

# Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies<sup>1</sup>

## Vol. 12: An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite (Isle of Skye: Portree, Strath & Sleat)

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Extended<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition

March 2024

### Executive Summary

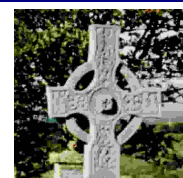
This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic speaking at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Based mainly (but not exclusively) on local population census information the reports strive to examine the state of the language through the ages from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

The Isle of Skye has been a Gaelic-speaking stronghold for centuries. After World War II decline set in especially in the main townships of Portree, Broadford and Kyleakin. However, in recent years a remarkable renaissance has taken place with a considerable success in Gaelic-medium education and of course the establishment and growth of the Gaelic further education college at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig on the Sleat peninsula. Foundations have now been laid for a successful regeneration of Gaelic in the south-eastern parts of the Isle of Skye. However, there is still much room for improvement especially in the pre-school sector and in a few locations like the island of Raasay where Gaelic has shown a dramatic decline recently.

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

<sup>2</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

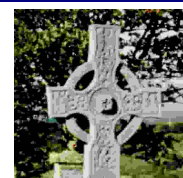
## Foreword to the Second Edition

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.

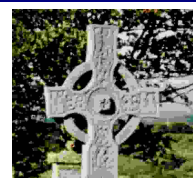


## Acknowledgements

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!*

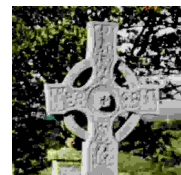
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Hamburg, *Am Màirt* 2024

Kurt C. Duwe



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# 1 Introduction

This report is looking at the *Gàidhlig* language communities in the south-eastern parts of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Isle of Skye). Whereas further north all settlements can be characterised as small and scattered crofting townships (see vol. 11 of this series) the three main population centres of the island are situated here: the “capital” *Port Rìgh* (Portree) and the smaller villages of *An t-Ath Leathan* (Broadford) and *Caol Àcain* (Kyleakin). Only a smaller part of the population of the parishes of *An Srath* (Strath) and *Port Rìgh* lives in crofting townships outside these centres. The crofting legacy, however, still dominates the settlements patterns on the *Slèite* (Sleat) peninsula and on the island of *Ratharsair* (Raasay).

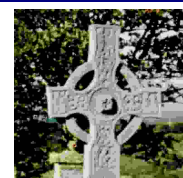
*An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* belonged for centuries to the county of Inverness-shire and was therefore subject to its education policy until local government reorganisation in 1975. Afterwards the island became part of the large Highland local authority. Some decision-making processes were devolved to the local district which combined the island with the neighbouring mainland area of *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh). During later years many special educational measures were taken in this district to support *Gàidhlig* in local schools and in the community. In addition, a further considerable boost for the language and also the local economy has been the foundation and further growth of the Gaelic college at *Sabhal Mór Ostaig* in *Slèite*.

During the 1980s the population in this part of the island was just half compared with its previous peak of 7,800 inhabitants in 1881. The economic situation improved in later years and a substantial number of incomers lead to a subsequent increase of the population which stood at around 5,300 in 2001. This population shift did have of course also implications for the *Gàidhlig* language community. Those born and bred on the island were already a minority in the 1980s. In the most recent census 26 % of the resident population on *Slèite* was born outside Scotland; the corresponding figures for the civil parishes of *Port Rìgh* and *An Srath* where 14 % and 24 % respectively. A further problem for the local population proved to be the ever-increasing number of holiday or second homes which saw house prices soaring. Many especially young people could not afford to stay on the island despite available work.

Nowadays the basis for the island economy is very much diversified although many residents still use the crofting system as one backbone for their livelihood. Tourism is a seasonal industry which nevertheless puts a large amount of money into the local economy. Many people have two or more occupations often with one of them in connection with public work or services. Some earn their money far away and return to their local community only at weekends or sometimes only for a few weeks in the year. Notwithstanding some shortcomings: At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century this part of the island experiences an economic upturn which had been so desperately needed for many decades.

The following short chapters investigate the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* on the island from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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. Figure 1 provides an overview of the area of interest<sup>3</sup>.

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



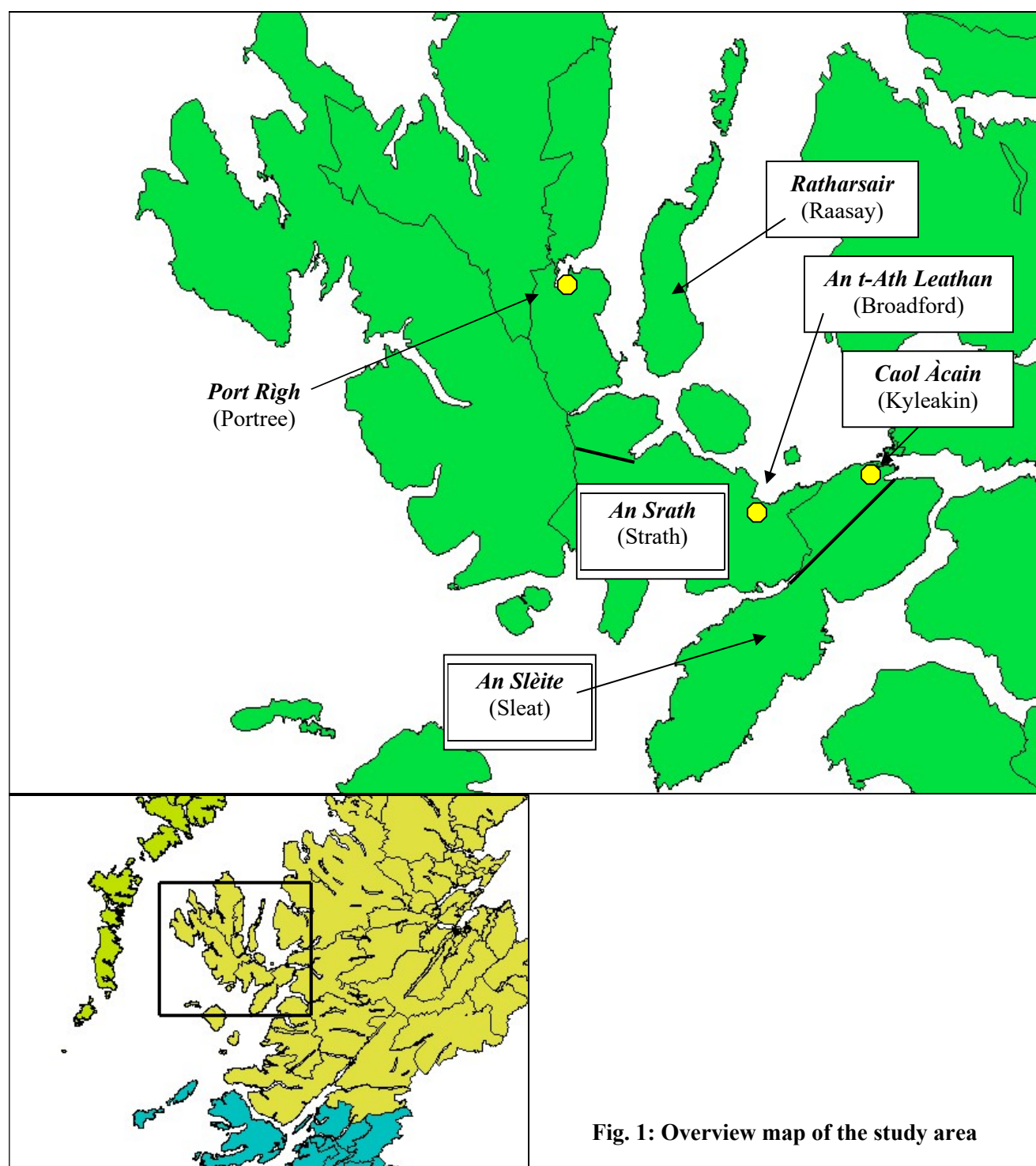
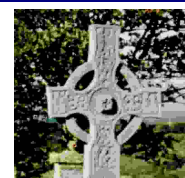


Fig. 1: Overview map of the study area





## 2 The Historical Background

*An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* is traditionally regarded as an important stronghold of Gàidhlig. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) provides a short insight into the state of the language in the parish of *Port Rìgh* in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century: “The language generally spoken in the parish is Gaelic. From the facility of intercourse with the low country, by means of steam-navigation and Parliamentary roads, the people have acquired a taste for the English language and are desirous to learn it.” This part of the island remained overwhelmingly Gàidhlig speaking even in the strictest sense until the Second World War. The subsequent retreat of the language in the south-eastern parishes of the island has slowed down considerably during the last decade (see fig. 2 below).

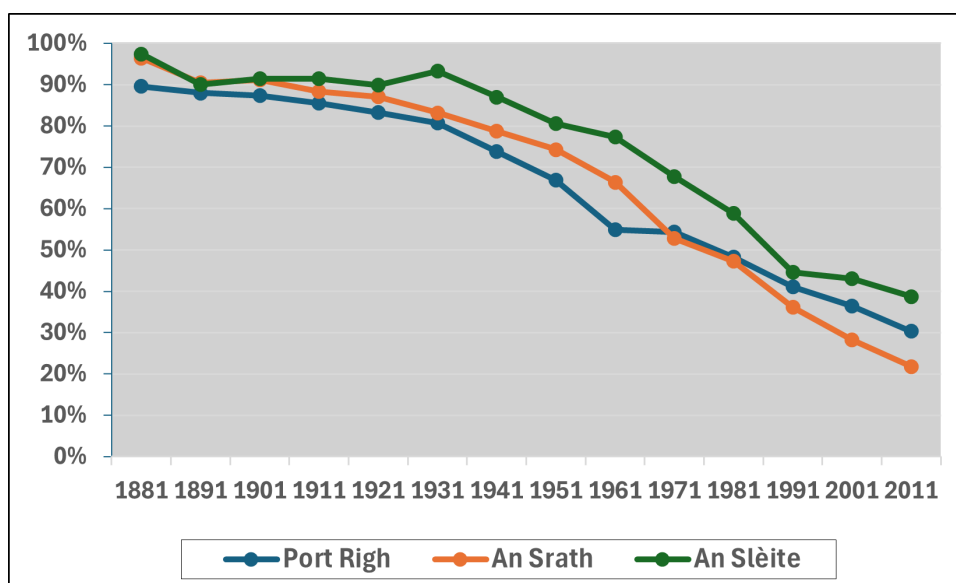


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – civil parishes of *Port Rìgh* (Portree), *An Srath* (Strath) and *Slèite* (Sleat)<sup>4</sup>

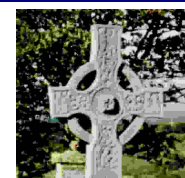
### 2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)

In 1891 only a very small minority of people in the area were not counted as speaking the language. These few were mostly occasional visitors and children aged less than 3 years. The latter were not registered in their language skills (although almost all spoke Gàidhlig). More than a quarter of all inhabitants did not speak English at all at that time (fig. 3). The smaller islands were as Gàidhlig-speaking as the main island (table 15) with *Ratharsair* (Raasay) the most populous during this period.

<i>Port Rìgh, An Srath &amp; Slèite</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	7,388	6,625	5,914	5,063	4,307	3,679
Percentage of total population	93.9 %	89.3 %	89.7 %	87.9 %	86.1 %	83.9 %

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite* (Portree, Strath & Sleat) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

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

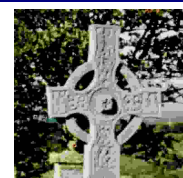


Before addressing the official enumeration district figures for 1881-1911 it is worthwhile to look more closely at the original 1891 census forms which provide interesting information. Generally, the census figures were underestimating the strength of the language because they looked at the total population present at census night. These figures included returns from 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 <sup>5</sup> (Duwe, 2006):

1. **Sgonnsar & Sligeachan** (Sconser & Sligachan): Besides people living at Sligachan Hotel almost all residents spoke Gàidhlig (94.4 %) in the centre of the island. Most of them were of course bilingual. Significant numbers of Gàidhlig monolingual persons, however, were found at very young age and among the elderly generation. Among crofting households everyone was returned as Gàidhlig speaking. The “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers was only 89.3 % mainly because “...thirteen usually resident persons were enumerated which did not speak Gàidhlig. At Sgonnsar the five- and seven-year-old sons of a piper had blank spaces in the language column of their registration sheets. In addition, the four year old son of the schoolmaster at Coille Mhòr (Colliemore) was registered as not speaking Gàidhlig. However, in 1901 he was found to be speaking Gàidhlig as well as English. - The remaining “English only” returns in this district were all registered at Sligachan Hotel. Apparently, the hotel keeper and his servants were a community apart from the local population”.
2. **Ratharsair a Deas** (South Raasay): Most communities in this part of the island were overwhelmingly Gàidhlig speaking – especially those with a crofting background. Notable exceptions were of course the residents of Raasay House and their associated servants at the time. “In original census report terms, the district had a population of 268 persons of all ages. 191 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 34 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 84.0 %. This figure was an under-estimate of 5.5 % compared with the more realistic figures considering only the usually resident population. - In total 26 inhabitants were enumerated with no “G” or “G&E” marked on their registration sheets. Among them was a crofter’s family at Feàrn with 8 blank entries in the language column. This return, however, might have been a registration error as all family members were recorded in the 1901 census as either “G” or “G&E” speakers. A second important entry of non-Gàidhlig speakers was of course produced by the inhabitants of Raasay House where nine out of ten members of the household apparently ignored the local language around them. In this category also falls the family of the local gamekeeper and the head gardener with six additional “English only” returns”.
3. **Tarscabhaig & Achadh na Cloiche** (Tarskavaig & Stonefield): This district of Slèite was a very strong part of the *Gaidhealtachd*. A few people even did not speak English mainly among the very young and the very old. Almost all these monolingual persons were female. Apart from a single (doubtful) “English only” return all usually resident persons (99.6 %) spoke the traditional language at the time: “One usually resident person in the community did not speak Gàidhlig or rather had no entry in the language column of the respective registration sheet. She was the sister (and housekeeper) of the local elementary teacher at Tarscabhaig. The latter, however, was returned as bilingual. Being born in the district of Na Lochan (Lochs) on the island of Leòdhas (Lewis) this was no surprise. Therefore, even this theoretical “English only” return can only be described as doubtful.”

In essence the local society was completely Gàidhlig speaking apart from a few “exotic migrants” like landlords, teachers, hotel keepers, head gardeners and the occasional minister’s wife from Aberdeen.

<sup>5</sup> 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.





Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Slèite – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>6</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>7</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>8</sup>		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Caol Reatha</i> (Kylarhea)	144 <b>100 %</b>	105 <b>97.2 %</b>	61 <b>96.8 %</b>	54 <b>94.7 %</b>	15 <b>14.3 %</b>	22 <b>36.1 %</b>	2 3.7 %
<i>Druim Fheàrna &amp; Ceann Locha</i> (Druimfean & Kinloch)	165 <b>100 %</b>	132 <b>100 %</b>	115 <b>92.0 %</b>	111 <b>94.9 %</b>	60 <b>45.5 %</b>	28 <b>24.3 %</b>	11 9.9 %
<i>An t-Òrd &amp; Tocabhaig</i> (Ord & Tokavaig)	131 <b>99.2 %</b>	92 <sup>9</sup> <b>71.3 %</b>	69 <b>94.5 %</b>	66 <b>97.1 %</b>	18 <b>19.6 %</b>	18 <b>26.1 %</b>	9 <b>13.6 %</b>
<i>Tarscabhaig &amp; Achadh na Cloiche</i> (Tarskavaig & Stonefield)	268 <b>100 %</b>	246 <b>97.6 %</b>	220 <b>95.2 %</b>	166 <b>93.8 %</b>	44 <b>17.9 %</b>	41 <b>18.6 %</b>	25 <b>15.1 %</b>
<i>Gleann Cuspadal &amp; An Àird Shlèite</i> (Glencuspadale & Point of Sleat)	55 <b>98.2 %</b>	45 <b>83.3 %</b>	64 <b>92.8 %</b>	34 <b>82.9 %</b>	14 <b>31.1 %</b>	17 <b>26.6 %</b>	5 <b>14.7 %</b>
<i>An Àird</i> (Aird)	265 <b>98.9 %</b>	248 <b>93.2 %</b>	236 <b>93.3 %</b>	181 <b>97.3 %</b>	115 <b>46.4 %</b>	73 <b>30.9 %</b>	41 <b>22.7 %</b>
<i>Àird a' Bhàsair &amp; Cailigearraidh</i> (Arvasar & Calligarry)	254 <b>97.7 %</b>	208 <b>99.0 %</b>	168 <b>94.9 %</b>	167 <b>96.5 %</b>	42 <b>20.2 %</b>	27 <b>16.1 %</b>	1 0.6 %
<i>Cill Mhoire, Armadal &amp; Ostaig</i> (Kilmore, Armadale & Ostaig)	97 <b>90.7 %</b>	107 <b>70.9 %</b>	121 <b>73.8 %</b>	92 <b>85.2 %</b>	40 <b>37.4 %</b>	17 <b>14.0 %</b>	8 8.7 %
<i>Sàsaig &amp; An Teanga</i> (Saasaig & Teangue)	271 <b>99.6 %</b>	223 <b>90.7 %</b>	205 <b>93.6 %</b>	170 <b>91.9 %</b>	66 <b>29.6 %</b>	32 <b>15.6 %</b>	23 <b>13.5 %</b>
<i>Camas Chros</i> (Camuscross)	215 <b>96.0 %</b>	170 <b>95.5 %</b>	141 <b>95.3 %</b>	133 <b>93.0 %</b>	36 <b>21.2 %</b>	30 <b>21.3 %</b>	15 <b>11.3 %</b>
<i>Dùisdeil Mhòr &amp; Dùisdeil Bheag</i> (Duisdalemore & Duisdalebeg)	85 <b>88.5 %</b>	88 <b>88.9 %</b>	106 <b>89.8 %</b>	62 <b>76.5 %</b>	14 <b>15.9 %</b>	18 <b>17.0 %</b>	8 <b>12.9 %</b>
<i>Eilean Iarmain</i> (Isle Ornsay)	38 <b>80.9 %</b>	29 <b>76.3 %</b>	15 <b>78.9 %</b>	29 <b>78.4 %</b>	1 3.4 %	1 5.3 %	1 3.4 %

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

Detailed local information is available in census reports especially until 1911. Notwithstanding the shortcoming of census figures they provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2-4).

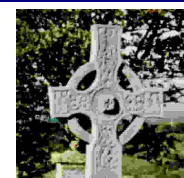
The civil parish of *Slèite* (Sleat) was almost completely Gàidhlig speaking (table 2) with the single exception of the occupants of Armadale Castle. In addition, very high proportions of monolingual speakers were recorded in places like *Druim Fheàrna* (Drumfean) and *An Àird* (Aird). There was absolutely no decline in the strength of the language in the period between 1881 and 1901.

<sup>6</sup> Enumeration division or island.

<sup>7</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

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

<sup>9</sup> In 1891 many children were counted as not speaking Gàidhlig in this area. However, in 1901 (ten years older) they did.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Port Rìgh &amp; Ratharsair</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>10</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>11</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>12</sup>		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	722 <b>80.9 %</b>	764 <b>76.2 %</b>	703 <b>80.6 %</b>	583 <b>77.1 %</b>	42 5.5 %	36 5.1 %	17 2.9%
<i>Sgonnsar &amp; Am Mol</i> (Sconser & Moll)	231 <b>98.3 %</b>	200 <b>94.3 %</b>	139 <b>94.6 %</b>	114 <b>94.2 %</b>	55 <b>27.8 %</b>	26 <b>18.7 %</b>	8 7.0%
<i>Peighinn a'Chorrain &amp; Gead an t-Sailleir</i> (Peinchorran & Gedintailor)	345 <b>100 %</b>	314 <b>96.4 %</b>	291 <b>93.9 %</b>	233 <b>97.5 %</b>	177 <b>55.5 %</b>	75 <b>25.8 %</b>	57 <b>32.4%</b>
<i>Camas Tianabhaig</i> (Camustianavaig)	341 <b>99.7 %</b>	310 <b>97.5 %</b>	241 <b>90.9 %</b>	173 <b>97.2 %</b>	176 <b>55.7 %</b>	28 <b>11.6 %</b>	43 <b>24.9%</b>
<i>Peighinn nam Fìdhleir</i> (Penifiler)	137 <b>80.1 %</b>	126 <b>93.3 %</b>	103 <b>85.1 %</b>	93 <b>93.9 %</b>	34 <b>27.0 %</b>	18 <b>17.5 %</b>	20 <b>21.5%</b>
<i>An Gleann Mòr &amp; Mùigearraidh</i> (Glenmore & Mugarry)	129 <b>99.2 %</b>	117 <b>93.6 %</b>	67 <b>91.8 %</b>	64 <b>98.5 %</b>	42 <b>35.9 %</b>	5 3.6 %	6 9.4%
<i>Siùiliseadar &amp; Na Sluganan</i> (Shulishader & Sluggans)	241 <b>90.6 %</b>	230 <b>87.5 %</b>	245 <b>86.6 %</b>	204 <b>85.0 %</b>	69 <b>30.0 %</b>	50 <b>20.4 %</b>	16 7.8%
<i>Achadh a'Choirce &amp; Torabhaig</i> (Achork & Torvaig)	86 <b>85.1 %</b>	106 <b>93.8 %</b>	57 <b>89.1 %</b>	74 <b>79.6 %</b>	26 <b>24.5 %</b>	5 8.8 %	12 <b>16.2%</b>
<i>Eilean Fhlodaigh &amp; Eilean Rìgh</i> (Isle of Flodda & Rìgh)	60 <b>100 %</b>	59 <b>100%</b>	46 <b>93.9 %</b>	49 <b>96.1 %</b>	25 <b>42.4 %</b>	10 <b>21.7 %</b>	7 <b>14.3%</b>
<i>Ratharsair: An Clachan</i> (Isle of Raasay: Clachan)	225 <b>79.8 %</b>	225 <b>84.0 %</b>	227 <b>91.5 %</b>	167 <b>85.6 %</b>	34 <b>15.1 %</b>	22 9.7 %	22 <b>13.2%</b>
<i>Ratharsair: Umachan</i> (Isle of Raasay: Umachan)	176 <b>100 %</b>	131 <b>99.2 %</b>	152 <b>88.9 %</b>	119 <b>92.2 %</b>	57 <b>43.5 %</b>	27 <b>17.8 %</b>	30 <b>25.2%</b>
<i>Rònaigh</i> (Isle of Rona)	159 <b>90.3 %</b>	172 <b>95.0 %</b>	151 <b>93.8 %</b>	116 <b>87.2 %</b>	54 <b>31.4 %</b>	39 <b>25.8 %</b>	22 <b>19.0%</b>

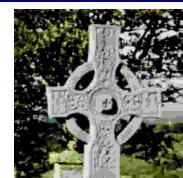
**Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Port Rìgh & Ratharsair* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901**

The landward parts of the civil parish of *Port Rìgh* (Portree) were as Gàidhlig speaking as any in the Hebrides in those days (table 3). There were still districts where most residents did not speak English like the crofting hamlets between *Peighinn a'Chorrain* (Peinchorran) and *Camas Tianabhaig* (Camustianavaig). The situation on the adjacent islands was similar. In those days *Flodaigh* and *Rònaigh* were still inhabited by a significant number of fishermen/crofters and their families. The situation in the “island capital” itself remained also stable through the whole period – four fifths of the population spoke the language of the *Gaidheal* even in 1901. Only the monolingual population among the Gàidhlig community was much smaller than in the rural townships of the parish.

<sup>10</sup> Enumeration division, island or village.

<sup>11</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

<sup>12</sup> Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>An Srath</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>13</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>14</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>15</sup>		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin)	207 <b>85.2 %</b>	167 <b>87.9 %</b>	213 <b>83.5 %</b>	189 <b>71.9 %</b>	21 <b>12.6 %</b>	11 5.2 %	13 6.9%
<i>Breacais Iosal &amp; Sgulumus</i> (Upper Breakish & Scullamus)	248 <b>97.3 %</b>	272 <b>87.2 %</b>	227 <b>88.7 %</b>	219 <b>95.6 %</b>	88 <b>32.4 %</b>	46 <b>20.3 %</b>	25 <b>11.4%</b>
<i>Breacais Uarach &amp; Achadh a'Chùirn</i> (Lower Breakish & Waterloo)	572 <b>98.6 %</b>	400 <b>94.3 %</b>	343 <b>94.0 %</b>	261 <b>92.2 %</b>	163 <b>40.8 %</b>	73 <b>21.3 %</b>	47 <b>18.0%</b>
<i>Harrapul &amp; An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Harrapool & Broadford)	338 <b>92.3 %</b>	349 <b>85.1 %</b>	336 <b>88.2 %</b>	332 <b>83.0 %</b>	50 <b>14.3 %</b>	64 <b>19.0 %</b>	14 4.2%
<i>Dùnan &amp; Lùib</i> (Dunan & Luib)	354 <b>98.6 %</b>	313 <b>90.5 %</b>	275 <b>97.2 %</b>	213 <b>93.4 %</b>	115 <b>36.7 %</b>	61 <b>22.2 %</b>	39 <b>18.3%</b>
<i>Na Tòrran &amp; Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Torrin & Kilbride)	269 <b>96.8 %</b>	224 <b>97.4 %</b>	186 <b>95.4 %</b>	158 <b>88.8 %</b>	52 <b>23.2 %</b>	29 <b>15.6 %</b>	29 <b>18.4%</b>
<i>Heasta &amp; Ceann Loch Easort</i> (Heast & Kinloch Eishort)	115 <b>100 %</b>	108 <b>97.3 %</b>	85 <b>97.7 %</b>	74 <b>74.7 %</b>	39 <b>36.1 %</b>	22 <b>25.9 %</b>	14 <b>18.9%</b>
<i>Camas an Airigh &amp; Cill Mhoire</i> (Camusunary & Kilmory)	37 <b>88.1 %</b>	57 <b>89.1 %</b>	58 <b>85.3 %</b>	41 <b>70.7 %</b>	10 <b>17.5 %</b>	8 <b>13.8 %</b>	1 2.4%
<i>Ealaghol &amp; Glas na Cille</i> (Elgol & Glasnakille)	311 <b>99.4 %</b>	213 <b>96.4 %</b>	204 <b>94.4 %</b>	212 <b>96.4 %</b>	90 <b>42.3 %</b>	50 <b>24.5 %</b>	63 <b>29.7%</b>
<i>Scalpaigh &amp; Pabaigh</i> (Isle of Scalpay & Isle of Pabay)	47 <b>100 %</b>	48 <b>85.7 %</b>	36 <b>85.7 %</b>	30 <b>93.8 %</b>	11 <b>22.9 %</b>	8 <b>22.2 %</b>	4 <b>13.3%</b>

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

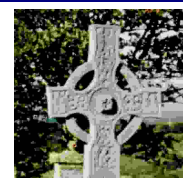
The civil parish of *An Srath* (Strath) is the natural gateway to the island from the mainland. As such it could be expected that the language was less strong than in other parts of the island during the period between 1881 and 1911 (table 4). But essentially this was not the case. Even in *Caol Àcain* (Kyleakin) Gàidhlig speaking was almost universal. There were also still places where no English was spoken by a substantial part of the population like in *Breacais Uarach* (Lower Breakish) or *Ealaghol* (Elgol).

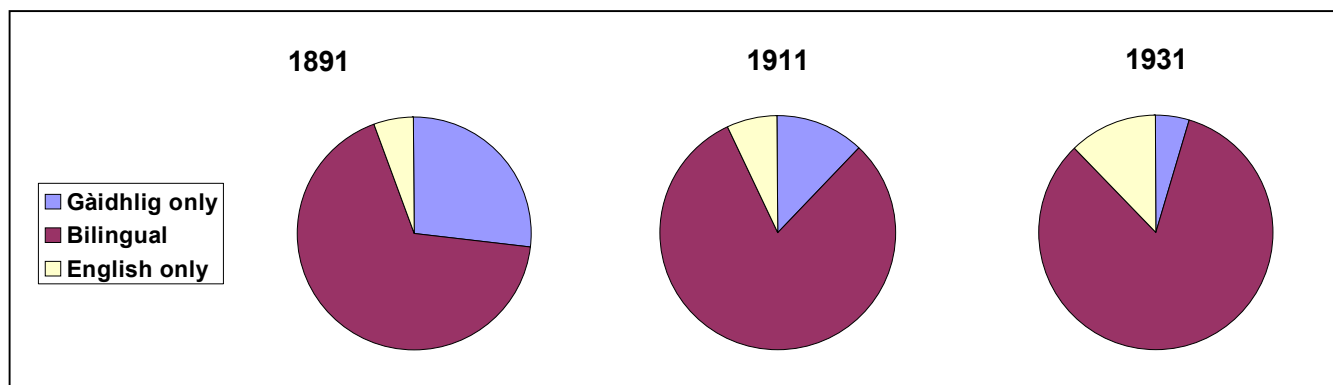
During the decades to come the strength of Gàidhlig within all communities stayed on a very high level until the Second World War (table 1). The slight decrease of Gàidhlig-speaking percentage between 1901 and 1931 was mainly due to the influx of English-only speakers to the island townships of *Port Rìgh* (Portree) and *An t-Ath Leathan* (Broadford). On *Slèite* (Sleat) the use of Gàidhlig remained as widespread as ever.

<sup>13</sup> Enumeration division or island.

<sup>14</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

<sup>15</sup> 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**

The status of Gàidhlig in education on *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* did not differ much from the situation on other Inverness-shire islands (see volumes 2, 3 and 5 for details). Therefore, specific comments are not necessary here: the language was simply ignored or discouraged in primary schools. Those islanders who could not speak English were confined to pre-school age and the elderly (table 16). Nonetheless Gàidhlig remained the natural tongue of home, crofting and church.

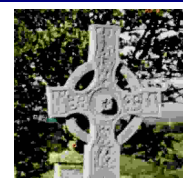
## 2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

Between 1931 and 1951 the population of the area went down by 15 % caused by the economic and social disruptions during and after the war. The share of Gàidhlig-speakers fell also from 83.9 % to 71.9 % (table 5) with the strongest decrease reported for *Port Rìgh*. This decrease may have been caused primarily by a retreat of the language in the younger generation. But a report on Gàidhlig-speaking school-children in Highland schools (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961) still recorded a substantial number of young Gàidhlig-speakers in the south-eastern part of the island for the school year of 1957/58. In comparison with the north-western peninsulas the returns were somewhat lower but remarkable. For example, 89 out of 367 primary school children were considered by their head teachers as first or preferred language speakers (24.3 %) of Gàidhlig in *Port Rìgh & An Srath*. The corresponding figure for *Slèite* was a respectable 40 (58.8 %). Setting aside the very low percentage for the primary school in the town of *Port Rìgh* (14.6 %) Gàidhlig as first language was still widespread. There were 14 first language speakers on the island of *Ratharsair* (66.7 %) and a further 45 children in the parish of *An Srath* (31.9 %). The knowledge of Gàidhlig among the pupils with English as first language was nonetheless very poor. On *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* as a whole 113 primary school children were reported as having Gàidhlig as first language (47.2 %) in primary stages P1 and P2. 49 additional children could understand Gàidhlig with only seven speaking it fluently.

<i>Port Rìgh, An Srath &amp; Slèite</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	2,713	2,306	1,980	1,945	2,003	1,821	1,607
Percentage of total population	71.9 %	61.7 %	55.5 %	49.4 %	39.9 %	34.5 %	28.9 %

**Table 5: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite* (Portree, Strath & Sleat) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2011**

Educationally things on the island improved gradually. In 1959 a fulltime Gaelic organiser was employed by the county council and the Inverness-shire Gaelic Education Scheme came into being because





of that appointment. It laid down policies for the use of *Gàidhlig* as an initial teaching medium up to about the age of 8 years in primary schools in the Gaelic areas (Mackinnon, 1974).

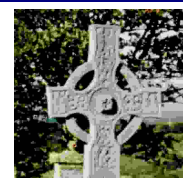
In the 1961 census still all CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) in the area had a majority of *Gàidhlig*-speakers. The town of *Port Rìgh* reported of course the lowest percentage. Just 52 % of its inhabitants spoke *Gàidhlig* at that time (table 18 – Portree West CCED). The remaining area, however, reported percentages around or even well above the 70 % mark.

During the 1960s the trend of depopulation continued and there was no visible trend of an increased usage of *Gàidhlig* within the communities of the area. The census of 1971 provided no real consolation. The percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers went down once again considerably in *An Srath* and *Slèite*. The positive development around *Port Rìgh* was in all probability a statistical effect. In 1971 the census question had been changed from “speaks Gaelic” to “can speak Gaelic”. This had resulted in areas with comparably few *Gàidhlig* speakers in an increase of returns – these respondents had simply not many opportunities to use the language and therefore did not speak Gaelic in their opinion! In this census information was made available for the first time on the age structure of the language community on a local level. The CCEDs in this area recorded quite different levels in the younger generation (age group 3 to 14): In *Slèite* and *Port Rìgh an Ear* (roughly *Bràighean*, *Sgonnsar* and *Ratharsair*) the percentage was around 50 %. The less favourable situation in the town of *Port Rìgh* (18.5 % - *Port Rìgh an Iar* CCED) and the parish of *An Srath* (27.5 %) was not unexpected.

The 1970s saw the first signs of a renaissance of *Gàidhlig* within Scottish society. *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* was in the forefront of many activities concerned with the survival of the language. Slowly and sometimes reluctantly *Gàidhlig* resurfaced in public life via bilingual street signs and the educational provision in local primary schools improved considerably. The most substantial progress, however, was accomplished by the initiatives of the main local landowner on the *Slèite* peninsula. Besides the economic strengthening of the *Gàidhlig*-speaking community (by introducing a number of small enterprises) the foundation of the college of *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* proved to be the most effective investment in the language. From humble beginnings with language courses in a few restructured and furnished rooms of a disused barn this establishment soon grew into the first *Gàidhlig*-medium further education college in Scotland.

The census in 1981 saw the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the area (1,945) staying almost exactly at the same level as in 1971 (1,980). Due to the growing influx of people from other parts of the United Kingdom the share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers still went down by 6.1 % (table 5). The available information on small census output areas provides a picture of a very fragmented distribution of strong language communities in the area (tables 19, 20 and 22). Whereas the towns showed language strengths slightly below or above the 50 % mark some crofting townships recorded far higher percentages. These “strongholds” included the island of *Ratharsair* (68.0 %) as well as *Ealaghol* (70.2 %) and *Sgulumus* (79.7 %) in the parish of *An Srath*. On *Slèite* the language was most widespread in *Camas Chros* (75.0 %), *Tarscabhaig* (85.7 %) and *Tocabhaig* (84.2 %). Generally, *Gàidhlig* held out very well in the younger age groups (tables 21 and 23) although language lessons did not seem to have satisfactory results in the accomplishment of literacy as figures 4 and 5 illustrate.

In pre-school age, however, a further decline was recorded with only half the number of children aged 3 or 4 speaking *Gàidhlig* in 1981 compared with 1971. Here the activities of *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* set in very effectively from 1982 onwards as *cròileagan* were established very soon in *Port Rìgh*, *An t-Ath Leathan* and *Slèite*. In addition, the bilingual project in some schools in the north of the island



was extended to some degree to all primary schools in 1985 and visiting teachers of *Gàidhlig* tried to deliver some sort of language acquaintance with all primary school children. Most important of all *Gàidhlig*-medium education was introduced in three primary schools of the area: *Port Rìgh* (1986), *An t-Ath Leathan* (1987) and *Slèite* (1987). All these establishments experienced high pupil intakes even in their first years of existence. But it must be mentioned that only continuous pressure by local parents persuaded the local authority to open these *Gàidhlig*-medium units in the first place.

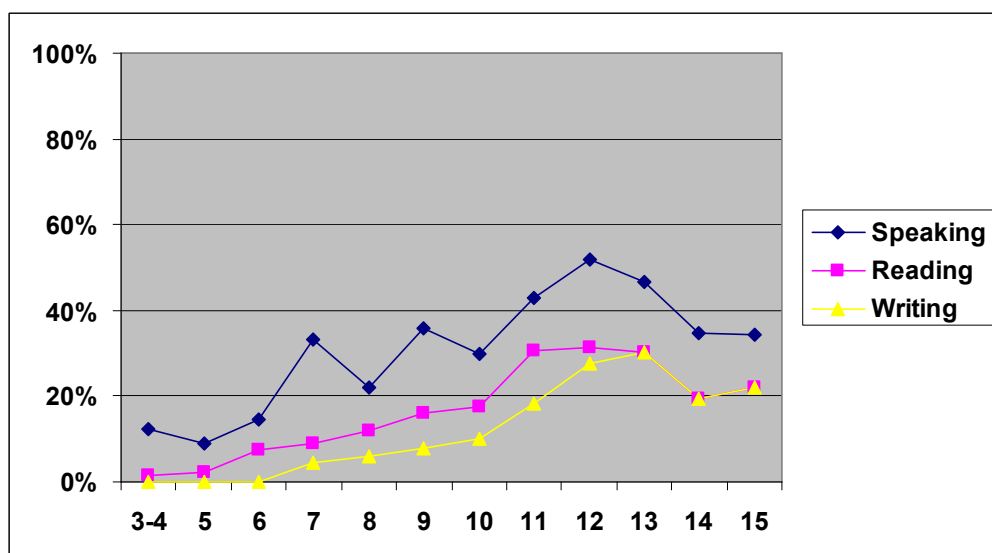


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Port Rìgh & An Srath*

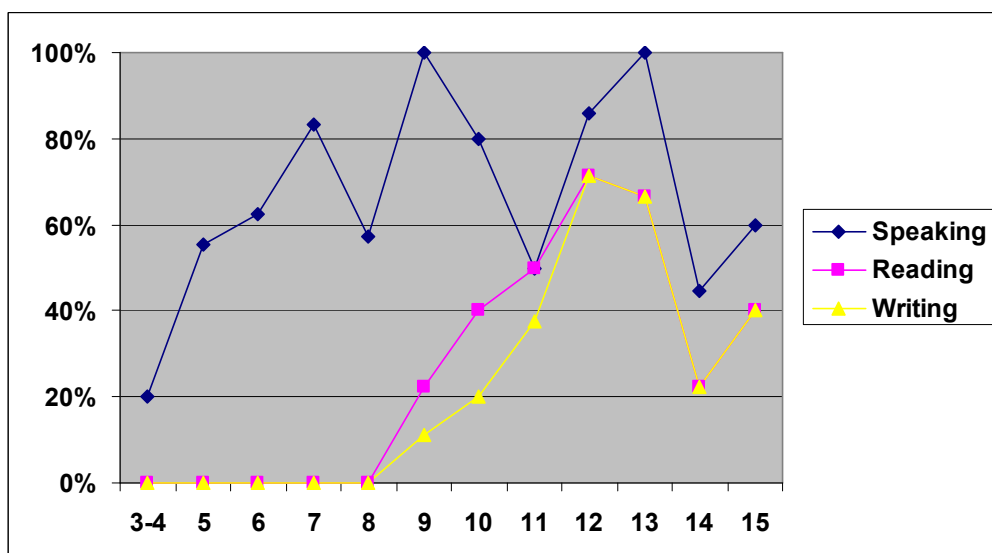
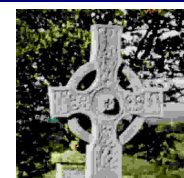


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Slèite*

The impetus brought in by language enthusiasts (especially local parents) was the main driving force in improvements for the language in local life and education. The bilingual road-signs were only the visible result of considerable goodwill towards the language on the island. In 1987 a “10-Year Development





Plan for Gaelic on Skye” was launched by *Comunn na Gàidhlig* which included the following demands: “Every person on Skye shall have the right to use Gaelic in all situations in which he or she wishes to do so.” It also called on Highland Region to review the situation in primary schools: “While the bilingual project was a considerable success in its early years its expansion to cover all of the primary schools (in the south), without a corresponding increase in staff, has meant that its chances of making a meaningful impact have been severely limited” (West Highland Free Press, 1987). In combination with the growing number of incomers in the island society the language still had to fight its corner to survive against all the odds.

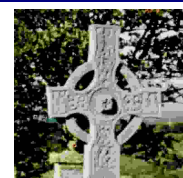
The developments in education and society resulted in an astonishing increase in the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers according to the 1991 census: 2,003 persons proclaimed being able to speak *Gàidhlig* compared with 1,945 in 1981. This was a considerable achievement. The large number of new residents, however, meant that the percentage decreased sharply from 49.4 % to 39.9 %. Language transmission in the then Skye & Lochalsh district of Highland region was not satisfactory but nonetheless comparable with the *Gàidhlig* “stronghold” of the Outer Hebrides (table 6). There was even a better success in educating children from non-*Gàidhlig* speaking homes.

Census 1991: Households with dependent children aged 3 and over						
	<i>An t-Eilean Sgitheanach &amp; Loch Aillse</i>			<i>Na h-Eileanan an Iar</i>		
Household composition	No children speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>	Some ch. speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>	All children speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>	No children speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>	Some ch. speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>	All children speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>
All adults speak G.	56 (21.7 %)	14 (5.4 %)	188 (72.9 %)	253 (15.4 %)	100 (6.1 %)	1,285 (78.4 %)
Some adults speak G.	176 (55.0 %)	39 (12.2 %)	105 (32.8 %)	542 (69.4 %)	69 (8.8 %)	170 (21.8 %)
No adults speak G.	490 (78.3 %)	52 (8.3 %)	84 (13.4 %)	647 (89.4 %)	38 (5.3 %)	38 (5.3 %)
Total	722 (60.0 %)	105 (8.7 %)	377 (31.3 %)	1,442 (45.9 %)	207 (6.6 %)	1,493 (47.5 %)

**Table 6: Households according to language abilities of parents and dependent children in 1991 for *Na h-Eileanan an Iar* (Western Isles) and *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach & Loch Aillse* (Skye & Lochalsh)**

Locally the situation was considerably improved in the town of *Port Rìgh* itself with increased numbers of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (table 18). The language strength in the pre-school age groups had increased which was of course due to the *cròileagan* developments mentioned earlier. In 1992 a nursery class was introduced by the local authority in *Port Rìgh*. This proved so popular that at times more children entered its premises than in its English language counterpart. The *Gàidhlig*-medium units flourished also in the 1990s and the language became a compulsory subject in the local secondary school for stages S1 and S2. A slight setback on the education front was the scrapping of the second language teaching by visiting teachers in local primary schools. This meant in effect that in some primary schools *Gàidhlig* was not taught at all in the late 1990s; a prominent example was the island of *Ratharsair*.

A major highlight of course was the massive growth of facilities around the *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* college. Apart from its wider implications for the whole *Gàidhlig*-speaking world the extension of services meant a considerable boost for the island economy and for the self-confidence of speakers generally. *Gàidhlig* became more and more associated with personal success and career chances something totally unknown during most of the past century.



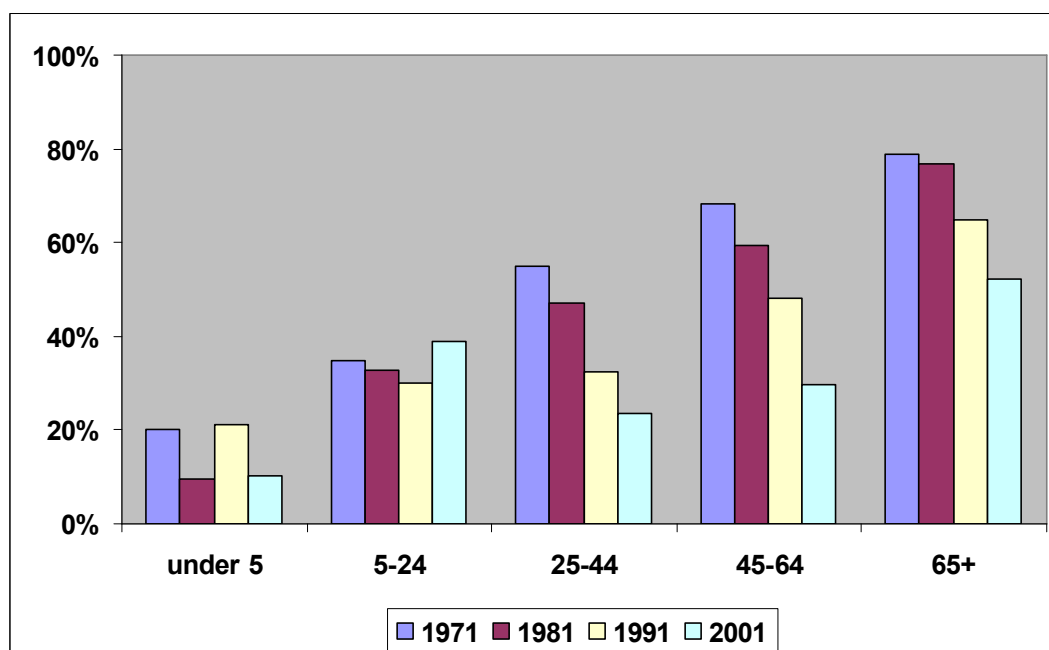


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Port Rìgh & An Srath* (Portree & Strath)<sup>16</sup>

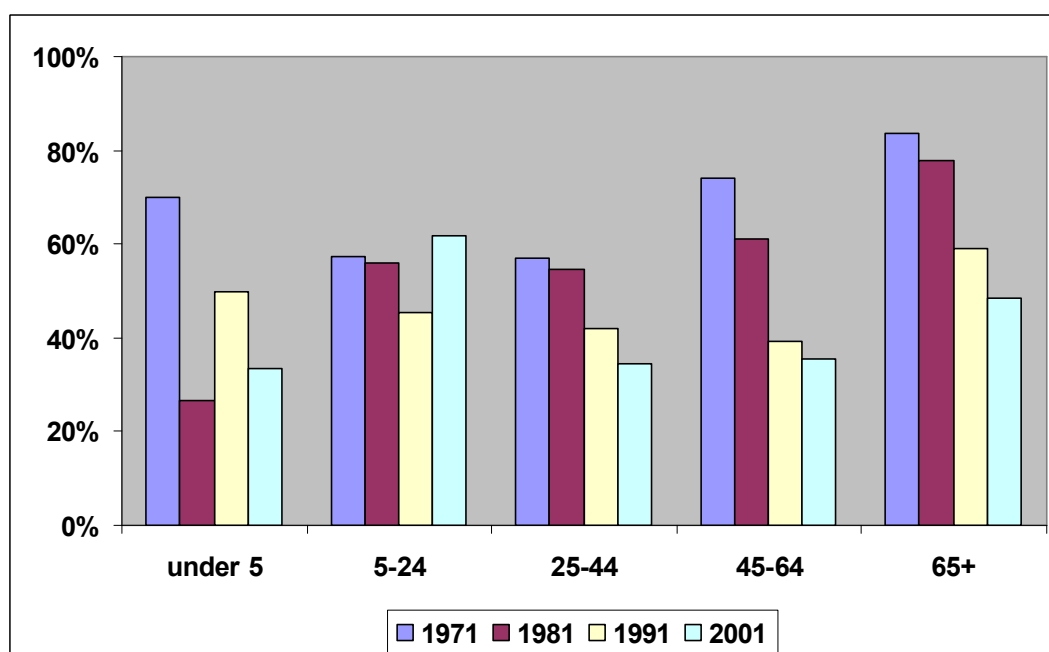
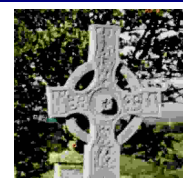


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Slèite* (Sleat)

A major outcome of all these language developments in the south-east of the island was the favourable census return in 2001. Although there was still a downturn recorded by around 5 % for the area as a whole, *Port Rìgh* and *Slèite* fared far better. The percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the younger generation (aged between 5 and 24) had increased for the first time since 1971 (figures 6 and 7) and the share

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



of pre-school children (aged between 3 and 4) had stayed on the same level as in 1991. Detailed analysis of the 2001 census is provided in chapter 3 of this report.

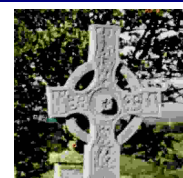
Since 2001 all primary schools take part in the GLPS scheme where all pupils get some second language tuition in *Gàidhlig*. Preparations are also underway to establish a *cròileagan* in *Ratharsair* in addition to the existing ones in *Port Rìgh*, *Slèite* and *An t-Ath Leathan/Breacais*. In the 2003/2004 school year for example 58 pre-school children aged 3 or 4 were enrolled at *Port Rìgh*, *An t-Ath Leathan* and *Slèite*.

Census Data Zones	Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
<b>Camas Tianabhaig &amp; Eilean Ratharsair</b> (Camustianavaig & Raasay)	33	49.3%	206	42.3%	+ 7.0 %	56.1 %
<b>Port Rìgh an Iar</b> (Portree West)	34	43.6%	251	41.1%	+ 2.5 %	54.1 %
<b>Port Rìgh a Tuath</b> (Portree North)	84	39.1%	404	38.6%	+ 0.5 %	50.9 %
<b>Port Rìgh</b> (Portree South)	28	48.3%	217	38.3%	+ 10.0 %	56.5%
<b>An Srath</b> (Strath)	52	31.1%	283	30.6%	+ 0.5 %	47.2 %
<b>An t-Ath Leathan</b> (Broadford)	46	41.1%	231	26.1%	+ 15.0 %	39.3 %
<b>Slèite</b> (Sleat)	83	70.3%	406	45.7%	+ 24.6 %	67.6 %
<i>In comparison:</i> <b>Gaidhealtachd</b> (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**

The census of 2011 saw a further decrease in the number of *Gàidhlig* speakers in the area apart from the parish of *Slèite*. The latter was especially due to the presence of the Gaelic College at *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig*. In tables 14 and 15 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, in 2011 the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. Accordingly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures of *Gàidhlig* knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population is provided in table 7 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability showed encouragingly high positive values in the whole area.



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 of a third of *Gàidhlig* speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 7.

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

Information on the literacy of the language became available from 1971 onwards: Census questions were introduced on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 7 and 8 below). Even in 1971 the area recorded above average literacy levels with 71.7 % able to read *Gàidhlig* in *Port Rìgh an Ear* (rural part of the parish) and 66.4 % in *An Srath*. The town of *Port Rìgh* itself reported the lowest return with only 57.3 % “Gaelic readers”.

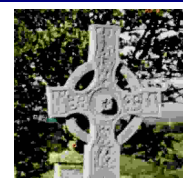
	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<b>Port Rìgh &amp; An Srath (Portree &amp; Strath)</b>	1055	1017	1013	1075	910	63.0%	62.3%	59.4%	72.2%	72.2%
<b>Slèite (Sleat)</b>	185	214	235	284	284	60.6%	66.7%	74.8%	82.8%	82.6%

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 <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<b>Port Rìgh &amp; An Srath (Portree &amp; Strath)</b>	575	700	760	877	772	34.3%	42.9%	44.6%	58.9%	61.3%
<b>Slèite (Sleat)</b>	100	157	200	253	259	32.8%	48.9%	63.7%	73.8%	75.3%

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

During the later decades the relatively high incidence of reading ability stayed on the same level in *Port Rìgh* and *An Srath* and increased substantially on the *Slèite* peninsula. The latter was of course influenced by the increased presence of well-educated staff and students at the college at *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig*. The ability to write *Gàidhlig* in 1971 was reminiscent of a failed education policy of the past with only a third of *Gàidhlig*-speakers able to write text in their own tongue. Educational provision improved the situation considerably in the whole area in later years. Here again *Slèite* set the most positive mark not only on *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* but for the whole of Scotland. In 2011 the corresponding literacy levels remained largely comparable with the situation in 2001.



The intensity of *Gàidhlig* education and its success is illustrated in figures 8 and 9 where reading ability is shown by age group. For the primary school age (5-11) a strong improvement can be seen in *Slèite* between 1971 and 1981. In both parts of the island no real difference can be seen eventually in the 2001 census results.

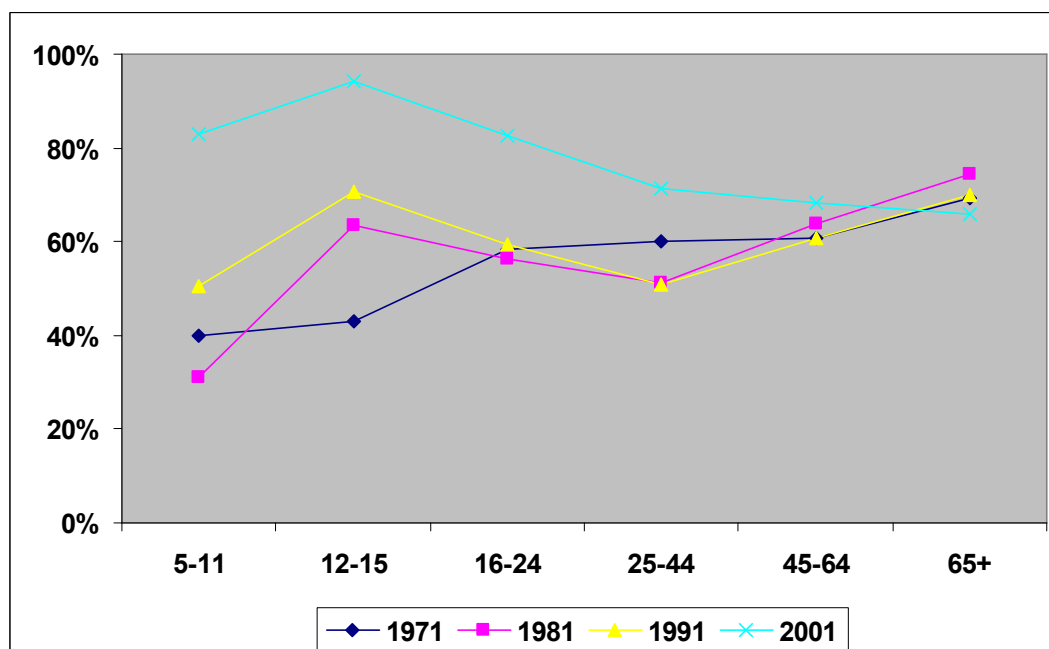


Fig. 8: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Port Rìgh & An Srath* in different age groups (1971-2001)

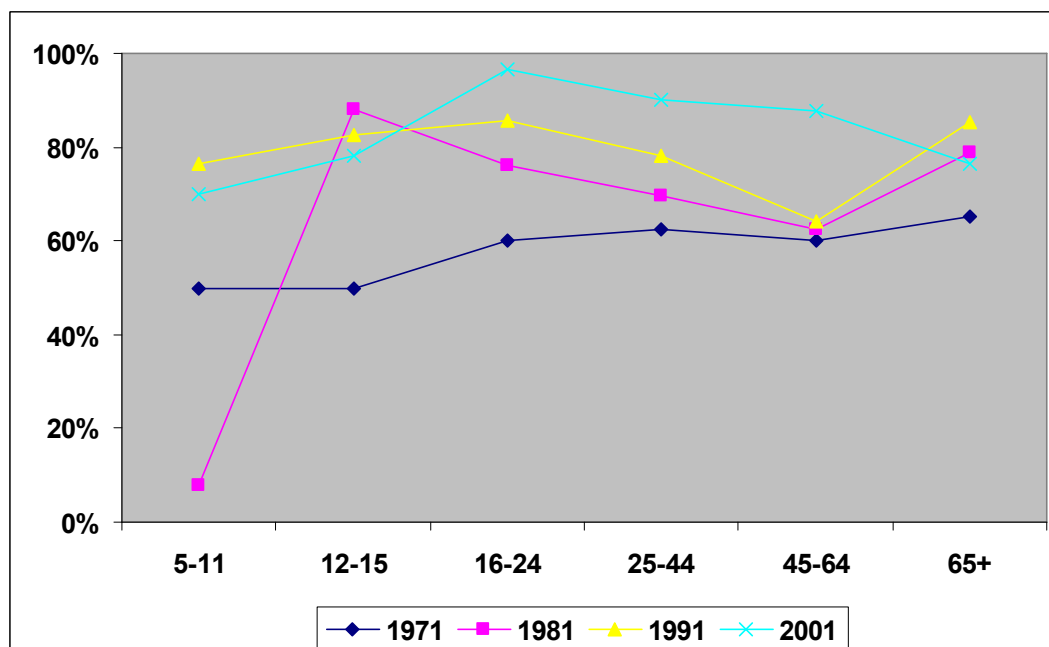
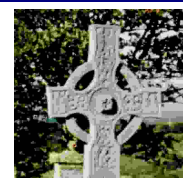


Fig. 9: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Slèite* in different age groups (1971-2001)



## Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

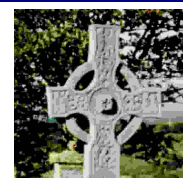
IMPORTANT NOTICE: The more recent census data of 2011 were not as detailed as 2001 regarding generational differences in language use. Therefore 2001 is used here as baseline for research purposes. The following sections describe in general terms the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational 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).

### 2.4 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

The state and incidence of *Gàidhlig* language abilities was very heterogeneous in this part of the island depending on several factors including language maintenance within the local population and the intensity of settlement of monolingual English-speaking incomers in the community.

Concerning **Port Rìgh & An Srath (Portree & Strath)** the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- There are two generations with high scores in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 10): pensioners and school children. Intergenerational difference was rather positive (table 10) and in distinct contrast with the figure of -11 % in 1991. Roughly 15 % of the pre-school children had some language knowledge.
- Apart from younger age groups a large decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking occurred since 1991 (table 10). In the age cohort of 3-24, however, the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was up by over 7 %.
- The local detail of census output areas showed those being able to speak *Gàidhlig* ranging from a share of roughly 19 % in *Caol Àcain* (Kyleakin) to some 49 % in parts of *Port Rìgh*. The figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between over 28 % in *Dunan* and more than 61 % in parts of *Port Rìgh*.
- Fig. 11 shows more than a quarter of the population lived in neighbourhoods with a majority of people knowing some *Gàidhlig*. In another 50 % of cases language strength is over 35 %.
- Literacy in the language was at a respectable level with 72.2 % of speakers being able to read and 58.9 % of speakers able to write the language.





- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years seven (5.1 %) were able to speak Gàidhlig and twelve (8.7 %) could understand spoken Gàidhlig. In addition to those able to speak Gàidhlig (33.2 % of the population) another 469 inhabitants (10.5 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>17</sup> Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	12	8.7 %	0	0.0 %	7	5.1 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	21	22.8 %	1	1.1 %	17	18.5 %	21	21.2 %	- 2.7 %
5-11	174	45.0 %	127	32.8 %	153	39.5 %	139	34.4 %	+ 5.1 %
12-15	179	67.3 %	146	54.9 %	155	58.3 %	88	36.2 %	+22.1 %
16-24	146	37.2 %	80	20.4 %	98	25.0 %	119	23.6 %	+ 1.4 %
3-24	520	45.7 %	354	31.1 %	423	37.2 %	367	29.4 %	+ 7.8 %
All ages	1,958	43.7 %	1,075	24.0 %	1,489	33.2 %	1,698	41.1 %	- 7.9 %
Difference	+ 2.0 %		+ 7.1 %		+ 4.0 %		- 11.7 %		

Table 10: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Port Rìgh & An Srath* (Portree & Strath) in 2001 and 1991

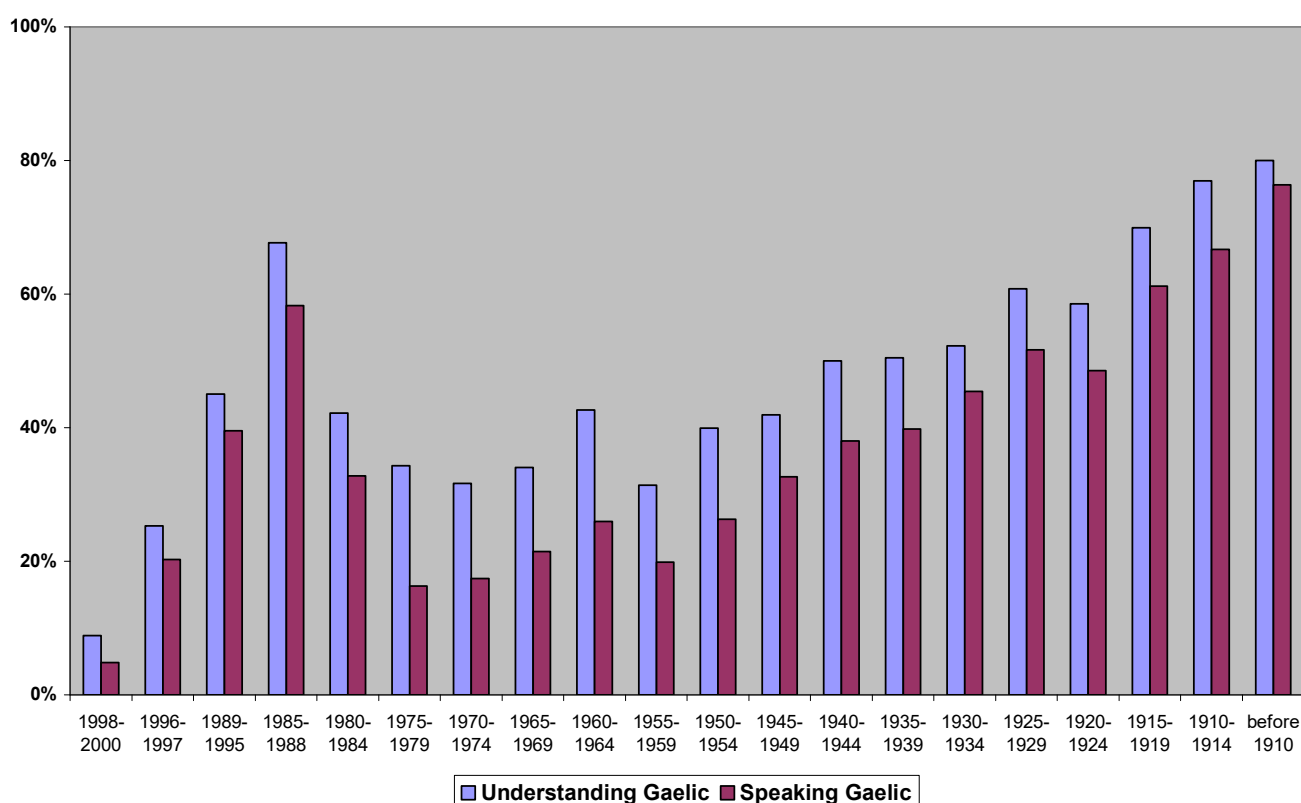
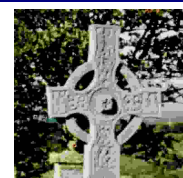
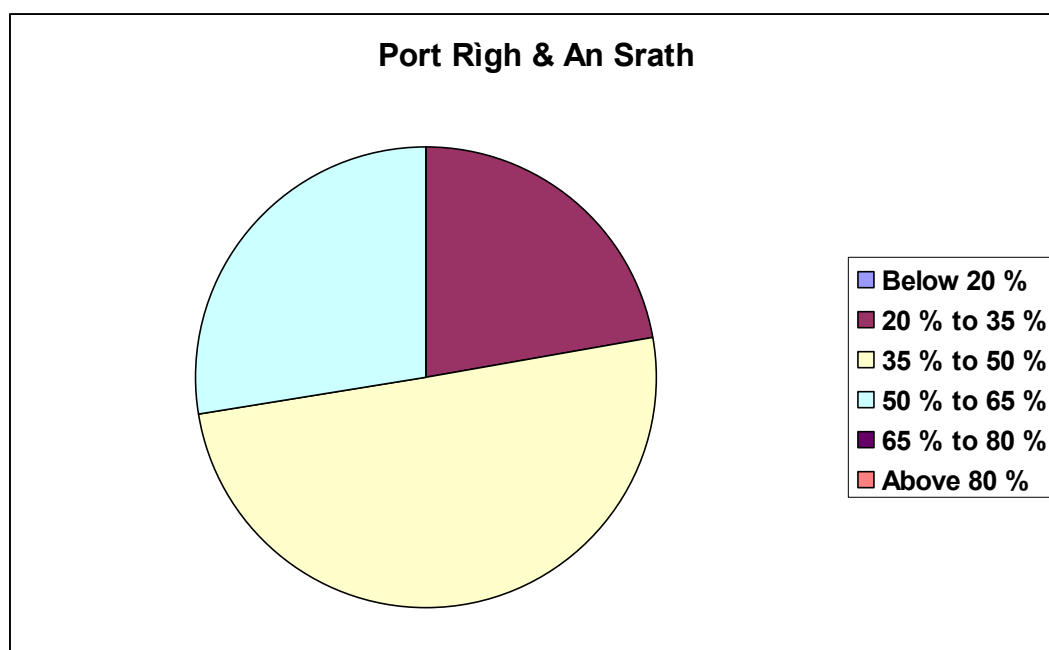


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *Port Rìgh & An Srath* (Portree & Strath) according to Census 2001

<sup>17</sup> Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.

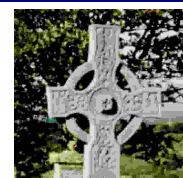




**Fig. 11: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Port Rìgh & An Srath* (Portree & Strath)**

In general, the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information for the peninsula of *An Slèite* (Sleat):

- There was a strong concentration of high *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 12) in the younger generations. Almost 50 % of the pre-school children knew the language. Intergenerational language difference was very high at + 18 % compared with -0.8 % back in 1991.
- A very slight overall decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking (in percentage terms only!) had occurred since 1991 (table 11). The number of speakers had actually risen by 32. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was up by over 15 %. This has almost succeeded in compensating the loss in the older generation.
- The incidence of *Gàidhlig*-speaking was generally at high levels. The local detail of census output areas did show those being able to speak the language ranging from more than 28 % in *Aird Bhasair* (Ardvasar) to almost 56 % in *Ostaig*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 35 % in *Aird Bhasair* and more than 62 % in *Tarscabhaig*.
- The majority of the population lived in neighbourhoods where over 50 % of the people knew at least some *Gàidhlig* (figure 13).
- Literacy in the language was among the highest in Scotland with 82.8 % of speakers being able to read and 73.0 % of speakers able to write the language.



- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years four children (19.0 %) were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and eight (38.1 %) understood spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (43.1 % of the population) another 160 inhabitants (7.6 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

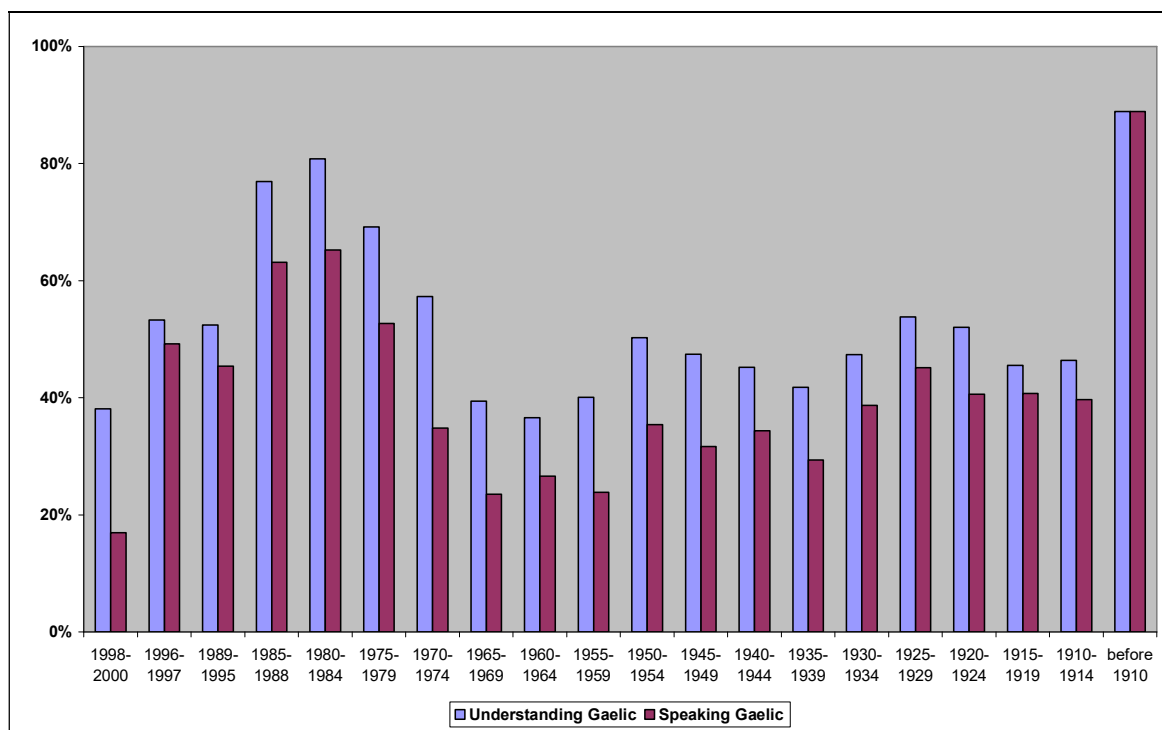
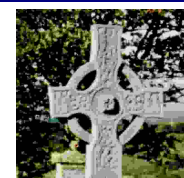


Fig. 12: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Slèite* (Sleat) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>18</sup> <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	8	38.1 %	1	4.2 %	4	19.0 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	8	53.4 %	1	4.1 %	8	53.4 %	9	50.0 %	+ 3.4 %
5-11	32	52.7 %	21	34.0 %	30	49.2 %	34	52.3 %	- 3.1 %
12-15	20	76.9 %	14	55.2 %	19	73.1 %	23	50.0 %	+23.1 %
16-24	66	75.0 %	57	47.5 %	59	67.0 %	22	34.4 %	+32.6 %
3-24	126	66.3 %	93	48.9 %	116	61.1 %	88	45.8 %	+15.3 %
All ages	403	50.7 %	284	35.7 %	343	43.1 %	311	46.6 %	- 3.5 %
Difference	+ 15.6 %		+ 13.2 %		+ 18.0 %		- 0.8 %		

Table 11: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Slèite* (Sleat) in 2001 and 1991

<sup>18</sup> Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*, or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



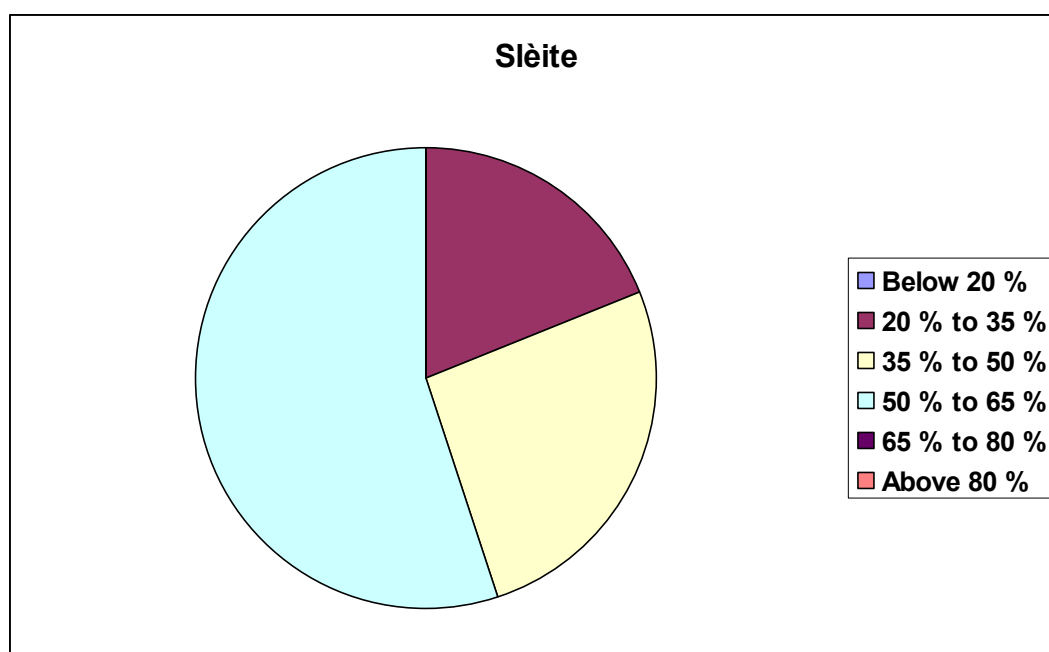


Fig. 13: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Slèite* (Sleat)

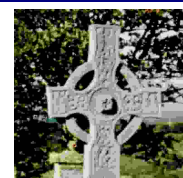
## 2.5 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for the different age groups of interest 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). Data on the age group of 24-35 are meant to represent the language abilities of possible parents.

Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas <sup>19</sup>								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	20	17.5 %	114	<b>50.0 %</b>	126	<b>74.6 %</b>	96	35.7 %
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	-	-	1	6.3 %	2	40.0 %	7	29.2 %
<i>Ealaghol</i> (Elgol)	-	-	5	33.3 %	1	33.3 %	6	<b>50.0 %</b>
<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford)	13	17.1 %	42	43.8 %	38	<b>56.7 %</b>	43	26.5 %
<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin)	-	-	12	37.5 %	12	<b>54.6 %</b>	13	23.2 %
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat)	16	44.4 %	32	<b>52.5 %</b>	20	<b>76.9 %</b>	39	47.0 %

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

<sup>19</sup> Percentages above 50% are given in bold figures.



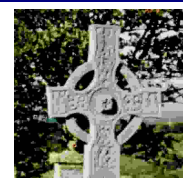
Generally, the following conclusions may be drawn for the six school catchments (table 11) involved:

- Pre-school children: There were three locations with *cròileagan* and local authority *sgoiltean araich* (nurseries) in the district. In *Port Rìgh* and *An t-Ath Leathan* one sixth of all children was counted as being able to understand spoken Gàidhlig. In *Slèite* the share was substantially higher with around 45 % of all children.
- Primary school children: At the time of the census three local primary schools had Gàidhlig-medium units: *Port Rìgh* (141 pupils), *An t-Ath Leathan* (32) and *Slèite* (23). In *Port Rìgh & An Srath* there were in total 173 GME children in the 2000-2001 school year (out of 448 children). This means a share of 38.6 %. The *Port Rìgh* census figures of 114 (albeit 50 % of the local pupils) are considerably lower. This points to the fact that a substantial number of pupils originated from the catchments of *MacDiarmaid* primary school in southern *Trondairnis*. Nevertheless, second language teaching did not seem to have a substantial effect in all schools and on *Ratharsair Gàidhlig* was obviously not a school subject at all.

In *Slèite* the picture was quite similar. The local primary school had 23 GME children on its role in the 2000/2001 school year (out of 62 children). This meant 37.1 % received bilingual education. Some of the other children obtained some flavour of the language through second language teaching but overall, a figure of 52.5 % is not totally satisfactory in a community where Gàidhlig has such a strong presence.

- Secondary school children: Portree High School served as secondary school for almost all island children. Gàidhlig was taught to all pupils either as “fluent speakers” or as “learners”. In addition, some pupils were taught a limited number of subjects through the medium of Gàidhlig. There were accordingly a high number of pupils enumerated with a certain knowledge of the language. The areas with the strongest Gàidhlig-medium background in primary education fare best in this respect.
- Parents: The educational progress in this area means that Gàidhlig-speaking is now more common among school children than among their parents. Nonetheless there were quite a number of families where Gàidhlig had still/again a place in conversation.

In essence the presence of the language in education was more obvious in the south-eastern part of the island. However, there remains a certain space for growth especially in the pre-school and primary sectors.



### 3 Future Perspectives: 2011 and beyond

The basis for future growth in this part of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* is rather strong. The language viability indicator (LVI<sup>20</sup>) points to successful intergenerational language-maintenance (table 13).

Area	Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Port Rìgh (Portree)	179	42.8%	1078	39.8%	+ 3.0 %	53.9 %
An Srath (Strath)	98	35.1%	514	28.4%	+ 6.7 %	43.6 %
Slèite (Sleat)	83	70.3%	406	45.7%	+ 24.6 %	67.7 %
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

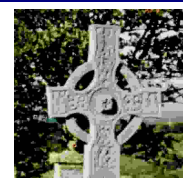
**Table 13: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in Port Rìgh (Portree), An Srath (Strath) and Slèite (Sleat) in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011**

Locally the LVI varied considerably from place to place in 2011. The intergenerational viability (table 7) was especially healthy in *Slèite*. The knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups was remarkable and the strength of percentages corresponded quite good with the strength of Gàidhlig medium uptake in the three GMU in the area during this time.

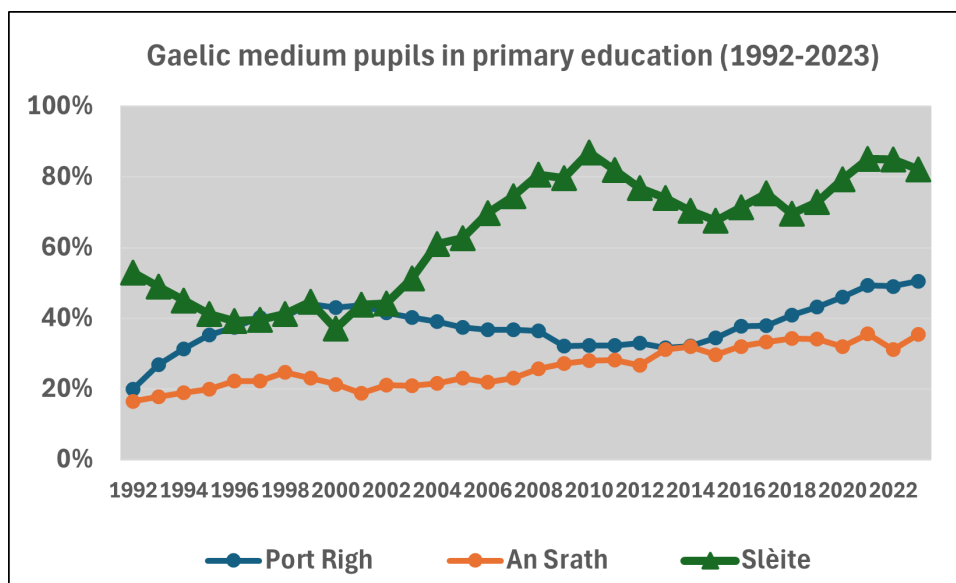
Future educational progress: The overall temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 14 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 163 pupils attended the standalone Gàidhlig school in *Port Rìgh*, 37 pupils in the GMU in *An t-Ath Leathan* (52.1 %), and 44 pupils (78.6 %) were recorded in the *Slèite* GMU. The numbers of nursery children stood at 58, 6 and 16 children respectively.

**In conclusion:** Foundations are laid for a successful regeneration of Gàidhlig in the south-eastern parts of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach*. However, there is still much room for improvement especially in the pre-school sector and in more remote locations like *Ratharsair* where Gàidhlig has experienced a dramatic decline recently.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

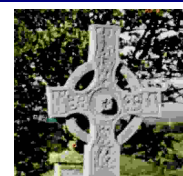






**Fig. 14: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *Port Rìgh*, *An Srath* and *Slèite* (September 1992 – September 2023)<sup>21</sup>**

<sup>21</sup> Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



## I. Supplementary Tables

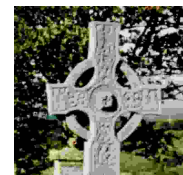
Census	<i>Civil Parish</i>		
	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	<i>An Srath</i> (Strath)	<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat)
1881	2,859	2,523	2,006
1891	2,795	2,172	1,658
1901	2,430	1,963	1,521
1911	2,078	1,729	1,256
1921	1,766	1,548	993
1931	1,619	1,321	739
1951	1,181	1,032	500
1961	1,111	790	405
1971	1,015	660	305
1981	965	657	323
1991	1,090	608	311
2001	995	487	339
2011	866	397	344

**Table 14: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the three civil parishes in according to census data from 1881 to 2011**

Census	<i>Civil Parish</i>		
	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	<i>An Srath</i> (Strath)	<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat)
1881 <sup>22</sup>	89.9 %	96.4 %	97.4 %
1891	88.0 %	90.5 %	90.0 %
1901	87.4 %	91.2 %	91.4 %
1911	85.5 %	88.3 %	91.5 %
1921	83.3 %	87.1 %	89.9 %
1931	80.7 %	83.2 %	93.3 %
1951	66.9 %	74.3 %	80.6 %
1961	54.9 %	66.4 %	77.3 %
1971	54.4 %	52.8 %	67.8 %
1981	48.3 %	47.3 %	58.8 %
1991	41.1 %	36.1 %	44.6 %
2001	36.3 %	28.1 %	42.6 %
2011	30.3 %	21.9 %	38.7 %

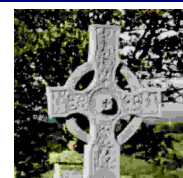
**Table 15: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population for the three civil parishes according to census data from 1881 to 2011**

<sup>22</sup> The 1881 census question was concerned with „habitually“ speaking Gaelic.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>Port Rìgh, An Srath &amp; Slèite</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
<b>1881 (Speaking „habitually” Gaelic)</b>	<b>7,675</b>	<b>7,223</b>	
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	2,999	2,700	
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	2,060	2,000	
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	2,616	2,523	
----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ---			
<i>Eilean Fhlodaigh</i> (Flodda)	54	54	
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	478	407	
<i>Rònaigh</i> (Rona)	14	7	
<i>Eilean Iarmain</i> (Isle Ornsay)	47	38	
<i>Pabaigh</i> (Pabay) / <i>Scalpaigh</i> (Scalpay)	10 / 37	10 / 37	
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) Vi	893	722	
----- Registration districts (different from the above) ---			
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	2,483	2,232	
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	708	627	
<b>1891</b>	<b>7,420</b>	<b>4,723</b>	<b>1,902</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	3,176	1,997	798
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	1,852	1,201	465
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	2,392	1,525	639
----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ---			
<i>Eilean Fhlodaigh</i> (Flodda)	51	30	21
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	438	292	102
<i>Rònaigh</i> (Rona)	181	118	54
<i>Eilean Iarmain</i> (Isle Ornsay)	66	28	1
<i>Pabaigh</i> (Pabay) / <i>Scalpaigh</i> (Scalpay)	7 / 49	6 / 31	1 / 10
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) Vi	1,003	722	42
----- Registration districts (different from the above) ---			
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	2,506	1,557	621
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	570	448	177
<b>1901</b>	<b>6,598</b>	<b>4,877</b>	<b>1,037</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	2,781	2,089	341
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	1,665	1,197	324
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	2,152	1,591	372
----- Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ---			
<i>Eilean Fhlodaigh</i> (Flodda)	49	36	10
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	419	330	49
<i>Rònaigh</i> (Rona)	161	112	39
<i>Eilean Iarmain</i> (Isle Ornsay)	5	1	-
<i>Pabaigh</i> (Pabay) / <i>Scalpaigh</i> (Scalpay)	7 / 35	7 / 21	- / 8
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) Vi	872	667	36
----- Registration districts (different from the above) ---			
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	2,152	1,611	213
<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	629	478	98
----- Electoral areas (different from the above) ---			
<i>Port Rìgh an Ear</i> (Portree East)	1,472	1,105	245
<i>Port Rìgh an Iar</i> (Portree West)	1,292	976	96

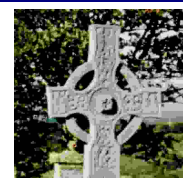
**Table 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, census registration districts, electoral areas, villages or inhabited islands)**



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>Port Rìgh, An Srath &amp; Slèite</i></b>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1911</b>	<b>5,763</b>	<b>4,405</b>	<b>658</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	2,431	1,818	260
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	1,373	1,107	149
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	1,959	1,480	249
<b>1921</b>	<b>5,002</b>	<b>3,940</b>	<b>367</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	2,120	1,665	101
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	1,104	899	94
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	1,778	1,376	172
<b>1931</b>	<b>4,386</b>	<b>3,486</b>	<b>193</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	2,007	1,537	82
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	792	697	42
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	1,587	1,252	69
<b>1951</b>	<b>3,775</b>	<b>2,687</b>	<b>26</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	1,766	1,167	14
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	620	496	4
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	1,389	1,024	8
<b>1961</b>	<b>3,760</b>	<b>2,296</b>	<b>8</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	2,025	1,108	1
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	1,189	785	5
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	524	403	2
----- County council electoral divisions (different from the above) ---			
<i>Port Rìgh an Iar</i> (Portree West) CCED	1,486	741	-
<i>Port Rìgh an Ear</i> (Portree East) CCED	539	367	1
<b>1971<sup>23</sup></b>	<b>3,571</b>	<b>1,970</b>	<b>~10</b>
<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) CP	1,865	1,015	*
<i>An Srath</i> (Strath) CP	1,250	655	~5
<i>Slèite</i> (Sleat) CP	450	300	~5
----- County council electoral divisions (different from the above) ---			
<i>Port Rìgh an Iar</i> (Portree West) CCED	1,500	750	*
<i>Port Rìgh an Ear</i> (Portree East) CCED	360	265	*

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

<sup>23</sup> Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971. The overall figures should read “between 1,964 and 1,976 Gaelic and English” and “between 4 and 16 Gaelic only” respectively.



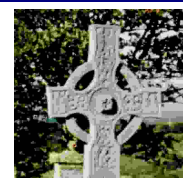
Percentage of population speaking Gàidhlig but no English in island parishes of former Inverness-shire <sup>24</sup>					
Age group	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
3-4	78.6 %	76.2 %	78.9 %	69.2 %	73.9 %
5-9	52.2 %	46.6 %	39.2 %	22.9 %	21.6 %
10-14	21.6 %	13.8 %	4.8 %	1.8 %	1.1 %
15-19	25.2 %	9.5 %	2.3 %	0.7 %	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 census data from 1891 to 1931

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness-shire) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Port Rìgh an Iar (Portree West)	PW	741 52.0 %	750 52.4 %	741 47.9 %	853 41.9 %	805 38.0 %
Port Rìgh an Ear (Portree East)	PE	370 71.6 %	265 75.7 %	224 59.4 %	237 47.4 %	190 35.3 %
An Srath (Strath)	ST	790 69.3 %	660 55.2 %	657 49.2 %	608 37.6 %	487 29.0 %
An Slèite (Sleat)	SL	405 79.1 %	305 70.1 %	323 62.0 %	311 46.6 %	339 43.8 %

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 census data from 1961 to 2001

<sup>24</sup> Islands of Barraigh (Barra), Uibhist (Uist), Na Hearadh (Harris), An t-Eilean Sgitheanach (Skye) and Na h-Eileanan Tar-suin (Small Isles).



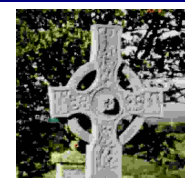
Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Port Rìgh &amp; An Srath</i> <sup>25</sup>						
Map No	Census output area <sup>26</sup>	Age groups				Born in Scotland <sup>27</sup>
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01 + 02	<i>Torabhaig &amp; Achadh a'Choirce</i> (Toravaig & Achachork)	16 29.6%	26 <b>52.0%</b>	17 47.2%	13 <b>61.9%</b>	69 <b>51.1%</b>
03 - 07	<i>Port Rìgh 1</i> (Portree)	43 27.4%	65 <b>53.3%</b>	31 <b>70.5%</b>	44 <b>86.3%</b>	180 <b>50.0%</b>
08 - 10	<i>Port Rìgh 2</i> (Portree)	30 33.0%	18 40.0%	32 <b>53.3%</b>	33 <b>70.2%</b>	109 48.7%
11 + 12	<i>Port Rìgh 3</i> (Portree)	20 23.0%	40 <b>54.1%</b>	34 <b>55.7%</b>	48 <b>80.0%</b>	140 <b>53.0%</b>
13 - 21	<i>Port Rìgh 4</i> (Portree)	46 30.1%	44 44.9%	76 <b>62.8%</b>	69 <b>74.2%</b>	229 <b>52.2%</b>
22 + 23	<i>Camas Tianabhaig</i> (Camustianavaig)	17 40.5%	11 36.7%	30 <b>58.8%</b>	30 <b>66.7%</b>	88 <b>64.2%</b>
24	<i>Sgonnsar</i> (Sconser)	10 <b>66.7%</b>	9 42.9%	7 46.7%	7 <b>87.5%</b>	33 <b>78.6%</b>
25 + 26	<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay)	19 46.3%	17 <b>70.8%</b>	28 <b>66.7%</b>	33 <b>76.7%</b>	96 <b>75.0%</b>
27	<i>Dùnan &amp; Lùib</i> (Dunan & Luib) M06+07	13 <b>59.1%</b>	7 41.2%	15 <b>60.0%</b>	23 <b>85.2%</b>	59 <b>77.6%</b>
28	<i>Ealaghol &amp; Glas na Cille</i> (Elgol & Glasnakille)	23 <b>57.5%</b>	12 <b>75.0%</b>	24 <b>80.0%</b>	18 <b>100%</b>	75 <b>78.9%</b>
29	<i>Na Tòrran</i> (Torrin)	13 <b>50.0%</b>	8 36.4%	10 <b>62.5%</b>	8 <b>72.7%</b>	37 <b>74.0%</b>
	<i>Heasta</i> (Heaste)	3 37.5%	4 <b>57.1%</b>	9 <b>100%</b>	3 <b>50.0%</b>	17 <b>70.8%</b>
30	<i>Harrapul</i> (Harrapoll)	9 31.0%	13 38.2%	5 41.7%	18 <b>72.0%</b>	45 <b>54.9%</b>
31 - 34	<i>An t-Ath Leathann</i> (Broadford)	28 23.9%	25 41.7%	29 48.3%	28 <b>66.7%</b>	107 49.3%
35 - 37	<i>Breacais &amp; Achadh a'Chùirn</i> (Breakish & Waterloo)	18 31.0%	25 41.7%	22 <b>51.2%</b>	46 <b>76.7%</b>	105 <b>60.0%</b>
38	<i>Sgulamus</i> (Skulamus)	9 <b>64.3%</b>	12 <b>63.2%</b>	14 <b>100%</b>	14 <b>82.4%</b>	46 <b>76.7%</b>
39 - 41	<i>Caol Acaìn</i> (Kyleakin)	39 27.7%	39 44.3%	41 <b>55.4%</b>	27 <b>55.1%</b>	144 45.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b><i>Port Rìgh &amp; An Srath</i></b> <b>(Portree &amp; Strath)</b>	357 32.4%	373 37.0%	431 <b>60.0%</b>	483 <b>76.3%</b>	1,596 <b>56.0%</b>

**Table 20: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Port Rìgh & An Srath* (Portree & Strath) according to age group and birthplace in 1981**

<sup>25</sup> Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

<sup>26</sup> A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

<sup>27</sup> Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.





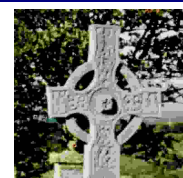
Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Slèite</i> <sup>28</sup>						
Map No	Census output area <sup>29</sup>	Age groups				Born in Scotland <sup>30</sup>
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
51	<i>Druim Fheàrna</i> (Drumfearn)	13 65.0%	13 59.1%	11 100%	17 77.3%	49 84.5%
52	<i>Eilean Iarmain &amp; Camas Chros</i> (Isleornsay & Camuscross)	12 75.0%	11 57.9%	11 73.3%	14 77.8%	50 86.2%
53 + 54	<i>An Teanga, Ostaig &amp; Sàsaig</i> (Teangue, Ostaig & Saasaig)	12 60.0%	19 50.0%	18 60.0%	21 67.7%	70 72.2%
55	<i>Tarscabhaig &amp; Achadh na Cloiche</i> (Tarskavaig & Achnacloich)	11 73.3%	11 64.7%	13 100%	15 88.2%	51 83.6%
56	<i>An Àird Shlèite</i> (Aird of Sleat)	11 68.8%	4 36.4%	5 45.5%	8 100%	26 72.2%
57	<i>Aird a'Bhàsair &amp; Armadal</i> (Ardivasar & Armadale)	10 31.3%	17 43.6%	5 33.3%	29 72.5%	62 64.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b><i>Slèite</i> (Sleat)</b>	75 57.3%	83 55.3%	62 62.0%	121 86.4%	322 75.8%

Table 21: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Slèite* (Sleat) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

<sup>28</sup> Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

<sup>29</sup> A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

<sup>30</sup> Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.

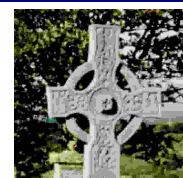


Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>31</sup> <i>Port Rìgh</i>							
Map No	Census output area <sup>32</sup>	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Torabhaig</i> (Torvaig)	76	47.2 %	54	54.6 %	31	29.8 %
02	<i>Achadh a'Choirce</i> (Achachork)			24	38.7 %	54	32.3 %
03	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 1a	183	49.2 %	40	36.1 %	24	31.6 %
04	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 1b			50	38.0 %	41	31.1 %
05	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 1c			35	41.0 %	52	43.3 %
06	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 1d			34	50.0 %	28	48.3 %
07	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 1e			49	46.2 %	61	49.2 %
08	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 2a	106	43.7 %	78	37.2 %	35	44.3 %
09	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 2c					36	33.3 %
10	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 2b			21	19.4 %	33	23.2 %
11	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 3a	142	50.7 %	66	48.5 %	40	31.8 %
12	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 3b			34	42.5 %	30	38.5 %
13	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4a	234	50.5 %	48	40.9 %	35	48.0 %
14	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4b			76	41.7 %	61	45.2 %
15	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4c			36	41.7 %	22	32.4 %
16	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4d			60	32.8 %	39	29.8 %
17	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4g					64	45.7 %
18	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4h					23	36.5 %
19	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4i					21	36.8 %
20	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4e			90	54.6 %	43	45.7 %
21	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree) 4f			56	42.3 %	35	31.0 %
22	<i>Camas Tianabhaig</i> (Camustianavaig)	87	52.4 %	40	31.5 %	37	26.6 %
23	<i>Peighinn a'Chorran</i> (Peinchorran)			75	57.8 %	50	40.0 %
24	<i>Sgonnsar</i> (Sconser)	36	61.0 %	27	31.4 %	34	33.3 %
25	<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay): <i>Inbhir Arais</i> (Inverarish)	101	68.0 %	51	76.9 %	32	46.4 %
26	<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay): <i>Clachan</i>			44	44.3 %	38	30.4 %

**Table 22: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Port Rìgh* (Portree) civil parish according to data from 1981 to 2001**

<sup>31</sup> Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

<sup>32</sup> 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.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>33</sup> <i>An Srath</i>							
Map No	Census output area <sup>34</sup>	1981		1991		2001	
27	<i>Dùnan</i> (Dunan)	58	64.8 %	46	39.5 %	29	23.2 %
28	<i>Ealaghol</i> (Elgol)	72	70.2 %	53	57.4 %	38	38.0 %
29	<i>Na Torran</i> (Torrin)	40	53.3 %	56	54.8 %	53	32.1 %
	<i>Heasta</i> (Heaste)	19	63.3 %				
30	<i>Harrapul</i> (Harrapoll)	46	46.0 %	51	36.1 %	42	22.6 %
31	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford) a	112	42.8 %	28	24.8 %	27	33.8 %
32	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford) b			59	38.2 %	20	20.4 %
33	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford) d			56	44.2 %	36	28.6 %
34	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford) c					36	33.3 %
35	<i>Achadh a'Chùirn</i> (Waterloo)	111	50.7 %	67	39.1 %	15	28.3 %
36	<i>Breacais Iarach</i> (Lower Breakish)			41	45.2 %	48	32.0 %
37	<i>Breacais Uarach</i> (Upper Breakish)					35	30.2 %
38	<i>Sgulumus</i> (Skulumus)	50	79.7 %	33	45.2 %	28	45.2 %
39	<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin) a	149	42.6 %	37	27.9 %	26	25.9 %
40	<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin) b			32	28.4 %	23	19.0 %
41	<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin) c			49	32.7 %	34	23.9 %

**Table 23: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *An Srath* (Strath) civil parish according to data from 1981 to 2001**

<i>Port Rìgh &amp; An Srath: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>							
Age group	1971 <sup>35</sup>		1981		1991		2001
<b>0-2<sup>36</sup></b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7 5.1 %
<b>3-4</b>	15 (+2)	20.0 %	8	9.4 %	21	21.2 %	17 18.5 %
<b>5-24</b>	300 (+1)	34.8 %	332	32.9 %	346	30.1 %	406 38.9 %
<b>25-44</b>	350	55.1 %	376	47.0 %	413	32.5 %	283 23.7 %
<b>45-64</b>	535	68.2 %	423	59.3 %	420	48.2 %	364 29.8 %
<b>65 +</b>	470 (+2)	78.7 %	483	76.8 %	498	64.8 %	412 52.1 %
<b>Total (3 +)</b>	1,670 (+5)	56.3 %	1,622	50.1 %	1,698	41.1 %	1,482 34.1 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	1,580	55.4 %	1,631	47.2 %	1,411 39.9 %

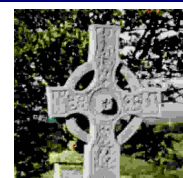
**Table 24: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Port Rìgh & An Srath* (Portree & Strath) between 1971 and 2001**

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

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> Information only available since 2001.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>37</sup> <i>Slèite</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>An Druim Fhearna</i> (Drumfearn)	43	57.3 %	48	50.0 %	48	49.5 %
52	<i>Camas Chros</i> (Camuscross)	51	75.0 %	54	58.2 %	43	34.4 %
53	<i>An Teanga</i> (Teangue)	71	58.8 %	73	46.5 %	62	48.8 %
54	<i>Ostaig</i> (Ostaig)					81	55.9 %
55	<i>Tarscabhaig</i> (Tarskavaig)	54	85.7 %	53	56.5 %	37	54.4 %
	<i>Tocabhaig</i> (Tokavaig)	16	84.2 %			29	34.9 %
56	<i>An Aird Shlèite</i> (Aird of Sleat)	28	60.9 %	27	32.9 %		
57	<i>Aird a' Bhàsair</i> (Ardvasar)	60	47.6 %	56	35.5 %	43	28.7 %

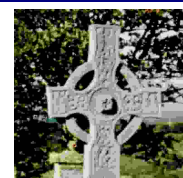
Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Slèite* (Sleat) between 1981 and 2001

<i>Slèite: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 <sup>38</sup>		1981		1991		2001	
<b>0-2</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	19.0 %
<b>3-4</b>	5 (+2)	70.0 %	4	26.7 %	9	50.0 %	8	53.4 %
<b>5-24</b>	45 (+1)	57.5 %	65	56.0 %	79	45.4 %	108	61.7 %
<b>25-44</b>	40	57.1 %	82	54.7 %	83	42.1 %	73	34.5 %
<b>45-64</b>	100	74.1 %	61	61.0 %	57	39.2 %	83	35.5 %
<b>65 +</b>	115 (+2)	83.6 %	111	77.9 %	83	59.0 %	67	48.4 %
<b>Total (3 years and over)</b>	300 (+5)	70.1 %	323	62.0 %	311	46.6 %	339	43.8 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	313	73.6 %	300	59.3 %	292	51.8 %

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Slèite* (Sleat) according to data from 1971 to 2001

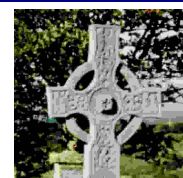
<sup>37</sup> Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

<sup>38</sup> 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.



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)
03	Port Rìgh 1a (Portree) 1a	13	35.1 %	30	39.5 %	- 4.4 %	41.4 %
04	Port Rìgh 1b (Portree) 1b	22	42.3 %	51	38.6 %	+ 3.7 %	41.0 %
05	Port Rìgh 1c (Portree) 1c	17	46.0 %	66	55.0 %	- 9.0 %	55.8 %
06	Port Rìgh 1d (Portree) 1d	11	61.1 %	34	58.6 %	+ 2.5 %	60.7 %
07	Port Rìgh 1e (Portree) 1e	41	60.3 %	67	54.0 %	+ 6.3 %	58.9 %
08	Port Rìgh 2a (Portree) 2a	11	64.7 %	41	51.9 %	+ 12.8 %	61.9 %
09	Port Rìgh 2c (Portree) 2c	9	42.9 %	51	47.2 %	- 4.3 %	52.7 %
10	Port Rìgh 2b (Portree) 2b	13	29.6 %	49	34.5 %	- 4.9 %	37.8 %
11	Port Rìgh 3a (Portree) 3a	9	31.0 %	56	44.4 %	- 13.4 %	47.4 %
12	Port Rìgh 3b (Portree) 3b	6	35.3 %	36	46.2 %	- 10.9 %	55.6 %
13	Port Rìgh 4a (Portree) 4a	17	70.8 %	47	64.4 %	+ 6.4 %	70.3 %
14	Port Rìgh 4b (Portree) 4b	19	61.3 %	83	61.5 %	- 0.2 %	65.0 %
15	Port Rìgh 4c (Portree) 4c	8	34.6 %	30	44.1 %	- 9.3 %	46.2 %
16	Port Rìgh 4d (Portree) 4d	28	46.7 %	58	44.3 %	+ 2.4 %	49.1 %
17	Port Rìgh 4g (Portree) 4g	13	48.2 %	84	60.0 %	- 11.8 %	64.0 %
18	Port Rìgh 4h (Portree) 4h	7	46.7 %	31	49.2 %	- 2.5 %	53.5 %
19	Port Rìgh 4i (Portree) 4i	11	81.8 %	32	56.1 %	+ 25.7 %	58.0 %
20	Port Rìgh 4e (Portree) 4e	9	47.4 %	55	58.5 %	- 11.1 %	63.1 %
21	Port Rìgh 4f (Portree) 4f	21	50.0 %	50	44.3 %	+ 5.7 %	50.0 %

**Table 27: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in the town of Port Rìgh (Portree) according to census data of 2001**

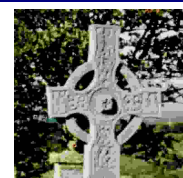


Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	<i>Torabhaig</i> (Torvaig)	14	38.9 %	37	35.6 %	+ 3.3 %	42.0 %
02	<i>Achadh a'Choirce</i> (Achachork)	18	37.5 %	73	43.7 %	- 6.2 %	47.6 %
22	<i>Camas Tianabhaig</i> (Camustianavaig)	21	52.5 %	54	38.9 %	+ 13.6 %	48.9 %
23	<i>Peighinn a'Chorrain</i> (Peinchorran)	29	80.6 %	72	57.6 %	+ 23.0 %	71.7 %
24	<i>Sgonnsar</i> (Sconser)	20	62.5 %	40	39.2 %	+ 23.3 %	52.6 %
25	<i>Ratharsair: Inbhir Arais</i> (Inverarish)	2	13.3 %	39	56.5 %	- 43.2 %	63.6 %
26	<i>Ratharsair: Clachan</i>	2	7.4 %	44	35.2 %	- 27.8 %	41.0 %

**Table 28: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in rural parts of Port Rìgh (Portree) according to census data of 2001**

Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>An Druim Fheàrna</i> (Drumfearn)	21	76.2 %	55	56.7 %	+ 19.5 %	64.6 %
52	<i>Camas Chros</i> (Camuscross)	14	41.2 %	57	45.6 %	- 4.4 %	56.0 %
53	<i>An Teanga</i> (Teangue)	24	72.7 %	73	57.5 %	+ 15.2 %	69.7 %
54	<i>Ostaig</i> (Ostaig)	49	77.8 %	87	60.0 %	+ 17.8 %	68.8 %
55	<i>Tarscabhaig</i> (Tarskavaig)	9	69.2 %	43	63.2 %	+ 6.0 %	62.7 %
56	<i>An Aird Shlèite</i> (Aird of Sleat)	7	43.8 %	36	43.4 %	+ 0.4 %	63.5 %
57	<i>Aird a' Bhàsair</i> (Ardvasar)	15	48.4 %	52	34.7 %	+ 13.7 %	33.6 %

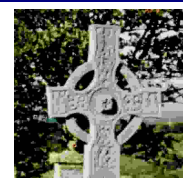
**Table 29: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Slèite (Sleat) according to census data of 2001**





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)
27	Dùnàn (Dunan)	6	24.0 %	36	28.8 %	- 4.8 %	42.4 %
28	Ealaghol (Elgol)	8	29.6 %	51	51.0 %	- 21.4 %	52.9 %
29	Na Torran (Torrin)	17	41.5 %	72	43.6 %	- 2.1 %	59.6 %
30	Harrapul (Harrapoll)	21	35.0 %	61	32.8 %	+ 2.2 %	36.6 %
31	An t-Ath Leathan a (Broadford) a	-	-	32	40.0 %	- 40.0 %	49.1 %
32	An t-Ath Leathan b (Broadford) b	5	12.8 %	31	31.6 %	- 18.8 %	35.2 %
33	An t-Ath Leathan d (Broadford) d	4	14.3 %	44	34.9 %	- 20.6 %	42.4 %
34	An t-Ath Leathan c (Broadford) c	8	25.0 %	41	38.0 %	- 13.0 %	41.1 %
35	Achadh a'Chùirn (Waterloo)	6	50.0 %	18	34.0 %	+ 16.0 %	43.6 %
36	Breacais Iarach (Lower Breakish)	21	50.0 %	60	40.0 %	+ 10.0 %	51.9 %
37	Breacais Uarach (Upper Breakish)	16	51.6 %	48	41.4 %	+ 10.2 %	47.7 %
38	Sgulus (Skulus)	2	40.0 %	34	54.8 %	- 14.8 %	71.8 %
39	Caol Àcain a (Kyleakin) a	6	23.1 %	36	35.3 %	- 12.2 %	37.2 %
40	Caol Àcain b (Kyleakin) b	9	26.5 %	36	29.8 %	- 3.3 %	34.8 %
41	Caol Àcain c (Kyleakin) c	14	32.6 %	48	33.8 %	- 1.2 %	39.0 %

**Table 30: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in An Srath (Strath) according to census data of 2001**



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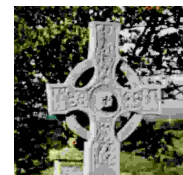
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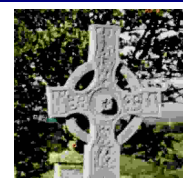
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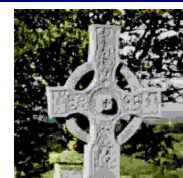
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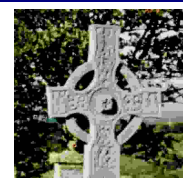
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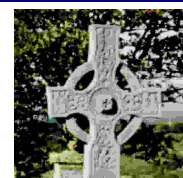
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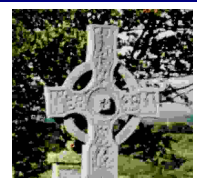
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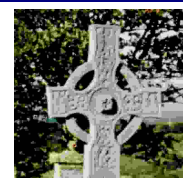
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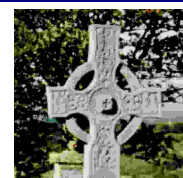
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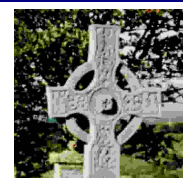
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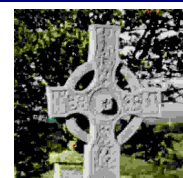
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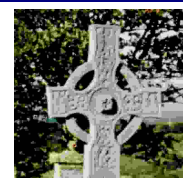
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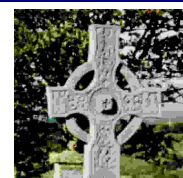




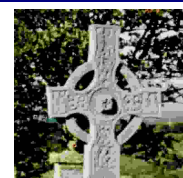
### III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig*-speaking people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland, 1912): „*When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.*” Due to the ever increasing presence of English in the *Gàidhlig* community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 in order to be counted at all. This may explain the small decrease of speakers in the age group of 3 to 4 despite the strong efforts by the *cròileagan* movement in the preceding decade.
9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated *Gàidhlig*-speaking population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.
10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall “uncertainties” of +/- 1 in general.
11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.
12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk>.

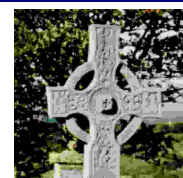


## IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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

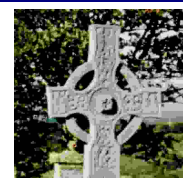
Census Output Areas in <i>Port Rìgh</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		61-71	1981-91	2001
01	<i>Torabhaig</i> (Torvaig), <i>Cnoc a' Crochaire</i> , <i>Na Sluganan</i> (Sluggans), <i>Geirsiadar</i> (Gershader)	PW	26AN09A	60QT000305
02	<i>Achadh a'Choirce</i> (Achachork), <i>An Stòr</i> (Storr), <i>An Leth Allt</i> (Lealt), <i>Grèalainn</i> (Grealin)	PW	26AN09B	60QT000306
03	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN02A	60QT000795
04	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN02B	60QT000796
05	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN02C	60QT000797
06	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN02D	60QT000798
07	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN02E	60QT001244
08	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN03A	60QT001630
09	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN03A	60QT001631
10	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN03B	60QT000799
11	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN04A	60QT000800
12	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN04B	60QT000801
13	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05A	60QT000802
14	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05B	60QT000803
15	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05C	60QT000804
16	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05D	60QT001632
17	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05D	60QT001633
18	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05D	60QT001634
19	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05D	60QT001635
20	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05E	60QT000805
21	<i>Port Rìgh</i> (Portree)	PW	26AN05F	60QT000806
22	<i>Camas Tianabhaig</i> (Camustianavaig), <i>Achadh an Fhraoich</i> (Heatherfield), <i>An Còmhnardan</i> (Conordan), <i>Peighinn Mòr</i> (Peinmore), <i>Peighinn nam Fìdhleir</i> (Penifiler), <i>An t-Òlach Shìos</i> (Lower Ollach)	PE	26AN08A	60QT000303
23	<i>Peighinn a'Chorran</i> (Peinchorran), <i>An t-Òlach Shuas</i> (Upper Ollach), <i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Balmeanach), <i>Gead an t-Saileir</i> (Gedintailor)	PE	26AN08B	60QT000304
24	<i>Sgonnsar</i> (Sconser)	PE	26AL01	60QT000296
25	<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay): <i>Inbhir Arais</i> (Inverarish)	PE	26AC01A	60QT000276
26	<i>Ratharsair</i> (Raasay): <i>Clachan</i> , <i>Suidhisnis</i> (Suishnish), <i>Inbhir Arais</i> (Inverarish), <i>Òsgaig</i> (Oskaig), <i>Baile a'Chùirn</i> (Balachuirn), <i>Arnais</i> , <i>Eilean Rònaigh</i> (South Rona)	PE	26AC01B 26AC02 26AC03	60QT001344

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



Census Output Areas in <i>An Srath &amp; Slèite</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
27	<i>Dùnan, Lùib, Caolas Sgalpaigh, An Srath Àird</i> (Strathaird), <i>Eilean Sgalpaigh</i> (Isle of Scalpay)	ST	26AM06 26AM07	60QT001350
28	<i>Ealaghol</i> (Elgol), <i>Glas na Cille</i> (Glasnakille)	ST	26AM03	60QT000298
29	<i>Na Tòrran</i> (Torrin), <i>Heasta</i> (Heaste), <i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride), <i>Suardail</i>	ST	26AM04 26AE02	60QT001349
30	<i>Harrapul</i> (Harrapoll)	ST	26AM02	60QT000297
31	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford)	ST	26AM01A 26AM05	60QT001515
32	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford)	ST	26AM01B 26AM09	60QT001512
33	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford)	ST	26AM01B	60QT001513
34	<i>An t-Ath Leathan</i> (Broadford), <i>Pabaigh</i> (Isle of Pabay)	ST	26AM01C 26AM08	60QT001514
35	<i>Achadh a'Chùirn</i> (Waterloo)	ST	26AE03B	60QT001396
36	<i>Breacais Iarach</i> (Lower Breakish)	ST	26AE03B	60QT001395
37	<i>Breacais Uarach</i> (Upper Breakish), <i>Aiseag</i> (Ashaig)	ST	26AE03A	60QT000287
38	<i>Sgulumus</i> (Skulumus)	ST	26AE01	60QT000286
39	<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin)	ST	26AD01A 26AD03	60QT000284
40	<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin), <i>Eilean Bàn</i>	ST	26AD01B 26AD02	60QT001347
41	<i>Caol Àcain</i> (Kyleakin)	ST	26AD01C	60QT000285
51	<i>Druim Fheàrna</i> (Drumfearn), <i>Eilean Iarmain</i> (Isleornsay), <i>Ceann Locha</i> (Kinloch), <i>Dùisdeil Bheag</i> (Duisdalebeag), <i>Dùisdeil Mhòr</i> (Duisdalemore), <i>Caol Reatha</i> (Kylrhea)	SL	26AF02 26AF03 26AC16	60QT000288
52	<i>Camas Chros</i> (Camuscross)	SL	26AF04	60QT000289
53	<i>An Teanga</i> (Teangue), <i>Sàsaig</i> (Saasaig), <i>Torabhaig</i> (Toravaig), <i>Ràmasgaig</i>	SL	26AG01	60QT001510
54	<i>Ostaig, A'Chille Mhòr</i> (Kilmore), <i>Fearann Dòmhnail</i> (Ferindonald)	SL	26AG02	60QT001511
55	<i>Tarscabhaig</i> (Tarskavaig), <i>Achadh na Cloiche</i> (Achnacloich)	SL	26AJ01	60QT000292
56	<i>An Àird Shlèite</i> (Aird of Sleat), <i>Tocabhaig</i> (Tokavaig), <i>An Tòrr Mòr</i> (Tormore), <i>An t-Òrd</i> (Ord)	SL	26AH02 26AF01	60QT000290
57	<i>Àird a'Bhàsair</i> (Ardvasar), <i>Armadal</i> (Armadaile)	SL	26AH01	60QT000291

**Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *An Srath* (Strath) and *Slèite* (Sleat) – 1961-2001**



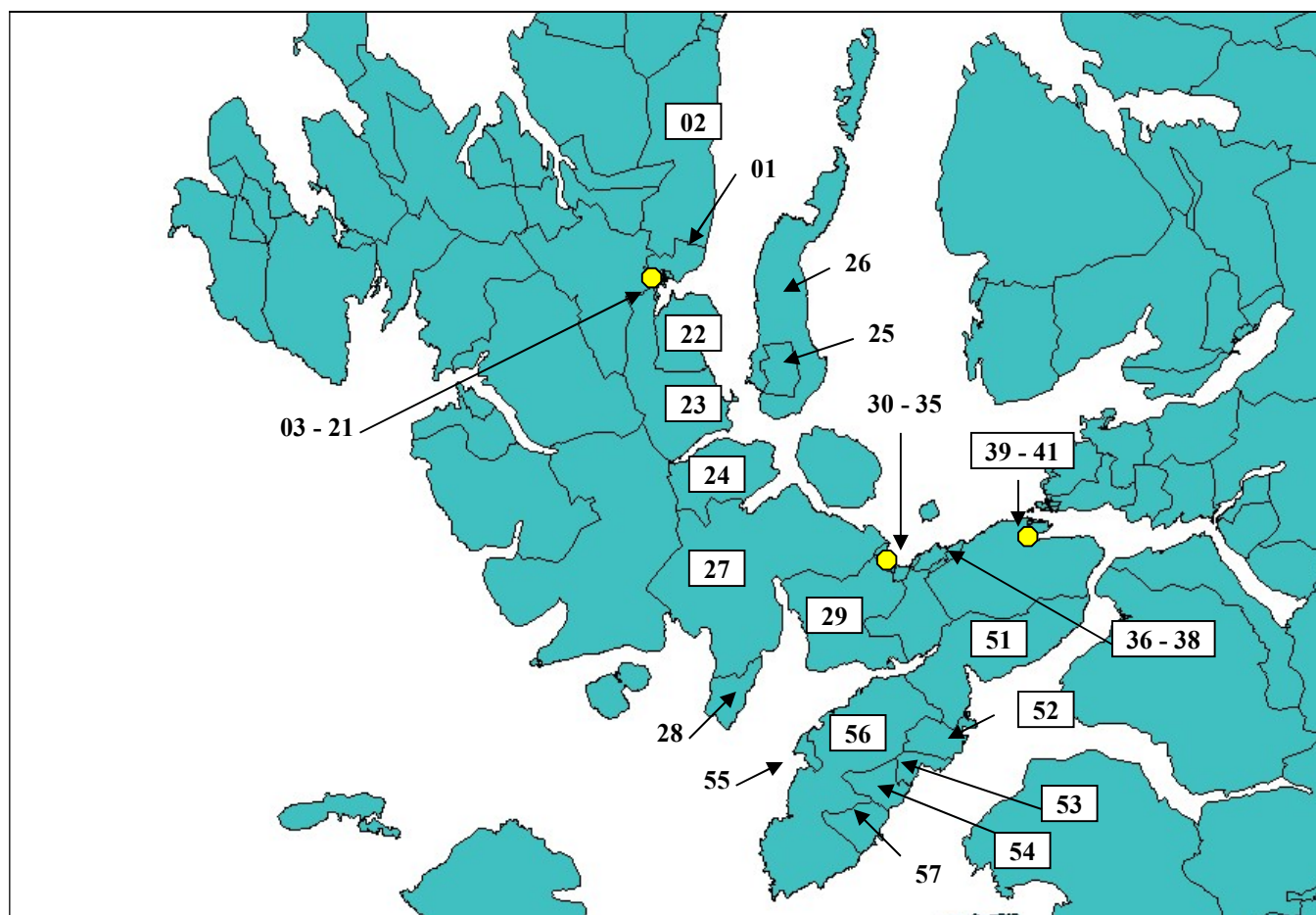
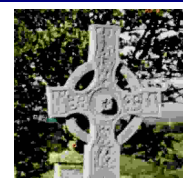


Fig. 15: Overview map of census output areas in *Port Rìgh & An Srath* and *Slèite* (numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 to A-2)<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.

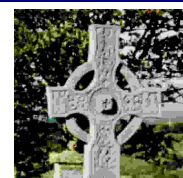




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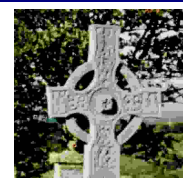




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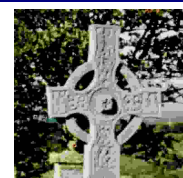
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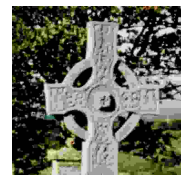
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## VII. List of Abbreviations

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

CCED	County council electoral division
CP	Civil parish
CNSA	<i>Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich</i> : Gaelic playgroup association
<i>Comhairle nan Eilean</i> (CNE) – later: <i>Comhairle nan Eilean Siar</i> (CNES)	Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)
<i>Cròileagan</i>	Gaelic speaking playgroup
Fèis	Local art festival with normally some Gaelic courses
GLPS	„Gaelic Language for the Primary School”: Course as introduction of Gaelic as second language
GME	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium education
GMU	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium unit: Class(es) with <i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium education but as part of an English medium school
GROS	General Register Office for Scotland
LVI	Language viability indicator
LCI	Language community indicator
<i>Mòd</i>	Gaelic language gathering (conversation, song and music) comparable to the Welsh Eisteddfod
n/a	Information is not available
OA	(Census) output area: the smallest enumeration unit on which census data are available
P1	Primary school year 1
P2	Primary school year 2
S1	Secondary school year 1
S2	Secondary school year 2
<i>Sgoil Araich</i>	Gaelic speaking nursery school
<i>Sràdagan</i>	Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children
<i>Vi</i>	Village according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901



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