

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 04: *Iar Thuath Chataibh* (Northwest Sutherland)

Author: Kurt C. Duwe

2nd extended² Edition

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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 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.

This volume is dedicated to the communities on the thinly populated north-west coast of Scotland. Historically this part of Sutherland had a strong Gaelic tradition. However, the language suffered substantially by official neglect and an ignorant education policy of the former county council. Today the general conclusions may be drawn as follows: Northwest Sutherland can no longer be seen as a Gaelic-speaking community in a strict sense as even the generation born before World War I is passing away. The situation of Gaelic in the whole area is depressingly worrying. The only encouraging features are the developments in the communities of Melvich, Tongue and Bettyhill on the north coast with several commendable cultural activities and Gaelic education in the local primary and secondary schools. As late as 2023 some teaching of Gaelic commenced in secondary school in Kinlochbervie at last!!!!

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² Tables were extended with more census results of enumeration districts provided for 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911.



Foreword to the First Edition

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. The series 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 century. 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.

Foreword to the Second Edition

Almost two years have passed since the publication of the first volume of this series. In the meantime, a lot of “new” material has surfaced which merits to be publicised to a wider audience. In addition, two years are sometimes a very long time when looking at the actual state of a dynamic process: the re-animation of Scottish Gaelic in a number of places. Therefore, a second edition of the series is now being elaborated. Hopefully it will prove to be as popular as its predecessor.

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

I am very glad to present an extended and actualized edition of the *Gàidhlig* Local Studies after more than two decades since the first publication. Of course, new data and information had been waiting to be incorporated in this compendium of language development in Scotland. Maybe rather unexpectedly, many additional figures from the past became available, too – especially from the 1881, 1911 and 1981 censuses. As always, I wish happy reading – a few surprises wait to be discovered!!!!

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* placenames 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 has been very supportive. 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 h-uile duine!*

Wedel, *An Dàmhar* 2003
Hamburg, *An t-Sultain* 2005
Hamburg, *Am Màirt* 2024

Kurt C. Duwe

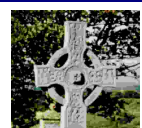


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1 Introduction

This volume is dedicated to the communities on the thinly populated north-west coast of Scotland which once belonged to the ancient county of Sutherland (*Cataibh* in *Gàidhlig*). The five parishes involved are *Asainn* (Assynt), *Eadar dha Chaolais* (Eddrachillis), *Diùrnis* (Durness), *Tunga* (Tongue) and *Fàrr*. For the purpose of this study the first three parishes are considered jointly as *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland), the two more easterly parishes are commonly known as *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr). Geographically this is mostly open and vast mountain and moor land with only a few settlements clinging to the indented coastline. Main settlements are *Loch an Inbhir* (Lochinver) and *Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh* (Kinlochbervie) on the west coast both with sizeable fishing activities.

The *Gàidhlig* language was the dominant community language in the area concerned well into the 20th century. Vast stretches of the country were commonly called *Dùthaich Mhic Aoidh* (Mackay Country) and *Dùthaich Meaghrath* (Reay Country) respectively. Until 1975 the area belonged to the County of Sutherland, afterwards it became part of the large Highland local authority administered from Inverness. Comprising the northern and western half of Sutherland the investigated region is situated between the communities of *Taobh Siar Rois* (Wester Ross) and *Gallaibh* (Caithness) which are covered by Vol. 09 and Vol. 22 of this series respectively.

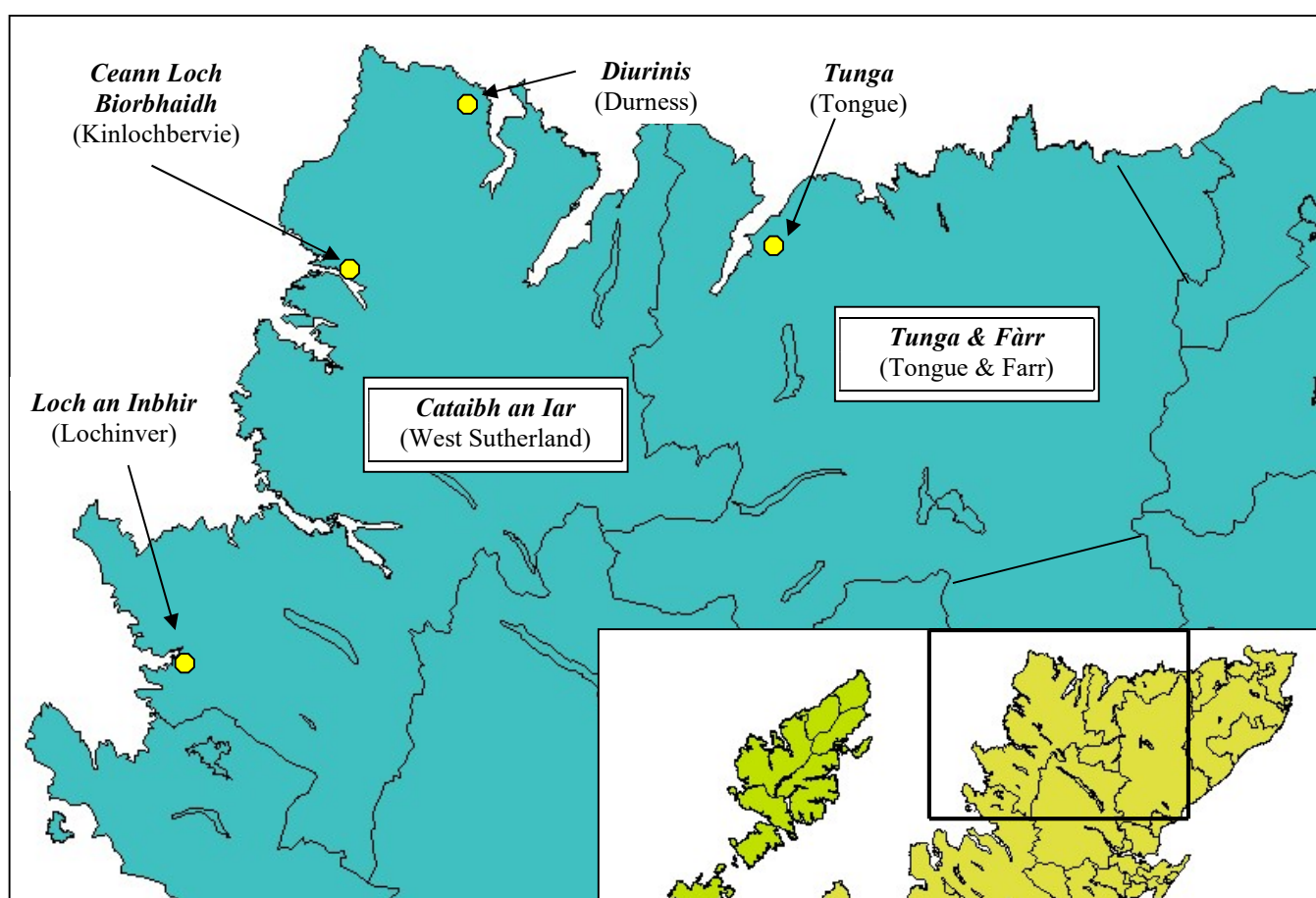


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) and *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr)³

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



2 The Historical Background

The county of Sutherland is the northernmost “Highland County” with a considerable *Gàidhlig*-speaking tradition. Until very recently its Atlantic seaboard settlements ranked among the most strongly *Gàidhlig* communities in Scotland. In the census in 1891 *Cataibh* (Sutherland) had the highest percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers of all counties even surpassing Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty. This changed, however, rapidly over time. Figure 2 underlines the decline of *Gàidhlig*-speaking in the area.

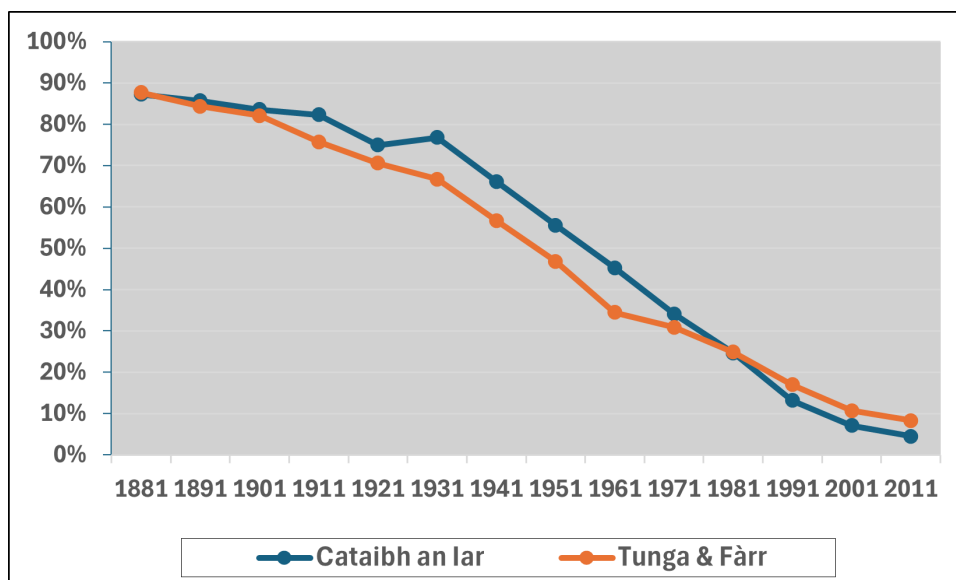


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 for the areas *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) and *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr)⁴

Throughout the 19th century, however, the traditional tongue still dominated community life in the whole district. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) mentioned in its report about the parish of *Fàrr*: “*The Gaelic language is spoken in common conversation, and it is in that language that the people receive religious instruction with most advantage. Their language has been rather improved of late by means of Gaelic schools. The English, however, is gaining ground considerably, especially among the younger part of the population.*” Of course, some southerners settled here and there but their influence on the general culture was minimal. *Diùirinis* (Durness) was such a close-knit rural society: “*With the exception of eight families from the south of Scotland all the natives speak Gaelic. Indeed, even those who speak and understand English well, always prefer the Gaelic services.*” In the chapter about neighbouring *Eadar Dha Chaolais* (Eddrachillis) the responsible Minister wrote “*Gaelic is the vernacular tongue, and generally spoken. The greater number of the young speak English also; and the few south country shepherds amongst them speak English only.*”

Of course, there was a slow continuous process of introducing English as a convenient second language. On the one hand during some period of their lives many local people went to the south to find work - bringing back some smattering of the imperial language. On the other hand, churches of all persuasions tried to spread their religious beliefs by means of local teaching how to read the scriptures. Some of these schools even used *Gàidhlig* as the instruction language like in the parish of *Asainn* (Assynt): “*The Gaelic language is still universal in Assynt, and the only medium of religious instruction. The English language, however, is making slow but sure progress. The youth of the parish are ambitious of acquiring it, being sensible that the want of it proves a great bar to their advancement in life. It is likely, nevertheless, that Assynt is one of the very last districts in which the Gaelic language shall cease to be the language of the people. It is remarkable*

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



that the Gaelic School Society will probably prove the means, at a remote period, of the expulsion of the Gaelic language from the Highlands.” The term “expulsion” is ample testimony of the widespread desire of the clergy at the time to get rid of Gàidhlig altogether.

2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)

The census of 1881 saw almost 90 % of inhabitants speaking Gàidhlig “habitually” in all the crofting settlements along the western and northern coast of *Cataibh*. The language was still in use universally although monolingual speakers were mostly confined to the district of *Asainn* (Assynt) in the southwest. Here still a relatively large proportion of the population (19.6 %) did not speak English at all (tables 12-15). The overall trend, however, was directed to bilingualism and an ever-increasing pressure on the language by a hostile educational system and an undermined self-consciousness of Gàidhlig-speakers.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in <i>Iar Thuath Cataibh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁷		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Ailbhinne & Innis nan Damh</i> (Elphin & Inchnadamph)	422 84.7%	314 78.5%	294 87.0%	230 75.2%	44 14.0%	14 4.8%	7 3.0%
<i>Loch an Inbhir & Bad an Daraich</i> (Lochinver & Baddidarach)	840 94.2%	799 91.8%	716 87.7%	649 82.2%	86 10.8%	71 9.9%	0 6.7%
<i>Stòr, An Druim Beag & Cùl-Cinn</i> (Stoer, Drumbeg & Culkein)	1,334 95.9%	1,149 89.7%	1,094 88.8%	910 89.6%	369 32.2%	81 7.4%	0 4.7%
<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie)	384 63.5%	383 75.0%	386 71.3%	323 73.4%	22 5.7%	7 1.8%	—
<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie)	859 93.4%	833 92.8%	754 86.0%	717 89.6%	59 7.1%	38 5.0%	14 2.0%
<i>Diùrnis</i> (Durness)	780 79.0%	814 84.8%	661 76.0%	617 0.0%	40 4.9%	20 3.0%	17 2.8%
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	1,718 92.6%	1,578 84.7%	1,423 82.9%	1,306 81.5%	114 7.2%	41 2.9%	28 2.1%
<i>Eilean nan Ròn</i> (Roan Island)	73 100%	61 96.8%	62 92.5%	60 95.2%	—	—	1 1.7%
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	928 81.4%	920 85.1%	833 81.3%	758 71.4%	82 8.9%	21 2.5%	17 2.2%
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathay)	714 90.4%	684 88.1%	589 86.7%	472 76.4%	35 5.1%	19 3.2%	—
<i>Mealbhaich & Port Sgeire</i> (Melvich & Portskerra)	586 90.7%	444 90.1%	424 85.1%	387 2.6%	16 3.6%	6 1.4%	—
<i>Srath Healadail & Forsan Àrd</i> (Strath Halladale & Forsinard)	238 68.4%	288 72.0%	234 65.9%	165 46.1%	5 1.7%	—	1 0.6%

Table 1: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Iar Thuath Cataibh* (Northwest Sutherland) between 1881 and 1911

⁵ Enumeration division.

⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

⁷ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Detailed local information is available in census reports until 1901 enabling a closer look at the geographical strength of the language in the area (tables 1, 12-15). Overall *Gàidhlig* was dominant in all districts with remarkable numbers of monolingual English-speakers only in *Sgobhairigh* (Scourie) and *Loch an Inbhir* (Lochinver). Those “not having the Gaelic” were mainly incomers including merchants, public school teachers, shepherds, or the odd railway workers at *Forsan Àrd* (Forsinard).

Gàidhlig monolinguals were concentrated in the south-western parish of *Asainn* (Assynt) – more precisely in the *Stòr* (Stoer) district. In 1891 for example over two thirds of all *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the enumeration district covering *An Cùl-Cinn* (Culkein) and *An Ràthan* (Raffin) did not speak English. These figures of course dwindled with each decade like snow in the sun.

A closer look at the original 1891 census forms⁸ (Duwe, 2005) provides interesting additional information. Generally, the official census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The figures included returns from occasional visitors and took also children aged less than three years into account although the latter were not counted as *Gàidhlig*-speaking at all. The respective “corrected” 1891 details of three enumeration districts in *Iar Thuath Chataibh* are described below:

- *An Druim Beag* (Drumbeg): Official census figures in this northern part of *Asainn* reported 301 bilingual and 41 monolingual speakers out of a total population of 356 persons (96.1 %). The usually resident population, however, consisted of 330 *Gàidhlig*-speakers (97.6 %). Just eight persons did not speak *Gàidhlig*. Among them of course were the two public school teachers born and raised in Kincardineshire. After 1872 it was quite usual to send teachers into the Highlands who were totally ignorant of the language of their scholars! The crofting communities covered in this enumeration district included *An Nead* (Nedd), *Cùl-Cinn an Droma Bhig* (Culkein Drumbeg) and of course *An Druim Beag* itself.
- *Inbhir Chirceig* (Inverkirkaig): South of *Loch an Inbhir* (Lochinver) the official census figures read 145 bilingual and 33 monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers among the 200 persons present at census night (89.0 %). Looking at the usually resident population, however, the 177 *Gàidhlig*-speakers amounted to a share of 95.2 % of all residents. A mere number of nine persons did not speak *Gàidhlig*. Seven of these were resident in *Srathan* (Strathan) including a grocers’ family from Midlothian.
- *Armadal* (Armadales): In this enumeration district on the north coast official census figures reported 242 bilinguals and 13 monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers (92.4 %). 249 speakers were usually resident in the community (95.0 %). 13 persons were reported as not speaking the *Gàidhlig* tongue, most of them were part of a ploughman’s family from Stemster in Caithness.

The prevailing attitudes of *Gàidhlig*-speakers themselves in those days were pointed out by the late Chris Anderson of *Tunga* on her 100th birthday in 1991 (*Am Bratach*, 1991): *Chris says that Gaelic was not her first language. “Of course, I understand every word of it and can speak it, but when I was young we weren’t encouraged to use the language. Although both my parents spoke Gaelic, they didn’t speak it to us children and we got no Gaelic lessons in school. It was wrong!” she stated emphatically.* Compulsory education with English as the sole medium of instruction had a devastating effect on intergenerational language transmission as well.

⁸ After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891 and 1901.



In 1878 the then Inspector of Schools for Ross, Caithness and Sutherland Mr. D. Sime wrote officially: “I should regard the teaching of Gaelic in schools in any shape or form as a most serious misfortune.” (Campbell, 1945). This was his opinion concerning teaching Gaelic as a subject (in English of course), the possibility of using the language as medium of instruction was clearly beyond his imagination. With such an attitude it is no wonder that *Gàidhlig* had a low profile in society. Sutherland County Council provided the worst example of all the Highland counties as regards their attitudes towards the local vernacular. Notwithstanding the efforts of officialdom, however, *Gàidhlig*-speaking became not extinct instantaneously in the younger generations. Very rare information on the age structure of the *Gàidhlig*-speaking population was provided in the county report for Sutherland regarding the census 1911: “Of the 188 speakers of Gaelic but not English, 61 are under and 127 over 20 years of age. Of the speakers of Gaelic and English, 2,512 are under, and 9,039 over 20 years of age; and the great majority, 10,346, were born within the County.” (Scotland Census Office, 1912). Between 1891 and 1911 a considerable number of children was still growing up in a *Gàidhlig*-speaking environment (compare also fig. 5). Even in 1931 almost three quarters of the population spoke *Gàidhlig* in the north-western parishes of *Cataibh* (Sutherland).

<i>An Iar Thuath Chataibh</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	8,876	8,162	7,470	6,537	5,122	4,148
% of total population	87.5 %	85.1 %	82.9 %	79.1 %	73.1 %	71.6 %

Table 2: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *An Iar Thuath Chataibh* (Northwest Sutherland) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

The so-called Gaelic clause in the Education Bill of 1918 provided the possibility “to teach Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas” in Scotland. This was used at best with a lukewarm attitude in some education authorities. Sutherland ignored this possibility almost completely. The county did not even respond to the initiative of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* in 1936 which sought the opinions of education authorities concerning an improvement of the teaching and use of *Gàidhlig* in schools.

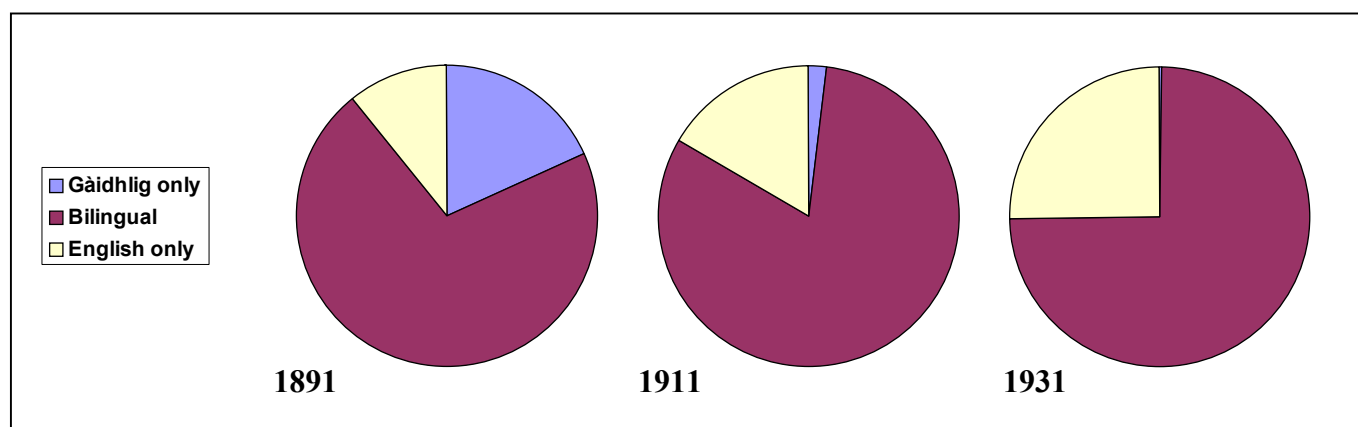


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931



2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of Gàidhlig-speakers fell from 71.6 % to 51.1 % in the area. Even after the war the education authority did not follow the example of Inverness-shire to use the language in education in a more intensive and efficient manner: It did not use it at all! This was to have a dramatic effect on language maintenance in the county. Census figures for the age group 3-24 in *Cataibh* recorded rapidly decreasing numbers. In total only 308, 185 and 90 persons (1951, 1961 and 1971 respectively) were found to be Gàidhlig-speaking at young age.

The disappearance of first language children was proven by a report on Gàidhlig-speaking schoolchildren in the Highlands (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961): In 1957 only two pupils in primary school age were considered having Gàidhlig as first language in the whole county. Both came from *Asainn* (Assynt). In the whole of Sutherland only one primary school was using Gàidhlig in some way in the classroom. The devastating fact was that 161 pupils had parents as Gàidhlig-speakers (43 both parents, 63 only one partner). In secondary schools 8 % of children in Sutherland were studying Gaelic (63) at the time. In first year of secondary school there were only four first language students and an additional number of 24 pupils had some knowledge of Gàidhlig. This seemed to be the end of a long saga.

Locally (in the older generation) the language remained part of community life, however. In 1961 there were two CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) with a majority of Gàidhlig-speakers: *Stòrr* in *Asainn* (77.6 %) and *Eadar dha Chaolais* (Eddrachillis) with 50.1 %. Ten years later *Stòrr* still recorded 50.7 % Gàidhlig-speakers. Afterwards the language lost ground swiftly in the whole county except for the parish of *Tunga* (Tongue) where the decrease was markedly less pronounced.

<i>An Iar Thuath Chataibh</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	2,188	1,575	1,220	850	549	312	214
Percentage of total population	51.1 %	39.8 %	32.5 %	24.8 %	14.8 %	8.7 %	6.2 %

Table 3: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *An Iar Thuath Chataibh* (Northwest Sutherland) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2011

In the 1970s at last the changing attitudes towards the language were also reaching 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 Gaelic lessons for their children. An overwhelming majority came out in favour. In *Iar Thuath Chataibh* (Northwest Sutherland) this meant a staggering figure of 164 parents of 186 families (88.2 %)! In the aftermath some Gàidhlig was introduced in local schools but not to a considerable extent. Some measures were also taken to give a higher profile to the language. One obvious example was the provision of bilingual signs for townships in the north and west; but rather expectedly the Gàidhlig version was placed underneath the English name and of course in brackets!

The educational status quo of 1981 is highlighted in fig. 4. Only a few children were recorded as Gàidhlig-speaking in *Tunga & Fàrr* with some of them reaching literacy in the language in secondary school age. Even worse: In *Cataibh an Iar* school-aged Gàidhlig-speakers were a “quantité négligable”.



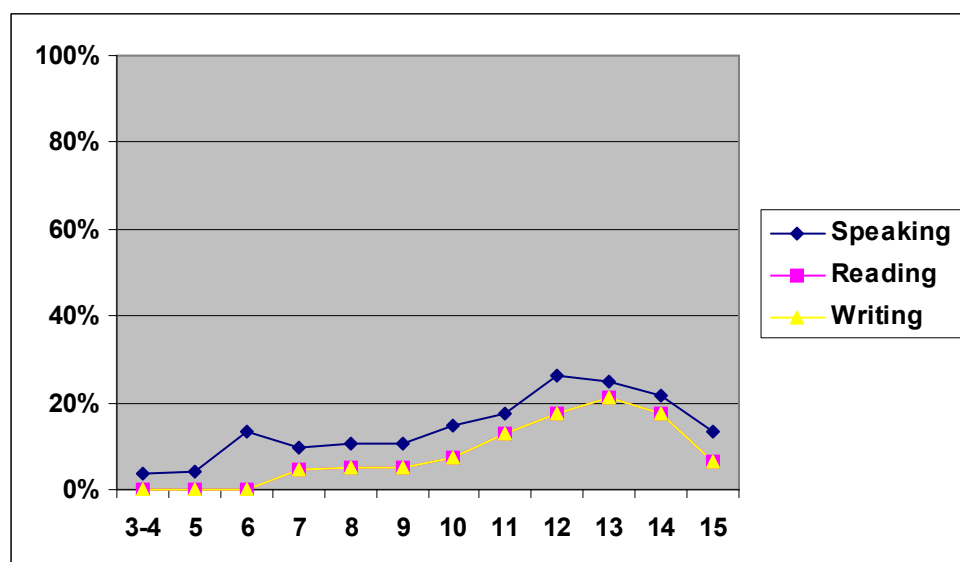


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Tunga & Fàrr

Later, progress was still made only in small steps. A breakthrough in public opinion was created by a 10-year language development plan launched in 1992 by *Comunn na Gàidhlig* and its working group on Gàidhlig in Northwest Sutherland. The purpose of this local plan was to “create in North & West Sutherland an environment in which every person who so wishes is enabled to use the Gaelic language in as many aspects of everyday life as are possible. The working group identified two key symptoms of the weakened condition of Gaelic in North and West Sutherland: (i) The virtual absence of formal educational opportunities (especially at primary school level); (ii) The extremely poor profile of Gaelic and its heritage throughout the area.” The report went further. „It would be easy to overlook the fact that the north and west of Sutherland is part of the *Gaidhealtachd*. After all, only 11% of Sutherland’s population spoke Gaelic in 1981 compared with over 80 % in 1881. In common with other Gaelic speaking areas, North and West Sutherland has suffered from negative attitudes towards the language (particularly within the education system); migration from the area; and many people moving into the area with no knowledge or background of Gaelic culture. Thus, use of Gaelic as family and community language has decreased and there is a neglect of the area’s Gaelic heritage, so a major asset is being marginalised to the disadvantage of all” (*Comunn na Gàidhlig*, 1992). Starting from this initiative a local working group was launched to further the cause of the language: *Am Parbh*, named after the impressive Cape Wrath in the north-western corner of the area well-known as the turning point for ships between North Sea and Atlantic. This turning point was also felt to be necessary for Gàidhlig.

Overall census figures, however, did show a rapid decline in the number of speakers because the older and strongly Gàidhlig-speaking generations passed away and were not replaced to any degree by younger speakers (see figures 5 and 6 for comparison). Between 1981 and 2001 the two remaining “strongholds” of *Mealanaid* (Melness) north of *Tunga* and *Cùl-Cinn* (Culkein) in *Asainn* (tables 17 and 19) saw their Gàidhlig-speaking population halved from 58.4 % and 55.5 % to 28.8 % and 26.9 % respectively. In other communities the decrease was even worse. In 1991 language transmission was especially weak in those 26 families in the whole of *Cataibh* where all adults were Gàidhlig-speaking. In only 35 % of these households the dependent children also spoke Gàidhlig (General Register Office, 1994).



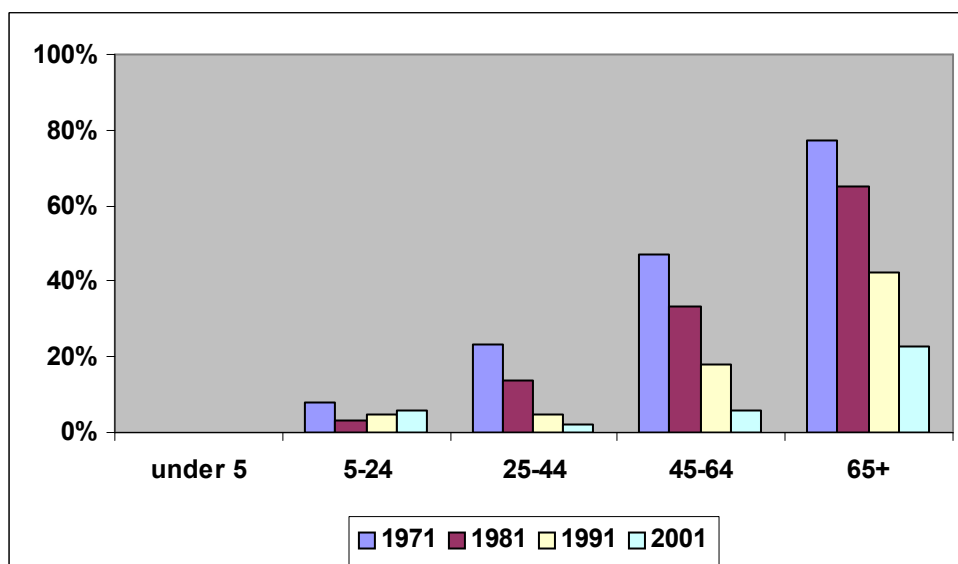


Fig. 5: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland)⁹

Nevertheless, a growing impetus was put into cultural and educational aspects. The creation of the annual art festival of *Feis Mhealanais* is one example. It is based in the last remaining village of Sutherland where the language was cherished against all the odds. Parents from *Mealanaish* (Melness) and neighbouring *Tunga* (Tongue) were successful in 1992 to see the first GMU in Sutherland to go ahead in the local primary school. This was soon complemented by a *sràdagan* group and temporarily also by a playgroup. In addition, the establishment of *Taigh na Gàidhlig Mhealanais* (Melness Gaelic Centre) provided a welcome focal point for language activities in the area. But both GMU and *Sràdagan* were short-lived due to teacher shortages.

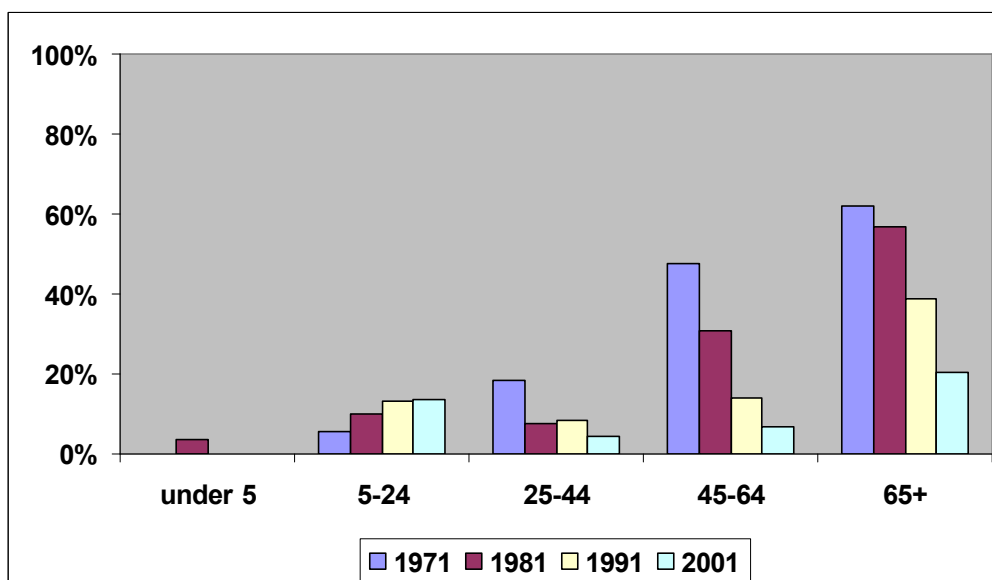


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr)

⁹ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



Developments in other places were slow and intermittent. Second language tuition for primary pupils (30 minutes per week) was provided with some success in a number of schools during the 1990s. Small primary school groups for learners were active for a while in *Asainn*, *Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh* (Kinlochbervie) and *Sgobhairigh* (Scourie). Unfortunately, this was based on very thin ice as this depended on a few enthusiastic volunteers and the availability of rooms and Gàidhlig-speaking staff. For a few years there were *cròileagan* in *Loch an Inbhir*, *Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh* and *Mealanaid* but all these groups had to close for a variety of reasons despite strong support by local parents.



Gàidhlig is rather commonly used on signs in the area (Duwe, 2016)

Activities to establish a GMU in the primary school of *Loch an Inbhir* (Lochinver) were unsuccessful due to the teacher shortage in 1994/95. The opening of the new secondary school in *Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh* provided an additional opportunity to teach *Gàidhlig* as second language for local children. Unfortunately, after a successful start the Gaelic teacher left the school and no suitable replacement was found. Accordingly, no *Gàidhlig* language tuition was available for all children from *Diùrnis* (Durness) to *Sgobhairigh* (Scourie) because also at Ullapool High School there was only provision for *Gàidhlig*-medium pupils who had finished study in the local GMU. The only second language teaching was provided at Farr High School in *Am Blaran Odhar* (Bettyhill) which takes in pupils from primaries between



Tunga and *Mealbhaich* (Melvich) on the north coast. During a certain period there were positive signs with the establishment of a Gàidhlig-medium day nursery in *Tunga* (Tongue) in 2003 providing official Gàidhlig pre-school education in this area for the first time. In 2003/2004 four children were enrolled. This was however short-lived. Despite all these setbacks 2001 census data did show a small increase in the age group between 5 and 24 for the area of *Tunga & Fàrr* (fig. 6). This was mainly caused by the positive developments around *Tunga*. Between 1992 and 2014 a GMU had been established there. It had to close eventually because of staffing problems – the same old story!!

In the communities of *Iar Thuath Chataibh* the profile of the language was still very low. Even in 2005 the Sutherland Area Committee of *Comhairle na Gaidhealtachd* refused to support the erection of bilingual road-signs because of fears “about road safety and costs” (West Highland Free Press, 2005). With such friends Gàidhlig still needed no enemies in *Cataibh*! – The signs eventually came anyway.

2011 saw generally a further decrease of Gàidhlig speaking in the area. This was due to the passing away of older traditional speakers and almost negligible education provision. In tables 11 and 12 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. Positive news is the encouraging figure regarding the civil parish of *Fàrr*. Here a. o. the language teaching at primaries *Am Blàran Odhar* (Bettyhill) and *Mealabhaich* (Melvich) may have played a role.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, in 2011 the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. Accordingly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures of Gàidhlig knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population is provided in table 4 for local selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones shows positive signs on the north coast and rather disastrous conditions in the west.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area roughly 20 % of Gàidhlig speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 4.



Census Data Zones	Cataibh an Iar & Tunga is Fàrr – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Loch an Inbhir & Asainn (Lochinver & Assynt)	2	2.9%	20	3.8%	- 1.0 %	50.0 %
Stòr & Eadar dha Chaolais (Stoer & Eddrachillis)	3	3.5%	69	11.1%	- 7.6 %	47.4 %
Ceann Loch Biorbhaidh (Kinlochbervie)	-	0.0%	35	7.9%	- 7.9 %	11.8 %
Diùranais & Euraboll (Durness & Eriboll)	10	12.5%	74	14.8%	- 1.9 %	23.8%
Tunga & Am Blaran Odhar (Tongue & Bettyhill)	21	24.1%	109	13.1%	+ 11.0 %	39.7 %
A’Mhealbhaich (Melvich)	7	11.9%	38	7.8%	+ 4.1 %	25.0 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 4: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011

The information on literacy in the language is also an important aspect which became obvious from the census in 1971 onwards: Census questions were then introduced on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 4 and 5 below). Literacy was confined to a very small proportion of the speakers with only 19.5 % able to read *Gàidhlig* in *Tunga & Fàrr* and only 9.7 % able to write in the language! This was reminiscent of centuries of neglect in the educational system. The slightly higher figures for *Cataibh an Iar* (albeit also on a disturbingly low level – see tables 4 and 5) were due to the influence of Free Church congregations in *Asainn* where 46 % of speakers were able to read *Gàidhlig*.

Literacy levels improved since 1971 but remain at the lower end of the scale in Scotland. When consulting data on the younger age groups there was an “improvement” from rock bottom status with just 10 speakers (1971) aged 5 to 14 towards 30 children out of 49 (61.2 %) aged 5 to 15 who were recorded as able to read the language in 2001. The relative improvement in literacy levels between 1971 and 2001 is depicted in fig. 7 where especially the secondary school performance had changed drastically.



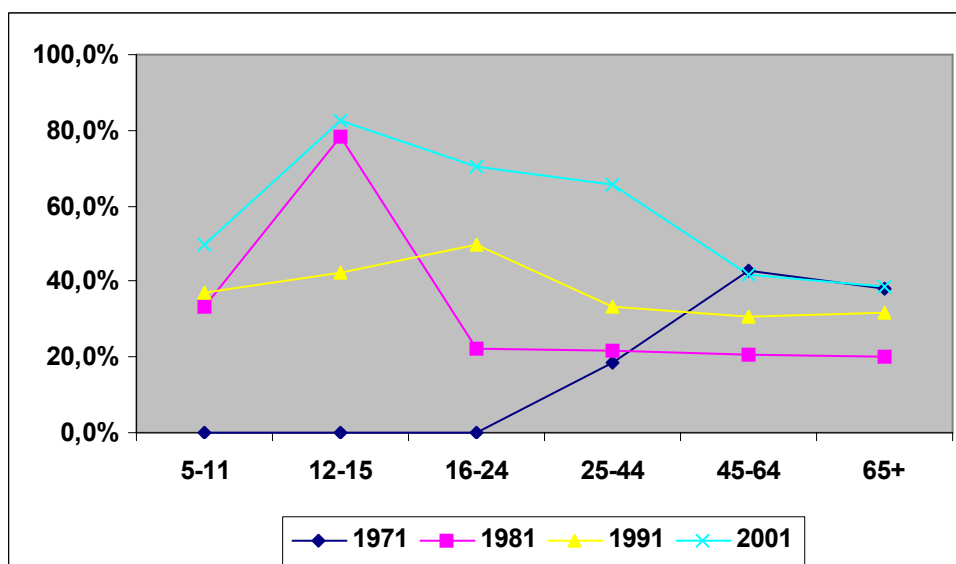


Fig. 7: Persons able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in *Iar Thuath Chataibh* (Northwest Sutherland) between 1971 and 2001

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Cataibh an Iar (West Sutherland)	255	167	105	73	52	38.9%	37.9%	37.3%	48.7%	57.8%
Tunga & Fàrr (Tongue & Farr)	110	130	74	74	86	19.5%	31.4%	28.0%	47.4%	69.4%

Table 5: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

In 2011 a further improvement of Gàidhlig literacy was observed for all areas (tables 5 and 6). This was certainly helped partly by language teaching in local schools and overall by adult language courses.

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Cataibh an Iar (West Sutherland)	90	78	46	44	34	13.7%	17.9%	16.4%	29.1%	37.8%
Tunga & Fàrr (Tongue & Farr)	55	63	64	56	68	9.7%	15.2%	24.0%	34.8%	54.8%

Table 6: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

Census results for 2001 were the most comprehensive and detailed information base ever provided for Scotland. 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.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: The more recent census data of 2011 were not as detailed as 2001 regarding generational differences in language use. Therefore 2001 is used here as baseline for research purposes. The following sections describe the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational and community by community) and the specific conditions of the younger age groups in local school catchments.

3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001

Comparing both areas – *Cataibh an Iar* and *Tunga & Fàrr* – it is obvious that the general state of the language is very weak all over the place. The only notable exceptions are the communities around *Mealanaich* and *Tunga*. Even there no children below the age of three were recorded with some knowledge of Gàidhlig (2001 being the first census to enumerate language ability in this age group). There was only one child aged 3 or 4 which was counted as being able to understand Gàidhlig. In general, the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- ***Cataibh an Iar*:** It is quite obvious that the language could only be used to a substantial degree in the generations born before 1925 (fig. 8). Gàidhlig-speaking was almost absent amongst those born between 1950 and 1979. A few children in school age were recorded as being able to understand or to speak the language (table 6). The geographical distribution of language speakers was quite variable, too: The small area statistics provide information on census output areas (tables 18 and 22 respectively). Here, the share of population able to speak the language ranged from a few percent in *Bad an Daraich* (Baddidarach) near *Loch an Inbhir* (Lochinver) to some 26 % in *An Cùl-Cinn* (Culkein). The corresponding figures for the “understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 7 % in *Bad an Daraich* and some 30 % in *An Cùl-Cinn*. The overall picture (fig. 10) did show only one fifth of the population living in neighbourhoods where more than 20 % knew at least some Gàidhlig. Literacy levels in the area were still low with below 50% of Gàidhlig-speakers able to read and just below 30 % able to write the language. The new category of “understanding spoken Gaelic” in 2001 gave additional 138 persons (6.9 %) in the area who were at least competent in some aspects of the language in addition to the 151 (7.2 %) Gàidhlig-speakers. This was a comparatively high ratio between those understanding and those speaking the language – in the past many parents did succeed in preventing their children to speak the language but some children got at least some smattering of Gàidhlig nonetheless.
- ***Tunga & Fàrr*:** This area provides a similar picture with some slight deviations (fig. 7). Especially among younger people Gàidhlig had a stronger presence with e.g. 32.8 % of those aged 12 to 15 knowing some Gàidhlig (table 7). Local information for census output areas (tables 19 and 23) did show percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers varying between a few percent in *Mealbhaich* (Melvich) and 28 % in *Mealanaich* (Melness). The corresponding figures for the “understands spoken Gaelic” category were 6 % and 39 %. Also, in *Tunga & Fàrr* only one fifth of the inhabitants lived in neighbourhoods where more than 20 % of people knew some Gàidhlig (fig. 11). Literacy levels in the area were also low with just 48 % of Gàidhlig-speakers able to read and below 35 % able to write the language. The new category of “understanding spoken Gaelic” in



2001 gave additional 97 persons (6.5 %) in the area who were at least competent in some aspects of the language in addition to the 161 (10.8 %) *Gàidhlig*-speakers.

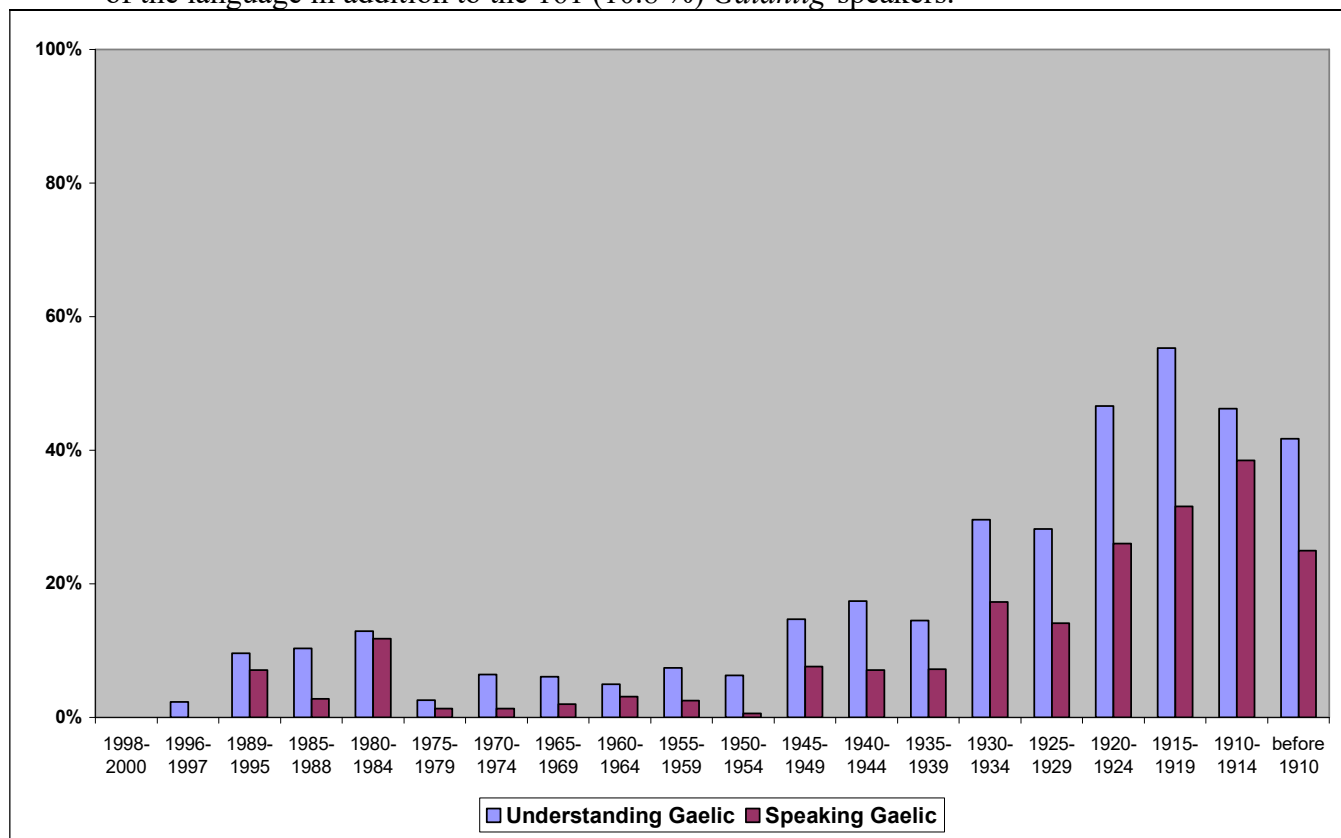


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁰ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	1	2.3 %	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-11	19	9.6 %	5	2.5 %	14	7.1 %	8	3.9 %	+3.2 %
12-15	11	11.8 %	3	2.8 %	3	2.8 %	8	7.9 %	-5.1 %
16-24	13	8.1 %	7	4.3 %	11	6.8 %	10	4.4 %	+2.4 %
3-24	44	8.6 %	15	2.9 %	28	5.5 %	26	4.4 %	+1.1 %
All ages	289	14.1 %	73	3.6 %	151	7.2 %	283	13.2 %	-6.0 %
Difference	-5.5 %		-0.7 %		-1.7 %		-8.8 %		

Table 7: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁰ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig* and/or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



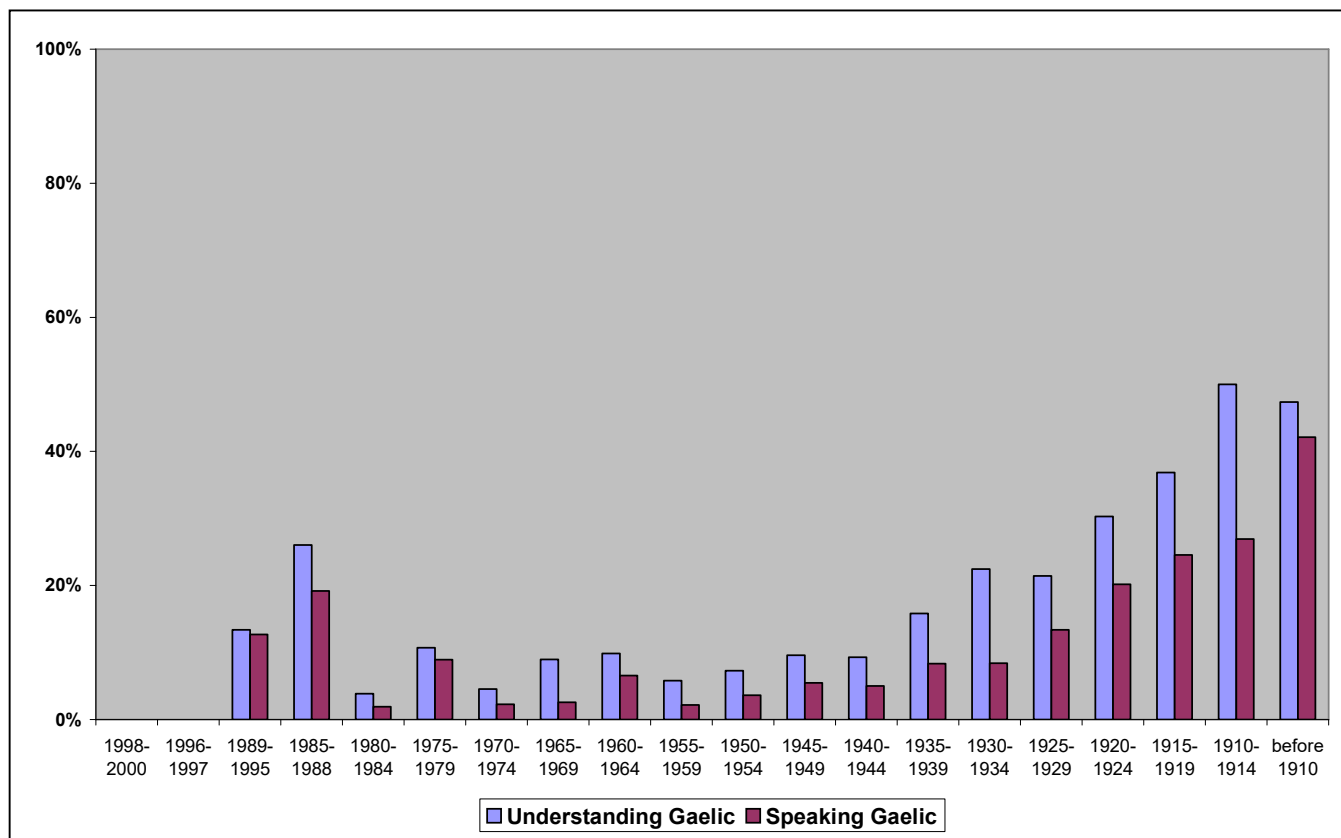


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of Tunga & Fàrr (Tongue & Farr) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹¹ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-11	19	13.4 %	11	7.7 %	18	12.6 %	19	14.6 %	-2.0 %
12-15	22	32.8 %	11	15.1 %	16	24.4 %	11	16.9 %	+7.5 %
16-24	8	7.4 %	5	4.6 %	6	6.3 %	12	9.5 %	-3.2 %
3-24	49	15.7 %	27	8.6 %	40	12.7 %	42	11.9 %	+0.8 %
All ages	258	17.3 %	74	4.4 %	161	10.8 %	266	17.0 %	-6.2 %
Diff.	-1.6 %		+4.2 %		+ 1.9 %		-5.1 %		

Table 8: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in Tunga & Fàrr (Tongue & Farr) in 2001 and 1991

¹¹ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*, or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



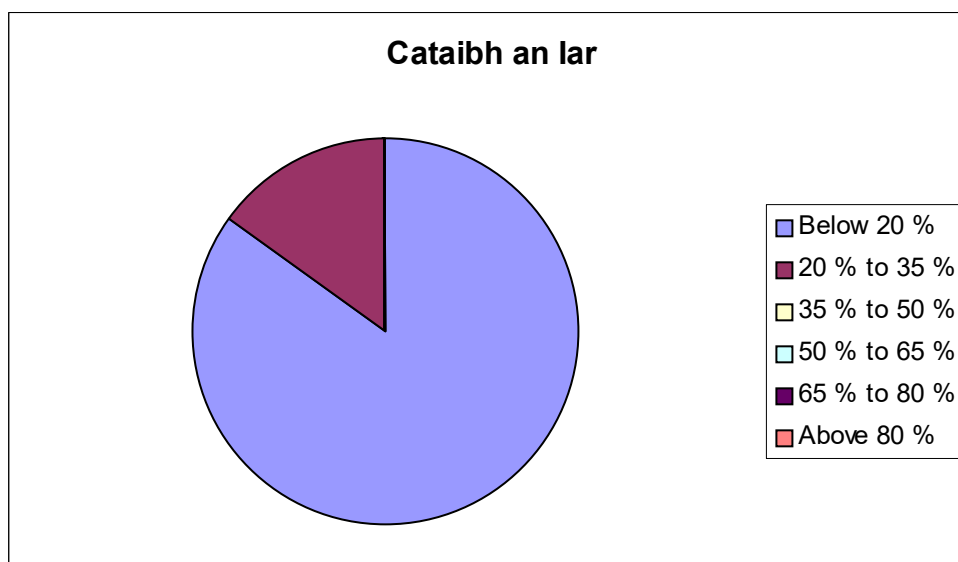


Fig. 10: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) according to Census 2001

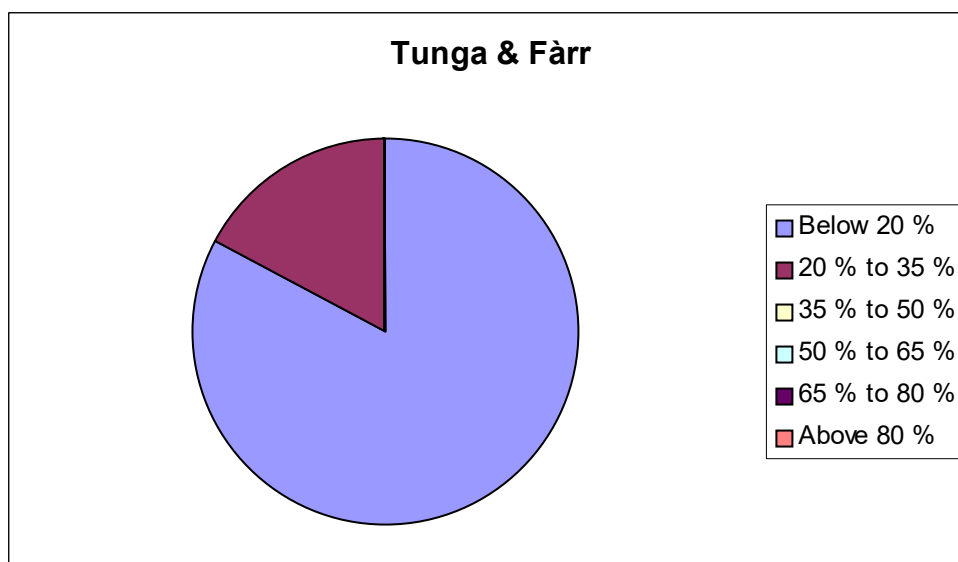


Fig. 11: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) according to Census 2001

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics where the knowledge of *Gàidhlig* can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “*Gàidhlig* knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary 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 8 with the age group of 24-35 which may be representative of the language abilities of possible parents.



Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Loch an Inbhir</i> (Lochinver)	1	2.8 %	7	9.9 %	4	12.5 %	2	2.7 %
<i>An Stòr</i> (Stoer)	-	-	1	7.7 %	-	-	3	12.0 %
<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie)	-	-	2	12.5 %	3	16.7 %	4	14.8 %
<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh & Achadh Fairidh</i> (Kinlochbervie & Achfary)	-	-	4	6.4 %	3	9.4 %	2	3.4 %
<i>Diùirnir</i> (Durness)	-	-	5	14.7 %	1	5.6 %	3	7.5 %
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	-	-	18	38.3 %	10	47.6 %	3	7.9 %
<i>Am Blaran Odhar</i> (Bettyhill)	-	-	-	-	4	33.3 %	-	-
<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich)	-	-	1	2.3 %	5	21.7 %	4	11.8 %

Table 9: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

The number of pre-school children with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* was negligible in 2001. Looking at the other age groups the following statements can be provided:

- **Primary school children:** In the school year of 2000/2001 the GMU in *Tunga* had 11 children. Some of the remaining primary pupils probably received second language tuition. In addition, there was a *sradagan* group established in *Tunga*. Apart from this “highlight” there were a few children in other schools who e.g. were engaged in the “learner” *sradagan* in *Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh*, *Asainn* and *Sgobhairigh* or who received a few minutes of *Gàidhlig* lessons a week.
- **Secondary school children:** Some *Gàidhlig* education was provided during 2000/2001 at Farr High school with pupils coming from the GMU at *Tunga* and additional second language lessons for the remaining pupils. At Kinlochbervie and Ullapool there was no second language tuition at the time. In 2000/2001 three pupils received *Gàidhlig* lessons for “fluent speakers” (S1 and S2) at Farr High School, these came from the GMU at *Tunga*. 31 pupils were defined as “learners”. Some of them were enumerated as knowing some *Gàidhlig* in the census.
- **Parents:** The share of the population of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was rather low in the “parental” generation. *Gàidhlig*-speaking in the area was more or less confined to the grandparental or even great-grandparental generation.

In conclusion no significant educational progress could be identified in the 2001 census apart from the commendable activities centred in the primary school of *Tunga*.



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

The 2011 census results can also be used to predict future developments because major underlying facts cannot be changed within a time span of a few years. General conclusions may be drawn as follows: *Iar Thuath Cataibh* (Northwest Sutherland) can no longer be seen as *Gàidhlig*-speaking community in a strict sense as even the generation born before World War I is passing away. The negative language viability indicator (LVI¹²) points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 10). The conditions for survival of the language are still precarious.

Area	Cataibh an Iar & Tunga is Fàrr – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Cataibh an Iar (West Sutherland)	15	5.0%	198	9.4%	- 4.4 %	32.7 %
Tunga & Fàrr (Tongue & Farr)	28	19.2%	147	11.1%	+ 8.0 %	36.3 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 10: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) and *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

Locally the LVI is overwhelmingly negative except on the north coast with cultural and educational activities centred on the secondary school at *Am Blàran Odhar* (Bettyhill). The knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age-groups (table 4) is virtually non-existent with the notable exception of the *Tunga & Fàrr* data zones with around 20 % of young people at least knowing some *Gàidhlig*.

As late as 2023 *Gàidhlig* was eventually reintroduced at the secondary school of *Ceann Loch Biorbhaidh* (Kinlochbervie) on the west coast. Perhaps a hint for progress to arrive at the local primary schools?

In conclusion: The situation of *Gàidhlig* in *Iar Thuath Cataibh* (West Sutherland) is depressingly worrying. The only enlightening features are the developments around the communities between *Tunga* and *Mealbhaich*.

¹² LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined based on 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

Census	Civil Parish				
	<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt)	<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)
1881	2,596	1,243	780	1,791	2,466 ¹³
1891	2,217	1,196	804	1,639	2,306
1901	2,104	1,140	661	1,485	2,080
1911	1,790	1,041	617	1,312	1,777
1921	1,340	826	454	1,052	1,440
1931	1,069	726	384	849	1,120
1951	522	427	212	440	587
1961	378	350	151	309	387
1971	260	270	125	230	335
1981	188	175	74	176	237
1991	135	101	47	117	149
2001	65	56	30	95	66
2011	48	24	18	60	66

Table 11: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish				
	<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt)	<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)
1881 ¹⁴	93.3 %	81.4 %	79.0 %	92.8 %	85.1 %
1891	86.9 %	84.9 %	83.8 %	85.1 %	83.9 %
1901	88.2 %	80.4 %	76.0 %	83.3 %	81.3 %
1911	84.8 %	83.3 %	74.3 %	81.5 %	72.0 %
1921	76.4 %	73.0 %	74.9 %	77.9 %	66.9 %
1931	79.7 %	75.1 %	72.6 %	71.7 %	63.3 %
1951	58.7 %	54.3 %	51.3 %	53.1 %	43.0 %
1961	45.5 %	47.4 %	40.4 %	43.7 %	29.5 %
1971	31.1 %	36.2 %	36.8 %	38.3 %	27.3 %
1981	23.4 %	27.1 %	22.6 %	32.4 %	21.3 %
1991	13.2 %	12.8 %	12.9 %	21.2 %	14.3 %
2001	6.6 %	7.3 %	8.5 %	16.9 %	7.1 %
2011	4.8 %	3.6 %	5.3 %	10.8 %	7.0 %

Table 12: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2011

¹³ Includes the western part of the civil parish of *Meaghrath* (Reay) which was incorporated in *Fàrr* (Farr) subsequently.

¹⁴ The 1881 census question was concerned with ‘‘habitually’’ speaking Gaelic.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>Cataibh an Iar</i>¹⁵	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	5,240	4,616	
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	2,776	2,596	
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	1,500	1,243	
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	968	777	
----- Inhabited island (included in the above) ---			
<i>Olanaigh</i> (Oldnay Island)	4	4	
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt)	1,390	1,262	
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	1,391	1,334	
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	605	384	
<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie)	920	859	
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	987	780	
----- Census registration districts (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton of Assynt)	498	422	
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	2,283	2,174	
1891	4,868	3,597	620
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	2,551	1,718	499
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	1,357	1,115	81
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	960	764	40
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt)	1,270	938	130
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	1,281	780	369
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	511	361	22
<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie)	898	754	59
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	960	764	40
----- Census registration districts (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton of Assynt)	400	270	44
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	2,151	1,489	455
1901	4,674	3,674	231
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	2,386	1,938	166
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	1,418	1,095	45
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	870	641	20
----- Ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt)	1,154	925	85
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	1,232	1,013	81
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	541	379	7
<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie)	827	716	38
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	870	641	20
----- Census registration districts (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton of Assynt)	338	280	14
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	2,048	1,658	152
----- Electoral areas (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	1,189	1,010	81
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	1,308	1,091	45
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	837	641	20

Table 13: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, electoral areas or inhabited islands) in *Cataibh an Iar*

¹⁵ Civil parishes of *Asainn* (Assynt), *Eadar dha Chaolais* (Eddrachillis) and *Diùirnis* (Durness).



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>Cataibh an Iar</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	4,191	3,341	107
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	2,111	1,714	76
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	1,250	1,027	14
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	830	600	17
1921	3,496	2,579	43
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	1,755	1,318	22
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	1,135	808	20
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	606	453	1
1931	2,838	2,170	9
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	1,342	1,063	6
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	967	723	3
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	529	384	-
1951	2,089	1,161	-
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	889	522	-
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	787	427	-
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	413	212	-
1961	1,943	878	1
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	831	378	-
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	738	349	1
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	374	151	-
----- County council electoral divisions ---			
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CCED	623	222	-
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer) CCED	208	156	-
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CCED	738	349	1
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CCED	374	151	-
1971¹⁶	1,920	437	*
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CP	821	258	*
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CP	717	270	*
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CP	338	125	*
----- County council electoral divisions ---			
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt) CCED	508	104	*
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer) CCED	313	154	*
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis) CCED	717	270	*
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) CCED	338	125	*

Table 14: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes or county council electoral divisions) in *Cataibh an Iar*

¹⁶ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971. In the whole county of Sutherland, the number was negligible although at least one person was enumerated in this category.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>Tunga & Fàrr</i> ¹⁷	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	4,853	4,257	
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	1,929	1,791	
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	1,930	1,642	
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay) CP – western part, only	994	824	
----- Inhabited island or village (included in the above) ---			
<i>Eilean nan Ròn</i> (Roan Island)	73	73	
<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich) Vi	259	210	
<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra) Vi	387	376	
----- Ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	1,929	1,791	
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	1,140	928	
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	790	714	
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	994	824	
----- Census registration districts (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton of Farr)	1,140	928	
1891	4,675	3,693	252
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	1,925	1,525	114
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	1,857	1,487	117
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay) CP – western part, only	893	681	21
----- Inhabited island or village (included in the above) ---			
<i>Eilean nan Ròn</i> (Roan Island)	63	61	-
<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich) Vi	161	118	11
<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra) Vi	332	310	5
----- Ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	1,925	1,525	114
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	1,081	838	82
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	776	649	35
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	893	681	21
----- Census registration districts (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton of Farr)	776	649	35
1901	4,675	3,478	87
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	1,783	1,444	41
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	2,557	2,034	46
----- Inhabited island or village (included in the above) ---			
<i>Eilean nan Ròn</i> (Roan Island)	67	62	-
<i>Mealbhaich & Port Sgeire</i> (Melvich & Portskerra) Vi	498	418	6
----- Ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	1,783	1,444	44
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	1,025	812	21
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	679	570	19
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	853	652	6
----- Census registration districts (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton of Farr)	1,532	1,222	25
----- Electoral areas (differing from areas above) ---			
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	1,768	1,444	41

Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, electoral areas or inhabited islands) in *Tunga & Fàrr*

¹⁷ Civil parishes of *Fàrr* (Farr) and *Tunga* (Tongue).



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>Tunga & Fàrr</i> ¹⁸	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	4,077	3,044	45
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	1,609	1,283	29
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	2,468	1,761	16
1921	3,502	2,486	6
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	1,350	1,049	3
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	2,152	1,437	3
1931	2,953	1,958	11
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	1,184	844	5
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	1,769	1,114	6
1951	2,194	1,027	-
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	828	440	-
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	1,366	587	-
1961	2,018	696	-
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	707	309	-
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	1,311	387	-
----- County council electoral division ---			
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	707	309	-
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	554	180	-
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	757	207	-
1971 ¹⁹	1,827	565	*
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) CP	599	229	*
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr) CP	1,228	336	*
----- County council electoral division ---			
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	599	229	*
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	534	133	*
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	694	203	*

Table 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes or county council electoral divisions) in *Tunga & Fàrr*

¹⁸ Civil parishes of *Fàrr* (Farr) and *Tunga* (Tongue).

¹⁹ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971. In the whole county of Sutherland the number was negligible although at least one person was enumerated in this category.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in the civil parish of <i>Asainn</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ²⁰	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ²¹				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ²²		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Clais an Easaidh</i> ²³ (Clashnessie)	174 99.4%	153 92.2%	136 88.9%	118 84.3%	12 7.8%	10 7.4%	2 1.7%
<i>An Cùl-Cinn & Achadh na Carnaidh</i> (Culkein & Achnacarnie)	389 94.4%	364 95.0%	256 92.4%	193 92.3%	242 66.5%	38 14.8%	13 6.7%
<i>An Clais Mòr</i> (Clashmore)	139 99.3%	113 79.0%	250 90.6%	212 90.6%	35 31.0%	10 4.0%	10 4.7%
<i>Stòr & Bail'a'Chladaich</i> (Stoer & Balchladich)	230 98.7%	162 74.7%	145 91.8%	152 85.4%	22 13.6%	–	4 2.6%
<i>An Nead</i> (Nedd)	108 97.3%	92 95.8%	73 94.8%	53 94.6%	17 18.5%	17 23.3%	7 13.2%
<i>An Druim Beag</i> (Drumbeg)	158 98.1%	134 94.4%	127 96.2%	94 86.2%	13 9.7%	15 11.8%	6 6.4%
<i>Cùl-Cinn an Droma Bhig</i> (Culkein Drumbeag)	125 100%	116 98.3%	100 93.5%	88 97.8%	11 9.5%	26 26.0%	10 11.4%
<i>Clach Toll</i> (Clachtoll)	175 97.2%	143 96.0%	142 88.2%	130 95.6%	27 18.9%	11 7.7%	9 6.9%
<i>Achadh Mhealbhaich & Pollan</i> (Achmelvich & Pollan)	227 92.3%	214 95.5%	153 93.3%	136 95.1%	31 14.5%	12 7.8%	4 2.9%
<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach)	53 98.1%	45 72.6%	52 98.1%	35 87.5%	3 6.7%	1 1.9%	–
<i>Tòrr Breac & Breac Loch</i> (Torbreck & Brackloch)	76 97.4%	62 87.3%	56 86.2%	61 80.3%	7 11.3%	1 1.8%	1 1.6%
<i>Loch an Inbhir & Culag</i> (Lochinver & Culag)	114 77.6%	109 65.7%	152 74.9%	148 64.3%	2 1.8%	5 3.3%	–
<i>Bad na Bathan & Srathan</i> (Badnaban & Strathan)	114 93.4%	82 88.2%	76 85.4%	76 81.7%	9 11.0%	4 5.3%	3 3.9%
<i>Inbhir Chirceig & Cnoc nan Each</i> (Inverkirkraig & Knocknaneach)	91 94.8%	99 92.5%	80 88.9%	63 88.7%	24 24.2%	2 2.5%	–
<i>Cnocan & Crom Allt</i> (Knockan & Cromalt)	94 95.9%	85 98.8%	66 98.5%	47 83.9%	15 17.6%	9 13.6%	1 2.1%
<i>Ail Fionn</i> (Elphin)	137 95.8%	103 94.5%	96 99.0%	69 86.3%	26 25.2%	3 3.1%	5 7.2%
<i>Leathad Mòr & Allt nan Cealgach</i> (Ledmore & Altnacealgach)	21 52.5%	18 78.3%	24 88.9%	18 78.3%	1 5.6%	–	–
<i>Innis nan Damh & Asainn Beag</i> (Inchnadamph & Little Assynt)	91 71.1%	62 62.6%	43 69.4%	42 53.8%	2 3.2%	–	1 2.4%
<i>Unabol & Caolas Cumhann</i> (Unapool & Kylesku)	79 88.8%	45 57.0%	67 80.7%	54 78.3%	–	2 3.0%	–

Table 17: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in the civil parish of *Asainn* (Assynt) between 1881 and 1911

²⁰ Enumeration division.

²¹ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

²² Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

²³ The island of *Oldanaigh* (Oldany) is included in this division. The four inhabitants in 1881 all spoke *Gàidhlig*.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of <i>Eadar dha Chaolais & Diurinis</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ²⁴	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ²⁵				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ²⁶		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Caol Sròim & Dubhaird Mhòr</i> (Kylestrome & Duartmore)	33 80.5%	36 78.3%	30 75.0%	28 62.2%	3 8.3%	–	–
<i>Bada Call</i> (Badcall)	59 85.5%	57 77.0%	44 77.2%	45 83.3%	9 15.8%	3 6.8%	–
<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie)	184 69.4%	168 75.5%	176 79.3%	144 72.4%	2 1.2%	3 1.7%	–
<i>An Tairheart & An Fhionn-dail</i> (Tarbet & Foindle)	79 ²⁷ 50.0%	87 90.6%	101 86.3%	82 73.9%	8 9.2%	1 1.0%	–
<i>Loch Mòr & Ach Taigh Phairidh</i> (Loch More & Achfary)	29 61.7%	35 85.4%	35 83.3%	24 75.0%	–	–	–
<i>Aisir Mòr</i> (Oldshoremore)	201 99.0%	212 91.8%	195 89.4%	205 91.9%	17 8.0%	6 3.1%	1 0.5%
<i>Baile Chnuic</i> (Balchrick)	174 99.4%	174 95.1%	162 94.2%	123 90.4%	12 6.9%	1 0.6%	3 2.4%
<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie)	131 80.4%	110 90.9%	115 90.6%	119 91.5%	9 8.2%	8 7.0%	4 3.4%
<i>Ach Ridhisgil</i> (Achriesgill)	232 93.9%	207 96.3%	171 88.6%	176 86.3%	21 10.1%	23 13.5%	6 3.4%
<i>An Ruigh Còinnich & A' Ghualainn</i> (Rhiconich & Gualin)	30 93.8%	33 89.2%	32 91.4%	25 89.3%	–	–	–
<i>Ach Laonais & An Aird Mhòr</i> (Achlynness & Ardmore)	92 92.0%	77 87.5%	75 94.9%	69 87.3%	–	–	–
<i>Am Parbh & Cealldail</i> (Cape Wrath & Keoldale)	8 13.1%	69 74.2%	50 64.9%	51 57.3%	–	–	–
<i>Baile na Cille & Diùrnis</i> (Balnakiel & Durness)	272 88.9%	220 86.6%	163 79.5%	124 75.6%	8 3.6%	7 4.3%	–
<i>Saingea Mòr & An Leithrinn</i> (Sangomore & Lerin)	304 95.6%	285 92.8%	241 85.8%	256 88.3%	12 4.2%	17 7.0%	10 13.9%
<i>Leathad & Port nan Con</i> (Laid & Portnacon)	131 89.1%	152 91.0%	130 90.9%	104 70.7%	19 12.5%	1 0.8%	7 6.7%
<i>Euraboll & Allt na Cailliche</i> (Eriboll & Alltnacaillich)	41 46.1%	47 62.7%	59 67.8%	49 62.0%	1 2.1%	–	–
<i>Hòb & Freisgill</i> (Hope & Fresgill)	29 61.7%	29 64.4%	23 52.3%	33 54.1%	–	–	–

Table 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in the civil parishes of *Eadar dha Chaolais & Diurinis* (Eddrachillis & Durness) between 1881 and 1911

²⁴ Enumeration division.

²⁵ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

²⁶ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

²⁷ Figures are distorted by the presence of a fishing community with 60 English-only speakers from Banffshire.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in the civil parish of <i>Tunga</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ²⁸	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ²⁹				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ³⁰		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Mealanaidh</i> (Melness)	182 100%	190 90.0%	160 93.6%	140 90.9%	15 7.9%	2 1.3%	2 1.4%
<i>Tealamainn</i> (Talmine)	270 96.8%	260 90.3%	243 90.7%	195 92.0%	19 7.3%	2 0.8%	4 2.1%
<i>Achadh an Inbhir</i> (Achininver)	189 90.9%	172 90.5%	169 92.9%	153 93.9%	22 12.8%	—	7 4.6%
<i>Ceann Locha</i> (Kinloch)	61 76.3%	45 60.0%	34 55.7%	37 68.5%	—	—	—
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	247 85.8%	193 73.7%	172 71.1%	127 51.0%	—	1 0.6%	—
<i>Callbacaidh</i> (Coldbackie)	225 93.8%	193 88.5%	163 84.5%	164 88.6%	41 21.2%	8 4.9%	—
<i>An Srath Mór & Srath Beag Sgeiridh</i> (Strathmore & Strathbeg Skerry)	78 98.7%	72 100%	63 92.6%	61 96.8%	—	7 11.1%	4 6.6%
<i>Clais Buidhe & Sgeiridh</i> (Clashbuie & Skerry)	416 96.5%	207 90.4%	198 81.8%	178 95.2%	5 2.4%	10 5.1%	6 3.4%
<i>Achadh na Bada & Tòrasdail</i> (Achnabat & Torrisdale)	201 92.6%	164 84.5%	150 69.4%	12 6.0%	10 6.1%	4 2.7%	—
<i>Borghaidh & Leitir Mòr</i> (Borgie & Lettermore)	50 76.9%	47 59.5%	51 56.7%	39 62.9%	—	1 2.0%	—
<i>Eilean nan Ròn</i> (Isle of Roan)	73 100%	61 96.8%	63 94.0%	60 95.2%	—	—	1 1.7%

Table 19: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in the civil parish of *Tunga* (Tongue) between 1881 and 1911

²⁸ Enumeration division, island or village.

²⁹ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

³⁰ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parish of Farr – 1881 - 1911							
Area ³¹	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ³²				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ³³		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Inbhir Nabhair</i> (Invernaver)	81 92.0%	75 96.2%	90 72.6%	103 78.6%	18 14.8%	–	–
<i>Am Blaran Odhar & Dail Chàirn</i> (Bettyhill & Dalcharn)	190 84.4%	160 75.1%	178 84.8%	143 73.0%	28 17.5%	17 9.6%	6 4.2%
<i>Fàrr, Cnoc a' Chléirich & Clachan</i> (Farr, Clerkhill & Clachan)	354 91.2%	335 90.3%	287 85.9%	234 75.0%	8 2.4%	3 1.0%	–
<i>Suardailigh & Cathair Tomaidh</i> (Swordly & Kirtomy)	216 97.3%	208 95.4%	202 94.4%	163 88.6%	27 13.0%	1 0.5%	11 6.7%
<i>Ruigh Fàthail & Sgeilpeach</i> (Rhifail & Skelpick)	7 12.5%	47 82.5%	42	37	18 38.3%	–	–
<i>Achadh an Eas & Loch Choire</i> (Achness & Loch Choire)	2 3.8%	14 53.8%	56.8%	46.8%	1 7.1%		
<i>Saghair</i> (Syre)	42 68.9%	45 67.2%	47 54.7%	53 58.2%	1 2.2%	–	–
<i>Allt na h-Eirbhe & Modhudal</i> (Altnaharra & Mudale)	36 75.0%	50 64.9%	34 49.3%	25 36.2%	–	–	–
<i>Armadal</i> (Armadaile)	271 88.3%	225 81.5%	205 89.9%	138 75.0%	13 5.8%	2 1.0%	–
<i>Srathaidh & Allt a'Mhuilinn</i> (Strathy Point & Aultivullin)	226 94.6%	214 91.1%	202 91.0%	183 84.3%	13 6.1%	12 5.9%	–
<i>Srathaidh an Ear</i> (Strathy East)	150 99.3%	148 92.5%	121 82.3%	102 73.9%	9 6.1%	5 4.1%	–
<i>Srathaidh an Iar</i> (Strathy West)	67 72.0%	69 66.3%	61 74.4%	49 62.0%	–	–	–
<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra)	376 97.2%	315 94.9%	308 91.1%	295 91.9%	5 1.6%	5 1.6%	–
<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich)	210 81.1%	129 80.1%	116 72.5%	92 76.0%	11 8.5%	1 0.9%	–
<i>Achadh Ridigil, Biogas & Golbhal</i> (Achridigill, Bighouse & Golval)		41 61.2%	15 32.6%	30 40.5%	4 9.8%	–	1 3.3%
<i>Srath Healadail</i> (Strath Halladale)	209 82.0%	196 75.4%	196 80.0%	124 54.6%	1 0.5%	–	–
<i>Forsan Àrd & Fors an Fhàin</i> (Forsinard & Forsinain)	29 46.0%	21 28.8%	23 37.1%	11 19.3%	–	–	–

Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in the civil parish of Farr (Farr) between 1881 and 1911

³¹ Enumeration division or village.

³² Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

³³ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Sutherland) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Asainn</i> (Assynt)	AS	222 36.9 %	104 21.5 %	71 14.6 %	60 10.2 %	27 4.4 %
<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	ST	156 77.6 %	154 50.7 %	117 40.5 %	75 20.8 %	38 10.0 %
<i>Eadar dha Chaolais</i> (Eddrachillis)	ED	350 50.1 %	270 39.8 %	175 28.2 %	101 13.1 %	56 7.5 %
<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness)	DU	152 42.2 %	125 38.5 %	74 23.8 %	47 13.2 %	30 8.8 %
<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue)	TG	309 45.4 %	229 39.9 %	176 34.3 %	117 21.7 %	95 17.2 %
<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathay)	SR	207 28.8 %	203 30.8 %	117 24.7 %	58 11.0 %	33 6.3 %
<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	FA	180 34.3 %	133 25.9 %	120 26.6 %	91 20.7 %	33 8.1 %

Table 21: 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



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Cataibh an Iar</i> ³⁴						
Map No	Census output area ³⁵	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁶
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01 - 03	<i>Loch an Inbhir & Inbhir Chirceig</i> (Lochinver & Inverkirkaig)	2 2.7%	2 4.3%	14 22.6%	14 36.8%	32 17.9%
04	<i>Ail Fionn & Allt nan Cealgach</i> (Elphin & Altnacealgach)	2 6.7%	5 16.1%	4 22.2%	7 63.6%	16 24.6%
05 - 07	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach)	6 7.7%	3 5.1%	6 21.4%	16 50.0%	30 18.3%
08	<i>An Druim Beag & An Nead</i> (Drumbeg & Nedd)	—	5 21.7%	7 35.0%	12 60.0%	22 41.5%
09	<i>Achadh Mhealbhaich & Clach Toll</i> (Achmelvich & Clachtoll)	—	3 21.4%	7 41.2%	11 100%	20 34.5%
10	<i>Stòr & Clais an Easaidh</i> (Stoer & Clashnessie)	1 4.3%	4 40.0%	17 65.4%	17 70.8%	39 55.7%
11	<i>An Cùl-Cinn & An Clais Mòr</i> (Culkein & Clashmore)	—	8 47.1%	8 50.0%	17 94.4%	30 61.2%
12	<i>Sgobhairigh & Bada Call</i> (Scourie & Badcall)	1 2.9%	1 5.0%	4 13.3%	5 33.3%	10 11.4%
13	<i>Sgobhairigh & An Tairbeart</i> (Scourie & Tarbet)	—	2 2.5%	7 28.0%	16 51.6%	24 29.3%
14	<i>Achadh Taigh Phairidh</i> (Achfary)	1 5.9%	2 28.6%	5 31.3%	8 80.0%	17 35.4%
	<i>Ach Ridhisgil & Achadh Laonais</i> (Achriesgill & Achlyness)	—	2 11.1%	11 47.8%	19 79.2%	31 43.7%
15 + 16	<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh & Bada Call</i> (Kinlochbervie & Badcall)	—	10 16.7%	23 54.8%	22 78.6%	55 29.6%
17	<i>Aisir Mòr & Baile Chnuic</i> (Oldshoremore & Balchruck)	—	1 7.1%	16 61.5%	24 100%	38 57.6%
18 + 19	<i>Diùrnis & Saingea Mòr</i> (Durness & Sangomore)	—	2 5.6%	10 25.6%	25 69.4%	39 30.2%
20	<i>An Leathad & Allt na Cailliche</i> (Laid & Alltnacaillich)	2 5.0%	4 11.8%	8 28.6%	22 68.8%	36 30.5%
Total	<i>Cataibh an Iar</i> (West Sutherland)	15 3.2%	55 13.2%	144 34.0%	252 71.8%	438 29.4%

Table 22: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

³⁴ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³⁵ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³⁶ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Tunga & Fàrr</i> ³⁷						
Map No	Census output area ³⁸	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁹
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
51	<i>Mealanaid & Tealamainn</i> (Melness & Talmine)	13 56.5%	6 23.1%	25 61.0%	36 76.6%	70 62.5%
52	<i>Tunga & Allt na h-Eirbhe</i> (Tongue & Altnaharra)	9 16.1%	2 5.6%	6 22.2%	20 76.9%	32 25.2%
53	<i>Bràigh Thunga & Callbacaidh</i> (Braetongue & Coldbackie)	2 8.7%	2 10.0%	7 17.1%	10 40.0%	23 25.8%
54	<i>Srath Nabhair & Saghair</i> (Strathnaver & Syre)	1 7.1%	3 25.0%	1 10.0%	3 58.8%	16 29.1%
55	<i>Srath Healadail & Fòrsan Àrd</i> (Strath Halladale & Forsinard)	—	3 7.5%	3 17.6%	13 45.0%	11 11.7%
56	<i>Tòrasdail & Sgeiridh</i> (Torrisdale & Skerray)	1 3.4%	3 11.5%	16 50.0%	20 64.5%	41 40.2%
57	<i>Am Blaran Odhar & Sgeilpeach</i> (Bettyhill & Skelpick)	—	—	8 29.6%	11 42.3%	17 20.0%
58	<i>Am Blaran Odhar</i> (Bettyhill)	5 10.0%	5 15.6%	11 26.2%	20 64.5%	43 29.5%
59	<i>Armadal & Cathair Tomaidh</i> (Armadaile & Kirtomy)	2 4.9%	1 4.5%	16 33.3%	22 59.5%	40 30.3%
60	<i>Mealbhaich & Srathaidh</i> (Melvich & Strathy)	3 6.7%	4 11.8%	10 25.0%	13 38.2%	31 23.5%
61	<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	7 17.1%	—	13 56.5%	12 75.0%	29 24.8%
62	<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra)	7 11.1%	3 6.8%	11 23.9%	24 60.0%	46 26.7%
Total	<i>Tunga & Fàrr</i> (Tongue & Farr)	47 10.7%	34 8.9%	132 31.2%	211 57.7%	404 27.5%

Table 23: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

³⁷ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³⁸ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³⁹ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Cataibh an Iar</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Loch an Inbhir</i> (Lochinver) a	8	9.2 %	5	4.9 %	3	3.5 %
02	<i>Loch an Inbhir</i> (Lochinver) b	23	17.4 %	19	10.1 %	7	8.1 %
03	<i>Inbhir Chirceig</i> (Inverkirkraig)					6	5.7 %
04	<i>Ailbhinn</i> (Elphin)	14	20.3 %	10	11.1 %	2	2.5 %
	<i>Allt nan Cealgach</i> (Altnacealgach)	4	19.0 %				
05	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach) a	31	15.7 %	22	11.0 %	1	1.2 %
06	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach) b					5	4.9 %
07	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach) c			4	3.5 %	3	4.1 %
08	<i>An Druim Beag</i> (Drumbeg)	24	30.4 %	23	16.3 %	10	8.3 %
09	<i>Achadh Mhealbhaich</i> (Achmelvich)	21	31.3 %	11	12.8 %	5	3.9 %
10	<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer)	39	47.0 %	23	27.7 %	9	11.4 %
11	<i>An Cùl-Cinn</i> (Culkein)	33	55.5 %	18	36.0 %	14	26.9 %
12	<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie) a	11	11.0 %	11	10.9 %	4	4.8 %
13	<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie) b	24	25.8 %	14	9.4 %	7	5.0 %
14	<i>Achadh Taigh Phairidh</i> (Achfary)	16	29.1 %	4	8.0 %	11	6.9 %
	<i>Ach Rìdhisgil</i> (Achriesgill)	31	37.2 %	16	19.2 %		
15	<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie) a	53	27.0 %	5	6.6 %	8	4.1 %
16	<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie) b			7	8.7 %	11	12.1 %
	<i>Bada Call</i> (Badcall)			20	18.4 %		
17	<i>Aisir Mòr</i> (Oldshoremore)	40	51.9 %	24	26.4 %	15	15.5 %
18	<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) a	38	23.9 %	24	12.9 %	12	9.4 %
19	<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness) b					5	6.9 %
20	<i>An Leathad</i> (Laid)	32	26.9 %	23	15.4 %	13	8.6 %
	<i>Allt na Cailliche</i> (Alltnacaillich)	4	23.5 %				

Table 24: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Cataibh an Iar: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
3-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-24	15	7.7 %	15	3.2 %	26	4.9 %	28	6.0 %
25-44	90	23.1 %	56	13.4 %	30	4.5 %	12	2.2 %
45-64	265	47.3 %	140	33.1 %	77	17.2 %	38	5.7 %
65 +	285	77.0 %	226	64.4 %	150	40.9 %	73	22.5 %
Total (3 years and over)	655	34.1 %	437	24.7 %	283	12.7 %	151	7.4 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	432	29.0 %	264	15.4 %	139	9.2 %

Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) between 1971 and 2001



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ⁴⁰ <i>Tunga & Fàrr</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Mealanaid</i> (Melness)	79	58.4 %	56	32.9 %	44	28.8 %
52	<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) a	36	25.5 %	16	10.9 %	20	12.4 %
	<i>Allt na h-Eirbhe</i> (Altnaharra)	7	13.2 %				
53	<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue) b	19	18.3 %	17	15.0 %	18	13.3 %
54	<i>Srath Nabhair</i> (Strathnaver)	20	33.3 %	11	20.4 %	4	7.1 %
55	<i>Srath Healadail</i> (Strath Halladale)	12	11.3 %	7	8.1 %	6	5.0 %
56	<i>Tòrasdail</i> (Torrisdale)	39	33.9 %	25	25.8 %	13	11.7 %
57	<i>Am Blaran Odhar</i> (Bettyhill) a	19	21.6 %	9	10.0 %	9	9.3 %
58	<i>Am Blaran Odhar</i> (Bettyhill) b	38	25.8 %	45	26.5 %	11	7.5 %
59	<i>Armadaid</i> (Armadaidale)	40	27.7 %	29	23.2 %	9	8.6 %
60	<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	31	26.2 %	15	12.6 %	9	8.3 %
61	<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich)	29	19.6 %	8	5.6 %	4	3.0 %
62	<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra)	44	23.3 %	28	15.8 %	14	8.5 %

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) between 1981 and 2001

Tunga & Fàrr: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)								
Age group	1971 ⁴¹		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
3-4	-	-	1	3.6 %	-	-	-	-
5-24	25	5.6 %	44	10.0 %	42	13.1 %	40	13.9 %
25-44	70	18.4 %	30	7.8 %	31	8.3 %	15	4.4 %
45-64	240	47.5 %	130	30.7 %	65	14.2 %	30	6.7 %
65 +	230	62.2 %	208	56.9 %	126	38.7 %	76	20.6 %
Total (3 years and over)	565	30.9 %	413	24.5 %	266	17.0 %	161	10.9 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	402	27.4 %	247	19.0 %	145	13.0 %

Table 27: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) according to data from 1971 to 2001

⁴⁰ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

⁴¹ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. The * for the age group between 3 and 4 means less than three Gàidhlig-speaking children and possibly zero.



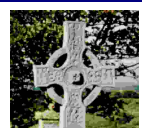
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	Loch an Inbhir a (Lochinver) a	5	21.7 %	10	11.5 %	+ 10.2 %	13.1 %
02	Loch an Inbhir b (Lochinver) b	3	9.7 %	11	12.8 %	-3.1 %	13.9 %
03	Inbhir Chirceig (Inverkirkaig)	1	3.5 %	10	9.5 %	- 6.0 %	16.1 %
04	Ailbhinn (Elphin)	-	-	9	11.4 %	-11.4 %	15.4 %
05	Bad an Daraich a (Baddidarach) a	3	10.3 %	9	8.8 %	+ 1.5 %	8.6 %
06	Bad an Daraich b (Baddidarach) b	3	11.1 %	8	11.0 %	+ 0.1 %	11.7 %
07	Bad an Daraich c (Baddidarach) c	-	-	6	7.0 %	- 7.0 %	13.2 %
08	An Druim Beag (Drumbeg)	-	-	20	17.7 %	- 17.7 %	27.8 %
09	Achadh Mhealbhaich (Achmelvich)	-	-	9	7.1 %	- 7.1 %	8.3 %
10	Stòr (Stoer)	-	-	22	27.9 %	- 27.9 %	43.7 %
11	An Cùl-Cinn (Culkein)	1	12.5 %	16	30.8 %	- 18.3 %	38.5 %
12	Sgobhairigh a (Scourie) a	3	20.0 %	11	13.3 %	+ 6.7 %	16.4 %
13	Sgobhairigh b (Scourie) b	2	5.0 %	16	11.5 %	- 6.5 %	15.1 %
14	Ach Ridhisgil (Achriesgill)	5	10.2 %	19	11.9 %	- 1.7 %	14.8 %
15	Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh (Kinlochbervie) a	3	4.0 %	14	7.1 %	- 3.1 %	6.5 %
16	Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh (Kinlochbervie) b	2	8.7 %	19	20.9 %	- 12.2 %	27.0 %
17	Aisir Mòr (Oldshoremore)	2	8.3 %	23	23.7 %	- 15.4 %	26.7 %
18	Diùirnis a (Durness) a	4	11.4 %	16	12.5 %	- 1.1 %	13.5 %
19	Diùirnis b (Durness) b	2	11.1 %	14	19.2 %	- 8.1 %	19.3 %
20	An Leathad (Laid)	5	11.6 %	27	17.8 %	- 6.2 %	22.5 %

Table 28: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Iar (West Sutherland) according to census data of 2001



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Mealanais</i> (Melness)	9	32.1 %	61	39.9 %	- 7.8 %	46.0 %
52	<i>Tunga a</i> (Tongue) a	12	27.3 %	26	16.1 %	+ 11.2 %	16.7 %
53	<i>Tunga b</i> (Tongue) b	8	29.6 %	25	18.5 %	+ 11.1 %	20.4 %
54	<i>Srath Nabhair</i> (Strathnaver)	1	5.9 %	7	12.5 %	- 6.6 %	17.7 %
55	<i>Srath Healadail</i> (Strath Halladale)	2	5.1 %	9	7.6 %	- 2.5 %	8.4 %
56	<i>Tòrasdail</i> (Torrisdale)	3	17.7 %	20	18.0 %	- 0.3 %	22.6 %
57	<i>Am Blaran Odhar a</i> (Bettyhill) a	1	5.6 %	14	14.4 %	- 8.8 %	16.9 %
58	<i>Am Blaran Odhar b</i> (Bettyhill) b	4	10.5 %	21	14.3 %	- 3.8 %	15.7 %
59	<i>Armadal</i> (Armadaile)	1	5.6 %	21	20.0 %	- 14.4 %	24.7 %
60	<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	6	19.4 %	20	18.4 %	+ 1.0 %	22.5 %
61	<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich)	1	3.5 %	8	6.0 %	- 2.5 %	6.7 %
62	<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra)	1	3.0 %	26	15.9 %	- 12.9 %	18.6 %

Table 29: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) according to census data of 2001



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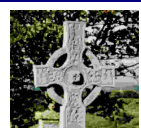
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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 Gaelic-speakers 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 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 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 about 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 <i>Cataibh an Iar</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Loch an Inbhir</i> (Lochinver), <i>Asainn Beag</i> (Little Assynt)	AS	27AC15	60QT000350
02	<i>Loch an Inbhir</i> (Lochinver), <i>Lòis Canaisp</i> (Canisp Lodge)	AS	27AC16	60QT001532
03	<i>Inbhir Chirceig</i> (Inverkirkraig), <i>Bad na Bathain</i> (Badnaban), <i>Srathan</i> (Strathan)	AS	27AC16	60QT001533
04	<i>Ailbhinn</i> (Elphin), <i>Cnocan</i> (Knockan), <i>Innis nan Damh</i> (Inchnadamph); <i>Allt nan Cealgach</i> (Altnacealgach)	AS	27AC12 27AC13	60QT001356
05	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach)	AS	27AC17B	60QT001357
06	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach)	AS	27AC17A	60QT001397
07	<i>Bad an Daraich</i> (Baddidarach)	AS	27AC17A	60QT001398
08	<i>An Druim Beag</i> (Drumbeg), <i>Ùnabol</i> (Unapool), <i>Aird Bhàirr</i> (Ardbhair), <i>An Nead</i> (Nedd)	ST	27AC14	60QT000349
09	<i>Achadh Mhealbhaich</i> (Achmelvich), <i>Clach Toll</i> (Clachtoll)	ST	27AC18	60QT000351
10	<i>Stòr</i> (Stoer), <i>Cùl-Cinn an Droma Bhig</i> (Culkein Drumbeig), <i>Clais an Easaidh</i> (Clashnessie)	ST	27AC19	60QT000352
11	<i>An Cùl-Cinn</i> (Culkein), <i>Bail'a'Chladaich</i> (Balchladich), <i>An Clais Mòr</i> (Clashmore), <i>Rubha an Stòir</i> (Rubha Stoer)	ST	27AC20	60QT000353
12	<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie), <i>Bada Call</i> (Badcall), <i>Dubhaird Mhòr</i> (Duartmore), <i>Caol Sròim</i> (Kylestromie)	ED	27AC21	60QT000354
13	<i>Sgobhairigh</i> (Scourie), <i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbet), <i>An Fhionndail</i> (Foindle), <i>An Fheannag Mhòr</i> (Fanagmore)	ED	27AC23	60QT000355
14	<i>Ach Ridhisgil</i> (Achriesgill), <i>An Aird Mhòr</i> (Ardmore), <i>Achadh Laonais</i> (Achlynness), <i>Ach Taigh Phairidh</i> (Achfary)	ED	27AC22 27AC24	60QT000356
15	<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie)	ED	27AC25A 27AC25B	60QT000357
16	<i>Ceann Loch Biorbhaigh</i> (Kinlochbervie), <i>Rubha Bholt</i> (Rhuvoilt), <i>Bada Call</i> (Badcall)	ED	27AC25C	60QT000358
17	<i>Aisir Mòr</i> (Oldshoremore), <i>Aisir Beag</i> (Oldshore Beag), <i>Baile Chnuic</i> (Balchrick)	ED	27AC26	60QT000359
18	<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness), <i>Baile na Cille</i> (Balnakeil)	DU	27AC28	60QT001534
19	<i>Diùirnis</i> (Durness), <i>Saingea Mòr</i> (Sangomore)	DU	27AC28	60QT001535
20	<i>Leathad</i> (Laid), <i>Allt na Cailliche</i> (Alltnacaillich), <i>An Leithrinn Mhòr</i> (Leirinmore), <i>Euraboll</i> (Eriboll)	DU	27AC29	60QT000360

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Cataibh an Iar* (West Sutherland) – 1961-2001



Census Output Areas in <i>Tunga & Fàrr</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Mealanaid</i> (Melness), <i>Tealamainn</i> (Talmine), <i>Srathan</i> (Strathan), <i>Sgianaird</i> (Skinnaird)	TG	27AC31	60QT000361
52	<i>Tunga</i> (Tongue), <i>Loch Nabhair</i> (Loch Naver), <i>Allt na h-Eirbhe</i> (Altnaharra)	TG	27AC32	60QT000362
53	<i>Bràigh Thunga</i> (Braetongue), <i>Circeabol</i> (Kirkibol), <i>Ruigh Thunga</i> (Rhitongue), <i>Callbacaidh</i> (Coldbackie)	TG	27AC33	60QT000363
54	<i>Srath Nabhair</i> (Strathnaver)	FA	27AH01	60QT000380
55	<i>Srath Healadail</i> (Srath Halladale), <i>A`Chròic</i> (Croick), <i>Tranntail Mòr</i> (Trantlemore), <i>Tranntail Beag</i> (Trantlebeg)	SR	27AJ01	60QT000382
56	<i>Tòrasdail</i> (Torrisdale), <i>Sgeiridh</i> (Skerry)	FA	27AK01	60QT000383
57	<i>Am Blaran Odhar</i> (Bettyhill), <i>Inbhir Nabhair</i> (Invernaver), <i>Sgeilpeach</i> (Skelpick)	FA	27AK02	60QT000384
58	<i>Am Blaran Odhar</i> (Bettyhill)	FA	27AK03	60QT000385
59	<i>Armadal</i> (Armada), <i>Fàrr</i> (Farr), <i>Cathair Tomaidh</i> (Kirto-my)	FA	27AK04	60QT000386
60	<i>Mealbhaich</i> (Melvich), <i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	SR	27AK06	60QT000387
61	<i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy)	SR	27AK05	60QT001361
62	<i>Port Sgeire</i> (Portskerra)	SR	27AK07	60QT001536

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Tunga & Fàrr* (Tongue & Farr) – 1961-2001



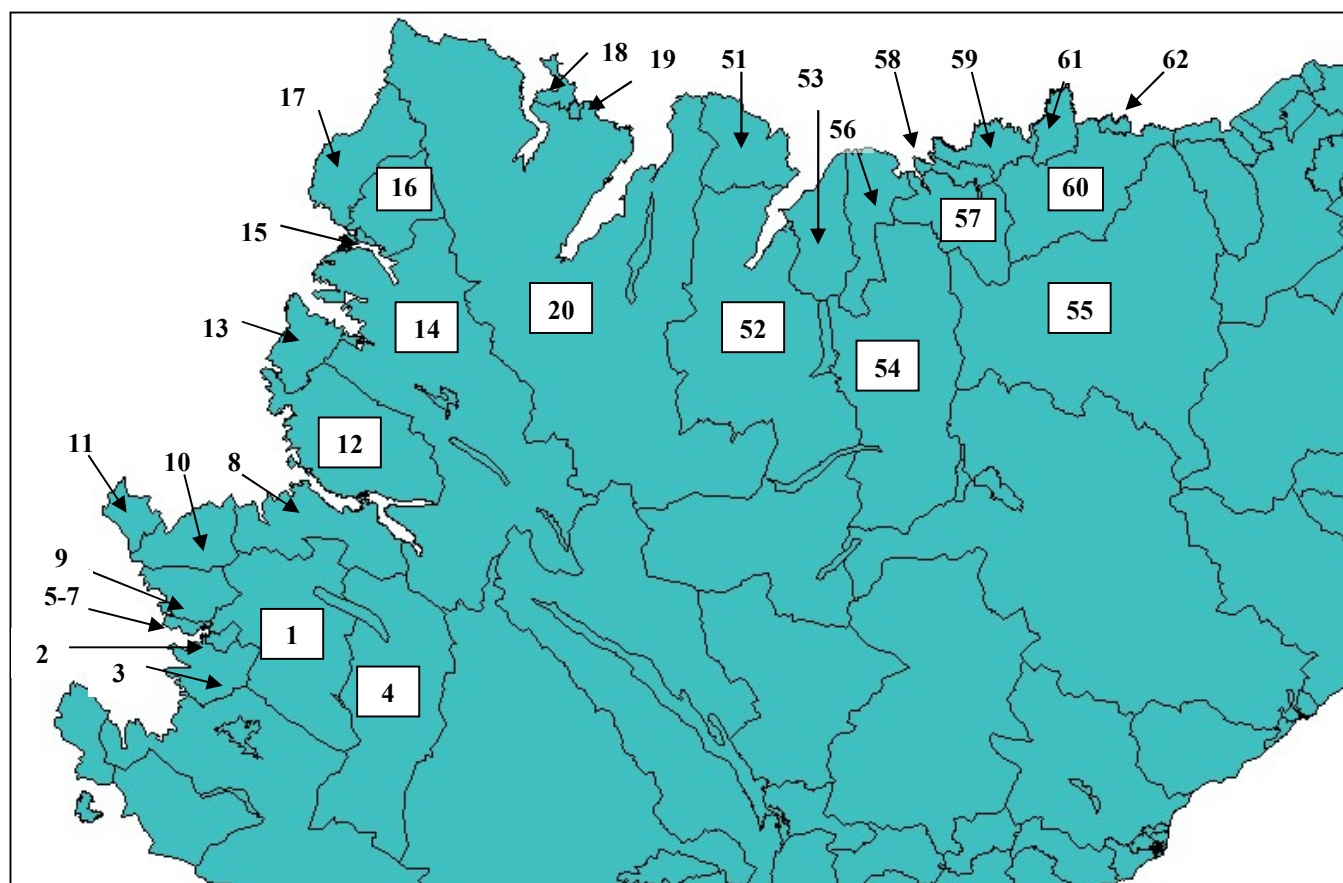


Fig. 13: Overview map of census output areas in An Iar Thuath Chataibh (North-West Sutherland)
(Numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 and A-2)⁴²

⁴² Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



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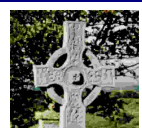
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VII. List of Abbreviations

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	<i>Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich</i> : Gaelic playgroup association
<i>Comhairle nan Eilean</i> (CNE) – later: <i>Comhairle nan Eilean Siar</i> (CNES)	Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)
<i>Cròileagan</i>	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	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium education
GMU	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium unit: Class(es) with <i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium education but as part of an English medium school
GROS	General Register Office for Scotland
LVI	Language viability indicator
LCI	Language community indicator
<i>Mòd</i>	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
<i>Sgoil Araich</i>	Gaelic speaking nursery school
<i>Sràdagan</i>	Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children
Vi	Village according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901



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