

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 16: Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)

Author: Kurt C. Duwe

Extended² 2nd Edition

March 2024

Executive Summary

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

Islay and its less populated neighbours of Jura and Colonsay had once very strong Gaelic-speaking communities. But the good accessibility of the islands and a failing educational system led to severe decline in language use after the Second World War. Today Gaelic still suffers from decades of neglect and ignorance in the southernmost Hebrides. The basis for a consolidation of language use is rather limited and the language community has a strong bias towards the older generation. Educational provision is not on a comparable level with other islands in the Inner Hebrides. This in itself provides the main growth potential. Improvements could be accomplished through intensified Gaelic medium provision and dedicated second language teaching in local primary schools. Future positive impacts can be expected by the extension of activities around *Ionad Chaluim Chille* (St. Columba Centre) in Bowmore.

© 2024 Text Copyright Kurt C. Duwe. All rights reserved except private and non-commercial use. Any other use has to be cleared by the author at Jägerstr. 120a, 21079 Hamburg, Germany (duwe@linguae-celticae.de) and it may also fall under restrictions of the Crown Copyright of census data. Individual reports may be downloaded from the Linguae Celticae website: http://www.linguae-celticae.de/GLS_english.htm

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

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



Foreword to the First Edition

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

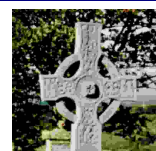
Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

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



Acknowledgements

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

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

Kurt C. Duwe

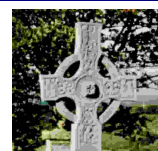


Table of Contents

<i>Executive Summary</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Foreword to the First Edition</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Foreword to the Second Edition</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Foreword to the Extended Second Edition</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>1 Introduction</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>2 The Historical Background</i>	<i>7</i>
2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)	7
2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)	14
2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011	18
<i>3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus</i>	<i>20</i>
3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001	20
3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments	22
<i>4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>I. Supplementary Tables</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>II. Literature and Data Sources</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames</i>	<i>50</i>
<i>V. List of Tables</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>VI. List of Figures</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>VII. List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>Index of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies</i>	<i>57</i>



1 Introduction

The investigations described are concerned with the state and development of *Gàidhlig* in the southern Inner Hebrides. *Ile* (Islay) and its neighbours *Diùra* (Jura) and *Colbhasa* (Colonsay) were overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig*-speaking until after the Second World War and a considerable number of islanders still cherish their language and traditions. However, these islands tended always to be easily overseen when the *Gàidhlig* tradition of the Hebrides was concerned – unjustifiable so. The connections with nearby Ireland have always had an economic and a cultural side the latter being emphasised recently by the St. Columba initiative with its centre in *Bogha Mòr* (Bowmore).

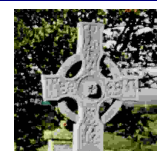
The islands are hilly in places, more or less wind-swept with open moorland and only a few stretches of good grazing land. Nonetheless agriculture and whisky distilling provide major income for the islanders who very often have several occupations to make ends meet. Crofting schemes are still operating in some communities enabling some local people to stay on their island. In contrast to other islands in the Inner Hebrides the vast majority of the inhabitants of *Ile* is born in Scotland and born and bred *Ileachs* make up still a considerable part of the population. *Diùra* on the other hand despite its size has never had a large population and may be described as a giant deer forest. *Colbhasa* is the most socially and economically vulnerable community of them all with sometimes difficult ferry connections and associated economic remoteness.

Administratively all the islands belonged to the County of Argyll until local government reorganisation in 1975 when this county was amalgamated with the huge Strathclyde Region with its capital Glasgow. In the 1990s decentralisation turned the clock back a little bit and the Argyll & Bute local authority was established. Educational policy changed hands (and directions) quite frequently on the islands in question.

Ile is by far the most populous island. Its 3,200 inhabitants occupy an area of 102,600 hectares. Almost 1,600 of these live in the two island towns of *Port Ilein* (Port Ellen) and *Bogha Mór* (Bowmore). The remaining islanders live in small townships often renowned for their special whisky distillery. The neighbouring islands are far less populated with *Diùra* (Jura) and *Colbhasa* (Colonsay) reporting 196 and 132 inhabitants respectively in 2011.

With this background in mind the following short chapters will look into the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area from the end of the 19th century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail. 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 interest³.

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



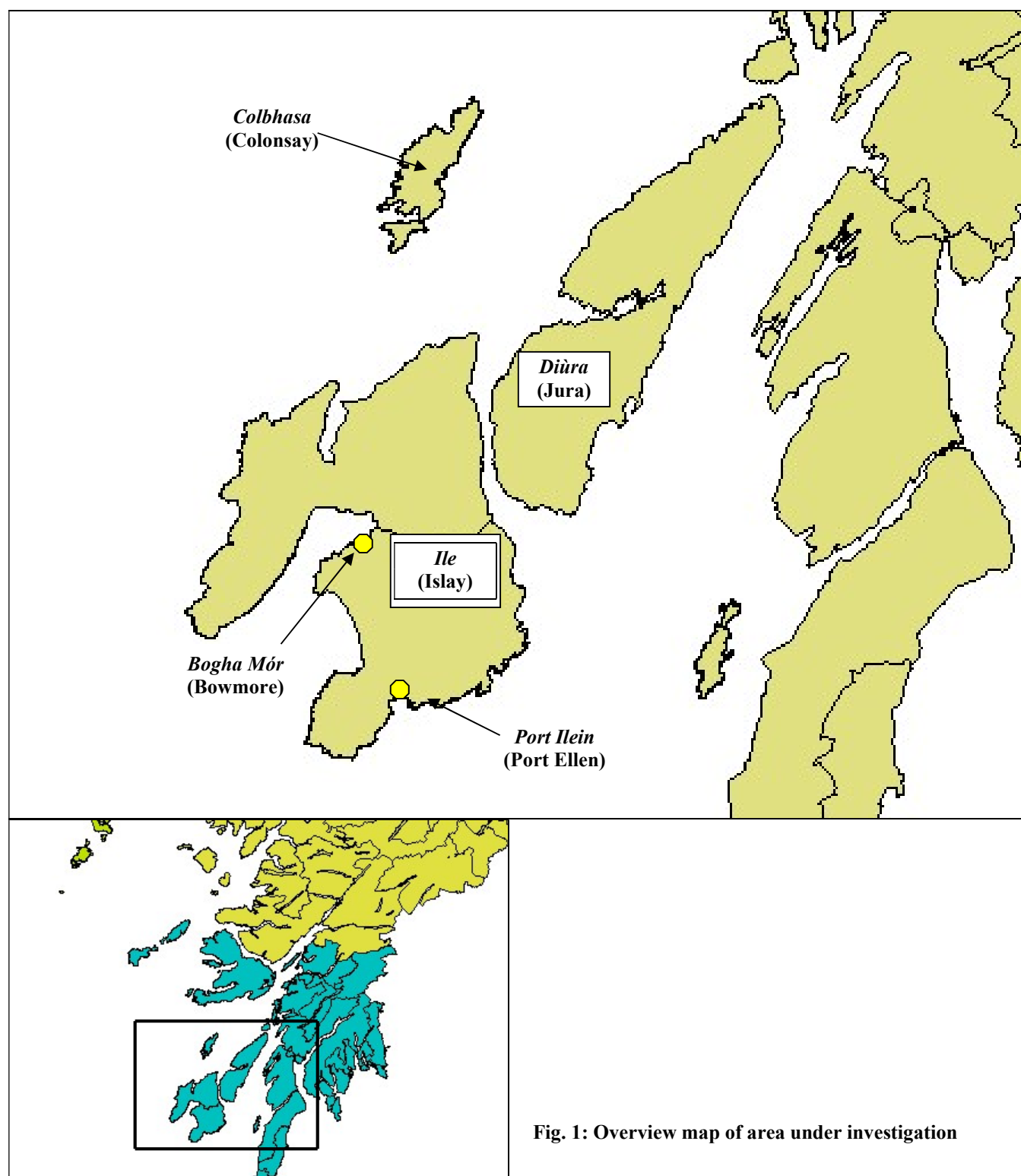


Fig. 1: Overview map of area under investigation



2 The Historical Background

Until recent decades the Argyll-shire islands of *Ile*, *Diùra* and *Colbhasa* belonged to the most strongly Gàidhlig-speaking communities in Scotland. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) for example reported about the state of the language in the *Ile* (Islay) parish of *Cill Chuimein* (Kilchoman) in the early 19th century: “Gaelic is the language universally spoken by the natives in their intercourse with one another. The English language is generally well understood; and from the number of families and individuals from the low country settled in the parish, it is much spoken. In proportion as the natives are becoming more enlightened by education, the Gaelic is decidedly losing ground.” However, this proved to be wishful thinking of the local minister. The language was strong as ever even in 1881 when for the first time a census asked questions about language abilities in Scotland (see below).

In fig.2 the temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-speaking intensity in these islands since 1881 shows the tendency prevailing until today.

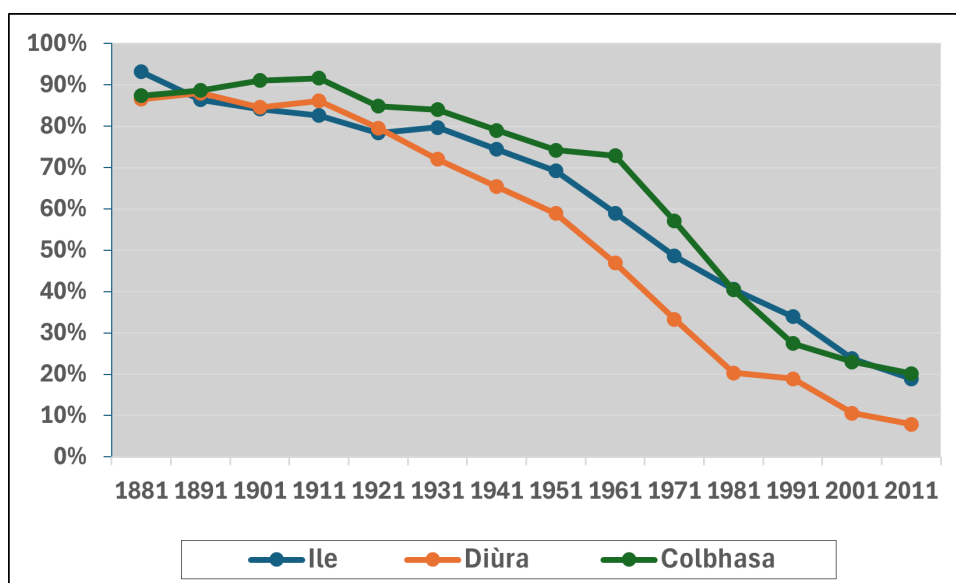


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – census results for the islands of *Ile* (Islay), *Diùra* (Jura) and *Colbhasa* (Colonsay)⁴

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

All islands of the Inner Hebrides were staunchly Gàidhlig-speaking in the late 19th century. Generally, the general attitudes towards the language were no more favourable on *Ile* than in other parts of the country. This may be underlined by a citation from the introduction of *Beachd Alasdair* to the first volume of *Carmina Gadelica*: “Ignorant school-teaching and clerical narrowness have been painfully detrimental to the expressive language, wholesome literature, manly sports, and interesting amusements of the Highland people. Innumerable examples occur. A young lady said: “When we came to Islay, I was sent to the parish school to obtain a proper grounding in arithmetic. I was charmed with the schoolgirls and their Gaelic songs. But the schoolmaster - an alien like me - denounced Gaelic speech and Gaelic songs. On getting out of school one evening the girls resumed a song they had been singing the previous evening. I joined walingly, if timidly, my knowledge of Gaelic being small. The schoolmaster heard us, however, and called us back. He punished us till the blood trickled from our fingers, although we were big girls, with the dawn of womanhood upon us. The thought of that scene thrills me with indignation” (Alexander Carmicheal, 1899). As already mentioned in

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



previous volumes of this series the official position of *Gàidhlig* in the educational system was really appalling at that time.

Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁵	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ⁶				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ⁷		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Sgalasaig, Cill Odhrain & Cill Chatain</i> (Scalasaig, Kiloran & Kilchattan)	297 92.8 %	283 88.2 %	251 90.0 %	226 91.1 %	55 19.4 %	36 33.3 %	19 8.4%
<i>Maol Buidhe, Aird Sgeanais & Orasa</i> (Milbuie, Ardsinnish & Oronsay)	48 64.0 %	55 91.7 %	34 100 %	25 100 %	15 27.3 %	8 23.5 %	2 8.0%
<i>Eilean Bail' na h-Aoidhe & Scarba</i> ⁸ (Balnaha Island & Scarba)	137 89.0 %	92 89.3 %	50 79.4 %	43 68.3 %	6 6.5 %	11 22.0 %	4 9.3%
<i>An Ceann Uachdrach & Leathallt</i> (Kenuachrach & Lealt)	38 97.4 %	40 100 %	27 75.0 %	16 76.2 %	3 7.5 %	5 18.5 %	–
<i>Aird Lusa, Inbhir Lusa & Maol Buidhe</i> (Ardlussa, Inverlussa & Mulbuie)	53 80.3 %	41 85.4 %	53 85.5 %	69 90.8 %	4 9.8 %	–	1 1.4%
<i>An Tairbeart & An Lag</i> (Tarbert & Lagg)	78 97.5 %	46 88.5 %	37 100 %	43 100 %	18 39.1 %	15 40.5 %	–
<i>Aird Fheàrnal & An Leargaidh Breac</i> ⁹ (Ardfernal & Leargybreck)	169 87.6 %	129 87.8 %	126 86.3 %	106 86.9 %	22 17.1 %	23 18.3 %	10 9.4 %
<i>A'Chill, Taigh na Creige & Cracaig</i> (Keils, Craighouse & Crackaig)	188 79.7 %	194 89.4 %	157 78.9 %	137 85.6 %	12 6.2 %	9 7.9 %	9 6.6 %
<i>Sannaig & Inbhir</i> (Sannaig & Inver)	148 90.2 %	98 89.1 %	68 82.9 %	77 90.6 %	24 24.5 %	6 8.8 %	2 2.6%

Table 1: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in *Diùra & Colbhasa* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

Before addressing the official enumeration district figures for 1881-1911 in detail it is worthwhile to look more closely at the original 1891 census forms which provide interesting additional information. Generally, the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors and counted also children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all.

⁵ Enumeration division or islands.

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

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

⁸ Figures include the islands of *Lungaigh* (Lunga), *Na Garbh Eileacha* (Garvellochs) and *Plada* (Pladda Lighthouse).

⁹ Figures include the rock of *Sgeir Mhuile* (Skervuile Lighthouse).



Therefore some “corrected” 1891 details about three communities in this very diverse archipelago are cited below¹⁰ (Duwe, 2006):

1. *Colbhasa & Orasa* (Colonsay & Oronsay): The most populous part of this island group was of course *Colbhasa* with its main settlements situated in the central part of the island. Besides a few farmers and shepherds and those serving at Kiloran House most people were occupied with crofting or fishing in those days. Apart from the two households at *Baile na h-Àirde* (Balnahard) on the northern tip of *Colbhasa* all settlements were overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig* speaking in 1891: “*The locally born population spoke almost universally Gàidhlig. Among them was a significant minority which did not speak English. These monolingual speakers were almost exclusively confined to the young generation and the elderly. Residents with no speaking ability of Gàidhlig were in most cases born in the Lowlands or England.*” Contrary to the official census percentage of 88.7 % the share of *Gàidhlig* speakers of the usually resident population was in fact 93.6 %!
2. *An Tairheart & An Lagg* (Tarbert & Lagg): The area covers the northern half of the mountainous and sparsely populated Hebridean island of *Diùra* (Jura). Besides a few crofter families all inhabitants in one way or another were dependent on work supplied by the landowners – employed as shepherds, gamekeepers or other servants in stately home or garden. All hamlets and dwellings in the northern part of *Diùra* (Jura) were predominantly *Gàidhlig* speaking communities: “*The locally born population of this part of the island was almost exclusively Gàidhlig-speaking. Among the pre-school children and the elderly many residents did not speak English. In fact, the majority of the handful of “English only” returns came from the landowners’ family at Ardlussa House and the lighthouse keepers at Sgèir Mhuile (Skervuile).*” The official census percentage of 85.7 % as share of *Gàidhlig* speakers was 8.6 % less than the percentage found for the usually resident population (94.3 %)!
3. *Gruinneart* (Gruinart): This area is situated on the shores of *Loch Gruinneirt* (Loch Gruinart) in the centre of the island of *Ile* (Islay). Main economic activity of the local population was farming and to some extent fishing. The majority of inhabitants were dependent fieldworkers on the local farms. “*In principle Gàidhlig was the dominant tongue in every location in the area but especially so in Srath Ghruinneirt (Strath of Gruinart) with 100 % of residents able to speak the traditional language of the island. The local population of this island district was almost exclusively Gàidhlig speaking. Among the very young and the older generation many inhabitants did not speak English in 1891. The handful of English only” speakers in the district were found in three farmer families and two schoolmaster households all with Lowland connections.*” In original census report terms the district had a population of 356 persons of all ages. 251 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 83 were counted as monolingual *Gàidhlig* speakers. This led to an “official” share of *Gàidhlig* speakers of 93.8 %. This figure was an under-estimate of 3.6 % compared with the more realistic figures taking into account only the usually resident population.

Generally, the population of all the islands was thoroughly *Gàidhlig* speaking. People “with no Gaelic” were in most cases either Lowland farmers, school teachers or (especially on *Ile*) specialist workers employed at the various distilleries. The underestimation by census reports concerning the strength of *Gàidhlig* speaking intensity has to be kept in mind when looking at census figures in more detail. However, the geographical variation between communities and the significance of “Gaelic only” returns can be deduced very accurately from the available census statistics.

¹⁰ 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.



Very detailed local information is available in census reports especially until 1901. The census reports and enumeration files provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 1-5).

The islands of *Colbhasa* (Colonsay) and *Diùra* (Jura) were far less populated than neighbouring *Ile* at this period (table 1). Generally, all settlements and dwelling on these islands where overwhelmingly Gàidhlig speakers with very significant percentages of monolingual persons found on *Colbhasa* and parts of *Diùra*.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹¹	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹²				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹³		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Cill Mheanaidh & Uisge Nis</i> (Kilmeny & Eskness)	139 95.2 %	102 93.6 %	87 89.7 %	94 87.9%	–	5 5.7 %	12 12.8%
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Ballygrant)	95 93.1 %	90 80.4 %	92 74.8 %	57 67.9%	9 10.0 %	6 6.5 %	2 3.5%
<i>Losaid</i> (Lossit)	65 80.2 %	57 95.0 %	28 66.7 %	32 66.7%	2 3.5 %	–	1 3.1%
<i>Baile a'Chlamhain & Dubh Uisge</i> (Ballachlaven & Duisker)	50 100 %	70 94.6 %	59 93.7 %	62 100%	11 15.7 %	3 5.1 %	2 3.2%
<i>Fionn Lagain</i> (Finlaggan)	83 66.4 %	71 84.5 %	61 96.8 %	78 100%	12 16.9 %	–	3 3.8%
<i>Maol Ris</i> (Mulreesh)	123 96.9 %	69 93.2 %	78 85.7 %	61 92.4%	6 8.7 %	2 2.6 %	5 8.2%
<i>Peàrsabus, A'Chill & Port Ascaig</i> (Persabus, Keills & Port Askaig)	191 82.0 %	64 87.7 %	77 72.0 %	98 83.1%	16 25.0 %	9 11.7 %	3 3.1%
<i>Bun na h-Aibhne & Caol Ila</i> (Bunahabhainn & Caol Ila)		150 67.9 %	179 75.8 %	149 79.7%	30 20.0 %	5 2.8 %	4 2.7%

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Cill Mheanaidh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

The *Ile* district of *Cill Mheanaidh* (Kilmeny) in the north-east of the island (table 2) was equally very strongly Gàidhlig speaking. Of course, there was the odd hamlet like *Caol Ila* where English monoglot distillery workers (notably from Campbeltown) “diluted” the Gàidhlig language community in the period. Gàidhlig monolingual persons on the other hand became obviously a tiny minority as early as 1901 in this part of the island.

The *Ile* peninsula of *Cill Chomain* (Kilchoman) is commonly known as *Na Ranna* (Rhinn of Islay) and occupies the north-western wing of the island. Here the Gàidhlig language was especially strong between 1881 and 1911. Keeping aside census returns from farmers (often “imported” by the landowners

¹¹ Enumeration division.

¹² Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹³ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



from Ayrshire) and several distillery staff the communities were almost exclusively *Gàidhlig* speaking. Very important in this context are the high proportions of monolingual *Gàidhlig* speakers (up to 40 %) reported for most parts of the districts within this period (table 3).

Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Cill Chomain</i> or <i>Na Ranna</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁴	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ¹⁵				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ¹⁶		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Aird Nèimh, Gruinneart & Na Creagan</i> (Ardnave, Gruinart & Craigens)	319 92.7 %	334 93.8 %	316 88.0 %	286 86.9%	83 24.9 %	48 15.2 %	57 19.9%
<i>Cill Chomain, Macharaidh & Cùl</i> (Kilchoman, Machrie & Coull)	178 95.7 %	157 84.4 %	171 88.1 %	149 89.2%	33 21.0 %	36 21.0 %	18 12.1%
<i>Cill Chiarain & Tormasdal</i> (Kilchiaran & Tormisdale)	113 95.0 %	97 89.0 %	91 96.8 %		38 39.2 %	17 18.7 %	
<i>Grùlainn Beag & Sanaig Mòr</i> (Grulinbeg & Sanaigmore)	214 94.7 %	184 85.2 %	165 87.3 %	140 89.7%	74 40.2 %	15 9.1 %	5 3.6%
<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte)	476 90.3 %	503 88.2 %	428 84.3 %	480 87.6%	171 34.0 %	74 17.3 %	32 6.7%
<i>Bruaich a'Chladaich & An t-Ochdamh Mòr</i> (Bruichladdich & Octomore)	252 88.4 %	303 83.7 %	244 84.7 %	215 83.0%	90 29.7 %	45 18.4 %	17 7.9%
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	353 97.8 %	331 95.9 %	266 91.7 %	430 876%	59 17.8 %	80 30.1 %	20 4.7%
<i>Bun Othain, Cladach & Obharsaigh</i> (Port Wemyss, Cladach & Oversay)	348 93.0 %	335 91.0 %	266 86.4 %		61 18.2 %	56 21.0 %	
<i>Losaid, An t-Ochdamh Fada & Neàrabus</i> (Lossit, Octofad & Nerabus)	112 89.6%	140 89.7 %	116 89.2 %	125 91.2%	28 20.0 %	23 19.8 %	21 16.8%

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

The *Ile* district of *Cill-à-Rubha* (Killarow) constitutes practically the central part of the island with the village of *Am Bogha Mòr* (Bowmore) in its heart. The share of *Gàidhlig* speakers in some parts of this district (table 4) was slightly less than found for example in *Na Ranna* (Rhinn of Islay). In 1881 some 75% of all inhabitants were reported as “speaking habitually Gaelic”. In 1891 it was perfectly clear that more persons in the district did speak *Gàidhlig* than anticipated in the census reports ten years before. Even around 10% of all *Gàidhlig* speakers still did not speak English in 1891. Even in the village of *Am Bogha Mòr* more than 80 % of the total population spoke *Gàidhlig* in 1901!

¹⁴ Enumeration division or village.

¹⁵ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁶ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁷	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ¹⁸				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ¹⁹		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore)	649 78.9 %	707 83.4 %	634 80.5 %	588 73.0%	66 9.3 %	67 10.6 %	7 1.2%
<i>Gart na Tràghad</i> (Gartnatra)	69 94.5 %	47 79.7 %	53 96.4 %	49 87.5%	6 12.8 %	3 5.7 %	2 4.1%
<i>Laorabus & Creag Dubh</i> (Lyrabus & Blackrock)	129 99.2 %	142 98.6 %	151 91.0 %	145 89.5%	25 17.6 %	21 13.9 %	18 12.4%
<i>Càrabus, Beul an Atha & Eàlabus</i> (Carrabus, Bridgend & Eallabus)	143 68.4 %	131 70.8 %	151 81.2 %	165 82.9%	6 4.6 %	5 3.3 %	4 2.4%
<i>Sgarabus & Na Taighean Ruadha</i> (Scarrabus & Redhouses)	84 75.0 %	81 82.7 %	113 100 %	85 88.5%	6 7.4 %	2 1.8 %	4 4.7%
<i>An Dail & Moine a'Choire</i> (Daill & Monechorrie)	37 56.9 %	41 74.5 %	45 70.3 %	82 69.5%	5 12.2 %	1 2.2 %	2 2.4%
<i>Baile Tarsuinn & Neribigh</i> (Balitarsin & Neriby)	48 64.9 %	44 88.0 %	54 93.1 %		5 11.4 %	–	
<i>Mulaindraigh & Abhainn Lusa</i> (Mulindry & Avinlussa)	73 76.0 %	80 80.8 %	81 77.1 %	130 81.8%	16 20.0 %	8 9.9 %	8 6.2%
<i>Gart Meadhoin & Gart Loisgte</i> (Gartmain & Gartloist)	74 89.2 %	87 89.7 %	69 90.8 %		15 17.2 %	5 7.2 %	
<i>Còrr Àirigh, Lagan & Gart Breac</i> (Corrory, Laggan & Gartbreck)	38 46.9 %	101 74.8 %	77 64.2 %	84 77.1%	5 5.0 %	4 5.2 %	2 2.4%
<i>Ceann Gàraidh & Bàrr</i> (Kinigary & Barr)	38 65.5 %	37 90.2 %	36 76.6 %	43 70.5%	6 16.2 %	3 8.3 %	4 9.3%
<i>Cluanach & Dùich</i> (Cluanach & Duich)	53 74.6 %	51 82.3 %	27 73.0 %		7 13.7 %	3 11.1 %	

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

The civil parish of *Cill Daltan* (Kildalton) also includes the peninsula of *An Obha* (Oa) and extends over the southern part of the island of *Ile*. The *Gàidhlig* language was the dominant tongue among the local population (table 5) – even in the village of *Port Ìle* (Port Ellen). *Gàidhlig* monolingual persons were most prominent in the more remote parts of the parish, especially on the peninsula of *An Obha* and the district around *Àird Talla* (Ardtalla) to the east.

From the statistics outlined above it can be clearly stated that the whole island group belonged to the heart of the *Gaidhealtachd* in the period before the First World War. This status should stay for decades to come.

¹⁷ Enumeration division or village.

¹⁸ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁹ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Cill Daltan & An Obha</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ²⁰	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ²¹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ²²		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Cill Neachtain, Sreminis & Cùlabus</i> (Kilnaughton, Stremnish & Coillabus)	87 100 %	79 96.3 %	66 93.0 %	57 87.7%	25 31.6 %	9 13.6 %	3 5.3%
<i>Creàgabus, Còrnabus & Gleann Astail</i> (Cragabus, Cornabus & Glenastle)	153 95.6 %	121 94.5 %	92 90.2 %	99 88.4%	27 22.3 %	4 4.3 %	10 10.1%
<i>Port Ìlein</i> (Port Ellen)	932 95.7 %	814 91.2 %	733 84.9 %	622 83.9%	120 14.7 %	33 4.5 %	21 3.4%
<i>Gleann Eigeadail & Am Machaire</i> (Glenegedale & Machrie)	252 97.3 %	185 87.3 %	167 87.0 %	143 79.9%	28 15.1 %	15 9.0 %	7 4.9%
<i>Na Tòrran</i> (Torra)	88 82.2 %	83 84.7 %	68 81.0 %	59 85.5%	7 8.4 %	3 4.4 %	4 6.8%
<i>Lag a'Mhuilinn & Laphroaig</i> (Lagavulin & Laphroaig)	165 95.4 %	212 87.6 %	178 85.2 %	169 80.5%	29 13.7 %	17 9.6 %	4 2.4%
<i>An Aird Bheag & Solum</i> (Ardbeg & Solam)	263 88.9 %	159 85.0 %	171 81.4 %	117 86.0%	6 3.8 %	13 7.6 %	3 2.6%
<i>Aird Iomarsaigh & Aird Talla</i> (Ard Imersay & Ardtalla)	176 89.8 %	125 69.1 %	107 75.9 %	91 66.9%	31 24.8 %	4 7.6 %	—

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

The share of the population reported as speaking Gàidhlig was very high in all censuses before the Second World War although a slight decrease was recorded from 93.5 % speaking Gàidhlig “habitually” in 1881 and 79.4 % speaking Gàidhlig in 1931 (table 6). In 1891 the “Gàidhlig monoglots” were still more numerous than those inhabitants who spoke only English (fig. 3). But with the influence of compulsory education “Gaelic only” was soon confined to pre-school and old age generations (table 20).

<i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	7,741	7,358	6,594	5,931	5,123	4,448
% of total population	93.5 %	86.7 %	84.5 %	83.2 %	78.8 %	79.4 %

Table 6: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

The anglicisation pressures in the Argyll-shire islands were much stronger than in island communities further north. Whereas the percentage of “Gaelic only” speakers in the 3-4 age-group remained almost the same in the islands of Ross & Cromarty and Inverness-shire until 1931, this share was almost halved

²⁰ Enumeration division or village.

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

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



in the Argyll-shire islands from 56.7 % in 1891 to 30.5 % in 1931. Although there is no information available on individual islands it is fair to assume that this trend was more or less universal on all easily accessible islands of the county like *Ile* (Islay) and *Muile* (Mull).

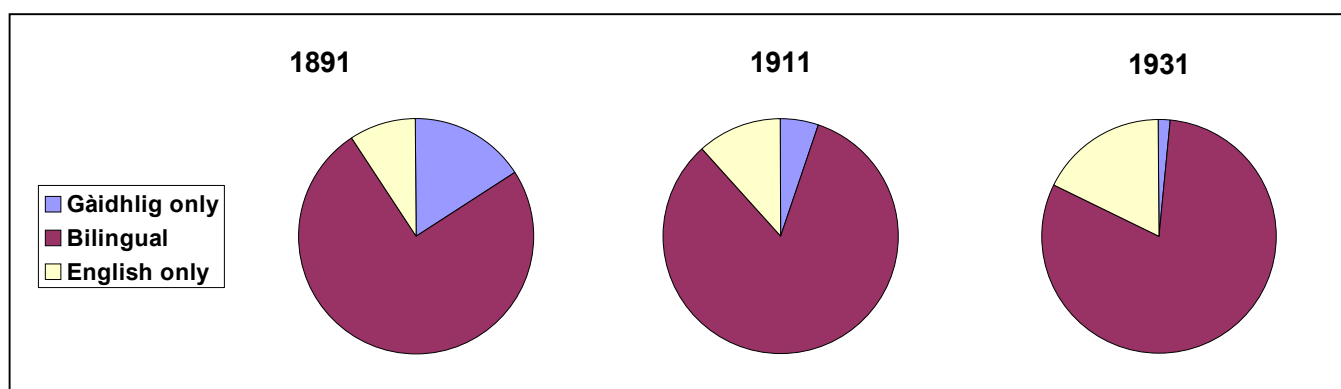


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

Nevertheless, all islands around *Ile* remained overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speaking until the 1940s with the highest intensities on the island of *Colbhasa* (Colonsay) and in the western division of *Ile* called *Na Ranna* or Rhinns of Islay. Here on his study visit dedicated to Argyllshire Gaelic Nils M. Holmer stayed in 1935 around *Port Sgioba* (Port Charlotte). At that time, he still could report “... had the good fortune to live with a family who spoke most idiomatic Gaelic” (Holmer, 1938). The islands were part of the *Gaidhealtachd* as any in the Hebrides in those days.

2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

Between 1931 and 1951 the population of the islands dropped by around 15 % because of the economic and social disruptions experienced during and after the war. The share of Gàidhlig-speakers fell also from 79.4 % to 68.9 % (table 7) with the strongest decrease reported for the civil parish of *Cill Daltan* (Kildalton) around *Port Ilein* (Port Ellen). The number of people speaking “Gaelic only” had become almost negligible with 11 persons recorded in 1951 compared with 92 back in 1931 (table 18). The older “monoglots” had passed away and only a few young Gaels were immersed in a “Gaelic only” family.

Information for the 1957/58 school year sheds some light on the situation then. The report on Gàidhlig-speaking schoolchildren in Highland schools (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961) reported in the Islay school district (including Colonsay and Jura) still 81 of 472 primary school children as first or preferred language speakers (17.2 %). 17 of 66 secondary school children (first year) had Gàidhlig as first language (25.8 %). Additionally, 33 secondary pupils spoke Gàidhlig as a second language leaving only a minority of their peers as English-only speakers. In the nursery stages of P1 and P2 there were 20 first language speakers of Gàidhlig, a further 17 children spoke Gàidhlig as second language. In total 57 out of 120 understood some Gàidhlig (47.5 %)! Gàidhlig was the language of home for all first language speakers. The status of the language in those days was very low in ordinary school life. Although the nursery schoolteachers were themselves Gàidhlig-speaking in most of the schools the main medium of instruction was always English. Only in two schools was time set aside for teaching Gàidhlig (as a second language) and only there the language was used in some oral work. It is highly probable that these two primary schools were situated at *Port na h-Aibhne* (Portnahaven) on the westernmost tip of *Ile* and/or on the island of *Colbhasa* (Colonsay).



<i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	3,283	2,520	2,010	1,642	1,263	866	640
Percentage of total population	68.9 %	58.8 %	48.1 %	39.5 %	33.3 %	23.0 %	18.4 %

Table 7: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers in Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2011

In the 1961 census all CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) still had a majority of Gàidhlig-speakers. But no “Gaelic only” returns were recorded. The civil parishes of *Cill Chomain* (64.8 %) and *Colbhasa & Orasa* (72.9 %) were the strongest language communities in the island group. The general trend, however, remained unabated and pointed downwards.

In 1971 *Cill Chomain* and *Colbhasa* only stayed above the 50 % mark (table 14). Nonetheless there were still some younger people able to speak Gàidhlig (in contrast for example to the contemporary situation on *Muile* (Mull) where essentially almost no children were Gàidhlig-speaking at that time). In the age-group between 3 and 24 the respective percentages were 20.5 % in *Cill Chomain*, 22.5 % in *Cill-à-Rubha*, 16.7 % in *Cill Daltan* and 16.7 % in *Diùra & Colbhasa*. The latter figure might disguise a more favourable situation on *Colbhasa* as was mentioned by John Mercer (1974): “In fact, on Colonsay in 1972 it was said that Gaelic is understood by even the youngest children and that it is the normal tongue of adults, though it can only be written by those who have learned it at school; from 1973 it has been made compulsory, during the first year (of secondary education, the author), by Oban High School.” Matters were to deteriorate further, however, in the coming years and with the exception of some secondary school teaching Gàidhlig stayed outside the classrooms of island schools.

The language lost ground swiftly with *Cill Chomain* only just managing to keep a Gàidhlig-speaking majority in 1981. The townships on *Na Ranna* (Rhinn of Islay) remained the last communities with respectable percentages: 1981 figures for census output areas reveal considerable population shares here with 86.7 % for *Losaid* (Lossit), 65.6 % for *Port na h-Aibhne* (Portnahaven), 56.9 % for *Port Sgioba* (Port Charlotte) and 51.1 % for *Bruthaich a'Chladaich* (Bruichladdich). The islands of *Colbhasa* and *Diùra* experienced stronger emigration and immigration than *Ile* and both reported decreases in the number of speakers by roughly a third (table 13). Figure 4 illustrates the ability of speaking, reading or writing Gàidhlig in the individual ages between 3 and 15 for the area in 1981. It is obvious that practically no mother tongue speakers were left, and that language tuition started only at secondary school age. The latter had been intensified after Strathclyde Region had superseded Argyll County Council as educational authority for the islands.

In the 1980s parents in many parts of Scotland became very much concerned with the future of the language and wanted to ensure that their children could speak the local language, too. These initiatives reached also *Ile* with the establishment of a *cròileagan* (Gàidhlig-medium playgroup) around 1986. Subsequently Gàidhlig-medium education was introduced in the primary school of *Bogha Mòr* (Bowmore) in 1987. This unit, however, was almost constantly under threat of closure because of the dramatic teacher shortage for suitable primary teachers. Due to this prevailing uncertainty pupil numbers remained comparatively low until the beginning of the 21st century.



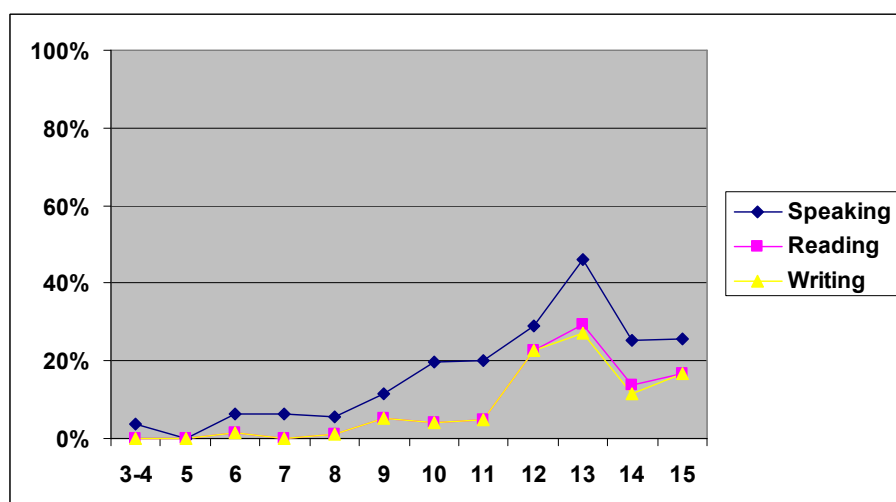


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)

The census of 1991 provided no surprises for the island group – the number of speakers still decreased significantly from 1,642 in 1981 to 1,265 (33.9 %). Only two census output areas (table 22) had majorities of Gàidhlig-speakers, and both were situated in the district of *An Ranna* (Rhinn of Islay): *Bruthaich a'Chladaich* (52.6 %) and *Port na h-Aibhne* (53.3 %). Especially language teaching at secondary school level succeeded to keep the percentages in the 5-24 age-group between 1981 and 2001 at the same level of around 20 % (see fig. 5). In all other age groups, the language lost ground very fast in this period with only 10.9 % of those aged between 25 and 44 able to speak Gàidhlig in 2001! Also, at pre-school age the number of Gàidhlig-speaking children remained very low indeed (table 21). Detailed analysis of the 2001 census is provided in chapter 3 of this report.

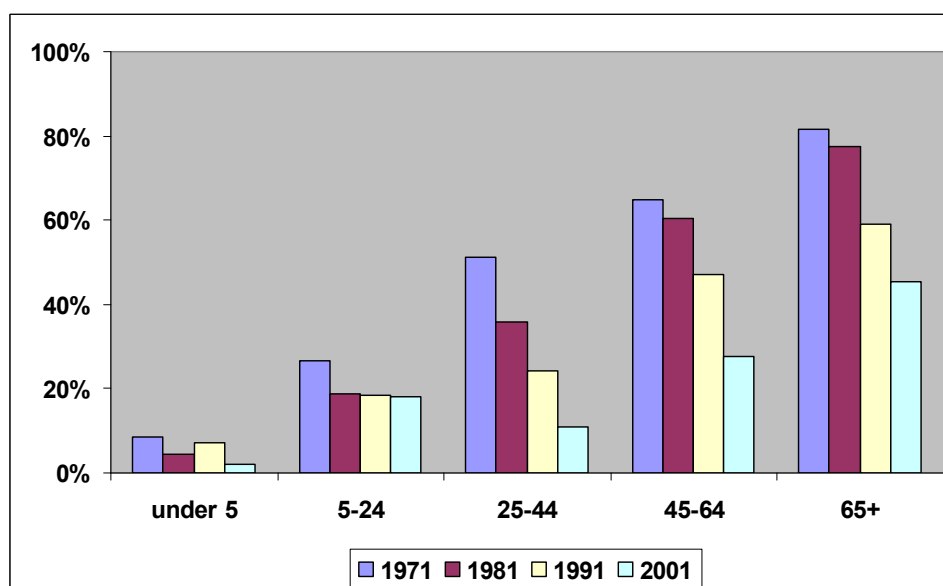


Fig. 5: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)²³

²³ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



An important positive development for *Ile* was first mooted in 1998 with plans to establish a Gàidhlig further education centre at *Bogha Mòr* on the lines of the very successful *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* on *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Isle of Skye). However, this came to fruition with the establishment of *Ionad Chaluim Chille* (St. Columba Centre) only after 2001.

Gàidhlig in these islands remained still a minority issue in the forthcoming decade. However, progress was visible but slow and growth remained gradual. The most important new development had been the opening of *Ionad Chaluim Chille* (St. Columba Centre) at *Bogha Mòr*. This further education establishment was hoped to act as a catalyst for a re-invigoration of the language on *Ile*. In the meantime, the Gàidhlig-medium unit at the local primary school reported almost the same pupil numbers as teachers were very difficult to recruit. The presence of the language among pre-school children for example in 2003/2004 was still very rare with just two pupils being enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 at the nursery unit in *Bogha Mòr*. But here progress can be reported. In 2006 a Gàidhlig nursery was being attached to *Ionad Chaluim Chille*. A further encouraging fact was that the GLPS programme (Gaelic Language for Primary School) did arrive at last on *Ile*. Therefore, all primary school children should have received at least some smattering of the language. This was, however, not apparent in the 2011 census results!!!

Census Data Zones	Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Port Eilein & Bogha Mòr (Port Ellen & Bowmore)	15	15.6%	213	28.2%	- 12.6 %	46.3 %
Cill Chomain & Baile a’Ghràna (Kilchoman & Ballygrant)	26	20.0%	216	26.5%	- 6.5 %	59.6 %
Diùra & Colbhasa (Jura & Colonsay)	1	3.6%	51	16.0%	- 12.5 %	46.3 %
In comparison: Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute)	6.7 %		5.9 %		+ 0.8 %	36.9 %

Table 8: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole *Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011

2011 saw the population on the island of *Ile* falling slightly from 3.457 in 2001 to 3.228 inhabitants. 2.678 of these were born in Scotland (83.0 %) compared with 86.2 % ten years before. There was generally a further decrease of Gàidhlig speaking in the area. This was mainly due to less satisfactory education on young age level (table 8). In tables 14 and 15 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. A similar pattern was observed on *Diùra* and *Colbhasa* where virtually all speakers were recorded among older people. Keeping in mind that in the school year 2010-11 just 14 pupils attend the GMU in *Bogha Mòr* (Bowmore) and all secondary pupils had Gàidhlig second language teaching, 41 children



in the 3 to 15 age group in 2011 were a realistic figure. Therefore, any second language teaching in primary school must have had negligible effects.

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 are provided in table 8 above for selected local data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones showed markedly negative tendencies.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area around 50 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers did live in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 8.



Bilingual road signs are nowadays a common sight on Ile (Duwe, 2016)

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

The fact that *Gàidhlig* had been neglected educationally on *Ile* and its neighbouring islands became obvious with literacy information in 1971. Details on this aspect of language use became available then for the first time: Census questions were introduced on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 9 and 10 below). Even for Argyll-shire standards figures were very low with only 29.1 % of speakers able to read and 16.9 % able to write *Gàidhlig*. Only the *Diùra & Colbhasa* CCED (County Council Electoral Division) reported a somewhat better share of *Gàidhlig* readers with a value of 43.3 %.



	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	585	659	548	427	330	29.1%	40.2%	43.6%	49.2%	51.7%

Table 9: People able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2011)

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	340	466	435	335	265	16.9%	28.4%	34.6%	38.6%	41.5%

Table 10: People able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2011)

Since 1971 every census reported improved literacy levels (fig. 6) but the situation leaves still much room for improvement. Literacy on *Ile* is for example still 15 % less than on *Muile* where conditions can be considered as comparable. In 2001 a value of less than 50 % of reading ability among Gàidhlig-speaking primary school children is not satisfactory at all. The 2011 census percentages in literacy did show a slight improvement but stayed on a comparatively low level.

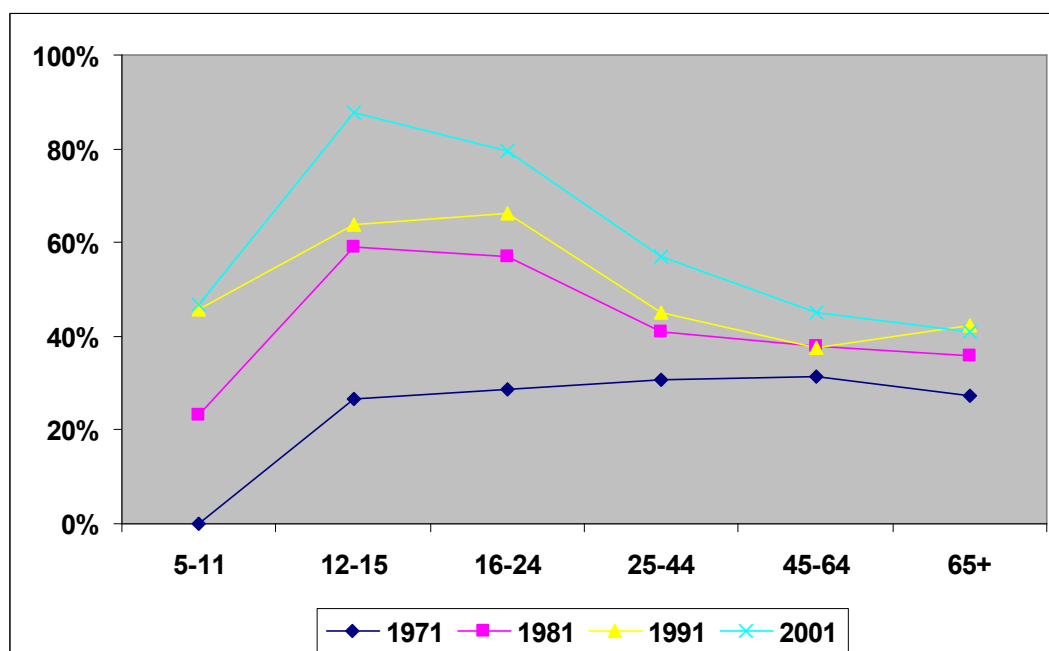


Fig. 6: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas in different age groups (1971-2001)



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

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

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

As mentioned above special consideration will be given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments. In general, the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information for the island group:

- Except the age group at secondary school level there was a constant decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 7) from older to younger generations. Only 2 % of pre-school children knew the language. Intergenerational language difference (table 10) was very negative although slightly better than around 1991.
- A considerable decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 10) especially in older age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers stayed almost the same on a comparatively low level of around 17 %.
- The local details of census output areas showed marked differences. The category of speaking the language ranged from a share of roughly 42 % in *Port na h-Aibhne* (Portnahaven) to some 8 % in parts of *Diùra*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 49 % and 12 % respectively in the same locations.
- Almost the whole population lived in neighbourhoods where over 20 % of the people knew at least some *Gàidhlig*.
- Literacy in the language was still improving with 49.2 % of speakers being able to read and 38.6 % of speakers able to write the language. The general level remained still at a low level compared with other language communities in the Hebrides.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years just two were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and three children understood spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (23.1 % of the population) another 375 inhabitants (10.0 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.



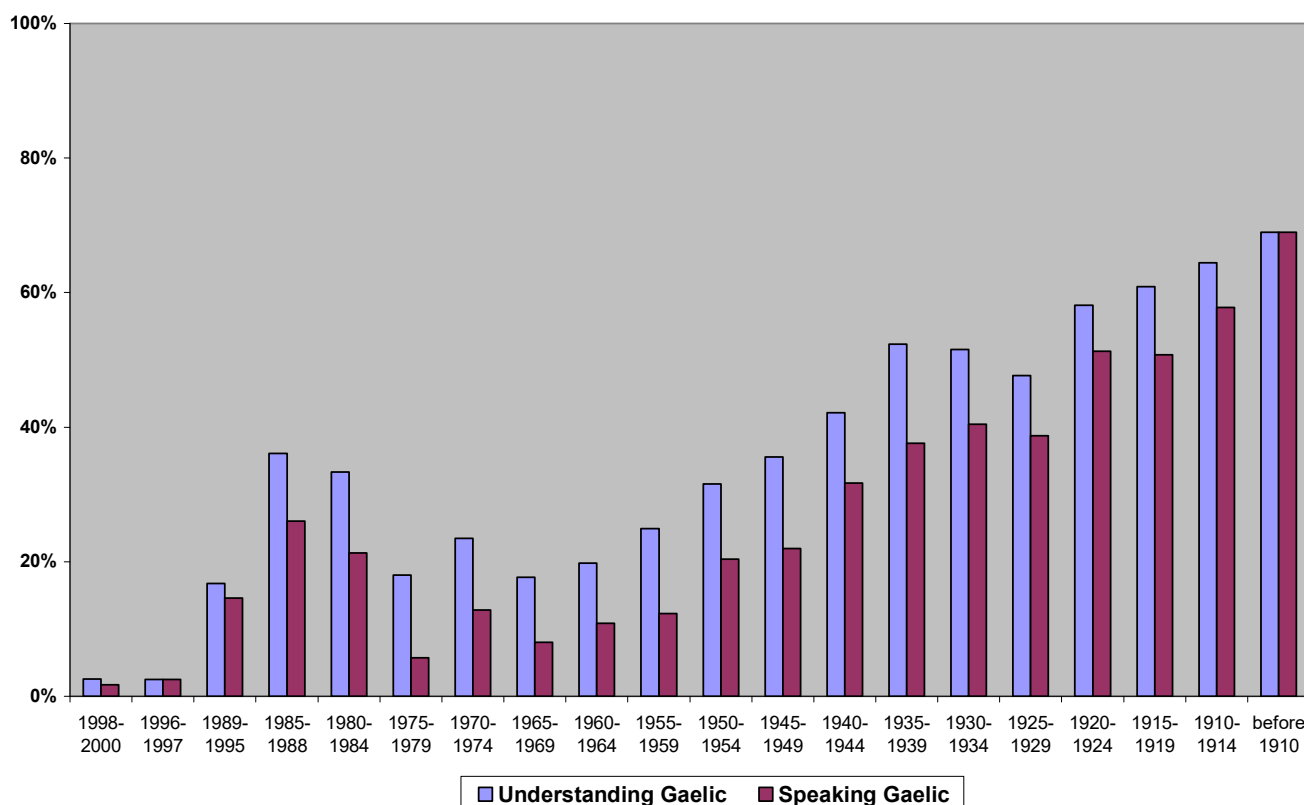


Fig. 7: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²⁴ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	3	2.6 %	0	0.0 %	2	1.7 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	2	2.5 %	1	1.2 %	2	2.5 %	7	7.1 %	- 4.6 %
5-11	54	16.8 %	22	6.8 %	47	14.6 %	46	13.0 %	+ 1.6 %
12-15	79	36.1 %	50	22.8 %	59	26.9 %	61	29.3 %	- 2.4 %
16-24	72	26.5 %	35	12.9 %	40	14.7 %	85	17.6 %	- 2.9 %
3-24	207	23.2 %	108	12.1 %	148	16.6 %	199	17.4 %	- 0.8 %
All ages	1,243	33.1 %	427	11.4 %	868	23.1 %	1,265	33.9 %	-10.8 %
Difference	- 9.9 %		+ 0.7 %		- 6.5 %		- 16.5 %		

Table 11: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) in 2001 and 1991

²⁴ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



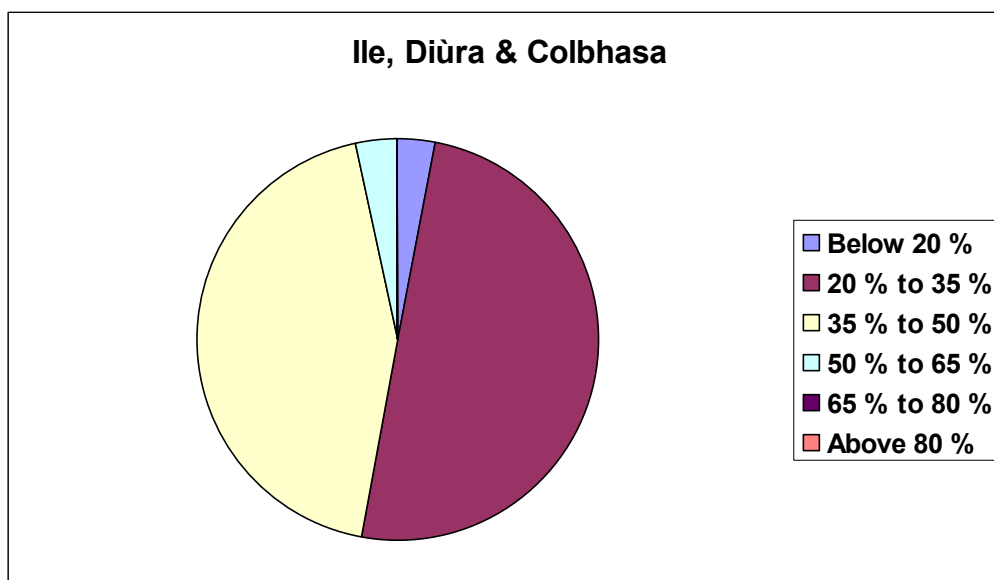


Fig. 8: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to Census 2001

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

The small area statistics can be generalised for individual school catchments to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups (table 11). For the purpose of this investigation, they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11), secondary school age (12-15) and main parental generation (24-35).

At first glance it is obvious that the educational provision was far from satisfactory:

- Pre-school children: The number of just 5 children being able to understand spoken Gàidhlig was highly unsatisfactory for a district with such a strong tradition. At the time of the census only one *cròileagan* existed in *Bogha Mòr* with an obviously very small roll.
- Primary school children: A Gàidhlig-medium unit existed in *Bogha Mòr* primary school with 17 pupils in the 2000/2001 school year (see also fig. 9). This constituted 5.5 % of all 308 primary school children in the island group. Looking at the overall figures there was certainly some second language teaching in other primary schools with limited but visible impact.
- Secondary school children: In secondary stages S1 and S2 all pupils from *Ile* and *Diùra* in Bowmore High School were learning Gàidhlig as a second language except for a handful of fluent speakers who had gone through GME in primary schools before entering secondary education. The returns were accordingly higher than for the primary sector. Secondary schooling for *Colbhasa* children took place in Oban High School and there Gàidhlig was obviously not high on the agenda.
- Parents: There was a certain language background in the “parental generation” within the language community. The comparison with the number of pre-school children highlighted a very weak language transmission in the island group.



Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas ²⁵								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Cill Chatain (Colbhasa)</i> (Kilchattan)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	22.2 %
<i>Na h-Eileanan Beaga (Diùra)</i> (Small Isles - Jura)	-	-	-	-	5	62.5 %	-	-
<i>Na Cilltean</i> (Keills)	-	-	8	16.7 %	9	27.3 %	17	37.8 %
<i>Beul an Atha</i> (Bridgend)	-	-	3	13.0 %	7	58.3 %	10	27.8 %
<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte)	1	4.6 %	8	21.1 %	13	54.2 %	12	26.1 %
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	1	100 %	3	50.0 %	3	75.0 %	3	50.0 %
<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore)	1	2.1 %	16	19.8 %	20	36.4 %	34	22.8 %
<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen)	2	2.9 %	16	16.8 %	22	26.5 %	24	20.0 %

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

Looking at the wider picture the educational efforts and associated census results on all three islands were disturbingly low – apart from the secondary sector. The use of the language in the younger generation was not at all common - perhaps with the notable exception of the township of *Port na h-Aibhne* (Portnahaven) on the westernmost tip of *Ile*.

²⁵ Percentages of 50 % or more are denoted by bold letters.



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

Looking in detail on the 2011 census results it must be conceded that all islands still showed a limited language maintenance potential. The decidedly negative language viability indicator (LVI²⁶) underlines a poor intergenerational language-maintenance, which is shown below in table 13.

Area	Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	42	16.5%	480	25.4%	- 8.9 %	52.4 %
In comparison: Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute)	6.7 %		5.9 %		+ 0.8 %	36.9 %

Table 13: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) in comparison with the whole Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011

Future educational progress: The overall temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 9 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 22 pupils (10.3 % of all Ile primary pupils) attended the GMU in Bogha Mòr (Bowmore). Moreover, all remaining primary school pupils now (2024) receive Gàidhlig lessons as “Language 2” (L2) in all stages from P1 to P7. This is also true for the primary schools on Diùra and Colbhasa. A positive development indeed!

In conclusion: Gàidhlig in the southernmost Hebrides still suffers from decades of neglect and ignorance. The basis for a possible consolidation of language use is still rather limited and the language community has a strong bias towards the older generation. Educational provision is just improving to reach a comparable level with other islands in the Inner Hebrides. This provides the main potential for future growth. Future positive impacts can be expected by the extension of activities around Ionad Chaluim Chille.

²⁶ 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.



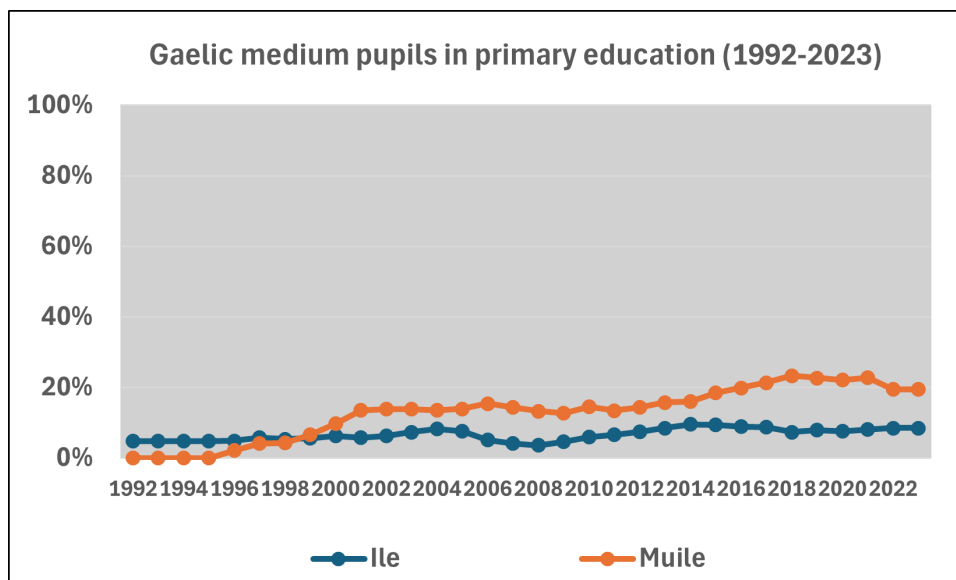


Fig. 9: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes on *Ile* in comparison with neighbouring *Muile* (September 1992 – September 2023)



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish				
	Colbhasa & Orasa (Colonsay & Oronsay)	Diùra (Jura)	Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh (Killarow & Kilmeny)	Cill Chomain (Kilchoman)	Cill Daltan (Kildalton)
1881	347	819	1,838	2,610	2,127
1891	338	637	2,219	2,384	1,778
1901	285	529	2,152	2,046	1,582
1911	250	491	2,016	1,820	1,354
1921	241	367	1,715	1,588	1,212
1931	200	275	1,597	1,252	1,124
1951	173	155	1,247	813	895
1961	121	119	1,026	588	666
1971	80	70	820	455	585
1981	55	47	678	374	488
1991	29	37	521	298	380
2001	26	20	354	206	260
2011	26	15	265	149	185

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

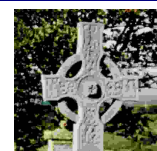
Census	Civil Parish				
	Colbhasa & Orasa (Colonsay & Oronsay)	Diùra (Jura)	Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh (Killarow & Kilmeny)	Cill Chomain (Kilchoman)	Cill Daltan (Kildalton)
1881	87.4 %	86.6 %	95.1 %	95.5 %	93.7 %
1891	88.7 %	88.0 %	83.4 %	88.4 %	87.7 %
1901	91.1 %	84.6 %	81.7 %	86.7 %	84.5 %
1911	91.5 %	86.1 %	79.0 %	87.2 %	82.2 %
1921	84.9 %	79.6 %	76.5 %	83.6 %	75.0 %
1931	84.0 %	72.0 %	75.9 %	83.5 %	81.4 %
1951	74.2 %	58.9 %	66.6 %	75.2 %	67.9 %
1961	72.9 %	46.9 %	56.7 %	64.8 %	57.9 %
1971	57.1 %	33.3 %	45.7 %	59.5 %	46.1 %
1981	40.4 %	20.3 %	38.3 %	51.8 %	37.6 %
1991	27.4 %	18.9 %	31.1 %	42.5 %	32.8 %
2001	23.0 %	10.6 %	22.4 %	27.6 %	23.2 %
2011	20.2 %	7.9 %	19.5 %	20.0 %	17.5 %

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



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881: <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	8,916	7,839	
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	397	347	
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	946	819	
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	2,756	2,181	
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	2,546	2,365	
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	2,271	2,127	
----- Villages and inhabited islands (included in the above) ---			
<i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay)	389	347	
<i>Orasa</i> (Oronsay)	8	-	
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura)	773	682	
<i>Eilean Bail’ na h-Aoidhe</i> (Balnahua Island)	108	102	
<i>Lungaigh</i> (Lunga)	17	17	
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Lighthouse)	10	-	
<i>Scarba</i> (Scarba)	19	18	
<i>Sgeir Mhuile</i> (Skervuile Lighthouse)	19	-	
<i>Obharsaigh</i> (Oversay)	14	-	
<i>Ile</i> (Islay)	7,559	6,673	
<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) Vi	834	651	
Port Ìlein (Port Ellen) Vi	989	939	
<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte) Vi	502	453	
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven) Vi	361	353	
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (not identical to the above) ---			
<i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Kilmeny)	881	746	
<i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> (Killarow)	1,875	1,435	
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman)	1,687	1,552	
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	860	813	
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton)	2,024	1,887	
<i>An Obha</i> (Oa)	247	240	
----- Census registration districts (not identical to the above) ---			
<i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Jura & Colonsay)	1,029	762	
<i>Cill Daltan & An Obha</i> (Kildalton & Oa)	2,271	2,127	
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) – part of <i>Diùra</i>	154	135	

Table 16: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* in 1881 – selected areas (civil parishes, census registration districts, villages or inhabited islands) in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa*



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1891: <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1891	8,487	6,043	1,313
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	381	268	70
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	722	558	79
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	2,660	1,865	254
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	2,697	1,747	637
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	2,027	1,505	273
----- Villages and inhabited islands (included in the above) ---			
<i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay)	358	250	66
<i>Orasa</i> (Oronsay)	23	18	4
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura)	617	471	73
<i>Eilean Bail' na h-Aoidhe</i> (Balnahua Island)	68	66	2
<i>Lungaigh</i> (Lunga)	15	15	-
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Lighthouse)	11	-	-
<i>Scarba</i> (Scarba)	9	5	4
<i>Sgeir Mhuile</i> (Skervuile Lighthouse)	2	1	-
<i>Obharsaigh</i> (Oversay)	9	-	-
<i>Ile</i> (Islay)	7,375	5,117	1,164
<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) Vi	848	648	66
<i>Port Ìlein</i> (Port Ellen) Vi	893	694	120
<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte) Vi	570	332	171
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven) Vi	345	272	59
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (not identical to the above) ---			
<i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Kilmeny)	805	587	86
<i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> (Killarow)	1,855	1,378	168
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman)	1,828	1,089	489
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	869	658	148
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton)	1,817	1,357	221
<i>An Obha</i> (Oa)	210	148	52
----- Census registration districts (not identical to the above) ---			
<i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Jura & Colonsay)	1,002	740	143
<i>Cill Daltan & An Obha</i> (Kildalton & Oa)	2,027	1,505	273
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) – part of <i>Diùra</i>	103	86	6

Table 17: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes, census registration districts, villages or inhabited islands) in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa*



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1901: <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1901	7,805	5,837	757
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	313	241	44
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	625	460	69
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	2,635	2,000	152
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	2,360	1,652	394
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,872	1,484	98
----- Villages and inhabited islands (included in the above) ---			
<i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay)	301	229	44
<i>Orasa</i> (Oronsay)	12	12	-
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura)	560	421	58
<i>Eilean Bail' na h-Aoidhe</i> (Balnahua Island)	39	27	7
<i>Lungaigh</i> (Lunga)	4	-	4
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Lighthouse)	7	1	-
<i>Scarba</i> (Scarba)	13	11	-
<i>Sgeir Mhuile</i> (Skervuile Lighthouse)	2	-	-
<i>Obharsaigh</i> (Oversay)	10	-	-
<i>Ile</i> (Islay)	7,317	5,136	644
<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) Vi	788	567	67
Port Ìlein (Port Ellen) Vi	863	700	33
<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte) Vi	508	354	74
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (not identical to the above) ---			
<i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Kilmeny)	822	631	30
<i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> (Killarow)	1,813	1,369	122
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman)	1,632	1,163	235
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	728	489	159
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton)	1,699	1,339	85
<i>An Obha</i> (Oa)	173	145	13
----- Census registration districts (not identical to the above) ---			
<i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Jura & Colonsay)	875	662	102
<i>Cill Daltan & An Obha</i> (Kildalton & Oa)	1,872	1,484	98
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) – part of <i>Diùra</i>	63	39	11
----- Electoral areas ---			
<i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Kilmeny)	822	631	30
<i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> (Killarow)	1,807	1,363	122
Port Ìlein (Port Ellen)	1,130	818	57
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton)	720	658	41
<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	728	489	159
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman)	1,632	1,163	235
<i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Jura & Colonsay)	938	701	113

Table 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, census registration districts, electoral areas, villages or inhabited islands) in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa*



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	7,130	5,580	351
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	273	229	21
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	570	465	26
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	2,552	1,931	85
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	2,087	1,652	168
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,648	1,303	51
1921	6,503	4,972	151
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	284	236	5
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	461	361	6
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	2,243	1,682	33
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	1,899	1,509	79
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,616	1,184	28
1931	5,604	4,356	92
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	238	190	10
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	382	272	3
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	2,104	1,572	25
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	1,500	1,219	33
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,380	1,103	21
1951	4,766	3,272	11
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	233	173	-
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	263	155	-
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	1,871	1,245	2
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	1,081	809	4
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,318	890	5
1961	4,277	2,520	-
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	166	121	-
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	254	119	-
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	1,809	1,026	-
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	908	588	-
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,150	666	-
1971²⁷	4,175	2,010	*
<i>Colbhasa & Orasa</i> (Colonsay & Oronsay) CP	140	80	*
<i>Diùra</i> (Jura) CP	210	70	*
<i>Cill-à-Rubha & Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Killarow & Kilmeny) CP	1,795	820	*
<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman) CP	765	455	*
<i>Cill Daltan</i> (Kildalton) CP	1,270	585	*

Table 19: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1911 and 1971 – civil parishes in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa*

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



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Argyll) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> Jura & Colonsay CCED	JC	240 59.6 %	150 44.1 %	102 29.3 %	66 22.4 %	46 15.8 %
<i>Cill Chomain</i> Kilchoman CCED	KC	588 67.4 %	455 61.1 %	374 53.8 %	298 44.0 %	206 28.3 %
<i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> Killarow CCED	KL	1,026 59.4 %	815 47.9 %	678 39.7 %	521 32.3 %	354 23.1 %
<i>Cill Daltan</i> Kildalton CCED	KD	666 61.3 %	585 49.4 %	488 39.5 %	380 34.0 %	260 23.8 %

Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001

Percentage of population speaking Gàidhlig but no English in island parishes of former Argyll ²⁸					
Age group	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
3-4	56.7 %	47.7 %	44.0 %	34.1 %	30.5 %
5-9	30.1 %	22.8 %	12.4 %	6.3 %	4.7 %
10-14	14.2 %	7.9 %	1.1 %	0.4 %	-
15-19	11.1 %	6.5 %	0.7 %	-	0.1 %
20-24	9.3 %	5.4 %	1.3 %	0.4 %	0.5 %
25-29	8.5 %	4.6 %	1.1 %	0.3 %	0.3 %
30-34	11.8 %	5.4 %	1.0 %	0.4 %	0.2 %
35-39	13.4 %	7.1 %	2.0 %	0.3 %	0.3 %
40-44	17.2 %	9.7 %	3.3 %	0.3 %	0.2 %
45-49	19.1 %	10.5 %	2.8 %	1.2 %	0.8 %
50-54	25.1 %	13.8 %	5.5 %	2.3 %	0.3 %
55-59	23.5 %	14.5 %	6.2 %	2.3 %	1.2 %
60-64	32.2 %	18.8 %	8.2 %	4.9 %	1.3 %
65-69	38.4 %	24.4 %	13.3 %	6.2 %	3.0 %
70-74	43.0 %	27.4 %	15.1 %	6.6 %	5.8 %
75-79	46.6 %	38.4 %	19.9 %	11.0 %	5.1 %
80 and over	50.5 %	40.8 %	24.9 %	18.4 %	6.5 %
Total “Gaelic only”	22.3 %	14.4 %	6.9 %	3.5 %	2.3 %

Table 21: Percentage of persons speaking Gàidhlig but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Argyll according to census data from 1891 to 1931

²⁸ Civil parishes on islands of *Ile* (Islay), *Muile* (Mull), *Tir Iodh* (Tiree), *Colla* (Coll), *Colbhasa* (Colonsay), *Diùra* (Jura) and *Giogha* (Gigha) (Scotland Census Office, 1932).



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Ile</i> ²⁹						
Map No	Census output area ³⁰	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³¹
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
04+05	<i>Port Asgaig & Na Ceallan</i> (Port Askaig & Keills)	19 19.0%	38 51.4%	34 54.8%	31 81.6%	122 46.9%
06+07	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Ballygrant) BF01	22 34.9%	20 50.0%	18 51.4%	30 83.3%	89 53.0%
08+09	<i>Beul an Atha</i> (Bridgend)	8 10.4%	18 25.4%	25 53.2%	20 80.0%	76 38.0%
10	<i>Loch Gruinneart</i>	6 30.0%	8 44.4%	10 83.3%	9 75.0%	31 62.0%
11	<i>Bruthaich a'Cladaich & Loch Gorm</i>	13 27.1%	24 44.4%	22 52.4%	30 83.3%	89 63.6%
12	<i>Cill Choman & Macharaidh</i> (Kilchoman & Machrie)	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	3 100.0%	5 100.0%	8 66.7%
12-14	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte)	14 24.6%	20 43.5%	33 73.3%	42 85.7%	111 59.4%
14	<i>Octofad & Nearabus</i>	6 17.1%	11 42.3%	13 61.9%	15 88.2%	41 49.4%
15+16	<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven)	15 51.7%	18 62.1%	20 62.5%	30 78.9%	83 72.2%
16	<i>Losaid & Cill Chiarain</i> (Lossit & Kilchiaran)	5 83.3%	5 71.4%	8 72.7%	7 100.0%	23 82.1%
17+18	<i>Port Ilein 1</i> (Port Ellen)	23 16.2%	34 30.4%	50 80.6%	34 75.6%	141 41.0%
19+20	<i>Port Ilein 2</i> (Port Ellen)	16 13.1%	29 36.3%	42 63.6%	36 80.0%	122 39.9%
21+22	<i>Port Ilein 3</i> (Port Ellen)	27 23.1%	38 40.0%	40 85.1%	27 90.0%	131 47.8%
23	<i>Laphroaig, Cragabus & An Obha</i>	9 25.0%	10 30.3%	19 51.4%	9 40.9%	47 45.6%
24	<i>Lag a'Mhuilinn & Àird Talla</i> (Lagavulin)	18 36.0%	21 42.9%	6 35.3%	4 36.4%	40 41.2%
24	<i>Gleann Eigeadail</i> (Glenegedale)	7 58.3%	2 28.6%	6 60.0%	2 40.0%	16 59.3%
25	<i>Corrairigh</i> (Corrarry)	4 14.3%	2 20.0%	5 20.8%	2 50.0%	13 23.2%
26-28	<i>Am Bogha Mòr 1</i> (Bowmore)	20 17.7%	24 36.4%	32 59.3%	30 75.0%	109 41.3%
29+30	<i>Am Bogha Mòr 2</i> (Bowmore)	18 17.0%	36 38.3%	50 73.5%	53 80.3%	154 47.4%
31+32	<i>Am Bogha Mòr 3</i> (Bowmore)	10 8.3%	20 28.2%	36 55.4%	26 68.4%	90 34.1%
Total	<i>Ile</i> (Islay)	260 20.1%	380 38.4%	472 62.1%	442 77.0%	1,536 46.5%

Table 22: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Ile* (Islay) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

²⁹ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³⁰ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³¹ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Diùra & Colbhasa</i> ³²						
Map No	Census output area ³³	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁴
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01	<i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay)	9 22.0%	16 40.0%	17 68.0%	16 66.7%	55 52.4%
02	<i>Baile na Creige</i> (Craighouse) & <i>Ceann Uachdrach</i>	2 4.0%	4 13.3%	10 31.3%	19 90.5%	31 28.7%
03	<i>Cabrach & Faolainn</i> (Feolin)	0 0.0%	1 3.1%	3 25.0%	8 72.7%	12 21.1%
Total	<i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Jura & Colonsay)	11 9.3%	21 20.6%	30 43.5%	43 76.8%	98 36.3%

Table 23: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Diùra & Colbhasa* (Jura & Colonsay) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

<i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2 ³⁵	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1.7 %
3-4	15	8.6 %	5	4.5 %	7	7.1 %	2	2.5 %
5-24	305	26.5 %	245	18.8 %	192	18.4 %	148	18.2 %
25-44	505	51.3 %	394	35.8 %	243	24.1 %	105	10.9 %
45-64	655	64.9 %	512	60.4 %	454	47.2 %	307	27.8 %
65 +	530	81.5 %	488	77.5 %	369	59.1 %	306	45.3 %
Total (3 years and over)	2,010	50.6 %	1,642	41.1 %	1,265	33.9 %	866	23.8 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,611	44.8 %	1,223	38.0 %	830	27.2 %

Table 24: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to data from 1971 to 2001

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

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

³⁴ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.

³⁵ Information only available since 2001.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ³⁶ : <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay)	55	40.0 %	29	29.3 %	26	23.0 %
02	<i>Diùra: Baile na Creige</i> (Craighouse)	29	26.9 %	15	18.7 %	10	14.1 %
	<i>Diùra: Ceann Uachdrach</i>	2	8.0 %				
03	<i>Diùra: Faolainn</i> (Feolin)	16	18.1 %	22	17.6 %	10	8.6 %
04	<i>Port Asgaig</i> (Port Askaig)	130	47.4 %	43	34.7 %	33	24.6 %
05	<i>Na Ceallan</i> (Keills)			54	42.1 %	30	24.0 %
06	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Ballygrant) a	88	50.6 %	19	32.2 %	17	24.6 %
07	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Ballygrant) b			22	23.4 %	14	14.1 %
08	<i>Beul an Atha</i> (Bridgend) a	44	32.4 %	41	32.5 %	30	24.2 %
09	<i>Beul an Atha</i> (Bridgend) b	30	31.9 %	18	27.3 %	12	16.9 %
10	<i>Loch Gruinneart</i> (Loch Gruinart)	28	45.2 %	33	42.9 %	20	21.7 %
11	<i>Bruthaich a'Chladaich</i> (Bruichladdich)	92	51.1 %	92	52.6 %	32	21.5 %
	<i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman)	8	38.1 %				
12	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte) a	112	56.9 %	28	29.5 %	41	28.5 %
13	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte) b			60	38.2 %	25	39.1 %
14	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte) c					36	26.9 %
	<i>Nearabus</i> (Nerabus)	41	41.4 %	32	47.8 %		
15	<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven) a	84	65.6 %	40	49.4 %	18	21.2 %
16	<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven) b			48	53.3 %	35	42.2 %
	<i>Losaid</i> (Lossit)	26	86.7 %				
17	<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen) 1a	132	36.6 %	58	33.7 %	47	29.4 %
18	<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen) 1b			40	23.1 %	22	13.3 %
19	<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen) 2a	127	40.6 %	57	34.8 %	47	38.8 %
20	<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen) 2b			44	37.3 %	26	23.0 %
21	<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen) 3a	127	43.9 %	49	37.2 %	22	16.9 %
22	<i>Port Ilein</i> (Port Ellen) 3b			63	41.6 %	33	25.6 %
23	<i>Laphroaig</i> (Laphroaig)	17	39.5 %	28	20.0 %	37	20.0 %
	<i>An Obha</i> (Oa)	28	33.7 %				
24	<i>Lag a'Mhuilinn</i> (Lagavulin)	47	37.0 %	27	26.2 %	27	22.1 %
	<i>Gleann Eigeadail</i> (Glenegedale)	16	47.1 %				
25	<i>Corrairigh</i> (Corrarry)	13	19.7 %	14	12.8 %	15	15.6 %
26	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 1a	109	39.9 %	32	38.1 %	35	26.5 %
27	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 1b			39	30.7 %	22	16.8 %
28	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 1c			27	50.0 %	19	32.2 %
29	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 2a	148	44.0 %	58	32.2 %	47	27.0 %
30	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 2b			44	37.0 %	30	24.2 %
31	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 3a	92	31.2 %	45	41.9 %	35	19.6 %
32	<i>Am Bogha Mòr</i> (Bowmore) 3b			44	32.8 %	15	23.8 %

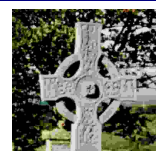
Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to data from 1981 to 2001

³⁶ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.



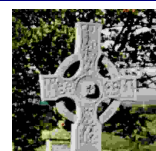
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	Colbhasa (Colonsay)	1	5.0 %	35	31.0 %	- 26.0 %	35.8 %
02	Diùra: Baile na Creige (Craighouse)	7	29.2 %	15	21.1 %	+ 8.1 %	25.5 %
03	Diùra: Faolainn (Feolin)	4	12.9 %	14	12.0 %	+ 0.9 %	15.1 %
04	Port Asgaig (Port Askaig)	11	23.9 %	47	35.1 %	- 11.2 %	36.2 %
05	Na Ceallan (Keills)	4	10.5 %	46	36.8 %	- 26.3 %	38.3 %
06	Baile Grannda a (Ballygrant a)	4	23.5 %	23	33.3 %	- 9.8 %	34.4 %
07	Baile Grannda b (Ballygrant b)	4	11.1 %	27	27.3 %	- 16.2 %	27.4 %
08	Beul an Atha a (Bridgend a)	10	26.3 %	44	35.5 %	- 9.2 %	38.9 %
09	Beul an Atha b (Bridgend b)	1	5.0 %	18	25.4 %	- 20.4 %	27.3 %
10	Loch Gruinneart (Loch Gruinart)	5	19.2 %	25	27.2 %	- 8.0 %	34.4 %
11	Bruthaich a'Chladaich (Bruichladdich)	5	21.7 %	46	30.9 %	- 9.2 %	42.3 %
12	Port Sgioba a (Port Charlotte a)	13	32.5 %	54	37.5 %	- 5.0 %	44.4 %
13	Port Sgioba b (Port Charlotte b)	9	31.8 %	30	46.9 %	- 15.1 %	62.8 %
14	Port Sgioba c (Port Charlotte c)	8	25.8 %	52	38.8 %	- 13.0 %	49.5 %
15	Port na h-Aibhne a (Portnahaven a)	2	22.2 %	24	28.2 %	- 6.0 %	32.4 %
16	Port na h-Aibhne b (Portnahaven b)	10	66.7 %	41	49.4 %	+ 17.3 %	55.6 %

Table 26: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to census data of 2001 – Part A



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)
17	Port Ilein 1a (Port Ellen 1a)	10	19.2 %	65	40.6 %	- 21.4 %	41.3 %
18	Port Ilein 1b (Port Ellen 1b)	9	15.8 %	41	24.7 %	- 8.9 %	26.9 %
19	Port Ilein 2a (Port Ellen 2a)	5	19.2 %	62	51.2 %	- 32.0 %	52.6 %
20	Port Ilein 2b (Port Ellen 2b)	8	30.8 %	37	32.7 %	- 1.9 %	34.6 %
21	Port Ilein 3a (Port Ellen 3a)	9	20.9 %	34	26.2 %	- 5.3 %	29.0 %
22	Port Ilein 3b (Port Ellen 3b)	8	17.0 %	48	37.2 %	- 20.2 %	41.4 %
23	Laphroaig (Laphroaig)	5	12.5 %	49	26.5 %	- 14.0 %	31.7 %
24	Lag a'Mhuilinn (Lagavulin)	7	17.5 %	40	32.8 %	- 15.3 %	32.6 %
25	Corrairigh (Corrarry)	6	30.0 %	20	20.8 %	+ 9.2 %	26.0 %
26	Am Bogha Mòr 1a (Bowmore 1a)	8	22.9 %	51	38.6 %	- 15.8 %	41.0 %
27	Am Bogha Mòr 1b (Bowmore 1b)	7	17.1 %	41	31.3 %	- 14.2 %	33.1 %
28	Am Bogha Mòr 1c (Bowmore 1c)	1	8.3 %	23	39.0 %	- 30.7 %	42.9 %
29	Am Bogha Mòr 2a (Bowmore 2a)	12	33.3 %	67	38.5 %	- 5.2 %	41.4 %
30	Am Bogha Mòr 2b (Bowmore 2b)	5	13.5 %	46	37.1 %	- 23.6 %	38.3 %
31	Am Bogha Mòr 3a (Bowmore 3a)	12	23.5 %	55	30.7 %	- 7.2 %	32.7 %
32	Am Bogha Mòr 3b (Bowmore 3b)	2	16.7 %	23	36.5 %	- 19.8 %	40.0 %

Table 27: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to census data of 2001 – Part B



II. Literature and Data Sources

Am Bratach (1992-2019): *Monthly Community Newspaper for Northwest-Sutherland. Srath Nabhair* (Strathnaver), Sutherland, 1992-2019.

An Comunn Gaidhealach (1936): *Report of the Special Committee on the Teaching of Gaelic in Schools and Colleges. An Comunn Gaidhealach*, 1936.

Borgstrøm, Carl Hj. (1940): *A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland. Vol. I. The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides.* Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Norwegian Universities Press, Oslo, 1940.

Borgstrøm, Carl Hj. (1941): *A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland. Vol. II. The Dialects of Skye and Ross-shire.* Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Norwegian Universities Press, Oslo, 1941.

Campbell, John L. (1950): *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life, Past, Present, and Future. Second Edition, Revised and Extended.* Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1950.

Carmichael, Alexander (1899): *Introduction. Carmina Gadelica, Vol. I,* Edinburgh, 1899.

Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich (1992-2005): *Aithisg na Bliadhna – Annual Report (several volumes 1992/1993 to 2004/2005).* Inbhirnis (Inverness), 1992-2005.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1992): *Plana Leasachaidh Deich Bliadhna airson na Gàidhlig ann an Iar Thuath Chataibh (A Ten Year Gaelic Development Plan for North & West Sutherland).* Buidheann Obrach Gàidhlig Iar Thuath Chataibh (North West Sutherland Gaelic Working Group). *Comunn na Gàidhlig, Ceann Loch Biorbhaidh* (Kinlochbervie), 1992.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1998-2002): *Number of Pupils in Gaelic Medium Education in Scotland (Primary, Secondary and Nursery Classes) and Number of Pupils in Secondary Education Learning Gaelic (as Fluent Speakers or Learners) for School Years 1998-1999 to 2001/2002 Inclusively.* Compiled by Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde, Jordanhill Campus. Inbhirnis (Inverness), 1998-2002.

Crofters Commission (1883): *Minutes of Evidence and Report of the Crofters' Commission.* 1883.

Dè tha dol? (1982-2006): *Monthly Community Newspaper for Ardnamurchan and Moidart. Ath Tharracail* (Acharacle), Argyll, 1982-2006.

Dixon, John H. (1886): *Gairloch and Guide to Loch Maree.* Co-operative Printing Company Limited. Edinburgh, 1886, reprinted in 1974 by Gairloch Parish Branch, Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society.

Dorian, Nancy C. (1978): *East Sutherland Gaelic: The Dialect of the Brora, Golspie, and Embo Fishing Communities.* Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1978.

Dorian, Nancy C. (1981): *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1981.



Dorian, Nancy C. (1996): *Personal-pattern Variation in East Sutherland Gaelic*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol. XVII, Special Volume: Feill-sgrìbhinn do Ruairidh MacThomais (Festschrift for Professor D S Thompson), University of Aberdeen, 1996.

Dorward, D. (2001): *The Glens of Angus: Names, Places, People*. The Pinkfoot Press, 2001.

Dunn, Catherine M. & A. G. Boyd Robertson (1989): *Gaelic in Education*. In: Gillies, William (ed.): *Gaelic and Scotland – Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989.

Duwe, Kurt (1977): *Die gälische Sprache im heutigen Schottland*. In: Europa Ethnica. Vol. 2/1977, Verlag Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1977.

Duwe, Kurt (1978): *Sprache und Nationalbewegung im heutigen Wales*. In: Europa Ethnica. Vol. 1/1978, Verlag Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1978.

Duwe, Kurt (1987): *Beschränkte Kulturautonomie – ihre Möglichkeiten und Grenzen – aufgezeigt an den Erfahrungen in Schottland und Wales*. In: Kurt Duwe (ed.) Regionalismus in Europa. Band 4 aus der Reihe: Demokratie, Ökologie, Föderalismus. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main Bern New York Paris, 1987.

Duwe, Kurt (1987): *Schottland: Die historische Entwicklung einer widersprüchlichen Nation*. In: Kurt Duwe (ed.) Regionalismus in Europa. Band 4 aus der Reihe: Demokratie, Ökologie, Föderalismus. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main Bern New York Paris, 1987.

Duwe, Kurt (1987): *Kulturelle Identität als Grundlage autonomistischer Strömungen*. In: Kurt Duwe (ed.) Regionalismus in Europa. Band 4 aus der Reihe: Demokratie, Ökologie, Föderalismus. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main Bern New York Paris, 1987.

Duwe, Kurt (2003-2024): *Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies*. 27 volumes. Electronic publications: http://www.linguae-celticae.de/GLS_english.htm. Wedel/Hamburg, 2003-2024.

Duwe, Kurt (2005-2008): *1891 Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Profiles. Individual fact-sheets*. Electronic publications: http://www.linguae-celticae.de/GLP_english.htm. Hamburg, 2005-2008.

Gaelic Society of Inverness (1888): Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. 15, 1888.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1953-54): *Census 1951. Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 7 (Argyll), 11 (Bute), 18 (Inverness), 26 (Perth & Kinross), 28 (Ross & Cromarty), 32 (Sutherland)*. Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1953-1954.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1954): *Census 1951. Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland. Vol. III. General Volume. Population, Age, Sex and Conjugal Condition, Birthplace and Nationality, Gaelic-speaking Population and Housing (Houses, Households and Household Conveniences)*. Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1954.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1966): *Census 1961 Scotland. Vol. VII. Gaelic*, Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1966.



General Register Office, Edinburgh (1966): *Census 1961 Scotland. Gaelic, Supplementary Leaflet*, Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1966.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1975): *Census 1971 Gaelic Report. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1975.*

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1975): *Census 1971 Unpublished Tables. No.800 (Enumerated Population by those Speaking, Reading and Writing Gaelic, by Age and Sex for all Counties except Argyll, Inverness, Perth, Ross & Cromarty and Sutherland) and No. 801 (Enumerated Population by those Speaking, Reading and Writing Gaelic, by Age and Sex for Remaining Local Authority Areas in Perth County and Remaining County Council Electoral Divisions in the Counties of Argyll, Inverness, and Ross & Cromarty). Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1975.*

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1975): *Index of Scottish Place Names from 1971 Census, with Location and Population (over 100 Persons) Scotland.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1975.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1976): *Census 1971 Scotland. Report for Highland Region and Orkney, Shetland and Western Isles Islands Areas.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1976.

General Register Office for Scotland (1983): *Census 1981 Gaelic Report.* Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1983.

General Register Office for Scotland (1983): *Census 1981 Small Areas Statistics Table 40 (Output Areas and Civil Parishes), Highland, Western Isles, Argyll & Bute, Dumbarton, Perth & Kinross, and selected areas in North Ayrshire, Moray, and Kincardine & Deeside.* Edinburgh, GROS, 1983.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *1991 Census – Cunntas-shluaigh 1991. Gaelic Language A'Ghàidhlig. Scotland Alba.* Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *1991 Census – Cunntas-shluaigh 1991. Topic Monitor for Gaelic Language Scotland. Pàipear Comhairleachaidh Cuspaireil Gàidhlig Alba.* Government Statistical Service, Edinburgh, 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *Census 1991 Small Areas Statistics Table 67s (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Electoral Wards). Highland, Western Isles, Argyll & Bute, Dumbarton, Perth & Kinross, and selected areas in North Ayrshire, Moray, and Kincardine & Deeside.* Edinburgh, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *1991 Census. Monitors for Wards (Electoral Divisions) and Civil Parishes in Western Isles Islands Area, Highland Region, Tayside Region, Central Region and Strathclyde Region.* (Five separate volumes). Government Statistical Service, Edinburgh, 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1995): *1991 Census. Monitor for Inhabited Islands. Scotland.* Government Statistical Service, Edinburgh, 1995.

General Register Office for Scotland (2003): *Census 2001 Small Areas Statistics Table 206 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Inhabited Islands); Univariate Table 12 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes), Key Sta-*



tistics Table 6 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Inhabited Islands), Standard Table 206 (Statistical Wards), Theme Table T27 (Council Areas). General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003.

General Register Office for Scotland (2003): *Scottish 2001 Census Results OnLine (SCROL): Population Profiles (Information on Gaelic): Percentage of Total Population Speaking Gaelic – of Those Speaking Gaelic Percentage Born Outside Scotland*. Information provided via <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003.

General Register Office for Scotland (2005): *Scotland's Census 2001 Gaelic Report*. General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2005.

General Register Office for Scotland (2011): *Scotlands People* <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>. Census records of the census years 1891, 1901 and 1911. General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2011

General Register Office for Scotland (2024): *Scottish 2022 Census Results OnLine (SCROL): Population Profiles (Information on Gaelic): Percentage of Total Population Speaking Gaelic – of Those Speaking Gaelic Percentage Born Outside Scotland*. Information provided via <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2024.

Gillies, William (1993): *Scottish Gaelic*. In: *The Celtic Languages*. Ball, Martin J. & James Fife (eds.). Routledge, New York, 1993.

Grant, N. (1996): *Gaelic and Education in Scotland – Developments and Perspectives*. In: *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. XVII, Special Volume: Feill-sgrìbhinn do Ruairidh MacThomais (Festschrift for Professor D S Thompson), University of Aberdeen, 1996.

Highland Council (2000-2024): *School Statistics 2000/2001 to 2023/2024: Pupils in Gaelic Medium Units*. Information provided via <http://www.highland.gov.uk>. Inverness, 2024.

Holmer, Nils M. (1938): *Studies in Argyllshire Gaelic*. Skrifter Utgivna av K. Humanistika Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. Uppsala, 1938.

Holmer, Nils M. (1957): *The Gaelic of Arran*. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1957.

Holmer, Nils M. (1962): *The Gaelic of Kintyre*. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1962.

Hutchinson, Roger (2005): *A Waxing Moon. The Modern Gaelic Revival*. Mainstream Publishing Company (Edinburgh) Ltd., Edinburgh, 2005.

James, Clive (1989): *What Future for Scottish Gaelic Speaking Communities?* Discussion Papers in Geolinguistics No. 14, Dept of Geography and Recreation Studies. Staffordshire Polytechnics, 1989.

James, Clive (1991): *Tiriodh agus Colla. A Social and Economic Geolinguistic Study*. Caeathro, Caernarfon, Cymru (Wales), 1991.

Johnstone, Richard (1994): *The Impact of Current Developments to Support the Gaelic language – Review of Research*. CILT in collaboration with Scottish CILT, Stirling, 1994.



Johnstone, Richard, Wynne Harlen, Morag MacNeil, Bob Stradling & Graham Thorpe (1999): *The Attainment of Pupils Receiving Gaelic-medium Primary Education in Scotland*. Scottish CILT on behalf of the Scottish Executive Education Department, Stirling, 1999.

Kennedy, Michael (2002): *Gaelic Nova Scotia. An Economic, Cultural, and Social Impact Study*. Nova Scotia Museum. Curatorial Report No. 97. Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, 2002.

Macrow, Brenda G. (1953): *Torridon Highlands*. The Regional Books. Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1953.

MacDonald, Kenneth D. (1968): *The Gaelic Language, its Study and Development*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. and Ian Grimble (eds.): *The Future of the Highlands*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968.

MacDonald, Sharon (1997): *Reimagining Culture. Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance*. Berg, Oxford New York, 1997.

MacKenzie, Hector L. (1978): *Gaelic in Kintyre*. Kintyre Magazine, Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society, No. 31, Campbeltown, 1978.

MacKinnon, Kenneth K. (1974): *The Lion's Tongue. Club Leabhar, Inbhirnis* (Inverness), 1974.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1977): *Language, Education & Social Processes in a Gaelic Community*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Henley & Boston, 1977.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1978): *Gaelic in Scotland 1971: Some Sociological and Demographic Considerations of the Census Report for Gaelic*. Hatfield Polytechnics, 1978.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1984): *1981 Census. Gaelic in the Highland Region. An Comann Gaidhealach*, 1984.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1988): *Gaelic Language-maintenance and Viability in the Isle of Skye*. Hatfield Polytechnic, Hartford, 1988.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1990): *Language-maintenance and Viability in Gaelic-speaking Communities: Skye and the Western Isles in the 1981 Census*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. XVI, University of Aberdeen, 1990.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1991): *Gaelic: A Past & Future Prospect*. Saltire Society. Edinburgh, 1991.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1991): *The Gaelic Speech Community*. In: Alladina, Safder and Viv Edwards (eds.): *Multilingualism in the British Isles: The Older Mother Tongues of Europe*. Longman Linguistics Library, Longman. London and New York, 1991.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1993): *Scottish Gaelic Today: Social History and Contemporary Status*. In: *The Celtic Languages*. Ball, Martin J. & James Fife (eds.). Routledge, New York, 1993.



MacKinnon, Kenneth (1996): *Social Class and Gaelic Language Abilities in the 1981 Census*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol. XVII, Special Volume: Feill-sgrìbhinn do Ruairidh MacThomais (Festschrift for Professor D S Thompson), University of Aberdeen, 1996.

MacLeod, Donald J. (1976): *Gaelic in Public Life – A' Ghàidhlig am Beatha Fhollaiseach an t-Sluaigh*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

MacLeod, Donald J. (2003): *An Historical Overview*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): *Gaelic Medium Education*. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.

MacLeod, Finlay (1976): *Na Bun-sgoiltean - The Primary Schools*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

MacLeod, Murdo (1976): *A' Ghàidhlig anns na h-Àrd-sgoiltean – Gaelic in Secondary Schools*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

McLeod, Wilson (2001): *Gaelic in the New Scotland: Politics, Rhetoric and Public Discourse*. JEMIE Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, Issue 02/2001. European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg, Germany, 2001.

McLeod, Wilson (2003): *Gaelic Medium Education in the International Context*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): *Gaelic Medium Education*. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.

Mercer, John (1974): *Hebridean Islands. Colonsay, Gigha, Jura*. Blackie & Son Ltd. Glasgow and London, 1974.

Michie, M. G. (2000): *Glenesk: The History and Culture of an Angus Community*. Compiled by Fenton. A. and Beech, J., Tuckwell Press, 2000.

Mitchell, Ian (1994): *How the North's Linguistic Frontier was Re-drawn*. West Highland Free Press, 1994.

Murray, John and Catherine Morrison (1984): *Bilingual Primary Education in the Western Isles, Scotland*. Report of the Bilingual Education Project 1975-81. Acair, Stornoway, 1984.

Murray, John (1989): *Gaelic Education and the Gaelic Community*. In: Gillies, William (ed.): *Gaelic and Scotland – Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989.

Newton, Michael (1999): *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid* (From the Clyde to Callander). Acair, Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway), 1999.

Nicolson, Margaret & Matthew MacIver (2003): *Contexts and Futures*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): *Gaelic Medium Education*. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.



Nisbet, John (1963): *Bilingualism and the School*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. X, Pt. 5, University of Aberdeen, 1963.

Nisbet, Jean (2003): *Managing Provision: The School Perspective*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): Gaelic Medium Education. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.

Oban Times (1992-2024): *Weekly Community Newspaper* (covering the western Highlands and Islands of Scotland). Oban, Argyll, 1992-2024.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1879): *On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles: a Statistical Survey*. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1879.

Robertson, Tim (2004): *Moidart*. Comann Eachdraidh Mùideart (Moidart Local History Group), 2004.

Robertson, Boyd (2001): *Regional Languages in Europe – Gaelic in Scotland*. In: Multilingualism Matters 118. The Other Languages of Europe. Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives. Extra, Guus & Durk Gorter (eds.), Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001.

ScotlandsPeople (2024): Original census records of Scotland covering enumeration districts and individual census sheets from 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921, General Register Office for Scotland, www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk, Edinburgh 2024.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Report*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows, in 1881 and Corresponding Particulars in 1871*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table II. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Ecclesiastic Sub-divisions, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows, in 1881*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table III. Scotland in Civil Counties, with their Town, Village, and Rural Groups, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows, in 1881 and Corresponding Population in 1871*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table IV. The Inhabited Islands of Scotland, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1881, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1871*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table V. Parliamentary, Royal, and Police Burghs in Scotland showing the Number of Families, Hous-*



es, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows; also the Parliamentary Districts of Burghs and Counties, with the Number of Electors on the Roll, and Members returned to Parliament in 1881. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table VIII. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1881, and Corresponding Particulars in 1871.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table IX. Scotland in School Board Counties Districts, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1892): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. II - Part I. Ages of the Population, Ages of the Children and Scholars, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Birth-places.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1892.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891, and Corresponding Particulars in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table II. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Ecclesiastical Sub-divisions, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Part III. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Town, Village, and Rural Groups, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table IV. The Inhabited Islands of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Part V. Parliamentary, Royal, and Police Burghs in Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table VIII. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891 and Corresponding Particulars in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.



Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. – Table IX. Scotland in School Board Counties and Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, and Corresponding Particulars in 1891.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table II. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, and Corresponding Particulars in 1891.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table III. Scotland in School Board Counties and Districts, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, with the Explanation of the Difference between the Civil and School Board Counties.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table IV. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Ecclesiastical Sub-divisions, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table VII. The Municipal and Police Burghs of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1891.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table VIII. Municipal Wards of Burghs so Subdivided (Arranged Alphabetically), Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table IX. County Districts of Scotland with their Electoral Divisions, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table X. Health Board Areas, Counties, Districts and Burghs of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table XI. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Town, Village, and Rural Groups, Showing the Num-*



ber of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table XII. The Inhabited Islands of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1891.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1912): *Census of Scotland, 1911. Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 5 (Aberdeen), 6 (Argyll), 8 (Banff), 10 (Bute), 11 (Caithness), 13 (Dumbarton), 16 (Elgin), 20 (Inverness), 26 (Nairn), 29 (Perth), 31 (Ross & Cromarty), 35 (Stirling) and 36 (Sutherland).* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1912.

Scotland, Census Office (1912): *Census of Scotland, 1911. Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. II. Populations, Ages and Conjugal Conditions, Birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking and Housing.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1912.

Scotland, Census Office (1921): *Census of Scotland, 1921. Preliminary Report on the Thirteenth Decennial Census of Scotland.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1921.

Scotland, Census Office (1922): *Census of Scotland, 1921. Report on the Thirteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 6 (Argyll), 10 (Bute), 18 (Inverness), 28 (Perth), 30 (Ross & Cromarty), 35 (Sutherland).* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1922.

Scotland, Census Office (1923): *Census of Scotland, 1921. Report on the Thirteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. II. Populations, Ages and Conjugal Conditions, Birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking and Housing.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1923.

Scotland, Census Office (1932): *Census of Scotland, 1931. Report on the Fourteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 7 (Argyll), 11 (Bute), 12 (Caithness), 14 (Dumbarton), 23 (Moray, Nairn), 18 (Inverness), 26 (Perth, Kinross), 28 (Ross & Cromarty) and 32 (Sutherland).* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1932.

Scotland, Census Office (1933): *Census of Scotland, 1931. Report on the Fourteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. II. Populations, Ages and Conjugal Conditions, Birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking and Housing.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1933.

Scottish Council for Research in Education (1961): *Gaelic-speaking Children in Highland Schools.* University of London Press Ltd., London, 1961.

Scottish Office Education Department (1976): *Educational Research 1976: A Register of Current Educational Research Projects.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh, 1976.

Scottish Office Education Department (1994): *Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland.* A Report by HM Inspectors of Schools, Edinburgh, 1994.

Smith, John A. (1968): *The Position of Gaelic and Gaelic Culture in Scottish Education.* In: Thomson, Derrick S. and Ian Grimble (eds.): *The Future of the Highlands.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968.



Stephens, Meic (1976): *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe*. Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, 1976.

Stornoway Gazette (1992-2024): *Guth nan Eilean. Weekly Community Newspaper* (covering the Outer Hebrides). Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, 1992-2024.

The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845). 15 Volumes, Edinburgh, 1831-1845. Electronic version: <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>

The Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-1799). 21 Volumes, Edinburgh, 1791-1799. Electronic version: <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>

Thomson, Derrick S. (1976): *Gaelic in Scotland: the Background – Gàidhlig an Albainn: Beagan Eachdraidh*. In: Tomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.) (1983): *The Companion Guide to Gaelic Scotland*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

University of Strathclyde (1992-2006): *Pupil numbers in Gaelic-medium education and as Gaelic learners in secondary schools* (in numerous reports by Scottish Office, Scottish Executive, Highland Council, *Comunn na Gàidhlig*). Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde, Jordanhill Campus, 1992-2006.

Warrack, A. (1911): *A Scots Dialect Dictionary*. Chambers, 1991.

Watson, W. J. (1904): *Place Names of Ross and Cromarty*. Inverness, 1904 (published by Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society in 1974).

Watson, W. J. (1914): *Bardachd Ghàidhlig – Gaelic Poetry 1550-1900. An Comunn Gaidhealach*. Inverness, 1914.

West Highland Free Press (1982-2012): *Weekly community newspaper* (covering Western Isles, Skye, West Lochaber and Wester Ross). *An t-Ath Leathan* (Broadford), Isle of Skye, 1982-2012.

Withers, Charles W. J. (1984): *Gaelic in Scotland 1698 – 1981. The Geographical History of a Language*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh, 1984.

Withers, Charles W. J. (1989): *On the Geography and Social History of Gaelic*. In: Gillies, William (ed.): *Gaelic and Scotland – Alba agus a 'Ghàidhlig*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989.

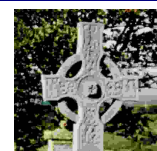
Withers, Charles W. J. (1990): *Gaelic-speaking in Urban Lowland Scotland: The Evidence of the 1891 Census*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. XVI, University of Aberdeen, 1990.



III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig-speaking* people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland, 1912): “*When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.*” Due to the ever-increasing presence of English in the *Gàidhlig* community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2nd World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke *Gàidhlig* but no English.
3. No data are available on persons speaking *Gàidhlig* outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the *Gàidhlig* language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of *Alba Nuadh* (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
4. During Word War II no census was taken. Therefore, no figures are available for 1941.
5. In 1971 the wording was changed from “speaks Gaelic” into “is able to speak Gaelic”. This resulted in areas with low density of speakers in a substantial increase of *Gàidhlig*-speakers counted compared with 1961. These were essentially those who could speak *Gàidhlig* but did not have the opportunity to use it. In strongly *Gàidhlig-speaking* areas those who were able to speak *Gàidhlig* were also using the language. So in the islands and on the western seaboard the figures should have remained comparable with previous censuses.
6. In 1981 the population basis was changed from persons present on census night to usually resident persons. In the light of increased mobility of the population this change was inevitable.



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



IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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

Census Output Areas in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa – Part A</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay): <i>Cill Chatain</i> (Kilchattan), <i>Glas Àird</i> , <i>Uragaig</i> , <i>Cill Òrain</i> (Kiloran), <i>Sgalasaig</i> (Scalasaig), <i>Orasa</i> (Oronsay)	JC	32BM01 32BM02	60QD000581
02	<i>Diùra</i> (Jura): <i>Taigh na Creige</i> (Craighouse), <i>A'Chabrach</i> (Cabrach)	JC	32BL01	60QD000114
03	<i>Diùra</i> (Jura): <i>Faolainn</i> (Feolin), <i>Na Ceallan</i> (Keils), <i>Inbhir Lusa</i> (Inverlussa), <i>Àird Lusa</i> (Ardlussa), <i>Àird Fheàrna</i> (Ardfernal), <i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbert), <i>An Leag</i> (Lagg), <i>An Ceann Uachdrach</i> (Kinuachdrach), <i>Eilean Sgarba</i> (Scarba)	JC	32BL02 32BL03	60QD000115
04	<i>Port Asgaig</i> (Port Askaig), <i>Caol Ila</i> , <i>Bun na h-Abhainn</i> (Bunnahabhain), <i>Dùn Losaid</i> (Dunlossit)	KL	32BG01A	60QD000109
05	<i>Na Ceallan</i> (Keills)	KL	32BG01B	60QD000110
06	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Ballygrant), <i>Baile Mhartainn</i> (Ballimartin), <i>Losaid</i> (Lossit), <i>Port an Eilein</i> (Finlaggan)	KL	32BF01A	60QD000107
07	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Ballygrant), <i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> (Kilmeny)	KL	32BF01B	60QD000108
08	<i>Beul an Atha</i> (Bridgend), <i>Sgàrabus</i> (Scarrabus), <i>Na Taighean Ruadha</i> (Redhouses)	KL	32BE03	60QD000106
09	<i>Beul an Atha</i> (Bridgend), <i>Na Creagan</i> (Craigens)	KL	32BE02	60QD000105
10	<i>Loch Gruinneart</i> (Loch Gruinart), <i>Càrabus</i> , <i>Bruach an Aoraidh</i> (Aoradh), <i>Beul an Aba</i> (Ballinaby), <i>Ceann na Drochaid</i> (Kindrochit)	KC	32BE01	60QD000104
11	<i>Bruthaich a'Chladaich</i> (Bruichladdich), <i>Loch Gorm</i>	KC	32BK02	60QD000712
12	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte), <i>Macharaidh</i> (Machrie), <i>Gearach</i> , <i>Cill Chomain</i> (Kilchoman)	KC	32BJ02A 32BK01	60QD000113
13	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte)	KC	32BJ02B	60QD000580
14	<i>Port Sgioba</i> (Port Charlotte), <i>Nèarabus</i> (Nerabus)	KC	32BJ02B 32BJ01	60QD000579
15	<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven), <i>Bun Obhan</i> (Port Wemyss)	KC	32BH01A 32BH03	60QD000111
16	<i>Port na h-Aibhne</i> (Portnahaven), <i>Losaid</i> (Lossit), <i>An Cladach</i> (Claddach)	KC	32BH01B 32BH02	60QD000112

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa – Part B</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
17	<i>Port Ilein (Port Ellen)</i>	KD	32BC01A	60QD000192
18	<i>Port Ilein (Port Ellen)</i>	KD	32BC01B	60QD000193
19	<i>Port Ilein (Port Ellen)</i>	KD	32BC02A	60QD000194
20	<i>Port Ilein (Port Ellen)</i>	KD	32BC02B	60QD000195
21	<i>Port Ilein (Port Ellen)</i>	KD	32BC03A	60QD000196
22	<i>Port Ilein (Port Ellen)</i>	KD	32BC03B	60QD000600
23	<i>Laphroaig, Rìosabus (Risabus), Gleann Eigeadail (Glenegedale), Baile Bhiocair (Ballivicar), Cornabus, Iomair a'Mhail (Imeraval), Laorean (Learin), Cragabus</i>	KD	32BC05 32BC04 32BC07	60QD000102
24	<i>Lag a'Mhuilinn (Lagavulin), An Àird Bheag (Ardbeg), Cill Daltain (Kildalton), An Àird Mhòr (Ardmòr), Àird Talla (Ardtalla)</i>	KD	32BC06	60QD000578
25	<i>Corrairigh (Corrory), Gleann Eigeadail (Glenegedale), Gart Loisgte (Gartloist), Gart nan Tràghad (Gartnatra), Cruach, Àrd Làrach (Ardlarach), Abhainn Bhogaidh (Avenvogie)</i>	KL	32BD04 32BD05	60QD000103
26	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD01A	60QD000197
27	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD01B	60QD000198
28	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD01C	60QD000199
29	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD02A	60QD000200
30	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD02B	60QD000201
31	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD03B	60QD000202
32	<i>Bogha Mòr (Bowmore)</i>	KL	32BD03A	60QD000601

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) – 1961-2001 – Part B



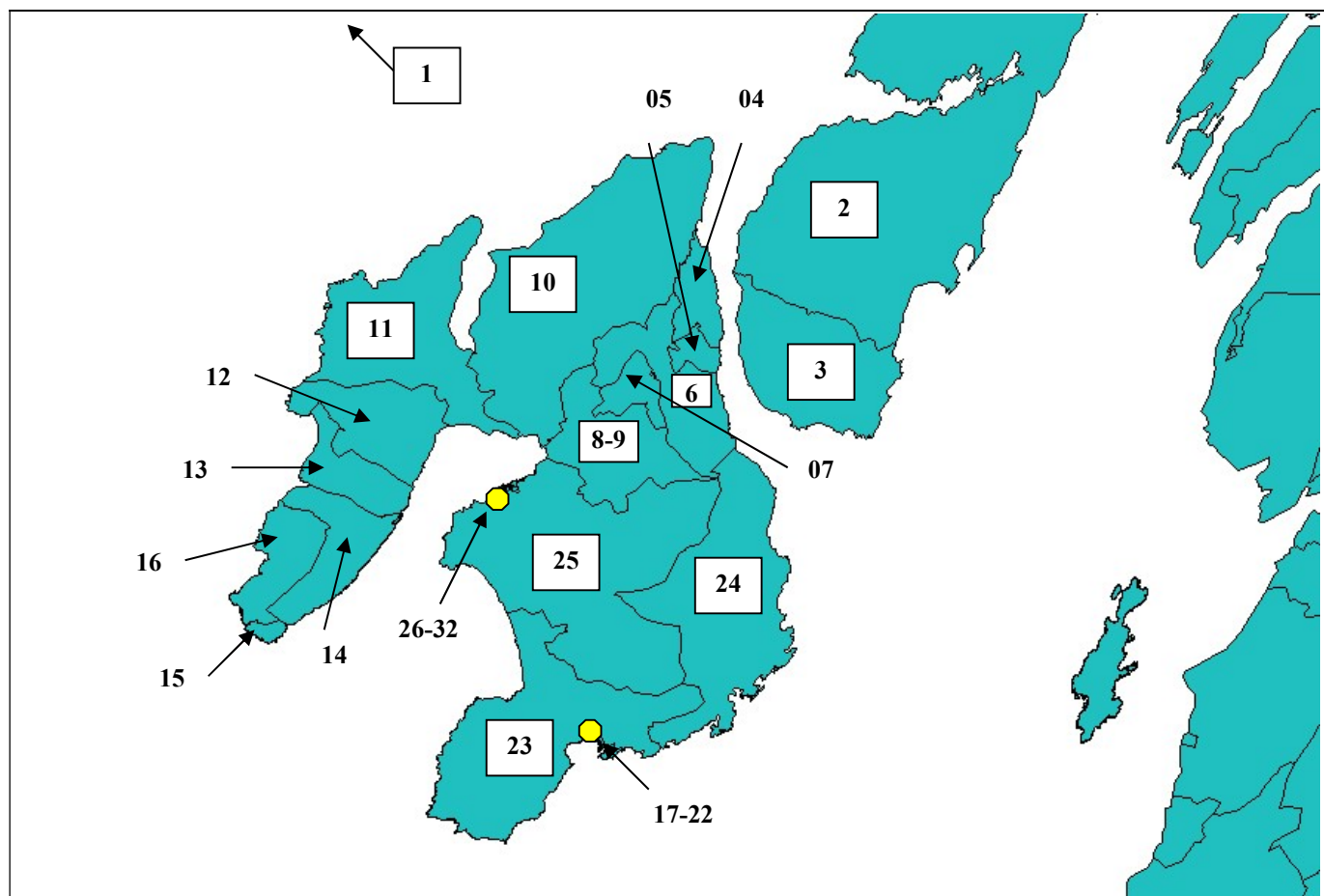


Fig. 10: Overview map of census output areas for *Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa* (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) - numbers are provided in tables A-1 and A-2³⁷

³⁷ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census



V. List of Tables

REPORT

1	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in <i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1911	8
2	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in <i>Cill Mheanaidh</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1911	10
3	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in <i>Cill Chomain</i> or <i>Na Ranna</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1911	11
4	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in <i>Cill-à-Rubha</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1911	12
5	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in <i>Cill Daltain & An Obha</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1911	13
6	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) and percentage of total population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> during 1881-1931	13
7	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) and percentage of total population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> during 1951-2011	15
8	Intergenerational viability and <i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole <i>Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd</i> (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011	17
9	People able to read <i>Gàidhlig</i> and <i>Gàidhlig</i> readers as percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (1971-2011)	19
10	People able to write <i>Gàidhlig</i> and <i>Gàidhlig</i> writers as percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (1971-2011)	19
11	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in younger age groups in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) in 2001 and 1991	21
12	Number and percentage of persons with knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001	23
13	Intergenerational viability and <i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) in comparison with the whole <i>Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd</i> (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011	24
14	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001	26
15	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001	26
16	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 1881 – selected areas (civil parishes, ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, villages or inhabited islands) in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	27
17	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes, ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, villages or inhabited islands) in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	28
18	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, electoral areas, villages or inhabited islands) in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	29
19	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> between 1911 and 1971 – civil parishes in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i>	30
20	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001	31
21	Percentage of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Argyll according to census data from 1891 to 1931	31



22	Population with <i>Gàidhlig</i> knowledge in output areas of <i>Ile</i> (Islay) according to age group and birthplace in 1981	32
23	Population with <i>Gàidhlig</i> knowledge in output areas of <i>Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Jura & Colonsay) according to age group and birthplace in 1981	33
24	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in different age groups in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to data from 1971 to 2001	33
25	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers for the census output areas in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to data from 1981 to 2001	34
26	Intergenerational viability and <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers born in Scotland in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to census data of 2001 – Part A	35
27	Intergenerational viability and <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers born in Scotland in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to census data of 2001 – Part B	36

ANNEXES

A-1	List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) – 1961-2001 – Part A	50
A-2	List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) – 1961-2001 – Part B	51



VI. List of Figures

REPORT

1	Overview map of area under investigation	6
2	<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – islands of <i>Ile</i> (Islay), <i>Diùra</i> (Jura) and <i>Colbhasa</i> (Colonsay)	7
3	Share of population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931	14
4	Percentage of children able to speak, read or write <i>Gàidhlig</i> in different age groups in 1981 – <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	16
5	Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	16
6	Persons able to read <i>Gàidhlig</i> as a percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers for both areas in different age groups (1971-2001)	19
7	Percentage of population able to understand or speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> and year of birth – area of <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to Census 2001	21
8	Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay) according to Census 2001	22
9	Share of primary school children attending <i>Gàidhlig</i> -medium classes on <i>Ile</i> in comparison with neighbouring <i>Muile</i> (September 1992 – September 2023)	25
10	Overview map of census output areas for <i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	52



VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



Index of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies

		<u>1st Edition</u>	<u>2nd Edition</u>
Vol. 01	<i>Aird nam Murchan & Loch Abar an Iar</i> (Ardnamurchan & West Lochaber)	October 2003	August 2005
Vol. 02	<i>Eilean Bharraigh</i> (Isle of Barra)	November 2003	September 2005
Vol. 03	<i>Uibhist a Deas & Beinn a'Bhaoghla</i> (South Uist & Benbecula)	December 2003	November 2005
Vol. 04	<i>Iar Thuath Chataibh</i> (North-West Sutherland)	January 2004	November 2005
Vol. 05	<i>Uibhist a Tuath</i> (North Uist)	January 2004	December 2005
Vol. 06	<i>Na Hearadh</i> (Harris)	February 2004	January 2006
Vol. 07	<i>Eilean Leodhais: Na Lochan</i> (Isle of Lewis: Lochs)	March 2004	January 2006
Vol. 08	<i>Eilean Leodhais: Uig & Carlabhagh</i> (Isle of Lewis: Uig & Carloway)	April 2004	January 2006
Vol. 09	<i>Taobh Siar Rois: Loch Bhraoin & Geàrrloch</i> (Wester Ross: Lochbroom & Gairloch)	June 2004	January 2006
Vol. 10	<i>Taobh Siar Rois: A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse</i> (Wester Ross: Applecross, Lochcarron & Lochalsh)	July 2004	February 2006
Vol. 11	<i>An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis</i> (Isle of Skye: Trotternish, Duirinish & Minginish)	July 2004	March 2006
Vol. 12	<i>An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite</i> (Isle of Skye: Portree, Strath & Sleat)	August 2004	April 2006
Vol. 13	<i>Eilean Leòdhais: An Taobh Siar & Nis</i> (Isle of Lewis: Westside & Ness)	April 2004	April 2006
Vol. 14	<i>Eilean Leòdhais: Am Bac & An Rubha</i> (Isle of Lewis: Back & Point)	May 2004	April 2006
Vol. 15	<i>Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh</i> (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway)	May 2004	April 2006
Vol. 16	<i>Ile, Diùra & Colbhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	August 2004	May 2006
Vol. 17	<i>Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain</i> (Glencoe, Lismore & Ardchattan)	September 2004	May 2006
Vol. 18	<i>An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas</i> (Oban & South Lorn)	October 2004	June 2006
Vol. 19	<i>An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear</i> (Fort William & East Lochaber)	October 2004	September 2006
Vol. 20	<i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Mull, Tiree & Coll)	July 2004	September 2006
Vol. 21	<i>Bàideanach, Srath Spè, Nàrann & Bràighean Mhàrr</i> (Badenoch, Strathspey, Nairn & Braes of Mar)	December 2004	December 2011
Vol. 22	<i>Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh</i> (East Sutherland & Caithness)	April 2005	January 2012
Vol. 23	<i>Inbhirnis & Loch Nis</i> (Inverness & Loch Ness)	May 2005	April 2012
Vol. 24	<i>Taobh Sear Rois</i> (Easter Ross)	March 2005	February 2012
Vol. 25	<i>Dal Riada & Cinn Tire</i> (Mid Argyll & Kintyre)	June 2005	April 2012
Vol. 26	<i>Comhal, Siorrachd Bhòid & Dùn Breatainn</i> (Cowal, County of Bute & Dumbarton)	June 2005	March 2012
Vol. 27	<i>Siorrachd Pheairt, Anghas & Sruighlea</i> (Perthshire, Angus & Stirling)	August 2005	November 2008

