Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 22: Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh (East Sutherland & Caithness)

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Executive Summary

This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic-speaking at the end of the 19th 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 to-day. 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 19th 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 "Gaelic-speaking" 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 20th century². 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 so-called 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.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to many organisations which have been very kind in providing information about the subject. I am very grateful for this active encouragement. Very special thanks go of course to the General Register Office for Scotland for the opportunity to use the census material in this study. The team at the Demographic Dissemination Branch have been very supportive – Mrs. Anne Blackwood should be mentioned here especially. Crown Copyright on the census data is acknowledged gratefully. Very worthwhile was also the relentless assistance of Mrs. Melissa Barlow of the University of Texas and Mrs. Liz Mackie of the University of Aberdeen who both proved to be very successful in unearthing rare material of more than a century ago. And last but not least thank is also due to the many individuals with whom I spent endless hours of discussion witnessing true Highland hospitality. *Tapadh leibh a huile duine!*

Wedel, An Dàmhar 2003

Kurt C. Duwe

April, 2005 1st Edition



² A road-map of the planned publication schedule is provided at the end of this publication.

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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 <i>Gàidhlig* speech right until the 20th century. In the coastal villages and towns of *Cataibh an Ear* the language lingered on even after World War 1.

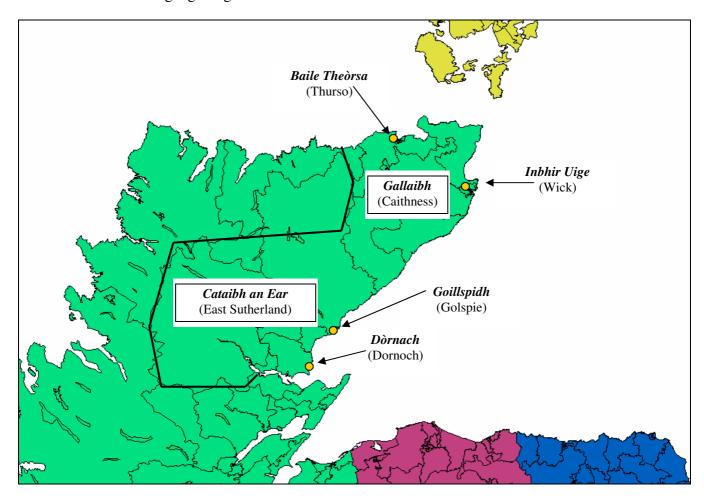


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas³

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-



³ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.

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 19th 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 19th 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 <i>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.

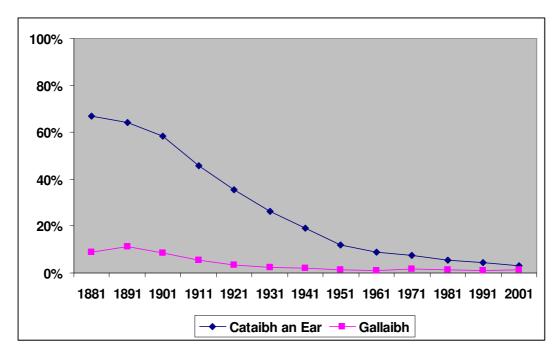


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) in comparison with Gallaibh (Caithness)⁴



⁴ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.

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 1881 1891 1901 1911 1921 193										
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	13,262	12,968	10,862	7,693	5,209	3,582				
% of total population ⁵	24.8 %	25.5 %	22.8 %	17.1 %	13.0 %	9.7 %				

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 *Clìn* (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 19th century monolingual speakers of *Gàidhlig* were already a negligible quantity except perhaps in the town of *Brùra*.



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.

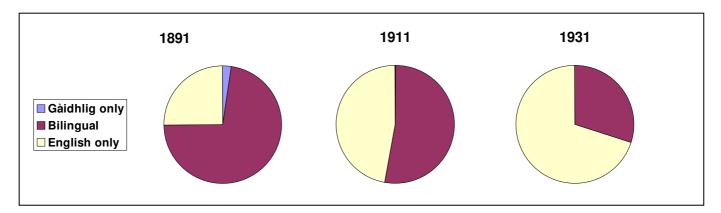


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Cataibh an Ear (Taobh Tuath)</i> – 1881 - 1901										
Area ⁶	All perso	ns speaking	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> - speakers							
	1881 ⁸	1891	1901	1891	1901					
Bun Ilidh an Ear	327	283	214	2	-					
(East Helmsdale)	48.4 %	38.1 %	27.5 %	0.7 %						
Bun Ilidh an Iar	486	382	289	8	4					
(West Helmsdale)	73.7 %	65.9 %	60.2 %	2.1 %	1.4 %					
Srath Ilidh	333	231	223	1	_					
(Strath of Kildonan)	54.8 %	45.7 %	43.5 %	0.4 %						
Loth	213	269	183	1	1					
(Loth)	36.5 %	50.9 %	40.8 %	0.3 %	0.5 %					
Brùra	404	367	423	26	13					
(Brora)	75.9 %	68.0 %	77.2 %	7.1 %	3.1 %					
Clìn	935	815	767	14	_					
(Clyne)	72.5 %	69.5 %	65.2 %	1.7 %						
Goillspidh	465	469	517	5	21					
(Golspie)	48.6 %	50.2 %	50.5 %	1.1 %	4.1 %					
Goillspidh Dùthaich	277	244	207	1	_					
(Golspie Rural)	46.2 %	47.3 %	32.3 %	0.4 %						
Raoghard	1,063	907	775	23	15					
(Rogart)	86.6 %	75.9 %	73.9 %	2.5 %	1.9 %					

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

⁸ Speaking "habitually" *Gàidhlig*.





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.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Cataibh an Ear (Taobh Deas) – 1881 - 1901										
Area ⁹	All person	ıs speaking	Gàidhlig ¹⁰	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> - speakers						
	1881 ¹¹	1891	1901	1891	1901					
Luirg	931	799	718	21	3					
(Lairg)	68.7 %	68.3 %	66.4 %	2.6 %	0.4 %					
Dòrnach	32	274	255	2	0					
(Dornoch)	6.4 %	53.3 %	40.9 %	0.7 %	0.0 %					
Eurabol	383	427	483	48	24					
(Embo)	96.7 %	90.7 %	88.5 %	11.2 %	5.0 %					
Dòrnach Dùthaich	1,242	939	883	52	38					
(Dornoch Rural)	76.1 %	66.2 %	52.6 %	5.5 %	4.3 %					
Craoich	1,185	947	710	34	30					
(Creich)	75.4 %	65.9 %	71.9 %	3.6 %	4.2 %					
Drochaid a'Bhanna	210	184	188	1	2					
(Bonar)	67.1 %	51.7 %	51.2 %		1.1 %					
A'Chròic	179	161	131	12	1					
(Croick)	82.9 %	83.9 %	69.7 %	7.5 %	0.8 %					
Cinn Chàrdainn	677	640	545	30	3					
(Kincardine)	72.6 %	72.2 %	66.7 %	4.7 %	0.6 %					
Innis nan Lìon	448	318	252	5	_					
(Rosehall)	68.7 %	55.1 %	52.4 %	1.6 %						
Srath Uachaill	260	280	208	21	3					
(Strath Oykell)	80.2 %	82.6 %	80.0 %	7.5 %	1.4 %					

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.

¹¹ Speaking "habitually" *Gàidhlig*.





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.

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 1st 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 19th 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 <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Gallaibh</i> – 1881 - 1901										
Area ¹²	All person	ns speaking	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers							
	1881 ¹⁴	1891	1901	1891	1901					
Meaghrath	477	409	269	6	_					
(Reay)	39.8 %	34.6 %	27.6 %	1.5 %						
Inbhir Theòrsa	216	445	384	1	2					
(Thurso)	5.3 %	7.6 %	7.1 %	2.2 %	0.5 %					
Hacraig	253	507	360	3	4					
(Halkirk)	9.4 %	19.8 %	15.5 %	0.6 %	1.1 %					
A'Bhatan	167	118	71	_	_					
(Watten)	11.9 %	8.5 %	5.8 %							
Bearghdal	534	473	339	8	6					
(Berriedale)	45.0 %	42.5 %	34.0 %	1.7 %	1.8 %					
Latharan	1,387	876	610	48	3					
(Latheron)	29.8 %	43.2 %	33.3 %	5.5 %	0.5 %					
Liabost	23	730	423	5	2					
(Lybster)	2.8 %	26.5 %	17.7 %	0.7 %	0.5 %					
Inbhir Uige	27	233	182	1	1					
(Wick)	1.0 %	3.6 %	2.9 %	0.4 %	0.5 %					
Baile Phulteney	50	156	128	2	1					
(Pulteneytown)	1.0 %	2.8 %	2.5 %	1.3 %	0.8 %					

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

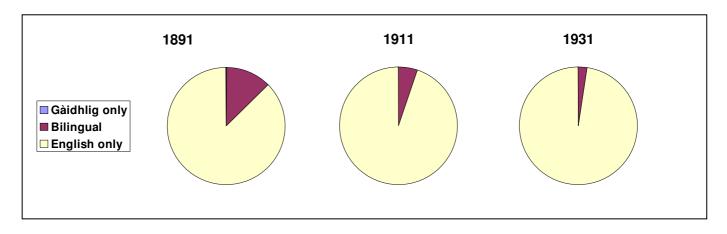


Fig. 4: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931



 $^{^{12}\} Ecclesia stical\ sub-division/registration\ district/\ burgh/town/village/island\ or\ part\ thereof.$

¹³ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

¹⁴ Speaking "habitually" *Gàidhlig*.

2.2 Developments in the late 20th 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 Gàidhlig-speaking 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).

	Age groups				
Cataibh an Ear: Administrative Areas in 1971 Census	3 – 14			5 +	
(Gàidhlig Speaking at Different Ages)	Pop.	G. Sp.	Pop.	G. Sp.	
Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	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	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001				
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 *Eurabol* 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.



¹⁵ All local primary schools took part in this survey apart from *Bun Ilidh* (Helmsdale).

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 Lìon* (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.

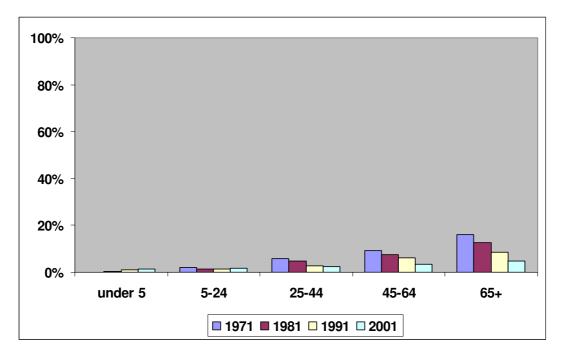


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland)¹⁶



¹⁶ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.

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 Gaidhlig 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.

		er of <i>Gài</i> ability to	0 1		Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001	
Cataibh an Ear	205	165	157	166	31.1 %	32.6 %	37.1 %	58.0 %	
(East Sutherland)									
Gallaibh	125	135	133	191	30.5 %	38.6 %	46.7 %	63.2 %	
(Caithness)									

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

		er of <i>Gài</i> bility to			Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001	
Cataibh an Ear	110	114	111	129	16.7 %	22.5 %	26.2 %	45.1 %	
(East Sutherland)									
Gallaibh	85	106	84	161	20.7 %	30.3 %	29.5 %	53.3 %	
(Caithness)									

Table 8: Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers 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.

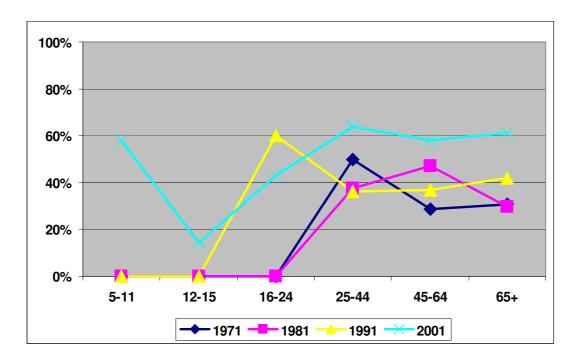


Fig. 6: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland)

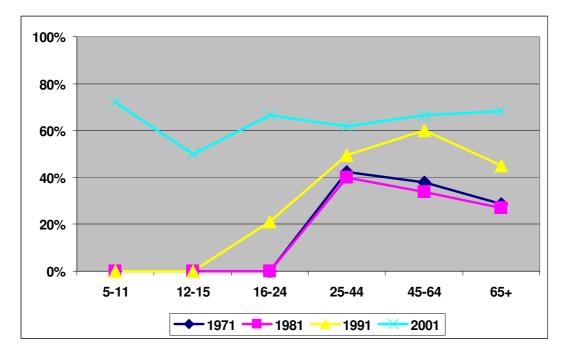


Fig. 7: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Gallaibh* (Caithness)



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.



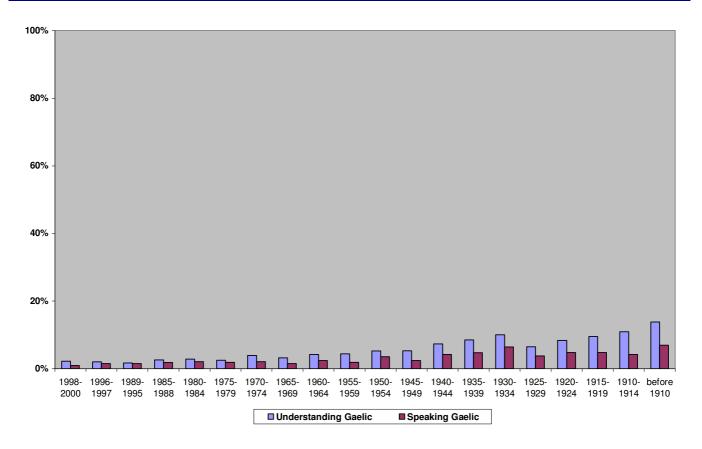


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Cataibh* an Ear (East Sutherland) according to Census 2001

Age group			20	01			19	91	Diff.	
		ving ¹⁷ Ihlig	Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		2001 – 1991	
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 *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) in 2001 and 1991

 $^{^{17}}$ Persons able to understand spoken $G\grave{a}idhlig$ and/or able to speak, read or write $G\grave{a}idhlig$.





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			20	01			19	91	Diff.
	Knov	ving ¹⁹	Able to	speak &	Able to speak		Able to	2001 –	
	Gàid	lhlig	read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Gàidhlig		Gàid	1991	
0-2	9	1.2 %	-	-	3	0.4 %	n/a	n/a	1
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 (12-15). 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:

• <u>Pre-school children</u>: 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.

1 8



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.

- <u>Primary school children</u>: 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.
- <u>Secondary school children</u>: 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.
- <u>Parents</u>: *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.

<u>In conclusion</u>: *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.

Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001)	in Selec	ted Prim	ary/S	econdary	Scho	ool Catch	ment	Areas
Primary / Secondary School(s)	_	e-School'' ge 0-4	"Primary" Age 5-11		"Secondary" Age 12-15		"Parents" Age 25-34	
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 Lìon (Rosehall)	2	25.0 %	-	-	-	-	1	4.5 %
An Luirg (Lairg)	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 (LCI²⁰) is even far less in *Gallaibh*. The language viability indicator (LVI²¹) still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 12) which is due to very low language intensity in younger age groups.

	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001								
Area	Young age (0-24)		Young age		ge All ages		Difference	Born in Scotland	
					(Language viability indicator)	(Language community indicator)			
Cataibh an Ear	51	2.2 %	504	5.3 %	- 3.1 %	6.1 %			
(East Sutherland)									
Gallaibh	83	1.1 %	552	2.2 %	- 1.1 %	2.3 %			
(Caithness)									
In comparison:									
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.

<u>In conclusion</u>: 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.



 $^{^{20}}$ 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 $G\grave{a}idhlig$ 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.

I. Supplementary Tables

			Civil Parish		
Census	Cill Donain (Kildonan)	Loth (Loth)	Clìn (Clyne)	Goillspidh (Golspie)	Raoghard (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

			Civil Parish		
Census	Cill Donain (Kildonan)	Loth (Loth)	Clìn (Clyne)	Goillspidh (Golspie)	Raoghard (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



	Civil Parish					
Census	Dòrnach (Dornoch)	Luirg (Lairg)	Craoich (Creich)	Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) ²²		
1881	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

	Civil Parish					
Census	Dòrnach (Dornoch)	Luirg (Lairg)	Craoich (Creich)	Cinn Chàrdainn (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

 $^{^{\}rm 22}$ Until 1974 this civil parish was part of Ross & Cromarty.





		Civil Parish						
Census	A'Bhatan (Watten)	Meaghrath (Reay)	Hacraig (Halkirk)	Latharan (Latheron)	Inbhir Theòrsa (Thurso)	Inbhir Uige (Wick)		
1881	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	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/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 2001²³

		Civil Parish						
Census	A'Bhatan (Watten)	Meaghrath (Reay)	Hacraig (Halkirk)	Latharan (Latheron)	Inbhir Theòrsa (Thurso)	Inbhir Uige (Wick)		
1881	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	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/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

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.



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Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Cataibh an Ear	Popula-	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	tion	lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic)	14,696	9,8	340
Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP	1,942	1,1	
Loth (Loth) CP	584	2	
Clìn (Clyne) CP	1,812	1,3	
Goillspidh (Golspie) CP	1,556	74	42
Raoghard (Rogart) CP	1,227	1,0	063
Luirg (Lairg) CP	1,355	93	
Dòrnach (Dornoch)	2,525	1,6	557
Craoich (Creich) CP	2,223	1,6	533
Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP	1,472	1,1	
included in the above	ĺ	Í	
Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	497	3	2
Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar) Vi	313	2.1	10
Brùra (Brora) Vi	532	40	04
Eurabol (Embo) Vi	396	383	
Goillspidh (Golspie) Vi	956	465	
Bun Ilidh an Ear (Helmsdale East) Vi	675	327	
Bun Ilidh an Iar (Helmsdale West) Vi ²⁴	659	48	86
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	<i>778</i>	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*

 24 Figures include $Maraill~({\rm Marrel})$ and $Gartaidh~M\`or~({\rm Gartymore}).$





Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1911:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Cataibh an Ear	Popula-	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	tion	lish	English
1901	13,691	7,808	158
Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP	1,772	722	4
Loth (Loth) CP	449	182	1
Clin (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	-
Clin (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*

 25 Figures include $Maraill~({\rm Marrel})$ and $Gartaidh~M\`or~({\rm Gartymore}).$





Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Cataibh an Ear	Popula-	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	tion	lish	English
1921	11,858	4,185	21
Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP	1,518	297	-
Loth (Loth) CP	321	71	-
Clìn (Clyne) CP	1,616	668	1
Goillspidh (Golspie) CP	1,518	375	-
Raoghard (Rogart) CP	804	388	-
Luirg (Lairg) CP	1,046	440	-
Dòrnach (Dornoch)	2,475	943	16
Craoich (Creich) CP	1,506	551	3
Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP	1,054	452	1
1931	11,272	2,945	4
Cill Donain (Kildonan) CP	1,454	209	-
Loth (Loth) CP	343	33	-
Clìn (Clyne) CP	1,723	428	-
Goillspidh (Golspie) CP	1,392	308	-
Raoghard (Rogart) CP	732	260	-
Luirg (Lairg) CP	1,065	356	1
Dòrnach (Dornoch)	2,086	670	3
Craoich (Creich) CP	1,515	378	-
Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine) CP	962	303	-
included in the above			
Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	725	83	-
1951	10,130	1,222	-
included in the above			
Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	793	40	-
1961	10,242	913	-
included in the above			-
Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	933	51	
1971 ²⁶	9,305	600	*
included in the above			
Dòrnach (Baile Beag) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	840	25	*

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*

 26 Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Gallaibh	Popula-	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	tion	lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic)	38,865	3.4	122
Meaghrath (Reay) CP	1,197		77
Hacraig (Halkirk) CP	2,705		53
A`Bhatan (Watten) CP	1,406		57
Latharan (Latheron) CP	6,675		944
Bàgair (Bower) CP	1,608	,	2
Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP	1,607		3
Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP	12,822		3 <i>4</i>
Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP	6,217	33	
An t-Òlach (Olrig) CP	2,002		0
Bàgh a'Chanais (Canisbay) CP	2,626		ĺ
included in the above	2,020	1	L
Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag) (Thurso Small Burgh)	4,055	2	16
Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh)	8,053		
Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma)	341	77 1	
Bail' a'Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi	932	42	
Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi	372	47	
Cèis (Keiss) Vi	313	7/	
Liabost (Lybster) Vi	831	23	
1891	37,177	4,068	76
Meaghrath (Reay) CP	1,182	403	6
Hacraig (Halkirk) CP	2,564	504	3
A`Bhatan (Watten) CP	1,390	118	3
Latharan (Latheron) CP	5,875	2,018	61
Bàgair (Bower) CP	1,506	49	01
Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP	1,488	45	-
Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP	13,105	395	3
Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP	5,838	414	<i>1</i>
An t-Òlach (Olrig) CP	1,837	73	1
Bàgh a'Chanais (Canisbay) CP	2,392	18	1
included in the above	2,392	10	1
<i>Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag)</i> (Thurso Small Burgh)	3,936	299	
Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh)	8,512	299 244	2
Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma)	327	1	<u> </u>
Bail' a'Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi	979	47	- 1
Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi	432	93	1
Cèis (Keiss) Vi	341	3	-
· · · · · ·	740		-
Liabost (Lybster) Vi	/40	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:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Gallaibh	Popula-	and Eng-	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`Bhatan (Watten) CP	1,230	71	-
Latharan (Latheron) CP	5,223	1,361	11
Bàgair (Bower) CP	1,453	34	-
Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP	1,232	17	-
Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP	12,250	315	2
Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP	5,406	377	2
An t-Òlach (Olrig) CP	1,555	54	-
Bàgh a'Chanais (Canisbay) CP	2,192	17	1
included in the above			
Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag) (Thurso Small Burgh)	3,723	262	2
Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh)	7,911	207	1
Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma)	375	-	-
Bail' a'Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi	767	24	-
Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi	471	86	1
Liabost (Lybster) Vi	609	118	-
Electoral divisions (selected areas only)			
Meaghrath (Reay)	974	269	-
Hacraig a Deas (Halkirk South)	885	128	-
Hacraig Tuath an Ear (Halkirk North-East)	609	95	1
Hacraig Tuath an Iar (Halkirk North-West)	861	138	3
A`Bhatan (Watten)	1,230	71	-
Bearghdal (Berriedale)	916	315	6
Dùn Bèithe (Dunbeath)	1,066	<i>37</i> 8	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*

 27 Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.





Number of persons and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Sutherland) and the County of Caithness (Population aged 3 years and over)

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

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)	1	981	1	991	2	001				
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 Lìon (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'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	<i>Brùra</i> (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	19	71	19	1981		91	2001		
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	0.9 %	
3-4	-	-	1	0.4 %	2	0.9 %	3	1.6 %	
5-24	60	1.9 %	34	1.2 %	30	1.3 %	33	1.7 %	
25-44	130	5.8 %	101	4.8 %	68	2.9 %	52	2.4 %	
45-64	215	9.1 %	164	7.4 %	147	6.1 %	93	3.4 %	
65 +	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	n/a	n/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 <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers ²⁸ <i>Gallaibh</i>									
Map No	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	19	61	19	1971		1981		1991		01		
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	0.4 %		
3-4	1	0.1 %	1	-	2	0.3 %	1	0.1 %	10	1.9 %		
5-24	13	0.4 %	60	0.7 %	48	0.5 %	34	0.5 %	29	0.5 %		
25-44	77	1.0 %	130	1.8 %	100	1.5 %	95	1.2 %	75	1.1 %		
45-64	89	1.5 %	145	2.4 %	112	1.8 %	92	1.4 %	77	1.1 %		
65 +	53	1.9 %	75	2.4 %	82	2.4 %	63	1.7 %	108	2.5 %		
Total												
(3+)	233	0.9 %	410	1.6 %	342	1.3 %	285	1.1 %	299	1.2 %		
Born in												
Scotland	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/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.





Map No. 01	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001								
		Young age (0-24)		All	ages	Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)			
	Drochaid a'Bhanna a	2	3.8 %	14	7.5 %	- 3.7 %	7.0 %			
02	(Bonar Bridge) a Drochaid a'Bhanna b	2	2.5 %	15	6.8 %	- 4.3 %	6.9 %			
03	(Bonar Bridge) b Srath Uachaill	2	4.3 %	20	8.7 %	- 4.4 %	11.2 %			
04	(Strath Oykell) Àird Ghaoithe	3	2.2 %	22	4.3 %	- 2.1 %	3.9 %			
	(Ardgay)									
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 (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 (Lairg) a	-	-	18	4.6 %	- 4.6 %	5.5 %			
14	Luirg b (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	-	-	6	3.2 %	- 3.2 %	4.9 %			
17	(Invershin) Raoghard	2	2.4 %	40	9.5 %	- 7.1 %	11.3 %			
18	(Rogart) Brùra a	-	-	22	3.2 %	- 3.2 %	3.8 %			
19	(Brora) a Brùra b	1	0.6 %	20	3.1 %	- 2.5 %	3.5 %			
20	(Brora) b	4	4.8 %	12	3.5 %	+ 1.3 %	4.6 %			
20	(Clyne)		7.0 ///	12	3.3 /0	1 1.3 //	7.0 /0			

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



		Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001										
Map No.	Output Area		ng age -24)	All	ages	Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (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 (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 *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census data of 2001 – Part B

		Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001										
Map No.	Output Area	Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (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 "<u>speaks Gaelic habitually</u>" and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into "<u>speaks Gaelic</u>" 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.
- 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 2nd 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 <u>persons present on census night</u> to <u>usually resident persons</u>. 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 <u>on all postcode names</u> 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				
		Area Codes			
	Census output area(s)	1961 1971	1981 1991	2001	
01	Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge)	CW	27AA01	60QT001522 60QT001523	
02	Drochaid a'Bhanna (Bonar Bridge)	CW	27AA02	60QT000328 60QT001524 60QT001525	
03	Srath Uachaill (Strath Oykell), Innis nan Lìon (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)	KI / CW	27AC09 27AA04 27AC11	60QT000329 60QT000348	
04	Àird Ghaoithe (Ardgay), Cinn Chàrdainn (Kincardine), Inbhir Chàrdainn (Invercharron), A'Chròic (Croick), Baile na Bruaiche (Balnabruaich), Gruinneard (Gruinards)	KI	27AA06 27AA07 27AC05 27AA03	60QT000330 60QT000331 60QT001526 60QT001527	
05	Craoich (Creich), Migein (Migdale), Druim Lios (Drumlish), Spainnigeadal (Spinningdale), Druim Liath (Drumliah), Tulach (Tulloch), Na h-Àirdean (Airdens)	CE	27AA10 27AA11	60QT000332 60QT001528 60QT001529	
06	Dòrnach (Dornoch), Baile an Lòin (Balloan)	DO	27AB01 27AB02	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	27AB09B 27AB09C	60QT000336 60QT001355	
10	Clais Mòr (Clashmore), Lòn Mòr (Lonemore), Sgìobal (Skibo), Port a' Chultair (Meikle Ferry)	DW	27AB04 27AB05	60QT001530 60QT001531	

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)	1961 1971	Area C 1981 1991	2001	
11	Fliuch Airidh (Fleuchary), A'Mhùnd (Mound), Ach'Bhàthaich (Achvaich), Sgeireabol (Skelbo), Achadh Anndra (Achavandra), Baile Bhràid (Balvaird), Dail na Mèinn (Dalnamain)	DE	27AB06 27AB07	60QT000333 60QT000334	
12	Baile Ghrùididh (Pitgrudy), An Cadha Mòr (Camore), Baile an Lòin (Balloan), Èibhleag (Evelix), Prannsaidh Cruaidh (Proncycroy)	DW	27AB08 27AB09 27AB10	60QT000337 60QT001097 60QT001354	
13	Luirg (Lairg)	LA	27AC01 27AC02	60QT000338 60QT000339 60QT000340 60QT000341	
14	Luirg (Lairg), Monadh Luirg (Lairg Muir)	LA	27AC03 27AC05	60QT000342 60QT000344	
15	A'Chràisg (Crask), Ofarsgaig (Overscaig), Àird na Sinnis (Shinness), Srath Tìridh (Tirryside), Dail Choirce (Dalchork), Achadh an Fheàrna (Achnairn)	LA	27AC04 27AC08	60QT000343 60QT000346	
16	Inbhir Sin (Invershin), Inbhirean (Inveran), Tulach (Tullich)	LA	27AC06 27AC07 27AC10	60QT000345 60QT000347	
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	27AD01 27AD02 27AD03 27AD04 27AD05	60QT000364 60QT000365 60QT000366 60QT000367	
18	Brùra (Brora)	CL	27AF01 27AF02 27AF03	60QT001111 60QT001112 60QT001113 60QT001114 60QT001298 60QT001299 60QT001359	
19	Brùra (Brora)	CL	27AF04 27AF05	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				
			Area C	odes	
	Census output area(s)	1961 1971	1981 1991	2001	
20	Clìn (Clyne), Dail (Doll), Dail Chàirn (Dalcharn), Clìn Trolla (Kintradwell)	CL	27AF06 27AF07 27AF08 27AF09	60QT000376 60QT000377 60QT001360	
21	Goillspidh (Golspie)	GV	27AG01 27AG02	60QT001105 60QT001295 60QT001296	
22	Goillspidh (Golspie)	GV	27AG03 27AG04	60QT001106 60QT001107 60QT001108 60QT001297	
23	Goillspidh (Golspie)	GV	27AG05	60QT001109 60QT001110 60QT001697 60QT001698	
24	Bacaidh (Backies), Druim Muighe (Drumuie), Cùil Mhàilidh (Culmaily), Dùn Robain (Dunrobin), Baile na h-Eaglaise (Kirkton)	GR	27AG06 27AG07	60QT000378 60QT000379	
25	Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale), Loth Mòr (Lothmore)	KS / LO	27AE01 27AE04	60QT000368 60QT000374 60QT001358	
26	Bun Ilidh (Helmsdale)	KN	27AE02 27AE03	60QT000369 60QT000370 60QT000371 60QT000372 60QT000373	
27	Ceann a'Bhràist (Kinbrace), Srath Ilidh (Strath of Kildonan), Loidse Cill Donnain (Kildonan Lodge), Loch Choire, Bad nan Loch (Badanloch)	KN	27AH03 27AE05	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 <i>Gallaibh – Part A</i>			
		Area Codes		
	Census output areas	61-71	1981-91	2001
51	Meaghrath (Reay), Dùnrath (Dounreay), Innis Allt (Isauld),	CA	21AJ14	60QT000068
	Achadh Bhàrasdail (Achvarasdal), Freasgail (Fresgoe)		21AJ15	to
			21AJ16	60QT000072
52	Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) – western and central parts of town;	CA	21AJ01	60QT000062
	Fors (Forss)		to	60QT000063
			21AJ13	60QT000066
			21AJ17	60QT000067
			21AJ18	60QT000073
			21AJ20	60QT000074
			21AJ21	60QT000075
			21AK12	60QT001160
			21AK13	to
				60QT001195
				60QT001217
				60QT001218
				60QT001219
				60QT001306
				60QT001307
				60QT001308
				60QT001425
				60QT001426
				60QT001427
				60QT001716
				60QT001717
53	Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) – eastern part of town	CA	21AK04	60QT001196
			to	to
			21AK11	60QT001216
				60QT001309
				60QT001310
				60QT001718
54	Hacraig (Halkirk), A'Bhatan (Watten), Allt nam Breac (Alt-	CA	21AH01	60QT001157
	nabreac), Srath Mòr (Strathmore), An Dail Shuas (Wester-		to	to
	dale), Cal nan Gall (Scotscalder), Cnoc Dubh (Knockdee),		21AH06	60QT001159
	Suardail (Sordale)		21AJ19	60QT000062
			21AB14	60QT000063
			to	60QT001723
			21AB17	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 <i>Gallaibh – Part B</i>				
		Area Codes			
	Census output areas	1961	1981	2001	
	_	1971	1991		
55	Latharan (Latheron), Bearghdal (Berriedale), Liabost	CA	21AC01	60QT000050	
	(Lybster), Allt Bèithe (Aultibea), Am Bràigh Mòr		21AD01	to	
	(Braemore), Dùn Bèithe (Dunbeath), Borbh (Borgue),		to	60QT000061	
	Latharan a'Phuill (Latheronwheel), Cliath (Clythe), Achadh		21AD05	60QT001392	
	a'Mhanaich (Achavanich), Langail (Langwell)		21AE01	60QT001423	
			21AE02	60QT001424	
			21AF01		
			21AF02		
			21AF03		
			21AG01		
56	Inbhir Uige (Wick)	CA	21AA01	60QT000041	
			to	to	
			21AA15	60QT000049	
			21AA18	60QT001118	
			21AA19	to	
			21AA21	60QT001156	
			21AB01	60QT001302	
			to	to	
			21AB13	60QT001305	
			21AB18	60QT001353	
			to	60QT001699	
			21AB21	to	
				60QT001715	
				60QT001418	
				60QT001419	

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				
	Area Codes				
	Census output areas	1961	1981	2001	
		1971	1991		
57	Bàgair (Bower), Dùnaid (Dunnet), An t-Òlach (Olrig), Bàgh	CA	21AA11	60QT000026	
	a'Chanais (Canisbay), Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma), Bail'		21AH07	to	
	a'Chaisteil (Castletown), Cèis (Keiss), Dùn Gasbaith (Dun-		21AH08	60QT000033	
	cansby), Taigh Iain Ghròt (John O'Groats), Achadh a'Ghuil		21AA16	60QT000034	
	(Auckengill), Tobhtan (Tofts), A'Mhaigh (Mey), Sgarbh		21AA17	60QT000064	
	Sgeireidh (Scarfskerry), A'Bhruthach (Brough), Bàgair		21AA20	60QT000065	
	Mheadhain (Bowermadden)		21AK01	60QT000076	
			21AK02	to	
			21AK03	60QT000079	
			21AK14	60QT001220	
			21AK15	to	
			21AK17	60QT001224	
			21AK19	60QT001243	
			21AK20	60QT001311	
				60QT001420	
				60QT001421	
				60QT001422	
				60QT001428	
				60QT001429	
				to	
				60QT001434	

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

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Number and proportion of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers including monolingual persons accordensus data in southern parts of <i>Cataibh an Ear</i> (East Sutherland) for 1881, 1891 and 1	ding to 9
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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 Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of

(CNE) – later: 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



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