

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 10: *Taobh Siar Rois: A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse* (Wester Ross: Applecross, Lochcarron & Lochalsh)

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Extended² 2nd 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.

The Gaelic language communities in the south-west of the ancient county of Ross & Cromarty have long resisted the general trend. But after the Second World War the well-known dramatic decline in Gaelic-speaking set in also in the district between Applecross and Glenelg. Now this part of the former Gaidhealtachd shows some signs of recovery especially around the villages of Lochcarron and Plockton. Whereas in communities without Gaelic medium units the percentage of Gaelic-speakers went down considerably the school catchment of Lochcarron experienced only a slight decline since 1991. The other area with Gaelic medium education (Plockton primary school) even reported an increase of percentage and number of speakers.

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

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

The south-westerly part of mainland *Ros is Cromba* (Ross & Cromarty) is subject of this volume: Largely hilly, even mountainous country with a few scattered townships here and there. The only town in this district with 700 inhabitants is *Caol Loch Aillse* (Kyle of Lochalsh) acting as a terminus of railway and road from the east coast and being the springboard to *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Isle of Skye).

In the north of this area are the parishes of *A'Chomraich* (Applecross) and *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron), for a long time rather sidelined by modern developments. Some crofting settlements became connected by road as late as the 1960s. To the south the area of *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) comprises of course the parish of the same name, but it also encompasses the neighbouring areas of *Cinn Tàile* (Kintail), *Gleann Seile* (Glenshiel) and *Gleann Eilg* (Glenelg). The population was 5,400 in 2001 thinly spread over an area of roughly 184,700 hectares.

Gàidhlig tradition has been very strong in this district until very recently. Considerable efforts have been made in recent years to counter the downward trends with a certain amount of success. The administration of this region was controlled until 1975 by Ross & Cromarty County Council with the small exception of the secluded settlements of *Gleann Eilg* (Glenelg) and *Arnasdal* (Arnisdale) to the south. They were administered as part of Inverness-shire. All this came to an end in 1975 with local government reorganisation when the whole area became part of Highland Region. As part of its decentralisation policy certain aspects were, however, delegated to the district of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach & Loch Aillse* (Skye & Lochalsh). This later proved very beneficial to this mainland part in terms of support of the *Gàidhlig* language because many measures were generally applied to the island and mainland part of the district as a whole.

The main occupations in this area are very diverse with tourism, fish farming and public services the main employers in the district. Crofting, however, is still important locally as part-time occupation. *Caol Loch Aillse* acts as the main focal point of other small businesses in the district. The once important traditional occupations provide an ever-decreasing share of income. Society itself has changed in recent decades with a substantial number of incomers taking residence in this region of outstanding natural beauty. In 2001 over 26 % of residents were born outside Scotland.

With this background in mind the following short chapters will investigate the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area from the end of the 19th century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail. Information on additionally available studies of language use and especially educational provision to study *Gàidhlig* (or even being educated through the medium of the language) is used where considered as useful.



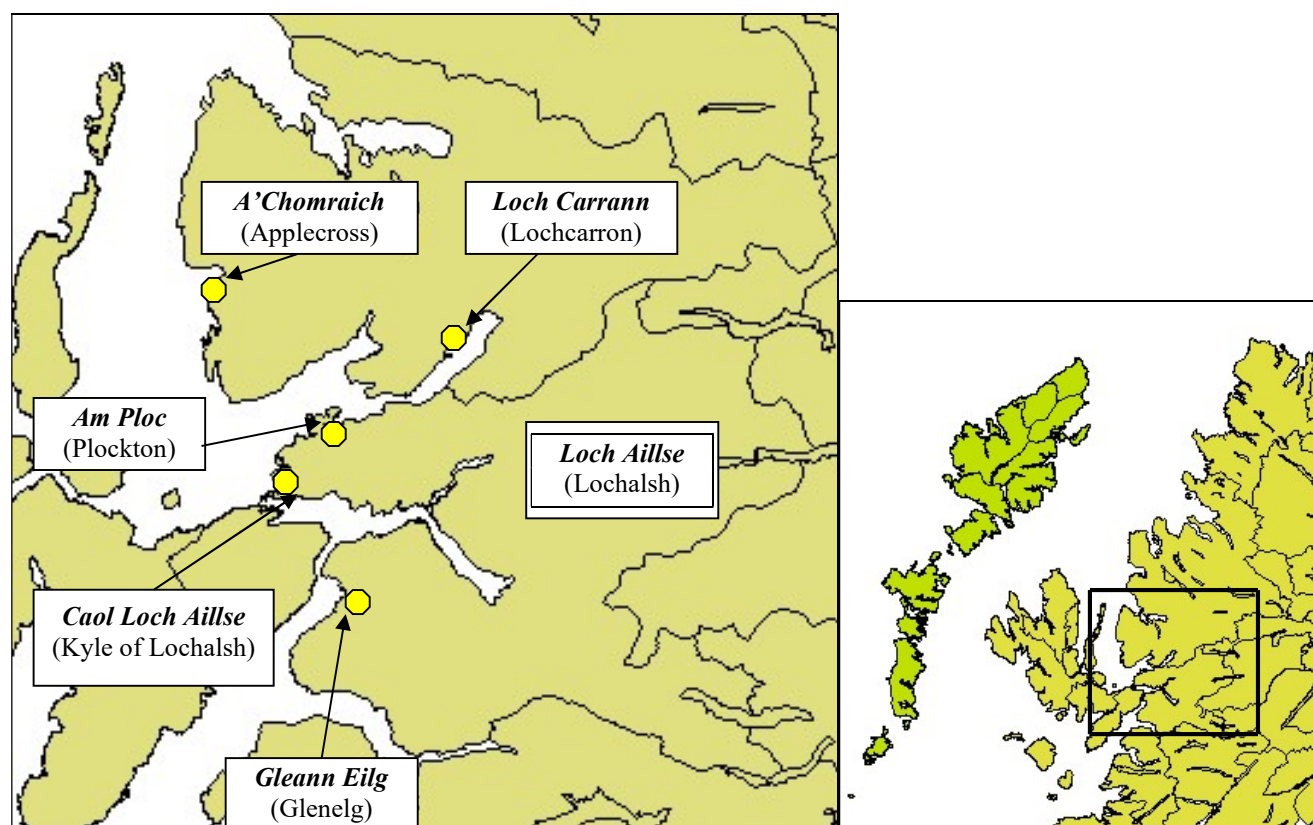


Fig. 1: Geographical location of the investigation area³

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



2 The Historical Background

The state of the language in the early 19th century had been aptly described in the parish reports of The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845). The minister of *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron) parish reported for example: “*The language generally spoken is the Gaelic; but English is spoken by a great proportion of the younger people. Gaelic cannot be said to have lost ground for the last forty years; but it has been much corrupted by our frequent intercourse with the south, and the silly vanity of persons, who wish it to be understood, that they know something of another language.*” In the more southerly parish of *Cinn Tàile* (Kintail) conditions were rather similar: “*Gaelic is the language of the country, and, with the exception of a few provincial expressions, is spoken with remarkable purity and correctness. The people are better educated than formerly, and almost all the young people speak and read a little English; yes, it cannot be said that Gaelic has lost ground, or that in conversation, business, or in any other respect, it has been superseded by English.*” This did not change very much during the forthcoming decades.

Details about the overall development until today are described in the following sections. In fig. 2 the temporal evolution of *Gàidhlig*-speaking since 1881 is shown for the civil parishes of *A'Chomraich* (Applecross) and *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron) in comparison with the district of *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh). The general trend has been more or less the same in all locations: The incidence of *Gàidhlig*-speaking went down from around 90 % in 1881 to 20 % in 2001.

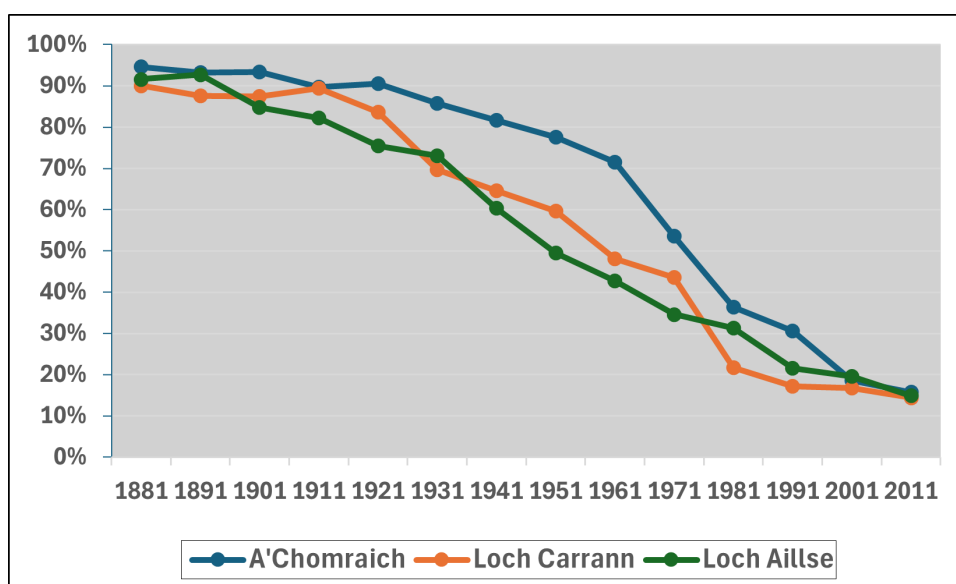


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – *A'Chomraich* (Applecross), *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron) and *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh)⁴

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

At the turn of the 19th century *Gàidhlig* was spoken by almost the whole local population of the area (table 4). Approximately a quarter of the inhabitants spoke no English in 1891 (fig. 3). In the more remote and almost inaccessible parts of the *A'Chomraich* (Applecross) peninsula this value even reached 33 % of the population (table 16). So *Gàidhlig* was part of everyday life, and it remained the language of social intercourse as a matter of fact.

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



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann – 1881 - 1911 | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------|
| Area ⁵ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁶ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁷ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>Àiliginn & Diabaig an Àird</i> (Alligin & Upper Diabaig) | 261 100 % | 212 97.2 % | 173 96.6 % | 137 93.8% | 96 45.3 % | 53 30.6 % | 44 32.8% |
| <i>Am Fasag & Inbhir Àiliginn</i> (Fasaig & Inveralligin) | 300 91.2% | 291 86.9 % | 258 89.9 % | 230 79.3% | 115 39.5 % | 88 34.1 % | 23 10.0% |
| <i>Sildeag & Balgaidh</i> (Shieldaig & Balgy) | 254 96.9% | 181 90.0 % | 184 93.4 % | 171 85.5% | 29 16.0 % | 22 10.9 % | 18 10.5% |
| <i>Àird Heisleag & A'Cheannmhor</i> (Ardheslaig & Kenmore) | 157 100 % | 134 97.8 % | 115 95.8 % | 87 94.6% | 48 35.8 % | 23 20.0 % | 19 21.8% |
| <i>Achadh na Tràghad</i> (Achintraid) | 192 88.5% | 227 88.3 % | 212 91.4 % | 150 86.2% | 55 24.2 % | 10 4.7 % | 10 6.7% |
| <i>Riseal & Treabhar nam Preas</i> (Russel & Tornapress) | 45 88.2 % | 43 93.5 % | 18 94.7 % | 9 100% | 6 14.0 % | – | 2 22.2% |
| <i>Cùthaig & Àirigh nan Cruithneachd</i> (Cuaig & Arinacrinachd) | 215 96.4 % | 211 94.2 % | 197 92.9 % | 187 97.9% | 66 31.1 % | 28 14.2 % | 27 14.4% |
| <i>An Lòn Bàn & Cal na Cille</i> (Lonbain & Calnakill) | 149 96.1% | 118 95.9 % | 96 94.2 % | 85 96.6% | 45 38.1 % | 19 19.8 % | 11 12.9% |
| <i>A'Chomraich & Camas Teile</i> (Applecross & Camusteel) | 247 92.2% | 227 89.7 % | 197 92.1 % | 164 85.8% | 60 26.4 % | 24 12.2 % | 8 4.9% |
| <i>Camas Tearach & Cùil Duibh⁸</i> (Camusterrach & Culduie) | 190 95.0% | 177 98.3 % | 155 93.9 % | 135 94.4% | 109 61.6 % | 87 56.1 % | 25 18.5% |
| <i>Toghsaig & Na h-Uamhagan</i> (Toscaig & Uags) | 100 97.1% | 107 99.1 % | 110 93.2 % | 85 94.4% | 62 57.9 % | 31 28.2 % | 13 15.2% |
| <i>Achadh na Tràghad</i> (Achintraid) | 45 78.9 % | 43 93.5 % | 211 90.9 % | 150 86.2% | 6 14.0 % | 10 4.7 % | 10 6.7% |
| <i>Rubha Àird nan Easgann & Rèaraig</i> (Ardneskin & Reraig) | 107 94.7 % | 122 85.3 % | 117 86.0 % | 131 | 22 18.0 % | 14 12.0 % | 12 |
| <i>An Sròm Mòr & An Sròm Càrnach</i> (Stromemore & Stromecarnoch) | 105 97.2% | 105 82.7 % | 75 94.9 % | 91.0% | 10 9.5 % | 4 5.3 % | 9.2% |
| <i>Slumba</i> (Slumbay) | 276 93.9% | 257 93.1 % | 210 85.0 % | 176 93.1% | 82 31.9 % | 18 8.6 % | 34 19.3% |
| <i>An Tulach & Na Cùileagan</i> (Tullich & Culags) | 124 92.5% | 94 87.9 % | 88 88.0 % | 67 72.0% | 4 4.3 % | 6 6.8 % | 3 4.5% |
| <i>Achadh nan Seileach & Làir</i> (Achnashellach & Lair) | 65 81.3% | 69 95.8 % | 57 78.1 % | 48 85.7% | 8 11.6 % | 4 7.0 % | – |
| <i>Srath Carrann & Atadal</i> (Strathcarron & Attadale) | 205 79.2% | 189 80.4 % | 165 84.6 % | 108 66.7% | 18 9.5 % | 2 1.2 % | 4 3.7% |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Jeantown or Lochcarron Village) | 384 92.1 % | 332 86.5 % | 337 88.0 % | 252 86.3% | 48 14.5 % | 7 2.1 % | 14 5.6% |

Table 1: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

⁵ Enumeration division or part of ecclesiastic parish.

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.

⁸ Figures include inhabitants of Na h-Eileanan Cròbhlaínn (Crowlin Islands).



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Loch Aillse – 1881 – 1911 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------|--------------------|
| Area ⁹ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁰ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹¹ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>An t-Achadh Mòr & An t-Sroim</i> (Achmore & Stromeferry) | 237 84.0% | 216 84.4 % | 161 84.3 % | 128 75.7% | 35 16.2 % | 12 7.4 % | 19 14.8% |
| <i>A'Chreag, Diùirinis & Ach' nan Darach</i> (Craig, Duirinish & Achnandarach) | 118 86.1 % | 100 84.0 % | 57 62.0 % | 62 83.8% | 20 20.0 % | 15 26.3 % | 7 11.3% |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) | 400 90.9 % | 404 96.4 % | 312 88.1 % | 236 80.0% | 42 10.4 % | 7 2.2 % | 17 7.2% |
| <i>An Druim Buidhe & Port an Eòrna</i> (Drumbuie & Portaneorna) | 206 95.4% | 250 100 % | 207 89.6 % | 195 96.1% | 76 30.4 % | 27 13.0 % | 29 14.9% |
| <i>An Caol & Earbasaig</i> (Kyle & Erbusaig) | 172 94.5% | 139 89.1 % | 261 69.4 % | 317 71.6% | 58 41.7 % | 21 8.0 % | 12 3.8% |
| <i>Baile Mac Carra & Rèaraig</i> (Balmacara & Reraig) | 194 80.8% | 155 85.2 % | 139 82.2 % | 131 81.4% | 11 7.1 % | 7 5.0 % | 2 1.5% |
| <i>Uachdar Thìre & Abhairnis</i> (Auchtertyre & Avernish) | 149 93.1% | 160 99.4 % | 127 87.0 % | 104 64.6% | 39 24.4 % | 16 12.6 % | 13 12.5% |
| <i>Aird Eilbh</i> (Ardelve) | 191 95.0% | 149 95.5 % | 124 88.6 % | 110 94.0% | 49 32.9 % | 42 33.9 % | 21 19.1% |
| <i>Saileachaidh & Allt nan Sùgh</i> (Sallachy & Altnansugh) | 176 98.9% | 166 100 % | 124 97.6 % | 115 92.0% | 27 16.3 % | 58 46.8 % | 20 17.4% |

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Loch Aillse according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

Detailed local information is available in census reports until 1901 thus enabling a closer look at the strength of the language in different parts of the investigation area (tables 1-3). Generally, Gàidhlig was spoken by the vast majority of inhabitants with a remarkably high number of monolingual persons.

A'Chomraich (Applecross): The whole parish was overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speaking (table 1). In the south-western districts of the peninsula monolingual speakers were still in the majority in 1891. The language did not lose any ground in the period until 1901. The compulsory English medium education, however, had its influence on the number of people who could not speak English, too. Even then, most of the people of *Camas Tearach & Cùil Duibh* (Camusterrach & Culduie) spoke only Gàidhlig.

Loch Carrann (Lochcarron): Although the share of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers was considerably lower than in the remoter district of *A'Chomraich* it was nevertheless non-negligible even in 1901 (table 1). Even in the main village of the parish Jeantown (later called Lochcarron proper) almost everyone spoke Gàidhlig. The slight differences in percentages between areas were mostly caused by the different intensity of crofting (by local Gàidhlig-speakers) and game keeping (often by non-local English-speakers) in the areas concerned. In crofting hamlets like *Slumba* (Slumbay) the traditional language was of course strongest.

⁹ Enumeration division or village.

¹⁰ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹¹ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Cinn Tàile, Gleann Seile & Gleann Eilg – 1881 - 1911 | | | | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------|--------------------|
| Area ¹² | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹³ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁴ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>Gleann Canaich & Coire Each</i> (Glen Cannich & Corry Each) | 70 100 % | 54 100 % | 25 75.8 % | 17 85.0% | 1 1.2 % | 3 12.0 % | – |
| <i>Càrnach & Cill Fhaolain</i> (Carnoch & Killilan) | 54 91.5 % | 47 97.9 % | 33 94.3 % | 44 84.6% | 6 12.8 % | 1 3.0 % | – |
| <i>Bun Dà Loch & Càrn Dubh</i> (Bundalloch & Cairndhu) | 186 100 % | 148 97.4 % | 137 97.2 % | 84 97.7% | 70 47.3 % | 15 10.9 % | 14 16.7% |
| <i>An Dòrnaidh</i> (Dornie) | 107 90.7 % | 101 85.6 % | 96 77.4 % | 93 90.3% | 13 12.9 % | 9 9.4 % | 2 2.2% |
| <i>Inbhir Ìonaid & A'Chèapach</i> (Inverinate & Keppoch) | 188 94.0 % | 149 90.3 % | 97 89.8 % | 88 77.9% | 57 38.3 % | 8 8.2 % | 3 3.4% |
| <i>Camas Luinge</i> (Camusluinie) | 47 85.5 % | 47 92.2 % | 46 92.0 % | 39 97.5% | 13 27.7 % | 1 2.2 % | 9 23.1% |
| <i>Aird an t-Sabhail & Leitir Fheàrna</i> (Ardintoul & Letterfearn) | 146 98.0 % | 138 90.2 % | 126 90.6 % | 114 89.1% | 49 35.5 % | 30 23.8 % | 32 28.1% |
| <i>Ràtagan & Inbhir Seile</i> (Ratagan & Invershiel) | 85 90.4 % | 64 95.5 % | 62 92.5 % | 69 82.1% | 7 10.9 % | 1 11.3 % | 2 2.9% |
| <i>Allt a'Chruinn & A'Mhormhoich</i> (Aultachroin & Morvich) | 92 93.9 % | 82 92.1 % | 64 88.9 % | 71 88.8% | 20 24.4 % | 8 12.5 % | 9 12.7% |
| <i>Gleann Loinne & Ceann Lochan</i> (Glen Lyne & Ceannlochan) | 29 82.9 % | 32 91.4 % | 26 96.3 % | 10 55.6% | 3 9.4 % | 3 11.5 % | – |
| <i>Drochaid Seile & Cluanaidh</i> (Shiel Bridge & Cluanie) | 46 100 % | 37 74.0 % | 32 78.9 % | 25 86.2% | 3 8.1 % | – | – |
| <i>Gleann Eilg & Gleann Mòr</i> (Glenelg & Glen More) | 252 91.0 % | 233 90.7 % | 209 94.6 % | 177 90.8% | 89 30.0 % | 34 30.0 % | 11 6.2% |
| <i>An t-Eilean Riabhach & Baile Bhràid</i> (Eileanreach & Balvraid) | 112 80.0 % | 140 92.1 % | 104 86.0 % | 108 92.3% | 31 22.1 % | 8 7.7 % | 5 4.6% |
| <i>Arnasdal & Ceann Loch Shubhairne</i> (Arnisdale & Kinlochhourn) | 223 92.5% | 227 96.6 % | 190 94.5 % | 162 95.9% | 69 30.4 % | 35 18.4 % | 16 9.9% |

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cinn Tàile, Gleann Seile & Gleann Eilg according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

Loch Aillse (Lochalsh): The Celtic tongue was also dominating the language scene in this part (table 2). Between 1891 and 1901 the railway reached *An Caol* (Kyle) with a subsequent influx of some English monoglot specialists in the area. This explains the drop of percentages between the two censuses in *An Caol* itself and the hamlets around *A'Chreag* (Craig). The language remained remarkably strong in the village of *Am Ploc* (Plockton).

¹² Enumeration division.

¹³ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁴ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Cinn Tàile, Gleann Seile & Gleann Eilg (Kintail, Glenshiel & Glenelg): Gàidhlig reigned also supremely in all communities of this mountainous country (table 3). The language did not retreat at any rate between 1881 and 1901. Quite a number of inhabitants did not speak English even at the end of this period.

A closer look at the original 1891 census forms¹⁵ (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. Therefore, 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 selected enumeration districts in the investigation area are described below:

- *Gleann Toirbheartan* (Glen Torridon): 87.6 % of all residents spoke Gàidhlig. Two separate language communities existed at the head of *Loch Toirbheartan*. The first was a small English dominated society associated with the estates of Torridon and Ben Damph. Almost all members of this exclusive group were born outside the *Gaidhealtachd* and did not speak the local language at all. The second community was made up of the inhabitants of the local hamlets around where Gàidhlig was universally spoken – notably in *An Annaid* (Annet) and *Am Fasag*. In addition, a quarter of all Gàidhlig speakers still did not speak English – mostly in the older age groups. 114 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 53 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 81.9 %. However, this was a slight under-estimate of 5.7 % caused by the inclusion of under-three olds in the official population base.
- *Toghsgaig & Cùil Duibh* (Toscaig & Culduie): Among the 267 residents just two persons did not have a “G&E” or “G” marked on their registration sheets. A minister’s wife (born in Roxburghshire) and her 7-year-old boy had the distinction to speak only English in this Gàidhlig community. On the other hand, the majority of people did not speak English. In original census report terms, the whole community in total had a population of 288 persons of all ages. 113 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 171 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers.
- *Gleann Seile* (Glenshiel): There were five female persons in the usually resident population who were reported as not speaking Gàidhlig. Among these was of course the public-school teacher from Creich in Sutherland. The remaining residents with no “G&E” or “G” marks on their registration sheets were a 70-year old crofter’s wife and three young girls aged between 3 and 6. Whether these census returns were really unable to speak the local language, however, remains doubtful. More probably they were usually not speaking Gàidhlig but could do so. In original census report terms, the whole community in total had a population of 218 persons of all ages. 162 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 29 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 88.0 %. This percentage was a significant under-estimate of 9.2 % caused by the inclusion of under-three olds and a larger group of visiting hawkers in *Gleann Chuanaidh* (Glen Cluanie) in the official population base.

¹⁵ 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.



Even at the beginning of the 20th century it was stated: “*At the present day both Gaelic and English are spoken over the whole of the county (i.e. of Ross & Cromarty), with this qualification, that in the eastern part English is predominant, while Gaelic still prevails on the West Coast and in Lewis*” (Watson, 1904). But the language nonetheless did retreat slowly in the area until 1931 (tables 13-16).

Well late into the 1930s, however, there were many fluent native speakers around to help linguists in their studies of *Gàidhlig* dialects. This enabled Carl Borgstrøm (1941) to interview valuable informants from *Diùirinis* near *Am Ploc* (Plockton) and *A'Chomraich*.

| <i>A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse</i> | | | | | | |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Subject \ Census | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 |
| <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +) | 6,321 | 5,743 | 5,024 | 4,349 | 3,675 | 3,177 |
| % of total population | 92.2 % | 91.5 % | 87.8 % | 85.9 % | 81.1 % | 75.3 % |

Table 4: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse* (Applecross, Lochcarron & Lochalsh) and % of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

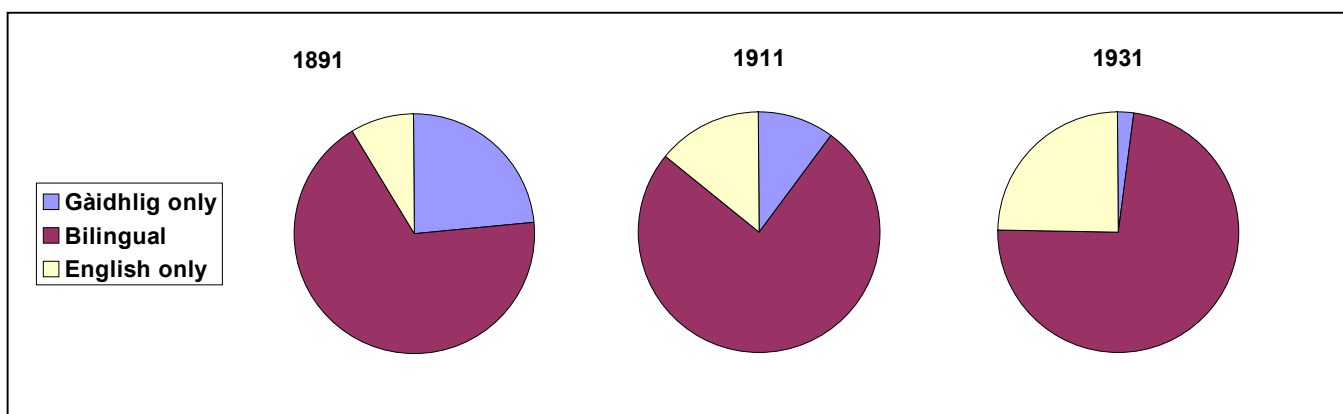


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

The educational system and official attitudes in this inter-war period were vigorously working against the use of the local language. The school policy of Ross & Cromarty County Council did not differ very much in its hostility towards *Gàidhlig* from those of other Highland counties in those days. In the 1920s a slow decline in *Gàidhlig* speaking set in mainly caused by two factors: the official neglect of the language and the influx of monoglot English speaking people into the area especially around the town of *An Caol* (Kyle) and the village of *Loch Carrann*.

2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

The war proved to be a real watershed for the language in the Highlands – this was also true for the region around *Caol Loch Aillse*. Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers fell from 75.3 % to 57.0 %. According to census data there were twenty people left in 1951 who could not speak English. The majority of these “Gaelic only” came from the remote communities of *A'Chomraich* which stayed at an astonishingly high language incidence of 77.6 % (table 13). All parishes still had a majority of *Gàidhlig* speakers with the sole exception of *Loch Aillse* itself. The language was still very much in use especially outside the major villages of *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron), *Am Ploc* (Plockton) and notably *An Caol* (Kyle). This fact is highlighted also in the publication “Highland Torridon” by Brenda G. Macrow (1953) who reported an almost exclusive use of *Gàidhlig* in the crofting communities around *Àiligin* (Alligin) on the northern shores of *Loch Toirbheartan* (Loch Torridon).



| <i>A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse</i> | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Subject \ Census | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
| <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +) | 2,210 | 1,705 | 1,370 | 1,111 | 860 | 730 | 567 |
| Percentage of total population | 57.0 % | 48.3 % | 39.1 % | 30.0 % | 21.9 % | 18.8 % | 14.9 % |

Table 5: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years +) in *A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse* (Applecross, Lochcarron & Lochalsh) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011

But reality was much more dramatic than the pure census figures could reveal. The real dismal fact of an ever-ageing speaker population in Scotland was made crystal clear in a survey in 1957/58 on *Gàidhlig*-speaking schoolchildren (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961). In its report the Lochcarron school district was reported as one of only two remaining mainland areas¹⁶ where a significant number of primary school children was recorded with *Gàidhlig* as first (or preferred) language in 1957. In the three schools (*A'Chomraich, Sildeag* and *Loch Carrann*) considered 19 out of 145 primary school children were first language *Gàidhlig*-speakers (13.1 %). In all probability almost all of these would have come from the still very isolated community of *A'Chomraich* (Applecross). Still there were seven additional first language speakers around in the primary schools in the Southwest Ross school district. Accordingly, some 7 % of the school population still had *Gàidhlig* as their preferred language in the area investigated. No information was recorded on fluent second language speakers but there must have been a few left entering primary school from partly *Gàidhlig* speaking homes. They could not count, however, on support by the educational system to keep let alone improve their language skills. Such was the “mainstream” doctrine of the day.

The census of 1961 presented a further massive decline in the number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers – except for the parish of *A'Chomraich*. At this time only two of the five civil parishes in the area still had a majority of *Gàidhlig*-speakers: *A'Chomraich* (71.5 %) and *Gleann Seile* (52.7 %). The major decline was experienced in the parish of *Loch Aillse* where only a 40 % of the inhabitants still spoke *Gàidhlig* (table 15). Afterwards the county authorities became slightly more positive with the introduction of the Ross & Cromarty Education Scheme in the early 1960s which allowed the use of the language in school with *Gàidhlig* mother tongue speakers. In effect this meant in this area only some language support in secondary school. The 1971 census results showed that young *Gàidhlig* speakers still existed in substantial numbers in the CCED (County Council Electoral Division) of *A'Chomraich* (a share of 33 % for those aged 5-24). The corresponding figures were *Loch Carrann* (18 %), *Loch Aillse* (18 %), *Gleann Seile & Cinn Tàile* (19 %) and *Gleann Eilg* (15 %). These numbers of course contrasted sharply with those at pensionable age (63 % in *Loch Aillse* and even 77 % in *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* spoke *Gàidhlig* – see tables 21 and 23). All in all, there was only one CCED in 1971 left with a *Gàidhlig*-speaking majority: *A'Chomraich* with just 53.6 % of the population as *Gàidhlig* speakers.

The general trend was pointing downwards with unimpeded pace. The author himself was informed in the late 1970s about children from *A'Chomraich* who knew the language from their childhood but had forgotten almost every word when they left Plockton High School. The odds were against a survival of the traditional language. But some energy still existed in the language community. The first sign was the opening of a *cròileagan* (playgroup) in *Am Ploc* right in the early days of *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* (Gaelic Playgroup Association) around 1978. Educational provision in local schools, however, remained unsatisfactory. Figures 4 and 5 underline this fact impressively by outlining the language abilities of 3–15-year-olds in the 1981 census. Local information in this census was for the first time very detailed and the relative strength of the language in individual communities could be ascertained. The overall negative trend until 1981 was unbroken but still census output areas existed with very high per-

¹⁶ The other example was the Ardnamurchan school district – cf. Vol. 01.



centages of speakers (tables 22 and 24). These were concentrated in the peninsula of *A'Chomraich* and in rural parts of *Loch Aillse*. Most prominent example was the tiny village of *Diùirinis* (Duirinish) with 51.6 % *Gàidhlig*-speaking percentage.

10 years later *Gàidhlig* was still on the way out with ever decreasing numbers of speakers. The 1991 census saw dramatic declines in most census output areas with a few exceptions in the northwest of the area. But the language made some ground afterwards with e.g. the introduction of *Gàidhlig* street names in villages like *Sildeag* or *Loch Carrann*. And developments began to reap awards on the educational sector at last. *Gàidhlig*-medium education was introduced in two primary schools of the area: *Am Ploc* (1990) and *Loch Carrann* (1992). In addition, *cròileagan* were established in *An t-Achadh Mòr* (Achmore) and *Loch Carrann* which complemented the one in *Am Ploc*. Later on, a local authority nursery was provided also in *Caol Loch Aillse*. Until 1997 some second language teaching was provided in local schools by visiting teachers. This scheme was then axed as part of budget cuts by Highland Council. The measure left some schools without any *Gàidhlig* lessons. Others were so lucky to recruit voluntary help from their local community. This unsatisfactory state was met with fierce protests by parents but could only be remedied years later by the introduction of GLPS scheme. Meanwhile the first *Gàidhlig* medium pupils entered Plockton High School for their secondary education. For all other “mainstream pupils” *Gàidhlig* became a compulsory subject for the first two years in secondary school. This was another positive step to ensure that all young people became acquainted with the local language and culture.

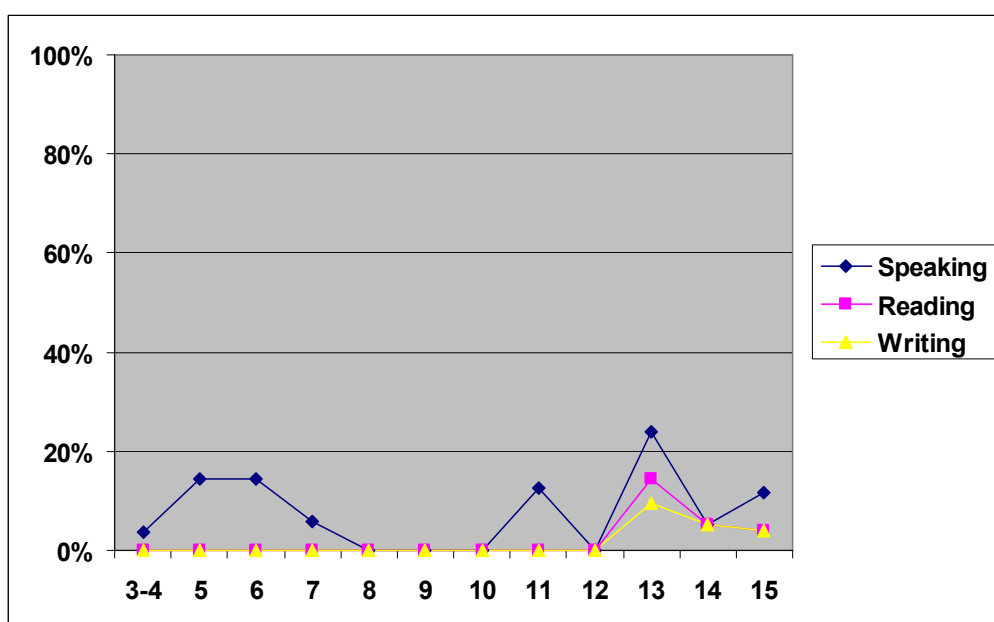


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* (Applecross & Lochcarron)

The public perception of the language was swiftly changing in the community, a certain goodwill by most local people manifested itself e.g. by record numbers in *Gàidhlig* evening classes for adults.



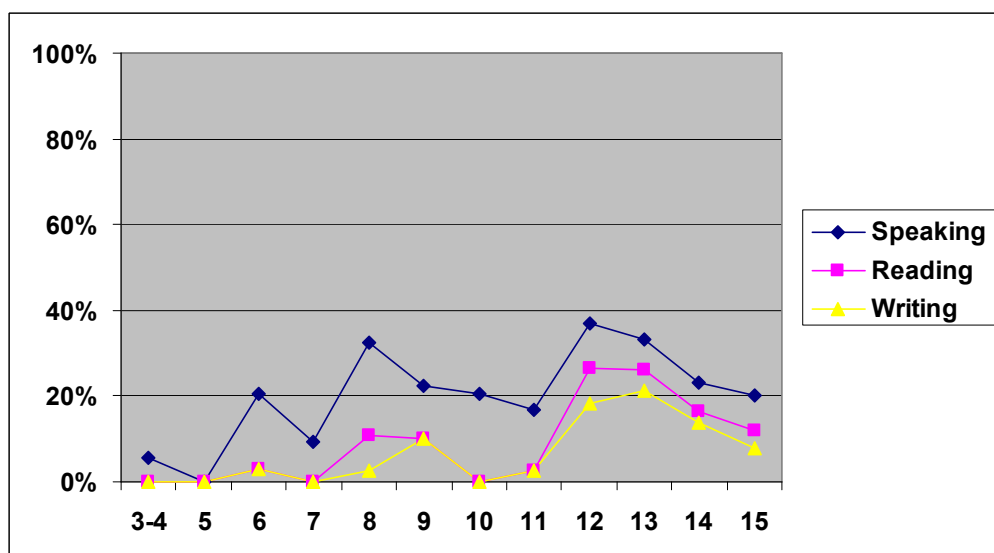


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – *Loch Aillse (Lochalsh)*

The census 2001 provided the first signs that the tide might be on the verge of turning. The language made positive inroads in younger age groups (figures 6 and 7) and most importantly, the Gàidhlig speaking share of population remained almost constant in the two most populous parishes *Loch Aillse* and *Loch Carrann*. This was the first time since census figures were taken on the subject 120 years ago! On the other hand, areas with almost no educational progress fared worst – the once staunchly Gàidhlig-speaking peninsula of *A'Chomraich* lost another 12 % of its share in 1991.

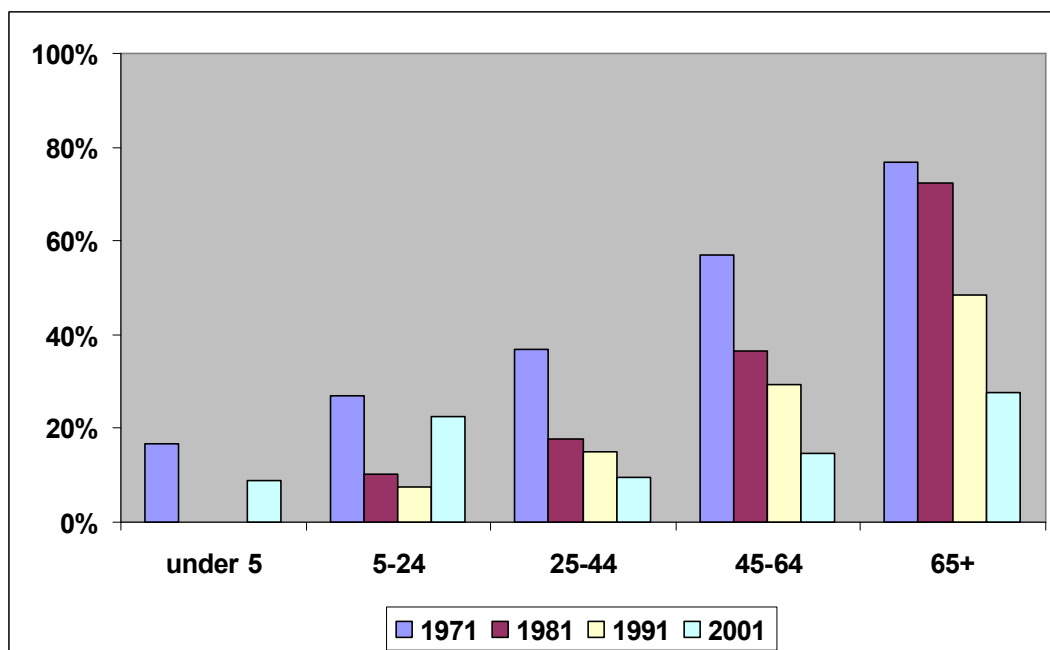


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Area of A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron)*¹⁷

¹⁷ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



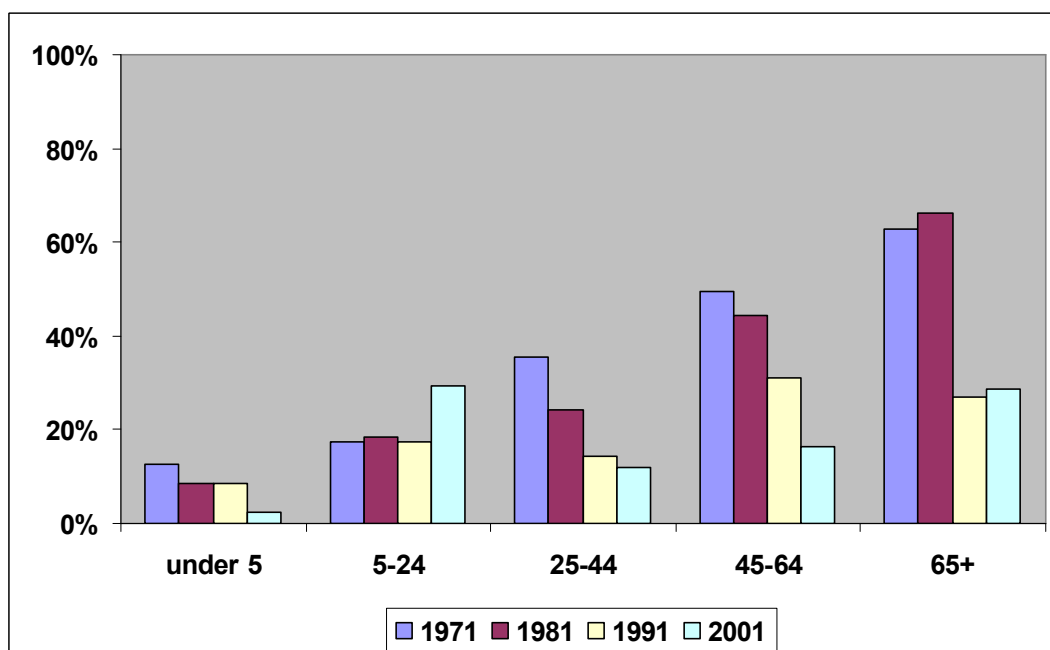


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Loch Aillse (Lochalsh)



Progress comes in all signs and forms: Footpath directions near *Uachdar Thìre* (Duwe, 2016)

In the following years there have been further positive developments e.g. with the introduction of the GLPS scheme in all local primary schools. Now all primary school children get the chance to learn some Gàidhlig as second (or third) language. The provision of Gàidhlig for pre-school children was also im-



proving. In 2003/2004 for example seven pre-school children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 in the two nursery units at *Am Ploc* and *Loch Carrann*. Last but not least bilingual road-signs were erected along the main road between *Inbhir Garadh* (Invergarry) and *Caol Loch Aillse*. In addition, these bilingual signs were also introduced on other roads when the older signs needed renewal.

The census of 2011 saw generally a further decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking in the area. In tables 14 to 17 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. 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 6 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these data zones shows generally positive feature apart from the more remote locations, where distances to *Gàidhlig* medium schools were prohibitively large.

| Census Data Zones | A’Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse – Census 2011 | | | | | Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers) |
|---|---|-------|----------|-------|---|---|
| | Knowledge of Gàidhlig | | | | | |
| | Young age (3-15) | | All ages | | Difference (Language viability indicator) | |
| A’Chomraich & Sildeag (Applecross & Shildaig) | 17 | 21.3% | 159 | 22.7% | - 1.5 % | 50.9 % |
| Loch Carrann (Lochcarron) | 23 | 34.3% | 144 | 19.6% | + 14.8 % | 34.3 % |
| Am Ploc (Plockton) | 28 | 24.1% | 158 | 21.2% | + 2.9 % | 47.6 % |
| Cinn Tàile (Kintail) | 18 | 18.0% | 110 | 16.3% | + 1.7 % | 23.0% |
| Gleann Seile & Gleann Eilg (Glenshiel & Glenelg) | 24 | 23.1% | 142 | 23.9% | - 0.8 % | 32.3 % |
| Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) | 25 | 24.0% | 134 | 21.1% | + 3.0 % | 33.0 % |
| In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland) | 7.3 % | | 7.4 % | | - 0.1 % | 45.1 % |

Table 6: 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

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 30 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers used it at home. This information is also provided in table 6.

2.3 Development of literacy in *Gàidhlig* between 1971 and 2011

Further evidence of the frequent use of *Gàidhlig* in other spheres than the home can be provided in looking at the information on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 6 and 7 below). The questions were introduced in the census for the first time in 1971. In this year the ability to read *Gàidhlig* was a direct function of the strength of the Free Church which used to stick to the language in worship and Sunday schools. About half of the *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the area could also read written text in the lan-



guage. The individual figures were as follows: *Loch Carrann* (52.9 %), *Loch Aillse* (52.9 %), *Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile* (46.0 %) and *Gleann Eilg* (50.0 %). Most prominent, however, was the literacy in *A'Chomraich* (Applecross) with a staggering 70.0 % of readers. This was matched on the mainland only by the adjacent CCED of *Geàrrloch* (Gairloch). Rather interestingly writing ability did not show such a large variation over the area and only around every fourth speaker could write *Gàidhlig* (table 7). Through the next decades literacy improved considerably with more than two thirds able to read and the majority of speakers able to write in the language (tables 7 and 8).

| | Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | | | | Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | | | |
|--|--|------|------|------|------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
| <i>A'Chomraich & L.</i> (Applecross & L.) | 345 | 256 | 223 | 186 | 155 | 62.2% | 61.7% | 70.8% | 72.7% | 72.4% |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 480 | 392 | 316 | 349 | 269 | 50.8% | 49.4% | 53.7% | 66.5% | 69.2% |

Table 7: Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2011)

The educational history of the last decades is shown in figures 8 and 9 where reading ability is demonstrated for major age groups. It can clearly be seen that the success of school education started only in the 1990s. It reached satisfactory levels as late as the start of the 21st century. Nowadays reading and writing abilities within the *Gàidhlig* speaking population are slightly higher in the northern parishes than in *Loch Aillse*.

| | Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | | | | Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | | | |
|--|---|------|------|------|------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
| <i>A'Chomraich & L.</i> (Applecross & L.) | 130 | 135 | 118 | 152 | 129 | 23.4% | 32.5% | 37.5% | 59.4% | 60.3% |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 240 | 246 | 222 | 281 | 231 | 25.4% | 31.0% | 37.7% | 53.5% | 59.4% |

Table 8: Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2001)



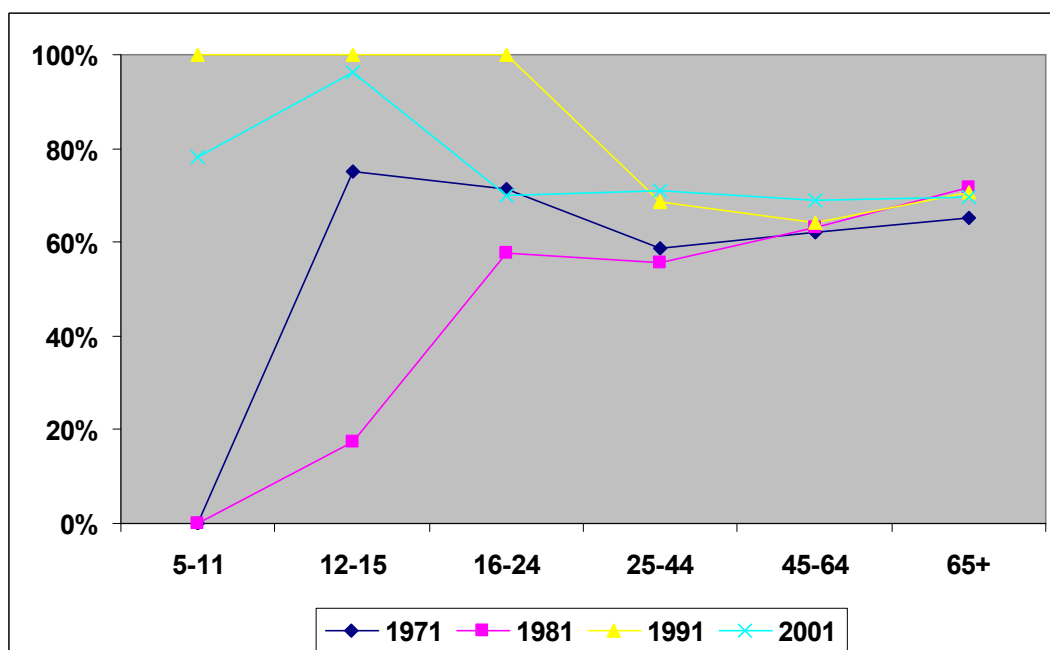


Fig. 8: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann*

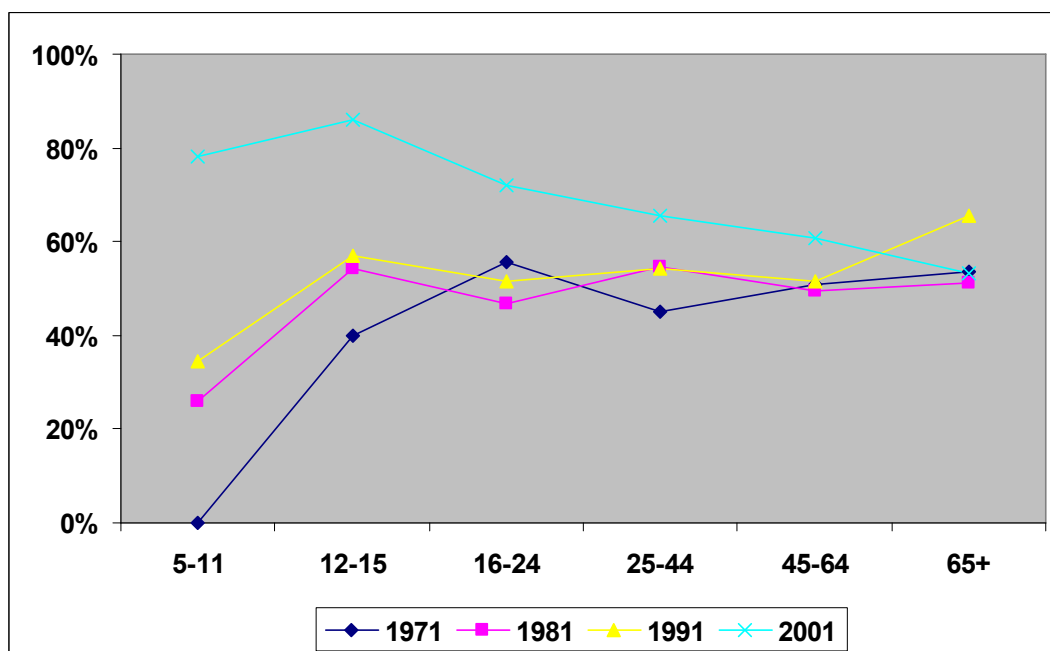


Fig. 9: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Loch Aillse*

In 2011 a further improvement of *Gàidhlig* literacy abilities was observed in the *Loch Aillse* region (tables 7 and 8). Thus reading and writing capabilities in the whole region were practically harmonized.



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

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

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

There are still remarkable differences both between the areas of *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* and *Loch Aillse* and individual communities. In general, the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments) for *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* (**Applecross & Lochcarron**):

- The *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 10) varied considerably from older to younger generations with two peaks at pensionable age and at secondary school age. Intergenerational difference (table 9) regarding *Gàidhlig* speakers was positive (+3.9 %) in 2001 whereas in 1991 it had been still negative (-15.8 %). However, only three pre-school children had a knowledge of the language.
- A considerable increase in *Gàidhlig*-speaking occurred since 1991 (table 9) especially in younger age groups. In the cohort of 3-24 the percentage of speakers was up by over 13 %.
- The local detail of census output areas showed those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 5 % in *Sildeag* (Shieldaig) to some 37 % in *Camas Teile* (Camusteel). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category ranged between around 11 % in *Sildeag* and more than 51 % in *Camas Teile* respectively.
- Fig. 11 shows about 80 % of the population liveing in neighbourhoods where at least 20 % of the people knew at least some *Gàidhlig*. In over 10 % of neighbourhoods this share was even higher. They were located in *Camas Teile* and *Camas Tearrach* in *A'Chomraich*.
- Literacy in the language was slightly improving on a comparatively high level with 72.7 % of speakers being able to read and 59.4 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of *Gàidhlig* speaking children aged less than 3 years there were unfortunately no returns reported.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (17.5 % of the population) 106 inhabitants (6.5 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language. So, one in four of the population was at least acquainted with some form of *Gàidhlig*.



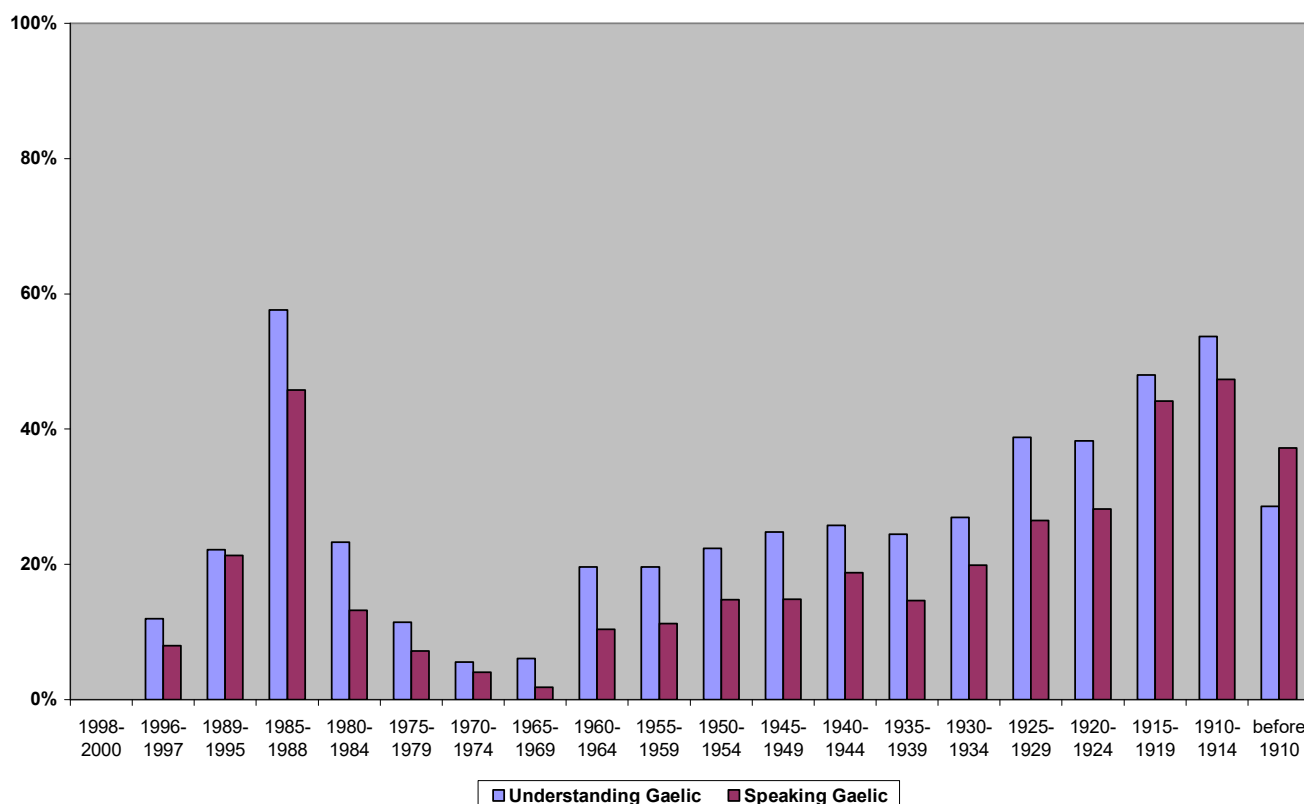


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron) according to Census 2001

| Age group | 2001 | | | | | | 1991 | | Diff. 2001 – 1991 |
|------------|-----------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|-------------------------|
| | Knowing ¹⁸ Gàidhlig | | Able to speak & read Gàidhlig | | Able to speak Gàidhlig | | Able to speak Gàidhlig | | |
| 0-2 | 0 | 0.0 % | 0 | 0.0 % | 0 | 0.0 % | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 3-4 | 3 | 12.0 % | 0 | 0.0 % | 2 | 8.0 % | 0 | 0.0 % | + 8.0 % |
| 5-11 | 24 | 22.2 % | 18 | 16.7 % | 23 | 21.3 % | 14 | 10.9 % | +10.4 % |
| 12-15 | 34 | 57.6 % | 26 | 44.1 % | 27 | 45.8 % | 5 | 7.0 % | +38.8 % |
| 16-24 | 17 | 17.4 % | 7 | 7.1 % | 10 | 10.2 % | 9 | 6.9 % | + 3.3 % |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 3-24 | 78 | 26.9 % | 51 | 17.6 % | 62 | 21.4 % | 28 | 7.6 % | +13.8 % |
| All ages | 362 | 24.0 % | 186 | 12.7 % | 256 | 17.5 % | 323 | 23.4 % | - 5.9 % |
| Difference | + 2.9 % | | + 4.9 % | | + 3.9 % | | - 15.8 % | | |

Table 9: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁸ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



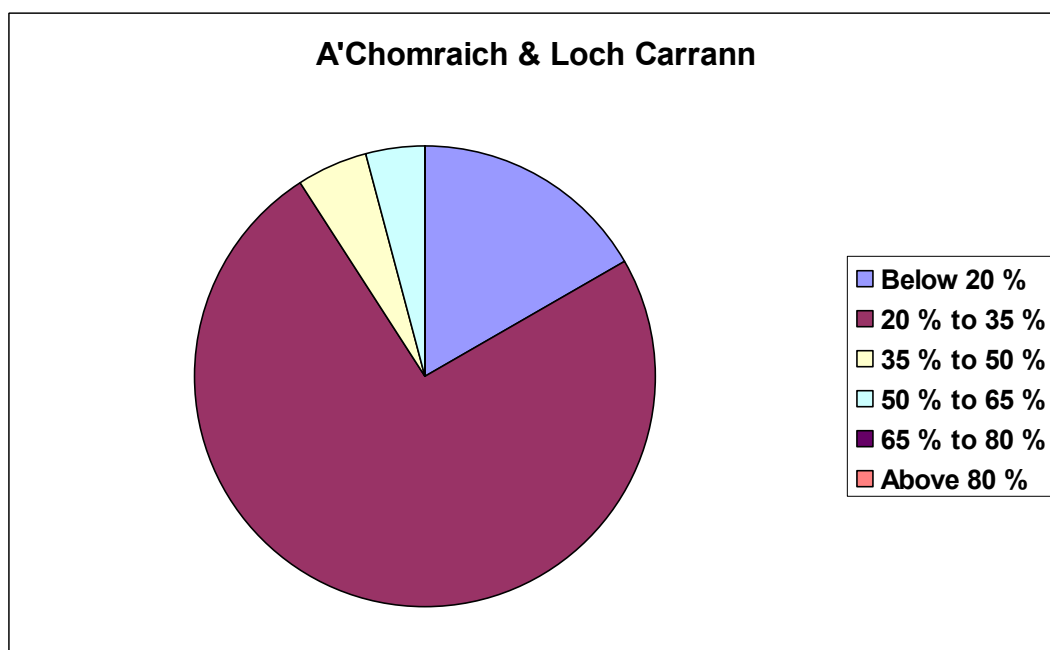


Fig. 11: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron) according to Census 2001

The conditions of Gàidhlig in the area of **Loch Aillse** according to the census 2001 results can be described as follows:

- Maximum percentages in Gàidhlig language abilities (fig. 12) were reached in secondary school age and at pensionable age. Since 1991 the intergenerational difference improved considerably from -6.0 % to +7.5 % in 2001 (table 10). The situation among local pre-school children, however, was still unfavourable with only six children understanding spoken Gàidhlig in 2001.
- A remarkable increase in Gàidhlig-speaking occurred since 1991 (table 10) especially in younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers was up by over 11 %. The overall percentage for all age groups was down only slightly by 3.1 %.
- Also, in this district results are not the same over the whole area. The local detail of census output areas shows those being able to speak Gàidhlig ranged from a share of roughly 11 % in parts of *Caol Loch Aillse* to more than 28 % in *Am Ploc*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 13 % and more than 36 % in the vicinity of *Am Ploc*.
- Over 80 % of the population lived in neighbourhoods where over 20 % of the people know at least some Gàidhlig (figure 13).
- Gàidhlig literacy in this part of *Taobh Siar Rois* was relatively well-advanced with 66.5 % of speakers being able to read and 53.5 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years only one child was returned as understanding spoken Gàidhlig.
- In addition to those persons able to speak Gàidhlig (19.5 % of the population) 201 of inhabitants (7.5 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.



In conclusion this mainland part of the once *Gaidhealtachd* did show some signs of recovery especially in the areas around the villages of *Loch Carrann* and *Am Ploc*.

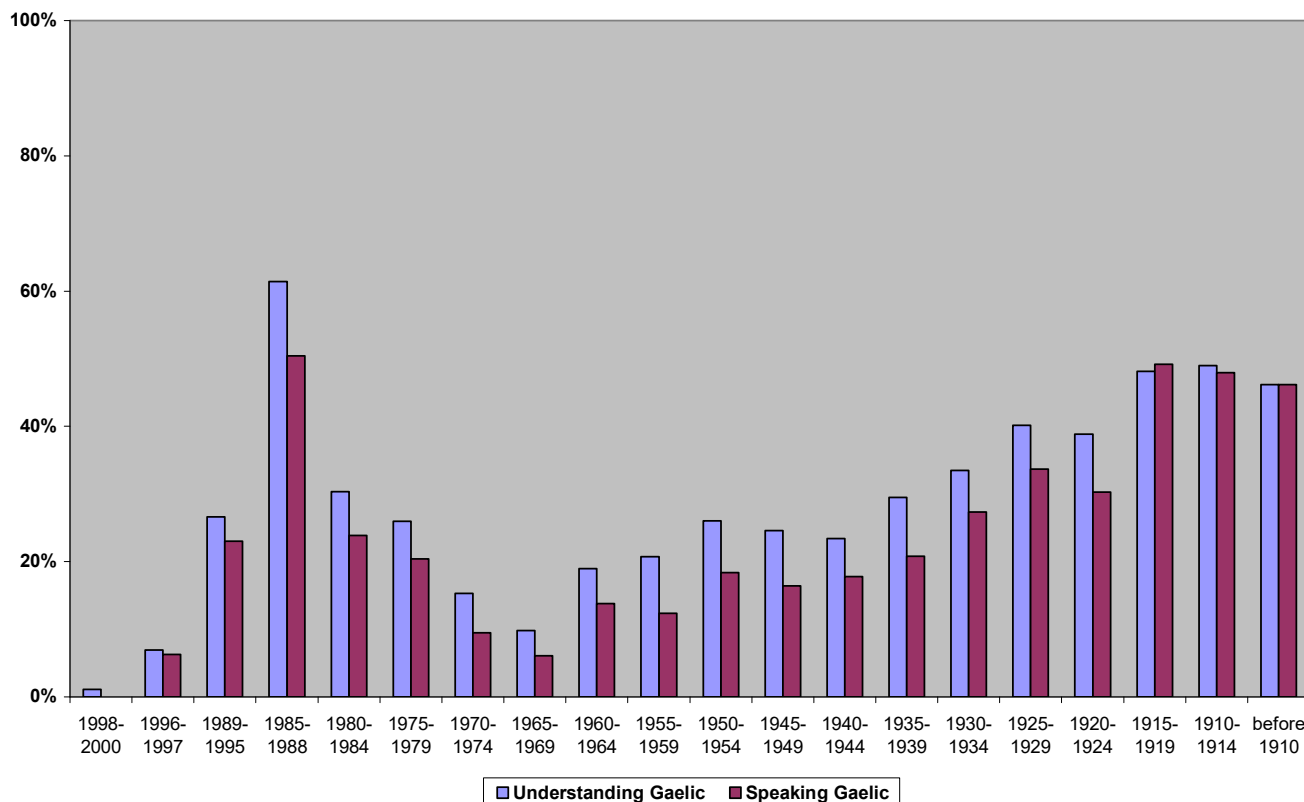


Fig. 12: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) according to Census 2001

| Age group | 2001 | | | | | | 1991 | | Diff. 2001 – 1991 |
|------------|--|--------|---|--------|----------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|-------------------------|
| | Knowing ¹⁹ <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | |
| 0-2 | 1 | 1.2 % | 0 | 0.0 % | 0 | 0.0 % | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 3-4 | 5 | 6.9 % | 0 | 0.0 % | 4 | 5.5 % | 6 | 8.6 % | - 3.1 % |
| 5-11 | 67 | 26.6 % | 43 | 17.1 % | 55 | 21.8 % | 58 | 18.8 % | + 3.0 % |
| 12-15 | 113 | 61.4 % | 80 | 43.5 % | 93 | 50.5 % | 42 | 25.9 % | +24.6 % |
| 16-24 | 60 | 28.2 % | 31 | 14.6 % | 43 | 20.2 % | 33 | 10.8 % | + 9.4 % |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| 3-24 | 245 | 33.9 % | 154 | 21.3 % | 195 | 27.0 % | 139 | 16.6 % | +11.4 % |
| All ages | 726 | 27.0 % | 349 | 13.0 % | 525 | 19.5 % | 595 | 22.6 % | - 3.1 % |
| Difference | + 6.9 % | | + 8.3 % | | + 7.5 % | | - 6.0 % | | |

Table 10: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁹ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig* and/or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



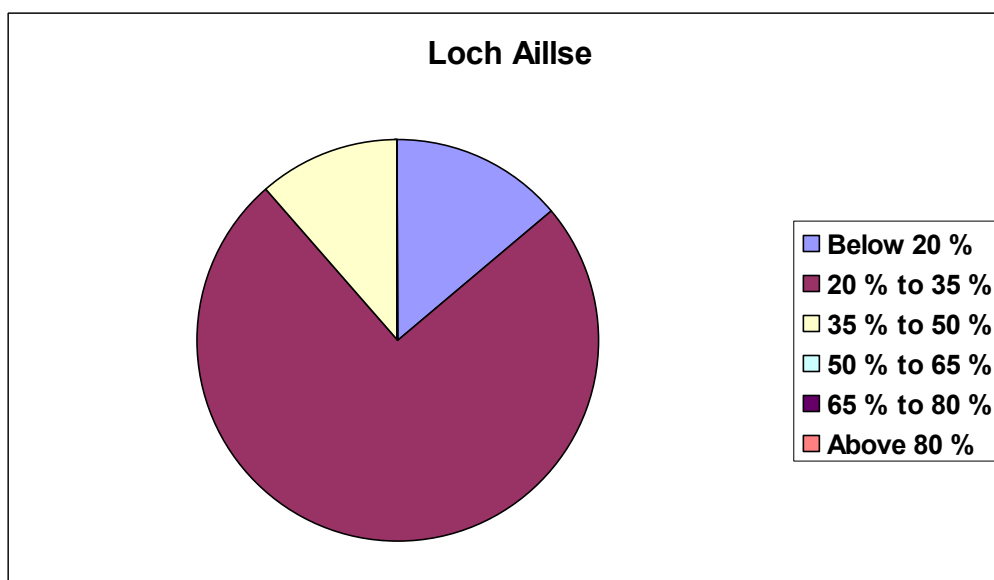


Fig. 13: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) according to Census 2001

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

The influence of local authority education policy and parental attitudes towards *Gàidhlig* can be investigated by looking specifically at pre-school (0-4), primary school (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). All primary schools (except *Toirbheartan* and *Sildeag*) acted as feeder schools for Plockton High School as local secondary school. Table 10 shows the results for individual primary school catchments:

- Pre-school children: Just 9 children were reported at least to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*. These were found in exactly the same locations where a *cròileagan* or a *sgoil-araich* existed. In this age group language progress was still in its infancy.
- Primary school children: Two primary schools provided *Gàidhlig* medium education. In the 2000/2001 school year *Loch Carrann* had 15 GME pupils on its roll. The figure at *Am Ploc* was 32. These roles constituted 13.3 % of all primary school children in *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* and 9 % in *Loch Aillse*. The census returns hint, however, to additional second language teaching in the other primary schools with the highest return by far from *Gleann Eilg* primary.
- Secondary school children: In secondary stages S1 and S2 13 pupils were already learning *Gàidhlig* as “fluent speakers”. The remaining secondary pupils received language instruction as “learners”. 11 pupils had gone through GME in primary schools before entering secondary education. The census returns provide a very substantial percentage of secondary school children reported as speaking or understanding *Gàidhlig*.
- Parents: Here it can be easily seen that only a small minority of children came from homes where at least one of the parents was *Gàidhlig*-speaking. The tradition had to be held up by the grand-parental generation.



| Knowledge of Gàidhlig (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>Toirbheartan</i> (Torridon) | - | - | - | - | 4 | 57.1 % | 1 | 5.6 % |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | - | - | 4 | 26.7 % | 1 | 14.3 % | 3 | 16.7 % |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 3 | 7.0 % | 20 | 26.7 % | 29 | 76.3 % | 4 | 4.7 % |
| <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | 3 | 4.1 % | 17 | 14.4 % | 43 | 59.7 % | 20 | 14.8 % |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) | 3 | 14.3 % | 15 | 31.9 % | 35 | 63.6 % | 5 | 12.5 % |
| <i>Uachdar Thìre</i> (Auchtertyre) | - | - | 12 | 30.0 % | 19 | 70.4 % | 5 | 11.6 % |
| <i>Loch Dubhthaich</i> (Lochduich) | - | - | 6 | 31.6 % | 10 | 55.6 % | 3 | 10.0 % |
| <i>Gleann Eilg</i> (Glenelg) | - | - | 17 | 60.7 % | 6 | 50.0 % | 2 | 6.5 % |

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

Whereas in many communities the percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers went down considerably the school catchment of *Loch Carrann* experienced only a slight decline of 0.4 % since 1991. The other catchment with GME reported an increase of the number of speakers: *Bun-sgoil a'Phluic* (Plockton primary school). Table 12 outlines this very positive result in detail.

| Gàidhlig-speaking population in catchment area of <i>Bun-sgoil a'Phluic</i> (Plockton Primary School) | | |
|--|-----|--------|
| Census 1981 | 145 | 32.4 % |
| Census 1991 | 118 | 20.3 % |
| Census 2001 | 124 | 24.4 % |
| Census 2011 | 126 | 16.9 % |

Table 12: Number and percentage of persons able to speak Gàidhlig in the catchment area of *Bun-sgoil a'Phluic* (Plockton Primary School) according to census results from 1981 – 2011



4 Future Perspectives: 2011 and beyond

The investigated Highland district has still a remarkable *Gàidhlig* background, and a substantial part of the community supports also its place in ordinary life. The language viability indicator (LVI²⁰) has turned into positive values both in *Loch Aillse* (table 13) and in *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann*. This points to a considerable improvement in intergenerational language-maintenance since previous census dates.

| Area | A’Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse – Census 2011 | | | | | Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers) |
|--|---|-------|----------|-------|---|---|
| | Knowledge of Gàidhlig | | | | | |
| | Young age (3-15) | | All ages | | Difference (Language viability indicator) | |
| A’Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron) | 40 | 27.2% | 303 | 21.1% | + 6.1 % | 43.0 % |
| Loch Aillse (Lochalsh) | 95 | 22.4% | 544 | 20.5% | + 1.9 % | 35.6 % |
| In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland) | 7.3 % | | 7.4 % | | - 0.1 % | 45.1 % |

Table 13: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron) and Loch Aillse (Lochalsh) in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

The LVI is generally positive except in very remote locations. Intergenerational viability is especially healthy around *Loch Carrann* (+ 14.8 %). Therefore, the foundations to prevent further decline and even to start with a revival were obvious in 2011.

Future educational progress: The overall temporal evolution of *Gàidhlig*-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 14 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 36 pupils (75.0 %) attended the GMU in *Am Ploc* (Plockton) and 15 pupils (27.8 %) were recorded in the *Loch Carrann* GMU. The number of nursery children in *Am Ploc* stood at 13 children at the time. The remaining pupils (also in other local schools) received *Gàidhlig* lessons, in most instances as second language for the whole primary stage. In secondary school all pupils attended *Gàidhlig* lessons either as fluent speakers or learners.

In conclusion: This mainland part of the former *Gaidhealtachd* shows some signs of recovery especially in the areas around the villages of *Loch Carrann* and *Am Ploc*. Whereas in communities without *Gàidhlig* medium units the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers went down considerably the school catchment of *Loch Carrann* experienced only a slight decline since 1991. The other catchment with GME even reported an increase in the number of speakers: *Bun-sgoil a'Phluic* (Plockton primary school).

²⁰ LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.



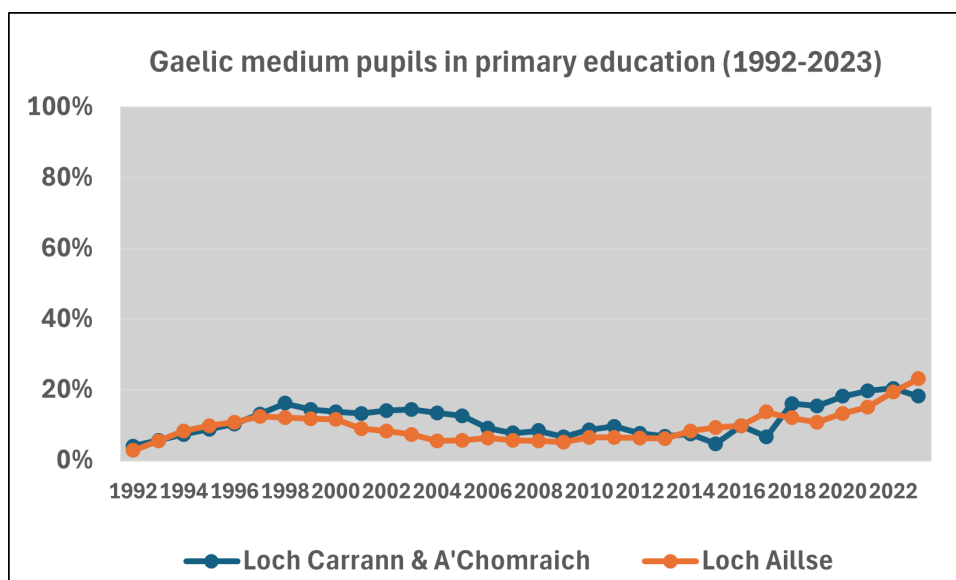


Fig. 14: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *Loch Carrann* and *Loch Aillse* (September 1992 – September 2023)²¹

²¹ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



I. Supplementary Tables

| Census | Civil Parish | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <i>A' Chomraich</i> (Apple-cross) | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Loch-carron) |
| 1881 | 2,118 | 1,311 |
| 1891 | 1,664 | 1,438 |
| 1901 | 1,506 | 1,261 |
| 1911 | 1,292 | 991 |
| 1921 | 1,014 | 891 |
| 1931 | 886 | 673 |
| 1951 | 570 | 490 |
| 1961 | 399 | 340 |
| 1971 | 295 | 255 |
| 1981 | 223 | 178 |
| 1991 | 173 | 150 |
| 2001 | 101 | 155 |
| 2011 | 89 | 125 |

Table 14: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes *A'Chomraich* and *Loch Carrann* according to census data from 1881 to 2011

| Census | Civil Parish | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <i>A' Chomraich</i> (Apple-cross) | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Loch-carron) |
| 1881 | 94.6 % | 90.0 % |
| 1891 | 93.2 % | 87.6 % |
| 1901 | 93.3 % | 87.4 % |
| 1911 | 89.7 % | 89.4 % |
| 1921 | 90.6 % | 83.6 % |
| 1931 | 85.7 % | 69.6 % |
| 1951 | 77.6 % | 59.6 % |
| 1961 | 71.5 % | 48.1 % |
| 1971 | 53.6 % | 43.6 % |
| 1981 | 36.3 % | 21.7 % |
| 1991 | 30.6 % | 17.2 % |
| 2001 | 18.6 % | 16.8 % |
| 2011 | 15.7 % | 14.4 % |

Table 15: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population for the civil parishes of *A'Chomraich* and *Loch Carrann* according to census data from 1881 to 2011



| Census | Civil Parish | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | Loch Aillse (Lochalsh) | Cinn Tàile (Kintail) | Gleann Seile (Glenshiel) | Gleann Eilg ²² (Glenelg) |
| 1881 | 1,840 | 652 | 400 | 1,453 |
| 1891 | 1,742 | 546 | 353 | 1,371 |
| 1901 | 1,513 | 434 | 310 | 1,231 |
| 1911 | 1,428 | 359 | 279 | 1,192 |
| 1921 | 1,176 | 341 | 253 | 998 |
| 1931 | 1,087 | 289 | 242 | 870 |
| 1951 | 788 | 180 | 182 | 573 |
| 1961 | 665 | 152 | 149 | 471 |
| 1971 | 570 | 150 | 100 | 360 |
| 1981 | 493 | 138 | 79 | 298 |
| 1991 | 383 | 95 | 59 | 199 |
| 2001 | 361 | 79 | 34 | 187 |
| 2011 | 280 | 43 | 30 | 180 |

Table 16: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the four civil parishes in Loch Aillse according to census data from 1881 to 2011

| Census | Civil Parish | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Loch Aillse (Lochalsh) | Cinn Tàile (Kintail) | Gleann Seile (Glenshiel) | Gleann Eilg (Glenelg) |
| 1881 ²³ | 89.8 % | 94.8 % | 95.0 % | 90.8 % |
| 1891 | 93.3 % | 92.9 % | 89.5 % | 91.2 % |
| 1901 | 82.7 % | 88.4 % | 90.4 % | 81.9 % |
| 1911 | 81.1 % | 86.7 % | 82.3 % | 71.4 % |
| 1921 | 71.3 % | 86.5 % | 83.0 % | 60.7 % |
| 1931 | 71.3 % | 76.9 % | 76.3 % | 51.5 % |
| 1951 | 45.9 % | 60.6 % | 58.7 % | 38.6 % |
| 1961 | 40.3 % | 46.2 % | 52.7 % | 30.4 % |
| 1971 | 33.0 % | 36.6 % | 43.5 % | 24.3 % |
| 1981 | 29.4 % | 36.9 % | 36.6 % | 20.7 % |
| 1991 | 20.4 % | 25.8 % | 24.1 % | 14.0 % |
| 2001 | 20.2 % | 18.6 % | 16.8 % | 12.4 % |
| 2011 | 15.1 % | 14.4 % | 14.5 % | 12.8 % |

Table 17: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population for the four civil parishes in Loch Aillse according to census data from 1881 to 2011

²² Figures include the southern part of the parish with the town of Malaig (Mallaig) which is part of Loch Abar an Iar (West Lochaber). Please see Vol. 01 of this series for details.

²³ The 1881 census question was concerned with those „habitually“ speaking Gaelic.



| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann</i> ²⁴ | Total Popula- tion | Gàidhlig and Eng- lish | Gàidhlig but no English |
|--|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Census/Selected Area | | | |
| 1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) | 3,695 | 3,429 | |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 2,239 | 2,118 | |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 1,456 | 1,311 | |
| ----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Cròbhlainn</i> (Crowlin Islands) | 9 | 9 | |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) Vi ²⁵ | 417 | 384 | |
| ----- Registration districts (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 1,396 | 1,327 | |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 958 | 906 | |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,456 | 1,311 | |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 1,332 | 1,257 | |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 958 | 906 | |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,405 | 1,266 | |
| 1891 | 3,428 | 2,219 | 883 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 2,038 | 1,202 | 685 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 1,390 | 1,017 | 198 |
| ----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Cròbhlainn</i> (Crowlin Islands) | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) Vi | 384 | 288 | 48 |
| ----- Registration districts (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 1,239 | 749 | 387 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 890 | 500 | 342 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,390 | 1,017 | 198 |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 2,038 | 1,202 | 685 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,390 | 1,017 | 198 |
| 1901 | 3,057 | 2,322 | 445 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 1,615 | 1,126 | 380 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 1,442 | 1,196 | 65 |
| ----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Cròbhlainn</i> (Crowlin Islands) | 11 | 3 | 7 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) Vi | 383 | 330 | 7 |
| ----- Registration districts (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 864 | 601 | 206 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 813 | 566 | 194 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,442 | 1,196 | 65 |
| ----- Electoral areas (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 802 | 560 | 186 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 813 | 566 | 194 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,442 | 1,196 | 65 |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 981 | 713 | 195 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 813 | 566 | 194 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 1,263 | 1,043 | 56 |

Table 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, inhabited islands, villages or electoral areas) in *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann*

²⁴ Civil parishes of *A'Chomraich* (Applecross) and *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron).

²⁵ The village was called Jeantown after the wife of the local landlord in those days.



| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann</i> ²⁶ | Total Popula- tion | Gàidhlig and Eng- lish | Gàidhlig but no English |
|--|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Census/Selected Area | | | |
| 1911 | 2,548 | 1,962 | 321 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 1,440 | 1,106 | 186 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 1,108 | 856 | 135 |
| 1921 | 2,185 | 1,776 | 129 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 1,119 | 921 | 93 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 1,066 | 855 | 36 |
| 1931 | 2,001 | 1,503 | 56 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 1,034 | 839 | 47 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 967 | 664 | 9 |
| | | | |
| 1951 | 1,557 | 1,047 | 13 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 735 | 558 | 12 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 822 | 489 | 1 |
| 1961 | 1,237 | 732 | 7 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 558 | 393 | 6 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 679 | 339 | 1 |
| ----- County council electoral divisions (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 569 | 404 | 6 |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 679 | 339 | 1 |
| 1971 ²⁷ | 1,133 | 550 | * |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) CP | 550 | 295 | * |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) CP | 585 | 255 | * |
| ----- County council electoral divisions (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 555 | 300 | * |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | 585 | 255 | * |

Table 19: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes and county council electoral divisions) in *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann*

²⁶ Civil parishes of *A'Chomraich* (Applecross) and *Loch Carrann* (Lochcarron).

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



| Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891: <i>Loch Aillse, Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile</i> ²⁸ | Total Popula- tion | Gàidhlig and Eng- lish | Gàidhlig but no English |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Census/Selected Area | | | |
| 1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) | 3,162 | 2,892 | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 2,050 | 1,840 | |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 688 | 652 | |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 424 | 400 | |
| ----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Eilean Gillean</i> (Gillean Island Lighthouse) | 14 | - | |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) Vi | 440 | 400 | |
| ----- Registration districts (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 2,050 | 1,840 | |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) | 688 | 652 | |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) | 424 | 400 | |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 2,050 | 1,840 | |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) | 688 | 652 | |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) | 424 | 400 | |
| 1891 | 2,850 | 2,042 | 599 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,868 | 1,385 | 357 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 588 | 386 | 160 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 394 | 271 | 82 |
| ----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Eilean Gillean</i> (Gillean Island Lighthouse) | 14 | - | - |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) Vi | 422 | 365 | 42 |
| ----- Registration districts (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 1,868 | 1,385 | 357 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) | 588 | 386 | 160 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) | 394 | 271 | 82 |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 1,868 | 1,385 | 357 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) | 554 | 353 | 159 |
| <i>Earghlais</i> (Erchless) as part of <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 34 | 33 | 1 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) | 394 | 271 | 82 |

Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil or ecclesiastic parishes, villages, census registration districts or inhabited islands) of *Loch Aillse, Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile*

²⁸ The communities in *Gleann Eilg* (Glenelg) are dealt with in Vol. 01 of this series to enable historical comparison.



| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1971: <i>Loch Aillse, Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile</i> ²⁹ | Total Popula- tion | Gàidhlig and Eng- lish | Gàidhlig but no English |
|--|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Census/Selected Area | | | |
| 1901 | 2,664 | 1,967 | 290 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,830 | 1,308 | 205 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 491 | 397 | 37 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 343 | 262 | 48 |
| ----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Eilean Gilleann</i> (Gilleann Island Lighthouse) | 8 | - | - |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) Vi | 354 | 305 | 7 |
| ----- Registration districts (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 1,830 | 1,308 | 205 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) | 491 | 397 | 37 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) | 343 | 262 | 48 |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 975 | 639 | 146 |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) | 855 | 669 | 59 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) | 475 | 385 | 37 |
| <i>Earghlais</i> (Erchless) as part of <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 16 | 12 | - |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) | 343 | 262 | 48 |
| ----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) --- | | | |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 596 | 398 | 125 |
| <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) | 1,231 | 909 | 80 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile</i> (Kintail & Glenshiel) | 834 | 659 | 85 |
| 1911 | 2,514 | 1,864 | 202 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,761 | 1,283 | 145 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 414 | 336 | 23 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 339 | 245 | 34 |
| 1921 | 2,349 | 1,688 | 82 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,650 | 1,123 | 53 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 394 | 320 | 21 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 305 | 245 | 8 |
| 1931 | 2,218 | 1,575 | 43 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,525 | 1,060 | 27 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 376 | 281 | 8 |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 317 | 234 | 8 |
| 1951 | 2,325 | 1,143 | 7 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,718 | 782 | 6 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 297 | 180 | - |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 310 | 181 | 1 |
| 1961 | 2,155 | 955 | 1 |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,572 | 664 | 1 |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 329 | 152 | - |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 283 | 149 | - |
| 1971 ³⁰ | 2,357 | 945 | * |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) CP | 1,725 | 570 | * |
| <i>Cinn Tàile</i> (Kintail) CP | 410 | 150 | * |
| <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel) CP | 230 | 100 | * |

Table 21: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil or ecclesiastic parishes, villages, census registration districts or inhabited islands) of *Loch Aillse, Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile*

²⁹ The communities in *Gleann Eilg* (Glenelg) are dealt with in Vol. 01 of this series to enable historical comparison.

³⁰ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Ross & Cromarty and Inverness-shire) (Population aged 3 years and over) | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Area | 1961/71 Code | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
| <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross CCED) | AP | 410 73.5 % | 300 55.6 % | 223 37.9 % | 173 32.0 % | 101 18.9 % |
| <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron CCED) | LC | 340 50.1 % | 255 45.9 % | 178 23.0 % | 150 18.1 % | 155 17.3 % |
| <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh CCED) | LA | 665 42.3 % | 545 32.5 % | 493 31.0 % | 383 21.3 % | 361 21.1 % |
| <i>Cinn Tàile & Gleann Seile</i> (Kintail & Glenshiel CCED) | KI | 301 51.6 % | 250 42.0 % | 217 38.8 % | 154 25.9 % | 113 18.3 % |
| <i>Gleann Eilg</i> (Glenelg CCED) | GE | 196 51.4 % | 130 45.6 % | 92 41.4 % | 58 26.5 % | 51 19.5 % |

Table 22: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001

| <i>A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i> | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| Age group | 1971 | | 1981 | | 1991 | | 2001 | |
| 0-2³¹ | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 0 | 0.0 % |
| 3-4 | 5 | 16.7 % | 0 | 0.0 % | 0 | 0.0 % | 2 | 8.0 % |
| 5-24 | 65 | 27.1 % | 41 | 10.1 % | 28 | 7.6 % | 60 | 22.6 % |
| 25-44 | 85 | 37.0 % | 69 | 17.9 % | 54 | 14.9 % | 35 | 9.7 % |
| 45-64 | 185 | 56.9 % | 106 | 36.6 % | 115 | 29.4 % | 65 | 14.7 % |
| 65 + | 215 | 76.8 % | 185 | 72.3 % | 126 | 48.3 % | 94 | 27.6 % |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Total (3 years and over) | 555 | 50.5 % | 401 | 29.4 % | 323 | 23.4 % | 256 | 17.9 % |
| Born in Scotland | n/a | n/a | 397 | 39.8 % | 311 | 31.0 % | 240 | 25.9 % |

Table 23: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* (Applecross & Lochcarron) according to data from 1971 to 2001

³¹ Information only available since 2001.



| Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann</i> ³² | | | | | | |
|---|--|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| Map No | Census output area ³³ | Age groups | | | | Born in Scotland ³⁴ |
| | | 3 - 24 | 25 - 44 | 45 - 64 | 65+ | |
| 01 | <i>Inbhir Ailiginn & Diabaig</i> (Inveralligin & Diabaig) | 2 9.5% | 7 43.8% | 9 30.0% | 25 78.1% | 44 54.3% |
| 02 | <i>Toirbheartan & Am Fasag</i> (Torridon & Fasaig) | 2 7.7% | 7 21.2% | 2 11.8% | 9 64.3% | 20 30.8% |
| 03 | <i>Sildeag & Balgaidh</i> (Shieldaig & Balgy) | 4 16.0% | 4 19.0% | 7 58.3% | 13 65.0% | 28 45.2% |
| 04 | <i>A'Chomraich & Cùraig</i> (Applecross & Cuaig) | 6 21.4% | 2 13.3% | 7 58.3% | 11 68.8% | 28 57.1% |
| 05 | <i>Camas Teile & Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Camusteel & Milton) | 8 16.0% | 6 20.0% | 18 66.7% | 22 88.0% | 58 53.2% |
| 06 | <i>Camas Terrach & Toghscaig</i> (Camusterrach & Toscaig) | 4 16.7% | 12 54.5% | 3 60.0% | 21 87.5% | 38 66.7% |
| 07 | <i>Achadh na Tràghad</i> (Achintraid) | 7 43.8% | 3 16.7% | 8 36.4% | 21 91.3% | 34 55.7% |
| 08 + 09 | <i>An Sròn Dearg & Slumba</i> (Strome & Slumbay) | 6 10.3% | 14 29.8% | 26 60.5% | 28 71.8% | 75 50.0% |
| 10 | <i>Loch Carrann 1</i> (Lochcarron) | 1 1.3% | 11 15.1% | 15 33.3% | 20 55.6% | 46 25.8% |
| 11 + 12 | <i>Loch Carrann 2</i> (Lochcarron) | 4 6.5% | 4 7.8% | 1 2.8% | 2 40.0% | 11 20.8% |
| 13 | <i>Srath Carrann & Na Cùileagan</i> (Strathcarron & Coulags) | — | 4 8.7% | 6 18.2% | 14 58.3% | 23 20.2% |
| Total | <i>A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann</i> (Applecross & Lochcarron) | 42 10.9% | 73 19.0% | 110 37.9% | 190 74.2% | 405 40.6% |

Table 24: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann (Applecross & Lochcarron) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

³² Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³³ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³⁴ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



| Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Loch Aillse</i> ³⁵ | | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Map No | Census output area ³⁶ | Age groups | | | | Born in Scotland ³⁷ |
| | | 3 - 24 | 25 - 44 | 45 - 64 | 65+ | |
| 51 - 53 | <i>Loch Aillse 1</i> (Lochalsh) | 22 22.2% | 23 28.4% | 31 40.8% | 26 60.5% | 102 37.4% |
| 54 - 56 | <i>Loch Aillse 2</i> (Lochalsh) | 21 13.9% | 25 20.8% | 31 43.1% | 36 73.5% | 108 31.7% |
| 57 - 59 | <i>Uachdar Thire & Earbasaig</i> (Auchtertyre & Erbusaig) | 18 19.6% | 21 24.7% | 25 36.8% | 31 60.8% | 87 39.0% |
| 60 | <i>Diùirinis & An Druim Buidhe</i> (Duirinish & Drumbuie) | 8 34.8% | 8 44.4% | 13 76.5% | 18 85.7% | 41 71.9% |
| 61 | <i>An t-Achadh Mòr & Port an t-Sroim</i> (Achmore & Stromeferry) | 7 30.4% | 3 14.3% | 11 52.4% | 7 87.5% | 25 39.7% |
| 62 - 63 | <i>Am Ploc & Dùn Crèige</i> (Plockton & Duncraig) | 13 15.5% | 13 16.9% | 21 31.8% | 33 63.5% | 72 34.8% |
| 64 + 68 | <i>An Dòrnaidh & Inbhir Ionaide</i> (Dornie & Inverinate) | 7 13.2% | 15 37.5% | 35 63.6% | 27 67.5% | 84 45.7% |
| 65 + 66 | <i>Aird Eilbh & Camas Longairt</i> (Ardelve & Camuslongart) | 14 16.3% | 11 21.2% | 20 41.7% | 24 77.4% | 69 37.5% |
| 67 | <i>Cill Fhaolain & Saileachaidh</i> (Killilan & Sallachy) | 12 32.4% | 3 12.5% | 10 40.0% | 9 64.3% | 34 44.2% |
| 69 | <i>A'Mhormhaich & Cluanaidh</i> (Morvich & Cluanie) | 5 16.7% | 12 50.0% | 9 37.5% | 12 63.2% | 36 42.9% |
| 70 | <i>Leitir Fheàrna & An Tobhtaig</i> (Letterfearn & Totaig) | 5 11.1% | 13 37.1% | 11 68.8% | 15 83.3% | 40 41.7% |
| 71 | <i>Gleann Eilg</i> (Glenelg) | 13 25.0% | 11 33.3% | 24 52.2% | 21 65.6% | 70 47.3% |
| 72 | <i>Arnasdal & An Corran</i> (Arnisdale & Corran) | 4 21.1% | — | 8 50.0% | 12 80.0% | 23 42.6% |
| Total | <i>Loch Aillse</i> (Lochalsh) | 145 18.1% | 151 24.2% | 251 45.7% | 266 67.9% | 792 37.8% |

Table 25: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

³⁵ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³⁶ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³⁷ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ³⁸ <i>Taobh Siar Rois: A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann</i> | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| Map No | Census output area ³⁹ | 1981 | | 1991 | | 2001 | |
| 01 | <i>Inbhir Ailiginn</i> (Inveralligin) | 48 | 46.5 % | 29 | 26.1 % | 15 | 14.9 % |
| 02 | <i>Toirbheartan</i> (Torridon) | 19 | 18.9 % | 17 | 22.7 % | 15 | 17.1 % |
| 03 | <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 32 | 38.5 % | 32 | 21.3 % | 6 | 5.0 % |
| 04 | <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | 30 | 39.4 % | | | 17 | 17.2 % |
| 05 | <i>Camas Teile</i> (Camusteel) | 58 | 43.3 % | 47 | 43.2 % | 23 | 37.1 % |
| 06 | <i>Camas Tearach</i> (Camusterrach) | 36 | 45.3 % | 48 | 49.5 % | 25 | 33.8 % |
| 07 | <i>Achadh na Tràghad</i> (Achintraid) | 37 | 44.3 % | 15 | 16.7 % | 24 | 18.9 % |
| | <i>Rosal</i> (Rossal) | 1 | 3.7 % | | | | |
| 08 | <i>An Sròn Dearg</i> (Strome) | 70 | 39.0 % | 29 | 23.1 % | 19 | 17.4 % |
| 09 | <i>Slumba</i> (Slumbay) | | | 23 | 27.6 % | 29 | 25.2 % |
| 10 | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) a | 43 | 19.7 % | 13 | 14.9 % | 36 | 17.8 % |
| | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) d | | | 26 | 19.0 % | | |
| 11 | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) b | 12 | 7.9 % | 9 | 7.7 % | 17 | 14.3 % |
| 12 | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) c | | | 14 | 15.7 % | 14 | 11.2 % |
| 13 | <i>Srath Carrann</i> (Strathcarron) | 19 | 14.5 % | 15 | 13.0 % | 16 | 12.7 % |

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in A'Chomraich (Applecross) & Loch Carrann (Lochcarron) according to data from 1981 to 2001

| <i>Loch Aillse: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i> | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| Age group | 1971 | | 1981 | | 1991 | | 2001 | |
| 0-2⁴⁰ | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 0 | 0.0 % |
| 3-4 | 10 | 12.5 % | 6 | 8.5 % | 6 | 8.6 % | 4 | 5.5 % |
| 5-24 | 150 | 17.5 % | 134 | 18.5 % | 133 | 17.3 % | 191 | 29.4 % |
| 25-44 | 200 | 35.4 % | 154 | 24.2 % | 118 | 14.2 % | 82 | 11.9 % |
| 45-64 | 305 | 49.5 % | 243 | 44.3 % | 185 | 31.1 % | 125 | 16.4 % |
| 65 + | 280 | 62.9 % | 265 | 66.3 % | 153 | 27.1 % | 123 | 28.8 % |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Total (3 years and over) | 945 | 37.0 % | 802 | 33.7 % | 595 | 22.6 % | 525 | 20.2 % |
| Born in Scotland | n/a | n/a | 779 | 39.0 % | 571 | 27.1 % | 496 | 24.5 % |

Table 27: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Loch Aillse (Lochalsh) according to data from 1971 to 2001

³⁸ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

³⁹ Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.

⁴⁰ Information only available since 2001.



| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ⁴¹ <i>Loch Aillse</i> | | | | | | | |
|--|--|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| Map No | Census output area ⁴² | 1981 | | 1991 | | 2001 | |
| 51 | Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) 1a | 96 | 31.8 % | 31 | 20.8 % | 16 | 15.4 % |
| 52 | Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) 1b | | | 31 | 25.2 % | 29 | 21.6 % |
| 53 | Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) 1c | | | 22 | 19.6 % | 33 | 23.6 % |
| 54 | Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) 2a | 112 | 28.3 % | 22 | 20.6 % | 18 | 18.6 % |
| 55 | Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) 2b | | | 16 | 11.7 % | 13 | 11.0 % |
| 56 | Caol Loch Aillse (Kyle of Lochalsh) 2c | | | 29 | 19.9 % | 28 | 19.2 % |
| 57 | Earbasaig (Erbusaig) | 89 | 29.7 % | 24 | 19.2 % | 30 | 24.6 % |
| 58 | Baile Mac Carra (Balmacara) | | | 46 | 20.3 % | 26 | 21.7 % |
| 59 | Uachdar Thìre (Auchtertyre) | | | | | 15 | 10.6 % |
| 60 | Diùirinis (Duirinish) | 41 | 50.6 % | 32 | 36.0 % | 21 | 26.9 % |
| 61 | An t-Achadh Mòr (Achmore) | 27 | 35.1 % | 26 | 21.7 % | 35 | 24.8 % |
| 62 | Am Ploc (Plockton) a | 68 | 29.8 % | 9 | 11.9 % | 13 | 11.2 % |
| | Am Ploc (Plockton) c | | | 13 | 15.6 % | | |
| 63 | Am Ploc (Plockton) b | | | 36 | 22.2 % | 55 | 28.2 % |
| | Dùn Creige (Duncraig) | 9 | 14.8 % | 2 | 4.0 % | | |
| 64 | An Dòrnaidh (Dornie) a | 65 | 30.0 % | 20 | 22.4 % | 15 | 21.1 % |
| 65 | Aird Eilbh (Ardelve) | | | | | 29 | 21.2 % |
| 66 | An Dòrnaidh (Dornie) b | | | 31 | 24.2 % | 16 | 12.6 % |
| 67 | Saileachaidh (Sallachy) | 36 | 34.6 % | 24 | 20.0 % | 26 | 22.8 % |
| 68 | Inbhir Ionaid (Inverinate) | 88 | 44.2 % | 64 | 26.5 % | 22 | 19.5 % |
| 69 | Drochaid Sheile (Shiel Bridge) | 33 | 36.3 % | 30 | 27.1 % | 14 | 15.9 % |
| | Gleann Seile (Glen Shiel) | 2 | 33.3 % | | | | |
| 70 | Leitir Fheàrna (Letterfearn) | 44 | 40.2 % | 29 | 21.9 % | 20 | 17.5 % |
| 71 | Gleann Eilg (Glenelg) | 68 | 40.6 % | 9 | 11.8 % | 16 | 15.8 % |
| 72 | Arnasdal (Arnisdale) | 24 | 36.5 % | 49 | 31.5 % | 35 | 19.9 % |

Table 28: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) according to data from 1981 to 2001

⁴¹ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

⁴² Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.



| 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 | <i>Inbhir Ailiginn</i> (Inveralligin) | 4 | 23.5 % | 23 | 22.8 % | + 0.7 % | 36.2 % |
| 02 | <i>Toirbheartan</i> (Torridon) | - | - | 23 | 26.1 % | - 26.1 % | 39.6 % |
| 03 | <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig) | 2 | 5.7 % | 13 | 10.8 % | - 5.1 % | 13.1 % |
| 04 | <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross) | - | - | 25 | 25.3 % | - 25.3 % | 41.4 % |
| 05 | <i>Camas Teile</i> (Camusteel) | 3 | 25.0 % | 32 | 51.6 % | - 26.6 % | 63.3 % |
| 06 | <i>Camas Tearrach</i> (Camusterrach) | 5 | 26.3 % | 30 | 40.5 % | - 14.2 % | 48.2 % |
| 07 | <i>Achadh na Tràghad</i> (Achintraid) | 16 | 26.7 % | 31 | 24.4 % | + 2.3 % | 38.9 % |
| 08 | <i>An Sròim Dearg</i> (Strome) | 4 | 21.1 % | 25 | 22.9 % | - 1.8 % | 37.5 % |
| 09 | <i>Slumba</i> (Slumbay) | 4 | 26.7 % | 36 | 31.3 % | - 4.6 % | 40.0 % |
| 10 | <i>Loch Carrann a</i> (Lohcarron) a | 15 | 28.9 % | 47 | 23.3 % | + 5.6 % | 30.2 % |
| 11 | <i>Loch Carrann b</i> (Lohcarron) b | 14 | 38.9 % | 26 | 21.9 % | + 17.0 % | 29.6 % |
| 12 | <i>Loch Carrann c</i> (Lohcarron) c | 5 | 22.7 % | 26 | 20.8 % | + 1.9 % | 29.5 % |
| 13 | <i>Srath Carrann</i> (Strathcarron) | 10 | 47.6 % | 25 | 19.8 % | + 27.8 % | 28.0 % |

Table 29: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in A'Chomraich (Applecross) & Loch Carrann (Lohcarron) 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 | Caol Loch Aillse 1a (Kyle of Lochalsh) 1a | 8 | 25.0 % | 26 | 25.0 % | +/- 0.0 % | 28.0 % |
| 52 | Caol Loch Aillse 1b (Kyle of Lochalsh) 1b | 14 | 29.2 % | 38 | 28.4 % | + 0.8 % | 33.6 % |
| 53 | Caol Loch Aillse 1c (Kyle of Lochalsh) 1c | 11 | 26.2 % | 40 | 28.6 % | - 2.4 % | 32.2 % |
| 54 | Caol Loch Aillse 2a (Kyle of Lochalsh) 2a | 10 | 31.3 % | 27 | 27.8% | + 3.5 % | 20.6 % |
| 55 | Caol Loch Aillse 2b (Kyle of Lochalsh) 2b | 10 | 21.3 % | 21 | 17.8 % | + 3.5 % | 20.6 % |
| 56 | Caol Loch Aillse 2c (Kyle of Lochalsh) 2c | 11 | 27.5 % | 43 | 29.5 % | - 2.0 % | 31.8 % |
| 57 | Earbasaig (Erbusaig) | 11 | 29.0 % | 38 | 31.2 % | - 2.2 % | 35.7 % |
| 58 | Baile Mac Carra (Balmacara) | 11 | 30.6 % | 33 | 27.5 % | + 3.1 % | 30.1 % |
| 59 | Uachdar Thìre (Auchtertyre) | 10 | 21.7 % | 22 | 15.6 % | + 6.1 % | 21.6 % |
| 60 | Diùirinis (Duirinish) | 5 | 31.3 % | 24 | 30.8 % | + 0.5 % | 42.6 % |
| 61 | An t-Achadh Mòr (Achmore) | 26 | 50.0 % | 48 | 34.0 % | + 16.0 % | 42.9 % |
| 62 | Am Ploc a (Plockton) a | 6 | 31.6 % | 15 | 12.9 % | + 18.7 % | 15.8 % |
| 63 | Am Ploc b (Plockton) b | 31 | 40.8 % | 70 | 36.3 % | + 4.5 % | 43.4 % |
| 64 | An Dòrnaidh a (Dornie) a | 1 | 11.1 % | 17 | 23.9 % | - 12.8 % | 28.3 % |
| 65 | Aird Eilbh (Ardelve) | 14 | 35.9 % | 40 | 29.2 % | + 6.7 % | 43.8 % |
| 66 | An Dòrnaidh b (Dornie) b | 5 | 13.9 % | 26 | 20.5 % | - 6.6 % | 24.1 % |
| 67 | Saileachaidh (Sallachy) | 12 | 36.4 % | 31 | 27.2 % | + 9.2 % | 33.7 % |
| 68 | Inbhir Ionaid (Inverinate) | 7 | 26.9 % | 40 | 35.4 % | - 8.5 % | 41.2 % |
| 69 | Drochaid Sheile (Shiel Bridge) | 5 | 26.3 % | 22 | 25.0 % | + 1.3 % | 31.1 % |
| 70 | Leitir Fheàrna (Letterfearn) | 10 | 34.5 % | 29 | 25.4 % | + 9.1 % | 31.8 % |
| 71 | Gleann Eilg (Glenelg) | 13 | 35.1 % | 26 | 25.7 % | + 9.4 % | 28.2 % |
| 72 | Arnasdal (Arnisdale) | 15 | 27.3 % | 50 | 28.4 % | - 1.1 % | 35.3 % |

Table 30: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Loch Aillse (Lochalsh) according to census data of 2001



II. Literature and Data Sources

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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 neither, 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 seabord 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 rec-



ord themselves as being able to understand rather than able to speak the language. Without this choice some of them might have enlisted themselves or their children as *Gàidhlig*-speaking in order to be counted at all. This may explain the small decrease of speakers in the age group of 3 to 4 despite the strong efforts by the *cròileagan* movement in the preceding decade.

9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated *Gàidhlig-speaking* population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.
10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall “uncertainties” of +/- 1 in general.
11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.
12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk>.



IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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

| Census Output Areas in <i>A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann</i> | | | | |
|---|--|--------------|------------------|------------|
| Map No. | Census output area | Area Codes | | |
| | | 1961 1971 | 1981 1991 | 2001 |
| 01 | <i>Inbhir Ailiginn</i> (Inveralligin), <i>Diabaig</i> , <i>Ailiginn Shuas</i> (Alligin Shuas) | AP | 25AS01 | 60QT000252 |
| 02 | <i>Toirbheartan</i> (Torridon), <i>An Annaid</i> (Annat), <i>Am Fasag</i> (Fasaig), <i>Loids Cùlainn</i> (Coulin Lodge) | AP | 25AS02 | 60QT000253 |
| 03 | <i>Sildeag</i> (Shieldaig), <i>Balgaidh</i> (Balgy), <i>Beinn Damh</i> (Ben Damph) | AP | 25AY04 | 60QT001506 |
| 04 | <i>A'Chomraich</i> (Applecross), <i>Aird Heisleag</i> (Ardheslaig), <i>Na Feàrnan Beaga</i> (Fernbeg), <i>Cal na Cille</i> (Callakille), <i>Cùaig</i> , <i>Na Feàrnan Mòra</i> (Fearnmore), <i>An Lòn Bàn</i> (Lonbain), <i>Airigh nan Cruineachd</i> (Arinacrinachd), <i>A'Cheann Mòr</i> (Kenmore) | AP | 25AY04 25AY03 | 60QT001505 |
| 05 | <i>Camas Teile</i> (Camusteel), <i>Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Milton) | AP | 25AY02 | 60QT001343 |
| 06 | <i>Camas Tearrach</i> (Camusterrach), <i>Toghsgaig</i> (Toscaig), <i>Cùil Duibh</i> (Culduie), <i>Coille Ghillidh</i> (Coillegillie), <i>An Àird Dubh</i> (Ard-dhubh) | AP | 25AY01 | 60QT001342 |
| 07 | <i>Achadh na Tràghad</i> (Achintraid), <i>Rosal</i> (Rossal), <i>Cis-orn</i> (Kishorn), <i>Treabhar nam Preas</i> (Tornapress), <i>Samhnachan</i> (Sannachan) | LC | 25AY10 25AY05 | 60QT000270 |
| 08 | <i>An Sròn Dearg</i> (Strome), <i>Aird an Fhiasgain</i> (Ardaneaskin) | LC | 25AY06A | 60QT000271 |
| 09 | <i>Slumba</i> (Slumbay), <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | LC | 25AY06B | 60QT000272 |
| 10 | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | LC | 25AY07B | 60QT001507 |
| 11 | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron) | LC | 25AY08A | 60QT000273 |
| 12 | <i>Loch Carrann</i> (Lochcarron), <i>An Tulaich</i> (Tullich) | LC | 25AY08B | 60QT000274 |
| 13 | <i>Srath Carrann</i> (Strathcarron), <i>Achadh nan Seileadh</i> (Achnashellach), <i>Achadh an t-Sìthidh</i> (Achintee), <i>Beul Àth nan Crà</i> (Balnacra), <i>Na Cùileagan</i> (Coulags) | LC | 25AY09 | 60QT000275 |

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* – 1961-2001



| Census Output Areas in <i>Loch Aillse</i> | | | | |
|--|---|--------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| Map No. | Census output area | Area Codes | | |
| | | 1961 1971 | 1981 1991 | 2001 |
| 51 | <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | LA | 26AC04A | 60QT000497 |
| 52 | <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | LA | 26AC04B | 60QT000498 |
| 53 | <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | LA | 26AC04C | 60QT000499 |
| 54 | <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | LA | 26AC05A | 60QT001385 |
| 55 | <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | LA | 26AC05B | 60QT000500 |
| 56 | <i>Caol Loch Aillse</i> (Kyle of Lochalsh) | LA | 26AC05C | 60QT000501 |
| 57 | <i>Earbasaig</i> (Erbusaig), <i>Bada Call</i> (Badicaul) | LA | 26AC14B | 60QT000501 |
| 58 | <i>Baile Mac Carra</i> (Balmacara) | LA | 26AC14A | 60QT000501 |
| 59 | <i>Uachdar Thìre</i> (Auchtertyre), <i>Rèaraig</i> (Reraig) | LA | 26AC14A | 60QT000501 |
| 60 | <i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish), <i>An Druim Buidhe</i> (Drumbuie) | LA | 26AC15 | 60QT000501 |
| 61 | <i>An t-Achadh Mòr</i> (Achmore), <i>Port an t-Sroim</i> (Stromefer-ry), <i>Fearnaig</i> (Fernaig), <i>Srath Asgaig</i> , <i>Bràigh an t-Sratha</i> (Braeintra), <i>Ard an Arbha</i> (Ardnarff) | LA | 26AQ01 | 60QT000501 |
| 62 | <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton) | LA | 26AP02A 26AP02B | 60QT000501 |
| 63 | <i>Am Ploc</i> (Plockton), <i>Dùn Creige</i> (Duncraig), <i>Achadh nan Darach</i> (Achnandarach) | LA | 26AP02C 26AP01 | 60QT000501 |
| 64 | <i>An Dòrnaidh</i> (Dornie), <i>A'Cheapaich</i> (Keppoch) | KI | 26AC10 | 60QT001746 |
| 65 | <i>Àird Eilbh</i> (Ardelve), <i>Nòsdaigh</i> (Nostie), <i>Camas Longairt</i> (Camuslongart) | LA | 26AC12A 26AC11 | 60QT000280 |
| 66 | <i>An Dòrnaidh</i> (Dornie), <i>Bun Dà Loch</i> (Bundalloch), <i>Càrn Dubh</i> (Carndu), <i>An Lag</i> | KI | 26AC12B | 60QT000281 |
| 67 | <i>Saileachaidh</i> (Sallachy), <i>Camas Luinge</i> (Camas-luinie), <i>Allt nan Sùgh</i> , <i>Cill Fhaolain</i> (Killilan), <i>Gleann Eilcheig</i> (Glen Elchaig), <i>Loch Mhonair</i> (Loch Monar) | KI | 26AC13 26AB01 | 60QT000282 |
| 68 | <i>Inbhir Ionaigh</i> (Inverinate) | KI | 26AC10 | 60QT001747 |
| 69 | <i>Drochaid Seile</i> (Shiel Bridge), <i>Gleann Seile</i> (Glenshiel), <i>A'Mhormhaich</i> (Morvich), <i>Allt a'Chruinn</i> , <i>Innis a'Chrò</i> , <i>Cluanaidh</i> (Cluanie) | KI | 26AC09 26AA01 | 60QT000279 |
| 70 | <i>Leitir Fheàrna</i> (Letterfearn), <i>Ràtagan</i> , <i>Ard an t-Sabhail</i> (Ardintoul), <i>An Tobhtaig</i> (Totaig) | KI | 26AC08 | 60QT000278 |
| 71 | <i>Gleann Eilg</i> (Glenelg) | GE | 26AC07B | 60QT000277 |
| 72 | <i>Arnasdal</i> (Arnisdale), <i>Sgalasaig</i> (Scallasaig), <i>An Corran</i> , <i>Baile Bhràid</i> (Balvraid), <i>Gleann Beag</i> , <i>An t-Eilean Riabhach</i> (Eilanreich), <i>Bàrrasdal</i> (Barrisdale) | GE | 26AC06 26AC07A 26AT01 | 60QT001345 |

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh) – 1961-2001



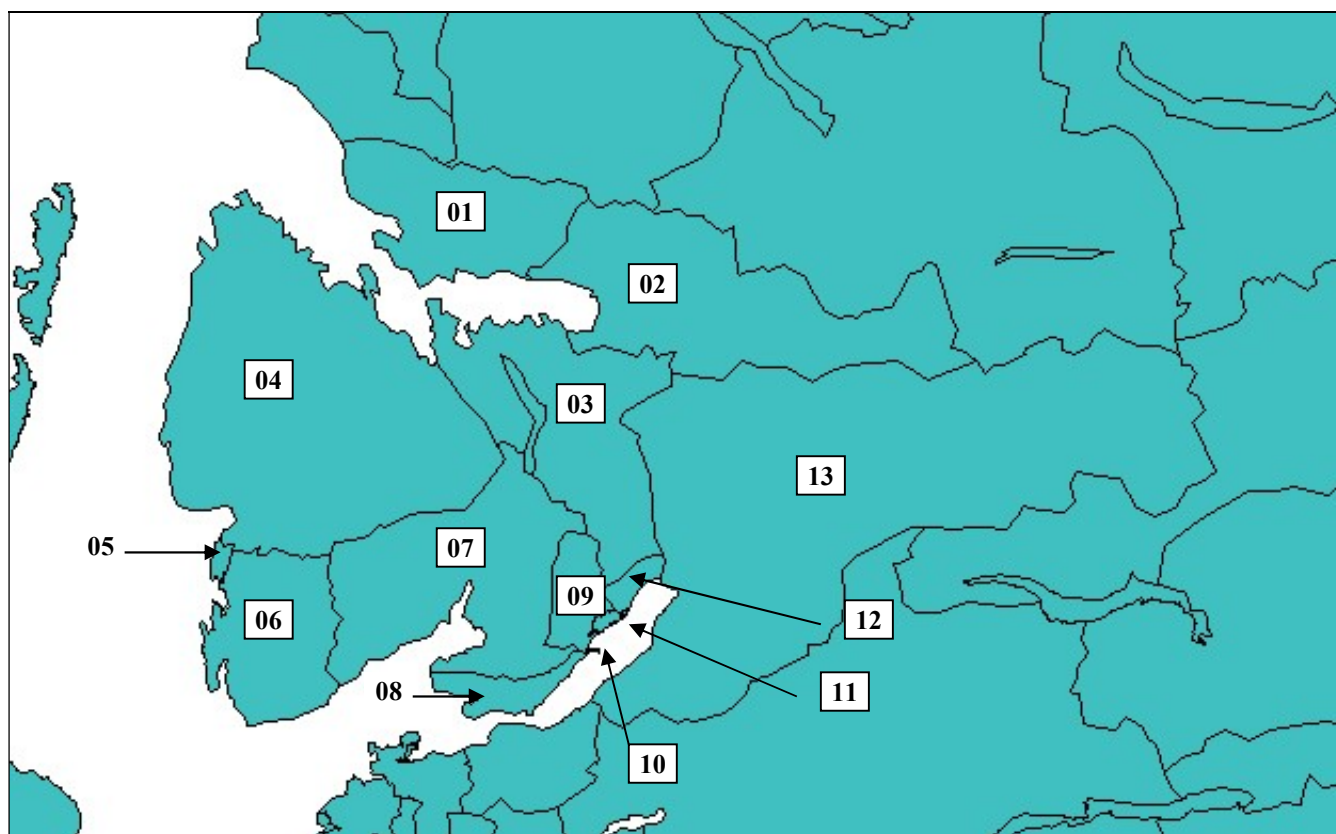


Fig. 15: Overview map of census output areas for *A'Chomraich & Loch Carrann* - numbers are provided in table A-1 ⁴³

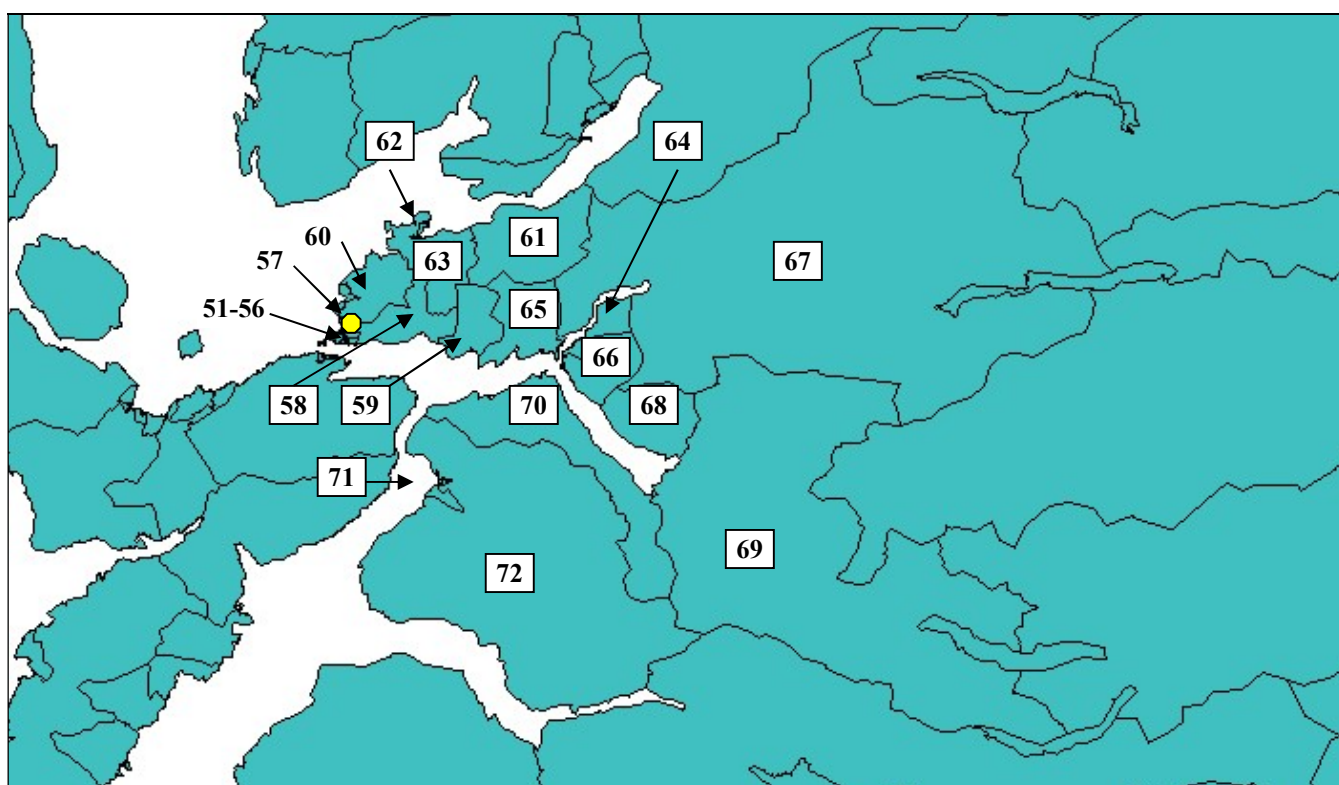


Fig. 16: Overview map of census output areas for *Loch Aillse* - numbers are provided in table A-2 ⁴⁴

⁴³ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census



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⁴⁴ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census



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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 | Gaelic medium education |
| GMU | Gaelic medium unit: Class(es) with Gaelic 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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