

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹**Vol. 11: An t-Eilean Sgitheanach:
Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis
(Isle of Skye: Trotternish, Duirinish & Minginish)****Author: Kurt C. Duwe****Extended² 2nd Edition****March 2024****Executive Summary**

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

This volume looks at the past and contemporary state of Gaelic in the north-western townships on the Isle of Skye. The crofting communities on the Trotternish, Duirinish and Minginish peninsulas have experienced substantial economic and social disruptions in the past which took their toll also from the Gaelic language community. Only during the last two decades economic conditions have improved and population figures are rising again. Prospects for the maintenance of Gaelic as important community language in this part of the island are no longer as gloomy as they used to be. This is especially the case in Trotternish with roughly 60 % of primary school children attending Gaelic medium classes in Staffin and Kilmuir. The settlements on Waternish and around Dunvegan also show some signs that decline has almost arrested. On the other hand, local conditions in Glendale, at Edinbane and the entire Minginish peninsula are far less satisfactory and bode not well for the future.

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² Tables were extended with more census results of enumeration districts provided for 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1981 .

Foreword to the First Edition

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

Kurt C. Duwe

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1 Introduction

This report is looking at the conditions of Gàidhlig-speaking in the north-western parts of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Isle of Skye) namely the peninsulas of *Trondairnis* (Trotternish), *Diùirinis* (Duirinish), *Bhàtairnis* (Waternish) and *Minginis* (Minginish). Roughly 4,200 people lived here in small townships scattered around a huge area of 104,000 hectares in 2001. Until very recently these areas were overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speaking and crofting was the main backbone of society and economy. Both factors are still important nowadays but to a considerably lesser degree.

Within the last few decades, the economy has diversified considerably, and the tourism industry has become the number one employer on the whole island. Nevertheless, the crofting system in the townships enables many islanders to stay on the island and earn a living in combination with other part-time occupations. The proximity to the mainland and the scenic beauty have attracted many newcomers in recent years. After a century of population decline a substantial number of people from other parts of the country began to settle on the island and since 1981 the population is rising again. Socially this development has put a severe strain on the availability of housing affordable for most “locals”. This problem was enhanced additionally by the rising number of second homes which are occupied only a few weeks in the year. Most of the new islanders choose attractive locations outside the island centres and in many places the locally born people are in a minority position. This fact has strong repercussions for the make-up of the local communities and the role of the traditional local vernacular Gàidhlig. Today the spatial distribution of high and low incidence of Gàidhlig-speaking therefore is more influenced by the number of outsiders rather than by different attitudes of the locals towards Gàidhlig say in *Gleann Dail* (Glendale) or *Stafainn* (Staffin). Especially in the north-western parts of the island more or less separate communities can be distinguished. One community is made up of locally (or nearby) born Scots which still speak Gàidhlig or in which the language is still used to a considerable degree in the family. The other group is represented by the monoglot English-speaking incomers who have settled only recently and who are very often occupying their houses for part of the year only.

Until the 1970s the whole island was part of the County of Inverness-shire. With local government reorganisation it became part of the large local authority of Highland. This change had a very strong positive impact on the status of Gàidhlig both in education and public life. The almost universal presence of bilingual signs and the considerable popularity of Gàidhlig-medium education today are two obvious examples of a changed attitude towards the language both by official administration and the Sgitheanachs themselves.

The following short chapters 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 (or even being educated through the medium of the language) is used where considered as useful. The area of interest is shown in fig. 1 for information³.

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

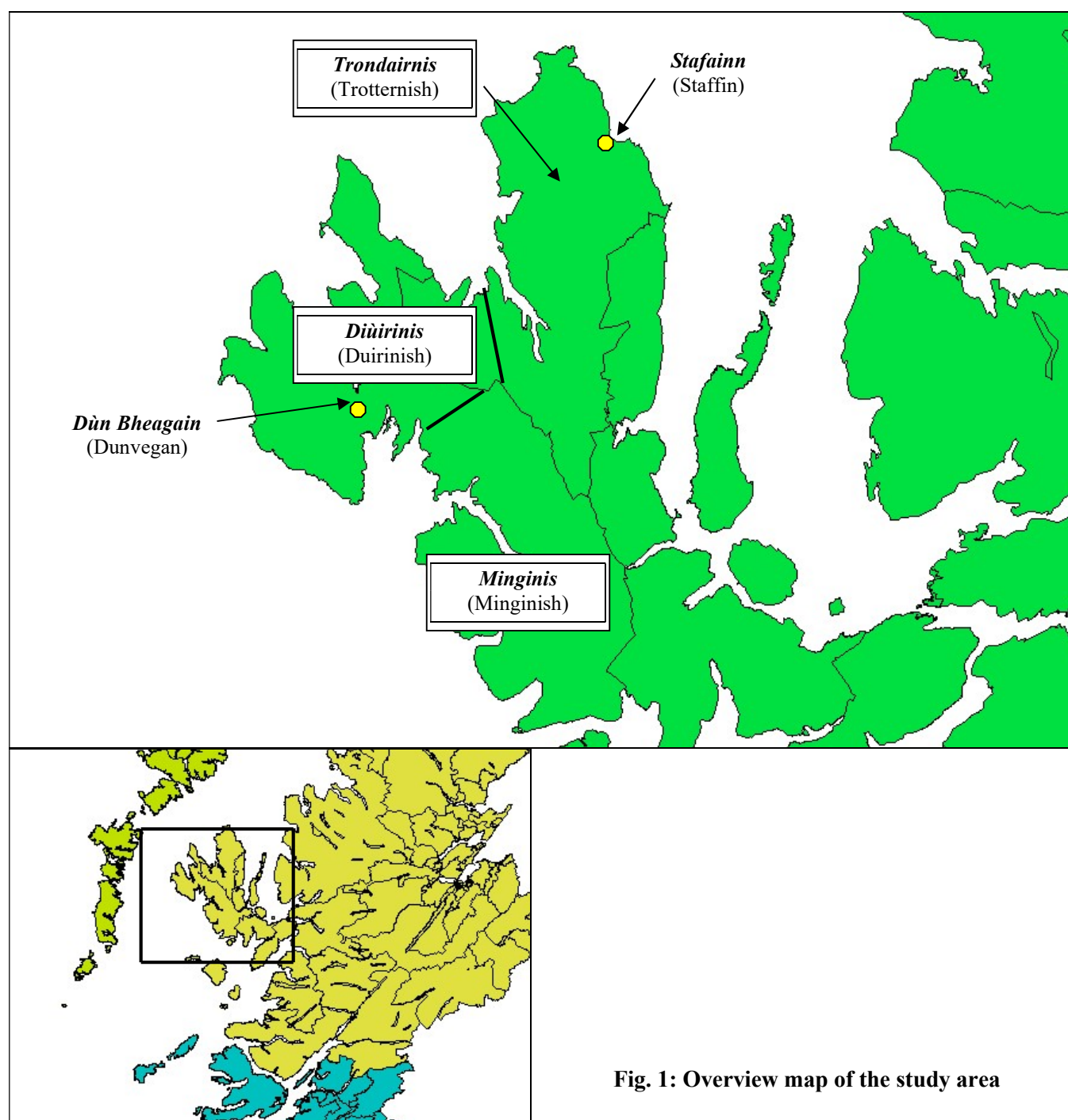


Fig. 1: Overview map of the study area

2 The Historical Background

An t-Eilean Sgitheanach (the Isle of Skye) is by any means still an important centre of Gàidhlig language and culture in Scotland. Especially in the north-western half of this large island the language has succeeded to withstand the trend for a long time. Even before official census authorities first recorded the distribution of Gàidhlig speakers around the country in 1881 there was sufficient information available about the wide and almost exclusive use of Gàidhlig in much of Scotland.

Of course, on all the Hebridean islands Gàidhlig was the general vernacular of the local population in the 19th century. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) provides ample evidence of this fact. The parish minister of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) in the north of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Isle of Skye) reported for example: “The language both spoken and preached is the Gaelic. The higher orders, of course, speak English, and most of the young men understand it. Although the Gaelic has perhaps lost no ground for half a century back, yet it has suffered materially in purity. As the young men resort annually to the south country in quest of employment, they invariably acquire a smattering of English, many words of which, they unfortunately intermix, by a sort of pride, with their own emphatic and venerable language.” The man showed the official attitude to the language in those days. And interestingly he was also a strong advocate of emigration after the landowners had cleared most of the land and local people were forced to live on small pockets of poor land in crofting townships along the coast. Security of tenure was only won after a hard fight at the end of the 19th century (see below) after generations of people had left the country of their forebears.

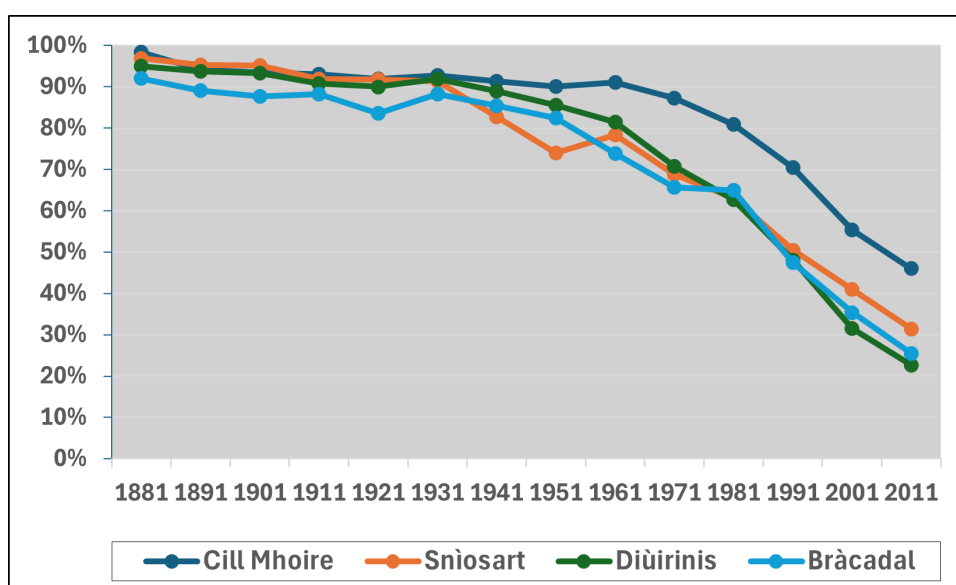


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – civil parishes of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir), *Snìosart* (Snizort), *Diùirinis* (Duirinish) and *Bràcadal* (Bracadale)⁴

The language, however, remained strong even after World War 2. Only in the 1950s Gàidhlig began to lose ground through the combined effect of emigration, immigration, and insufficient language transmission between generations of Gàidhlig-speakers. This development can easily be anticipated in figure 2 which depicts the percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the four civil parishes of the area, *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) and *Snìosart* (Snizort) being parts of *Trondairnis*. The following sections will look closer at the temporal evolution of the Gàidhlig speaking communities in this north-western part of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach*.

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

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

In the final decades of the 19th century severe social unrest characterised the life in the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides. The power of landlordism had been virtually unchallenged until the 1870s leading to massive emigration and to the “resettlement” of the local population to congested, poverty-stricken townships located on the worst land. On *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* some of the first and unquestionably spectacular protests were started when landlords once again wanted to raise their rents in the 1880s. Places like *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir), *Gleann Dail* (Glendale) and *Na Bràighean* (Braes) became soon synonymous with the land struggle. Public opinion soon went in favour of the unprotected tenants. Even Westminster had to react. It set up a Royal Commission on Highland Distress under Lord Napier. This commission not only investigated ways of solving the social problem but provided also proposals concerning the treatment of the local language. Among other recommendations they conclude: “*We think that the discouragement and neglect of the native language in the education of Gaelic-speaking children, which has hitherto so largely influenced the system practised in the Highlands, ought to cease, and that a knowledge of the language ought to be considered one of the primary qualifications of every person engaged in the carrying out of the national system of education in Gaelic-speaking districts, whether as school inspectors, teachers, or compulsory officers*” (Crofters Commission, 1883). Almost needless to say the Scottish Education Department ignored these findings totally.

The first census enumerations of Gàidhlig speaking inhabitants in 1881 reported the whole of the island as entirely Gàidhlig-speaking. More than a third of the population in the parishes of North-Western Skye did not even speak English in 1891 (table 15 and figure 3). In 1891 for example out of the 78 islanders of *Soaigh* (Soay) 76 were reported as Gàidhlig-speaking with 29 not speaking English. This was to change, however, very soon due to the impact of compulsory education in which “English only” governed classrooms and playgrounds. The Gàidhlig monoglot speaker was to be more and more confined to the elderly and pre-school children. The latter remained on a very high level on all islands of Inverness-shire (table 18) at roughly 75 % for 3–4-year-olds until 1931. This meant that English was rarely spoken in normal households on the islands.

Before addressing the official enumeration district figures for 1881-1901 it is worth to look more closely at the original 1891 census forms providing interesting additional information. Generally, the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors and counted also children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. The respective “corrected” 1891 details about three communities in this part of the island are cited below ⁵ (Duwe, 2006):

1. ***Aoineart, Fiosgabhaig & Talaisgeir*** (Eynort, Fiskavaig & Talisker): In these remote hamlets of the *Minginis* (Minginish) peninsula Gàidhlig was almost exclusively used by the local population: “*The district was a Gàidhlig speaking area as strong as anywhere to be found in the Hebrides in those days. Apart from one family at Talaisgeir all usually resident persons spoke Gàidhlig in this area. Around 40 % of the population still did not speak English. Those monolingual speakers were to be found mostly among the pre-school children and the generation above 44 years of age. - Just three persons in the usually resident population in the area did not speak Gàidhlig according to the census files. These were all part of one family at “Tallisker House” where the local sheep farmer, his sister and brother did not have a “G” or “G&E” marked on their registration sheets. However, all were born in the parish round about 25 years earlier. It is highly unlikely that they did not learn to speak Gàidhlig then. Therefore, it might be assumed that they did not speak Gàidhlig although they could do it. Their mother by the*

⁵ 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, 1901 and 1911.

way was bilingual and her birthplace was Uibhist a Tuath (North Uist). - In original census report terms, the district had a population of 172 persons of all ages. In total 88 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 73 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This count led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 93.6 %. This figure was an under-estimate of 4.5 % compared with the more realistic figures used here which take into account only the usually resident population.”

2. **Lethallt, Cùl nan Cnoc & Bhaltos** (Lealt, Culnaknock & Valtos): These communities in the parish of Cill Mhoire (Kilmuir) were thoroughly Gàidhlig-speaking: “Apart from a woman in Bhaltos who was counted as not speaking Gàidhlig the whole community spoke the language in this northerly part of the island. A significant proportion of the usually resident population still did not speak English with monolingual Gàidhlig speakers dominant among the very young and the generation beyond the age of 44. Quite revealing is the fact that the proportion of monolingual Gàidhlig speakers was almost independent of birthplace whether in the Gaidhealtachd or not. Such was the strength of the language in this district and the pressures to learn it seemed to be very high indeed in this period. - Just one woman was enumerated as not speaking Gàidhlig. However, the 28-year-old Catherine Martin was accompanied by two Gàidhlig monolingual household members: her father and her 23-year-old sister. Accordingly, even this “English only” return can only be described as doubtful. - In original census report terms, the district had a population of 359 persons of all ages. 209 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 134 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 95.5 %. This figure was an under-estimate of 4.2 % compared with the more realistic figures taking into account only the usually resident population.”
3. **Geàrrraidh, An Cnoc Breac & Na Gilean** (Geary, Knockbreck & Gillen): The state of the language in this part of Bhàtairnis (Waternish) is described as follows: “Apart from the teacher’s family Gàidhlig was almost exclusively spoken by the usually resident population. Most crofters even did not speak English at all. Bilingual persons were mostly found among those aged between 15 and 44. All communities were reported as almost totally Gàidhlig speaking except An Cnoc Breac (Knockbreck) where the local school was situated. - Five inhabitants were enumerated which did not speak Gàidhlig. Of course, the schoolmaster and his wife spoke only English. They were born in the Lowlands. In addition, two children (aged 6 and 10) from Haddingtonshire lived with their crofting grandfather in Geàrrraidh (Geary). This small group was completed by a three-year-old girl in An Cnoc Breac (Knockbreck) who did not have a “G” or “G&E” marked on her registration sheet. - In original census report terms, the district had a population of 301 persons of all ages. 93 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 191 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 94.4 %. This figure was an under-estimate of 3.8 % compared with the more realistic figures taking into account only the usually resident population.”

Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)</i>	9,534	8,384	7,449	6,903	5,956	5,501
Percentage of total population	96.1 %	93.7 %	92.8 %	91.4 %	90.2 %	91.4 %

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis (Trotternish, Duirinish and Minginish) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Cill Mhoire & Steinnseal</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁶	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁷				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁸		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>An Lethallt & Grèalainn</i> (Lealt & Grealin)	145 100 %	144 94.7 %	116 95.1 %	115 95.8%	50 34.7 %	26 22.4 %	19 16.5%
<i>Cùl nan Cnoc & Bhaltos</i> (Culnaknock & Valtos)	229 100 %	184 95.8 %	162 99.4 %	129 94.2%	81 44.0 %	28 17.3 %	26 20.2%
<i>Mairiseadar & Stafainn</i> (Marishader & Staffin)	339 100 %	287 94.7 %	271 97.5 %	222 97.4%	117 40.8 %	64 23.6 %	54 24.3%
<i>An Garbad & Steinnseal</i> (Garafad & Stenscholl)	356 97.5 %	324 88.3 %	328 92.9 %	264 89.2%	105 32.4 %	126 38.4 %	55 20.8%
<i>An Dìg & Flòdaigearraidh</i> (Digg & Flodigarry)	219 100 %	214 92.2 %	232 91.0 %	258 90.5%	110 51.4 %	125 53.9 %	87 33.7%
<i>Sgudabrog & Tobhta Sgoir</i> (Scuddaborg & Totscore)	197 99.5 %	150 94.3 %	113 93.4 %	91 91.0%	109 72.7 %	40 35.4 %	26 28.6%
<i>Cille Bhacstair & Baile Ghobhainn</i> (Kilvaxter & Balgown)	186 98.4 %	161 96.4 %	127 91.4 %	150 94.3%	47 29.2 %	18 14.2 %	9 6.0%
<i>Eiliseadar & Borgh na Sgiotaig</i> (Elishader & Bornesketaig)	262 98.1 %	262 96.7 %	206 95.4 %	170 95.5%	141 53.8 %	53 25.7 %	38 22.4%
<i>Hunagladair & Heireabost</i> (Hungladder & Heribusta)	154 98.7 %	115 94.1 %	101 74.8 %	142 93.4%	34 29.6 %	28 27.7 %	36 25.4%
<i>Osmagearraidh & Peighinn a' Ghobhainn</i> (Osmigarry & Peingown)	50 90.9 %	94 95.9 %	87 96.7 %	68 95.8%	52 55.3 %	31 35.6 %	23 33.8%
<i>Dùn Thuilm, Conasta & Solatobht</i> (Duntulm, Conista & Solitote)	177 97.3 %	137 97.2 %	90 97.8 %	78 95.1%	66 48.2 %	32 35.6 %	20 25.6%
<i>Baile MhicCuithean & Ceann Droma</i> (Balmacqueen & Kendram)	207 97.6 %	183 96.8 %	146 94.2 %	140 96.6%	72 39.3 %	42 28.8 %	29 20.7%

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Cill Moire & Steinnseal* (Kilmuir & Stenscholl) according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

Detailed local information is available in census reports especially until 1911 providing a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2-5).

The civil parish of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) occupies the northern half of the peninsula of *Trondairnis* (Trotternish) encompassing many small crofting townships all along the coastline. Everywhere the population share of Gàidhlig speakers was well above the 90 % mark. This meant that basically all local people above the age of two spoke the language. Many of the inhabitants did not speak English at all. These monolingual Gàidhlig speakers held the majority in four enumeration districts in 1891 (table 2). Even in 1901 the district of *An Dìg & Flòdaigearraidh* (Digg & Flodigarry) had more monolingual than bilingual Gàidhlig speakers.

⁶ Enumeration division.

⁷ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

⁸ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Snìosart</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁹	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁰				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹¹		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Eàrlais & Gleann Hinnasdal</i> (Earlish & Glen Hinnisdal)	293 96.7 %	216 94.7 %	200 94.8 %	192 94.1%	61 28.2 %	42 21.0 %	53 27.6%
<i>Cùil a Deas & Uige</i> (South Cuil & Uig)	188 98.4 %	198 95.2 %	160 95.8 %	218 92.4%	8 4.0 %	19 11.9 %	24 11.0%
<i>Cùil a Tuath & Idrigil</i> (North Cuil & Idrigill)	227 95.8 %	219 95.6 %	224 94.9 %	190 97.9%	15 6.8 %	32 14.3 %	27 14.2%
<i>Clach Amais & Triaslainn</i> (Clachamish & Treaslane)	194 93.7 %	181 94.8 %	111 96.5 %	102 96.2%	41 22.7 %	19 17.1 %	10 9.8%
<i>Beàrnasdal & An Àird</i> (Bernisdale & Àird)	334 98.5 %	264 93.3 %	258 97.7 %	211 97.2%	104 39.4 %	66 25.6 %	35 16.6%
<i>Sgèabost & Gleann Beàrnasdal</i> (Skeabost & Glenbernisdale)	135 95.7 %	113 96.6 %	92 91.1 %	192 91.4%	31 27.4 %	36 39.1 %	35 18.2%
<i>An Tobhta & Carbost</i> (Tote & Carbost)	389 98.5 %	348 95.9 %	286 88.8 %	272 85.8%	279 80.2 %	76 26.6 %	42 15.4%
<i>Eighre & Rèineatra</i> (Eyre & Rhenetra)	278 95.9 %	255 93.1 %	219 94.0 %	199 94.8%	74 29.0 %	80 36.5 %	23 11.6%
<i>Ruig & An Tobhta</i> (Rigg & Tote)	17 100 %	15 100 %	12 92.3 %	13 92.9%	3 20.0 %	3 25.0 %	5 38.5%

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Snìosart* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

The civil parish of *Snìosart* (Snizort) is basically the southern portion of *Trondairnis* (Trotternish). The census of 1881 did report a somewhat low intensity of Gàidhlig speakers in the area around *Uige* (Uig). However, it has to be kept in mind that at that time the question asked about people “habitually speaking Gaelic”. In later censuses this result was not repeated and the whole area was returned as an overwhelmingly Gàidhlig speaking district. Quite striking was the share of monolingual Gàidhlig speakers in the enumeration district of *An Tobhta & Carbost* (Tote & Carbost) with over 80 % of “Gaelic only” returns. In contrast there were only a few monolingual speakers reported in the vicinity of *Uige* (table 3).

As part of the civil parish of *Diùirinis* the narrow peninsula of *Bhàtairnis* (Waternish) further west nonetheless was even more remote in those days. It is therefore no surprise that in the enumeration districts of *Geàrrraidh & Gilean* and *Dùn Hàlainn & Halastra* most people did not speak English at all in 1891 (table 4). Practically everyone above the age of two spoke Gàidhlig except of course some ignorant incomers as e.g. the teacher at the school of *An Cnoc Breac* (Knockbreck) as outlined before. The communities in *Diùirinis* (Duirinish) proper were also thoroughly Gàidhlig speaking in this period. Majorities of monolingual Gàidhlig speakers were still recorded in the westernmost districts around *Milolabhaig* (Milovaig) and *Ramasaig* in 1891.

⁹ Enumeration division.

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 <i>Diùirinis & Bhàtairnis</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹²	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹³				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁴		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Geàrrraidh & Gilean</i> (Geary & Gillin)	365 96.1 %	284 94.4 %	258 93.8 %	231 91.3 %	191 67.3 %	74 28.7 %	48 20.8 %
<i>Dùn Hàlainn & Halastra</i> (Dun Hallin & Halistra)	324 99.7 %	280 97.6 %	226 96.6 %	196 92.0 %	167 59.6 %	71 31.4 %	48 24.5 %
<i>Lusadh & Stein</i> (Lusta & Stein)	309 97.8 %	270 93.8 %	238 96.0 %	227 93.8 %	82 30.4 %	52 21.8 %	28 12.3 %
<i>Flaiseadar & Cill Donnain</i> (Flashader & Kildonan)	227 96.2 %	211 95.9 %	174 97.2 %	111 91.7 %	53 25.1 %	63 36.2 %	17 15.3 %
<i>An t-Aodann Bàn & Grìsinis</i> (Edinbane & Greshornish)	334 92.3 %	298 90.0 %	231 95.9 %	208 88.9 %	140 47.0 %	62 26.8 %	47 22.6 %
<i>Dùn Bheagain & An Claigeann</i> (Dunvegan & Claigan)	333 94.9 %	315 92.1 %	184 91.5 %	211 90.2 %	44 14.0 %	25 13.6 %	15 7.1 %
<i>Ceann Loch, Uiginis & An Lòn Mòr</i> (Kinloch, Uiginish & Lonemore)	86 95.6 %	56 87.5 %	154 90.1 %	118 85.5 %	14 25.0 %	27 17.5 %	23 19.5 %
<i>Ròdhag & Orbost</i> (Roag & Orbost)	340 96.9 %	282 92.8 %	249 91.9 %	247 91.1 %	109 38.7 %	63 25.3 %	38 15.4 %
<i>Bhatan & Heàrrlois</i> (Vatten & Harlosh)	229 94.2 %	243 94.6 %	219 90.1 %	222 92.9 %	98 40.3 %	49 22.4 %	35 15.8 %
<i>Cealabost & Sgianaidean</i> (Colbost & Skinidin)	305 91.0 %	255 91.1 %	216 91.1 %	195 91.1 %	47 18.4 %	46 21.3 %	65 33.3 %
<i>Boraraig & Galtrigil</i> (Boreraig & Galtrigill)	355 88.3 %	372 97.4 %	290 95.7 %	269 93.7 %	137 36.8 %	48 16.6 %	48 17.8 %
<i>Am Fàsach & Fearann MhicGuaire</i> (Fasach & Feriniequarrie)	394 97.5 %	377 96.2 %	320 97.0 %	247 95.4 %	112 29.7 %	59 18.4 %	49 19.8 %
<i>Holmasdal & Ramasaig</i> (Holmisdale & Ramasaig)	148 98.7 %	127 96.9 %	122 96.1 %	88 92.6 %	102 80.3 %	43 35.2 %	15 17.0 %
<i>Miolabhaig & Bhatairstein</i> (Milovaig & Waterstein)	342 95.5 %	310 90.9 %	262 89.1 %	237 87.8 %	234 75.5 %	79 30.2 %	30 12.7 %

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Diùirinish & Bhàtairnis* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

The northern portion of the civil parish of *Bràcadal* (Bracadale) was divided into four enumeration districts by the census authorities (table 5). Basically, the whole area was also thoroughly Gàidhlig speaking with significant proportions of the people speaking Gàidhlig only. In 1891 this fact was most prominent in the district of *Am Baile Meadhanach & Òs* (Balmeanach & Ose). In general, there can be no decline of any sort detected between the census results of 1881, 1891 and 1901 in any area.

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.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Bràcadal & Minginis</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁷		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Am Baile Meadhanach & Òs</i> (Balmeanach & Ose)	86 94.5 %	71 94.7 %	66 88.0 %	63 94.0%	55 77.5 %	24 36.4 %	12 19.0%
<i>An t-Sruthan, Eilean Bhuia & Uilbhinis</i> (Struan, Isle of Wiay & Ullinish)	124 87.3 %	153 93.9 %	166 94.9 %	144 88.3%	49 32.0 %	33 19.9 %	23 16.0%
<i>Tobhta Àrdair & Baile Ghobhainn</i> (Totardor & Balgown)	85 94.4 %	73 90.1 %	67 89.3 %	59 98.3%	20 27.4 %	9 13.4 %	8 13.6%
<i>Coill'Òra & Geusdo</i> (Coillore & Gesto)	50 96.2 %	51 92.7 %	49 89.1 %	52 92.9%	21 41.2 %	16 32.7 %	10 17.9%
<i>An Droighneach & Sligeachan</i> (Drynoch & Sligachan)	56 88.9 %	51 71.8 %	62 88.6 %	56 88.9%	11 21.6 %	14 22.6 %	10 15.9%
<i>Gleann Breadail</i> (Glenbrittle)	78 94.0 %	59 98.3 %	53 89.8 %	52 92.9%	26 44.1 %	22 41.5 %	12 23.1%
<i>Aoineart</i> (Eynort)	40 90.9 %	44 100 %	26 83.9%	30 78.9%	22 50.0 %	8 30.8%	7 23.3%
<i>Carbost</i> (Carbost)	111 87.4 %	115 75.2 %	99 60.4 %	121 72.9%	26 22.6 %	7 7.1 %	15 9.0%
<i>Fiosgabhaig & Talaisgeir</i> (Fiskavaig & Talisker)	117 91.4 %	117 91.4 %	98 95.1 %	80 98.8%	51 43.6 %	45 45.9 %	20 25.0%
<i>Eilean Shoaigh</i> (Isle of Soay)	101 99.0 %	76 97.4 %	55 91.7 %	53 93.0%	29 38.2 %	14 25.5 %	9 17.0%

Table 5: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Bràcadal & Minginis* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

The peninsula of *Minginis* (Minginish) was very thinly populated in this period. Only a few crofting settlements had survived the “Highland Clearances” and wide-open spaces were only “served” by lonely shepherd’s or gamekeeper’s huts. Nevertheless, most remaining communities were returned as thoroughly Gàidhlig-speaking. But incomers had already made an impact in places like *Sligeachan* (with its hotel) and especially *Carbost* (table 5). There, a number of people from outside the *Gaidhealtachd* were engaged in the Talisker Distillery. Only a few of them seem to have bothered to learn the language of their neighbours. Outside these anglicised places the use of Gàidhlig was still practically universal.

Even after 1901 Gàidhlig remained the dominant (or even exclusive) language of everyday life for virtually everyone in the area until the Second World War. The share of the Gàidhlig speaking population stayed at around the 90 % mark in all censuses for all four civil parishes. There was even a marked increase in *Minginis* (civil parish of *Bràcadal*) due to the settling of a larger number of people from the Outer Hebrides in the 1920s.

¹⁵ Enumeration division.

¹⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁷ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

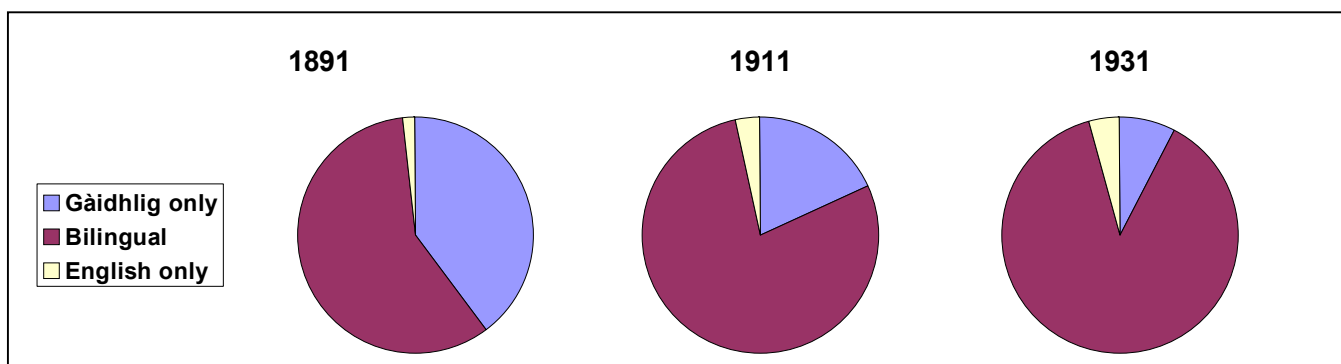


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

This dominance in the home, however, was in stark contrast to the anglocentric world of school education. There was widespread criticism from well-informed and well-educated Gaels but almost to no avail. In 1936 a survey was taken by *An Comunn Gaidhealach* concerning the teaching of Gàidhlig in schools and eventually a number of proposals were made including: “Gaelic should, if possible, be taught to all children, whether native speakers or not, in Elementary Schools, ... in Secondary Schools, even outwith the Highlands, it should be given equal status with any other language in the curriculum” (*An Comunn Gaidhealach*, 1936). The reaction of the Inverness-shire Education Committee (which covered also Skye) was the most positive in all Highland counties but in practice “English only” ruled the day until the outbreak of the Second World War.

Apart from this psychologically very destructive onslaught by the educational system Gàidhlig still remained the dominant community language during the whole period. Therefore, Carl Borgstrøm met many very competent speakers in 1938 when he stayed for two months on the island for his famous linguistic study on the dialects of Skye and Ross-shire: “*Skye Gaelic closely resembled some of the dialects already described by me in “The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides”.*” He mainly used material and information from people in *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) and *Bràcadal* (Bracadale) as well as *Aird Bhasair* (Ardvasar) in the south of the island (Borgstrøm, 1941).

2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

The disruption by the war and its economic aftermath resulted in a dramatic population loss in the peripheral regions of Scotland. The northern and western peninsulas of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* were no exceptions. Between 1931 and 1951 they lost almost 20 % of their population. The language community suffered, too. The share of Gàidhlig-speakers fell from 91.4 % to 83.3 % in the area in a period of two decades with the northernmost parish of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) staying at a remarkable 90.1 %.

According to the report on Gàidhlig-speaking schoolchildren in Highland schools (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961) especially the north-western part of the island still had a remarkable number of young “mother-tongue” speakers in the school year of 1957/58. A staggering 179 of 262 primary school children were first or preferred language speakers (66.5 %) in *Trondairnis*; the corresponding figure for *Diùirinis & Minginis* was 157 (72.0 %). Apart from relatively low percentages for the school districts around *Dùn Bheagain* (46.8 %) and *Uige* (52.8 %) Gàidhlig as first language was still the norm rather than the exception in the other scattered crofting townships. There were respectable percentages still in *Stafainn* (85.3 %), *Snìosart* (70.5 %), *Bhàtairnis* (88.9 %), *Gleann Dail* (80.0 %) as well as *Bràcadal* (81.7 %). Like in other Gàidhlig-speaking areas this was a one-sided affair. There were only a few fluent Gàidhlig-speakers coming from English-speaking homes on *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach*.

<i>Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	4,043	3,279	2,765	2,358	2,111	1,653	1,306
Percentage of total population	83.3 %	81.3 %	72.8 %	67.2 %	52.8 %	39.7 %	30.3 %

Table 6: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Trondairnis*, *Diùirinis* & *Minginis* (Trotternish, Duirinish and Minginish) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011

The census in 1961 saw virtually no decline in *Gàidhlig*-speaking intensity in the district. All parishes had massive majorities on a par with those recorded in the Outer Hebrides. The combination of emigration of many young islanders and a failing educational system took its toll, however, within the coming years. Between 1961 and 1971 the number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers fell substantially (table 6) with the County Council Electoral Divisions (CCED) of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) and *Diùirinis an Iar* (Duirinish West) bucking the trend most satisfactorily (table 18). Even in young age groups (tables 20 and 22) the majority could speak *Gàidhlig*. The trend, however, pointed downwards because the younger generation was consistently less *Gàidhlig*-speaking than their grandparents.

In 1978 Highland Regional Council asked Skye parents whether they wanted bilingual education for their children “even if that meant pupils being bussed to other than their local school”. The particular wording may have had an influence on the verdict of the parents; “only” 30 % were in favour of placing more emphasis on the local language. The survey had been conducted due to the growing concern about the decline of *Gàidhlig* and a desire for intervention to support the language at primary school level (Murray and Morrison, 1984). Nonetheless shortly afterwards Highland Region followed *Comhairle nan Eilean*’s lead with its very successful bilingual project in primary schools of the Outer Hebrides. A bilingual education scheme was introduced in five of the twenty primary schools in North Skye (*Stafainn*, *Cill Mhoire*, *Ceann Sàil Eighre*, *An Cnoc Breac* and *Borodail*). This scheme was further extended to include all primary schools on the island in 1985. The initiative, although similar in aims and methods to the Bilingual Project, had to place greater emphasis on pupils who were not fluent *Gàidhlig* speakers (Dunn and Robertson, 1989). In figures 4 and 5 the effect of improved language teaching is clearly visible especially for the *Trondairnis* children.

From the 1970s onwards the social framework of the townships started to change considerably with a substantial influx of immigrants with an English-speaking background. This had of course a marked influence on the language balance. For example, since 1955 crofters in *Gleann Dail* (Glendale) were entitled to sell their holdings and this was increasingly realised in the 1970s. Accordingly a very high decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking intensity was recorded in western *Diùirinis* in the 1981 census. On the other hand, some overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig*-speaking townships were still left in the district with a share of over 80 % speakers (tables 19 and 21). These examples included the communities of *Stafainn* (90.6 %), *Steinnseal* (85.0 %), *Flòdaigearraidh* (89.5 %) and *Cill Mo Luaig* (92.2 %) in the far north as well as *Port nan Long* (83.2 %) on *Minginis*.

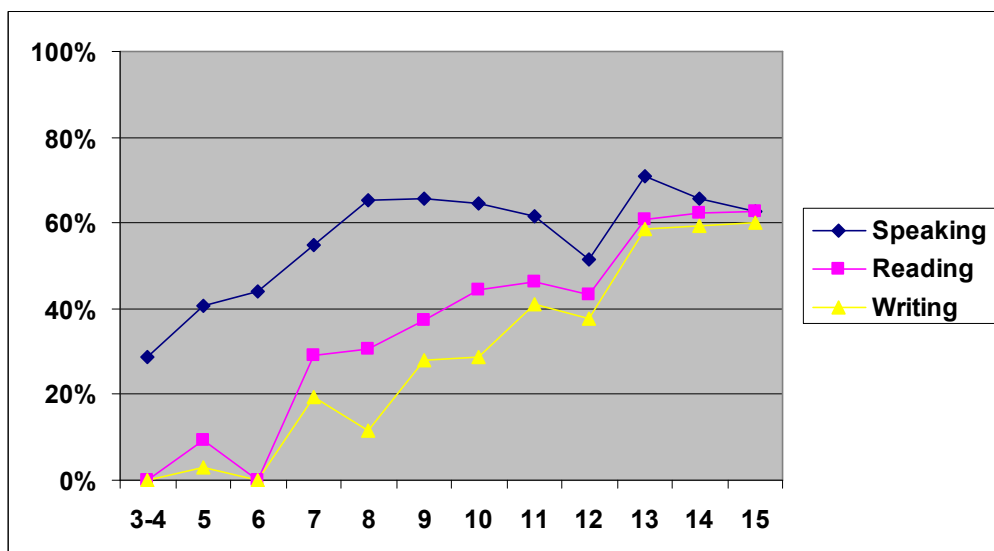


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Trondairnis*

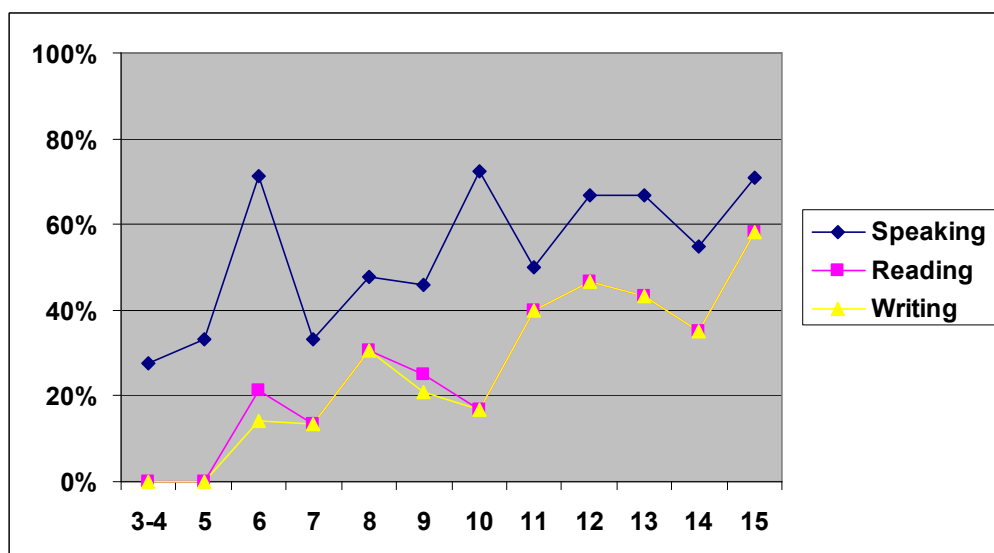


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Diùirinis & Minginis*

In the coming years the population of the whole island rose by about 15 %. The improving economic situation kept a few more locally born citizens in the community. Main underlying factor, however, was a considerable number of retired or well-off citizens from the mainland who changed the make-up of a number of communities substantially. But the economic upturn had also a positive impact on the social self-esteem of the islanders which led to a more favourable position towards their own identity and language. *Cròileagan* were established, bilingual road-signs appeared all over the island and *Gàidhlig* was more and more used to “sell the place” to the important tourists.

Meanwhile a language survey was undertaken on the island to study the viability and language-maintenance of the *Gàidhlig* speech community (Mackinnon, 1988). It found out during 1986/87 that *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the north-western part of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* used the language much more frequently than their counterparts in the rest of the island. In over 60 % of cases, they still used the lan-

guage in the family as opposed to only about 40 % in the south. Of course, this was considerably less than experienced in the childhood of their parents (over 80 %). Language maintenance was already weakening in this period. Another underlying factor of census statistics is of course the migration of people. So only 44 % of those interviewed on the island were actually born on *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (making up 65 % of Gàidhlig-speakers in the sample). Half of the remaining Gàidhlig-speakers originated from other Gàidhlig-speaking areas (namely the Outer Hebrides). In turn quite a lot of islanders returned to their place of birth after retirement and added to the increasing number of incomers which remained of course overwhelmingly English-speaking.

In contrast to many areas in the Outer Hebrides the principle of Gàidhlig-medium education proved to be very popular with local parents. GME was introduced in three primary schools of the area: *Stafainn* (1988), *Dùn Bheagain* (1990) and *Cill Mhoire* (1996). Pupils from southern parts of *Trondairnis* began also attending the nearby GMU in *Port Rìgh* which was opened as early as 1986. These positive developments had also some encouraging impacts in the 1991 census as the number of Gàidhlig-speakers did only fall slightly. Unfortunately, this fact was masked by a sharp reduction of the share of the population who spoke the local language. This effect was due to a substantial influx of incomers which caused an increase in population in this north-western part of the island from 3,503 in 1981 to 3,995 in 1991. Most of these newcomers came from England or overseas; the number of inhabitants who were born in Scotland rose only marginally from 3,127 to 3,200. At first sight this might appear to have had only negative implications for Gàidhlig. Contrary to former times, however, a remarkable number of those settling on the island were very much interested in the local culture. Generally, Gàidhlig was seen increasingly as an asset. Many newly settled young families (often from bi- or even trilingual nations) choose the bilingual option of Gàidhlig-medium education for their children. In *Trondairnis* in particular, GME soon played a very prominent role in primary school education with well over 40 % of all children being educated this way.

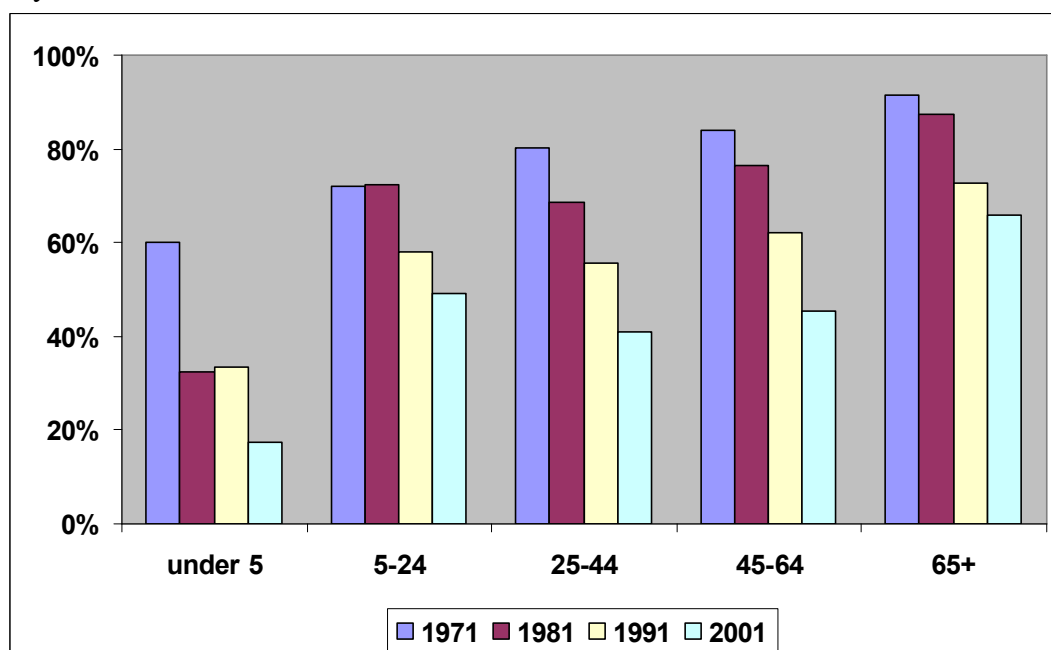


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Trondairnis* (Trotternish)

The unit at *Dùn Bheagain* on the other hand managed to provide GME for roughly 20 % of all pupils in *Diùirinis*. In the remaining primary schools, some second language tuition was given but with limited time and intensity. *Minginis* remained the district with the weakest educational provision for Gàidhlig.

All these developments in the younger generation were not sufficient to totally replace the number of overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig*-speaking islanders who passed away during the period until 2001. Therefore, all four parishes recorded a further decline in the intensity of *Gàidhlig*-speaking in the census of 2001 (table 14). *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) with the best educational provision, however, lost only 59 speakers; the number of speakers in *Diùirinis* fell by more than 200 (see table 13). A more detailed analysis of the 2001 census is provided in chapter 3 of this volume.

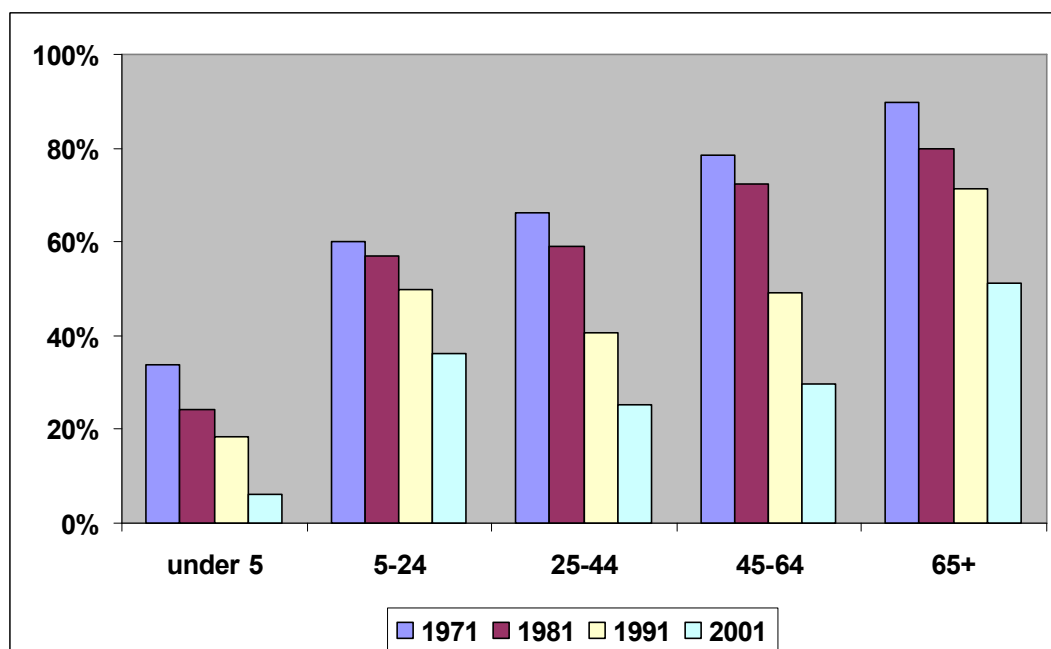


Fig. 7: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Diùirinis* & *Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish)¹⁸

Between 2001 and 2011, there have been further positive developments with rising numbers in the *Gàidhlig* medium units (fig. 14). All primary schools were included also in the GLPS scheme which ensured a certain amount of second language teaching to all pupils in the area. In addition, in for example 2003/2004 26 pre-school children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 in the three *Gàidhlig* nursery units at *Cill Mhoire*, *Stafainn* and *Dùn Bheagain*.

However, this educational progress was not enough to stop the decline. The subsequent census of 2011 saw a further decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking in the area. In tables 14 to 17 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. The losses of speakers were almost on a comparable level in all parts of the area of investigation. 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 7 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones shows a very heterogeneous pattern. Whereas the locations in *Trondairnis* provided remarkable positive values of around 18 %, the data zones around *Dùn Bheagain* produced almost a zero difference in *Gàidhlig* knowledge between young age and the total population. Only the *Minginis* data zone of *Carbost & Fiosgabhaig* returned a very disappointing – 9.0 %. But this was not unexpected due to the very poor school teaching history in the language.

¹⁸ Under 5: *Gàidhlig* abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area more than 50 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers living in households where the language was used. Especially strong was this aspect around *Stafainn* with 72.4 %, a value otherwise only found in the Outer Hebrides. This home language information is also provided in table 7.

Census Data Zones	Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Stafainn (Staffin)	60	71.4%	323	52.5%	+ 18.9 %	82.1 %
Cill Mhoire, Uige & Earlais (Kilmuir, Uig & Earlish)	69	62.7%	439	46.6%	+ 16.2 %	66.2 %
An t-Aodann Bàn (Edinbane)	54	35.1%	331	35.6%	- 0.5 %	62.3 %
Trumpan & Bhatan (Trumpan & Vatten)	29	37.7%	237	31.1%	+ 6.5 %	49.2 %
Dùn Bheagain & Diùirinis (Dunvegan & Duirinish)	18	26.1%	157	26.1%	0.0 %	52.7%
Carbost & Fiosgabhaig (Carbost & Fiskavaig)	17	22.7%	193	31.7%	- 9.0 %	51.0 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 7: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011

Information on speaking ability may paint only half the picture when considering the status and fate of a language in a community. Accordingly, it is very revealing to also consider data about *Gàidhlig* literacy which became available from 1971 onwards: At that time census questions were introduced on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 7 and 8). *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* was only marginally behind the Protestant parts of the Outer Hebrides in the reading category; the parish of *Cill Mhoire* even boasted a substantial figure of 84 % of speakers being able to read *Gàidhlig*. This had much to do with the high profile of the language in Protestant worship. Through the years the reading ability remained on this very high level to this day. Improved education also boosted the number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* from some 38 % in 1971 to almost 60 % in 2001.

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Trondairnis (Trotternish)	1050	925	808	708	572	76.9%	75.6%	74.1%	74.1%	73.8%
Diùirinis & Minginish (Duirinish & Minginish)	970	829	662	515	375	70.3%	72.5%	65.2%	72.1%	71.3%

Table 8: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Trondairnis (Trotternish)	530	624	620	569	477	38.8%	51.0%	56.8%	60.0%	61.5%
Diùirinis & Minginish (Duirinish & Minginish)	525	590	475	408	295	38.0%	51.6%	46.8%	57.1%	56.1%

Table 9: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

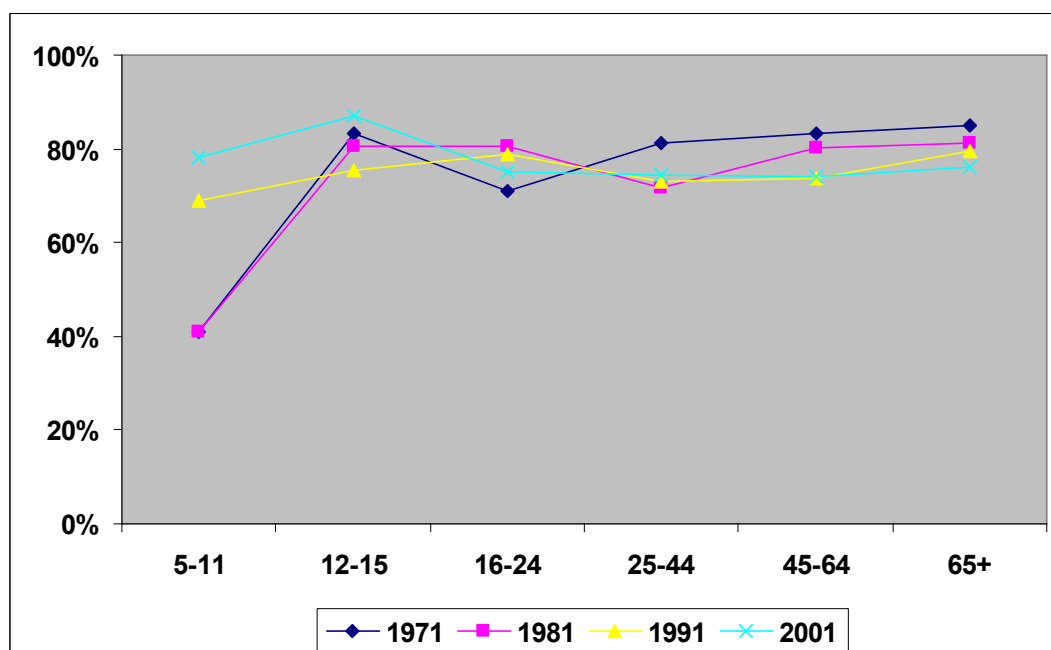


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in Trondairnis in different age groups (1971-2001)

The impact of education can also be seen in figures 8 and 9 which illustrate the reading capacity in different age groups. Whereas the percentages stayed very high from secondary school age upwards the figures for those aged between 5 and 11 rose in *Trondairnis* after 1981 and in *Diùirinis & Minginis* as late as the 1990s. The result provides a strong hint to when education started to teach primary school children to read *Gàidhlig*. In 2011 the same levels of literacy were recorded in the whole area.

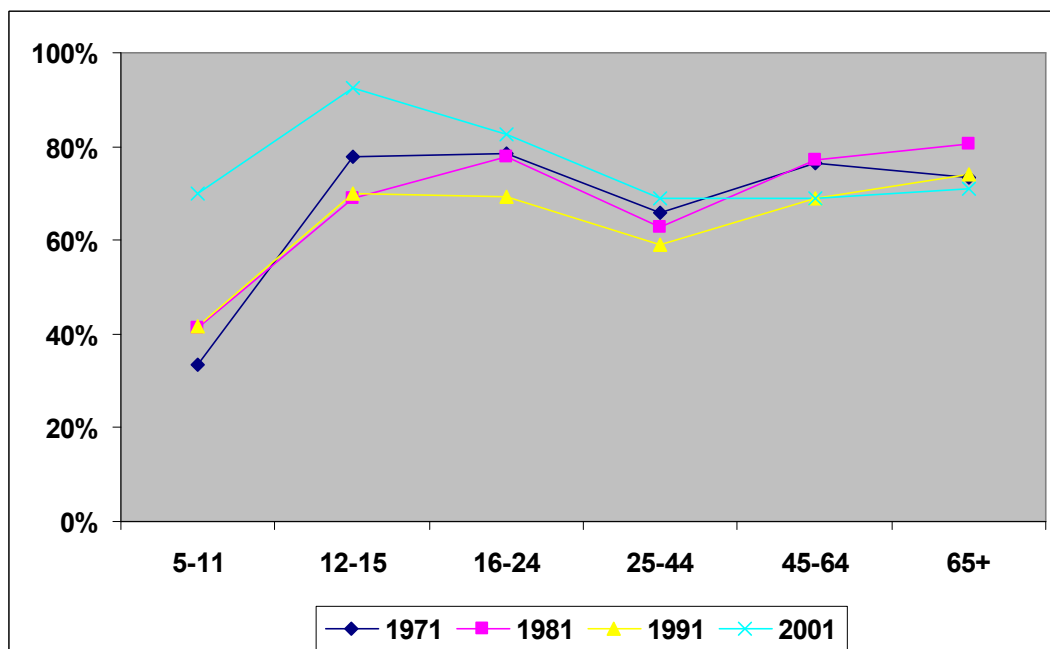


Fig. 9: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Diùirinis & Minginis* in different age groups (1971-2001)

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. The language abilities of children under the age of 3 were enumerated.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: The more recent census data of 2011 were not as detailed as 2001 regarding generational differences in language use. Therefore 2001 is used here as baseline for research purposes. The following sections describe generally the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational and community by community) in both areas involved and the specific conditions of the younger age groups in individual primary school catchments (section 3.2).

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

The presence of the *Gàidhlig* language in the two areas concerned is quite different; not least because in *Trondairnis* some 20 % of inhabitants were born outside Scotland whereas in *Diùirinis & Minginis* this percentage was 33 % in 2001. Concentrating on the townships of ***Trondairnis* (Trotternish)** the following conclusions may be drawn from 2001 census information:

- *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 10) are most common in the school generation and in old age. Roughly 25 % of pre-school children understand the spoken language. The intergenerational difference (table 9) of *Gàidhlig*-speaking stood at only -0.5 %, a very substantial improvement since 1991 when it stood at -5.0 %.
- Nonetheless, a considerable decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking has occurred since 1991 in all generations. With the exception of secondary school age percentages were also down considerably in the age cohort of 3-24. Decline is evident at -7.4 % even at primary school age. It seems certain that apart from those pupils attending *Gàidhlig* medium classes almost no children knew anything about *Gàidhlig* let alone could speak it (see also section 3.2).
- The crofting townships in the north remained the strongest language communities. The detail of census output areas did show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 66.9 % in *Steinnseal* (Stenscholl) to some 32.6 % in *Idrigil* (Idrigill). The figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 74.1 % in *Steinnseal* and some 38.0 % in *Idrigil*. In 11 of 15 output areas there was still a majority who understood spoken *Gàidhlig* (table 24).
- Fig. 11 outlines that even in 2001 more than 20 % of the population lived in neighbourhoods where over 65 % of the people knew at least some *Gàidhlig*.
- Literacy in the language was still improving with 74.7 % of speakers being able to read and some 60.0 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years 6 were enumerated (9.8 %) as being able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 10 (16.4 %) were counted as understanding spoken *Gàidhlig*. In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (47.3 % of the population) 202 inhabitants were at least able to understand, read or write the language (10.1 %).

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	10	16.4 %	0	0.0 %	6	9.8 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	18	34.0 %	1	1.9 %	14	26.4 %	14	33.3 %	- 6.9 %
5-11	101	53.2 %	68	35.8 %	87	45.8 %	84	53.2 %	- 7.4 %
12-15	76	80.0 %	61	64.2 %	70	73.7 %	66	63.1 %	+10.6 %
16-24	89	54.6 %	48	29.5 %	64	39.3 %	128	59.0 %	-19.7 %
3-24	284	56.7 %	178	35.5 %	235	46.9 %	292	56.0 %	- 9.1 %
All ages	1,150	57.4 %	708	35.3 %	948	47.3 %	1,091	61.0 %	-13.7 %
Difference	- 0.7 %		+ 0.2 %		- 0.5 %		- 5.0 %		

Table 10: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Trondairnis (Trotternish) in 2001 and 1991

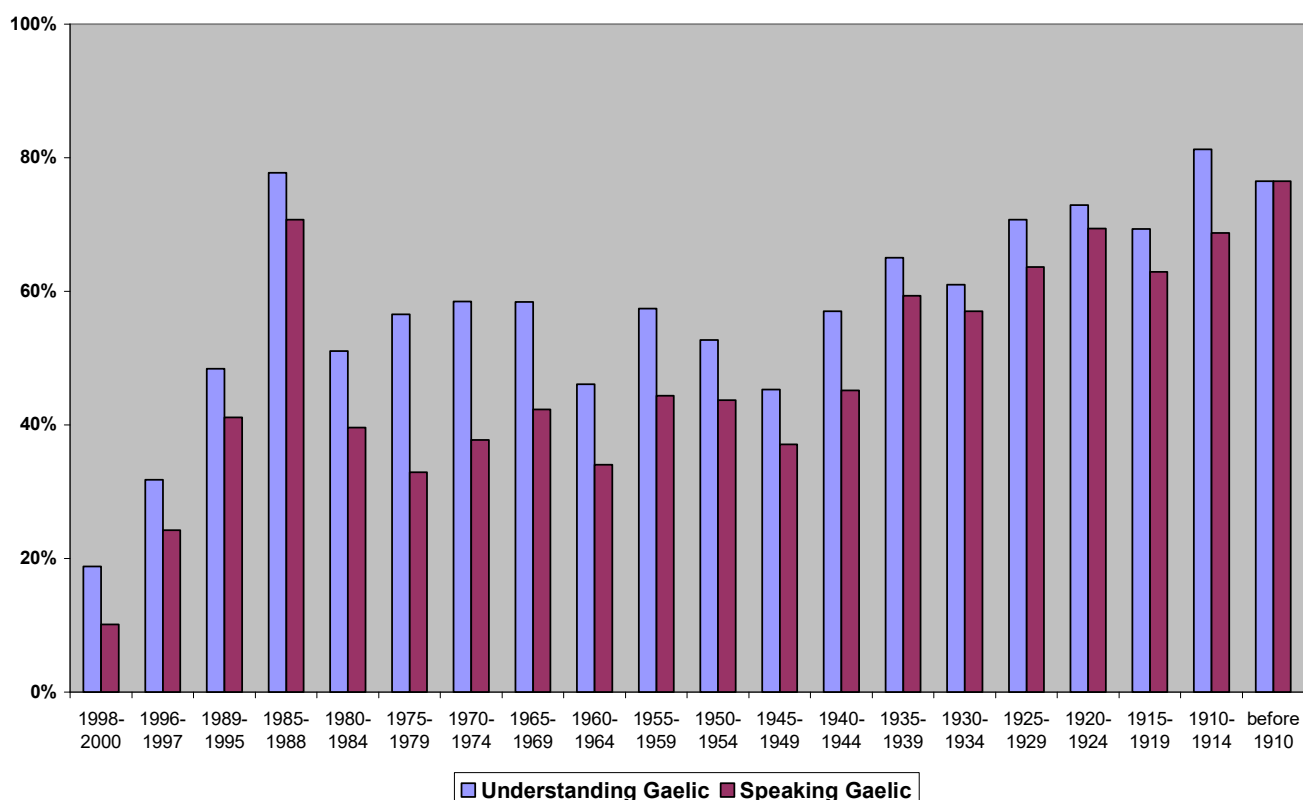


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Trondairnis (Trotternish) according to Census 2001

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

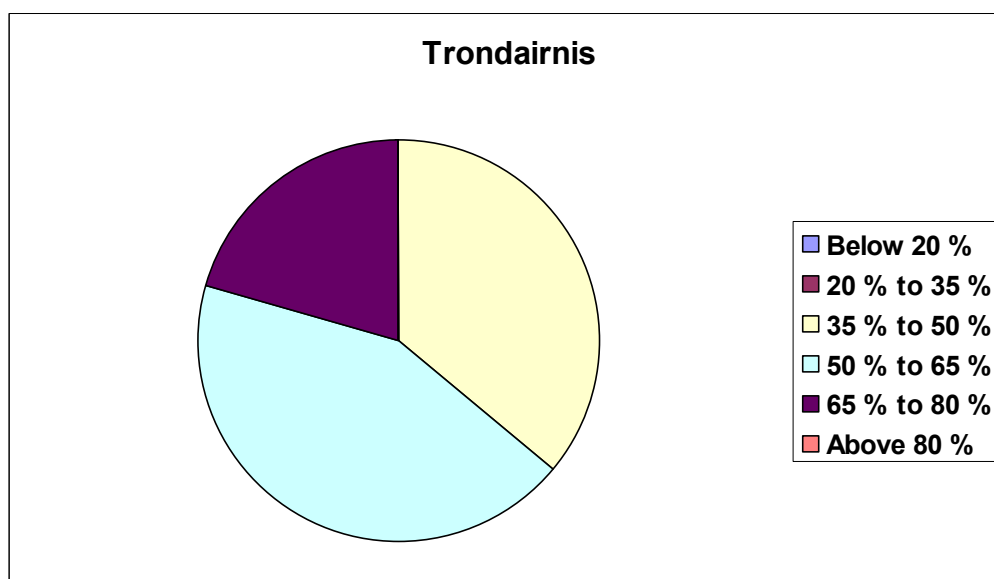


Fig. 11: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Trondairnis* (Trotternish)

For the area of *Diùirinis & Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish) the situation in 2001 looked slightly different. Whereas the overall intensity was less than in *Trondairnis* the intergenerational difference was now more positive:

- There was a distinct minimum in *Gàidhlig* language abilities in the working age generation (fig. 12). Approximately 15 % of the pre-school children knew the language.
- The decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking by 15.9 % since 1991 (table 10) was pre-dominantly but not exclusively confined to the older age groups. Also, in the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was down by over 9 %. Some consolation may be that the intergenerational difference was turning in favour of the younger generation after a value of -6.6 % back in 1991.
- The local detail of census output areas did show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of 44.7 % in *Ròdhag* (Roag) to some 17.5 % in *Colbost*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category reached their extreme values also in these townships between 60.5 % and 25.2 % respectively (see table 24).
- Fig. 13 shows that only a small part of the population lives now in neighbourhoods where the majority of people knew at least some *Gàidhlig*.
- Literacy in the language was still high with 72.1 % of speakers being able to read and 57.1 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years only 3 (5.3 %) were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 10 (17.5 %) could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (33.0 % of the population), some 185 inhabitants (8.5 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

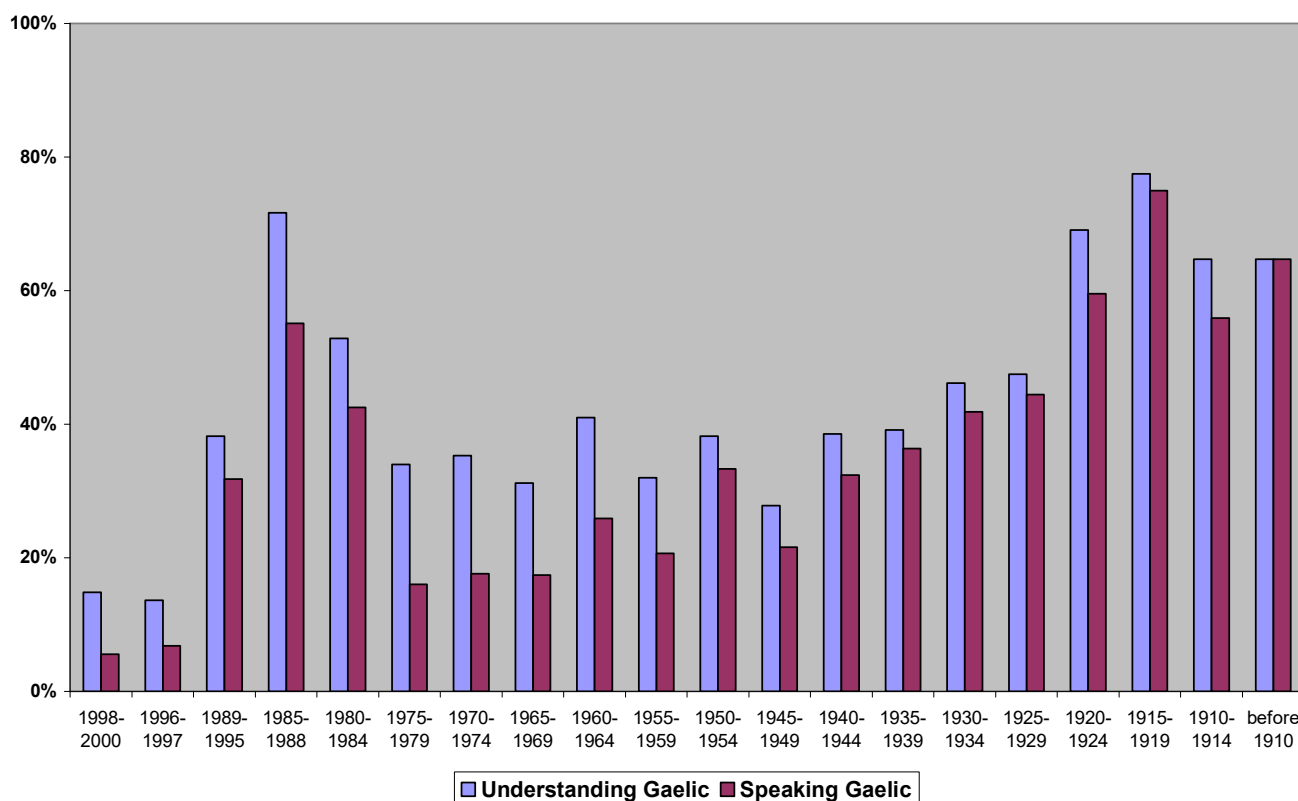


Fig. 12: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Diùirinis & Minginis (Duirinish & Minginish) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²⁰ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	10	17.5 %	0	0.0 %	3	5.3 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	8	14.8 %	0	0.0 %	5	9.3 %	8	18.6 %	- 9.3 %
5-11	63	33.5 %	35	18.6 %	50	26.6 %	103	50.0 %	-23.4 %
12-15	84	68.9 %	62	50.8 %	67	54.9 %	43	40.6 %	+14.3 %
16-24	63	44.4 %	38	26.8 %	46	32.4 %	79	40.2 %	- 7.8 %
3-24	218	43.1 %	135	26.7 %	167	33.0 %	233	42.3 %	- 9.3 %
All ages	899	41.5 %	515	23.8 %	714	33.0 %	1,020	48.9 %	-15.9 %
Difference	+ 1.6 %		+ 2.9 %		+/- 0.0 %		- 6.6 %		

Table 11: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Diùirinis & Minginis (Duirinish & Minginish) in 2001 and 1991

²⁰ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.

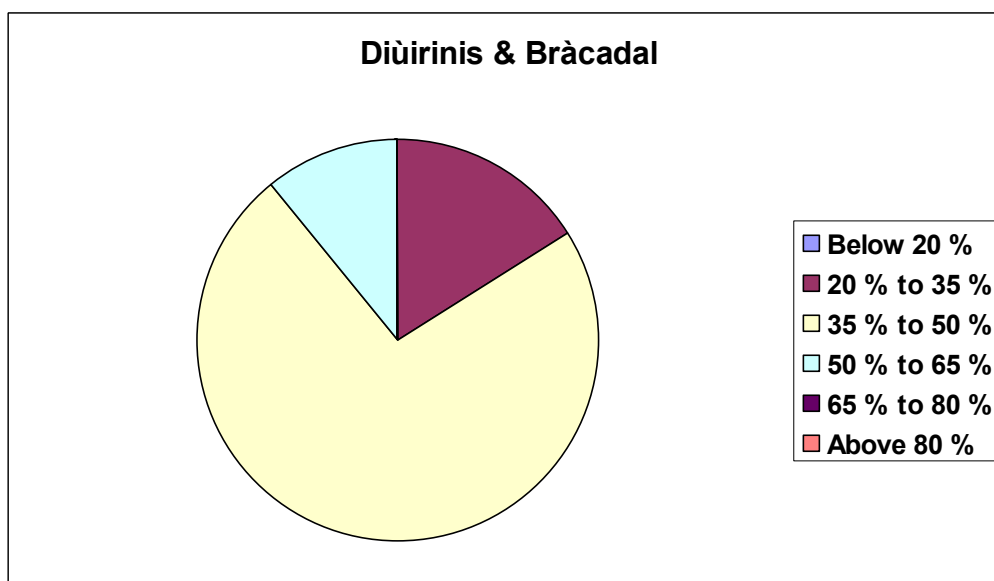


Fig. 13: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Diùirinis & Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish)

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

In the 2001 census information is available on very small enumerations districts: the census output areas. These local data can be used to look at the influence of local authority and parental attitudes towards *Gàidhlig* for the relevant age groups for even the smallest primary schools. For this investigation statistics have been aggregated for *Gàidhlig* language abilities at pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). As an additional indicator a column is provided in table 11 with the age group of 24-35 which is meant to represent the language abilities of possible parents. Generally, the following conclusions may be drawn for the ten school catchments involved:

- **Pre-school children:** A substantial minority was reported as understanding spoken *Gàidhlig*. The highest returns came from the catchments of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmuir) and *Stafainn* (Staffin). Both primary schools operated successful *Gàidhlig* nursery classes, and the townships were still the strongest language communities on the island. In many other areas including *Dùn Bheagain* figures showed some 20 % of children already familiar with some aspects of the language. There were, however, primary school catchments which reported no pre-school children in this category. These were situated around *Gleann Dail* (Glendale), *An t-Aodann Bàn* (Edinbane) and on the *Minginis* peninsula. These locations once had strong *Gàidhlig* communities but nowadays with only a few *Gàidhlig*-speaking locals left.

Primary school children: The area boasted three very successful *Gàidhlig* medium units in the primary schools of *Stafainn* (in 2000/2001: 25 pupils), *Cill Mhoire* (18 pupils) and *Dùn Bheagain* (18 pupils). *Trondairnis* accordingly had 43 GME primary pupils (out of 144 children), this meant 29.9 %. In reality, the percentage was rather higher because a substantial number of pupils in southern *Trondairnis* went to the GMU in nearby *Port Rìgh* rather than attending the English-medium *MacDiarmaid* primary school. In addition, there was some second language teaching to other primary school children but seemingly with rather limited success. Even here in this traditionally stronghold of the *Gàidhlig* language on the island just under 50 % of primary school children could speak it. They came almost exclusively from the *Gàidhlig* medium classes in *Stafainn*, *Cill Mhoire* and *Port Rìgh*.

In *Diùirinis & Minginis* the picture was rather different. There existed only one GMU in *Dùn Bheagain* which was attended by 18 pupils in the 2000/2001 school year (out of 182 children in the whole area); this meant 9.9 % of the total primary school age population. The other pupils received some second language tuition with varying degrees of intensity. The highest returns came from *An Cnoc Breac* (Knockbreck) on the *Bhàtairnis* peninsula.

- **Secondary school children:** All pupils attended Portree High School for secondary education. In the S1 and S2 stages *Gàidhlig* was compulsory with children learning either as “fluent speakers” or as “learners”. 70 pupils of 241 were classified as “fluent speakers” at this time for the whole island. In the north-western part of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* census returns were generally very high for this age group with *Trondairnis* showing especially respectable percentages.
- **Parents:** Overall, the knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the “parental generation” was on a comparable level with those of the primary school children. There was, however, still less *Gàidhlig* around in the pre-school age group than might be expected. In addition to the commendable efforts of *cròileagan* and *sgoiltean araich* there was much room for improvement in intergenerational language maintenance.

Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Stafainn</i> (Staffin)	13	33.3 %	33	66.0 %	24	88.9 %	49	66.2 %
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir)	4	40.0 %	17	50.0 %	7	50.0 %	10	40.0 %
<i>Uige</i> (Uig)	-	-	12	42.9 %	9	81.2 %	17	65.4 %
<i>Mac Diarmaid</i> (Mac Diarmaid)	11	20.4 %	39	50.0 %	36	83.7 %	52	54.2 %
<i>An t-Aodann Bàn</i> (Edinbane)	6	28.6 %	5	17.2 %	1	25.0 %	14	63.6 %
<i>An Cnoc Breac</i> (Knockbreck)	2	22.2 %	13	50.0 %	11	68.8 %	4	26.7 %
<i>Dùn Bheagain</i> (Dunvegan)	6	14.6 %	25	39.7 %	33	86.8 %	25	40.3 %
<i>Borrodail</i> (Borrodale)	-	-	3	30.0 %	9	47.4 %	2	18.2 %
<i>An t-Sruthan</i> (Struan)	4	26.7 %	9	31.0 %	14	66.7 %	13	44.8 %
<i>Carbost</i> (Carbost)	-	-	8	25.8 %	16	66.7 %	12	24.5 %

Table 12: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

In essence it was obvious that the recent strong growth in intensive language tuition via *Gàidhlig* medium education has had considerable success in producing fluent *Gàidhlig* speakers. This positive result

was somewhat masked by an unsatisfactory provision of second language teaching in primary schools (especially compared with 1991 when visiting teachers covered all pupils in the area). This effect is most pronounced in *Diùirinis & Minginis* where *Gàidhlig* medium did not take off as effectively as in *Trondairnis*.

4 Future Perspectives: 2011 and beyond

Information about Gàidhlig-speakers enumerated in 2011 and their associated language skills can also be used to some extent to look at the basic foundations which future language development must consider. Since 2001 the language viability indicator (LVI²¹) turned positive in the north-east of Skye, but it was still slightly negative in the westerly parts of the island. The latter fact points to less than sufficient intergenerational language-maintenance (table 13) in *Diùirinis & Minginis*.

Area	Trondairnis, Diùranais & Minginis – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Trondairnis (Trotternish)	129	66.5%	762	48.9%	+ 17.6 %	73.3 %
Diùirinis & Minginis (Duirinish & Minginish)	118	31.5%	918	31.6%	- 0.1 %	54.8 %
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 13: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in Trondairnis (Trotternish) and Diùirinis & Minginis (Duirinish & Minginish) in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

Locally the LVI was slightly positive everywhere except for a few locations. Intergenerational viability was especially healthy in *Trondairnis* with strongly positive LVI values for *Stafainn* (+18.9 %) and *Cill Mhoire, Uig & Earlais* (+16.2 %). On the other hand, the three data zones in the parish of *Diùirinis* did show rather neutral values. The only very negative result was returned from the data zone *Carbost & Fiosgabhaig* (- 9.0 %) in *Minginis*. The knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups (table 7) is also somewhat higher in *Trondairnis* than in most locations in *Diùirinis & Minginis*.

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 29 pupils (78.4 %) attended the GMU in *Stafainn*, 11 pupils in the GMU in *Cill Mhoire* (64.7 %), and 23 pupils (51.1 %) were recorded in the *Dùn Bheagain* GMU. The corresponding numbers of nursery children stood at 3, 5 and 12 children respectively. The remaining pupils received second language teaching, mainly for all school stages from P1 to P7.

In conclusion: In the north-western townships of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* prospects for the maintenance of Gàidhlig as important community language are improving. This is especially the case in *Trondairnis* where roughly 70 % of primary school children attend Gàidhlig medium classes. On the other hand, local conditions in *Gleann Dail, An t-Aodann Bàn* and *Minginis* as a whole are far less satisfactory and bode not well for the future.

²¹ LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of Gàidhlig in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.

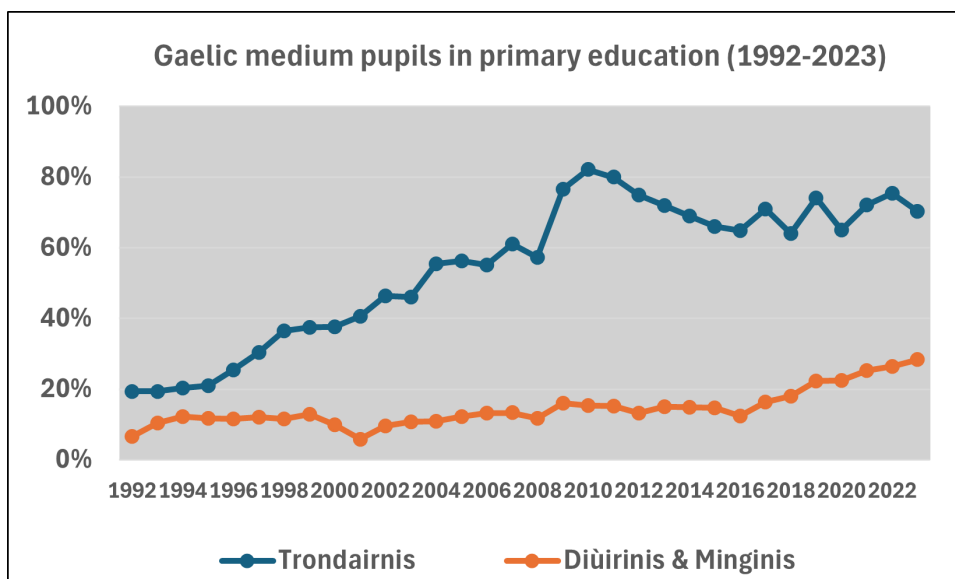


Fig. 14: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *Trondairnis* and *Diùirinis & Minginis* (September 1992 – September 2023) ²²

²² Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.

I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish			
	Cill Mhoire (Kilmuir)	Snìosart (Snizort)	Diùirinis (Duirinish)	Bràcadal (Bracadale)
1881	2,521	2,055	4,103	855
1891	2,255	1,618	3,691	820
1901	1,979	1,582	3,141	747
1911	1,815	1,569	2,809	710
1921	1,607	1,372	2,358	619
1931	1,382	1,156	1,974	989
1951	1,024	855	1,362	802
1961	831	796	1,034	616
1971	720	660	880	505
1981	621	598	717	422
1991	519	572	672	348
2001	460	482	445	266
2011	365	410	330	201

Table 14: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the four civil parishes in Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish			
	Cill Mhoire (Kilmuir)	Snìosart (Snizort)	Diùirinis (Duirinish)	Bràcadal (Bracadale)
1881 ²³	98.4 %	96.9 %	95.0 %	92.0 %
1891	94.2 %	95.3 %	93.8 %	89.1 %
1901	93.4 %	95.1 %	93.3 %	85.7 %
1911	93.1 %	91.9 %	90.8 %	88.2 %
1921	91.9 %	91.7 %	90.0 %	83.6 %
1931	92.8 %	91.4 %	91.9 %	88.3 %
1951	90.1 %	74.0 %	85.6 %	82.4 %
1961	91.1 %	78.4 %	81.5 %	73.8 %
1971	87.3 %	68.8 %	70.7 %	65.6 %
1981	80.9 %	63.1 %	62.7 %	64.9 %
1991	70.5 %	50.5 %	48.1 %	47.4 %
2001	55.4 %	41.0 %	31.5 %	35.4 %
2011	46.0 %	31.4 %	23.0 %	25.8 %

Table 15: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population for the four civil parishes in Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis according to census data from 1881 to 2011

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

Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking „habitually” Gaelic)	9,930	9,534	
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	929	855	
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	4,319	4,103	
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	2,562	2,521	
<i>Sniosart</i> (Snizort) CP	2,120	2,055	
----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ---			
<i>Soaigh</i> (Soay)	102	101	
<i>Bhuia</i> (Wiay)	4	4	
----- Registration districts (different from the above) ---			
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir)	1,266	1,233	
<i>Sniosart a Tuath</i> (Snizort North)	781	708	
<i>Sniosart a Deas</i> (Snizort South)	1,372	1,330	
<i>Steinnseal</i> (Stenscholl)	1,314	1,305	
1891	9,155	5,144	3,437
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	920	510	310
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	3,933	2,161	1,530
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	2,394	1,271	981
<i>Sniosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,908	1,202	616
----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ---			
<i>Soaigh</i> (Soay)	78	47	29
----- Registration districts (different from the above) ---			
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish)	3,056	1,767	1,090
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir)	1,148	581	521
<i>Sniosart a Tuath</i> (Snizort North)	665	549	84
<i>Sniosart a Deas</i> (Snizort South)	1,228	641	529
<i>Steinnseal</i> (Stenscholl)	1,261	702	466
<i>Bhàtairnis</i> (Waternish)	877	394	440
1901	8,021	5,508	1,941
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	872	561	186
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	3,367	2,392	749
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	2,119	1,366	613
<i>Sniosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,663	1,189	393
----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ---			
<i>Soaigh</i> (Soay)	60	41	14
----- Registration districts (different from the above) ---			
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale)	384	270	80
<i>Minginis</i> (Minginish)	488	291	106
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish)	2,610	1,866	554
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir)	948	626	244
<i>Sniosart a Tuath</i> (Snizort North)	614	491	93
<i>Sniosart a Deas</i> (Snizort South)	1,035	689	297
<i>Steinnseal</i> (Stenscholl)	1,185	749	372
<i>Bhàtairnis</i> (Waternish)	757	526	195
----- Electoral areas (different from the above) ---			
<i>Diùirinis an Ear</i> (Duirinish East)	2,018	1,455	415
<i>Diùirinis an Iar</i> (Duirinish West)	1,336	928	334

Table 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parish, census registration districts, electoral areas or inhabited islands)

Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	7,556	5,602	1,301
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	805	583	127
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	3,093	2,309	500
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	1,950	1,390	425
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,708	1,320	249
1921	6,605	5,261	695
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	740	567	52
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	2,621	2,089	269
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	1,748	1,371	236
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,496	1,234	138
1931	6,021	5,049	452
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	1,120	885	104
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	2,147	1,849	125
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	1,489	1,224	158
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,265	1,091	65
1951	4,857	3,923	120
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	973	766	36
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	1,592	1,331	31
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	1,136	985	39
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,156	841	14
1961	3,760	3,232	37
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	912	811	20
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort) CP	1,018	791	7
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	1,268	1,022	12
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	835	608	8
----- County council electoral divisions (different from the above) ---			
<i>Diùirinis an Ear</i> (Duirinish East) CCED	662	516	2
<i>Diùirinis an Iar</i> (Duirinish West) CCED	606	506	10
1971²⁴	3,794	2,745	20 ²⁵
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir) CP	825	715	5
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort) CP	960	650	10
<i>Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish) CP	1,245	875	5
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale) CP	770	505	*
----- County council electoral divisions (different from the above) ---			
<i>Diùirinis an Ear</i> (Duirinish East) CCED	705	450	*
<i>Diùirinis an Iar</i> (Duirinish West) CCED	540	425	*

Table 17: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes or county council electoral divisions)

²⁴ The figures should read “between 2,739 and 2,751 Gaelic and English” and “between 14 and 26 Gaelic only” respectively because census figures were rounded to the nearest five in the 1971 census report.

²⁵ “Gaelic only” returns are in particular approximate. They are deduced from the difference between results for civil parishes and those for electoral divisions given in the 1971 census report. The totals for civil parishes included the returns of mono-lingual Gàidhlig speakers although it was not intended by the publishers.

Percentage of population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English in island parishes of former Inverness-shire ²⁶					
Age group	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
3-4	78.6 %	76.2 %	78.9 %	69.2 %	73.9 %
5-9	52.2 %	46.6 %	39.2 %	22.9 %	21.6 %
10-14	21.6 %	13.8 %	4.8 %	1.8 %	1.1 %
15-19	25.2 %	9.5 %	2.3 %	0.7 %	0.7 %
20-24	31.1 %	10.9 %	3.3 %	1.1 %	0.6 %
25-29	34.7 %	16.2 %	3.7 %	2.2 %	0.6 %
30-34	37.6 %	25.4 %	7.0 %	1.9 %	1.9 %
35-39	38.0 %	31.8 %	11.8 %	2.8 %	1.8 %
40-44	47.2 %	34.0 %	19.2 %	5.3 %	1.6 %
45-49	47.0 %	33.6 %	24.5 %	9.0 %	2.8 %
50-54	54.4 %	43.5 %	30.1 %	16.9 %	5.3 %
55-59	56.5 %	43.7 %	32.3 %	24.7 %	9.5 %
60-64	66.4 %	53.5 %	39.2 %	29.8 %	16.9 %
65-69	66.1 %	52.8 %	43.4 %	32.6 %	24.8 %
70-74	60.6 %	56.5 %	48.5 %	40.1 %	33.7 %
75-79	67.2 %	67.5 %	55.7 %	46.8 %	36.4 %
80 and over	74.1 %	71.5 %	65.4 %	58.7 %	47.2 %
Total “Gaelic only”	43.9 %	33.3 %	24.0 %	16.0 %	12.5 %

Table 18: Percentage of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Inverness-shire according to data from 1891 to 1931

Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in Former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness-shire) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir)	KM	831 94.4 %	720 90.6 %	621 83.9 %	519 73.4 %	460 57.3 %
<i>Snìosart</i> (Snizort)	SN	798 82.1 %	660 72.5 %	598 66.4 %	572 52.9 %	482 42.3 %
<i>Diùirinis an Ear</i> (Duirinish East)	DE	518 81.8 %	450 66.7 %	414 64.8 %	376 52.9 %	279 33.4 %
<i>Diùirinis an Iar</i> (Duirinish West)	DW	516 89.1 %	430 83.5 %	303 64.5 %	296 47.9 %	169 31.2 %
<i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale)	BR	616 77.4 %	505 68.7 %	422 68.1 %	348 48.8 %	266 36.4 %

Table 19: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population (aged three and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions according to data from 1961 to 2001

²⁶ Islands of *Barraigh* (Barra), *Uibhist* (Uist), *Na Hearadh* (Harris), *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Skye) and *Na h-Eileanan Tar-suinn* (Small Isles).

Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Trondairnis</i> ²⁷						
Map No	Census output area ²⁸	Age groups				Born in Scotland ²⁹
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01	<i>Stafainn & Bhaltos</i> (Staffin & Valtos)	37 92.5%	27 87.1%	26 81.3%	36 100%	127 94.1%
02	<i>An Garbad & Steinnséal</i> (Garafad & Stenscholl)	46 86.8%	24 77.4%	33 94.3%	28 100%	126 88.1%
03	<i>Flòdaigearraidh & An Dìg</i> (Flodigarry & Digg)	56 90.3%	27 81.8%	39 83.0%	26 89.7%	152 88.9%
04	<i>Cill Mo Luaig & Dùn Thuilm</i> (Kilmaluag & Duntulm)	22 73.3%	16 61.5%	24 85.7%	31 91.2%	93 86.1%
05 + 06	<i>Cill Bhacstair & Lianacro</i> (Kilvaxter & Linicro)	36 75.0%	19 70.3%	38 82.6%	29 93.5%	117 86.7%
07 - 09	<i>Uige, Idrigil & Baile nan Cnoc</i> (Uig, Idrigill & Balnaknock)	37 46.8%	31 52.5%	47 70.1%	46 80.7%	160 69.6%
10 + 11	<i>Eàrlais & Ceann Sàil Eighre</i> (Earlish & Kensaleyre)	36 52.9%	47 73.4%	41 78.8%	43 93.5%	166 78.3%
12 + 13	<i>Sgèabost & Clach Amais</i> (Skeabost & Clachamish)	53 63.9%	63 76.8%	28 70.0%	39 86.7%	177 79.4%
14 + 15	<i>Borbh & Carbost</i> (Borve & Carbost)	27 47.4%	24 52.2%	31 68.9%	31 79.5%	107 68.2%
Total	Trondairnis (Trotternish)	350 69.8%	275 69.3%	305 76.3%	294 86.5%	1,217 77.6%

Table 20: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Trondairnis (Trotternish) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

²⁷ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

²⁸ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

²⁹ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.

Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Diùirinis & Minginis</i> ³⁰						
Map No	Census output area ³¹	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³²
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
51 + 52	<i>An t-Aodann Bàn & Grìsinis</i> (Edinbane&Greshornish)	39 60.9%	26 61.9%	30 61.2%	39 79.6%	133 70.0%
53	<i>Steinn & An Cnoc Breac</i> (Stein & Knockbreck)	8 40.0%	11 45.8%	12 54.5%	6 54.5%	34 75.6%
54	<i>Hàlainn & An Trùmpan</i> (Hallin & Trumpan)	16 72.7%	16 76.2%	26 83.9%	28 82.4%	80 86.0%
55 + 56	<i>Dùn Bheagain & An Claigeann</i> (Dunvegan & Claigan)	28 60.9%	23 63.9%	24 66.7%	20 62.5%	92 68.7%
57 + 58	<i>Dùn Bheagain & Òrbost</i> (Dunvegan & Orbost)	25 61.0%	27 73.0%	38 71.7%	42 82.4%	129 77.2%
59	<i>Miòlobhaig & Ramasaig</i> (Milovaig & Ramasaig)	9 56.3%	4 30.8%	11 84.6%	20 90.9%	44 81.5%
60 + 61	<i>Am Fàsach & Gleann Dail</i> (Fasach & Glendale)	16 47.1%	19 55.9%	17 70.8%	16 84.2%	59 73.8%
62	<i>Boraraig & Galtrigil</i> (Borreraig & Galtrigill)	10 71.4%	6 42.9%	15 65.2%	26 89.7%	58 90.6%
63	<i>Heàrrlois & Roisgil</i> (Harlosh & Roskhill)	17 51.5%	11 44.0%	22 66.7%	26 78.8%	75 70.8%
64	<i>Uilbhinis & Òs</i> (Ullinish & Ose)	22 50.0%	11 50.0%	21 84.0%	12 66.7%	70 68.6%
65	<i>An t-Sruthan & Coill'Òra</i> (Struan & Coillore)	23 59.0%	22 84.6%	14 82.4%	23 88.5%	81 77.9%
66	<i>An Droigheanach & Sligeachan</i> (Drynoch & Sligachan)	3 21.4%	2 13.3%	10 100%	4 44.4%	20 52.6%
67	<i>Càrbost & Talaisgeir</i> (Carbost & Talisker)	18 35.3%	22 61.1%	23 60.5%	31 86.1%	92 67.2%
68 + 69	<i>Port nan Long & Fiosgabhaig</i> (Portnalong & Fiskavaig)	42 75.0%	27 75.0%	40 93.0%	47 83.9%	153 87.9%
Total	<i>Diùirinis & Minginis</i> (Duirinish & Minginish)	290 57.9%	227 58.7%	303 73.0%	342 80.3%	1,120 74.9%

Table 21: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Diùirinis & Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

³⁰ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³¹ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³² Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.

Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ³³ <i>Trondairnis</i>							
Map No	Census output area ³⁴	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Stafainn</i> (Staffin)	128	90.6 %	106	77.8 %	109	58.9 %
02	<i>Steinnseal</i> (Stenscholl)	126	85.0 %	102	77.7 %	93	66.9 %
03	<i>Flòdaigearraidh</i> (Flodigarry)	154	89.5 %	139	83.0 %	108	58.4 %
04	<i>Cill Mo Luaig</i> (Kilmaluag)	98	82.2 %	71	76.1 %	46	51.1 %
05	<i>Cille Bhacstair</i> (Kilvaxter)	115	75.0 %	101	55.6 %	52	43.7 %
06	<i>Lianacro</i> (Linicro)					55	49.1 %
07	<i>Idrigil</i> (Idrigill)	156	60.7 %	50	49.5 %	30	32.6 %
08	<i>Uige</i> (Uig)			67	55.0 %	56	45.2 %
09	<i>Gleann Uige</i> (Glen Uig)			44	51.8 %	38	48.7 %
10	<i>Eàrlais</i> (Earlish)	162	71.7 %	83	57.7 %	77	51.0 %
11	<i>Ceann Sàil Eighre</i> (Kensaleyre)			66	58.0 %	58	46.4 %
12	<i>Sgèabost</i> (Skeabost)	174	70.0 %	68	43.5 %	65	39.6 %
13	<i>Clach Amais</i> (Clachamish)			72	52.6 %	67	36.6 %
14	<i>Borbh</i> (Borve)	106	58.3 %	70	56.1 %	45	35.2 %
15	<i>Carbost</i> (Carbost)			52	46.8 %	49	38.0 %

Table 22: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Trondairnis* (Trotternish) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Trondairnis: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ³⁵		1981		1991		2001	
0-2³⁶	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	9.8 %
3-4	25 (+8)	60.0 %	12	32.4 %	14	33.3 %	14	26.4 %
5-24	355 (+2)	72.1 %	336	72.3 %	278	58.0 %	221	49.3 %
25-44	265	80.3 %	270	68.5 %	264	55.6 %	215	41.1 %
45-64	385 (+2)	84.1 %	305	76.5 %	266	62.1 %	251	45.3 %
65 +	335 (+3)	91.4 %	296	87.4 %	269	72.6 %	241	66.0 %
Total (3 years and over)	1,365 (+15)	80.9 %	1,219	74.6 %	1,091	61.0 %	942	48.5 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,208	80.9 %	1,064	68.6 %	898	57.9 %

Table 23: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Trondairnis* (Trotternish) between 1971 and 2001

³³ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

³⁴ 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 all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³⁵ Additional approximated returns on “Gaelic only” in brackets. Speakers of Gàidhlig but not English in 1971 are distributed in age groups according to general distribution for the counties of Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty.

³⁶ Information only available since 2001.

Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ³⁷ <i>Diùirinis & Minginis</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>An t-Aodann Bàn</i> (Edinbane) a	136	62.1 %	111	51.6 %	38	29.5 %
52	<i>An t-Aodann Bàn</i> (Edinbane) b					27	31.8 %
53	<i>Steinn</i> (Steinn) a	34	42.9 %	31	43.1 %	32	27.4 %
	<i>Steinn</i> (Steinn) b			14	28.0 %		
54	<i>Hàlainn</i> (Hallin)	83	75.0 %	79	56.7 %	59	36.2 %
55	<i>An Claigeann</i> (Claigan)	95	62.0 %	78	51.0 %	32	33.7 %
56	<i>Dùn Bheagain</i> (Dunvegan) a					34	31.8 %
57	<i>Dùn Bheagain</i> (Dunvegan) b	133	71.4 %	63	51.2 %	57	34.8 %
58	<i>Ròdhag</i> (Roag)			84	55.6 %	51	44.7 %
59	<i>Miolabhaig</i> (Milovaig)	42	64.1 %	37	50.7 %	22	27.9 %
60	<i>Am Fàsach</i> (Fasach)	64	54.9 %	19	33.3 %	14	26.9 %
61	<i>Holmasdal</i> (Holmisdale)			37	48.1 %	22	33.9 %
62	<i>Colbost</i> (Colbost)	57	70.0 %	52	47.3 %	18	17.5 %
63	<i>Heàrrlois</i> (Harlosh)	73	58.2 %	67	45.3 %	42	30.0 %
64	<i>Uilbhinis</i> (Ullinish)	71	66.1 %	70	49.3 %	53	30.3 %
65	<i>An t-Sruthan</i> (Struan)	79	74.1 %	64	56.0 %	60	46.2 %
66	<i>An Droighneach</i> (Drynoch)	21	47.8 %	26	29.5 %	23	29.1 %
67	<i>Carbost</i> (Carbost)	94	59.0 %	70	43.8 %	51	35.7 %
68	<i>Port nan Long</i> (Portnalong)	157	83.2 %	60	58.7 %	30	29.4 %
69	<i>Fiosgabhaig</i> (Fiskavaig)			58	66.7 %	49	40.2 %

Table 24: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Diùirinis & Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish) between 1981 and 2001

<i>Diùirinis & Minginis: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>							
Age group	1971 ³⁸		1981		1991		2001
0-2	n/a		n/a		n/a		n/a
3-4	20 (+2)	33.8 %	9	24.3 %	8	18.6 %	4 7.4 %
5-24	320 (+1)	60.0 %	264	57.1 %	225	44.3 %	163 36.1 %
25-44	265	66.3 %	227	58.9 %	202	37.4 %	132 25.1 %
45-64	405	78.6 %	300	72.5 %	279	49.2 %	191 29.7 %
65 +	375 (+2)	89.8 %	339	80.0 %	306	71.4 %	221 51.2 %
Total (3 +)	1,380(+5)	71.9 %	1,139	66.2 %	1,020	48.9 %	711 33.7 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,114	74.5 %	974	64.1 %	662 46.8 %

Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Diùirinis & Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish) according to data from 1971 to 2001

³⁷ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

³⁸ Additional approximated returns on “Gaelic only” in brackets.

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	Stafainn (Staffin)	42	67.7 %	122	66.0 %	+ 1.7 %	77.5 %
02	Steinnseal (Stenscholl)	19	67.9 %	103	74.1 %	- 6.2 %	82.5 %
03	Flòdaigearraidh (Flodigarry)	29	58.0 %	119	64.3 %	- 6.3 %	73.1 %
04	Cill Mo Luaig (Kilmaluag)	10	62.5 %	60	66.7 %	- 4.2 %	81.7 %
05	Cille Bhacstair (Kilvaxter)	13	38.2 %	59	49.6 %	- 11.4 %	64.2 %
06	Lianacro (Linicro)	18	54.6 %	66	58.9 %	- 4.3 %	68.2 %
07	Idrigil (Idrigill)	5	27.8 %	35	38.0 %	- 10.2 %	46.4 %
08	Uige (Uig)	17	46.0 %	78	62.9 %	- 16.9 %	70.0 %
09	Gleann Uige (Glen Uig)	13	61.9 %	48	61.5 %	+ 0.4 %	72.3 %
10	Eàrlais (Earlish)	27	64.3 %	89	58.9 %	+ 5.4 %	71.7 %
11	Ceann Sàil Eighre (Kensaleyre)	18	47.4 %	74	59.2 %	- 11.8 %	64.8 %
12	Sgèabost (Skeabost)	21	43.8 %	82	50.0 %	- 6.2 %	58.3 %
13	Clach Amais (Clachamish)	23	42.6 %	87	47.5 %	- 4.9 %	56.1 %
14	Borbh (Borve)	18	45.0 %	61	47.7 %	- 2.7 %	56.9 %
15	Carbost (Carbost)	21	51.2 %	87	51.9 %	- 0.7 %	56.3 %

Table 26: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Trondairnis (Trotternish) 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	An t-Aodann Bàn a (Edinbane a)	8	20.0 %	50	38.8 %	- 18.8 %	48.0 %
52	An t-Aodann Bàn b (Edinbane b)	7	30.4 %	33	38.8 %	- 8.4 %	49.2 %
53	Steinn (Steinn)	13	50.0 %	39	33.3 %	+ 16.7 %	50.8 %
54	Hàlainn (Hallin)	20	52.6 %	70	42.9 %	+ 9.7 %	62.3 %
55	An Claiqeann (Claigan)	14	66.7 %	41	43.2 %	+ 23.5 %	54.2 %
56	Dùn Bheagain a (Dunvegan a)	17	39.5 %	50	46.7 %	- 7.2 %	53.3 %
57	Dùn Bheagain b (Dunvegan b)	22	38.6 %	72	43.9 %	- 5.3 %	52.4 %
58	Ròdhag (Roag)	20	71.4 %	69	60.5 %	+ 10.9 %	75.3 %
59	Miolabhaig (Milovaig)	8	30.8 %	22	27.9 %	+ 2.9 %	45.0 %
60	Am Fàsach (Fasach)	-	-	15	28.9 %	- 28.9 %	52.2 %
61	Holmasdal (Holmisdale)	4	33.3 %	26	40.0 %	- 6.7 %	61.8 %
62	Colbost (Colbost)	6	37.5 %	26	25.2 %	+ 12.3 %	52.4 %
63	Heàrrlois (Harlosh)	16	45.7 %	52	37.1 %	+ 8.6 %	49.5 %
64	Uilbhinis (Ullinish)	14	31.1 %	67	38.3 %	- 7.2 %	54.9 %
65	An t-Sruthan (Struan)	21	50.0 %	72	55.4 %	- 5.4 %	67.0 %
66	An Droighneach (Drynoch)	10	43.5 %	33	41.8 %	+ 1.7 %	52.7 %
67	Carbost (Carbost)	9	29.0 %	59	41.3 %	- 12.3 %	57.6 %
68	Port nan Long (Portnalong)	7	30.4 %	40	39.2 %	- 8.8 %	59.3 %
69	Fiosgabhaig (Fiskavaig)	12	44.4 %	63	51.6 %	- 7.2 %	61.6 %

Table 27: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Diùirinis & Minginis (Duirinish & Minginish) according to census data of 2001

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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig*-speaking people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland, 1912): *„When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the 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 World War II no census was taken. Therefore, no figures are available for 1941.
5. In 1971 the wording was changed from “speaks Gaelic” into “is able to speak Gaelic”. This resulted in areas with low density of speakers in a substantial increase of *Gàidhlig*-speakers counted compared with 1961. These were essentially those who could speak *Gàidhlig* but did not have the opportunity to use it. In strongly *Gàidhlig*-speaking areas those who were able to speak *Gàidhlig* were also using the language. So in the islands and on the western seaboard the figures should have remained comparable with previous censuses.
6. In 1981 the population basis was changed from persons present on census night to usually resident persons. In the light of increased mobility of the population this change was inevitable.
7. From 1971 onwards additional questions were asked on the ability of people to read *Gàidhlig* or to write *Gàidhlig*.

8. In 2001 another question was introduced on the ability of a person to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*. This may have had an influence on some people with only a small command of the language to record themselves as being able to understand rather than able to speak the language. Without this choice some of them might have enlisted themselves or their children as *Gàidhlig*-speaking to be counted at all. This may explain the small decrease of speakers in the age group of 3 to 4 despite the strong efforts by the *cròileagan* movement in the preceding decade.
9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated *Gàidhlig*-speaking population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.
10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall “uncertainties” of +/- 1 in general.
11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.
12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk>.

IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

The following lists provides detailed information 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>Trondairnis</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Stafainn</i> (Staffin), <i>Clachan Stafainn</i> , <i>Bhaltos</i> (Valtos), <i>Cùl nan Cnoc</i> (Culnacnoc), <i>Eiliseadar</i> (Ellishader)	KM	26AN10	60QT000307
02	<i>An Garbad</i> (Garafad), <i>Steinnseal</i> (Stenscholl), <i>Gàrrros</i> , <i>Màileagar</i> (Maligar), <i>Mairiseadar</i> (Marishader)	KM	26AN11	60QT000308
03	<i>Flòdaigearraidh</i> (Flodigaray), <i>Na Dùnanan</i> (Dunans), <i>An Dìg</i> (Digg), <i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Balmeanach), <i>Brògaig</i>	KM	26AN12	60QT000309
04	<i>Cill Mo Luaig</i> (Kilmaluag), <i>Dùn Thuilm</i> (Duntulm), <i>Baile MhicCuithein</i> (Balmacqueen), <i>Peighinn a'Ghobhainn</i> (Peingown), <i>Conasta</i> (Connista), <i>Ceann Droma</i> (Kenn-dram), <i>Solatobht</i> (Solitote), <i>Siùlasta</i> (Shulista)	KM	26AN13	60QT000310
05	<i>Cille Bhacstair</i> (Kilvaxter), <i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kulmuir), <i>Borgh na Sgiotaig</i> (Borneskitaig), <i>Hùnagladair</i> (Hungladder)	KM	26AN14	60QT001518
06	<i>Lianacro</i> (Linicro), <i>Baile Ghobhainn</i> (Balgown), <i>Tobhta Sgoir</i> (Totescore)	KM	26AN14	60QT001519
07	<i>Idrigil</i> (Idrigill)	SN	26AN15A	60QT000311
08	<i>Uige</i> (Uig)	SN	26AN15B	60QT000312
09	<i>Gleann Uige</i> (Glen Uig), <i>Seadar</i> (Sheader), <i>Peighinn Choinnich</i> (Glen Conon), <i>Baile nan Cnoc</i> (Balnaknock)	SN	26AN15C	60QT000313
10	<i>Eàrlais</i> (Earlish), <i>Cinnseaborg</i> (Kingsburgh), <i>Gleann Hinnasdal</i> (Glen Hinnisdale), <i>Peighinn an Lighiche</i> (Peinlich), <i>Ceasdail</i> (Keistle), <i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Balmeanach)	SN	26AN16B	60QT000315
11	<i>Ceann Sàil Eighre</i> (Kensaleyre), <i>Eighre</i> (Eyre), <i>Rèineatra</i> (Rhenetra), <i>Anaiseadar</i> (Annishader)	SN	26AN16A	60QT000314
12	<i>Sgèabost</i> (Skeabost), <i>Beàrnasdal</i> (Bernisdale)	SN	26AN06A	60QT000299
13	<i>Clach Amais</i> (Clachamish), <i>An Àird</i> , <i>Breabost</i> , <i>Triaslainn</i> (Treaslane), <i>Sùladal</i> (Suledale)	SN	26AN06B	60QT000300
14	<i>Borbh</i> (Borve), <i>Pràbost</i> , <i>An Tobhta</i> (Tote), <i>Am Peighinn Mòr</i> (Peinmore), <i>Peighinn an Easa</i> (Peiness), <i>Druim Muighe</i> (Drumuie)	SN	26AN07A	60QT000301
15	<i>Carbost</i> , <i>An Gleann Mòr</i> (Glenmore), <i>Ùigeseadar</i> (Uigshader)	SN	26AN07B	60QT000302

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Trondairnis* (Trotternish) – 1961-2001

Census Output Areas in <i>Diùirinis & Minginis</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		61-71	1981-1991	2001
51	<i>An t-Aodann Bàn</i> (Edinbane), <i>Flaiseadar</i> (Flashader), <i>Cill Donnain</i> (Kildonan)	DE	26AN01	60QT001516
52	<i>An t-Aodann Bàn</i> (Edinbane), <i>Grìsinis</i> (Greshornish)	DE	26AN01	60QT001517
53	<i>Steinn</i> (Stein), <i>Camas Lusaidh</i> (Camuslusta), <i>An Cnoc Breac</i> (Knockbreck)	DE	26AR07A	60QT000324
54	<i>Hàlainn</i> (Hallin), <i>Geàrrraidh</i> (Geary), <i>An Trùmpan</i> , <i>Halastra</i> (Halistra)	DE	26AR08	60QT000325
55	<i>An Claiheann</i> (Claigan), <i>Hàlainn</i> (Hallin), <i>Dubh Àird</i> , <i>Dùn Bheagain</i> (Dunvegan)	DE	26AR04	60QT001520
56	<i>Dùn Bheagain</i> (Dunvegan)	DE	26AR04	60QT001521
57	<i>Dùn Bheagain</i> (Dunvegan), <i>An Lòn Mòr</i> (Lonmore)	DW	26AR05B	60QT000322
58	<i>Ròdhag</i> (Roag), <i>Sgianaidean</i> (Skinidin), <i>Heireabost</i> (Heribost), <i>Òrbost</i>	DW	26AR05A	60QT000321
59	<i>Miolabhaig</i> (Milovaig), <i>Borghdal</i> (Borrodale), <i>An Èist</i> (Neist), <i>Ramasaig</i> , <i>Bhatairsteinn</i> (Waterstein)	DW	26AR01	60QT000318
60	<i>Am Fàsach</i> , <i>A'Ghlas Pheighinn</i> (Glasphain)	DW	26AR02A	60QT001352
61	<i>Holmasdal</i> (Holmisdale), <i>Gleann Dail</i> (Glendale), <i>Fearann MhicGuair</i> (Feriniquarrie), <i>An Leth Pheighinn</i> (Lephin)	DW	26AR02B	60QT000319
62	<i>Cealabost</i> (Colbost), <i>Boraraig</i> (Borreraig), <i>An Tobhtaig</i> (Totaig), <i>Galtrigil</i> (Galtrigill), <i>Hùsabost</i>	DW	26AR03	60QT000320
63	<i>Heàrrlois</i> (Harlosh), <i>Bhatan</i> (Vatten), <i>Roisgil</i> (Roskhill), <i>Feòrlaig</i>	DW	26AR06	60QT000323
64	<i>Uilbhinis</i> (Ullinish), <i>Geàrrraidh Mòr</i> (Gearymore), <i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Balmeanach), <i>Eubost</i> (Eabost), <i>Òs</i> (Ose), <i>An Cadha Ruadh</i> (Caroy)	DW	26AS01	60QT000326
65	<i>An t-Sruthan</i> (Struan), <i>Bràcadal</i> (Bracadale), <i>Coill'Òra</i> (Coillore), <i>Tobhta Àrdair</i> (Totarder), <i>Baile Ghobhainn</i> (Balgown)	BR	26AS02	60QT000327
66	<i>An Droighenach</i> (Drynoch), <i>Gleann Breadail</i> (Glenbrittle), <i>Sligeachan</i> (Sligachan), <i>Sàtran</i> (Satren), <i>Eilean Shoaigh</i> (Isle of Soay)	BR	26AK01	60QT001348
67	<i>Càrbost</i> , <i>Gleann Oraid</i> , <i>Talaisgeir</i> (Talisker), <i>Aoineart</i> (Eynort), <i>Margadal</i> (Merkadale)	BR	26AK02	60QT000293
68	<i>Port nan Long</i> (Portnalong)	BR	26AK03A	60QT000294
69	<i>Fiosgabhaig</i> (Fiskavaig), <i>Càrbost Beag</i> , <i>Fearann an Leagh</i> (Fernilea)	BR	26AK03B	60QT000295

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Diùirinis & Minginis* (Duirinish & Minginish) – 1961-2001

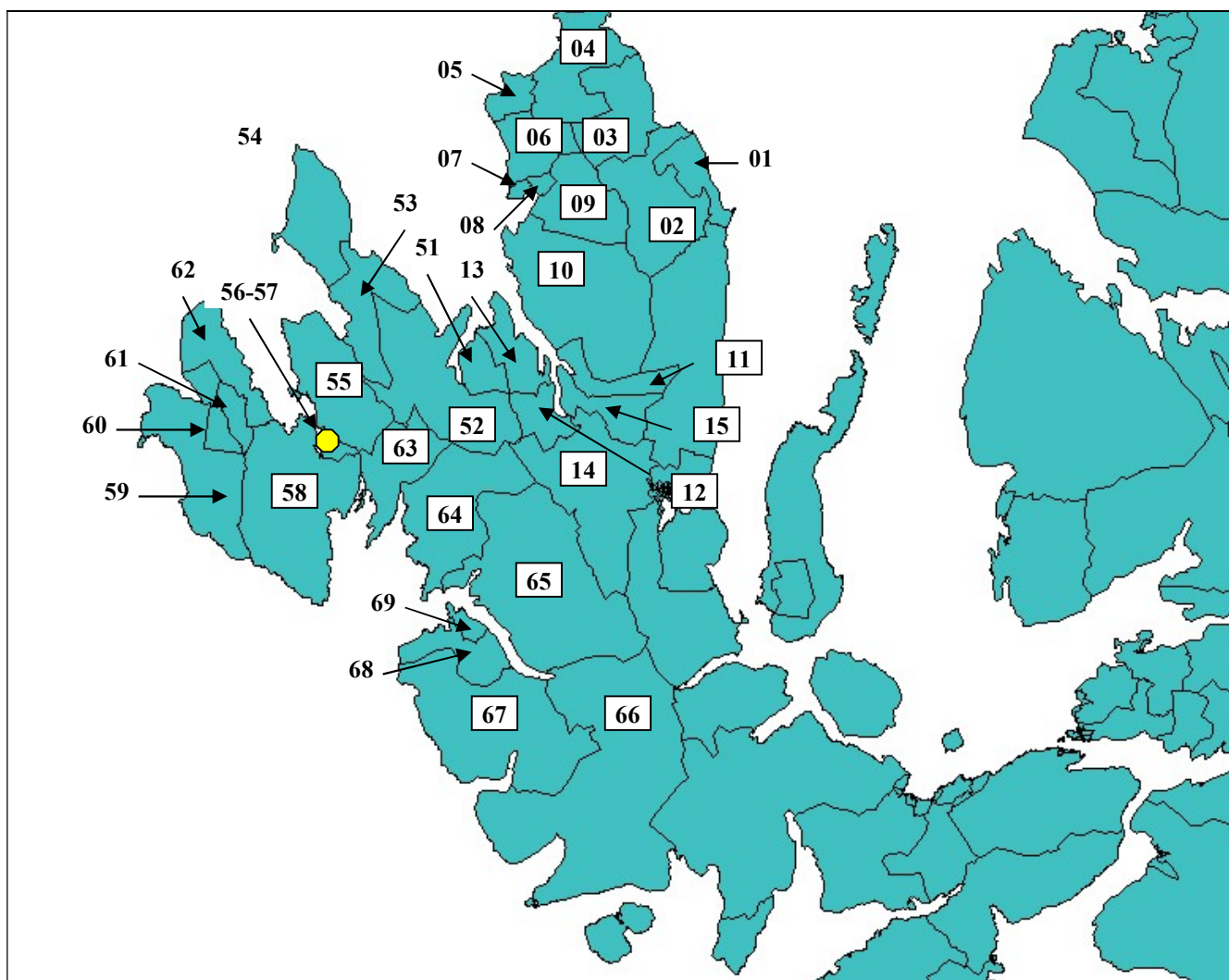


Fig. 15: Overview map of census output areas in *Trondairnis* and *Diùirinis & Minginis* (numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 and A-2)³⁹

³⁹ 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	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium education
GMU	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium unit: Class(es) with <i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium education but as part of an English medium school
GROS	General Register Office for Scotland
LVI	Language viability indicator
LCI	Language community indicator
<i>Mòd</i>	Gaelic language gathering (conversation, song and music) comparable to the Welsh Eisteddfod
n/a	Information is not available
OA	(Census) output area: the smallest enumeration unit on which census data are available
P1	Primary school year 1
P2	Primary school year 2
S1	Secondary school year 1
S2	Secondary school year 2
<i>Sgoil Araich</i>	Gaelic speaking nursery school
<i>Sràdagan</i>	Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children
<i>Vi</i>	Village according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901

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Vol. 22	<i>Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh</i> (East Sutherland & Caithness)	April 2005	January 2012
Vol. 23	<i>Inbhirnis & Loch Nis</i> (Inverness & Loch Ness)	May 2005	April 2012
Vol. 24	<i>Taobh Sear Rois</i> (Easter Ross)	March 2005	February 2012
Vol. 25	<i>Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre</i> (Mid Argyll & Kintyre)	June 2005	April 2012
Vol. 26	<i>Comhal, Siorrachd Bhòid & Dùn Breatainn</i> (Cowal, County of Bute & Dumbarton)	June 2005	March 2012
Vol. 27	<i>Siorrachd Pheairt & Sruighlea</i> (Perthshire & Stirling)	August 2005	November 2008