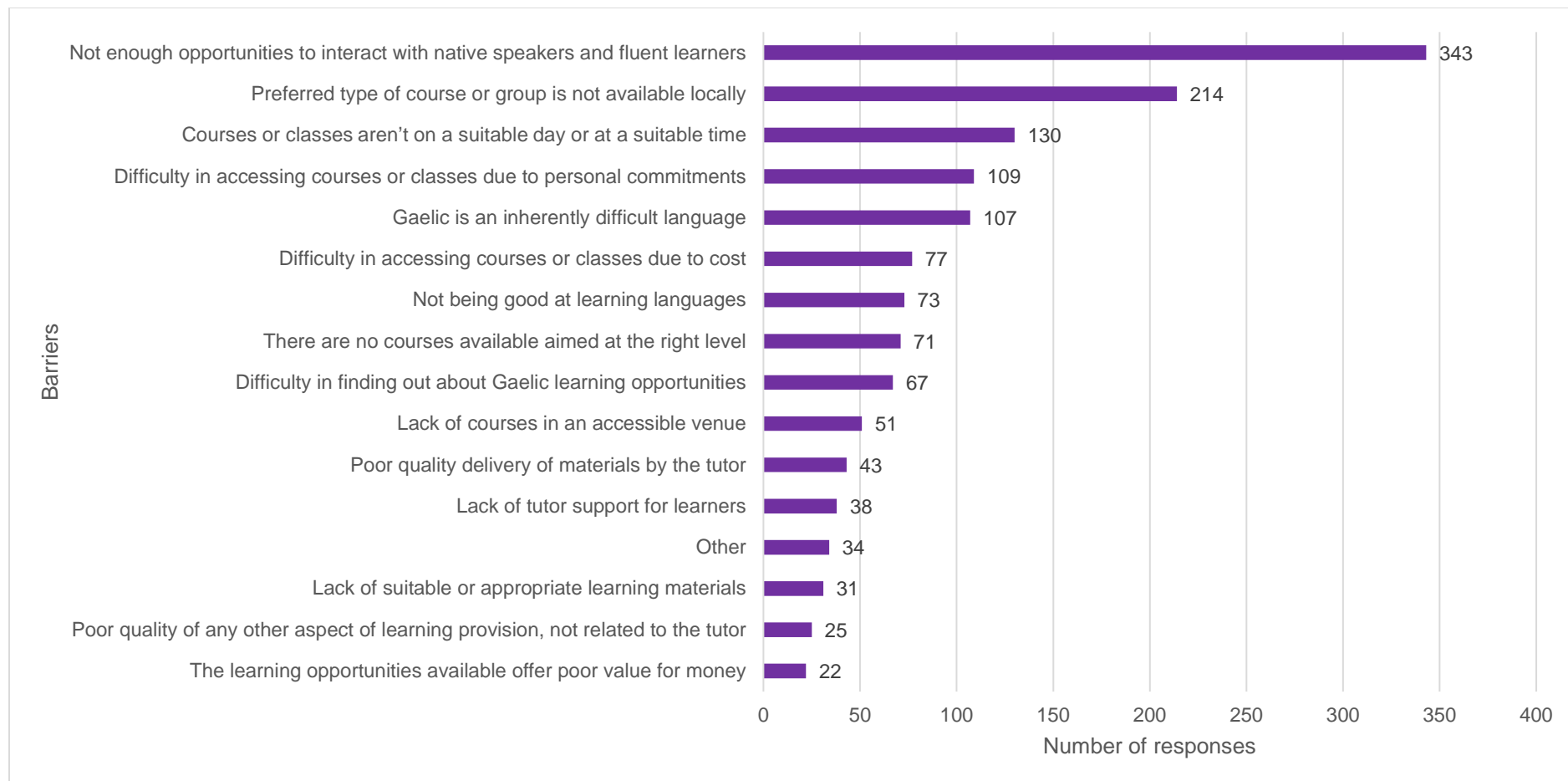
### Barriers faced

We asked learners to tell us what, if any, barriers they had faced to learning Gaelic. Learners were able to select more than one barrier. 508 respondents told us they had faced barriers to their learning.

Our findings are presented in Chart 5.

In line with data from 2016, 2017 and 2018, the most common barrier was: “not enough opportunities to interact with native speakers and fluent learners”.

As in previous years, common barriers related to local access or access to opportunities at particular times.



*Chart 5 – Common barriers experienced by learners*

### 5.3. Organisation providing the learning

#### Type of learning provider

We asked learners to tell us what type of organisation was providing their learning opportunity or opportunities. We included an option for those who were teaching themselves. 557 (98.2%) of the 567 learners active in the snapshot week answered this question.

Responses to this question are set out in Table 8, in descending order of popularity.

Type of learning provider	Number of responses	%
University, college or other Further/Higher Education institution	182	32.7
I am teaching myself	103	18.5
Local authority	97	17.4
Community group	65	11.7
A Gaelic organisation that does not fall within any of the above categories	43	7.7
Your employer/workplace	22	3.9
Other	19	3.4
Private tutor	17	3.1
I don't know	<5	<0.9
Primary school	<5	<0.9
Secondary school	<5	<0.9

*Table 8 – Types of organisations providing learning during the week beginning 4th November 2019*

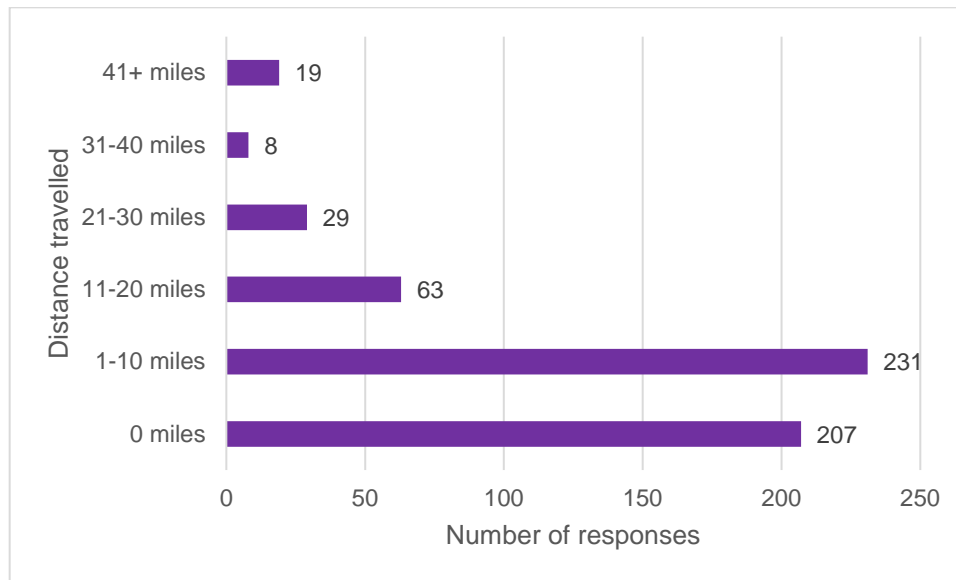
As in previous years, the most popular type of organisation was a university, college or other HE/FE institution. In 2017 this was 34%, and in 2018 30.0%. This year it was 32.7%.

Following the trend from 2016 through to 2018, the proportion of learners identifying a local authority as the organisation providing their learning fell. In 2016 it was 29%, in 2017 21%, in 2018 19.6%, and this year 17.4%.

The number of people teaching themselves rose, from 11.2% in 2018 to 18.5% this year.

#### The distance learners travelled from home to where they learn

We asked learners to report how far they travelled from home to the place where they learned during the week beginning 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019. Chart 6 sets out their responses.



*Chart 6 – Distance travelled by learners to the place they learned during the week beginning 4th November 2019*

Of the 557 learners who responded to this question, 438 (78.6%) said they travelled less than ten miles to the place where they learned (including those who said they travelled 0 miles). Compared to 2018, this is an increased proportion. In 2018, 207 learners (73.7%) told us they travelled 0 or less than 10 miles. This was an increase on 2017, when 68% of learners were travelling 10 miles or less to their learning.

The number of learners who travel 0 miles has risen from 28.2% in 2018 to 37.2% in 2019, again possibly accounted for by the increased popularity of self-teaching and use of the internet as a learning activity.

#### 5.4. Creation of case studies

We asked learners whether they would be willing to feature in a case study about their experience of learning Gaelic. 364 respondents (55.1%) said they would.

We have worked with two individuals to produce and agree case studies of their respective learning journeys; we attach these at [Appendix 4](#).

## 6. Analysis of responses to the learning provider survey

We received 44 responses to the learning provider survey. Nine respondents told us they had not delivered learning opportunities during the week beginning 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019. A tenth respondent said that their institution was providing learning opportunities during the snapshot week but declined to provide any further data in the survey. Therefore, we have 34 full responses from which we can draw findings in this section. These responses include:

- 12 from local authorities (compared to 9 who responded last year)
- 9 from Gaelic organisations, clubs, partnerships or individual tutors (compared to 8 that responded last year)
- 5 from universities (the same number as last year)
- 5 from colleges (the same number as last year)

We received 3 responses from one university, and 2 responses from one community Gaelic provider. In these cases, each response reported a different type of provision. In our analysis, we treat these as 5 separate returns.

We present below an analysis of the 34 responses, with a focus on three key areas:

- Types of learning opportunity and numbers of learners
- Achievement and attainment
- Learning delivery

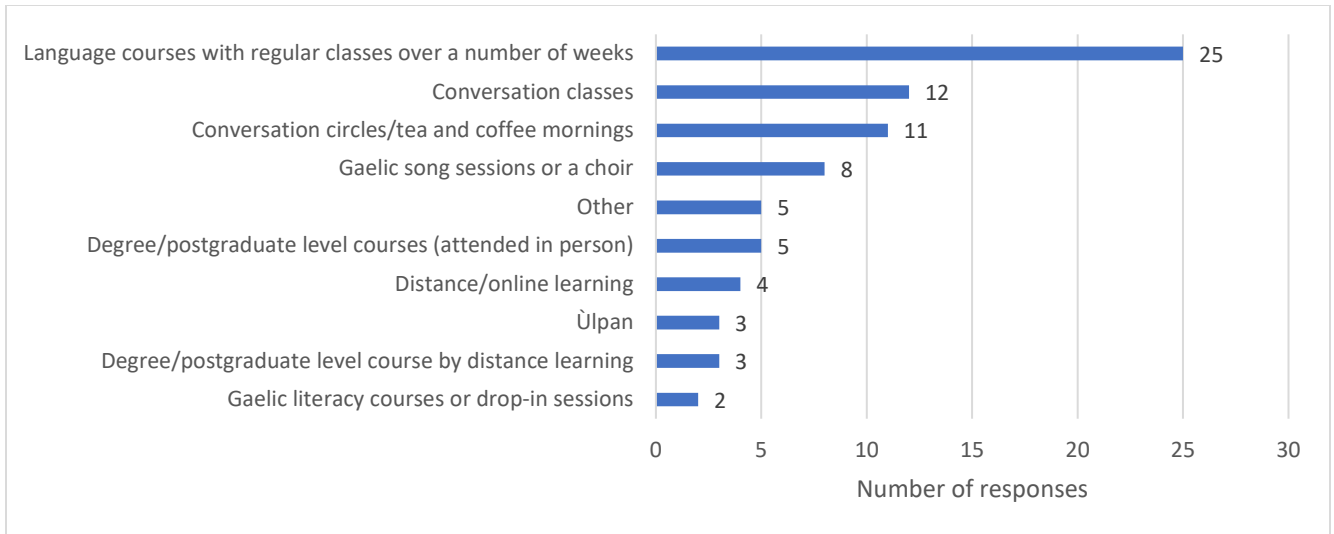
### 6.1. Types of learning opportunity and numbers of learners

We asked learning providers to identify from a list the different types of learning opportunities they offered. Their responses are presented in Chart 7, in descending order.

The results for this question are broadly similar to those we obtained in 2018. As in 2018, the most common type of learning provision in 2019 was: language courses with regular classes over a number of weeks. Compared to 2018, a slightly higher percentage reported providing Gaelic learning opportunities of this kind (27% in 2018, compared with 32% in 2019).

In 2019, as in 2018, the second most common type of learning provision was conversation classes; however, these accounted for significantly less of the provision in 2019 (23% in 2018, 15% in 2019). This was the most dramatic change we observed between 2018 and 2019 for this question.

The third most popular type of provision in 2019 was conversation circles/tea and coffee mornings, accounting for 14% of provision. In 2018, such learning opportunities accounted for 9% of provision. It is possible that the increase in provision of this type might explain the decrease in more structured conversation classes.



*Chart 7 – Popularity of different types of provision offered by learning providers in the week beginning 4th November 2019*

Respondents provided details of other types of learning opportunities they had provided or facilitated, which included:

- Providing online materials
- Holding occasional Gaelic days
- Lending out Gaelic learning materials
- Providing funding for staff members to undertake language courses

### Numbers of learners attending across all types of provision

Learning providers told us how many learners attended their provision, across all types of provision they offered. Across the 34 responses from providers, the total number of learners reported was 2,389.

As we note above, we were able to draw findings from fewer learning providers this year than in 2018/2019 (34 this year compared with 43 last year). As such, fewer learners were reported this year. However, the methodology we have agreed with Bòrd na Gàidhlig enables us to extrapolate the data we have received to produce a top line figure for the whole of Scotland.

### Main types of provision offered by learning providers

We asked learning providers to identify the opportunity they considered to be the “main” type of provision their organisation offered. 34 learning providers answered this question; their responses are presented in Table 9, in descending order.

Over half of learning providers (20, or 58.8%) considered their main provision to be language courses over a number of weeks, with 5 (14.7%) deeming their main provision to be conversation classes. These were also the most popular types of main provision in 2018, although the proportions were different. There has been an increase in the



proportion of respondents whose main provision is language courses over a number of weeks (from 53.7% 2018), and the proportion of learning providers whose main type of provision is conversation classes has decreased, from 22% in 2018 to 14.7% in 2019.

Type of learning opportunity	Number of responses
Language courses with regular classes over a number of weeks	20
Conversation classes	5
Gaelic song sessions or a choir	2
Degree/postgraduate level courses (attended in person)	2
Úlpan	1
Conversation circles / tea and coffee mornings	1
Gaelic literacy courses or drop-in sessions	1
Distance/online learning	0
Degree/postgraduate level course by distance learning	0
Other	2

*Table 9 – Main provision offered by learning providers at any time of the year*

## 6.2. Achievement and attainment

### Accreditation for learning

We asked learning providers to tell us what (if any) accreditation learners could receive from the main type of provision they had identified, for example, in the form of a certificate or qualification.

Table 10 presents the data drawn from across the 34 responses.

Availability of accreditation	Number of responses	% of responses
Does not lead to a certificate or qualification	24	70.6
Other certificate/qualification	5	14.7
Certificate of attendance	3	8.8
SQA certificate or qualification	2	5.9

*Table 10 – Availability of accreditation from learning providers' main provision*

It is significant that 24 out of the 34 (70.6%) providers' main type of provision does not lead to any form of accreditation. This is a higher proportion than in 2018, when 65.1% of providers offered no accreditation for their main type of provision.

Provision leading to a certificate or qualification (other than a certificate of attendance) accounts for only 20.6% of the provision, which is a lower figure than in 2018, when it was 23.2%.

## Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF)

We asked learning providers to tell us the highest SCQF level<sup>7</sup> learners attending their main provision could achieve. We received 30 responses to this question.

22 respondents (75.9%) said their learners would achieve “no particular level”. Despite lower numbers of responses received this year, this percentage figure is almost identical to that we found last year (when 75.6% of responses pointed to “no particular level”).

Colleges and universities were able to identify the highest possible SCQF level that learners in their provision could attain. These were:

- SCQF level 4 – 1 response (3.4%)
- SCQF level 5 – 1 response (3.4%)
- SCQF level 6 – 1 response (3.4%)
- SCQF level 7 – 1 response (3.4%)
- SCQF level 8 – 1 response (3.4%)
- SCQF level 11 – 3 responses (10.0%)

It is possible that many other Gaelic learning providers, particularly those providing informal or non-formal learning opportunities such as conversation circles, have limited awareness of the SCQF. These results tally somewhat with the low amount of accreditation available for learning across all responses.

## Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

We presented learning providers with the CEFR Global Scale (see [Appendix 3](#)) and invited them to identify the level at which they would expect learners attending their main provision to start, and the level at which they would likely finish.

28 of the 34 respondents answered this question fully. This year we received robust data in relation to two types of learning provision (as opposed to four last year):

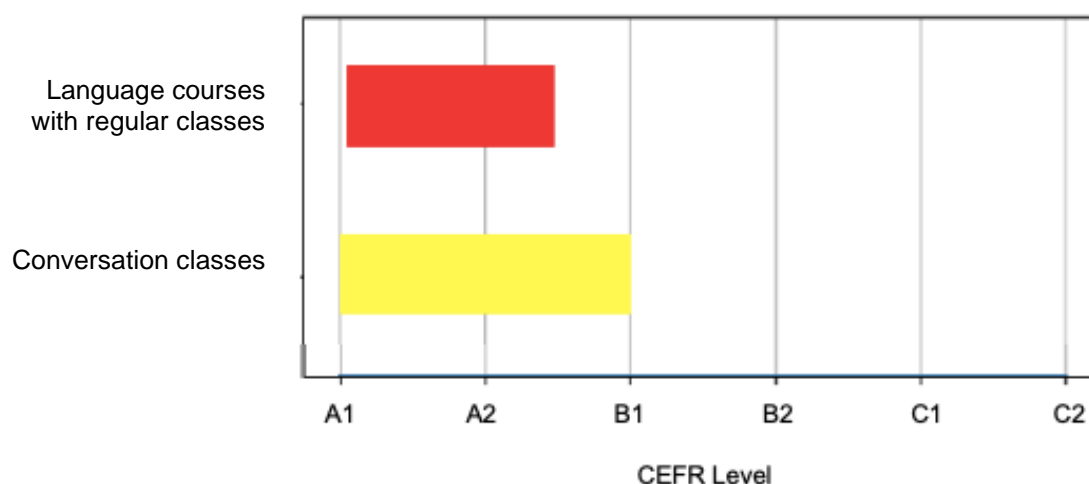
- Language courses with regular classes
- Conversation classes

Start and end points differed across the range of responses for each type of learning provision. Substituting the numbers 1 to 6 for the six levels of the CEFR (A1 to C2), we calculated mean average start and end points for each type of provision and present them in Chart 8.

These findings ring true in relation to the two types of provision and broadly reflect our findings for these types of provision last year. We were disappointed not to receive more robust data in relation to other types of provision. We believe that promotion of the CEFR among all learning providers of Gaelic could improve the confidence and understanding of respondents and thus result in more responses across a wider range of learning provision types.

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<sup>7</sup> [www.scqf.org.uk](http://www.scqf.org.uk)



*Chart 8 – Typical start and end points on the CEFR for different types of provision*

### 6.3. Learning delivery

#### Learning settings

We asked respondents to tell us in what settings the learning they provided took place. Respondents were able to choose more than one option from a list. The results are presented in Chart 9, in descending order.

One provider identified a high school as an “other” setting.

This year, as in 2018, by far the most popular setting for Gaelic adult learning offered by these providers was a community setting such as a community centre or library. While this suggests broad access to Gaelic learning for adults in Scotland’s communities, it also underlines once more the non-formal nature of much of this provision.

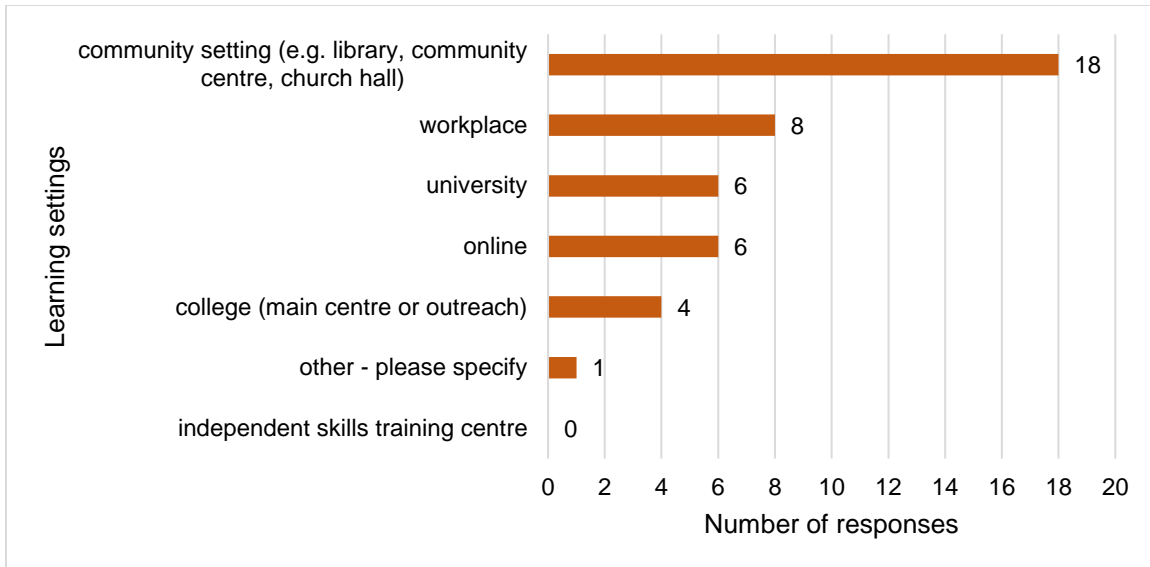


Chart 9 – Settings where learning takes place

### Numbers of paid and volunteer tutors

We asked providers how many paid and volunteer tutors delivered their main learning opportunity. We received 31 responses to this question. We found that:

- 28 providers had **only** paid staff
- No providers used **only** volunteers (a marked change from last year)
- 3 providers used **both** paid staff and volunteers

Among the 31 providers employing paid tutors, 1 employed 12 staff, but this was an anomaly. 30 providers used 6 or fewer staff.

The median number of paid staff was 2 (the same as in 2018), and the mean was 2.52 (lower than the 3.17 in 2018).

Where providers used volunteers, they numbered in the 1s and 2s.

### Funding for learning opportunities

We asked providers to identify the **primary source** of funding for the learning opportunities they offer. Their responses are presented in Table 11.

Primary funding source	Number of responses
Individual learners pay fees or receive a concession/waiver	10
Local authority	9
Funded by employer	8
Funded by the Scottish Funding Council	6

Table 11 – Sources of primary funding for learning opportunities

Our findings this year tally with those from 2018. Then, as now, the most popular response was that individual learners paid fees or received concessions/waivers, followed by funding from a local authority. This year, we included an option for employer funding, and this proved the third most popular answer this time.

## 7. Conclusions

### 7.1. Number of adults currently learning Gaelic in Scotland

We estimate that there are 3,935 adults currently learning Gaelic in Scotland.

We calculated this figure by extrapolating from the data provided by learning providers, then adding in the number of learners we identified as likely to be teaching themselves. This is the same methodology we used to calculate the estimated number of learners in 2018.

We have submitted our methodology to Bòrd na Gàidhlig for their information and to assure them that our methodology is robust.

This figure of 3,935 represents a significant fall in numbers of adults learning Gaelic in Scotland, compared to last year's figure of 5,460. We believe the fall might be accounted for by reduction in delivery of two types of provision across the country. We have shared our data relating to these two types of provision with Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

### 7.2. Key findings

#### The typical adult Gaelic learner

According to the data we gathered from learners, adults who are learning Gaelic in Scotland are most likely to:

- live in the local authority areas of Edinburgh City, Glasgow City, Highland or Argyll and Bute
- be in the age range 25 to 74 (with the highest numbers in the ranges 55 to 64)
- be female, by a ratio of female:male of almost 2:1
- be in work (full- or part-time) or be retired

In terms of their learning, learners are most likely to:

- consider themselves a beginner learner
- be motivated to learn by an interest in culture and heritage, or by a wish to help preserve the language
- be teaching themselves or attending a class or conversation class that is led by a tutor
- use their Gaelic most days, or at least one day each week
- use their Gaelic in their place of study, at home or online, and in a social environment

- travel less than 10 miles to reach their place of learning (or 0 miles if they are teaching themselves at home)
- have had to overcome a barrier or barriers to their learning
- have lacked opportunities to interact with native or more proficient Gaelic speakers, or been unable to find their preferred type of learning provision locally

Although there have been some changes to specific proportions, these overall trends are the same as those we identified in 2018.

### Typical adult Gaelic learning provision

According to the data we gathered from providers, learning provision in Scotland is most likely to:

- consist of courses or classes run over a number of weeks, or conversation classes led by a tutor
- provide learners with progression that can be matched to the levels of the CEFR
- take place in community-based settings
- be delivered by paid staff
- be paid for by learners themselves
- not lead to a qualification or certificate
- not be levelled against the SCQF or provide SCQF credit points

### Trends from previous years

- **Geographical location** – the most common places where learners lived were similar to 2018, with Edinburgh City, Glasgow City and the Inverness area of Highland local authority all appearing in the top five areas in 2018 and 2019.
- **Learning activities** – the trend we identified in 2018, that the most popular learning activities were self-teaching, attending a course and attending a conversation class, continued in 2019.
- **Barriers faced** – the most commonly perceived barrier by learners continued in 2019 to be that there were not enough opportunities to interact with more proficient speakers.
- **Gender** – more respondents identified as female than male, by a ratio of almost 2:1, reflecting the results from 2018.

### Areas where we identified change

- **Age** – in 2019 the age distribution had shifted in comparison with that in 2018, following a trend from 2017. There were, again, slightly fewer older learners and more middle-aged learners. There were slightly more younger learners in 2019, compared to 2018.
- **Gender** – there was an increase in 2019 [redacted] in the number of respondents who told us that their gender was not represented by a female/male binary. Only

[redacted] chose not to respond [redacted], compared with 67 (9.2%) in 2018. These changes may be because of the new formatting of the question.

- **Disability** – slightly more people told us they considered themselves to have a disability this year than in 2018.
- **Employment status** – the proportion of learners who were working full- or part-time in 2019 was lower than in 2018.

## Appendices



## Appendix 1: Methodology

### Definitions

The definitions we used when gathering data during November 2019 were the same as those used in 2018, as follows:

An **adult learner** is someone who actively seeks to acquire or improve any of the language skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing in Gaelic, through study or through experiences. An adult learner is aged 16 or over and has left full-time secondary school education.

**Learning resources** are those materials (for example, worksheets, websites, apps) designed for adult learners of Gaelic.

A **learning opportunity** is any activity offered by a learning provider with clear start and finish times, or at a particular level that aims to either:

- teach a language skill or skills in Gaelic to adult learners, or
- enable adult learners to achieve a specific standard in such a skill or skills

Examples of **learning opportunities** include:

- a conversation course delivered by a tutor in a community setting, such as a library
- drop-in sessions for native Gaelic speakers who want to improve their Gaelic literacy
- an online course
- language training for a specific purpose; for example, for students studying to perform traditional Scottish music
- language training as part of a university Gaelic degree
- evening classes in a community setting

### Survey questions

We made a number of minor changes to the 2019 surveys for learners and learning providers. We sought and received Bòrd na Gàidhlig's approval of these changes.

Changes to the **Learner** survey included:

- being clearer about why we were using a snapshot week
- removing write-in options for some questions
- simplifying some questions
- removing a small number of questions that sought data we felt was no longer relevant to our research
- changing the format of the question on gender from a write-in response only, to a drop-down list with an optional write-in response

Changes to the **Learning Provider** survey included:

- being clearer about why we were using a snapshot week
- clarifying why we were asking for detail about only their “main” type of provision
- removing one question that we no longer needed to ask
- adding a new option into the question relating to funding for learner places

Both surveys were bilingual, with Gaelic appearing before English. Respondents could answer in either language.

The surveys made specific reference to a “snapshot” week, which began on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019. We asked respondents to consider their answers in relation to this single week.

### Survey distribution

To reach **learners** we used a number of approaches, including:

- sharing the survey link via social media channels and through e-newsletters
- sending the survey to people who had responded to the 2018 survey and who had given us their permission to contact them again in the future
- asking providers not only to complete the learning provider survey but to share the learner survey with learners they were supporting or were in contact with

Before issuing the **Learning Provider** survey, we undertook a period of engagement, targeting specific individuals in organisations and seeking their preliminary agreement to completing the survey. We also sent a bilingual letter of introduction from Bòrd na Gàidhlig to assure learning providers of the legitimacy of the research and our status as approved researchers.

We used a number of approaches when sending out the learning provider survey link, including:

- asking Bòrd na Gàidhlig to share the survey link through their communication channels and networks, including on social media
- sending the survey link to organisations with Gaelic Language Plans, and to a database of learning providers
- asking for the survey link to be included in organisations’ e-newsletters and similar channels
- distributing the survey link to our own networks of learning providers

Surveys were sent out during the week beginning 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019 (the snapshot week) and responses could be submitted until 29<sup>th</sup> November 2019.

We explained in our communications with learners and learning providers that data would be analysed and reported on anonymously and would be kept securely. We explained that data would be collected via SmartSurvey and then downloaded and kept in a cloud file-sharing service, which would only be shared by the project team and Bòrd na Gàidhlig.

## Analysis of data

After the deadline of 29th November 2019, we downloaded the data and saved it in a cloud file-sharing service shared only between ourselves.

## Appendix 2: Table showing where learners live

The table is divided into Scotland's 32 local authorities. We have sub-divided four of these local authority areas further:

- Argyll and Bute – segmented into three sub-areas
- Highland – segmented into five sub-areas
- North Ayrshire – segmented into two sub-areas
- Western Isles – segmented into five sub-areas

Area	Learners active during the snapshot week	%
Aberdeen City	≤5	≤0.9
Aberdeenshire	9	1.6
Angus	≤5	≤0.9
Argyll and Bute (as a whole)	38	6.7
<i>Argyll and Bute: Bute and Cowal</i>	≤5	≤0.9
<i>Argyll and Bute: Helensburgh and Lomond</i>	≤5	≤0.9
<i>Argyll and Bute: Mid Argyll, Kintyre and Islay</i>	≤5	≤0.9
<i>Argyll and Bute: Oban, Lorn and the Isles</i>	26	4.6
Clackmannanshire	≤5	≤0.9
Dumfries and Galloway	7	1.2
Dundee City	≤5	≤0.9
East Ayrshire	10	1.8
East Dunbartonshire	≤5	≤0.9
East Lothian	≤5	≤0.9
East Renfrewshire	≤5	≤0.9
Edinburgh, City of	85	15.0
Falkirk	9	1.6
Fife	17	3.0
Glasgow City	77	13.6
Highland (as a whole)	92	16.3
<i>Highland: Caithness, Sutherland, and East Ross-shire</i>	29	5.1
<i>Highland: Greater Inverness area, Nairn, Badenoch, and Strathspey</i>	14	2.5
<i>Highland: Inverness City</i>	23	4.1
<i>Highland: Skye</i>	13	2.3
<i>Highland: Wester Ross and Lochaber</i>	13	2.3
Inverclyde	≤5	≤0.9
Midlothian	7	1.2
Moray	8	1.4
North Ayrshire (as a whole)	8	1.5
<i>North Ayrshire mainland</i>	6	1.1
<i>North Ayrshire: Arran and Cumbrae</i>	≤5	≤0.9
North Lanarkshire	7	1.2
Orkney Islands	≤5	≤0.9
Perth and Kinross	13	2.3
Renfrewshire	13	2.3
Scottish Borders	6	1.1
Shetland Islands	≤5	≤0.9

South Ayrshire	9	1.6
South Lanarkshire	≤5	≤0.9
Stirling	≤5	≤0.9
West Dunbartonshire	≤5	≤0.9
West Lothian	7	1.2
Western Isles (as a whole)	20	3.5
<i>Western Isles: Barra and Vatersay</i>	≤5	≤0.9
<i>Western Isles: Benbecula, South Uist and Eriskay</i>	≤5	≤0.9
<i>Western Isles: Harris</i>	≤5	≤0.9
<i>Western Isles: Lewis</i>	15	2.6
<i>Western Isles: North Uist, Berneray, and Grimsay</i>	≤5	≤0.9
Outwith Scotland	93	16.4

*Table 12 – Where respondents live*

## Appendix 3: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

### Global scale

C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

*Table 13 – CEFR global scale*

## **Appendix 4: Case studies of learners' journeys**

The following case studies illustrate the learning journeys of two learners who completed the survey during November 2019.

We have used only the learners' first names and have not named any learning providers.

We thank Maranda and Ben for their time and their enthusiasm.



## Case study: Maranda

### Introducing Maranda

Maranda is 32 and lives in Perthshire. She works full-time.

Maranda considers herself to be at level A2 in Gaelic, according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for Languages. She finds reading easier than speaking, as “you don’t have to have the same level of confidence to read”. Although she knows she is a competent speaker, Maranda lacks the confidence to speak as well as she can.

Maranda enjoys traditional Celtic folk tales, and is writing a book of short stories about Celtic figures and folklore. She would like to be able to use some Gaelic throughout the book, and has already given one of the stories a Gaelic title.

### Maranda’s motivation for learning Gaelic

Maranda feels that Gaelic is part of her heritage as a Scottish person. She would like to move to Skye in the future, and believes speaking Gaelic could open up opportunities for work there.

Maranda grew up in a household with a positive attitude towards Celtic languages. Despite English being the dominant language at home, Maranda spoke a small amount of Gaelic as a child. She remembers as a small child of three or four enjoying Gaelic-language television programmes, on folklore and fairy tales. Watching these, Maranda picked up some Gaelic words and phrases. She preferred to use the Gaelic she knew over her English when she had the chance; for example, she recalls responding to the question “How are you?” with “Tha gu math,” much to the surprise of the adults around her.

Maranda’s P2 teacher was a native Gaelic speaker who wanted to teach Gaelic to her pupils, but this never came to be. Maranda recalls that her use of Gaelic stopped once she started primary school, in part because there were no Gaelic Medium Education opportunities. She feels she was denied the opportunity to become bilingual as a result. Maranda’s interest in Gaelic remained, however, which led to her taking the language up again as an adult.

### Maranda’s experience of learning Gaelic

Maranda returned to Gaelic as an adult by teaching herself using online resources, but found it difficult to learn without the immediate feedback a face-to-face teacher can provide, and the motivation of attending a class. She felt rewarded on recognising many Gaelic words that had stayed with her since childhood, even though she had not necessarily remembered what they meant.

Maranda found a Level 1 Ùlpan course in the community and, although she was at first sceptical of the method, decided to sign up. She has progressed through several Ùlpan levels, and is amazed at how much vocabulary she has learned since starting. She

enjoys being able to learn through recognising grammatical patterns on her own, and says Ùlpan “feels like a more natural learning process, like you would learn as a child”.

Maranda and the other Gaelic learners with whom she started Ùlpan form a strong community of learners who motivate and support one another. The gaps between course blocks are quite long, and Maranda and her fellow learners have arranged meet-ups to sustain their Gaelic in those periods. For the past year and a half or so, they have used Facebook Messenger almost daily to practice their Gaelic and ask each other questions. Maranda enjoys sharing knowledge with other learners and seeing the different ways of saying things in Gaelic.

The strong relationship with other learners in her class has also spurred Maranda on in her use of Duolingo; when the app was released in November 2019, the students in her class started competing with one another. She describes herself as very competitive, and not only enjoys learning with Duolingo, but also enjoys the friendly competition. Maranda’s overall experience with Duolingo has been quite positive. It gives her the opportunity to practice things she has already learned, to get daily exposure to spoken Gaelic, and to hear a dialect different to that spoken by her tutor.

Maranda finds her tutor very approachable and happy to help, during and outwith classes. Maranda has brought questions to her tutor that have arisen out of her use of Duolingo or LearnGaelic.scot. Maranda also uses the lessons on LearnGaelic.scot to practice new things, or revise topics she already knows. She also uses the dictionary on LearnGaelic.scot which is useful for both vocabulary and pronunciation.

### **What’s next for Maranda and her Gaelic learning?**

Maranda would like to reach level 5 Ùlpan, which is the highest level in her local area. She is concerned that low numbers of interested learners and a lack of funding may mean that she has to stop learning sooner than level 5, however.

Although she does not have the time at the moment, Maranda is considering doing a National 5 qualification in the future, and then building further on that. She would love to be a “properly fluent, near-native” speaker of Gaelic; she is not sure if this is attainable for her, but this is her ideal personal goal.

## Case study: Ben

### Introducing Ben

Ben is 52 and lives in Fife; he has a number of jobs, including part-time teaching in a primary school. He teaches all subjects, but his real interest is in science and outdoor learning. When not teaching, Ben works in the woodlands on his cousin's farm woodlands, cutting and supplying firewood.

Ben has a degree in Ecological Science and a degree in Business Development, as well as a post-graduate certificate in primary teaching. He considers himself to be a lifelong learner who “always needs to be learning something new”.

Ben considers himself a beginner learner of Gaelic. He says: “I write and read better than I speak. I can get the gist of emails and texts in Gaelic, and I can pick up phrases here and there on TV and radio.”

### Ben's motivation for learning Gaelic

Growing up in England but with family links to Scotland but not Gaelic, Ben always wanted to live in Scotland and learn Gaelic.

Ben loves the outdoors and his hobbies include hill walking and sailing. When taking part in these activities, he “sees Gaelic everywhere”. He tells a story about meeting other walkers out on the hills near Tyndrum. The walkers were complaining about having come from a corrie where they had been “blown about”. Ben felt his knowledge of Gaelic had given him an advantage over walkers who didn't know the language: he knew that the Gaelic name of the corrie (Coire Gaothach) meant “windy corrie”, and that the weather in that area might be challenging.

Ben has always had an interest in languages. His father is an Old Testament scholar and studies ancient languages, including Ugaritic scripts written on tablets of clay. Ben grew up with a strong sense that history was important and that old languages should be learned, studied and preserved. He finds Gaelic particularly fascinating because its grammar is so different to that of English and other European languages taught in school.

### Ben's experience of learning Gaelic

Ben first started learning Gaelic in 2016, using the LearnGaelic<sup>8</sup> online beginners' lessons. Then in September 2018, he began Level 1 of an Ùlpan course, which was funded by his employer. Ben found the structure of the course, and the persistence it required of him, very helpful. He also found it beneficial to have to communicate with a native Gaelic speaker. Unfortunately, funding for the course was no longer available, so the next level of the course did not run.

Ben has also undertaken an 18-week course to equip him to teach Gaelic in primary schools. The course, which was delivered in Stirling one day per week, was attended by

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<sup>8</sup> <https://learngaelic.scot/lg-beginners/index.jsp>

teachers from a number of local authorities. Ben has found this course very helpful in building his confidence to teach Gaelic at school.

Ben finds the new Gaelic content on the Duolingo app<sup>9</sup> to be very effective; he has worked his way through most of it, feeling “motivated to do some every day”.

In order to practise his listening skills, Ben often watches Gaelic episodes of the children’s cartoon *Peppa*. He enjoys transcribing the dialogue, finding the visual antics on screen helpful as he works out the meaning. He says: “It’s great fun, like putting together the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle or code breaking, and very satisfying when I work it out; it’s a great way of learning new phrases and idioms.”

Ben also enjoys learning Gaelic songs, both old and new, to help with his learning. He says that the words he learned from a song by Skipinnish enabled him to describe a holiday he had been on at a Gaelic conversation group.

### **What’s next for Ben and his Gaelic learning?**

Ben would like to continue with a local, face-to-face course. He would consider distance learning and has been looking at An Cùrsa Inntigidh at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig or maybe a National 5 through eSgoil.

Ultimately, Ben would like to work in a job where he has to use Gaelic. He believes that this would “force him to improve”. He says, “I might become fluent if I’m really lucky.”

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.duolingo.com/course/gd/en/Learn-Scottish%20Gaelic>