# Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies ${ }^{1}$ 

Vol. 22: Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh<br>(East Sutherland \& Caithness)

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## Executive Summary

This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelicspeaking at the end of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century. Based mainly (but not exclusively) on local population census information the reports strive to examine the state of the language through the ages from 1881 until today. The most relevant information is gathered comprehensively for the smallest geographical unit possible and provided area by area - a very useful reference for people with interest in their own community. Furthermore the impact of recent developments in education (namely teaching in Gaelic medium and Gaelic as a second language) is analysed for primary school catchments.

Gaelic once was the dominant means of conversation in East Sutherland and the western districts of Caithness. Since the end of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century the language was on a relentless decline caused both by official ignorance and the low self-confidence of its speakers. A century later Gaelic is only spoken by a very tiny minority of inhabitants, most of them born well before the Second World War. Signs for the future still look not promising. Gaelic is still being sidelined officially in the whole area. Local councillors even object to bilingual road-signs. Educational provision is either derisory or non-existent. Only constant parental pressure has achieved the introduction of Gaelic medium nurseries in Thurso and Bonar Bridge. The language would already be dead in northern Scotland without such grassroots support for the once dominant tongue.
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## Foreword to the Series

Since 1881 every decennial population census in Scotland included a question about the "Gaelicspeaking" population. Despite some difficulty in interpreting this data (what really means to tick a box being able to speak Gaelic) this long-term data set holds a wealth of sociological and historical information. It highlights the circumstances in which people speaking this Celtic language have lived and still live today. In most cases this data has been used only either for very problem-specific socio-linguistic studies or they were the basis of regional or Scotland wide analysis. However, it proved very difficult for people who were interested in their own local area to have a comprehensive overview of the number and distribution of Gaelic-speaking people right on their doorstep. This series is planned to cover all regions of Scotland where Scottish Gaelic (A'Ghàidhlig to be correct in its own words) was still spoken by a substantial part of the population at the start of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century ${ }^{2}$. Accordingly besides the main "Highland counties" of Sutherland, Ross \& Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll the fringe areas of Bute (including the Isle of Arran), western Caithness, Nairn, North Dunbartonshire and more particularly Highland Perthshire will be covered. It is hoped that these small reports will be of interest not only to science people but also to those who have to cope with opinions like "Gaelic was never spoken here" in their own local community.

Important note: Although this text is written in the modern lingua franca for the purpose of maximum readership the object has to take its rightful place. Therefore Gàidhlig place-names or expressions are preferred and the socalled English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For those unfamiliar with the language: Every Gaelic expression is written in italics and the other place-names are mainly examples of anglicisation efforts of early cartographers.

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Wedel, An Dàmhar 2003

Kurt C. Duwe

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## Table of Contents

Executive Summary ..... 1
Foreword to the Series ..... 2
Acknowledgements ..... 2
Table of Contents ..... 3
1 Introduction ..... 4
2 The Historical Background ..... 6
2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931) ..... 7
2.2 Developments in the late 20 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ century (Census 1951-2001) ..... 12
2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001 ..... 15
3 The Situation of 2001 in Focus ..... 17
3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001 ..... 17
3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in school catchments ..... 19
4 Future Perspectives ..... 21
I. Supplementary Tables ..... 22
II. Literature and Data Sources ..... 35
III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information ..... 44
IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames ..... 46
V. List of Tables ..... 52
VI. List of Figures ..... 54
VII. List of Abbreviations ..... 55

## 1 Introduction

The eastern part of Cataibh (Sutherland) and the former county of Caithness (in Gàidhlig: Gallaibh $=$ Land of Strangers) are objects of this study. Whereas Cataibh is traditionally seen as belonging to the "Highlands" Caithness is widely considered as thorough "Lowland county" in speech and tradition. This is but only part of the truth as its western half had been part of the Gaidhealtachd for centuries - the dominance of Gàidhlig place-names there are ample testimony of this fact. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1845) for example remarked: "Gaelic is spoken only in the higher parts of the county; in the other parts, the inhabitants, comprising three-fourths of the population, speak the ordinary language of the country, and their manners and habits are those of the lowland Scots." The rural communities west of Thurso and Wick retained their Gàidhlig speech right until the $20^{\text {th }}$ century. In the coastal villages and towns of Cataibh an Ear the language lingered on even after World War 1.


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas ${ }^{3}$
Geographically both areas comprise vast areas of open hill and moorland with a rather sparse population - in sharp contrast to the chain of small villages and towns in the agriculturally privileged coastal stretches on the North Sea. The population in 2001 was rather unevenly distributed over a land area of over 380,000 hectares. Some 10,000 people each lived in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) and rural parts of Gallaibh (Caithness). The remaining 15,000 inhabitants lived in the two main Caithness towns of Inbhir Theòrsa (Thurso) and Inbhir Uige (Wick). In the not too distant past the economy was heavily relying on agriculture and fisheries. During the last decades a thorough economic restructuring took place with light industry and tourism emphasis in places like Dòrnach (Dornoch) and Golspie (Goill-

[^2]spidh) as well as construction and engineering industry in Wick and Thurso. Very prominent of course were the developments of the nuclear power installation at Dùnrath (Dounreay) on the north coast.

Historically Caithness and Sutherland had been counties on their own until local government reorganisation in 1974 merged them into the vast Highland Region administered in Inverness. At that time the parish of Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) was transferred from the then Ross \& Cromarty District to Sutherland District. In order to enable a consistent comparison between censuses this parish is considered as part of Cataibh an Ear for the purpose of this study.

So far progress for the Gàidhlig language in the areas covered by this study has been painstakingly low in contrast to other parts of the local authority like for example Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross). The following short chapters will look into the historical development of the use of Gàidhlig in the area from the end of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century until today - mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail.

## 2 The Historical Background

The eastern part of Cataibh (Sutherland) and the western parishes of Gallaibh (Caithness) retained their Gàidhlig traditions until very recently. Whereas English got a foothold in larger townships like Dòrnach (Dornoch) and Goillspidh (Golspie) in the early $19^{\text {th }}$ century Gàidhlig still remained dominant in most of the country. Official reports of parish ministers were, however, in most cases biased by their English convictions. A report about Dornoch Parish in 1834 for example tells us "The vernacular language is still the Gaelic ... This language has, however, lost ground considerably during the last twenty-five years, owing to the influx to the parish, from various parts of the kingdom, of persons who speak the English language, but especially to the introduction of schools, first Gaelic and then English... The predilection for the Gaelic language is, however, still manifest .. the common people prefer to use it in their ordinary intercourse, and that larger congregations attend public worship during the Gaelic services ... Nevertheless the English is making rapid encroachments on our ancient language; and it is not improbable that, in the course of sixty or seventy years, the latter may be extinct" (New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845). This forecast proved to be not exactly precise but, unfortunately, pointed in the right direction (fig. 2 shows the temporal evolution of Gàidhlig speaking in the areas since 1881).

The same account gave also some hints about the "language boundary" between Gàidhlig and English in Gallaibh (Caithness) in the south-western parish of Latharan (Latheron) in 1840: "The Gaelic language is generally spoken by the lower class of people throughout the greater part of the parish .... It is a singular circumstance that, for a long period, the burn of East Clyth seems to have formed the boundary between the Gaelic and English languages. On the east side of it, scarcely a word of Gaelic was either spoken or understood, and on the west side the English shared the same fate ...." The 1881 census results proved that this division between language communities still existed half a century later.


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in comparison with Gallaibh (Caithness) ${ }^{4}$

[^3]
### 2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)

Within a period of just fifty years (1881-1931) Gàidhlig was to retreat at a very substantial speed in the whole investigation area. The number of speakers was to shrink to a quarter of its 1881 base (table 1). This was mainly caused by the failure of parents to pass the language over to their children and of course by an ignorant, sometimes openly hostile education policy. Details provided below are given separately for the two areas because circumstances were very different indeed in both counties.

| Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subject \Census | $\mathbf{1 8 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 2 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 3 1}$ |  |
| Gäidhlig-speakers $\left(3\right.$ years +) $^{13,262}$ | 12,968 | 10,862 | 7,693 | 5,209 | 3,582 |  |  |
| $\%$ of total population |  | $24.8 \%$ | $25.5 \%$ | $22.8 \%$ | $17.1 \%$ | $13.0 \%$ |  |

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh (East Sutherland \& Caithness) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland): The County of Sutherland had the honour to emerge as the most Gàidhlig-speaking county of all Scottish counties at the 1881 and 1891 censuses - well ahead of Ross \& Cromarty, Argyll and Inverness-shire. This, however, was not due to strong enthusiasm by the large majority of Gàidhlig speakers or even an enlightened education policy by the county council. It is very worthwhile to remember the words of the then Inspector of Schools for Ross, Caithness and Sutherland Mr. D. Sime in 1878: "I should regard the teaching of Gaelic in schools in any shape or form as a most serious misfortune" (Campbell, 1945). In effect the first meaningful introduction of Gàidhlig in the school curriculum in this district was to be realised in the late 1990s!

Figure 3 illustrates the fate of Gàidhlig as community language in Cataibh an Ear from 1891 (some 75 \% of the population spoke Gàidhlig) to 1931 when only about $20 \%$ of the population spoke the language. Monolingual Gàidhlig speakers (pre-school children or elderly people) counted 306 in 1891; in 1931 just 4 were reported as speaking "Gaelic only" (see tables 19 to 21 ).

The local information in the census reports of 1881, 1891 and 1901 was very detailed. It is therefore worthwhile to look at the distribution of Gàidhlig speakers in the area starting in the north (table 2) with the fishing communities around Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale). It can clearly be seen that individual communities differed very much in their "Gaelic-ness" in this period. The difference between the north-eastern part of Bun Ilidh and its south-western communities is striking. Such high local variation in Gàidhlig speaking is repeated also further south. Relatively high proportions were recorded in the town of Brùra (Brora), its rural hinterland of Clin (Clyne) and the inland parish of Raoghard (Rogart). On the other hand English had already made strong inroads in the town of Goillspidh (Golspie) and Srath Ilidh (Strath of Kildonan) whose Gàidhlig population had been effectively "cleared" from its land decades earlier. At the turn of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century monolingual speakers of Gàidhlig were already a negligible quantity except perhaps in the town of Brùra.

[^4]

Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Cataibh an Ear (Taobh Tuath) - 1881-1901 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area ${ }^{6}$ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig $^{7}$ |  |  | Monolingual share of all Gàidhligspeakers |  |
|  | $1881{ }^{8}$ | 1891 | 1901 | 1891 | 1901 |
| Bun Ilidh an Ear (East Helmsdale) | $\begin{gathered} 327 \\ 48.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 283 \\ 38.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 214 \\ 27.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 0.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Bun Ilidh an Iar (West Helmsdale) | $\begin{gathered} 486 \\ \mathbf{7 3 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 382 \\ \mathbf{6 5 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 289 \\ \mathbf{6 0 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 2.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 1.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { Srath Ilidh } \\ \text { (Strath of Kildonan) } \end{array} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 333 \\ \mathbf{5 4 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 231 \\ 45.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 223 \\ 43.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| $\begin{aligned} & \begin{array}{l} \text { Loth } \\ \text { (Loth) } \end{array} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 213 \\ 36.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 269 \\ \mathbf{5 0 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 183 \\ 40.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Brùra <br> (Brora) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 404 \\ \mathbf{7 5 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 367 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 423 \\ \mathbf{7 7 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ 7.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 3.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { Clin } \\ \text { (Clyne) } \end{array} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 935 \\ \mathbf{7 2 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 815 \\ \mathbf{6 9 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 767 \\ \mathbf{6 5 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 1.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| $\begin{aligned} & \begin{array}{l} \text { Goillspidh } \\ \text { (Golspie) } \end{array} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 465 \\ 48.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 469 \\ \mathbf{5 0 . 2} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 517 \\ \mathbf{5 0 . 5} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 1.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21 \\ 4.1 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Goillspidh Dùthaich (Golspie Rural) | $\begin{gathered} 277 \\ 46.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 244 \\ 47.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 207 \\ 32.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Raoghard <br> (Rogart) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 1,063 \\ \mathbf{8 6 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 907 \\ \mathbf{7 5 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 775 \\ \mathbf{7 3 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 23 \\ 2.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 1.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |

Table 2: Number and proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers including monolingual persons according to census data in northern parts of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) for 1881, 1891 and 1901

[^5]| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Cataibh an Ear (Taobh Deas) - 1881-1901 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area ${ }^{9}$ | All persons speaking Gaìdhlig ${ }^{10}$ |  |  | Monolingual share of all Gàidhligspeakers |  |
|  | $1881{ }^{11}$ | 1891 | 1901 | 1891 | 1901 |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { Luirg } \\ \text { (Lairg) } \end{array} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 931 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 799 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 718 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 4 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21 \\ 2.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 0.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Dòrnach (Dornoch) | $\begin{gathered} 32 \\ 6.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 274 \\ \mathbf{5 3 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 255 \\ 40.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 0.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0 \\ 0.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Eurabol <br> (Embo) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 383 \\ \mathbf{9 6 . 7} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 427 \\ \mathbf{9 0 . 7} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 483 \\ \mathbf{8 8 . 5} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 48 \\ 11.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 24 \\ 5.0 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Dòrnach Dùthaich (Dornoch Rural) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 1,242 \\ \mathbf{7 6 . 1 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 939 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 883 \\ \mathbf{5 2 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 52 \\ 5.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 38 \\ 4.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Craoich (Creich) | $\begin{array}{r} 1,185 \\ \mathbf{7 5 . 4} \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 947 \\ \mathbf{6 5 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 710 \\ \mathbf{7 1 . 9} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 34 \\ 3.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ 4.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar) | $\begin{gathered} 210 \\ \mathbf{6 7 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 184 \\ \mathbf{5 1 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 188 \\ \mathbf{5 1 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 1.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| A'Chròic (Croick) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 179 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 9 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 161 \\ \mathbf{8 3 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 131 \\ \mathbf{6 9 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 7.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Cinn Chàrdainn <br> (Kincardine) | $\begin{gathered} 677 \\ \mathbf{7 2 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 640 \\ \mathbf{7 2 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 545 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ 4.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 0.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Innis nan Lìon (Rosehall) | $\begin{gathered} 448 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 7} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 318 \\ \mathbf{5 5 . 1} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 252 \\ \mathbf{5 2 . 4} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 1.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 260 \\ \mathbf{8 0 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 280 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 6 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 208 \\ \mathbf{8 0 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21 \\ 7.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 1.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |

Table 3: Number and proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers including monolingual persons according to census data in southern parts of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) for 1881, 1891 and 1901

In the southern part of Cataibh an Ear the language was even stronger during this period (table 3). Here also the 1881 census results appear in a new light considering the peculiar census question at the time. The county capital of Dòrnach (Dornoch) then reported only $6.4 \%$ of its inhabitants speaking "habitually Gaelic", whereas two miles away 96.7 \% of villagers in Eurabol (Embo) did so! Data in 1891 corrected this picture substantially as Dòrnach then had a majority of townspeople "speaking Gaelic". The decline of the language was everywhere apparent but locally very different. Some towns switched very swiftly to English (Dòrnach, Drochaid a'Bhanna) whereas in upland places like Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell) or Luirg (Lairg) Gàidhlig still held its own until 1901. Here the education policy since 1872 took its toll only after the first generation of victims of "English only" education had learned the lesson and stopped speaking Gàidhlig to their offspring.

[^6]Most of the last "native" speakers in Cataibh an Ear were born in close-knit fishing communities on the North Sea coast, notably of course in Eurabol (Embo). According to Nancy Dorian (1978) these speakers belonged to the generation born shortly after the $1^{\text {st }}$ World War. Census results for civil parishes between 1911 and 1931 (tables 20 and 21) testify the decline of the language even in rural areas. In 1921 no parish was left with a Gàidhlig speaking majority. The highest percentages still were found in Raoghard ( 48.3 \%), Cinn Chàrdainn ( 43.0 \%) and Luirg ( 42.1 \%). Separate figures for the small burgh of Dòrnach became available in 1931 showing just 83 out of 725 inhabitants speaking Gàidhlig in the county town. On the other hand $43.4 \%$ of inhabitants still spoke Gàidhlig in the remaining part of the civil parish at the dawn of World War II. This included of course the fishing village of Eurabol (Embo).

Gallaibh (Caithness): Most of the inhabitants of Caithness considered (and still consider) themselves as "lowland Scots" having really nothing in common with "Highland" i.e. Gàidhlig speaking tradition. The Gàidhlig language of course has never been (or reportedly has never been) spoken to a considerable extent east of a line drawn from Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) to Inbhir Uige (Wick). But the language frontier divided the county into a Gàidhlig speaking area in the west and an English speaking (formerly Norse speaking) part to the east. The people living in the vast and sparsely populated parishes of Meaghrath (Reay), Hacraig (Halkirk) and Latharan (Latheron) had been described in various publications in the mid $19^{\text {th }}$ century as overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speaking. Based on John Murray's "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland" (1873) it was claimed that "the language boundary emerges from the North Sea at Clyth Ness, Caithness. It proceeds overland to Harpsdale, through Halkirk to the river Forss, which it follows to the sea" (Warrack, 1911).

The local detail of census results in 1881-1901 proved beyond doubt that parts of Gallaibh (Caithness) were still part of the Gaidhealtachd (table 4). The parishes of Latharan (Latheron) in the south and Meaghrath (Reay) in the north still delivered percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers well beyond the $30 \%$ mark. The district of Bearghdal (Berriedale) on the south-western border towards Cataibh (Sutherland) had even $45 \%$ of inhabitants "speaking habitually Gaelic" in 1881. The areas around Liabost (Lybster) and Hacraig (Halkirk) were in an intermediate state in this period - language "death" had not yet been accomplished. On the other hand the people in the towns and in all eastern Caithness did speak nothing but their Scots dialect. Because of the large population of the anglicised towns Wick and Thurso the county-wide percentage of Gàidhlig speakers did look comparatively low. It stood at $11 \%$ with still 76 people speaking "Gaelic only" in 1891 (table 22). The vast majority of these (61) were counted in the south-western parish of Latharan (Latheron).

The number of speakers, however, was shrinking very rapidly census after census. The reason for this was highlighted by J. Patten MacDougall, the Registrar General of the 1911 Census (Scotland, Census Office, 1912): "Persons with knowledge of Gaelic in the County of Caithness are found to number 1,685 ... Of these 1,248 were born in Caithness, 273 in Sutherland, 77 in Ross and Cromarty, and 87 elsewhere. Of the 1,685 Gaelic speakers, all but three are returned as able to speak English in addition to Gaelic. By an examination of the age distribution of the Gaelic speakers, it is found that only 22 of them are less than 20 years of age, which suggests that the Gaelic language cannot be in habitual use, for if such were the case large numbers of the younger generation would be found to have a knowledge of it". This meant that almost all Gàidhlig speakers in the county were born before 1891 and inter-generational transmission of the language had effectively seized well before. With the subsequent passing of generation after generation Gàidhlig was destined to disappear swiftly in the area. Census enumerations afterwards confirmed only the inevitable decline of the language in Gallaibh (Caithness) with just 633 speakers returned in 1931 (table 23). From this time onwards Gàidhlig place-names were the only relics of cultural diversity in Caithness.

| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Gallaibh - 1881-1901 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area ${ }^{12}$ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ${ }^{13}$ |  |  | Monolingual share of all Gàidhligspeakers |  |
|  | $1881{ }^{14}$ | 1891 | 1901 | 1891 | 1901 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \begin{array}{l} \text { Meaghrath } \\ \text { (Reay) } \end{array} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 477 \\ 39.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 409 \\ 34.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 269 \\ 27.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 1.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Inbhir Theòrsa (Thurso) | $\begin{gathered} 216 \\ 5.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 445 \\ 7.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 384 \\ 7.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 2.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 0.5 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Hacraig <br> (Halkirk) | $\begin{gathered} 253 \\ 9.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 507 \\ 19.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 360 \\ 15.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 0.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 1.1 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| A'Bhatan (Watten) | $\begin{gathered} 167 \\ 11.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 118 \\ 8.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 71 \\ 5.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | - |
| Bearghdal (Berriedale) | $\begin{gathered} 534 \\ 45.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 473 \\ 42.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 339 \\ 34.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 1.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 1.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Latharan (Latheron) | $\begin{gathered} 1,387 \\ 29.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 876 \\ 43.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 610 \\ 33.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 48 \\ 5.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 0.5 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Liabost (Lybster) | $\begin{gathered} 23 \\ 2.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 730 \\ 26.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 423 \\ 17.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 0.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 0.5 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Inbhir Uige } \\ & \text { (Wick) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 27 \\ 1.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 233 \\ 3.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 182 \\ 2.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.5 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{array}{l}\text { Baile Phulteney } \\ \text { (Pulteneytown) }\end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 50 \\ 1.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 156 \\ 2.8 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 128 \\ 2.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 1.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.8 \% \end{gathered}$ |

Table 4: Number and proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers including monolingual persons according to census data in western parts of Gallaibh (Caithness) for 1881, 1891 and 1901


Fig. 4: Share of population speaking Găidhlig and/or English in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

[^7]
### 2.2 Developments in the late $20^{\text {th }}$ century (Census 1951-2001)

Between 1931 and 1951 the number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the combined area was cut by almost $60 \%$; the population share fell from $9.7 \%$ to $4.7 \%$ in the area. The history of indifference and neglect was to repeat itself in Cataibh an Ear in the coming decades - even worse: ignorance towards Gàidhlig prevailed in the "lowland county" of Gallaibh (Caithness).

Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland): The language strength differed of course from parish to parish in the first census after the war (tables 12 to 15). Main strongholds in 1951 were the rural parts of Dòrnach (including Eurabol (Embo) village) with 23.5 \% of Gàidhlig speakers; Raoghard ( $18.4 \%$ ) and Cinn Chàrdainn ( $16.7 \%$ ) followed in this ranking. Most of these speakers belonged to the older generation, however, and almost no children were raised in Gàidhlig speaking families. A report on Gàidhligspeaking schoolchildren (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961) failed to find a single primary school pupil with Gàidhlig as first or preferred language in the eastern part of the County of Sutherland. This was a worrying result especially considering that some parents still spoke Gàidhlig at home. 275 primary pupils attended the first primary stages P1 and P2 in east coast schools in 1957/58. 6 pupils had both parents speaking Gàidhlig; further 26 lived in families where either the father or the mother spoke Gàidhlig! In the two secondary schools (Dòrnach and Goillspidh) some 28 first year students of 231 had some knowledge of Gàidhlig: Four were classified as Gàidhlig first language speakers and further 6 could hold simple conversations in the language. It is highly probable that the majority (maybe all) of these originated from the communities on the west coast. So the future of Gàidhlig in these locations looked very bleak indeed.

In 1961 the picture became even gloomier (as expected) with census percentages running in single figures in almost the whole area. A slight exception was the 22.1 \% figure of Gàidhlig speakers in the CCED (County Council Electoral Division) of Dornoch East (table 24) incorporating Eurabol (Embo). Later a special scientific report (Dorian, 1978) mentioned substantial numbers of "native" Gàidhlig speakers in the traditional fishing villages of Brùra (Brora), Goillspidh (Golspie) and Eurabol (Embo) in the 1960s. Whereas the language was only spoken by a small number of older inhabitants in Brùra and Goillspidh, Eurabol (Embo) still was a partly Gàidhlig-speaking community. In 1963-64 Nancy Dorian took a personal census of local bilingual Gàidhlig speakers in these three locations. In Brùra she counted 43 speakers ( $3.6 \%$ ) and in Goillspidh 54 ( $4.6 \%$ ) with an average age of about 60 . In the case of Eurabol on the other hand 105 speakers were counted ( $38.2 \%$ ) which meant nearly half of the adult population was Gàidhlig-speaking in 1963-64. "Only in Embo was Gaelic regularly heard in the streets and in the shops, and only the Embo population still had Gaelic church services" (Dorian, 1978).

| Cataibh an Ear: Administrative Areas in 1971 Census <br> (Gàidhlig Speaking at Different Ages) | Age groups |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Pop. | G. Sp. | Pop. | G5 + Sp. |
|  | 165 | - | 155 | 10 |
| Dòrnach \& Craoich (Dornoch \& Creich District) | 360 | 5 | 425 | 95 |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine County Council Electoral Division) | 180 | - | 125 | 20 |
| Goillspidh, Raoghard \& Luirg (Golspie, Rogart \& Lairg District) | 685 | 5 | 455 | 90 |
| Srath Ilidh, Loth \& Clin (Kildonan, Loth \& Clyne District) | 710 | 20 | 450 | 40 |

Table 5: Population and number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the age groups 3-14 and 65+ for administrative areas in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in 1971

Generally, however, nothing really happened in the years to come. Accordingly the census 1971 saw the number of speakers plummeting to a new record low. The fact of an ageing language group was clearly verified in the results for different age groups (tables 5 and 25).

In the 1970s at last the changing attitudes towards the language were also reaching Cataibh (Sutherland). A private initiative launched a series of school interviews (Gairm, 1978) where parents were asked whether or not they were in favour of having Gàidhlig lessons for their children. An overwhelming majority came out in favour. In Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) ${ }^{15}$ this meant a staggering figure of 328 parents of 494 families ( $66.4 \%$ ) were in favour of Gàidhlig as part of the curriculum in their local primary school! Afterwards some token teaching of Gàidhlig started in north-western parts of the county; Cataibh an Ear, however, was left out in the cold again.

| Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subject \Census | $\mathbf{1 9 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 6 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |
| Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +) | 1,492 | 1,148 | 1,070 | 856 | 708 | 583 |
| \% of total population | $4.7 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $2.2 \%$ | $1.6 \%$ |

Table 6: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh (East Sutherland \& Caithness) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001

From 1981 onwards census information became more and more detailed. Accordingly the picture of the Gàidhlig presence in different locations shed more light on the state of the language which Highland Region inherited from Sutherland County after local government reorganisation in 1974. Census output areas (table 25) varied in their incidence of Gàidhlig speakers quite considerably. Not unexpected $E u$ rabol had the highest percentage of speakers at $24.1 \%$. Looking at the age group distribution (fig. 5 and table 26), however, it was clear, that only a handful of speakers was aged below 25.

The next decade was also a lost decade as far as Gàidhlig in Cataibh an Ear was concerned. The start of the "Gaelic Renaissance" with the first cròileagan and Gàidhlig medium classes did bypass the area without any lasting impact. The census 1991 recorded just 405 Gàidhlig speakers; a century ago 8,822 people had been returned as speaking the local tongue! Even worse: The "generation of the future" (those aged below 25) consisted of only 32 youngsters. Predicting the fate of Gàidhlig in the area was a simple task indeed! Results for census output areas were again depressing (table 25). It is, however, worth noting that both enumeration areas in Eurabol (Embo) had still impressive numbers of speakers with $31.0 \%$ and $16.4 \%$ as share of population.

In the 1990s a few activities commenced at last to improve the state of Gàidhlig in eastern parts of Cataibh. In 1993 a "Gaelic Development Plan for South-East Sutherland" was outlined by a local working group. A commercial highlight at that time was the return of the Mòd Nàiseanta (National Mod) to Golspie in 1995. It did not, however, have a lasting impact apart from a few bilingual street-signs in the town. On the contrary, Gàidhlig second language provision at Golspie High School seized when pupils from the west coast started to receive their secondary education in Ulapul (Ullapool) or Ceann Loch Biorbhaidh (Kinlochbervie). This had not been a very successful offer anyway. For example just 4 pupils received tuition as Gàidhlig learners in the school year 1995/96! Proud Dornoch Academy, of course, had never bothered to think of introducing the local language in the curriculum.

[^8]Nonetheless grassroots activities began to show effects in Cataibh an Ear. Adult classes for learners became increasingly popular, especially in the new Gaelic college of An Ceathramh in A'Mhuigh (Muie) and the last remaining Gàidhlig stronghold of Eurabol (Embo). In the latter a few local children became active in a sràdagan group which appeared successfully in a number of local and national mods. Further cultural evidence of a growing interest in local music was the founding of Fèis Chataibh, which annually provided tuition in traditional music and Gàidhlig singing. Local authority support, however, remained very lukewarm and inefficient. The introduction of half-hourly lessons (per week!) in the small primary schools of Innis Lion (Rosehall) and Raoghard (Rogart) was prevented by the inability of Highland Council to find a travel expense budget for the itinerant teacher! Notwithstanding parents were still content to find some Gàidhlig education for their offspring. A cròileagan was founded in Raoghard (Rogart) and especially parents in Luirg (Lairg) and Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) began to campaign for a Gàidhlig medium nursery (and eventually a GMU at Bonar primary school) in the late 1990s. In the meantime some parents decided not to wait any longer: They sent their children across the Dornoch Firth instead to attend the GMU in nearby Baile Dhubhthaich (Tain).

All these small initiatives could not prevent a further reduction in the number of speakers until 2001. The whole district showed no signs of recovery in the census returns. The generation of "native" speakers dwindled by the day and a significant replacement was not in sight. In figure 5 the temporal evolution of the population share of Gàidhlig speakers is clearly outlined. More details of the 2001 census results are provided in chapter 2 of this study.


Fig. 5: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 - Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) ${ }^{16}$

[^9]Gallaibh (Caithness): The temporal evolution of events in Caithness since World War II can be described in simple terms: There was virtually none. Census results between 1951 and 2001 across the board reported almost negligible numbers of Gàidhlig speakers in Gallaibh (Caithness). No locality (table 26) had any number of speakers worth mentioning and the age distribution (table 27) equally showed no surprises.

In reality the first significant activities started as late as 1996 when the first cròileagan opened in Baile Theòrsa (Thurso). In 1998 Thurso parents visited the GMU in Tunga (Tongue) on the northern coast of Cataibh (Sutherland) to see for themselves whether this kind of education was best for their children. In the same year a local authority Gàidhlig nursery opened its doors in the town! Since 1999 parents were waiting for the GMU to start but sadly no suitable teacher applied for the post so far. So welcome depression in Scotland's northern province again!

### 2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001

As could be expected in areas with no tradition of formal Gàidhlig education speakers of the language were overwhelmingly not accustomed to read or even write in their mother tongue. The census in 1971 for the first time sought information about the ability of Gàidhlig speakers to read or write the language. Results (tables 7 and 8 ) found just $30 \%$ of speakers able to read and around $20 \%$ able to write Gàidhlig in both areas. The ability to write Gàidhlig was least common in the older generation who had acquired the language naturally at their mothers' knees - percentages just reached $10 \%$ in this age group. No wonder when Gàidhlig at school would have been an alien experience in their younger days.

|  | Number of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> with ability to read Gàidhlig |  |  |  | Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> with ability to read Gàidhlig |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |
| Cataibh an Ear <br> (East Sutherland) | 205 | 165 | 157 | 166 | $31.1 \%$ | $32.6 \%$ | $37.1 \%$ | $58.0 \%$ |
| Gallaibh <br> (Caithness) | 125 | 135 | 133 | 191 | $30.5 \%$ | $38.6 \%$ | $46.7 \%$ | $63.2 \%$ |

Table 7: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhligspeakers for both areas (1971-2001)

|  | Number of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> with ability to write Gäidhlig |  |  |  | Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> with ability to write Gäidhlig |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |
| Cataibh an Ear <br> (East Sutherland) | 110 | 114 | 111 | 129 | $16.7 \%$ | $22.5 \%$ | $26.2 \%$ | $45.1 \%$ |
| Gallaibh <br> (Caithness) | 85 | 106 | 84 | 161 | $20.7 \%$ | $30.3 \%$ | $29.5 \%$ | $53.3 \%$ |

Table 8: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhligspeakers for both areas (1971-2001)

Over the years slight improvements in literacy could be detected in later censuses (fig. 6 and 7). This was mainly due to the passing of the old "semi-literate" generation. The few "new" speakers were mainly learners who acquired literacy in Gàidhlig naturally during their study. At least school education was no relevant factor in improving literacy of Gàidhlig speakers - there was simply none.


Fig. 6: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (19712001): Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland)


Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (19712001): Gallaibh (Caithness)

## 3 The Situation of 2001 in Focus

Census results for 2001 were the most comprehensive and detailed information base ever provided for Scotland. This was also true for the inclusion of questions on Gàidhlig language knowledge. Two new aspects were introduced:

1. Persons were asked whether they were "able to understand spoken Gaelic".
2. Children under the age of 3 were enumerated regarding their language abilities.

The following sections will describe generally the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational and community by community) and the specific conditions of the younger age groups in local primary school catchments.

### 3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001

Comparing both areas - Cataibh an Ear and Gallaibh - the picture was bleak in all but one respect: The activities in the pre-school sector around Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) and Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) did show a first effect.

In Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) the following conclusions may be drawn generally from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- There is a constant decrease in Gàidhlig language abilities (fig. 8) from older to younger generations with significant percentages only in generations born before 1955. Some 9 preschool children at least understood the language.
- A further strong decrease in Gàidhlig-speaking by 1.6 \% has occurred since 1991 (table 9) except in younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers, however, is still very low at $1.7 \%$.
- There is some local variation in the ability of the population to speak Gàidhlig. The returns of census output areas show those being able to speak the language ranging from roughly $1 \%$ in many areas including Dòrnach (Dornoch) to some 10 \% in Eurabol (Embo). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic" category (tables 29 and 30) varied between around 2 \% in Dòrnach and a considerable 19 \% in Eurabol.
- Literacy in the language was still improving (compared to 1991) with $58.0 \%$ of speakers being able to read and $45.1 \%$ of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years only two were able to speak Gàidhlig and 5 could understand spoken Gàidhlig.
- In addition to those able to speak Gàidhlig ( $3.0 \%$ of the population) 228 inhabitants ( $2.3 \%$ ) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Compared with census results in neighbouring Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) the situation of Gàidhlig in Cataibh an Ear can aptly be described as in a state of neglect and ignorance. Time will tell whether circumstances may turn to the better.


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth - area of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to Census 2001

| Age group | 2001 |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{c\|} \hline 1991 \\ \hline \text { Able to speak } \\ \text { Găidhlig } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Diff. } \\ 2001- \\ 1991 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\text { Knowing }{ }^{17}$Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak \& read Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  |
| 0-2 | 5 | 2.2 \% | 1 | 0.4 \% | 2 | 0.9 \% | n/a | n/a |  |
| 3-4 | 4 | 2.1 \% | 1 | $0.5 \%$ | 3 | 1.6 \% | 2 | 0.9 \% | +0.7\% |
| 5-11 | 13 | 1.7 \% | 7 | 0.9 \% | 12 | 1.6 \% | 13 | 1.5 \% | + 0.1 \% |
| 12-15 | 10 | 2.0 \% | 1 | 0.2 \% | 7 | 1.4 \% | 7 | $1.5 \%$ | -0.1\% |
| 16-24 | 19 | 2.7 \% | 6 | 0.9 \% | 14 | 2.0 \% | 10 | 1.1 \% | + 0.9 \% |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3-24 | 46 | 2.1 \% | 15 | 0.7 \% | 36 | 1.7 \% | 32 | 1.3 \% | + 0.4 \% |
| All ages | 504 | 5.3 \% | 166 | 1.8\% | 286 | 3.0 \% | 405 | 4.6 \% | -1.6\% |
| Difference |  | -3.2\% |  | -1.1\% |  | -1.3\% |  | -3.3\% |  |

Table 9: Knowledge of Gäidhlig in younger age groups in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in 2001 and 1991

[^10]In Gallaibh (Caithness) the number of Gàidhlig speakers remained insignificant also in the 2001 census. The only remarkable positive feature was the considerable improvement among pre-school aged children. 13 children were found to be able to speak and even 26 could understand spoken Gàidhlig. The majority of these young Gaels were of course present in Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) were a Gàidhlig nursery was operating since a few years. Worth mentioning is also the high proportion of "passive Gaels" (those who had at least one ability in the language but did not speak it) accounting for 250 persons in addition to the 302 (or 263, see below) speakers in the district in 2001.

The overall increase of speakers in Gallaibh, however, was only due to a peculiar census result in an output area in Inbhir Uige (Wick) ${ }^{18}$. Discarding this unique result the number of speakers had declined still further compared with previous censuses.

| Age group | 2001 |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 1991 \\ \hline \text { Able to speak } \\ \text { Gàidhlig } \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Diff. } \\ 2001 \text { - } \\ 1991 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\text { Knowing }^{19}$Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak \& read Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  |
| 0-2 | 9 | 1.2 \% | - | - | 3 | 0.4 \% | n/a | n/a |  |
| 3-4 | 17 | $3.2 \%$ | 1 | 0.2 \% | 10 | $1.9 \%$ | 1 | 0.1 \% | + 1.8 \% |
| 5-11 | 21 | 0.9 \% | 8 | 0.3 \% | 11 | 0.5 \% | 12 | 0.4 \% | + 0.1 \% |
| 12-15 | 11 | 0.8 \% | 3 | 0.2 \% | 6 | 0.4 \% | 3 | 0.2 \% | + 0.2 \% |
| 16-24 | 25 | 1.0\% | 8 | 0.3 \% | 12 | 0.5 \% | 19 | 0.6 \% | - 0.1 \% |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3-24 | 74 | 1.1 \% | 20 | 0.3 \% | 39 | 0.6 \% | 35 | 0.4 \% | + 0.2 \% |
| All ages | 552 | 2.2 \% | 191 | 0.8 \% | 302 | 1.2\% | 285 | 1.1 \% | + 0.1 \% |
| Diff. |  | -1.1\% |  | - 0.5 \% |  | -0.6 \% |  | -0.7\% |  |

Table 10: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Gallaibh (Caithness) in 2001 and 1991

### 3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics - this enables the compilation of "Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age" tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary or secondary schools. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups and for the purpose of this investigation they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (1215). Additionally a column is provided in table 11 with the age group of $24-35$ which may be roughly representative of the language abilities of possible parents. Looking at different age groups the general (dismal) state of Gàidhlig in the younger generation in the district has to be realised:

- Pre-school children: In 2000/2001 13 children attended the Gàidhlig medium nursery in Baile Theòrsa (Thurso). In addition there were activities in cròileagan based in Raoghard (Rogart) and Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge). Census figures highlight clearly that no other significant factor had any impact on the Gàidhlig pre-school population.

[^11]- Primary school children: In 2000/2001 four children were enrolled for the Gàidhlig medium unit in Baile Theòrsa which, however, did not commence eventually! In addition a handful of children from Southeast Sutherland commuted to the Gàidhlig medium unit at the primary school of Baile Dhubhthaich (Tain). Generally there was no second language tuition in any primary school in the district and census returns were negligible in this age group.
- Secondary school children: There was also no second language provision in any secondary school (Golspie, Dornoch, Thurso and Wick). The census revealed once again the educational ignorance towards Gàidhlig in this part of northern Scotland.
- Parents: Gàidhlig speaking ability is also very rare in the "parental" generation. The language is nonetheless very popular among parents as their campaigns for Gàidhlig medium education testified.

In conclusion: Gàidhlig has still a mountain to climb to achieve at least a foothold in the schools of once thoroughly Gàidhlig-speaking Cataibh. Apart from the activities in Thurso Caithness is a no man's land as far as Gàidhlig in education is concerned - even in the once Gàidhlig speaking part in the west.

| Primary / Secondary School(s) | "Pre-School" Age 0-4 |  | 'Primary'" Age 5-11 |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { "Secondary"' } \\ \text { Age 12-15 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 'Parents'" } \\ & \text { Age 25-34 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Leth Chlamhaig (Gledfield, Ardgay) | 1 | 5.3 \% | 2 | 4.9 \% | - | - | 2 | 4.9 \% |
| Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) | 1 | 2.9 \% | 2 | 2.5 \% | 2 | 4.4 \% | 2 | 3.2 \% |
| Innis nan Lion (Rosehall) | 2 | 25.0 \% | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4.5 \% |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { An Luirg } \\ \text { (Lairg) } \end{array}$ | 2 | 4.5 \% | 1 | 1.2 \% | - | - | 1 | 1.2 \% |
| Raoghard (Rogart) | - | - | 2 | 7.1 \% | - | - | 4 | 14.8 \% |
| Eurabol (Embo) | 1 | 5.0 \% | 3 | 6.3 \% | 2 | 7.7 \% | 2 | 4.7 \% |
| Dòrnach (Dornoch) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 1.4 \% |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) | 1 | 1.1 \% | - | - | 2 | 2.1 \% | 7 | 4.8 \% |
| Brùra (Brora) | 1 | $1.5 \%$ | 1 | 0.8 \% | 2 | 2.2 \% | 2 | 1.4 \% |
| Bun Ilidh \& Ceann a'Bhràist (Helmsdale \& Kinbrace) | - | - | 2 | 3.2 \% | 2 | 4.3 \% | 3 | 4.6 \% |
| Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) | 19 | 2.7 \% | 12 | 1.0 \% | 4 | 0.6 \% | 34 | 2.2 \% |
| Inbhir Uige (Wick) | 7 | 1.2 \% | 9 | 0.8 \% | 7 | 1.0 \% | 32 | 2.1 \% |

Table 11: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary/secondary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

## 4 Future Perspectives

The base for language resurrection is already very thin in northern Scotland. Just around $6 \%$ of Scottishborn residents in Cataibh an Ear have still some knowledge of Gàidhlig. Of course the language community indicator $\left(\mathrm{LCl}^{20}\right)$ is even far less in Gallaibh. The language viability indicator ( $\mathrm{LVI}^{21}$ ) still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 12) which is due to very low language intensity in younger age groups.

| Area | Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Young age (0-24) |  | All ages |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Difference } \\ \text { (Language viability } \\ \text { indicator) } \end{gathered}$ | Born in Scotland <br> (Language community indicator) |
| Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) | 51 | 2.2 \% | 504 | 5.3 \% | -3.1 \% | 6.1 \% |
| Gallaibh <br> (Caithness) | 83 | 1.1 \% | 552 | 2.2 \% | -1.1 \% | 2.3 \% |
| In comparison: <br> Gaidhealtachd (Highland) |  | 7.0 \% |  | 8.9 \% | -1.9 \% | 10.0 \% |

Table 12: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) and Gallaibh (Caithness) in comparison with the Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2001

Locally the LVI is consistently negative with a few statistically irrelevant exceptions (tables 29 to 31). Intergenerational viability is negative, especially so in the last remaining "stronghold" of Eurabol (LVI value of $-15.0 \%$ ). The LCI is generally small with still exceptional values of $23.4 \%$ and $14.7 \%$ in parts of Eurabol (Embo) and 11.2 \% at Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell) and 11.3 \% in Raoghard (Rogart). The knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups is, however, everywhere at very low levels.

Since 2001 developments have turned slightly more positive. The newly opened Gàidhlig nursery at Drochaid a'Bhanna and the slightly older one in Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) are going from strength to strength. For example 6 and 20 children respectively were enrolled in the school year 2003/2004. The Gàidhlig medium unit at Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) primary school eventually commenced in the 2004/05 school year. On the other hand Baile Theòrsa still awaits the opening of its GMU which normally should have opened in 2000. Progress is very low key still - even in secondary education. But actually (in theory) all secondary school children could now opt for a Gàidhlig distance learning course from S3 onwards.

In conclusion: Signs for the future still look not promising. Gàidhlig is still being sidelined officially in the whole area. Local councillors even object to bilingual road-signs. Educational provision of Gàidhlig is either derisory or non-existent. Only constant parental pressure has achieved the introduction of Gàidhlig medium nurseries in two locations. The language would already be dead in northern Scotland without this grassroots support for the once dominant tongue.

[^12]
## I. Supplementary Tables

| Census | Civil Parish |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cill Donain <br> (Kildonan) | Loth <br> (Loth) | Clìn <br> (Clyne) | Goillspidh <br> (Golspie) | Raoghard <br> (Rogart) |
| 1881 | 1,146 | 213 | 1,339 | 742 | 1,063 |
| 1891 | 896 | 269 | 1,196 | 713 | 955 |
| 1901 | 726 | 183 | 1,190 | 724 | 817 |
| 1911 | 536 | 144 | 862 | 572 | 587 |
| 1921 | 297 | 71 | 669 | 375 | 388 |
| 1931 | 209 | 33 | 428 | 306 | 260 |
| 1951 | 94 | 13 | 156 | 150 | 105 |
| 1961 | 59 | 14 | 119 | 149 | 56 |
| 1971 | 45 | 10 | 70 | 130 | 35 |
| 1981 | 30 | 4 | 57 | 93 | 20 |
| 1991 | 26 | 4 | 38 | 69 | 13 |
| 2001 | 14 | 6 | 33 | 50 | 15 |

Table 13: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes in the northern part of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001

| Census | Civil Parish |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cill Donain <br> (Kildonan) | Loth <br> (Loth) | Clìn <br> (Clyne) | Goillspidh <br> (Golspie) | Raoghard <br> (Rogart) |
| 1881 | $59.0 \%$ | $36.5 \%$ | $73.9 \%$ | $47.7 \%$ | $86.6 \%$ |
| 1891 | $49.0 \%$ | $50.9 \%$ | $69.8 \%$ | $49.1 \%$ | $75.3 \%$ |
| 1901 | $41.0 \%$ | $40.8 \%$ | $69.0 \%$ | $43.5 \%$ | $73.9 \%$ |
| 1911 | $30.0 \%$ | $39.2 \%$ | $49.3 \%$ | $33.9 \%$ | $62.1 \%$ |
| 1921 | $19.6 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ | $41.4 \%$ | $24.7 \%$ | $48.3 \%$ |
| 1931 | $14.4 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ | $24.8 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ | $35.5 \%$ |
| 1951 | $7.0 \%$ | $5.2 \%$ | $9.0 \%$ | $11.3 \%$ | $18.4 \%$ |
| 1961 | $4.4 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ | $9.2 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ |
| 1971 | $4.1 \%$ | $5.0 \%$ | $3.9 \%$ | $7.2 \%$ | $8.5 \%$ |
| 1981 | $3.5 \%$ | $3.0 \%$ | $3.0 \%$ | $5.7 \%$ | $5.5 \%$ |
| 1991 | $3.1 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ | $2.1 \%$ | $4.2 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| 2001 | $1.8 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ | $2.0 \%$ | $3.0 \%$ | $3.6 \%$ |

Table 14: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the civil parishes in the northern part of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001

| Census | Civil Parish |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dòrnach <br> (Dornoch) | Luirg <br> (Lairg) | Craoich <br> (Creich) | Cinn Chàrdainn <br> (Kincardine) $^{22}$ |
|  | 1,657 | 931 | 1,633 | 1,116 |
| 1891 | 1,644 | 799 | 1,267 | 1,085 |
| 1901 | 1,579 | 718 | 1,145 | 884 |
| 1911 | 1,204 | 561 | 836 | 706 |
| 1921 | 959 | 440 | 554 | 453 |
| 1931 | 673 | 357 | 378 | 303 |
| 1951 | 306 | 136 | 138 | 124 |
| 1961 | 223 | 116 | 117 | 66 |
| 1971 | 155 | 65 | 90 | 60 |
| 1981 | 139 | 50 | 86 | 39 |
| 1991 | 132 | 50 | 43 | 30 |
| 2001 | 79 | 24 | 41 | 22 |

Table 15: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes in the southern part of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001

| Census | Civil Parish |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dòrnach <br> (Dornoch) | Luirg <br> (Lairg) | Craoich <br> (Creich) | Cinn Chàrdainn <br> (Kincardine) |
| 1881 | $65.6 \%$ | $68.7 \%$ | $73.5 \%$ | $75.8 \%$ |
| 1891 | $70.5 \%$ | $68.3 \%$ | $62.9 \%$ | $76.6 \%$ |
| 1901 | $56.5 \%$ | $66.4 \%$ | $62.4 \%$ | $69.9 \%$ |
| 1911 | $45.1 \%$ | $56.4 \%$ | $48.8 \%$ | $58.9 \%$ |
| 1921 | $38.7 \%$ | $42.1 \%$ | $36.8 \%$ | $43.0 \%$ |
| 1931 | $32.3 \%$ | $33.5 \%$ | $25.0 \%$ | $31.5 \%$ |
| 1951 | $15.9 \%$ | $14.1 \%$ | $10.7 \%$ | $16.7 \%$ |
| 1961 | $11.1 \%$ | $11.1 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ |
| 1971 | $8.2 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ | $8.5 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ |
| 1981 | $7.2 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ | $7.9 \%$ | $6.2 \%$ |
| 1991 | $6.5 \%$ | $5.8 \%$ | $4.2 \%$ | $4.6 \%$ |
| 2001 | $3.4 \%$ | $3.0 \%$ | $4.0 \%$ | $3.3 \%$ |

Table 16: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the civil parishes in the southern part of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001

[^13]| Census | Civil Parish |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | A'Bhatan <br> (Watten) | Meaghrath <br> (Reay) | Hacraig <br> (Halkirk) | Latharan <br> (Latheron) | Inbhir Theòrsa <br> (Thurso) | Inbhir Uige <br> (Wick) |
|  | 167 | 477 | 253 | 1,914 | 331 | 134 |
| 1891 | 118 | 409 | 507 | 2,079 | 415 | 398 |
| 1901 | 71 | 269 | 365 | 1,372 | 379 | 317 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1961 | 4 | 22 | 12 | 26 | 87 | 59 |
| 1971 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 155 | 85 |
| 1981 | 2 | 14 | 28 | 29 | 114 | 128 |
| 1991 | 2 | 4 | 26 | 16 | 124 | 89 |
| 2001 | 5 | 8 | 12 | 14 | 94 | 145 |

Table 17: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for selected civil parishes in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to census data from 1881 to $2001{ }^{23}$

| Census | Civil Parish |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | A'Bhatan <br> (Watten) | Meaghrath <br> (Reay) | Hacraig <br> (Halkirk) | Latharan <br> (Latheron) | Inbhir Theòrsa <br> (Thurso) | Inbhir Uige <br> (Wick) |
|  | $11.9 \%$ | $39.8 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $28.7 \%$ | $5.4 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ |
| 1891 | $8.5 \%$ | $34.6 \%$ | $19.8 \%$ | $35.4 \%$ | $7.1 \%$ | $3.0 \%$ |
| 1901 | $5.8 \%$ | $27.6 \%$ | $15.5 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $7.0 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1961 | $0.6 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ | $0.9 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ |
| 1971 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $1.8 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ |
| 1981 | $0.3 \%$ | $2.2 \%$ | $1.6 \%$ | $1.8 \%$ | $1.3 \%$ | $1.4 \%$ |
| 1991 | $0.3 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $1.4 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ | $1.4 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ |
| 2001 | $0.7 \%$ | $1.4 \%$ | $0.9 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $1.5 \%$ |

Table 18: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for selected civil parishes in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to census data from 1881 to 2001

[^14]| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891: Cataibh an Ear | Total Population | Gàidhlig and English | Gàidhlig but no English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census/Selected Area |  |  |  |
| 1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) | 14,696 | 9,840 |  |
| Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP | 1,942 | 1,146 |  |
| Loth (Loth) CP | 584 | 213 |  |
| Clin (Clyne) CP | 1,812 | 1,339 |  |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) CP | 1,556 | 742 |  |
| Raoghard (Rogart) CP | 1,227 | 1,063 |  |
| Luirg (Lairg) CP | 1,355 | 931 |  |
| Dòrnach (Dornoch) | 2,525 | 1,657 |  |
| Craoich (Creich) CP | 2,223 | 1,633 |  |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP | 1,472 | 1,116 |  |
| -- included in the above --- |  |  |  |  |
| Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh) | 497 | 32 |  |
| Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar) Vi | 313 | 210 |  |
| Brùra (Brora) Vi | 532 | 404 |  |
| Eurabol (Embo) Vi | 396 | 383 |  |
| Goilspidh (Golspie) Vi | 956 | 465 |  |
| Bun Ilidh an Ear (Helmsdale East) Vi | 675 | 327 |  |
| Bun Ilidh an Iar (Helmsdale West) $\mathrm{Vi}^{24}$ | 659 | 486 |  |
| 1891 | 13,718 | 8,516 | 306 |
| Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP | 1,828 | 885 | 11 |
| Loth (Loth) CP | 528 | 268 | 1 |
| Clin (Clyne) CP | 1,713 | 1,156 | 40 |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) CP | 1,451 | 707 | 6 |
| Raoghard (Rogart) CP | 1,195 | 884 | 23 |
| Luirg (Lairg) CP | 1,169 | 778 | 21 |
| Dòrnach (Dornoch) | 2,404 | 1,590 | 102 |
| Craoich (Creich) CP | 2,013 | 1,228 | 39 |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP | 1,417 | 1,022 | 63 |
| ------ included in the above --- |  |  |  |
| Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh) | 514 | 272 | 2 |
| Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar) Vi | 356 | 184 | - |
| Brùra (Brora) Vi | 540 | 341 | 26 |
| Eurabol (Embo) Vi | 471 | 379 | 48 |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) Vi | 935 | 464 | 5 |
| Bun Ilidh an Ear (Helmsdale East) Vi | 743 | 281 | 2 |
| Bun Ilidh an Iar (Helmsdale West) Vi | 580 | 374 | 8 |

Table 19: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1891 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Cataibh an Ear

[^15]| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1911: Cataibh an Ear | Total Population | Gàidhlig and English | Gàidhlig <br> but no <br> English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census/Selected Area |  |  |  |
| 1901 | 13,691 | 7,808 | 158 |
| Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP | 1,772 | 722 | 4 |
| Loth (Loth) CP | 449 | 182 | 1 |
| Clìn (Clyne) CP | 1,724 | 1,177 | 13 |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) CP | 1,665 | 703 | 21 |
| Raoghard (Rogart) CP | 1,105 | 802 | 15 |
| Luirg (Lairg) CP | 1,081 | 715 | 3 |
| Dòrnach (Dornoch) CP | 2,794 | 1,517 | 62 |
| Craoich (Creich) CP | 1,836 | 1,113 | 32 |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP | 1,265 | 877 | 7 |
| ----- included in the above --- |  |  |  |
| Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh) | 624 | 255 | - |
| Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar) Vi | 367 | 186 | 2 |
| Brùra (Brora) Vi | 548 | 410 | 13 |
| Eurabol (Embo) Vi | 546 | 459 | 24 |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) Vi | 1,024 | 496 | 21 |
| Bun Ilidh an Ear (Helmsdale East) Vi | 779 | 214 | - |
| Bun Ilidh an Iar (Helmsdale West) Vi ${ }^{25}$ | 480 | 285 | 4 |
| ----------- Electoral divisions-------- |  |  |  |
| Loth an Ear (Loth East) | 449 | 182 | 1 |
| Loth an Iar (Loth West) | 389 | 280 | - |
| Cill Donain a Tuath (Kildonan North) | 1,101 | 376 | - |
| Cill Donain a Deas (Kildonan South) | 671 | 346 | 4 |
| Goillspidh a Tuath (Golspie North) | 1,024 | 496 | 21 |
| Goillspidh a Deas (Golspie South) | 641 | 207 | - |
| Clìn (Clyne) | 1,335 | 897 | 13 |
| Raoghard (Rogart) | 1,105 | 802 | 15 |
| Luirg (Lairg) | 1,081 | 715 | 3 |
| Dòrnach an Iar (Dornoch West) | 1,054 | 533 | 34 |
| Dòrnach an Ear (Dornoch East) | 1,116 | 729 | 28 |
| Craoich an Iar (Creich West) | 1,018 | 604 | 12 |
| Craoich an Ear (Creich East) | 818 | 509 | 20 |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) | 1,265 | 877 | 7 |
| 1911 | 13,109 | 5,972 | 36 |
| Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP | 1,786 | 536 | - |
| Loth (Loth) CP | 367 | 144 | - |
| Clìn (Clyne) CP | 1,749 | 862 | - |
| Goillspidh (Golspie) CP | 1,685 | 566 | 6 |
| Raoghard (Rogart) CP | 946 | 587 | - |
| Luirg (Lairg) CP | 995 | 558 | 3 |
| Dòrnach (Dornoch) CP | 2,670 | 1,194 | 10 |
| Craoich (Creich) CP | 1,713 | 819 | 17 |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP | 1,198 | 706 | - |

Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1911 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Cataibh an Ear

[^16]| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: <br> Cataibh an Ear | Total <br> Popula- <br> Census/Selected Area | Gàidhlig <br> nd <br> tion | Gàidhlig <br> lish |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| but no |  |  |  |
| English |  |  |  |$|$

Table 21: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Cataibh an Ear

[^17]| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891: Gallaibh | Total Popula- | Gàidhlig and Eng- | Gàidhlig but no |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census/Selected Area | tion | lish | English |
| 1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) | 38,865 | 3,422 |  |
| Meaghrath (Reay) CP | 1,197 | 477 |  |
| Hacraig (Halkirk) CP | 2,705 | 253 |  |
| A`Bhatan (Watten) CP & 1,406 & \multicolumn{2}{\|c|}{167} \\ \hline Latharan (Latheron) CP & 6,675 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{1,944} \\ \hline Bàgair (Bower) CP & 1,608 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{2} \\ \hline Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP & 1,607 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{63} \\ \hline Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP & 12,822 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{134} \\ \hline Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP & 6,217 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{331} \\ \hline An t-Òlach (Olrig) CP & 2,002 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{50} \\ \hline Bàgh a'Chanais (Canisbay) CP & 2,626 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{\multirow[t]{2}{*}{1}} \\ \hline ----- included in the above --- & & & \\ \hline Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag) (Thurso Small Burgh) & 4,055 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{216} \\ \hline Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh) & 8,053 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{77} \\ \hline Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma) & 341 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{1} \\ \hline Bail' a'Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi & 932 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{42} \\ \hline Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi & 372 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{47} \\ \hline Cèis (Keiss) Vi & 313 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{-} \\ \hline Liabost (Lybster) Vi & 831 & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{23} \\ \hline 1891 & 37,177 & 4,068 & 76 \\ \hline Meaghrath (Reay) CP & 1,182 & 403 & 6 \\ \hline Hacraig (Halkirk) CP & 2,564 & 504 & 3 \\ \hline A`Bhatan (Watten) CP | 1,390 | 118 | - |
| Latharan (Latheron) CP | 5,875 | 2,018 | 61 |
| Bàgair (Bower) CP | 1,506 | 49 | - |
| Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP | 1,488 | 45 | - |
| Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP | 13,105 | 395 | 3 |
| Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP | 5,838 | 414 | 1 |
| An t-Òlach (Olrig) CP | 1,837 | 73 | 1 |
| Bàgh a 'Chanais (Canisbay) CP | 2,392 | 18 | 1 |
| ------ included in the above --- |  |  |  |
| Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag) (Thurso Small Burgh) | 3,936 | 299 | - |
| Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh) | 8,512 | 244 | 2 |
| Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma) | 327 | 1 | - |
| Bail' a'Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi | 979 | 47 | 1 |
| Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi | 432 | 93 | - |
| Cèis (Keiss) Vi | 341 | 3 | - |
| Liabost (Lybster) Vi | 740 | 162 | - |

Table 22: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1891 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, islands, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Gallaibh

| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1971: Gallaibh | Total Popula- | Gàidhlig and Eng- | Gàidhlig but no |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census/Selected Area | tion | lish | English |
| 1901 | 33,870 | 2,876 | 20 |
| Meaghrath (Reay) CP | 974 | 269 | - |
| Hacraig (Halkirk) CP | 2,355 | 361 | 4 |
| A `hhatan (Watten) CP & 1,230 & 71 & \\ \hline Latharan (Latheron) CP & 5,223 & 1,361 & 11 \\ \hline Bàgair (Bower) CP & 1,453 & 34 & \\ \hline Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP & 1,232 & 17 & \\ \hline Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP & 12,250 & 315 & 2 \\ \hline Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP & 5,406 & 377 & 2 \\ \hline Ant-Òlach (Olrig) CP & 1,555 & 54 & \\ \hline Bàgh a'Chanais (Canisbay) CP \(\qquad\) included in the above --- & 2,192 & 17 & 1 \\ \hline Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag) (Thurso Small Burgh) & 3,723 & 262 & 2 \\ \hline Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh) & 7,911 & 207 & 1 \\ \hline Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma) & 375 & - & - \\ \hline Bail' a'Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi & 767 & 24 & \\ \hline Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi & 471 & 86 & 1 \\ \hline \begin{tabular}{l} Liabost (Lybster) Vi \\ ----------- Electoral divisions (selected areas only) \end{tabular} & 609 & 118 & - \\ \hline Meaghrath (Reay) & 974 & 269 & - \\ \hline Hacraig a Deas (Halkirk South) & 885 & 128 & - \\ \hline Hacraig Tuath an Ear (Halkirk North-East) & 609 & 95 & 1 \\ \hline Hacraig Tuath an Iar (Halkirk North-West) & 861 & 138 & 3 \\ \hline A`Bhatan (Watten) | 1,230 | 71 | - |
| Bearghdal (Berriedale) | 916 | 315 | 6 |
| Dùn Bèithe (Dunbeath) | 1,066 | 378 | 2 |
| Latharan (Latheron) | 1,121 | 277 | 1 |
| Liabost (Lybster) | 1,247 | 274 | 1 |
| Cliath (Clyth) | 866 | 114 | 1 |
| 1911 | 32,010 | 1,982 | 3 |
| 1921 | 28,285 | 1,003 | - |
| 1931 | 25,656 | 633 | - |
| 1951 | 21,600 | 270 | - |
| 1961 | 27,370 | 233 | - |
| $1971{ }^{27}$ | 27,780 | 410 | * |

Table 23: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, islands, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Gallaibh

[^18]| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in <br> former County Council Electoral Divisions (Sutherland) and the County of Caithness <br> (Population aged 3 years and over) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 1961 / 71 \\ \text { Code } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
| Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh) | DO | $\begin{gathered} 51 \\ 5.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ 3.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 37 \\ 4.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 34 \\ 3.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19 \\ 1.9 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Donain a Tuath (Kildonan North) | KN | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 2.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31 \\ 3.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 3.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 3.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 1.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Donain a Deas <br> (Kildonan South) | KS | $\begin{gathered} 31 \\ 8.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 7.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 5.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 2.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 3.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { Loth } \\ \text { (Loth) } \end{array} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | LO | $\begin{gathered} 47 \\ 6.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20 \\ 3.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | 61 | 42 | 39 |
| Clìn (Clyne) | CL | $\begin{gathered} 86 \\ 7.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 60 \\ 4.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | 3.1 \% | 2.2 \% | 2.2 \% |
| Goillspidh (Am Baile) (Golspie Village) | GV | $\begin{gathered} 105 \\ 9.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 109 \\ 8.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 85 \\ 6.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 54 \\ 3.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 42 \\ 3.1 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Goillspidh Dùthaich (Golspie Rural) | GR | $\begin{gathered} 44 \\ 10.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19 \\ 4.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 3.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 6.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 3.3 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Raoghard (Rogart) | RO | $\begin{gathered} 56 \\ 12.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ 8.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20 \\ 5.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 3.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 3.7 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Luirg <br> (Lairg) | LA | $\begin{gathered} 116 \\ 11.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 65 \\ 7.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 50 \\ 5.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 50 \\ 6.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 24 \\ 3.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Dòrnach an Iar (Dornoch West) | DW | $\begin{gathered} 40 \\ 9.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 5.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 6.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 24 \\ 6.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 4.7 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Dòrnach an Ear <br> (Dornoch East) | DE | $\begin{gathered} 132 \\ 22.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 111 \\ 15.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 80 \\ 11.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 74 \\ 10.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 45 \\ 5.0 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Craoich an Iar (Creich West) | CW | $\begin{gathered} 77 \\ 11.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 46 \\ 8.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 59 \\ 7.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21 \\ 2.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29 \\ 4.3 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Craoich an Ear (Creich East) | CE | $\begin{gathered} 40 \\ 8.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 45 \\ 9.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29 \\ 11.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 8.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 3.7 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) | KI | $\begin{gathered} 66 \\ 10.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 60 \\ 8.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39 \\ 6.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ 4.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 3.4 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Gallaibh (Caithness) | CA | $\begin{gathered} 233 \\ 0.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 410 \\ 1.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 342 \\ 1.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 285 \\ 1.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 299 \\ 1.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |

Table 24: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions according to census data from 1961 to 2001

| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers Cataibh an Ear |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Map No | Census output area(s) | 1981 |  | 1991 |  | 2001 |  |
| 01 | Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) a | 17 | 9.2 \% | 9 | 5.1 \% | 12 | 6.4 \% |
| 02 | Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) b | 19 | 7.0 \% | 10 | 3.9 \% | 9 | 3.3 \% |
| 03 | Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell) | 8 | 7.3 \% | 14 | 5.6\% | 6 | 3.8 \% |
|  | Innis nan Lion (Rosehall) | 11 | 11.0 \% | 2 | 2.4 \% | 5 | 7.3 \% |
| 04 | Àird Ghaoithe (Ardgay) | 13 | 8.4 \% | 12 | 8.4\% | 5 | 1.9 \% |
|  | Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) | 8 | 4.5 \% | 10 | 4.6 \% | 7 | 6.9 \% |
|  | $A^{\prime}$ Chròic (Croick) | 4 | 2.9 \% | 1 | 0.9 \% | 5 | 3.4 \% |
| 05 | Craoich (Creich) | 3 | 3.7 \% | 3 | 3.8 \% | 1 | 0.5 \% |
|  | Migein (Migdale) | 25 | 15.4 \% | 19 | 10.0 \% | 11 | 8.8 \% |
| 06 | Dòrnach (Dornoch) a | 17 | 3.3 \% | 13 | 2.5 \% | 10 | 1.8 \% |
| 07 | Dòrnach (Dornoch) b | 20 | 7.0 \% | 21 | 5.3 \% | 9 | 1.8 \% |
| 08 | Eurabol (Embo) a | 66 | 24.1 \% | 35 | 31.0 \% | 15 | 11.0 \% |
| 09 | Eurabol (Embo) b |  |  | 33 | 16.4 \% | 20 | 8.5 \% |
| 10 | Clais Mòr (Clashmore) | 4 | 2.0 \% | 2 | 1.1\% | 5 | 2.1 \% |
| 11 | Fliuch Airidh (Fleuchary) | 3 | 2.4 \% | 2 | 1.3 \% | 3 | 1.6 \% |
|  | A'Mhùnd (Mound) | 18 | 13.0\% | 5 | 4.8 \% | 2 | 1.7 \% |
| 12 | Baile Ghrùididh (Pitgrudy) | 17 | 6.6 \% | 21 | 9.0\% | 10 | 4.0 \% |
|  | Sràid Euraboil (Embo Street) | 5 | $5.2 \%$ | 3 | 3.7 \% | 5 | 6.9 \% |
| 13 | Luirg (Lairg) a | 19 | 4.4 \% | 23 | 5.5 \% | 11 | 2.8 \% |
| 14 | Luirg (Lairg) b | 8 | 4.7 \% | 8 | 3.7 \% | 4 | 1.8 \% |
| 15 | A'Chràisg (Crask) | 5 | 6.4 \% | 7 | 5.9 \% | 2 | 2.2 \% |
|  | Ofarsgaig (Overscaig) | 14 | 9.2 \% | 6 | 5.8 \% | 8 | 7.3 \% |
| 16 | Inbhir Sin (Invershin) | 5 | 5.9 \% | 3 | 3.0 \% | 1 | 1.1 \% |
|  | Inbhirean (Inveran) | 12 | 15.6 \% | 3 | 2.9 \% | 3 | 3.4 \% |
| 17 | A'Mhuigh (Muie) | 5 | 2.9 \% | 5 | 2.7 \% | 9 | 4.1 \% |
|  | Baile nan Tràill (Pittentrail) | 7 | 10.3 \% | 1 | 1.2 \% | 1 | 1.4 \% |
|  | Raoghard (Rogart) | 7 | 6.2 \% | 7 | 5.2 \% | 5 | 3.8 \% |
| 18 | Brùra (Brora) a | 29 | 3.3 \% | 18 | 2.5 \% | 14 | 2.0 \% |
| 19 | Brùra (Brora) b | 21 | 3.0 \% | 11 | 1.5 \% | 12 | 1.8 \% |
| 20 | Clìn (Clyne) | 6 | 2.6 \% | 4 | 1.2 \% | 4 | 1.2 \% |
| 21 | Goillspidh (Golspie) a | 24 | 7.9 \% | 13 | 3.5 \% | 17 | 4.5 \% |
| 22 | Goillspidh (Golspie) b | 46 | 8.1 \% | 19 | 3.8\% | 8 | 1.5\% |
| 23 | Goillspidh (Golspie) c | 13 | 3.0 \% | 15 | 2.8 \% | 17 | 2.9 \% |
| 24 | Bacaidh (Backies) | 5 | 5.4 \% | 6 | 6.6 \% | 2 | 1.2 \% |
|  | Druim Muighe (Drumuie) | 3 | 2.3 \% | 9 | 6.8 \% | 6 | 7.1 \% |
| 25 | Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale) a | 13 | 5.0 \% | 4 | 2.0 \% | 7 | 3.4 \% |
| 26 | Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale) b | 12 | 2.0 \% | 19 | 3.3 \% | 9 | 1.5 \% |
| 27 | Ceann a'Bhràist (Kinbrace) | 6 | 6.6 \% | 9 | 6.3 \% | 4 | 3.5 \% |

Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to data from 1981 to 2001

| Cataibh an Ear: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Age group | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ |  | 1981 |  | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |  |
| $\mathbf{0 - 2}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 2 | $0.9 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{3 - 4}$ | - | - | 1 | $0.4 \%$ | 2 | $0.9 \%$ | 3 | $1.6 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{5 - 2 4}$ | 60 | $1.9 \%$ | 34 | $1.2 \%$ | 30 | $1.3 \%$ | 33 | $1.7 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{2 5 - 4 4}$ | 130 | $5.8 \%$ | 101 | $4.8 \%$ | 68 | $2.9 \%$ | 52 | $2.4 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{4 5 - 6 4}$ | 215 | $9.1 \%$ | 164 | $7.4 \%$ | 147 | $6.1 \%$ | 93 | $3.4 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ | 255 | $15.9 \%$ | 218 | $12.5 \%$ | 158 | $8.7 \%$ | 103 | $4.7 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total (3 +) | 660 | $7.6 \%$ | 518 | $5.6 \%$ | 405 | $4.6 \%$ | 284 | $3.1 \%$ |
| Born in Scotland | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 497 | $6.3 \%$ | 377 | $6.0 \%$ | 257 | $3.6 \%$ |

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Cataibh an Ear
(East Sutherland) between 1971 and 2001

| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ${ }^{28}$ Gallaibh |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Map No | Census output area(s) | 1981 |  | 1991 |  | 2001 |  |
| 51 | Meaghrath (Reay) | 14 | 2.3 \% | 4 | 0.8 \% | 8 | $1.4 \%$ |
| 52 | Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) a | 114 | 1.3 \% | 87 | 1.4 \% | 64 | 1.1 \% |
| 53 | Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) b |  |  | 37 | 1.4 \% | 32 | $1.3 \%$ |
| 54 | Hacraig (Halkirk) | 30 | 1.3 \% | 28 | 1.1 \% | 18 | 0.9 \% |
| 55 | Latharan (Latheron) | 29 | 1.9 \% | 16 | 1.0 \% | 14 | 0.8 \% |
| 56 | Inbhir Uige (Wick) | 128 | $1.4 \%$ | 89 | 1.0\% | 145 | 1.5\% |
| 57 | Gallaibh an Ear (East Caithness) | 27 | 0.9 \% | 24 | 0.8 \% | 21 | 0.6 \% |

Table 27: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for some census areas in Gallaibh (Caithness) between 1981 and 2001

| Gallaibh: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1961-2001) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Age | $\mathbf{1 9 6 1}$ |  | 1971 |  | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{0 - 2}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 3 | $0.4 \%$ |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{3 - 4}$ | 1 | $0.1 \%$ | - | - | 2 | $0.3 \%$ | 1 | $0.1 \%$ | 10 | $1.9 \%$ |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{5 - 2 4}$ | 13 | $0.4 \%$ | 60 | $0.7 \%$ | 48 | $0.5 \%$ | 34 | $0.5 \%$ | 29 | $0.5 \%$ |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{2 5 - 4 4}$ | 77 | $1.0 \%$ | 130 | $1.8 \%$ | 100 | $1.5 \%$ | 95 | $1.2 \%$ | 75 | $1.1 \%$ |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{4 5 - 6 4}$ | 89 | $1.5 \%$ | 145 | $2.4 \%$ | 112 | $1.8 \%$ | 92 | $1.4 \%$ | 77 | $1.1 \%$ |  |  |  |
| $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ | 53 | $1.9 \%$ | 75 | $2.4 \%$ | 82 | $2.4 \%$ | 63 | $1.7 \%$ | 108 | $2.5 \%$ |  |  |  |
| Total <br> $\mathbf{( 3 + )}$ | 233 | $0.9 \%$ | 410 | $1.6 \%$ | 342 | $1.3 \%$ | 285 | $1.1 \%$ | 299 | $1.2 \%$ |  |  |  |
| Born in <br> Scotland | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 315 | $1.4 \%$ | 257 | $1.2 \%$ | 272 | $1.3 \%$ |  |  |  |

Table 28: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to data from 1961 to 2001
${ }^{28}$ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Map } \\ & \text { No. } \end{aligned}$ | Output Area | Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Young age$(0-24)$ |  | All ages |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Difference } \\ \text { (Language viability } \\ \text { indicator) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Born in Scotland <br> (Language community indicator) |
| 01 | Drochaid a'Bhanna a (Bonar Bridge) a | 2 | 3.8 \% | 14 | 7.5 \% | -3.7 \% | 7.0 \% |
| 02 | Drochaid a'Bhanna b (Bonar Bridge) b | 2 | 2.5 \% | 15 | 6.8\% | -4.3\% | 6.9 \% |
| 03 | Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell) | 2 | 4.3 \% | 20 | 8.7 \% | -4.4 \% | 11.2 \% |
| 04 | Àird Ghaoithe (Ardgay) | 3 | 2.2 \% | 22 | 4.3 \% | - 2.1 \% | 3.9 \% |
| 05 | Craoich (Creich) | 3 | 4.1 \% | 23 | 7.2 \% | -3.1 \% | 8.1 \% |
| 06 | Dòrnach a (Dornoch) a | - | - | 14 | 2.5 \% | - 2.5 \% | 3.4 \% |
| 07 | Dòrnach $b$ (Dornoch) b | - | - | 20 | 4.0 \% | -4.0 \% | 4.3 \% |
| 08 | Eurabol a <br> (Embo) a | 1 | 4.0 \% | 26 | 19.0 \% | -15.0 \% | 23.4 \% |
| 09 | Eurabol b (Embo) b | 6 | 8.1\% | 33 | 14.0 \% | -5.9 \% | 14.7 \% |
| 10 | Clais Mòr (Clashmore) | 1 | 1.9 \% | 9 | 3.7 \% | -1.8 \% | 3.5 \% |
| 11 | Fliuch Airidh (Fleuchary) | 4 | 4.5 \% | 12 | 3.8 \% | + 0.7 \% | 3.8 \% |
| 12 | Baile Ghrùididh (Pitgrudy) | 3 | 3.9 \% | 25 | 7.8 \% | -3.9 \% | 9.0 \% |
| 13 | Luirg a <br> (Lairg) a | - | - | 18 | 4.6 \% | -4.6 \% | 5.5 \% |
| 14 | Luirg b <br> (Lairg) b | 1 | 1.5 \% | 12 | 5.5 \% | - 4.0 \% | 6.7 \% |
| 15 | A'Chràisg (Crask) | 3 | 7.9 \% | 14 | 6.7 \% | + 1.2 \% | 6.8 \% |
| 16 | Inbhir Sin (Invershin) | - | - | 6 | 3.2 \% | -3.2 \% | 4.9 \% |
| 17 | Raoghard (Rogart) | 2 | 2.4 \% | 40 | 9.5 \% | - 7.1 \% | 11.3 \% |
| 18 | Brùra a (Brora) a | - | - | 22 | 3.2 \% | -3.2 \% | 3.8 \% |
| 19 | Brùra $b$ <br> (Brora) b | 1 | 0.6 \% | 20 | 3.1 \% | -2.5\% | 3.5 \% |
| 20 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { Clin } \\ \text { (Clyne) } \end{array} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 4 | 4.8 \% | 12 | 3.5 \% | +1.3\% | 4.6 \% |

Table 29: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data of 2001 - Part A

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Map } \\ & \text { No. } \end{aligned}$ | Output Area | Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Young age (0-24) |  | All ages |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Difference } \\ \begin{array}{c} \text { Language viability } \\ \text { indicator) } \end{array} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Born in Scotland <br> (Language community indicator) |
| 21 | Goillspidh a (Golspie) a | 2 | 2.0 \% | 28 | 7.4 \% | -5.4 \% | 8.1 \% |
| 22 | Goillspidh b (Golspie) b | 1 | 1.0 \% | 26 | 5.9 \% | -4.9\% | 5.4 \% |
| 23 | Goillspidh c (Golspie) c | 1 | 0.6 \% | 26 | 4.4 \% | -3.8 \% | 5.0 \% |
| 24 | Bacaidh (Backies) | 2 | 2.7 \% | 15 | 6.0 \% | -3.3 \% | 8.6 \% |
| 25 | Bun Ilidh a <br> (Helmsdale) a | 2 | 5.4 \% | 10 | 4.9 \% | + 0.5 \% | 6.4 \% |
| 26 | Bun Ilidh b (Helmsdale) b | 4 | 3.2 \% | 22 | 3.8\% | - 0.6 \% | 2.8 \% |
| 27 | Ceann a'Bhràist (Kinbrace) | 1 | 3.1 \% | 6 | 5.2 \% | - 2.1 \% | 7.0 \% |

Table 30: Intergenerational viability and Gäidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data of 2001 - Part B

| Map <br> No. | Output Area | Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Young age (0-24) |  | All ages |  | Difference (Language viability indicator) | Born in Scotland <br> (Language community indicator) |
| 51 | Meaghrath (Reay) | - | - | 15 | 2.6 \% | -2.6 \% | 2.8 \% |
| 52 | Baile Theòrsa a (Thurso) a | 19 | 1.0 \% | 136 | 2.2 \% | -1.2 \% | 2.3 \% |
| 53 | Baile Theòrsa b (Thurso) b | 19 | 2.7 \% | 55 | 2.2 \% | + 0.5 \% | 2.3 \% |
| 54 | Hacraig (Halkirk) | 4 | 0.7 \% | 33 | 1.6 \% | -0.9 \% | 1.7 \% |
| 55 | Latharan (Latheron) | 1 | 0.2 \% | 31 | 1.9 \% | -1.7 \% | 2.5 \% |
| 56 | Inbhir Uige (Wick) | 31 | 1.1 \% | 235 | 2.5 \% | -1.4 \% | 2.6 \% |
| 57 | Gallaibh an Ear (East Caithness) | 9 | 0.9 \% | 47 | 1.4 \% | - 0.5 \% | 1.5 \% |

Table 31: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to census data of 2001

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## III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

The interpretation of census figures (derived statistics in particular) is not as straightforward as the pure numbers might suggest. The author has taken great pains to compare like with like and the calculated tables with greatest geographical detail and age group information as possible. But the differences of census questions, enumeration districts and information details between years are quite substantial. It is therefore very important to notice the following facts:

1. Questions on Gàidhlig have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person "speaks Gaelic habitually" and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into "speaks Gaelic" and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person "speaks Gaelic and English" or "speaks Gaelic but not English" (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all Gàidhlig-speaking people were forced to become bilingual - with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. These 'Gaelic only" persons did not, however, present those who had Gàidhlig as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers. This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland (1912): "When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelicspeakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use." Due to the ever increasing presence of English in the Gàidhlig community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the $2^{\text {nd }}$ World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke Gàidhlig but no English.
3. No data are available on persons speaking Gàidhlig outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the Gàidhlig language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of Alba Nuadh (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
4. During Word War II no census was taken. Therefore no figures are available for 1941.
5. In 1971 the wording was changed from "speaks Gaelic" into "is able to speak Gaelic". This resulted in areas with low density of speakers in a substantial increase of Gàidhlig-speakers counted compared with 1961. These were essentially those who could speak Gàidhlig but did not have the opportunity to use it. In strongly Gàidhlig-speaking areas those who were able to speak Gàidhlig were also using the language. So in the islands and on the western seaboard the figures should have remained comparable with previous censuses.
6. In 1981 the population basis was changed from persons present on census night to usually resident persons. In the light of increased mobility of the population this change was inevitable.
7. From 1971 onwards additional questions were asked on the ability of people to read Gàidhlig or to write Gàidhlig.
8. In 2001 another question was introduced on the ability of a person to understand spoken Gàidhlig. This may have had an influence on some people with only a small command of the language to record themselves as being able to understand rather than able to speak the language. Without this choice some of them might have enlisted themselves or their children as Gàidhlig-speaking in order to be counted at all. This may explain the small decrease of speakers in the age group of 3 to 4 despite the strong efforts by the cròileagan movement in the preceding decade.
9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of Gàidhlig. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated Gàidhlig-speaking population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.
10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5 . This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall "uncertainties" of $+/-1$ in general.
11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.
12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk.

## IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

The following lists provides detailed information on all postcode names included in individual census output areas and shows the abbreviations/numbers defining output areas in census statistics between 1961 and 2001.

| Census Output Areas in Cataibh an Ear - Part A |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area(s) | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 1961 \\ & 1971 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1981 \\ & 1991 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 01 | Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) | CW | 27AA01 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001522 } \\ \text { 60QT001523 } \end{array}$ |
| 02 | Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge) | CW | 27AA02 | 60QT000328 60QT001524 60QT001525 |
| 03 | Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell), Innis nan Lion (Rosehall), Loidse Aladail (Alladale Lodge), Àmait (Amat), Loidse Beinn Mhòir (Benmore Lodge), Cùl Ràthain (Culrain), Gleann Carsla (Glen Cassley), Cill Mo Cholmaig (Kilmachalmack), Langail (Langwell), An Lùb Chruaidh (Lubcroy), Drochaid Uachaill (Oykell Bridge) | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{KI} / \\ & \mathrm{CW} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AC09 } \\ & \text { 27AA04 } \\ & \text { 27AC11 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000329 <br> 60QT000348 |
| 04 | Àird Ghaoithe (Ardgay), Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine), Inbhir Chàrdainn (Invercharron), A'Chròic (Croick), Baile na Bruaiche (Balnabruaich), Gruinneard (Gruinards) | KI | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AA06 } \\ & \text { 27AA07 } \\ & \text { 27AC05 } \\ & \text { 27AA03 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000330 } \\ \text { 60QT000331 } \\ \text { 60QT001526 } \\ \text { 60QT001527 } \end{array}$ |
| 05 | Craoich (Creich), Migein (Migdale), Druim Lios (Drumlish), Spainnigeadal (Spinningdale), Druim Liath (Drumliah), Tulach (Tulloch), Na h-Àirdean (Airdens) | CE | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AA10 } \\ & \text { 27AA11 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000332 60QT001528 60QT001529 |
| 06 | Dòrnach (Dornoch), Baile an Lòin (Balloan) | DO | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AB01 } \\ & 27 \mathrm{AB} 02 \end{aligned}$ | 60QT001093 60QT001094 60QT001095 60QT001291 60QT001736 60QT001737 |
| 07 | Dòrnach (Dornoch) | DO | 27AB03 | 60QT001096 60QT001292 60QT001696 |
| 08 | Eurabol (Embo) | DE | 27AB09A | 60QT000335 |
| 09 | Eurabol (Embo), Ceithir Peighinnean (Fourpenny), Monadh Sgeiraboil (Skelbo Muir) | DE | $\begin{aligned} & 27 \mathrm{AB} 09 \mathrm{~B} \\ & 27 \mathrm{AB} 09 \mathrm{C} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000336 } \\ \text { 60QT001355 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 10 | Clais Mòr (Clashmore), Lòn Mòr (Lonemore), Sgìobal (Skibo), Port a'Chultair (Meikle Ferry) | DW | $\begin{aligned} & 27 \mathrm{AB} 04 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AB} 05 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 60QT001530 } \\ & \text { 60QT001531 } \end{aligned}$ |

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) - 1961-2001 - Part A

| Census Output Areas in Cataibh an Ear - Part B |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area(s) | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1961 \\ & 1971 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1981 \\ & 1991 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 11 | Fliuch Airidh (Fleuchary), A'Mhùnd (Mound), Ach'Bhàthaich (Achvaich), Sgeireabol (Skelbo), Achadh Anndra (Achavandra), Baile Bhràid (Balvaird), Dail na Mèinn (Dalnamain) | DE | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AB06 } \\ & \text { 27AB07 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000333 } \\ & \text { 60QT000334 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 12 | Baile Ghrùididh (Pitgrudy), An Cadha Mòr (Camore), Baile an Lòin (Balloan), Ėibhleag (Evelix), Prannsaidh Cruaidh (Proncycroy) | DW | $\begin{aligned} & 27 \mathrm{AB} 08 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AB} 09 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AB} 10 \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000337 60QT001097 60QT001354 |
| 13 | Luirg (Lairg) | LA | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AC01 } \\ & \text { 27AC02 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000338 <br> 60QT000339 <br> 60QT000340 <br> 60QT000341 |
| 14 | Luirg (Lairg), Monadh Luirg (Lairg Muir) | LA | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 27 \mathrm{AC} 03 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AC} 05 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000342 } \\ & \text { 60QT000344 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 15 | A'Chràisg (Crask), Ofarsgaig (Overscaig), Àird na Sinnis (Shinness), Srath Tìridh (Tirryside), Dail Choirce (Dalchork), Achadh an Fheàrna (Achnairn) | LA | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 27 \mathrm{AC} 04 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AC} 08 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 60QT000343 } \\ & \text { 60QT000346 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 16 | Inbhir Sin (Invershin), Inbhirean (Inveran), Tulach (Tullich) | LA | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 27 \mathrm{AC} 06 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AC} 07 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AC} 10 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000345 } \\ & \text { 60QT000347 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 17 | Raoghard (Rogart), A'Mhuigh (Muie), Baile nan Tràill (Pittentrail), Ruigh an Lochain (Rhilochan), Àmait (Amat), Creag Mhòr (Craggiemore), Achadh nan Gearran (Achnagarron), Langail an Iar (West Langwell), Langail an Ear (East Langwell), Bruach Baile a' Mhuilinn (Miltonbank), Cnoc Artair (Knockarthur), Ròmhaigh (Rovie) | RO | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 27AD01 } \\ & \text { 27AD02 } \\ & \text { 27AD03 } \\ & \text { 27AD04 } \\ & \text { 27AD05 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000364 60QT000365 60QT000366 60QT000367 |
| 18 | Brùra (Brora) | CL | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AF01 } \\ & \text { 27AF02 } \\ & \text { 27AF03 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT001111 60QT001112 60QT001113 60QT001114 60QT001298 60QT001299 60QT001359 |
| 19 | Brùra (Brora) | CL | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AF04 } \\ & \text { 27AF05 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000375 60QT001115 60QT001116 60QT001117 60QT001300 60QT001301 |

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) - 1961-2001 - Part B

| Census Output Areas in Cataibh an Ear - Part C |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area(s) | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 1961 \\ & 1971 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1981 \\ & 1991 \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 20 | Clìn (Clyne), Dail (Doll), Dail Chàirn (Dalcharn), Clìn Trolla (Kintradwell) | CL | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 27AF06 } \\ & \text { 27AF07 } \\ & \text { 27AF08 } \\ & 27 \mathrm{AF} 09 \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000376 60QT000377 60QT001360 |
| 21 | Goillspidh (Golspie) | GV | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AG01 } \\ & \text { 27AG02 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001105 } \\ \text { 60QT001295 } \\ \text { 60QT001296 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 22 | Goillspidh (Golspie) | GV | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AG03 } \\ & \text { 27AG04 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT001106 <br> 60QT001107 <br> 60QT001108 <br> 60QT001297 |
| 23 | Goillspidh (Golspie) | GV | 27AG05 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001109 } \\ \text { 60QT001110 } \\ \text { 60QT001697 } \\ \text { 60QT001698 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 24 | Bacaidh (Backies), Druim Muighe (Drumuie), Cùil Mhàilidh (Culmaily), Dùn Robain (Dunrobin), Baile na h- Eaglaise (Kirkton) | GR | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AG06 } \\ & \text { 27AG07 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000378 } \\ \text { 60QT000379 } \end{array}$ |
| 25 | Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale), Loth Mòr (Lothmore) | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{KS} / \\ \text { LO } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AE01 } \\ & \text { 27AE04 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000368 60QT000374 60QT001358 |
| 26 | Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale) | KN | $\begin{aligned} & 27 \mathrm{AE} 02 \\ & 27 \mathrm{AE} 03 \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000369 <br> 60QT000370 <br> 60QT000371 <br> 60QT000372 <br> 60QT000373 |
| 27 | Ceann a'Bhràist (Kinbrace), Srath Ilidh (Strath of Kildonan), Loidse Cill Donnain (Kildonan Lodge), Loch Choire, Bad nan Loch (Badanloch) | KN | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 27AH03 } \\ & \text { 27AE05 } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000381 |

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) - 1961-2001 - Part C

| Census Output Areas in Gallaibh - Part A |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output areas | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | 61-71 | 1981-91 | 2001 |
| 51 | Meaghrath (Reay), Dùnrath (Dounreay), Innis Allt (Isauld), Achadh Bhàrasdail (Achvarasdal), Freasgail (Fresgoe) | CA | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 21AJ14 } \\ & \text { 21AJ15 } \\ & \text { 21AJ16 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000068 } \\ \text { to } \end{array}$ |
| 52 | Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) - western and central parts of town; Fors (Forss) | CA | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { 21AJ01 } \\ \text { to } \\ \text { 21AJ13 } \\ \text { 21AJ17 } \\ \text { 21AJ18 } \\ \text { 21AJ20 } \\ \text { 21AJ21 } \\ \text { 21AK12 } \\ \text { 21AK13 } \end{gathered}$ | 60QT000062 60QT000063 60QT000066 60QT000067 60QT000073 60QT000074 60QT000075 60QT001160 to 60QT001195 60QT001217 60QT001218 60QT001219 60QT001306 60QT001307 60QT001308 60QT001425 60QT001426 60QT001427 60QT001716 60QT001717 |
| 53 | Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) - eastern part of town | CA | 21AK04 to 21AK11 | 60QT001196 <br> to 60QT001216 60QT001309 60QT001310 60QT001718 |
| 54 | Hacraig (Halkirk), A'Bhatan (Watten), Allt nam Breac (Altnabreac), Srath Mòr (Strathmore), An Dail Shuas (Westerdale), Cal nan Gall (Scotscalder), Cnoc Dubh (Knockdee), Suardail (Sordale) | CA | $\begin{gathered} \text { 21AH01 } \\ \text { to } \\ 21 \mathrm{AH} 06 \\ 21 \mathrm{AJ} 19 \\ 21 \mathrm{AB} 14 \\ \text { to } \\ 21 \mathrm{AB} 17 \end{gathered}$ | 60QT001157 to 60QT001159 60QT000062 60QT000063 60QT001723 60QT001724 60QT000035 to 60QT000040 |

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Gallaibh (Caithness) - 1961-2001 - Part A

| Census Output Areas in Gallaibh - Part B |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output areas | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 1961 \\ & 1971 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1981 \\ & 1991 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 55 | Latharan (Latheron), Bearghdal (Berriedale), Liabost (Lybster), Allt Bèithe (Aultibea), Am Bràigh Mòr (Braemore), Dùn Bèithe (Dunbeath), Borbh (Borgue), Latharan a'Phuill (Latheronwheel), Cliath (Clythe), Achadh a'Mhanaich (Achavanich), Langail (Langwell) | CA | $\begin{gathered} \text { 21AC01 } \\ \text { 21AD01 } \\ \text { to } \\ 21 \mathrm{AD} 05 \\ \text { 21AE01 } \\ \text { 21AE02 } \\ 21 \mathrm{AF} 01 \\ \text { 21AF02 } \\ \text { 21AF03 } \\ \text { 21AG01 } \end{gathered}$ | 60QT000050 to 60QT000061 60QT001392 60QT001423 60QT001424 |
| 56 | Inbhir Uige (Wick) | CA | $\begin{gathered} \hline \begin{array}{c} 21 \mathrm{AA} 01 \\ \text { to } \end{array} \\ \text { 21AA15 } \\ \text { 21AA18 } \\ \text { 21AA19 } \\ \text { 21AA21 } \\ \text { 21AB01 } \\ \text { to } \\ \text { 21AB13 } \\ \text { 21AB18 } \\ \text { to } \\ \text { 21AB21 } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 60 \mathrm{QT} 000041 \\ \text { to } \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 000049 \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001118 \\ \text { to } \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001156 \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001302 \\ \text { to } \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001305 \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001353 \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001699 \\ \text { to } \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 01715 \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001418 \\ 60 \mathrm{QT} 001419 \end{gathered}$ |

Table A-5: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Gallaibh (Caithness) - 1961-2001 - Part B

| Census Output Areas in Gallaibh - Part C |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output areas | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{array}{r} \hline 1961 \\ 1971 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1981 \\ & 1991 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 57 | Bàgair (Bower), Dùnaid (Dunnet), An t-Òlach (Olrig), Bàgh a'Chanais (Canisbay), Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma), Bail' $a^{\prime}$ 'Chaisteil (Castletown), Cèis (Keiss), Dùn Gasbaith (Duncansby), Taigh Iain Ghròt (John O'Groats), Achadh a'Ghuil (Auckengill), Tobhtan (Tofts), A'Mhaigh (Mey), Sgarbh Sgeireidh (Scarfskerry), A'Bhruthach (Brough), Bàgair Mheadhain (Bowermadden) | CA | 21AA11 21AH07 <br> 21AH08 <br> 21AA16 <br> 21AA17 <br> 21AK01 <br> 21AK02 <br> 21AK03 <br> 21AK14 <br> 21AK15 <br> 21AK17 <br> 21AK19 21AK20 | 60QT000026 to 60 QT 000033 60 QT 000034 60 QT 000064 60 QT 000065 60 QT 000076 to 60 QT 000079 60 QT 001220 to 60 QT 001224 60 QT 001243 60 QT 001311 60 QT 001420 60 QT 001421 60 QT 001422 60 QT 001428 60 QT 001429 |

Table A-6: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Gallaibh (Caithness) - 1961-2001 - Part C

## V. List of Tables

## REPORT

1 Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh (East Sutherland \& Caithness) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931
2 Number and proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers including monolingual persons according to census data in northern parts of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) for 1881, 1891 and 1901
3 Number and proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers including monolingual persons according to census data in southern parts of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) for 1881, 1891 and 1901
4 Number and proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers including monolingual persons according to census data in western parts of Gallaibh (Caithness) for 1881, 1891 and 1901
5 Population and number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the age groups 3-14 and 65+ for administra-12 tive areas in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in 1971
6 Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh (East Suther- 13 land \& Caithness) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001
7 Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig- 15 speakers for both areas (1971-2001)
8 Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig- 15 speakers for both areas (1971-2001)
9 Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in 200118 and 1991
10 Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Gallaibh (Caithness) in 2001 and 1991
11 Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for pri20 mary/secondary school catchment areas according to the census 2001
12 Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) and Gallaibh (Caithness) in comparison with the Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2001
13 Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes in the northern22 part of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001
14 Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the civil parishes in the northern part22 of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001
15 Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes in the southern23 part of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001
16 Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the civil parishes in the southern part23 of Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001
17 Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for selected civil parishes in Gallaibh24 (Caithness) according to census data from 1881 to 2001
18 Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for selected civil parishes in Gallaibh24 (Caithness) according to census data from 1881 to 2001
19 Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1891 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Cataibh an Ear
20 Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1911 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Cataibh an Ear
21 Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Cataibh an Ear
22 Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1891 - selected areas (civil parishes, 28 electoral divisions, islands, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Gallaibh
23 Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 - selected areas (civil parishes, ..... 29 electoral divisions, islands, burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in Gallaibh
24 Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population (aged30 three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions according to census data from 1961 to 2001
25 Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Cataibh an Ear31(East Sutherland) according to data from 1981 to 2001
26 Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Cataibh an Ear (East32 Sutherland) between 1971 and 2001
27 Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for some census areas in Gallaibh (Caithness)32 between 1981 and 2001
28 Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Gallaibh (Caithness)32 according to data from 1961 to 2001
29 Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East33 Sutherland) according to census data of 2001 - Part A
30 Intergenerational viability and Gäidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East34 Sutherland) according to census data of 2001 - Part B
31 Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Gallaibh (Caithness)34 according to census data of 2001

## ANNEXES

A-1 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different cen- ..... 46sus dates for Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) - 1961-2001 - Part A
A-2 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different cen- ..... 47sus dates for Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) - 1961-2001 - Part B
A-3 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different cen- ..... 48sus dates for Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) - 1961-2001 - Part C
A-4 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different cen- ..... 49sus dates for Gallaibh (Caithness) - 1961-2001 - Part A
A-5 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different cen- ..... 50sus dates for Gallaibh (Caithness) - 1961-2001 - Part B
A-6 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different cen- ..... 51 sus dates for Gallaibh (Caithness) - 1961-2001 - Part C

## VI. List of Figures

## REPORT

1 Overview map of the investigation areas 4
2 Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 18816 and 2001 in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in comparison with Gallaibh (Caithness)
3 Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) 8 according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931
4 Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to 11 census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931
$5 \quad$ Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 - Cataibh an 14 Ear (East Sutherland
6 Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups 16 (1971-2001): Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland)
$7 \quad$ Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups $\mathbf{1 6}$ (1971-2001): Gallaibh (Caithness)
8 Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth - area of 18 Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) according to Census 2001

## VII. List of Abbreviations

There are a number of abbreviations used in the text which might not be known by every reader. Therefore this short list intends to facilitate better understanding:

| CCED | County council electoral division |
| :---: | :---: |
| CP | Civil parish |
| CNSA | Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich: Gaelic playgroup association |
| Comhairle nan Eilean (CNE)- later: | Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations) |
| Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (CNES) |  |
| Cròileagan | Gaelic speaking playgroup |
| Fèis | Local art festival with normally some Gaelic courses |
| GLPS | "Gaelic Language for the Primary School": Course as introduction of Gaelic as second language |
| GME | Gàidhlig-medium education |
| GMU | Gàidhlig-medium unit: Class(es) with Gàidhlig-medium education but as part of an English medium school |
| GROS | General Register Office for Scotland |
| LVI | Language viability indicator |
| LCI | Language community indicator |
| Mòd | Gaelic language gathering (conversation, song and music) comparable to the Welsh Eisteddfod |
| n/a | Information is not available |
| OA | (Census) output area: the smallest enumeration unit on which census data are available |
| P1 | Primary school year 1 |
| P2 | Primary school year 2 |
| S1 | Secondary school year 1 |
| S2 | Secondary school year 2 |
| Sgoil Araich | Gaelic speaking nursery school |
| Sràdagan | Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children |


| Pub | tion Schedule of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies | Scheduled | Published |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Vol. 01 | Aird nam Murchan \& Loch Abar an Iar <br> (Ardnamurchan \& West Lochaber) | October 2003 | October 2003 |
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| Vol. 03 | Uibhist a Deas \& Beinn a'Bhaoghla (South Uist \& Benbecula) | December 2003 | December 2003 |
| Vol. 04 | Iar Thuath Chataibh (North-West Sutherland) | December 2003 | January 2004 |
| Vol. 05 | Uibhist a Tuath (North Uist) | February 2004 | January 2004 |
| Vol. 06 | Na Hearadh (Harris) | February 2004 | February 2004 |
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| Vol. 14 | Eilean Leòdhais: Am Bac \& An Rubha (Isle of Lewis: Back \& Point) | April 2004 | May 2004 |
| Vol. 15 | Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway) | April 2004 | May 2004 |
| Vol. 16 | Ile, Diùra \& Colbhasa <br> (Islay, Jura \& Colonsay) | June 2004 | August 2004 |
| Vol. 17 | Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr \& Aird Chatain (Glencoe, Lismore \& Ardchattan) | June 2004 | September 2004 |
| Vol. 18 | An t-Oban \& Latharna a Deas (Oban \& South Lorn) | October 2004 | October 2004 |
| Vol. 19 | An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William \& East Lochaber) | October 2004 | October 2004 |
| Vol. 20 | Muile, Tiriodh \& Colla (Mull, Tiree \& Coll) | May 2004 | July 2004 |
| Vol. 21 | Bàideanach, Srath Spè, Nàrann \& Bràighean Mhàrr (Badenoch, Strathspey, Nairn \& Braes of Mar) | $\begin{gathered} \text { November } \\ 2004 \end{gathered}$ | November 2004 |
| Vol. 22 | Cataibh an Ear \& Gallaibh <br> (East Sutherland \& Caithness) | March 2005 | April 2005 |
| Vol. 23 | Inbhirnis \& Taobh Loch Nis (Inverness \& Loch Ness-side) | April 2005 | In preparation |
| Vol. 24 | Taobh Sear Rois \& An t-Eilean Dubh (Easter Ross \& Black Isle) | January 2005 | March 2005 |
| Vol. 25 | Dal Riada \& Cinn Tìre (Mid Argyll \& Kintyre) | June 2005 | In preparation |
| Vol. 26 | Comhal, Siorrachd Bhòid \& Dùn Breatainn (Cowal, County of Bute \& Dumbarton) | June 2005 | In preparation |
| Vol. 27 | Siorrachd Pheairt \& Sruighlea (Perthshire \& Stirling) | July 2005 | In preparation |

Scheduled

December 2003
December 2003

December 2003

February 2004
February 2004

March 2004

May 2004

May 2004

May 2004
May 2004
April 2004

April 2004
April 2004
June 2004

June 2004

October 2004

October 2004

May 2004
November
2004
March 2005

April 2005

January 2005
June 2005

June 2005

July 2005


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Original census data shown or used were supplied and/or published by the General Register Office for Scotland. The use of this material in this study is permitted under Licence No. C02W0003665. Crown Copyright of census data is acknowledged.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ A road-map of the planned publication schedule is provided at the end of this publication.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II - values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ The somehow low percentages are due to the fact that the more populous eastern parts of Caithness with the two major towns of Wick and Thurso were almost entirely English speaking.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ Ecclesiastical sub-division/registration district/ burgh/town/village/island or part thereof.
    ${ }^{7}$ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above $50 \%$ are denoted in bold figures.
    ${ }^{8}$ Speaking "habitually" Gàidhlig.

[^6]:    ${ }^{9}$ Ecclesiastical sub-division/registration district/ burgh/town/village/island or part thereof.
    ${ }^{10}$ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above $50 \%$ are denoted in bold figures.
    ${ }^{11}$ Speaking "habitually" Gàidhlig.

[^7]:    ${ }^{12}$ Ecclesiastical sub-division/registration district/ burgh/town/village/island or part thereof.
    ${ }^{13}$ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above $50 \%$ are denoted in bold figures.
    ${ }^{14}$ Speaking "habitually" Gàidhlig.

[^8]:    ${ }^{15}$ All local primary schools took part in this survey apart from Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale).

[^9]:    ${ }^{16}$ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.

[^10]:    ${ }^{17}$ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.

[^11]:    ${ }^{18}$ Important notice: In the 2001 census figures an official result for a singular output area in Wick distorts the picture significantly. The output area 60QT001119 (including postcode KW1 4JP) was reported to boast 39 Gàidhlig speakers (out of a total of 155 ). This would have meant $25.3 \%$ of all people could speak, read and write the language! A closer inspection of the information revealed that all speakers belonged to the older generation and lived perhaps in a communal establishment. The reason for this single census result, however, is very unclear and therefore Caithness figures should be taken with a certain pinch of salt. Without this output area Caithness would have reported only 263 speakers and $1.1 \%$ of the population as Gàidhlig speaking.
    ${ }^{19}$ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.

[^12]:    ${ }^{20}$ LCI: The "Language Community Indicator" is a measure of the relative strength of the language in the "local" population. It is calculated here by taking the values for Gàidhlig knowledge only for those who were born in Scotland. This is a rough estimation as many who are born in Scotland come from English speaking homes but nevertheless it is a better approximation of language strength than looking simply at the resident population.
    ${ }^{21}$ LVI: The "Language Viability Indicator" is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of Gàidhlig in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 25 years of age and the total population.

[^13]:    ${ }^{22}$ Until 1974 this civil parish was part of Ross \& Cromarty.

[^14]:    ${ }^{23}$ Census information with local detail between 1911 and 1951 in particular was restricted to the "main" Gàidhlig-speaking counties. Therefore figures are not available for some of the "peripheral" civil parishes of the Gaidhealtachd for all years.

[^15]:    ${ }^{24}$ Figures include Maraill (Marrel) and Gartaidh Mòr (Gartymore).

[^16]:    ${ }^{25}$ Figures include Maraill (Marrel) and Gartaidh Mòr (Gartymore).

[^17]:    ${ }^{26}$ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.

[^18]:    ${ }^{27}$ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.

