

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 20: *Muile, Tiriodh & Colla* (Mull, Tiree & Coll)

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Extended² 2nd Edition

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Executive Summary

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

This issue is concerned with the islands in the centre of the Inner Hebrides. Gaelic remained as dominating community language on Mull and Coll as late as the Second World War; in Tiree Gaelic still plays a major role today. Gaelic on Mull seems to have narrowly escaped from the “point of no return” in recent years. The island could provide an excellent example for language resurrection if current initiatives continue - hopefully with increasing vigour. The picture of the Gaelic language on Tiree is slightly more encouraging. It still constitutes a prominent factor in local life although on a lower level than in the past. This status could be enhanced, however, much more successfully if the whole community (and all school children) would have a real chance to embrace Gaelic as part of their own lives. Linguistically Tiree looks very much divided between “locals” and newcomers.

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



Foreword to the First Edition

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

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



Acknowledgements

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

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

Kurt C. Duwe



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1 Introduction

In this issue the development of language communities is considered on the island group around *Muile* (Mull) in the Inner Hebrides. This is a sociologically and economically very heterogeneous archipelago. *Tiriodh* (Tiree) may still be characterised as a crofting community with its respectably high population of some 700 people – here *Gàidhlig* plays an important role in day-to-day conversation of the “locals”. Neighbouring *Colla* (Coll) on the other hand is far less populated and there are today only a handful of locally born inhabitants left. The famous *Eilean Idhe* (Iona) shares the same fate and *Gàidhlig* is almost exclusively confined to placenames on this island. Nonetheless in general terms the language has experienced some sort of renaissance both in education and in the community; namely on *Tiriodh* and around the townships of *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory) and *An Sailean* (Salen) on *Muile*.

During the last decades severe depopulation has occurred in many of the small settlements. This out-migration was matched with a substantial number of people moving into the area for business and retirement reasons. Nowadays (traditionally defined) *Muileachs* and *Colachs* are a minority on their islands. In 2011 only 56 % of the inhabitants of *Colla* were born in Scotland, on *Muile* this figure was around 60 %. On *Tiriodh* on the other hand only 18 % of inhabitants were born outside Scotland. This factor has to be kept in mind when considering language maintenance in such communities.

Administratively 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.

Three quarters of the approximately 3,800 inhabitants of this area (108,300 hectares) live today on the island of *Muile* (Mull) and some 1,000 alone in its “capital” *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory). Traditional occupations like crofting and fishing now play a minor role in the economical framework of the local communities. Tourism, local government, and associated services provide a major source of income of the population – not to forget those who have already earned their lot in their working lives and have retired to this part of Scotland.

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. The area of interest is shown in fig. 1 for information³.

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



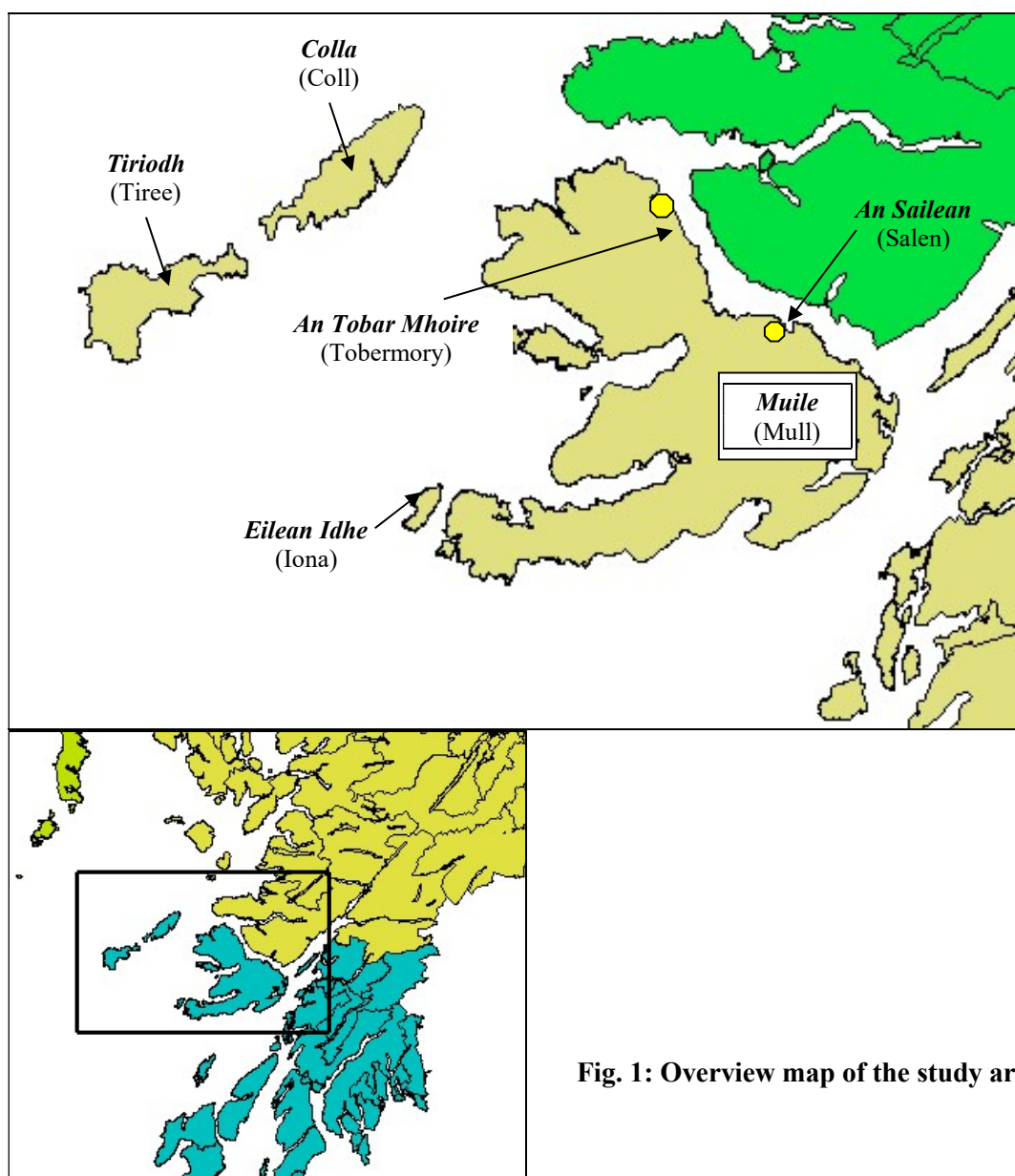


Fig. 1: Overview map of the study area



2 The Historical Background

As parts of the archipelago of the Inner Hebrides all islands belonged to the heart of the *Gaidhealtachd* during the middle of the 19th century. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-45) underlined this by reports like “*Gaelic is the language almost universally used among the lower orders*” (*Tiriodh & Colla*) or “*Though English is beginning to be pretty generally understood, the natives seldom use it, when conversing with one another*” (*Torasaigh on Muile*). In fact, *Gàidhlig* remained the main or even the exclusive means of communication between the islanders until the Second World War. In figure 2 the decrease of *Gàidhlig*-speaking intensity in the three main islands is clearly shown. *Muile* and *Colla* experienced a dramatic decline, *Gàidhlig* on *Tiriodh* however still managed to stay at a respectable level. Recently the rate of decline is considerably smaller than experienced during the period between 1961 and 1991.

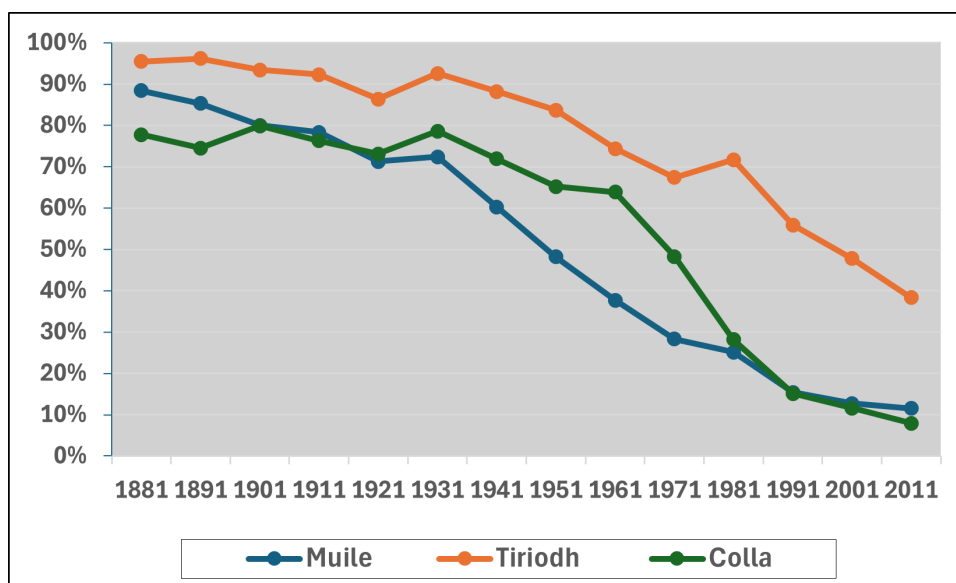


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years +) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – islands of *Muile* (Mull), *Tiriodh* (Tiree) and *Colla* (Coll)⁴

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

The first census in Scotland which contained a language question revealed eight in nine inhabitants of the island group speaking “habitually” *Gàidhlig*. These findings were supported later by the census figures in 1891 which also reported substantial returns of “Gaelic only” speakers. One of three speakers were counted with “no English” and on *Tiriodh* these were still a majority with 54.8 % speaking only *Gàidhlig* and 42.6 % speaking *Gàidhlig* and English. As in the other parts of the Highlands & Islands this state was to be changed considerably by the educational system. Before 1872 *Gàidhlig* was used in the existing schools in the area to a large degree. The arrival of comprehensive education led to its total exclusion from classroom and playground. This meant a severe blow to the status of *Gàidhlig* in the minds of many speakers and was to have a considerable effect on language transmission to the next generations. Educational policy in Argyll was similarly ignorant of the local language as Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty. *Gàidhlig* was officially introduced as a subject to the curriculum only after the First World War. It was of course taught as a “second” language with English as medium of instruction.

Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides even more 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

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



figures included returns from occasional visitors, dumb people as well as children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. Therefore, some “corrected” 1891 details about three enumeration areas in this district are cited below⁵ (Duwe, 2006):

1. **Sòrasdal & Còrnaig Mhòr (Sorisdale & Cornaigmore):** The north-eastern part of the island of Colla (Coll) was still home to a staunchly Gàidhlig speaking community. *“The islanders were occupied with two significantly different agricultural practices. The locally born people were mainly crofters living on land with poorer soils whereas the more fertile countryside was farmed by a few Ayrshire farmers who had been “imported” by the island owner. The language was universally spoken by the locally born population. Interestingly there was a deep linguistic division in the community with a large majority of local Gàidhlig speakers and a small group of Ayrshire farmers who spoke nothing but English. On the other hand a significant proportion of Gàidhlig speakers remained monolingual especially at young age and among the elderly. Strongest Gàidhlig communities were found on the north-eastern tip of the island around Sòrasdal (Sorisdale) and Còrnaig Mhòr (Cornaigmore) but also at Baile Hogh (Ballyhaugh). In total 23 persons of the usually resident population did not speak Gàidhlig. They all had Lowland connections and were registered in six families. These were headed by the parish minister, two farmers, a shepherd, a dairy manager and a dairy keeper. Apart from the local priest all household heads originated from Ayrshire.”* In original census report terms the district had a population of 269 persons of all ages. 117 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 79 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 72.9 %. However, this figure was a very significant under-estimate of 16.4 % compared with the more realistic figures taking into account only the usually resident population. This discrepancy was due to the visit of fishing vessels from North-East Scotland to the hamlet of Còrnaig Bheag (Cornaigbeag). All visitors did not speak Gàidhlig of course!
2. **Ruthaig & An Caolas (Ruaig & Caolis):** All three hamlets situated in the eastern part of Tiriodh - namely An Caolas (Caolis), Ruthaig (Ruaig) and Sathalum (Salum) - were traditional crofting communities. There almost everyone was dependent either on self subsistence agriculture or inshore fisheries. *“With the exception of a three-year-old girl from Glasgow all residents spoke Gàidhlig. In addition, a very substantial proportion of people did not speak English at all. Most of these monolingual persons were either less than 10 years of age or belonged to the older generation. In original census report terms the enumeration district in total had a population of 282 persons of all ages. Just 167 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 109 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 97.9 %.”* Even this percentage was a slight under-estimate of 1.7 % mainly caused by the inclusion of under-three olds in the official population base.
3. **Bun Easain & Àird Fineig (Bunessan & Ardfenaig):** Bun Easain acted as administrative and trading centre of this part of An Ros Muileach (Ross of Mull) and all sorts of craft people and officials were present. Basic occupations in the other settlements were farm related work in one way or another with the odd fisherman around. *“Almost everybody in the district spoke Gàidhlig. Most of the residents did also speak English – to what extent, however, was not registered on the census forms. The six English monolinguals found were all born far away and five of these persons were reported from the village Bun Easain (Bunessan). A baker from Kilmarnock and two of his youngest daughters were part of this small group. A licensed hawker’s widow from Bristol, a general merchant’s clerk from Glasgow and a retired cowherd from Islay spoke also not the local language. Some of the local people did not speak English. Those returns were mainly confined to children less than 10 years of age.”* Also, here official percentages were underestimating the real strength of the language. 156 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 28 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 92.5 %. The more realistic share of the usually resident population, however, amounted to 96.6 % !!!

⁵ After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Colla and Tiriodh – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁶	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁷				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁸		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Breac Achadh & Àirigh Leòid</i> (Breacachadh & Arileod)	109 70.3 %	86 74.1 %	77 71.3 %	77 63.6%	23 26.7 %	11 14.3 %	8 10.4%
<i>Cliad & Baile Hogh</i> (Cliad & Ballyhaugh)	77 69.4 %	75 73.5 %	72 72.0 %	72 77.4%	10 13.3 %	3 4.2 %	4 5.6%
<i>Àirigh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour)	156 76.5 %	107 78.1 %	78 75.7 %	71 78.0%	21 19.6 %	16 20.5 %	12 16.9%
<i>Sòrasdal & Còrnaig Mhòr</i> (Sorisdale & Cornaigmore)	158 91.3 %	121 ⁹ 72.5 %	118 97.5 %	78 92.9%	69 57.0 %	27 22.9 %	6 7.7%
<i>An Caolas & Ruthaig</i> (Caolas & Ruaig)	337 92.1 %	276 97.9 %	256 96.2 %	200 94.8%	109 39.5 %	113 44.1 %	29 14.5%
<i>Bhalla & Got</i> (Vaul & Gott)	230 92.4 %	202 95.3 %	162 97.0 %	128 94.8%	92 45.5 %	59 36.4 %	22 17.2%
<i>Sgairinis, Rif & Am Bàgh</i> (Scarinish, Reef & Baugh)	275 92.9 %	234 97.1 %	190 95.0 %	201 88.9%	104 44.4 %	23 12.1 %	24 11.9%
<i>Còrnaig Mhòr & Baile Pheadrais</i> (Cornaigmore & Balphetrish)	319 96.7 %	307 92.5 %	276 92.3 %	226 89.7%	154 50.2 %	121 43.8 %	71 31.4%
<i>Baile a' Mhuilinn & Cille Mo Luaig</i> (Balevullin & Kilmaluaig)	420 99.8 %	357 97.0 %	338 92.1 %	234 89.7%	340 95.2 %	230 68.0 %	35 15.0%
<i>Am Baile Meadhonach & Hogh</i> (Balmeanach & Hough)	272 96.1 %	252 99.2 %	208 87.8 %	184 96.8%	173 68.7 %	161 77.4 %	42 22.8%
<i>Baile a' Phuill & Haoidhinis</i> (Balephuill & Hynish)	195 91.5 %	191 93.2 %	175 91.1 %	141 98.6%	119 62.3 %	71 40.6 %	23 16.3%
<i>Manal & Baile Mhàrtainn</i> (Mannel & Balemartine)	310 97.5 %	316 97.8 %	249 96.5 %	216 93.5%	103 32.6 %	63 25.3 %	42 19.4%
<i>An Cruadh Ghoirtean & Am Baile No-dha</i> (Heylipol & Balinoe)	252 98.1 %	224 95.3 %	194 92.8 %	161 93.1%	131 58.5 %	53 25.4 %	31 19.3%

Table 1: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population on the islands of Colla (Coll) and Tiriodh (Tiree) between 1881 and 1911

Very detailed local information is available in census publications 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 to 5). Although all official percentages of Gàidhlig speakers were notoriously underestimating the real strength of the language (children less than 3 years of age and visitors were included in the population base) the temporal evolution of language knowledge and the incidence of monolingualism can clearly be depicted from official figures. By looking at the enumeration district level the geographical distribution and its variability is more evident than in the official census publications for 1881, 1891 and 1901 which did not show details down to enumeration district level.

⁶ Enumeration division.

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

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

⁹ 36 fishermen from Aberdeenshire were enumerated in this part of the island at census night. Ignoring these visitors the percentage would have been 92.4 %.



The islanders of **Colla** (Coll) were predominantly *Gàidhlig* speakers (table 1) at the time. However, a significant number of “imported” farmers from Ayrshire had been brought in by the local landlord. Almost all these Lowlanders did not learn to speak the language of their neighbours. In effect two separate societies existed on *Colla* with quite a substantial portion of *Gàidhlig* speakers remaining still monolingual. The language was especially strong in the north-eastern district around *Sòrasdal* (Sorisdale) and *Còrnaig Mhòr* (Cornaigmore).

On the neighbouring island of **Tiriodh** (Tiree) virtually everyone spoke *Gàidhlig* at this period (table 2). In 1891 even a majority of islanders did not speak English at all. Notable strongholds in this respect were the crofting townships around *Baile a’Mhuilinn* (Balevullin), *Hogh* (Hough) and *Haoidhinis* (Hynish). No decline in *Gàidhlig* speaking intensity overall was experienced during the whole period until 1911.

The civil parish of **Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire** (Kilninian & Kilmore) occupies the northern portion of the island of *Muile*. The area was also overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig* speaking (table 3) with only small anglicisation centres like Aros House diluting the picture. Even in the island capital *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory) four out of five inhabitants spoke *Gàidhlig* around the turn of the century. Special strongholds of the Celtic language were situated on the west coast and on the small islands around *Ulba* (Ulva) with remarkable figures of monolingual speakers. These small, scattered settlements like *Baile a’Ghobhainn* (Ballygown) and *Osgamul* (Oskamull) were destined to keep the *Gàidhlig* traditions well into the final stages of the 20th century – against all the odds of almost a century.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the parish of Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁰	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹¹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹²		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory)	961 87.2 %	887 84.7 %	814 79.8 %	714 77.1%	121 13.6 %	66 8.1 %	12 1.7%
An Leth Pheighinn & Àros ¹³ (Lephin & Aros)	108 63.2 %	110 66.7%	84 71.2%	68 74.7%	14 12.7%	8 9.5%	5 7.4%
An Leitir Mòr, Gleann Gorm & Sorn (Lettermore, Glengorm & Sorn)	50 70.4 %	41 63.1 %	64 70.3 %	62 86.1%	2 4.9 %	9 14.1 %	4 6.5%
Dearbhaig & Miogharraidh (Dervaig & Mingarry)	155 91.7 %	150 92.0 %	123 93.9 %	96 87.3%	19 12.7 %	12 9.8 %	2 2.1%
Achadh na Driseig & An Tòrr (Achnadriish & Torr)	78 91.8 %	67 95.7 %	58 93.5 %	55 87.3%	12 17.9 %	7 12.1 %	—
An Àird Dubh & Peighinn Mòr (Ardow & Penmore)	105 89.0 %	88 90.7 %	68 85.0 %	66 80.5%	22 25.0 %	1 1.5 %	8 12.1%
Calgarraidh & Cille Chrìosd (Calgary & Killechrist)	86 90.5 %	97 79.5 %	76 80.9 %	52 84.1%	19 19.6 %	9 11.8 %	—
Easaigh & Treisinis (Ensay & Treshnish)	131 98.5 %	100 98.0 %	68 93.2 %	64 98.5%	46 46.0 %	2 2.9 %	9 14.1%
Cill Naoinein & Baile a'Ghobhainn (Kilninian & Ballygown)	133 93.0 %	129 96.3 %	125 96.2 %	92 86.0%	26 20.2 %	53 42.4 %	14 15.2%
Lagan Ulbha & Osgamul (Laggan Ulva & Oskamull)	80 96.4 %	81 95.3 %	66 73.3 %	60 90.9%	19 23.5 %	12 18.2 %	6 10.0%
Gomastra & Colbhasa Bheag (Gometra & Little Colonsay)	29 96.7 %	30 96.8 %	41 73.2 %	39 88.6%	11 36.7 %	12 29.3 %	2 5.1%
Ulbha (Ulva)	48 94.1 %	42 91.3 %	55 93.2 %	52 92.9%	9 21.4 %	8 14.5 %	2 3.8%
Àros & Àird na Croise (Aros & Ardnacross)	54 68.4 %	45 59.2 %	20 57.1 %	31 56.4%	7 15.6 %	2 10.0 %	2 6.5%
Tòrr Lochan & Cille Chrònain (Torlochan & Killiechronan)	141 88.1 %	104 83.9 %	99 77.3 %	80 82.5%	13 12.5 %	5 5.1 %	—

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in the parish of Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

The civil parish of *Torasaigh* (Torosay) forms the central and south-eastern part of the island and as such the area had been under stronger anglicisation pressures than the remoter locations to the north and west (table 3). Keeping this in mind Gàidhlig still held its ground rather comfortably even in 1901. But almost all Gàidhlig speakers became bilingual in the area with only a handful of “Gaelic only” returns in later census enumerations. Among the English monoglots shepherds and gamekeepers from North-East Scotland or the Borders were the most numerous examples, besides the usual schoolteachers and the odd servant in the upper-class households. Strongest Gàidhlig speaking areas remained *Gleann Mòr* (Glen More) and *Gleann Forsa* (Glen Forsa) in the mountainous centre of the district.

¹⁰ Enumeration division or island.

¹¹ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

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

¹³ Figures include the inhabitants of *Calbhaigh* (Calvay Island).



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the parish of <i>Torasaigh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁴	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁵				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁶		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>An Sàilean</i> (Salen)	133 55.2 %	168 76.7 %	155 75.6 %	136 70.8%	8 4.8 %	6 3.9 %	6 4.4%
<i>Gleann Forsa & Gleann Cainneir</i> (Glen Forsa & Glen Cannel)	50 89.3 %	33 86.8 %	29 87.9 %	15 62.5%	15 45.5 %	8 27.6 %	1 6.7%
<i>Peighinn a'Ghobhainn & Fìsnis</i> (Pennygown & Fishnish)	58 100 %	50 83.9 %	39 95.1 %	45 88.2%	7 14.0 %	4 10.3 %	1 2.2%
<i>Ceann Loch Dona & Dubh Àird</i> (Lochdonhead & Duart)	178 88.1 %	162 89.5 %	156 83.4 %	130 77.8%	22 13.6 %	3 1.9 %	1 0.8%
<i>Achadh na Creige & Leitir Daraich</i> (Auchnacraig & Oakbank)	54 94.7 %	44 66.7 %	36 94.7 %	25 92.6%	2 4.5 %	1 2.8 %	2 8.0%
<i>Àird a'Choille & An Gleann Mòr</i> (Ardachoil & Glenmore)	36 100 %	28 96.6 %	19 100 %	21 100%	3 10.7 %	—	2 9.5%
<i>Creag an Iubhair & Torasaigh</i> (Craignure & Torosay)	91 90.1 %	67 81.7 %	57 79.2 %	38 80.9%	12 17.9 %	—	—
<i>Ardura & Ceann Loch Spèilbhìdh</i> (Ardura & Kinlochspelve)	101 87.1 %	93 83.0 %	81 73.6 %	69 75.0%	14 15.1 %	9 11.1 %	1 1.4%
<i>Loch Buidhe & An Crògan</i> (Lochbuie & Croggan)	171 91.9 %	115 72.8 %	91 61.1 %	104 62.7%	16 13.9 %	10 11.0 %	1 1.0%

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

The civil parish of *Cill Fhionnchain & Cill MhicEòghain* (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) forms the south-western district of the island and encompasses the whole area on both sides of *Loch Scriodain*. As such the long peninsula of *An Ros Muileach* (Ross of Mull) is the most distinguished part of the parish apart from the well-known island of *Eilean Idhe* (Iona) of course. The Gàidhlig language remained almost universally spoken during this period with a substantial number of monolingual Gàidhlig speakers present (table 5). The only exceptions were people living on the island of *Earraid* (Erraid) where a number of Lowlanders had taken over the linguistic reign. On the other hand, the Celtic tongue was still in use to a considerable extent on the holy island of *Eilean Idhe* (Iona). Especially strong, however, was the language in genuine crofting settlements like *Àird Chiabhaig* (Ardchiavaig) or *Àird Chraoisinis* (Ardchrishnish) where the number of monolingual Gàidhlig speakers remained very high still.

¹⁴ Enumeration division.

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 Gàidhlig-speakers in the parish of Cill Fhionnchain & Cill MhicEòghain – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁷	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁸				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁹		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Tìr Odhrain & Baile na h-Àirde</i> ²⁰ (Tiroran & Balnahard)	128 95.5 %	127 89.4 %	124 87.3 %	100 80.0%	46 36.2 %	14 11.3 %	12 12.0%
<i>Peighinn nan Gaidheal & Carsaig</i> (Pennyghael & Carsaig)	215 93.5 %	198 91.2 %	126 82.9 %	106 77.9%	37 18.7 %	29 23.0 %	16 15.1%
<i>Na Tòrran & Àird Chraoisinis</i> (Torrans & Ardchrishnish)	71 94.7 %	52 94.5 %	42 95.5 %	28 90.3%	26 50.0 %	6 14.3 %	5 17.9%
<i>Lì & An Sgùrr</i> (Lee & Scoor)	120 94.5 %	94 86.2 %	110 83.3 %	51 69.6%	17 18.1 %	8 7.3 %	5 9.8%
<i>Àird Tunna & Eorabus</i> (Ardtun & Eorabus)	294 92.2 %	250 94.3 %	180 86.1 %	209 85.0%	70 28.0 %	21 11.7 %	15 7.2%
<i>Bun Easain & Tìr a' Ghaoil</i> (Bunessan & Tiraghoil)	209 91.7 %	162 92.0 %	157 92.9 %	136 86.6%	27 16.7 %	16 10.2 %	5 3.7%
<i>Àird Chiabhaig & Uisgean</i> (Ardchiavaig & Uisken)	164 100 %	123 91.1 %	109 91.6 %	105 96.3%	22 17.9 %	70 64.2 %	38 36.2%
<i>Crèich & Cinn Tràgha</i> (Creich & Kintra)	195 85.5 %	175 93.6 %	157 95.7 %	134 82.7%	54 30.9 %	20 12.7 %	16 11.9%
<i>Fionnphort & Tòrr Mòr</i> (Fionnphort & Tormore)	128 92.1 %	95 94.1 %	86 92.5 %	62 89.9%	21 22.1 %	9 10.5 %	4 6.5%
<i>Na Fidean & Cnoc Mhaolagain</i> (Fidden, Pottie & Knockvolagan)	77 97.5 %	60 93.8 %	50 80.6 %	37 92.5%	26 43.3 %	8 16.0 %	4 10.8%
<i>Eilean Earraid</i> (Isle of Erraid)	30 58.8 %	14 29.8 %	16 53.3 %	11 36.7%	5 35.7 %	–	–
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	215 88.5 %	224 90.7 %	168 78.9 %	150 67.6%	21 9.4 %	6 3.6 %	4 2.7%

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in the parish of Cill Fhionnchain & Cill MhicEòghain according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

The overall share of Gàidhlig speakers stayed on a very high level during the whole period until 1931 (see fig. 3) but the number of people who did not speak English²¹ decreased substantially. This educational factor becomes also apparent when looking at the age distribution of “Gaelic only” returns (table 12). Gradually everyone became bilingual apart from children below school age. In the island parishes of former Argyll even in this age group the percentage went down from 56.7 % in 1891 to 30.5 % in 1931. This temporal evolution was in strong contrast with the respective statistics of the other Hebridean islands in Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty in those days where English remained very much a minority issue before children entered school.

¹⁷ Enumeration division or island.

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.

²⁰ Division includes the island of Inch Kenneth.

²¹ This does not imply English being used habitually. In these days heads of households certainly were very much inclined to report to officialdom that the whole family could speak the high-status language.



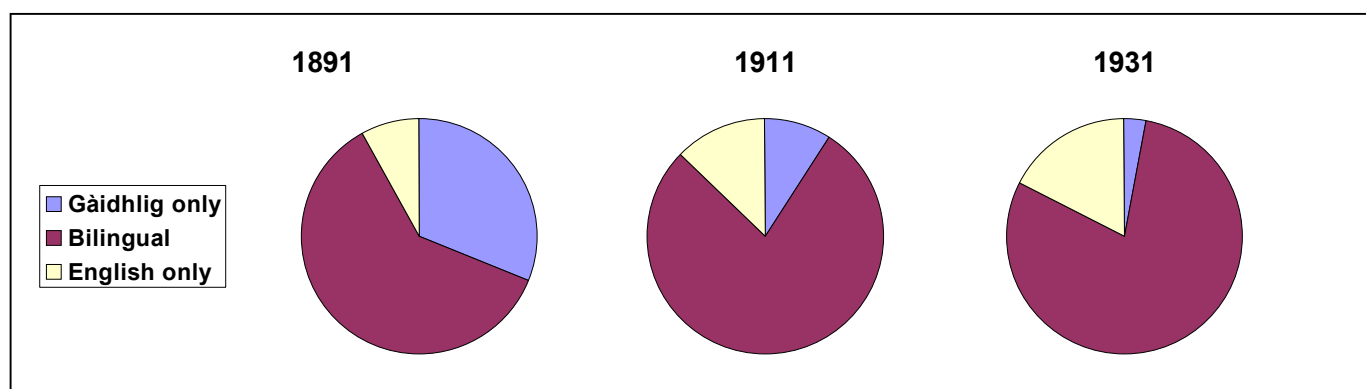


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

Notwithstanding the virtual disappearance of “Gaelic only” speakers the Gàidhlig language use remained widespread on all islands. Even in 1931 all parishes and even the village of *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory) remained pre-dominantly Gàidhlig-speaking.

<i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	8,035	7,076	6,166	5,247	4,441	3,885
% of total population	89.8 %	87.9 %	84.0 %	82.2 %	75.9 %	78.9 %

Table 5: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers in Muile, Tiriodh & Colla (Mull, Tiree & Coll) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

World War II proved to be the great watershed of the language especially on *Muile* (Mull). Overall, there was a decrease of Gàidhlig-speaking in the whole island group by a staggering 20 %. An intensive emigration of islanders and a strong bias of the language community towards the older generation meant a considerable weakening of language use in normal life. Only 10 persons were reported in the 1951 census as unable to speak English. The retreat of Gàidhlig, however, was not uniformly experienced on all islands. On *Tiriodh* the language still held its ground with 83.7 % Gàidhlig-speakers. On *Muile* in contrast only one civil parish in the southwest of the island still reported a majority (table 10). These general figures, however, concealed a much more serious problem: Gàidhlig was not transmitted at a sufficient degree to the younger generation. In this respect the results of a survey during the 1957/58 school year illustrate the very precarious situation of the language in local schools. There were mixed results for the islands in northern Argyll in the report on Gàidhlig-speaking schoolchildren in Highland schools (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961). On the one hand the survey saw the school district of Tiree & Coll still as a significant stronghold of the language. 60 of 149 primary school children were first or preferred language speakers (40.3 %). It is very probable that the majority of primary school children from *Tiriodh* (Tiree) were still first language speakers because the language was vanishing fast on *Colla* in these days. 10 of 23 secondary school children (first year) had Gàidhlig as first language (43.4 %) and an additional 12 pupils spoke Gàidhlig as second language. In the nursery stages of P1 and P2 there were 18 first language speakers of Gàidhlig, a further 11 children spoke Gàidhlig as second language. In total 33 out of 49 understood some Gàidhlig (67.3 %). Gàidhlig was the language of home for all 18 first language speakers. On the other hand, only a few children from English speaking homes knew some Gàidhlig. Although the nursery schoolteachers were themselves Gàidhlig-speaking in the five schools on *Tiriodh* the main medium of instruction was always English. There was, however, time set aside for teaching Gàidhlig (as a second language) and in three schools the language was used in helping non-English speakers and for religious instruction.



<i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	2,435	1,719	1,285	1,176	893	743	589
Percentage of total population	59.7 %	49.3 %	39.8 %	36.1 %	23.6 %	19.8 %	15.9 %

Table 6: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Muile, Tiriodh & Colla* (Mull, Tiree & Coll) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011

In contrast the Mull & Iona school district reported substantially lower language incidence: Here only 22 of 264 primary school children were recorded as first or preferred language speakers (8.3 %). 7 of 26 secondary school children (first year) had *Gàidhlig* as first language (26.9 %). In the nursery stages of P1 and P2 there were 5 first language speakers of *Gàidhlig*, another child spoke *Gàidhlig* as second language. In total 9 out of 74 at least understood some simple phrases in *Gàidhlig* (12.2 %). Accordingly, English had taken over almost completely as language of the children entering school. There were only three primary schools left (out of 13) where the language had some place in school life with instruction as second language. *Muile* could not be considered as a thoroughly *Gàidhlig*-speaking place anymore.

The next census in 1961 underlined the general trend (table 13) with *Tiriodh* and *Colla* still keeping respectable proportion of speakers. On *Muile*, however, *Gàidhlig* lost rapidly ground everywhere. In the 1960s there were no positive developments on the educational front, only to be confirmed by the 1971 census returns. Whereas on *Muile* there were virtually no children counted who spoke *Gàidhlig* (table 14), still one in two of those aged below 25 were reported as *Gàidhlig*-speaking on *Tiriodh & Colla* (table 17). There even a few were enumerated as being able to read the language which pointed to some sort of educational provision in local schools.

The population base was changed in the 1981 census from “persons present on census night” to “usually resident persons”. This may be the reason why the decline of census returns on *Gàidhlig* between 1971 and 1981 was not as strong as widely anticipated. This mere statistical effect meant that proportions stayed generally at the same level. Between the lines the trend remained unbroken. New information, however, was provided by this census as it published for the first-time results on a much more local scale (tables 15 and 16). In this year all census output areas of *Tiriodh* were overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig*-speaking. On *Muile* this could only reported for two locations: *Cill Naoinein* (Kilninian) and *Aiseag Ulbha* (Ulva Ferry) on the west coast of the island.

Educationally things remained the same (fig. 4 and 5) with some provision in both primary and secondary school in *Tiriodh* and no significant developments on *Muile*.



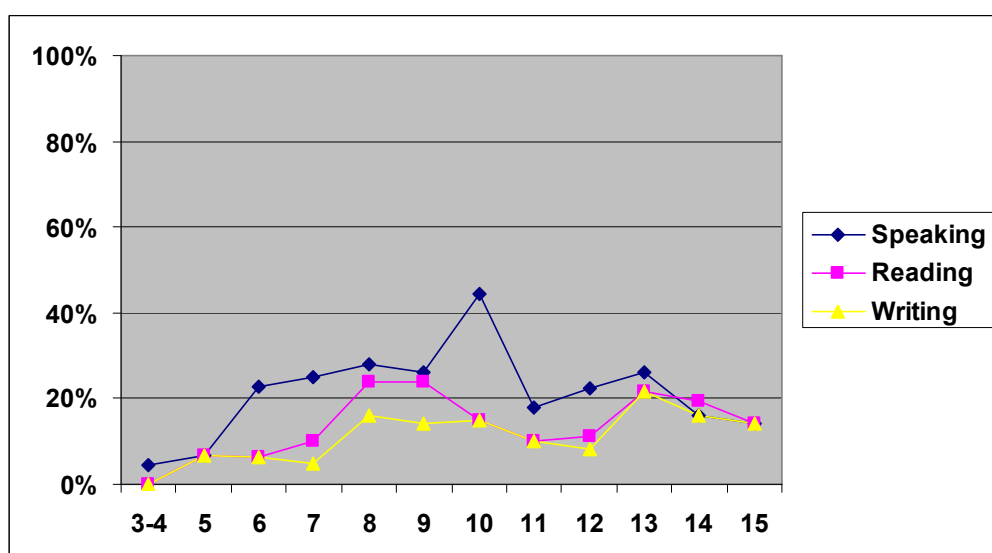


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Muile* (Mull)

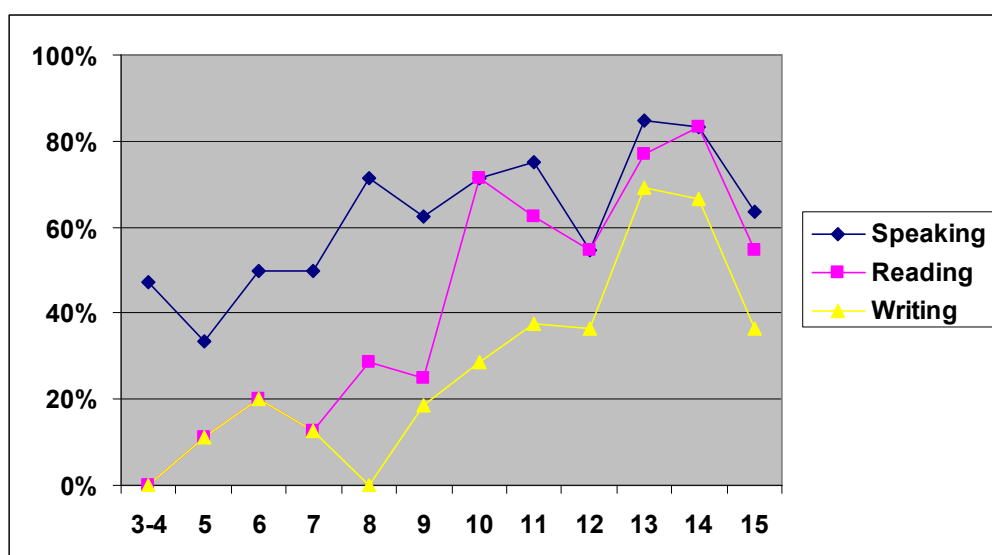


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll)

The ageing of the *Gàidhlig*-speaking population and substantial emigration and immigration trends caused further decreases of language use in the coming decades. Eventually but slowly the language was gaining ground in younger age groups (see fig. 6 and 7) with a slightly more positive attitude by Strathclyde Region authority compared with the deceased Argyll County Council. *Cròileagan* started to be opened by voluntary groups in the late 1980s on *Tiriodh* and in *An Tobar Mhoire*. This was complemented by *Gàidhlig*-medium education in the primary school of *Cornaig Mór* (introduced in 1989) on *Tiriodh*.



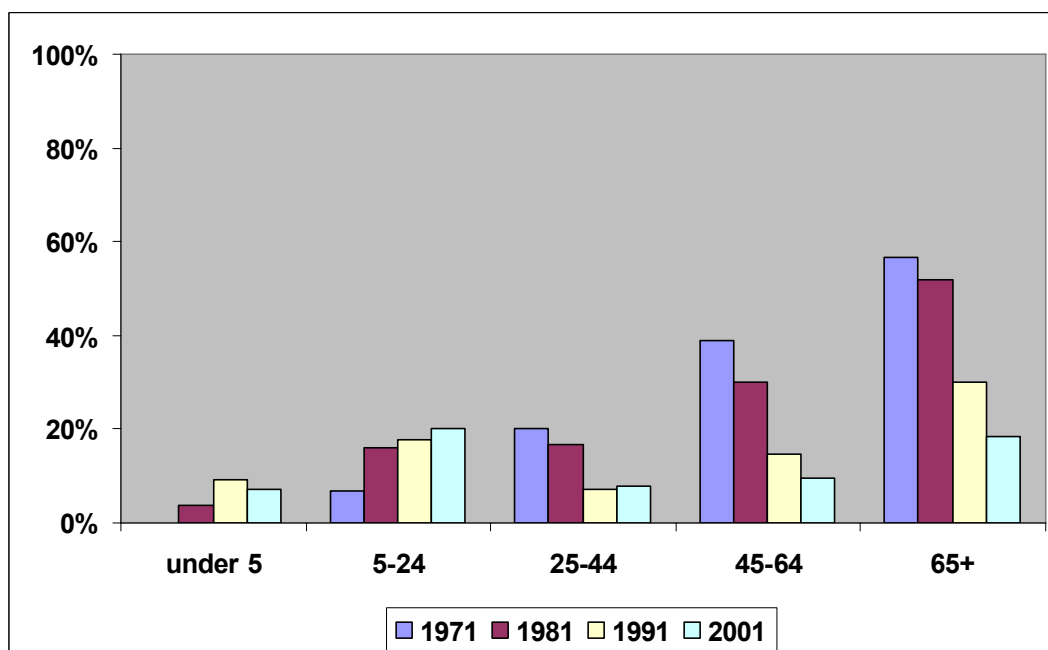


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Muile (Mull)²²

Ar-

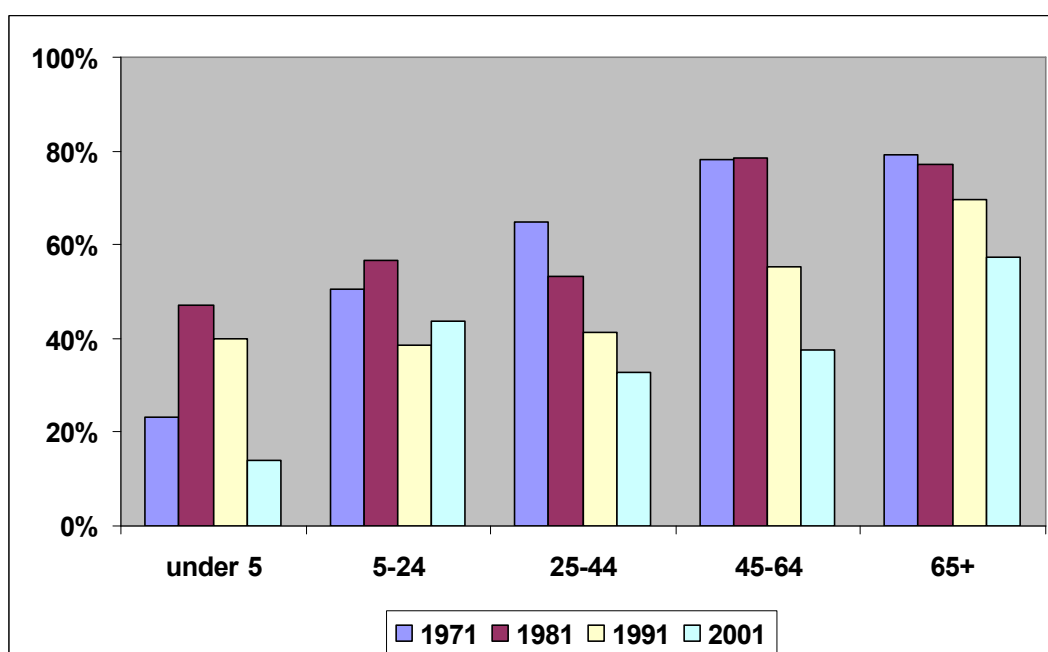


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll)

Generally, 1991 reported a further substantial decline of the proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers in all parts of the island group. Only *Tiriodh* managed somehow to keep its majority. Major substantial developments in favour of the traditional language were to start only in the years ahead.

Besides the education and migration factors language maintenance is also strongly dependent on inter-generational language transmission. This remained relatively weak in 1991 also in the 184 families in

²² Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



the whole of *Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) where all adults were *Gàidhlig*-speaking. In just 55 % of these households the dependent children also spoke *Gàidhlig* and in a further 10 % some of those children did so (General Register Office, 1994).

The impetus of the “Gaelic renaissance” reached the islands with a small delay in the 1990s. After a long fight with authorities and an almost as long search for suitable teachers GME reached *Muile* in 1996 with the opening of a GMU in the primary school of *An Sailean* (Salen). Tobermory High School as local secondary introduced *Gàidhlig* in the first two years of secondary school and further improved the status of the language in education. Pre-school initiatives succeeded in the setting up of *cròileagan* (playgroups) in *An Tobar Mhoire* and at *Bun Easain* (Bunessan). On *Tiriodh* almost one in two primary school children went into the *Gàidhlig*-medium stream. Tiree High School provided GME also on the secondary level; *Gàidhlig* as a second language was obligatory subject for all pupils on the island. Overall, the profile of the language was raised considerably. Evening classes for adults reported rising numbers, the local mòd saw increasing numbers of entries after decades of decline. Even some bilingual town signs were erected on *Muile* and bilingual signposts popped up all over *Tiriodh*. Local Gaelic partnerships were founded to support language initiatives in the 1990s in Argyll. One of the most active proved to be *Co-Roinn Gàidhlig Thiriodh 's Cholla* (Tiree & Coll Gaelic Partnership). The most prominent idea of this group was the founding of the new museum and archive *An Iodhlann* planned to act as a cultural focus point of the island. All these developments helped to consolidate *Gàidhlig*-speaking in the island group as was experienced in the 2001 census (see for details chapter 3).

Since 2001 educational provision changed significantly. In 2003/2004 for example 16 pre-school children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 in the *Gàidhlig* medium nursery units at *Cornaig Mòr* and *An Sailean*. All pupils in primary schools on *Muile* did receive second language teaching.

Census Data Zones	Muile, Tiriodh & Colla – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll)	42	36.8%	312	38.2%	- 2.0 %	62.0 %
Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore)	44	36.1%	130	15.4%	+ 20.7 %	31.0 %
Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory)	41	32.8%	179	19.6%	+ 13.2 %	34.1 %
An Ros Mhuileach (Ross of Mull)	6	8.8%	70	11.8%	- 3.0 %	34.0 %
Torasaigh (Torosay)	23	37.7%	84	15.3%	+ 22.4 %	40.4 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute)	6.7 %		5.9 %		+ 0.8 %	36.9 %

Table 7: 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 rising on *Muile* and *Colla* to 2,996 and 195 inhabitants respectively. *Tiriodh* on the other hand lost 117 inhabitants and this figure stood at 653 in 2011. There was generally a decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking on all islands. In tables 15 and 16 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, in 2011 the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. Accordingly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures of *Gàidhlig* knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population is provided in table 7 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones did show positive tendencies in the secondary catchment of Tobermory Highschool. Roughly a third of young islanders had apparently received some *Gàidhlig* lessons apart from children living on *An Ros Muileach* (Ross of Mull), who traditionally received their secondary education at Oban High School.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area roughly a third of *Gàidhlig* speakers living in households where the language was used. On *Tiriodh & Colla* this was far higher at 62 %. This information is also provided in table 7.

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

There was also a considerable change in literacy of *Gàidhlig*-speakers during a time span of 30 years. This information became available from 1971 onwards: Census questions were introduced on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 9 and 10 below). The literacy levels on *Tiriodh* were on a relatively high level even in 1971 and could be compared with the strong *Gàidhlig*-speaking islands further north and west. The conditions on *Muile*, however, were not so favourable because of the lack of *Gàidhlig* lessons in formal education. In later censuses reading and writing abilities improved consistently in the island group with more than half of all *Gàidhlig*-speakers also being able to write in the language in 2011.

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Muile</i> (Mull)	270	283	231	223	224	43.2%	48.4%	52.1%	62.8%	67.3%
<i>Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Tiree & Coll)	415	383	306	282	198	62.9%	66.5%	66.7%	72.9%	77.6%

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

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Muile</i> (Mull)	150	202	191	191	201	24.0%	34.5%	43.1%	53.4%	60.4%
<i>Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Tiree & Coll)	245	274	233	228	174	37.1%	47.6%	50.8%	58.9%	68.2%

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



These improvements were almost totally caused by an intensified educational provision (see fig. 9 and 10) which can be demonstrated by the apparent rise in literacy in the 5-24 age groups during that period.

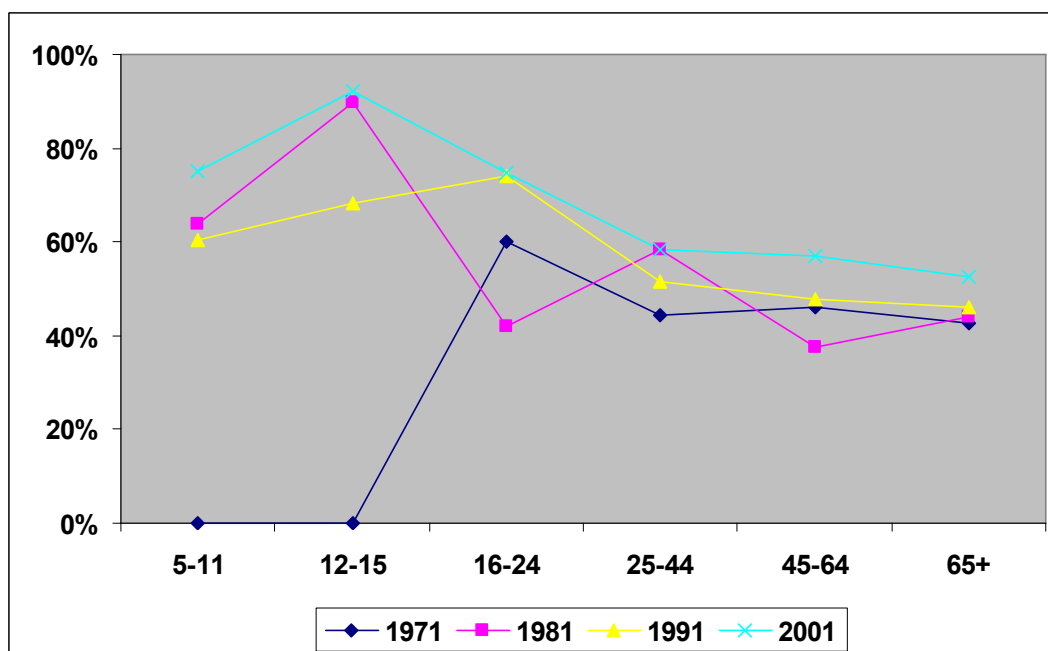


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Muile*

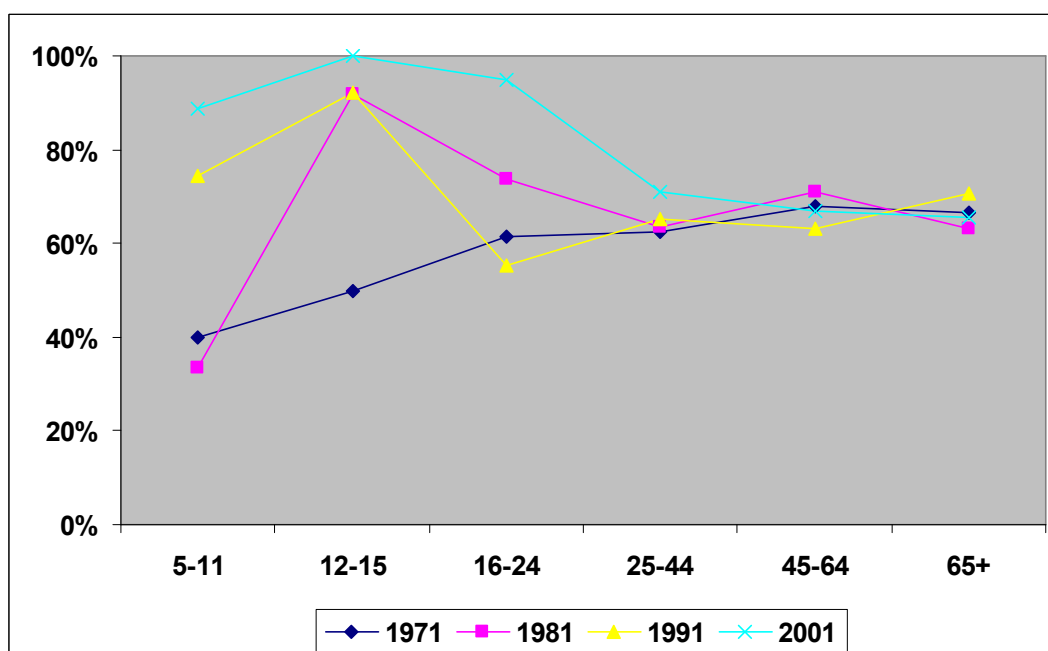


Fig. 9: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Tiriodh & Colla*



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 describe 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

The strength of the language varied considerably between communities and islands of the investigation area. In both districts - *Muile* as well as *Tiriodh & Colla* - some positive signs could be depicted. In general, the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information for the island of ***Muile* (Mull)**:

- Whereas only some 10 % of the working age population spoke or understood *Gàidhlig*, language ability at pensionable and school age (fig. 10) was considerably higher. Roughly 11 % of pre-school children at least understood the language.
- A slight decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 6) especially in older age groups. On the other hand, in the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was up by almost 3 %. Intergenerational language difference was definitely positive when comparing percentages of the total population with those for the 3-24 age cohort.
- There was considerable local variation in language strength. Census output areas did show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 25 % in *Creag an Iubhair* (Craignure) to some 4 % in *Aros*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category ranged between almost 37 % in *Creag an Iubhair* and around 7 % in *Aros*.
- Fig. 11 outlines that just under 50 % of the population lived still in neighbourhoods where over 20 % of the people knew at least some *Gàidhlig*.
- Literacy in *Gàidhlig* improved with 62.8 % of speakers being able to read and 53.4 % of speakers able to write the language.
- Language acquaintance in very young age was still lacking. In the new category of children aged less than 3 years none were found to be able to speak *Gàidhlig* and only two understood spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (12.7 % of the population) additional 193 inhabitants (6.8 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.



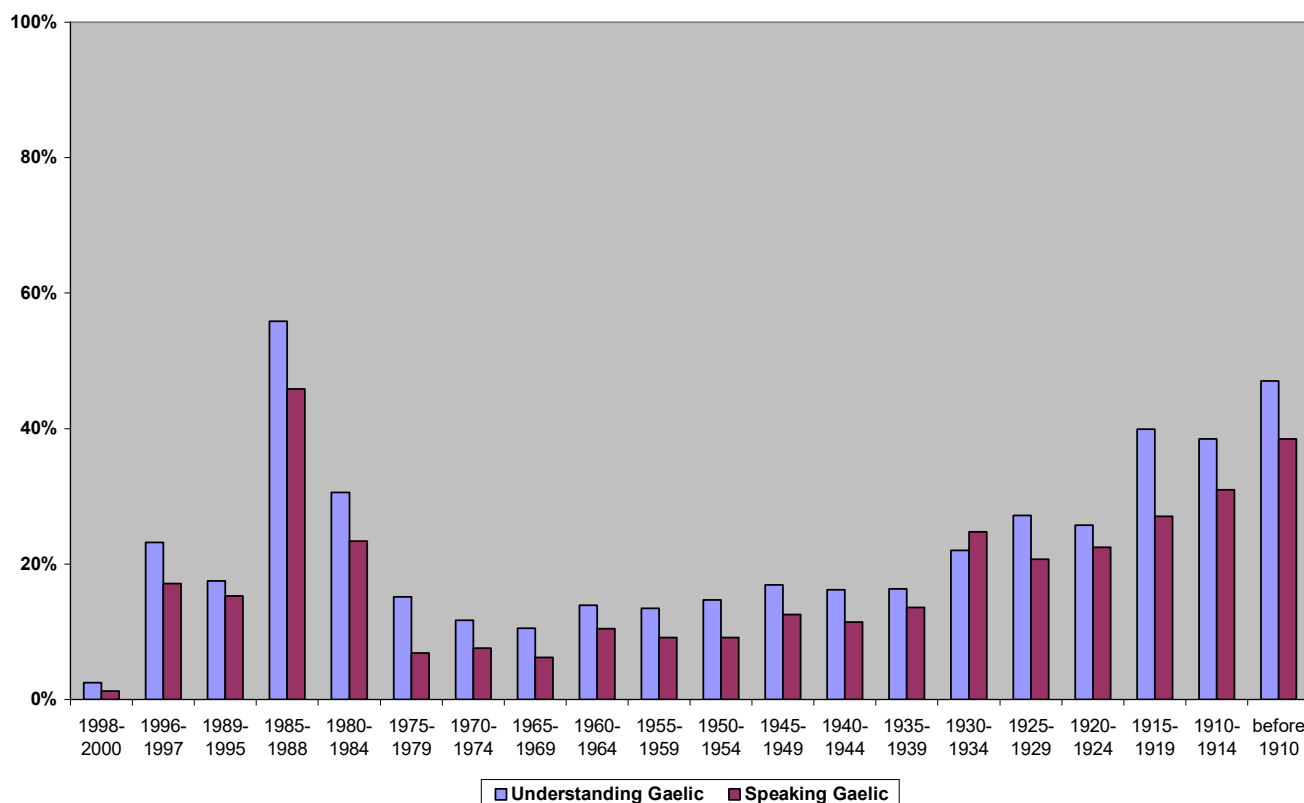


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – *Muile* (Mull) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²³ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	2	2.5 %	0	0.0 %	0	0.0 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	16	23.2 %	1	1.5 %	11	15.9 %	6	9.2 %	+ 6.7 %
5-11	41	17.5 %	24	10.3 %	32	13.7 %	53	21.9 %	- 8.2 %
12-15	67	55.8 %	47	39.2 %	51	42.5 %	44	28.4 %	+14.1 %
16-24	45	22.8 %	20	10.2 %	28	14.2 %	25	9.0 %	+ 5.2 %
3-24	169	27.3 %	92	14.8 %	122	19.7 %	128	17.1 %	+ 2.6 %
All ages	551	19.5 %	223	7.9 %	358	12.7 %	438	16.2 %	- 3.5 %
Difference	+ 7.8 %		+ 6.9 %		+ 7.0 %		+ 0.9 %		

Table 10: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Muile* (Mull) in 2001 and 1991

²³ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig* and/or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



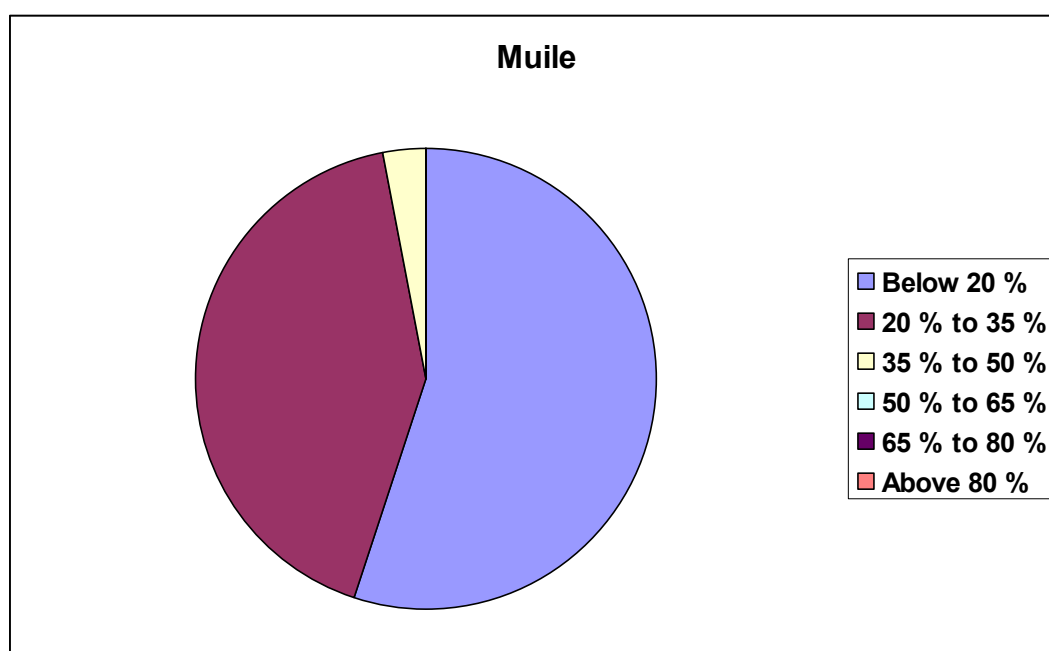


Fig. 11: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Muile* (Mull) according to Census 2001

The two islands of *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) reported a rather different state of *Gàidhlig*:

- There was still a substantial proportion of the working age population able to speak *Gàidhlig* (fig. 12) and two distinct maxima at pensionable and school age. Approximately 15 % of the pre-school children knew the language. Intergenerational language difference was almost zero and had substantially been improved since 1991 when it was at -11.7 %.
- A considerable decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 6) especially in older age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was up, however, by over 3 %. This was caused by a very strong increase in language abilities at secondary school age, in the other age groups percentages had declined slightly.
- Results were very different in *Tiriodh* and *Colla*. The latter is strictly speaking no longer part of the *Gaidhealtachd* with only 11.6 % speaking and 15.2 % understanding spoken *Gàidhlig* (table 16). The output areas on *Tiriodh* did show far higher language incidence. The speaking *Gàidhlig* category ranged from roughly 42 % in *Cornaig Mòr* (Cornaigmore) to some 58 % in *Sgairinis* (Scarinish). The figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 47 % in *Baile Mhàrtainn* (Balemartine) and more than 63 % in *Sgairinis*.
- Fig. 13 underlines that almost all inhabitants of *Tiriodh* lived in neighbourhoods where a majority of the people know at least some *Gàidhlig* (the share below 20 % is related to the communities on *Colla*).
- Literacy in the language was very high for *Gàidhlig* standards with 72.9 % of speakers being able to read and 58.9 % of speakers able to write the language.



- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years two children were recorded to be able to speak *Gàidhlig* (9.5 %). This is an unsatisfactory condition giving the strong *Gàidhlig* tradition of *Tiriodh*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (41.4 % of the population) 95 inhabitants (7.0 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Taking all information into account there were more positive than negative signs of language development when consulting data from the 2001 census.

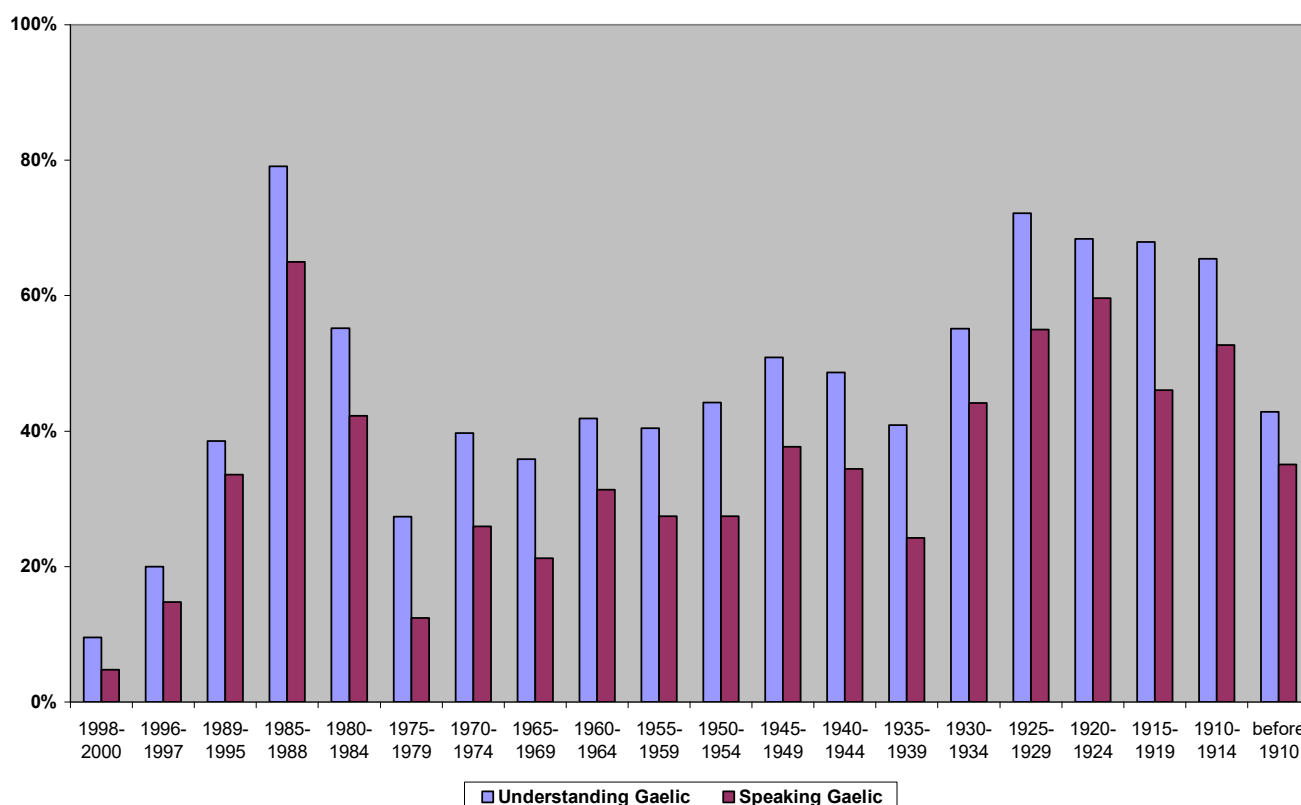
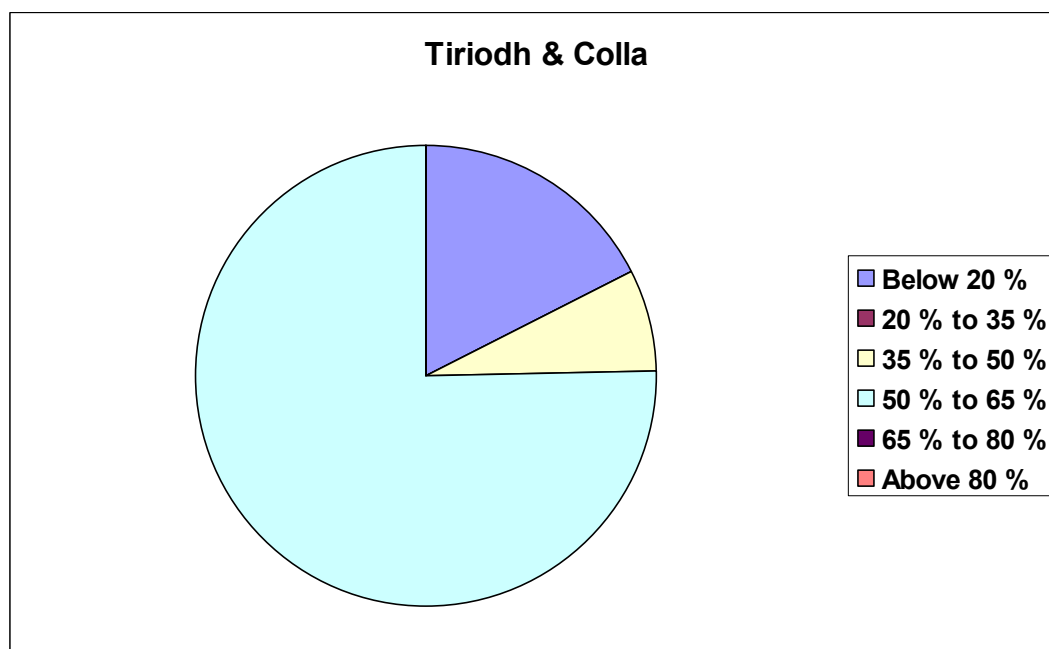


Fig. 12: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to Census 2001



Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²⁴ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	2	9.5 %	1	4.8 %	2	9.5 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	3	20.0 %	0	0.0 %	3	20.0 %	10	40.0 %	-20.0 %
5-11	37	38.5 %	32	33.3 %	36	37.5 %	39	43.3 %	- 7.8 %
12-15	34	79.1 %	32	74.4 %	32	74.4 %	13	30.0 %	+44.4 %
16-24	26	41.3 %	19	30.2 %	20	31.8 %	28	37.2 %	- 5.4 %
3-24	100	46.1 %	83	38.3 %	91	41.9 %	90	38.6 %	+ 3.3 %
All ages	482	48.4 %	282	30.2 %	387	41.4 %	455	50.3 %	- 8.9 %
Difference	- 2.3 %		+ 8.1 %		+ 0.5 %		- 11.7 %		

Table 11: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) in 2001 and 1991Fig. 13: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to Census 2001

3.2 Children with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in primary school catchments

Aggregating the information of the small area statistics provides an interesting avenue to investigate the influence of local authority and parental attitudes towards *Gàidhlig*. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for the catchment areas of local primary schools at different age groups. For the purpose of this investigation, they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). As an additional indicator a column is provided in table 7 with the age group of 24-35 which is meant to represent the language abilities of possible parents.

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



Considering the census returns for “understanding spoken Gàidhlig” in the individual school catchments marked local differences emerge:

- Pre-school children: At the time of the census *cròileagan* existed in *Cornaig Mòr*, *An Tobar Mhoire*, *An Sailean* and *Bun Easain*. At exactly the same locations some pre-school children were recorded with at least some knowledge of Gàidhlig. All in all, figures are not on a satisfactory level.
- Primary school children: Two primary schools in the area had a GMU: *Cornaig Mòr* and *An Sailean*. In *Tiriodh & Colla* 33 children were educated through GME in the 2000/2001 school year (out of 79 children), this means a share of 41.8 %. In *Muile* 22 GME children attended a Gàidhlig-medium unit (out of 225 children); this constituted 9.8 % of the total school roll in the 2000/2001 school year. Comparing these figures with the census returns leads to the conclusion that second language tuition for other children was almost unsuccessful on *Tiriodh* and only marginally better on *Muile*.

Census information leads to a further proof that two language communities exist on *Tiriodh*. One part was still Gàidhlig-speaking and sends most of its children to the local GMU; the other was staunchly English-speaking and ignored Gàidhlig more or less. The smaller primary schools (including those on *Colla* or *Eilean Idhe*) had virtually no Gàidhlig-speaking pupils – and no language teaching for that matter.

- Secondary school children: There were two local secondary schools: Tiree High School and Tobermory High School. Pupils from *Colla* and also some *Muile* children attend Oban High School and return only at weekends to their families. This fact is also easily seen in census returns. At Oban Gàidhlig is only a subject of choice; in the local secondaries the language is obligatory in secondary stages S1 and S2. Census figures of more than 60 % (on *Tiriodh* even 80 %) show the effect of this educational provision. Apart from “Gaelic as a second language” 13 out of 21 pupils (61.9 %) were learning Gàidhlig as “fluent speakers” on *Tiriodh*. At Tobermory High School only one secondary pupil had language lessons as “fluent speaker” waiting eagerly for the pupils at *An Sailean* Gàidhlig-medium unit to redress the balance in future.
- Parents: On *Muile* only a small minority of the parental generation had some language knowledge – Gàidhlig had to be re-established by playgroups, schools and grand-parents. On *Tiriodh* on the other hand a substantial proportion of possible parents knew Gàidhlig providing a much more consolidated base for language transmission within the family.

In conclusion there was much room for language growth among the younger generation in the area – well above the already attained level. This was especially true for pre-school and primary school age.



Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Cornaig Mòr (Tiriodh)</i> (Cornaigmore)	5	19.2 %	37	47.4 %	34	81.0 %	30	48.4 %
<i>Airigh nan Gobhar (Colla)</i> (Arinagour)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.0 %
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	8	11.6 %	15	18.3 %	31	52.6 %	16	11.3 %
<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig)	-	-	-	-	6	60.0 %	1	3.2 %
<i>Aiseag Ulbha</i> (Ulva Ferry)	-	-	1	11.1 %	5	62.5 %	2	18.2 %
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	5	17.9 %	18	32.7 %	16	61.5 %	12	21.1 %
<i>Ceann Loch Donn</i> (Lochdonhead)	2	16.7 %	6	26.1 %	8	61.5 %	1	5.3 %
<i>Bun Easain</i> (Bunessan)	3	13.6 %	1	2.1 %	1	25.0 %	6	10.3 %
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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



Pupils at the small primary school at *Aiseag Ulbha* (Ulva Ferry) receive Gàidhlig lessons from primary stage 1 (Duwe, 2016)



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

The comparative strength of the language within these islands in 2011 will be the basis of future growth or decline. The picture is quite different for the two districts. The language viability indicator (LVI²⁵) is already positive for *Muile*. It is slightly less encouraging on *Tiriodh & Colla* which points to insufficient intergenerational language transmission (table 13).

Area	Muile, Tiriodh & Colla – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll)	42	36.8%	312	38.2%	- 2.0 %	62.0 %
Muile (Mull)	114	30.3%	463	16.0%	+ 14.3 %	34.1 %
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 *Muile, Tiriodh & Colla* (Mull, Tiree & Coll) in comparison with the whole *Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011

Future educational progress: In 2017 the second GMU opened on *Muile*. This time in *Bun Easain* on An Ros Muileach (Ross of Mull). The overall temporal evolution of *Gàidhlig*-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 12 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 32 pupils (50.0 %) attended the GMU in *An Sailean* (Salen), 10 pupils in *Bun Easain* (45.5 %), and 36 pupils (67.9 %) were recorded on *Tiriodh*. All remaining primary pupils learned *Gàidhlig* as the first “foreign” language from P1 to P7 level. In secondary school the language was taught as obligatory subject to all pupils, either as learners or fluent speakers.

In conclusion: *Gàidhlig* on *Muile* seems to have narrowly escaped from the “point of no return”. The island could provide an excellent example for language resurrection if current initiatives continue - hopefully with increasing vigour. *Gàidhlig* on *Tiriodh* still constitutes a prominent factor in local life. This status could be enhanced much more successfully, however, if the whole community (and all school children) would have a real chance to embrace *Gàidhlig* as part of their own lives.

²⁵ LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.



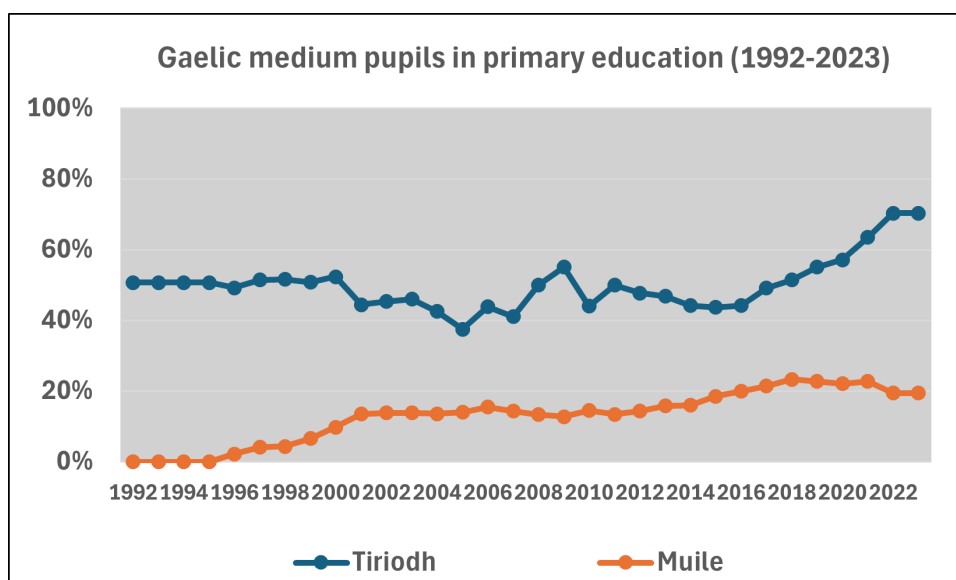


Fig. 14: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes on *Tiriodh* and *Muile* (September 1992 – September 2023)²⁶

²⁶ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish				
	Tiriodh (Tiree)	Colla (Coll)	Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore)	Torasaigh (Torosay)	Cill Fhionn- chain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)
1881	2,610	500	2,155	932	1,838
1891	2,359	389	1,970	790	1,568
1901	2,050	345	1,745	701	1,325
1911	1,685	297	1,521	615	1,129
1921	1,483	280	1,263	482	933
1931	1,343	253	1,108	392	789
1951	1,020	137	614	234	430
1961	741	94	416	195	273
1971	590	70	260	155	210
1981	545	37	270	164	160
1991	429	26	201	146	91
2001	366	19	189	110	59
2011	240	15	202	74	58

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				
	Tiriodh (Tiree)	Colla (Coll)	Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore)	Torasaigh (Torosay)	Cill Fhionn- chain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)
1881	95.5 %	77.8 %	84.8 %	84.6 %	95.1 %
1891	96.2 %	74.5 %	84.0 %	80.0 %	89.9 %
1901	93.4 %	79.9 %	76.8 %	76.9 %	86.7 %
1911	92.3 %	76.3 %	78.6 %	73.7 %	80.5 %
1921	86.4 %	73.1 %	72.7 %	69.1 %	70.7 %
1931	92.6 %	78.6 %	73.4 %	64.3 %	75.8 %
1951	83.7 %	65.2 %	47.1 %	42.5 %	53.8 %
1961	74.4 %	63.9 %	33.4 %	41.1 %	43.8 %
1971	67.4 %	48.3 %	24.1 %	28.4 %	35.9 %
1981	71.7 %	28.2 %	22.3 %	28.1 %	28.0 %
1991	55.9 %	15.1 %	13.8 %	20.5 %	13.5 %
2001	47.5 %	11.6 %	12.9 %	16.3 %	8.7 %
2011	38.3 %	7.9 %	13.1 %	11.7 %	8.1 %

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 in 1881: <i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	9,000	8,055	
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree) CP	2,733	2,610	
<i>Colla</i> (Coll) CP	643	500	
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP	1,982	1,838	
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP	2,540	2,175	
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay) CP	1,102	932	
--- inhabited islands and villages---			
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,730	2,608	
<i>Sgeir Mhòr</i> (Skerryvore Lighthouse)	3	2	
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	643	500	
<i>Eilean Earraid</i> (Earrait Island)	51	30	
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	243	215	
<i>Innis Choinnich</i> (Inchkenneth)	8	8	
<i>Calbhaigh</i> (Calve Island)	10	2	
<i>Gomastra</i> (Gometra)	30	29	
<i>Ulba</i> (Ulva)	53	50	
<i>Muile</i> (Mull)	5,229	4,611	
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) Vi	1,200	1,007	
--- ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	643	500	
<i>An Cruadh Ghoirtean</i> (Heylipol)	1,492	1,449	
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	713	645	
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	1,277	1,201	
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	819	748	
<i>Ceann Loch Spèilbhidh</i> (Kinlochspelve)	311	276	
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	600	442	
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,392	1,095	
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	396	359	
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	1,241	1,161	
<i>Ulba</i> (Ulva)	166	159	
--- census registration districts ---			
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	643	500	
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,733	2,610	
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	1,990	1,846	
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	1,035	912	
<i>Ceann Loch Spèilbhidh</i> (Kinlochspelve)	311	276	
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	600	442	
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,342	1,095	
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	396	359	

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



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1891: <i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<i>Census/Selected Area</i>			
1891	8,020	4,679	2,397
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree) CP	2,422	1,034	1,325
<i>Colla</i> (Coll) CP	522	266	123
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP	1,735	1,049	506
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP	2,344	1,641	329
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay) CP	997	686	114
--- inhabited islands and villages---			
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,419	1,031	1,325
<i>Sgeir Mhòr</i> (Skerryvore Lighthouse)	3	3	-
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	522	266	123
<i>Eilean Earraid</i> (Earrait Island)	47	9	5
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	247	205	21
<i>Innis Choinnich</i> (Inchkenneth)	2	-	2
<i>Calbhaigh</i> (Calve Island)	10	1	-
<i>Gomastra</i> (Gometra)	31	17	11
<i>Colbhasa Beag</i> (Little Colonsay)	2	2	-
<i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva)	46	33	9
<i>Muile</i> (Mull)	4,691	3,112	901
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) Vi	1,154	835	126
--- ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	522	266	123
<i>An Cruadh Ghoirtean</i> (Heylipol)	1,385	474	866
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	646	378	192
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	1,099	680	318
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	753	526	146
<i>Ceann Loch Spèilbhìdh</i> (Kinlochspelve)	270	178	30
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	521	356	50
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,265	889	135
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	358	262	39
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	1,067	560	459
<i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva)	164	114	39
--- census registration districts ---			
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	522	266	123
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,452	1,034	1,325
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	1,745	1,058	510
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	917	640	185
<i>Ceann Loch Spèilbhìdh</i> (Kinlochspelve)	270	178	30
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	521	352	50
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,265	889	135
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	358	262	39

Table 17: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* in 1891 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, inhabited islands, villages and census registration districts)



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1901: <i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1901	7,338	4,758	1,407
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree) CP	2,195	1,156	894
<i>Colla</i> (Coll) CP	432	288	57
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP	1,529	1,118	207
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP	2,117	1,517	204
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay) CP	911	658	43
--- inhabited islands and villages---			
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,192	1,154	894
<i>Sgeir Mhòr</i> (Skerryvore Lighthouse)	3	2	-
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	432	288	57
<i>Eilean Earraid</i> (Earrait Island)	39	16	-
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	213	162	6
<i>Innis Choinnich</i> (Inchkenneth) / <i>Calbhaigh</i> (Calve Island)	2 / 8	- / -	2 / -
<i>Gomastra</i> (Gometra)	53	26	12
<i>Colbhasa Beag</i> (Little Colonsay)	3	3	-
<i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva)	59	47	8
<i>Muile</i> (Mull)	4,557	3,293	454
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) Vi	1,020	748	66
--- ecclesiastic parishes ---			
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	432	288	57
<i>An Cruadh Ghoirtean</i> (Heylipol)	1,263	586	578
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	562	434	43
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	967	684	164
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	661	487	93
<i>Ceann Loch Spèilbhìdh</i> (Kinlochspelve)	259	153	19
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	441	317	25
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,301	848	74
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	316	264	4
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	932	570	316
<i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva)	205	130	32
--- census registration districts ---			
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	432	288	57
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,193	1,156	894
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	1,274	1,118	207
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	624	453	90
<i>Ceann Loch Spèilbhìdh</i> (Kinlochspelve)	259	153	19
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen)	441	317	25
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,301	848	74
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	316	264	4
<i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva)	242	164	35
--- electoral areas---			
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree)	2,195	1,156	894
<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	432	288	57
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)	1,529	1,118	207
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	1,097	769	138
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	1,020	748	66
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	911	658	43

Table 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1901 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, inhabited islands, villages, electoral areas and census registration districts)



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1961: <i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	6,387	4,690	557
<i>Tiriodh (Tiree) CP</i>	<i>1,825</i>	<i>1,366</i>	<i>319</i>
<i>Colla (Coll) CP</i>	<i>389</i>	<i>268</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP</i>	<i>1,403</i>	<i>1,005</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP</i>	<i>1,935</i>	<i>1,452</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Peighinn a'Ghobhainn & Torasaigh (Pennygown & Torosay) CP</i>	<i>835</i>	<i>599</i>	<i>16</i>
1921	5,853	4,168	273
<i>Tiriodh (Tiree) CP</i>	<i>1,716</i>	<i>1,303</i>	<i>180</i>
<i>Colla (Coll) CP</i>	<i>383</i>	<i>270</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP</i>	<i>1,319</i>	<i>884</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP</i>	<i>1,737</i>	<i>1,234</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Torasaigh (Torosay) CP</i>	<i>698</i>	<i>477</i>	<i>5</i>
1931	4,933	3,738	147
<i>Tiriodh (Tiree) CP</i>	<i>1,451</i>	<i>1,240</i>	<i>103</i>
<i>Colla (Coll) CP</i>	<i>322</i>	<i>244</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP</i>	<i>1,041</i>	<i>779</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore)</i>	<i>1,509</i>	<i>1,085</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Torasaigh (Torosay) CP</i>	<i>610</i>	<i>390</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>--- small burgh (included in the above) ---</i>			
<i>An Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag) (Tobermory Small Burgh)</i>	<i>772</i>	<i>528</i>	<i>1</i>
1951	4,083	2,425	10
<i>Tiriodh (Tiree) CP</i>	<i>1,219</i>	<i>1,016</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Colla (Coll) CP</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>427</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore)</i>	<i>1,304</i>	<i>612</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Torasaigh (Torosay) CP</i>	<i>550</i>	<i>234</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>--- small burgh (included in the above) ---</i>			
<i>An Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag) (Tobermory Small Burgh)</i>	<i>693</i>	<i>299</i>	<i>-</i>
1961	3,486	1,715	4
<i>Tiriodh (Tiree) CP</i>	<i>996</i>	<i>739</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Colla (Coll) CP</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP</i>	<i>623</i>	<i>272</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP</i>	<i>1,246</i>	<i>415</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Torasaigh (Torosay) CP</i>	<i>474</i>	<i>195</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>--- small burgh and county council electoral divisions ---</i>			
<i>An Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag) (Tobermory Small Burgh)</i>	<i>668</i>	<i>230</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Muile a Tuath (Mull North)</i>	<i>804</i>	<i>283</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Muile a Deas (Mull South)</i>	<i>871</i>	<i>369</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll)</i>	<i>1,143</i>	<i>833</i>	<i>2</i>

Table 19: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1911 and 1961 – selected areas (civil parishes, small burgh and county council electoral divisions)



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1971: <i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1971²⁷	3,230	1,280	5
<i>Tiriodh</i> (Tiree) CP	875	585	5
<i>Colla</i> (Coll) CP	145	70	*
<i>Cill Fhionnchain & Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon) CP	585	210	*
<i>Cill Naoinein & Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore) CP	1,080	260	*
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay) CP	545	155	*
--- small burgh and county council electoral divisions ---			
<i>An Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag)</i> (Tobermory Small Burgh)	640	155	*
<i>Muile a Tuath</i> (Mull North)	680	180	*
<i>Muile a Deas</i> (Mull South)	890	285	*
<i>Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Tiree & Coll)	1,020	655	5

Table 20: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* in 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, small burgh and county council electoral divisions)

Percentage of population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> 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

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

²⁸ Civil parishes on islands of *Ile* (Islay), *Muile* (Mull), *Tiriodh* (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: Muile</i> ²⁹						
Map No	Census output area ³⁰	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³¹
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01+02	<i>Tobar Mhoire 1</i> (Tobermory)	5 8.6%	7 17.9%	19 40.4%	10 62.5%	39 26.9%
03+04	<i>Tobar Mhoire 2</i> (Tobermory)	22 26.2%	18 26.5%	7 15.6%	32 58.2%	75 37.1%
05-07	<i>Tobar Mhoire 3</i> (Tobermory)	13 18.6%	10 14.3%	13 22.0%	13 31.0%	44 24.2%
08+09	<i>Maoisnis & Gleann Gorm</i> (Mishnish & Glengorm)	—	—	—	—	—
10+11	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig)	1 2.0%	8 18.6%	8 19.5%	17 56.7%	29 29.3%
12	<i>Calgarraidh</i> (Calgary)	5 17.2%	4 22.2%	6 27.3%	3 60.0%	16 36.4%
13	<i>Aiseag Ulbha</i> (Ulva Ferry), <i>Ulbha & Gomastra</i>	9 52.9%	3 21.4%	4 100.0%	8 88.9%	22 61.1%
13	<i>Cill Naoinin</i> (Kilninian)	2 50.0%	1 50.0%	6 100.0%	—	4 57.1%
14	<i>Àros & Gleann Àros</i> (Aros & Glen Aros)	9 17.3%	6 20.7%	5 15.6%	3 21.4%	21 21.0%
15	<i>Grùilinn & Na Ceallan</i> (Gruline & Kellan)	2 8.3%	2 8.0%	4 28.6%	3 27.3%	10 23.8%
16+17	<i>An Sailean & Ardura</i> (Salen & Ardura)	12 13.8%	14 18.2%	26 47.3%	32 55.2%	85 37.6%
18+19	<i>Torosaigh & Creag an Iubhair</i> (Torosay & Craignure)	9 23.7%	6 12.8%	10 40.0%	21 58.3%	39 34.2%
20	<i>Ceann Loch Donn</i> (Lochdonhead)	5 26.3%	3 17.5%	3 21.4%	3 18.8%	15 37.5%
21	<i>Loch Buidhe</i> (Lochbuie)	2 33.3%	5 45.5%	1 33.3%	5 62.5%	10 90.9%
21	<i>Peighinnean a' Ghàidheil & Griobuinn</i> (Pennyghael)	1 5.9%	0 0.0%	7 20.6%	9 69.2%	16 34.0%
22+23	<i>Bun Easain 1</i> (Bunessan)	1 3.6%	7 30.4%	6 28.6%	7 63.6%	20 29.4%
24	<i>Bun Easain 2</i> (Bunessan)	11 28.9%	6 18.2%	17 53.1%	20 74.1%	53 49.5%
25+26	<i>Fionnphort & Ceann na Tràgha</i> (Kintra)	4 12.1%	3 7.9%	14 51.9%	19 59.4%	40 43.5%
27	<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	3 11.5%	3 8.6%	5 25.0%	17 56.7%	27 32.1%
Total	<i>Muile</i> (Mull)	116 16.7%	106 17.3%	161 31.7%	222 53.6%	565 34.0%

Table 22: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Muile* (Mull) 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: Tiriodh & Colla</i> ³²						
Map No	Census output area ³³	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁴
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
51+52	<i>Baile Mhàrtainn & Baile Phuill</i> (Balemartin & Balephuill)	17 70.8%	14 82.4%	30 90.9%	22 91.7%	81 85.3%
53+54	<i>Baile Mhuilinn & Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Balevullin)	40 90.9%	23 88.5%	54 93.1%	26 100.0%	138 92.6%
55	<i>Crosabol</i> (Crossapol)	29 56.9%	20 50.0%	24 72.7%	12 63.2%	88 68.2%
56	<i>Cornaig Mòr</i> (Cornaigmore)	14 50.0%	11 52.4%	30 76.9%	21 95.5%	73 72.3%
57+58	<i>Sgairinis & Got</i> (Scarinish & Gott)	11 42.3%	14 45.2%	20 80.0%	35 74.5%	77 65.8%
59	<i>Ruaig</i>	18 85.7%	19 86.4%	23 88.5%	26 83.9%	80 87.9%
60	<i>Colla: Airigh Leòid</i> (Arileod)	1 3.8%	2 11.1%	11 61.1%	10 66.7%	25 41.0%
61	<i>Colla: Airigh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour)	4 36.4%	0 0.0%	5 31.3%	5 45.5%	11 26.2%
Total	<i>Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Tiree & Coll)	134 58.0%	103 53.9%	197 79.4%	157 80.5%	573 73.0%

Table 23: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

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

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

³⁴ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



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>Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Tiree & Coll)	TC	835 75.7 %	660 66.7 %	582 67.2 %	455 49.9 %	385 42.4 %
<i>Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag)</i> (Tobermory (Small Burgh))	TM	230 36.1 %	160 26.2 %	163 25.0 %	122 15.1 %	125 13.3 %
<i>Cill Naoinein</i> (Kilninian) ³⁵	KN	186 33.8 %	105 25.1 %	107 22.0 %	79 11.8 %	64 12.6 %
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen) ³⁶	SA	98 45.0 %	75 32.5 %	96 30.9 %	92 24.7 %	68 18.5 %
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay) ³⁷	TO	97 39.6 %	75 24.8 %	68 27.8 %	54 17.8 %	42 14.4 %
<i>An Ros Muileach</i> (Ross of Mull) ³⁸	RM	273 45.6 %	210 37.6 %	160 29.3 %	91 14.1 %	59 8.9 %

Table 24: 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) and some sub-areas according to census data from 1961 to 2001

<i>Muile: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2³⁹	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0.0 %
3-4	0	0.0 %	3	3.9 %	6	9.2 %	11	15.9 %
5-24	35	6.7 %	103	16.2 %	122	17.8 %	111	20.2 %
25-44	95	20.0 %	106	16.7 %	58	7.2 %	60	7.7 %
45-64	255	38.9 %	157	30.0 %	92	14.7 %	78	9.6 %
65 +	235	56.6 %	225	52.0 %	160	29.9 %	98	18.4 %
Total (3 years and over)	445	21.0 %	594	25.8 %	438	16.2 %	358	13.1 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	563	33.4 %	407	21.9 %	314	17.6 %

Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Muile (Mull) according to data from 1971 to 2001

³⁵ Figures are derived from the difference between the civil parish of Kilninian & Kilmore and Tobermory (Small Burgh).

³⁶ Figures are derived from the difference between the electoral division of Mull North and the civil parish of Kilninian & Kilmore.

³⁷ Figures are derived from the difference between the electoral division of Mull South and the civil parish of Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon.

³⁸ Identical to the civil parish of Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon.

³⁹ Information is only available since 2001.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ⁴⁰							
Muile							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 1a	39	24.4 %	23	15.2 %	31	16.2 %
02	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 1b			6	7.7 %	10	10.6 %
03	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 2a	75	30.2 %	24	16.8 %	17	11.3 %
04	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 2b			17	10.9 %	19	15.3 %
05	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 3a	49	20.7 %	14	22.4 %	13	24.1 %
06	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 3b			16	12.8 %	18	22.2 %
07	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 3c			22	12.0 %	17	8.5 %
08	Tobar Mhoire (Tobermory) 4	10	16.9 %	12	11.3 %	12	14.0 %
09	Gleann Gorm (Glengorm)					3	3.8 %
10	Dearbhaig (Dervaig) a	32	18.8 %	30	12.7 %	18	18.4 %
11	Dearbhaig (Dervaig) b					4	5.2 %
12	Calgarraidh (Calgary)	16	21.6 %	8	10.8 %	7	10.6 %
13	Aiseag Ulbha (Ulva Ferry)	25	56.8 %	22	19.2 %	18	15.9 %
	Na Ceallan (Kellan)	6	16.2 %				
	Cill Naoinin (Kilninian)	7	70.0 %				
	Ulbha & Gomastra (Ulva & Gometra)	1	6.7 %				
14	Aros (Aros)	11	14.1 %	7	5.0 %	2	3.6 %
15	Grùilinn (Gruline)	9	24.3 %	61	25.8 %	26	17.0 %
16	An Sailean (Salen) a	87	31.8 %			15	15.6 %
17	An Sailean (Salen) b			31	22.8 %	27	20.8 %
	Ardura (Ardura)	1	11.1 %	23	22.8 %	11	8.1 %
18	Torasaigh (Torosay)	45	31.5 %	22	19.4 %	21	25.0 %
19	Creag an Iubhair (Craignure)						
20	Ceann Loch Donn (Lochdonhead)	12	18.2 %	9	10.0 %	10	12.8 %
21	Peighinnean a' Ghàidheil (Pennyghael)	10	35.7 %	19	16.7 %	9	7.4 %
	Griobuinn (Gribun)	4	36.4 %				
	An Aird Mheadhanach (Ardmeanach)	3	20.0 %				
	Càrsaig (Carsaig)	14	20.0 %				
	Loch Buidhe (Lochbuie)	10	90.9 %				
22	Bun Easain (Buinessan) a	49	38.5 %	12	17.4 %	10	11.1 %
23	Bun Easain (Buinessan) b			15	14.9 %	9	14.3 %
24	Bun Easain (Buinessan) c	22	26.5 %	6	6.6 %	7	7.5 %
25	Fionnphort (Fionnphort)	40	30.8 %	32	21.9 %	12	10.1 %
26	Ceann na Tràgha (Kintra)					6	9.5 %
27	Eilean Idhe (Iona) a	27	25.2 %	5	6.6 %	6	4.8 %
	Eilean Idhe (Iona) b			2	4.2 %		

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas on *Muile* (Mull) according to data from 1981 to 2001

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



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Tiriodh & Colla</i>							
Map No	Census output area ⁴¹	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Baile Mhàrtainn</i> (Balemartine)	84	85.7 %	37	56.8 %	31	45.6 %
52	<i>Baile Phuill</i> (Balephuill)			41	78.1 %	34	49.3 %
53	<i>Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Balevullin)	138	89.6 %	63	77.9 %	47	54.0 %
54	<i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Middleton)			71	70.3 %	36	54.6 %
55	<i>Crosabol</i> (Crossapoll)	87	60.8 %	59	44.4 %	55	46.2 %
56	<i>Cornaig Mòr</i> (Cornaigmore)	70	62.7 %	68	53.5 %	67	41.9 %
57	<i>Sgairinis</i> (Scarinish)	81	62.8 %	30	41.9 %	30	57.7 %
58	<i>Got</i> (Gott)			25	46.7 %	26	48.2 %
59	<i>Ruaig</i> (Ruaig)	85	85.0 %	35	40.8 %	42	44.2 %
60	<i>Airigh Leòid</i> (Arileod)	23	29.9 %	15	16.6 %	9	11.1 %
61	<i>Airigh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour)	14	25.9 %	11	12.1 %	10	12.1 %

Table 27: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Tiriodh & Colla: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	9.5 %
3-4	5 (+2)	23.3 %	8	47.1 %	10	40.0 %	3	20.0 %
5-24	120 (+1)	50.4 %	118	56.5 %	80	38.4 %	88	43.6 %
25-44	120 (+0)	64.9 %	106	53.1 %	96	41.4 %	72	32.7 %
45-64	235 (+0)	78.3 %	198	78.4 %	116	55.4 %	96	37.4 %
65 +	180 (+2)	79.1 %	152	77.3 %	153	69.6 %	126	57.5 %
Total (3 years and over)	655 (+5)	66.7 %	582	66.5 %	455	50.3 %	385	42.2 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	571	72.5 %	440	58.4 %	369	49.7 %

Table 28: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to data from 1971 to 2001

⁴¹ Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	<i>Tobar Mhoire 1a</i> (Tobermory 1a)	19	27.5 %	44	22.9 %	+ 4.6 %	28.1 %
02	<i>Tobar Mhoire 1b</i> (Tobermory 1b)	5	20.8 %	17	18.1 %	+ 2.7 %	26.9 %
03	<i>Tobar Mhoire 2a</i> (Tobermory 2a)	8	22.9 %	29	19.3 %	+ 3.6 %	25.3 %
04	<i>Tobar Mhoire 2b</i> (Tobermory 2b)	9	27.3 %	28	22.6 %	+ 4.7 %	26.0 %
05	<i>Tobar Mhoire 3a</i> (Tobermory 3a)	5	38.5 %	16	29.6 %	+ 8.9 %	34.2 %
06	<i>Tobar Mhoire 3b</i> (Tobermory 3b)	11	50.0 %	25	30.9 %	+ 19.1 %	38.1 %
07	<i>Tobar Mhoire 3c</i> (Tobermory 3c)	13	22.4 %	29	14.6 %	+ 7.8 %	19.3 %
08	<i>Tobar Mhoire 4</i> (Tobermory 4)	7	21.9 %	17	19.8 %	+ 2.1 %	22.0 %
09	<i>Gleann Gorm</i> (Glengorm)	4	18.2 %	6	7.6 %	+ 10.6 %	8.5 %
10	<i>Dearbhaig a</i> (Dervaig a)	7	29.2 %	24	24.5 %	+ 4.7 %	29.2 %
11	<i>Dearbhaig b</i> (Dervaig b)	2	20.0 %	8	10.4 %	+ 9.6 %	15.6 %
12	<i>Calgarraidh</i> (Calgary)	1	11.1 %	11	16.7 %	- 5.6 %	27.0 %
13	<i>Aiseag Ulbha</i> (Ulva Ferry)	8	30.8 %	27	23.9 %	+ 6.9 %	40.3 %
14	<i>Aros</i> (Aros)	2	22.2 %	4	7.1 %	+ 15.1 %	14.8 %
15	<i>Grùilinn</i> (Gruline)	12	30.0 %	37	24.2 %	+ 5.8 %	33.7 %
16	<i>An Sailean a</i> (Salen a)	6	23.1 %	22	22.9 %	+ 0.2 %	25.0 %
17	<i>An Sailean b</i> (Salen b)	19	40.4 %	39	30.0 %	+ 10.4 %	32.5 %
18	<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	7	20.0 %	19	14.0 %	+ 6.0 %	17.3 %

Table 29: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland on Muile (Mull) 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)
19	<i>Creag an Iubhair</i> (Craignure)	9	37.5 %	31	36.9 %	+ 0.6 %	37.5 %
20	<i>Ceann Loch Donn</i> (Lochdonhead)	4	50.0 %	14	18.0 %	+ 32.0 %	27.9 %
21	<i>Peighinnean a' Ghàidheil</i> (Pennyghael)	6	30.0 %	20	16.4 %	+ 13.6 %	27.6 %
22	<i>Bun Easain a</i> (Buinessan a)	1	4.8 %	17	18.9 %	- 14.1 %	23.9 %
23	<i>Bun Easain b</i> (Buinessan b)	2	20.0 %	14	22.2 %	- 2.2 %	26.8 %
24	<i>Bun Easain c</i> (Buinessan c)	1	4.8 %	13	14.0 %	- 9.2 %	18.8 %
25	<i>Fionnphort</i> (Fionnphort)	2	8.3 %	21	17.7 %	- 9.4 %	22.4 %
26	<i>Ceann na Tràgha</i> (Kintra)	-	-	10	15.9 %	- 15.9 %	17.0 %
27	<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	1	4.8 %	9	7.2 %	- 2.4 %	13.6 %

Table 30: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland on Muile (Mull) according to census data of 2001 – Part B



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	Baile Mhàrtainn (Balemartine)	6	33.3 %	32	47.1 %	- 13.8 %	56.4 %
52	Baile Phuill (Balephuill)	13	50.0 %	37	53.6 %	- 3.6 %	58.7 %
53	Baile Mhuilinn (Balevullin)	13	61.9 %	62	59.8 %	+ 2.1 %	62.5 %
54	Am Baile Meadhonach (Middleton)	2	14.3 %	38	57.6 %	- 43.3 %	57.8 %
55	Crosabol (Crossapoll)	19	52.8 %	71	59.7 %	- 6.9 %	63.0 %
56	Cornaig Mòr (Cornaigmore)	22	47.8 %	85	53.1 %	- 5.3 %	62.8 %
57	Sgairinis (Scarinish)	4	100. %	33	63.5 %	+ 36.5 %	73.3 %
58	Gott (Gott)	8	72.7 %	27	50.0 %	+ 22.7 %	64.5 %
59	Ruaig (Ruaig)	14	60.9 %	52	54.7 %	+ 6.2 %	60.5 %
60	Airigh Leòid (Arileod)	1	5.6 %	11	13.6 %	- 8.0 %	16.1 %
61	Airigh nan Gobhar (Arinagour)	-	-	14	16.9 %	- 16.9 %	26.1 %

Table 31: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll) according to census data of 2001



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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig-speaking* people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland, 1912): “*When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.*” Due to the ever increasing presence of English in the *Gàidhlig* community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2nd World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke *Gàidhlig* but no English.
3. No data are available on persons speaking *Gàidhlig* outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the *Gàidhlig* language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of *Alba Nuadh* (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
4. During 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>Muile</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC01A	60QD000549
02	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC01B	60QD000550
03	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC02A	60QD000551
04	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC02B	60QD000552
05	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC03A	60QD000553
06	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC03B	60QD000554
07	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC03C	60QD000555
08	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	KN	32CC06 32CC07	60QD000556
09	<i>Gleann Gorm</i> (Glengorm), <i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig), <i>An Linne Dubh</i> (Linndhu), <i>An Sorn</i>	KN	32CC07	60QD000123
10	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig), <i>Cuidhinis</i> (Quinish)	KN	32CC05	60QD000715
11	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig), <i>Loch na Cuilce</i> , <i>An Àird Dubh</i> (Ardhu)	KN	32CC05	60QD000716
12	<i>Calgarraidh</i> (Calgary), <i>Cnoc Odhar</i> , <i>Am Peighinn Mòr</i> (Penmore), <i>Cill Chrìosd</i> , <i>Treisinis</i> (Treshnish), <i>Cille Chrònain</i> (Kilchronan), <i>Suaineapol</i> (Sunipol), <i>Am Fàn Mòr</i> (Fanmore), <i>Ceallan</i> (Kellan)	KN	32CC04	60QD000122
13	<i>Aiseag Ulbha</i> (Ulva Ferry), <i>Cill Naoinein</i> (Kilninian), <i>Eilean Ulbha</i> (Isle of Ulva), <i>Gomastra</i> (Isle of Gometra), <i>Osgamul</i> (Oskamull)	KN	32CA01 32CA02 32CA03 32CA04 32CB01	60QD000585
14	<i>Àros</i> , <i>Ceann an t-Sàilein</i> (Kentallen), <i>An Leathad Mòr</i> (Ledmore), <i>Loch Àros</i>	KN	32BZ03	60QD000121

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Muile* – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>Muile</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
15	<i>Grùilinn (Gruline), An Sailean (Salen), Peighinn a'Ghobhainn (Pennygown)</i>	SA	32BZ02A 32BZ01	60QD000713
16	<i>An Sailean (Salen)</i>	SA	32BZ02A	60QD000714
17	<i>An Sailean (Salen)</i>	SA	32BZ02B	60QD000125
18	<i>Torasaigh (Torosay), An Crògan (Croggan), Creag an Iubhair (Craignure), Loch Spèilbhaidh (Loch Spelve)</i>	TO	32BR02A 32BP01 32BR01	60QD000117
19	<i>Creag an Iubhair (Craignure), Fìsnis (Fishnish)</i>	TO	32BR02B	60QD000118
20	<i>Ceann Loch Dona (Lochdonhead)</i>	TO	32BQ01	60QD000116
21	<i>Peighinnean a'Ghàidheil (Pennygael), Carsaig, Gleann Mòr (Glen More), Griobann (Gribun), Loch Buidhe (Lochbuie), An Àird Mheadhonach (Ardmeanach), Innis Choinnich (Inchkenneth), Cill Fhionnchain (Kilfinichen)</i>	RM	32BX01 32BN01 32BU01 32BU02 32BW01 32BY01	60QD000584
22	<i>Bun Easain (Buinessan)</i>	RM	32BT02B	60QD000119
23	<i>Bun Easain (Buinessan), Cnocan (Knockan), Àird Tunna (Arduin)</i>	RM	32BT02A	60QD000583
24	<i>Bun Easain (Buinessan), Tir a'Ghoill (Tiraghoil), Saor Pheighinn (Saorphins), Uisgean (Uisken), Àird Chiabhaig (Ardchiavaig), Àird Fìneig (Ardfenaig)</i>	RM	32BT01 32BT02	60QD000582
25	<i>Fionnphort, Eilean Earraid (Erraid)</i>	RM	32BS01	60QD000782
26	<i>Ceann na Tràgha (Kintra), Airigh Glas (Aridhglas), Crèich, Na Fidean (Fidden)</i>	RM	32BT01	60QD000783
27	<i>Eilean Idhe (Iona): Baile Mòr, Maol, Achadh a'Bhathaich (Auchabhaich)</i>	RM	32CD01A 32CD01B	60QD000124

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Muile* – 1961-2001 – Part B



Census Output Areas in <i>Tiriodh & Colla</i>				
Map No.	Census output area ⁴²	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Baile Mhartainn</i> (Balemartine), <i>Manal</i> (Mannel)	TC	32CE02A	60QD000125
52	<i>Baile Phuill</i> (Balephuill), <i>Haoidhnis</i> (Hynish)	TC	32CE02B	60QD000126
53	<i>Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Balevullin), <i>Sraid Ruadh</i> , <i>Cill Mo Luaig</i> (Kilmaluais)	TC	32CE03A	60QD000127
54	<i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Middleton), <i>Hogh</i> (Hough), <i>Sann-daig</i> (Sandaig), <i>Goirtean Dòmhnail</i> (Barrapoll), <i>Cill Choinnich</i> (Kilkenneth)	TC	32CE03B	60QD000128
55	<i>Crosabol</i> (Crossapoll), <i>An Cruairtean</i> (Heylipol), <i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Balinoe)	TC	32CE04	60QD000129
56	<i>Cornaig Mòr</i> (Cornaigmore), <i>Cornaig Beag</i> (Cornaigbeag), <i>Ceann a'Bhàigh</i> (Kenevay), <i>An Àird Mhòr</i> (Ard Mor), <i>Baile Pheadrais</i> (Balephetrish)	TC	32CE05	60QD000130
57	<i>Sgairinis</i> (Scarinish), <i>An Sgèir</i>	TC	32CE06A 32CE01	60QD000131
58	<i>Got</i> (Gott), <i>Am Bàgh</i> (Baugh), <i>Hianais</i> (Heanish), <i>Circepol</i> (Kirkapoll)	TC	32CE06B	60QD000132
59	<i>Ruaig</i> , <i>An Caolas</i> , <i>Acarsaid an Dùin</i> , <i>Bhalla</i> (Vaul)	TC	32CE07	60QD000133
60	<i>Airigh Leòid</i> (Arileod), <i>Uige</i> (Uig), <i>An t-Achadh</i> (Acha), <i>Airidh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour)	TC	32CF01	60QD000134
61	<i>Airidh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour), <i>A'Ghallanaich</i> (Gallanach), <i>Sòrasdal</i> (Sorisdale)	TC	32CF02	60QD000135

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Tiriodh & Colla* – 1961-2001

⁴² Placenames are given according to official information by the Ordnance Survey and used in modern maps. The placenames in the Outer Hebrides do have officially Gàidhlig names. „English“ versions are only used in addition for major settlements. Therefore the old anglicised names are provided in table A-1 for a few prominent locations only.



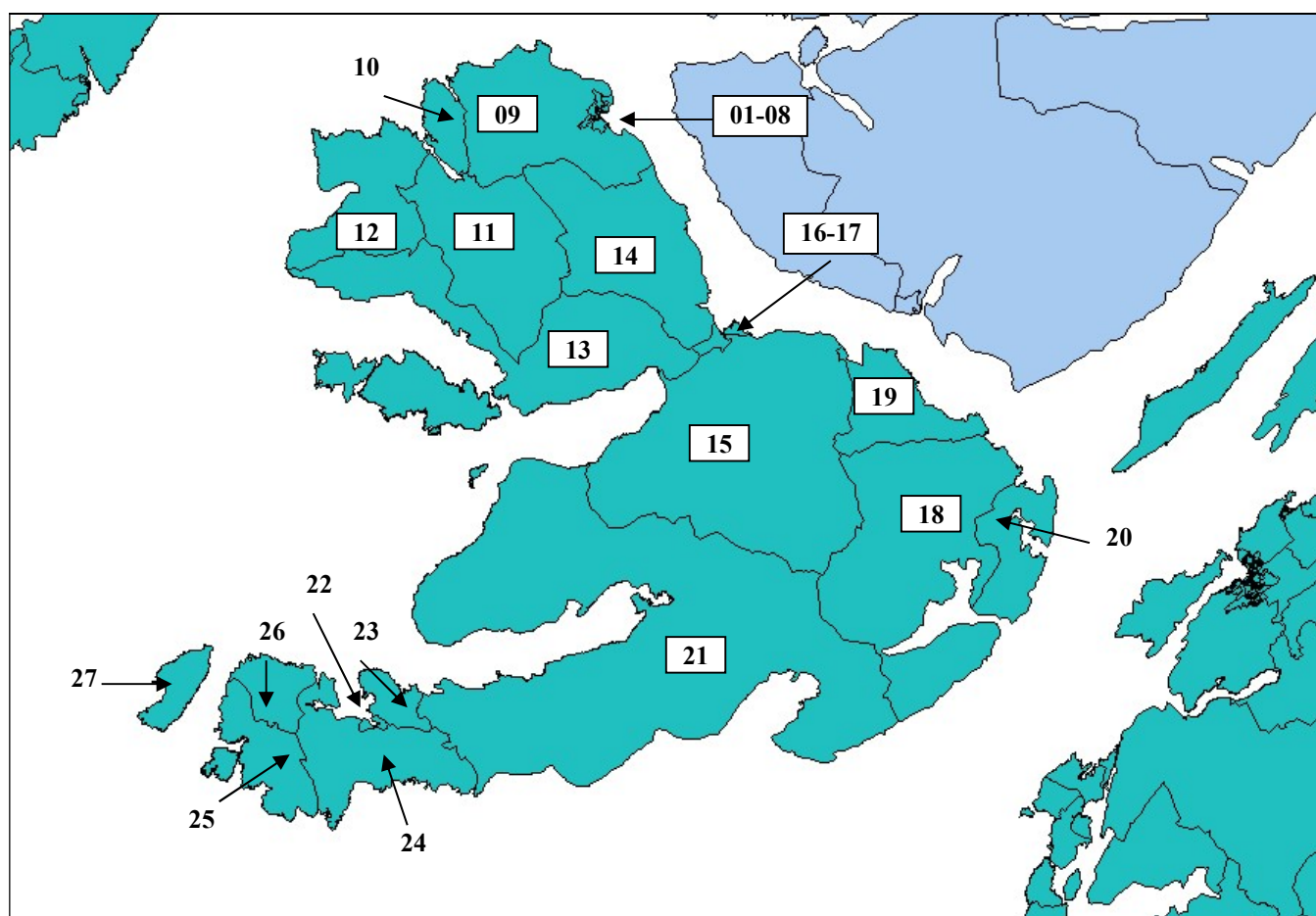


Fig. 15: Overview of census output areas for *Muile* (Mull) - numbers are provided in tables A-1 and A-2 ⁴³

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



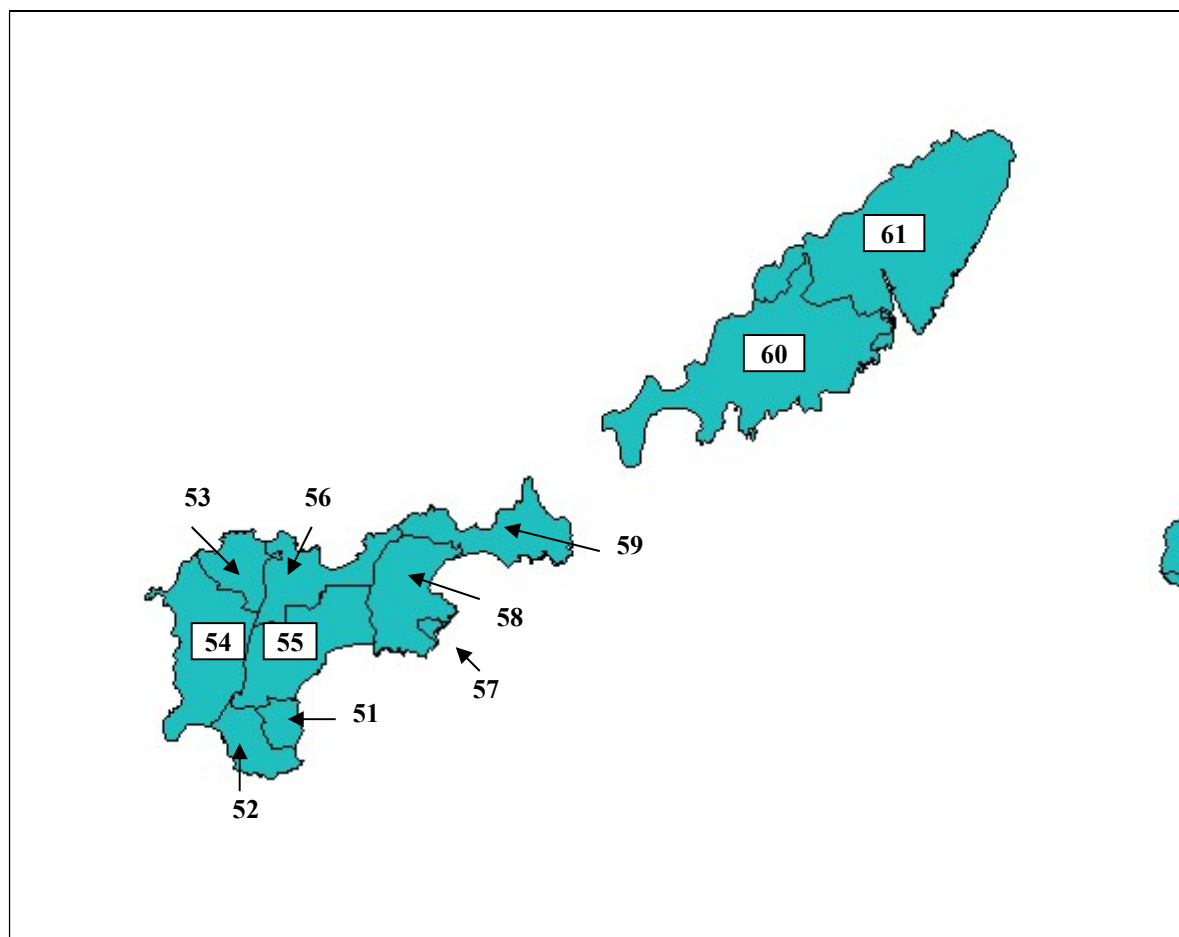


Fig. 16: Overview map of census output areas for *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) - numbers are provided in table A-3⁴⁴

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



V. List of Tables

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VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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