

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 23: *Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis* (Inverness & Loch Ness-side)

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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 volume is concerned with the modern history of Gaelic in the northern part of the Great Glen and its communities between Fort Augustus and Inverness. The “Highland Capital” and the district around Loch Ness has experienced a decline of Gaelic speaking like many other parts of the once *Gaidhealtachd*. But within the last few decades Inverness has been at the forefront of many positive developments connected with Gaelic including early provision of Gaelic medium education. Commendable efforts to support the language in the town and its surrounding district have been done but there is still scope for considerable improvement. This includes more intensive second language teaching in primary and secondary schools and a more positive attitude concerning the usage and visibility of the language in public space and official proceedings.

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



Foreword to the First Edition

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

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



Acknowledgements

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

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

Kurt C. Duwe



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1 Introduction

Inbhirnis (Inverness) is by all means and purposes the capital of the Highlands. As such it acted very early as the centre of anglicisation tendencies in once staunchly *Gàidhlig* territory. Perhaps ironically the town is now at the forefront of re-establishing the language in the north of Scotland. *Inbhirnis* has long been the administrative centre of its own county Inverness-shire which stretched as far as *Barraigh* (Barra) and *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Skye); in 1974 it emerged as the capital of the even larger local authority of Highland Region. As such it was the focus of administrative and economic development within the following decades. The town expanded considerably, and new towns emerged where once small villages like *Cùil Lodair* (Culloden) dominated the landscape. Largely unimpressed by the booming town communities further south were affected more by the substitution of agriculture by tourism as the main source of income. Whereas the population in this Highland district around world-famous *Loch Nis* (Loch Ness) remained almost constant, *Inbhirnis* and its “suburbia” grew by almost 20,000 inhabitants, a growth of almost 50 % since 1961.

The following short chapters investigate the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area (figure 1) from the end of the 19th century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail.

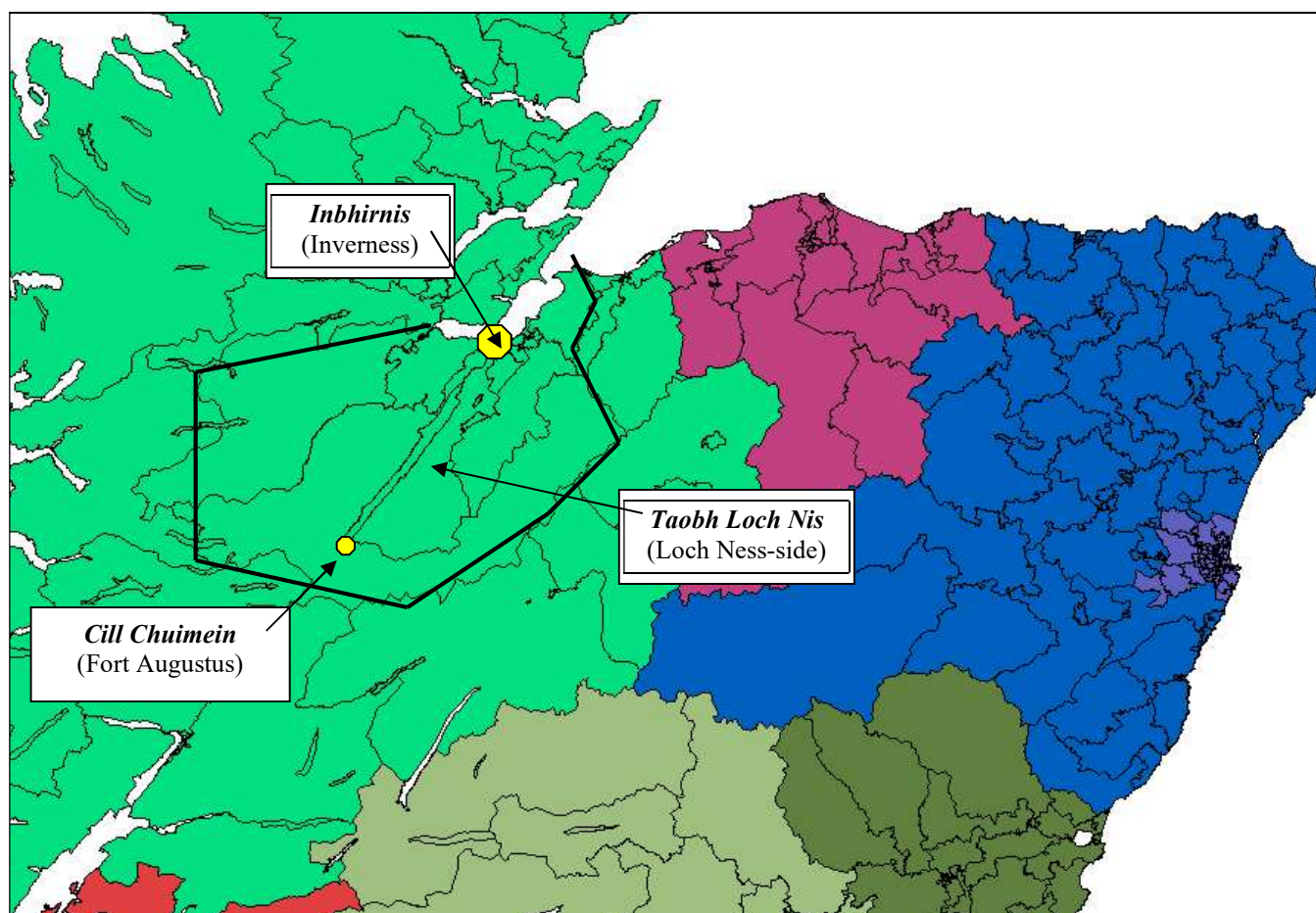


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas³

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



2 The Historical Background

Well in the second half of the 18th century the first considerable anglicisation waves reached some strategically important locations in the Highlands. These included of course the fortifications along *An Gleann Mòr* (Great Glen) and the administrative centre of *Inbhirnis* (Inverness). But English did not make strong headways beyond town and castle walls during this period.

A century later even the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1845) reported in its chapter about the parish of *Inbhirnis* (Inverness): “*In the remoter parts of the parish, and by some of the poorer classes in town, the Gaelic language is exclusively spoken, but it is fast wearing out, and by the rising generation English is almost universally preferred, especially in the town of Inverness, where many of them are wholly ignorant of Gaelic.*” Social differences in language preference were of course not confined to urban circles in *Inbhirnis*. In nearby *Peitidh* (Petty) it was reported that “*English is the sole language of some families, but chiefly on the Earl of Moray’s estate. The greater proportion of the farm-servants, and all the old aboriginal (sic!) tenantry, prefer to speak Gaelic.*” Further away from anglicised nobility and commerce *Gàidhlig* remained the vernacular of the population of all communities around the shores of *Loch Nis* (Loch Ness) for decades to come. And the town itself became also an important cultural “exile centre” for many educated Gaels from all over the Highlands and Islands. The founding of the *Comunn Gàidhlig Inbhirnis* (“Gaelic Society of Inverness”) in 1871 was one example of the vigorous culture of this Celtic language.

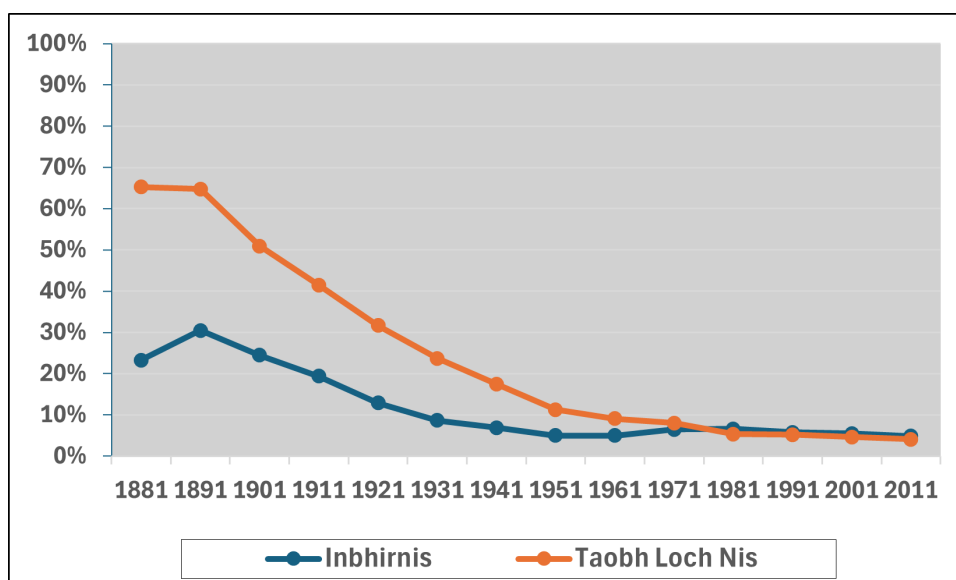


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) in comparison with *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side)⁴

With the improvement of communication with Central Scotland and the disastrous monolingual education policy after 1872 things were to change, however, drastically for the once predominant tongue. Figure 2 illustrates quite clearly the swift disappearance of *Gàidhlig* as important language in the heart of the Highlands. Quite recently the town even overtook its once more *Gàidhlig* hinterland in the (albeit still small) share of *Gàidhlig* speakers.

⁴ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951. Figures in 1881 were returned for those speaking “habitually” *Gàidhlig*. They are therefore an underestimate of the actual share of speakers.



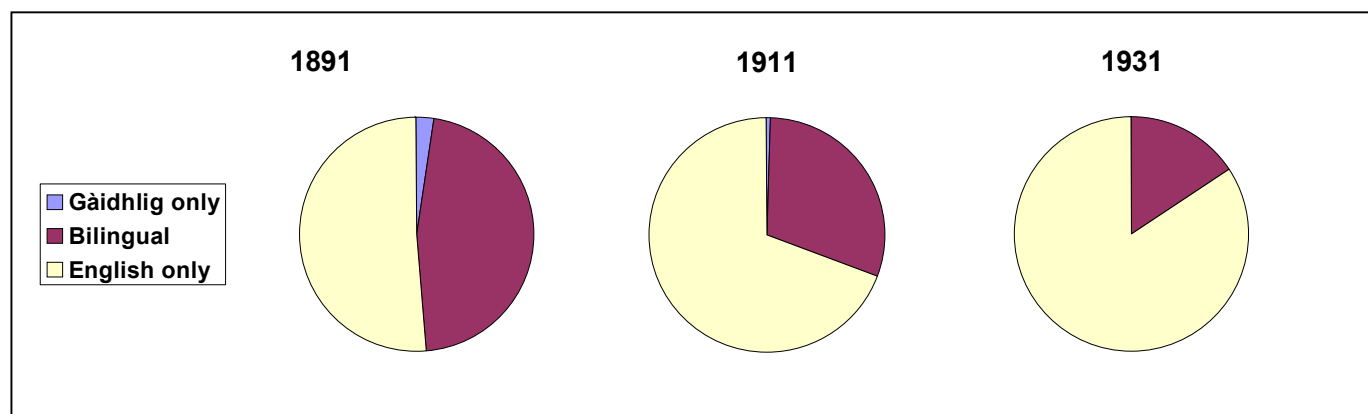


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

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

1881 was the first census which included a question about *Gàidhlig* speakers. Then almost 50 % of all inhabitants of *Inbhirnis* and its hinterland were “habitually” speaking *Gàidhlig* (table 1). Half a century later figures were down to a third and *Gàidhlig* monolinguals were reduced to a negligible quantity (fig. 3). In 1891 still 1,007 persons were counted as speaking *Gàidhlig* but not English; in 1931 only 21 were left in this category (tables 18 and 19).

A major factor in the decline of the language and its subsequent demise by its speakers was the indifferent, ignorant (and sometimes hostile) education in state schools. An impressive (and frightening) statement of school policy in the 19th century is given by Campbell (1945): “*The master of the parish school of Glenurquhart made it his first duty, after the opening prayer, to hand to one of the boys a roughly carved piece of wood which was called ‘the tessera’.* The boy transferred it to the first pupil who was heard speaking Gaelic. That offender got rid of it by delivering it to the next, who in his turn, placed it in the hand of the next again. And so the tessera went round without ceasing. At the close of the day, it was called for by Mr. Kerr. The child who happened to possess it was severely flogged, and then told to hand it back to the one from whom he had received it. The latter was dealt with in the same manner; and so, the dreaded tessera retraced its course, with dire consequences to all who dared to express themselves in the only language which they knew.” It is no wonder that such attitude was counterproductive to the future survival of *Gàidhlig* in the Highlands.

<i>Inbhir Nis & Taobh Loch Nis</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	18,583	18,574	15,276	12,029	8,040	6,113
% of total population	46.9 %	46.8 %	36.4 %	29.5 %	21.1 %	15.3 %

Table 1: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis* (Inverness & Loch Ness-side) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

It is worth remembering the relative strength of *Gàidhlig* within many communities of the area even at the start of the 20th century. The census documents between 1881 and 1911 are very detailed in their local information. Tables 2 to 5 outline quite clearly a very heterogeneous pattern of language maintenance and decline in individual communities of the area. Whereas in *Inbhirnis* and its immediate neighbourhood English became the sole language of the population very soon, more rural districts like *Gleann Moireasdan* (Glenmoriston) and *Gleann Urchadain* (Glen Urquhart) kept *Gàidhlig* quite successfully.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Aird nan Saor, Crothaigh, Peitidh, Inbhirnis & Cnoc Mhoire – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁷		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Aird nan Saor ⁸ (Ardersier)	139 12.2%	222 22.0%	171 16.6%	90 10.1%	1 0.5%	–	–
Crothaigh & Dail Chrois (Croy & Dalcross)	496 46.0%	476 50.8%	259 44.7%	224 41.3%	6 1.3%	1 0.4%	–
Am Baile Ùr & Baile Mo Chridhe (Newton & Balmachree)	194 32.9%	90 45.7%	83 37.4%	77 29.2%	–	–	–
Tòrr na Grèine & A' Bhraclaich (Tornagrain & Braicklaich)		81 36.8%	71 38.0%	53 29.3%	2 2.5%	–	–
Dail Ghil & Baile an Iasgaich (Dalziel & Fisherton)	323 65.8%	150 51.2%	101 43.5%	62 32.5%	8 5.3%	1 1.0%	–
Baile Stiùbhartach & An Ceathramh (Stuarton & Kerrow)	95 23.3%	118 37.6%	99 29.1%	60 17.6%	–	2 2.0%	–
Taobh Locha & An Tòrr Breac (Lochside & Torbreck)	179 63.9%	67 29.1%	73 26.4%	62 23.8%	–	–	–
Baile a' Bhlàir & Am Bracal ⁹ (Balblair & Brackley)	4 9.3%	18 40.9%	9 26.5%	4 15.8%	–	–	–
Inbhirnis (Inverness)	5,314 24.5%	7,465 32.1%	6,649 25.8%	5,499 21.6%	180 2.4%	90 1.4%	65 1.2%
Am Bànach: An Leacainn (Bona: Leachkin)	260 51.1%	206 36.2%	225 36.0%	133 30.2%	–	6 2.7%	2 1.5%
Am Bànach: Dabhadh Gairbheach (Bona: Dochgarroch)	268 71.8%	264 68.4%	179 48.9%	173 49.9%	24 9.1%	1 0.6%	4 2.3%
Am Bànach: Obar Itheachan (Bona: Abriachan)	369 95.8%	243 93.5%	164 69.5%	145 56.6%	68 27.9%	14 8.5%	5 3.4%
Cnoc Mhoire & A' Mhoroich (Kirkhill & Lovat)	157 57.7%	115 46.7%	98 37.7%	124 32.4%	8 7.0%	–	1 0.8%
Achadh na Garthain (Achnagairn)	134 74.9%	95 50.3%	79 59.0%		5 5.3%	–	
Mon Itheag & Relugas (Moniack & Relugas)	183 54.5%	213 78.0%	155 57.0%	134 41.2%	18 8.5%	7 4.5%	–
Am Baile Ùr (Newton)	149 62.6%	122 63.2%	164 53.1%	120 43.6%	–	2 1.2%	2 1.7%
Bun Chraoibh (Bunchrew)	136 56.9%	133 63.0%			4 3.0%		
Innis Bhearaigh (Inchberry)	127 58.8%	126 64.6%	131 40.8%	134 41.2%	1 0.8%	3 2.3%	–

Table 2: Persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Aird nan Saor, Crothaigh, Peitidh, Inbhirnis & Cnoc Mhoire (Ardersier, Croy, Petty, Inverness & Kirkhill) between 1881 and 1911

⁵ Civil parish or enumeration division.

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

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

⁸ Excluding military personnel.

⁹ This enumeration division was part of Nairnshire until 1892.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the ecclesiastic parish of Cill Mhòraig – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁰	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹¹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹²		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>A' Mhanachainn</i> (Beaulay)	665 66.8%	517 54.5%	433 50.6%	295 33.4%	32 6.2%	13 3.0%	5 1.7%
<i>Cnoc na Gaoithe & An Leatach</i> (Windhill & Lettoch)	80 67.8%	76 60.8%	79 51.6%	65 31.1%	8 10.5%	1 1.3%	—
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack)	143 72.2%	108 76.6%	114 79.2%	69 45.4%	3 2.8%	3 2.6%	—
<i>Ruisiairidh</i> (Ruisaurie)	205 83.0%	180 56.4%	145 81.5%	117 72.7%	11 6.1%	7 4.8%	2 1.7%
<i>Lianaisidh</i> (Lienassie)	184 94.8%	159 93.5%	90 80.4%	66 58.9%	51 32.1%	2 2.2%	3 4.5%
<i>Feàrna Liath & Urchanaidh</i> (Farley & Urchany)	56 88.9%	48 81.4%	37 82.2%	39 66.1%	14 29.2%	3 8.1%	—
<i>Taigh an Fhasaidh</i> (Teanassie)	104 88.1%	68 65.4%	54 75.0%	30 58.8%	18 26.5%	1 1.9%	1 3.3%
<i>Aigeis</i> (Aigas)	89 74.8%	67 58.8%	82 65.1%	39 33.3%	6 9.0%	6 7.3%	1 2.6%
<i>Muillidh & Monar</i> (Muillie & Monar)	42 80.8%	32 84.2%	31 79.5%	27 50.0%	1 3.1%	—	—
<i>An t-Srùigh</i> (Struy)	154 92.8%	106 86.9%	70 77.8%	54 64.3%	8 7.5%	—	—
<i>Canaich</i> (Cannich)	125 74.4%	87 83.7%	92 86.8%	84 68.9%	1 1.1%	5 5.4%	1 1.2%
<i>Gleann Afraic & An Cnoc Fionn</i> (Glen Affric & Knockfin)	—	19 100%	45 76.3%	54 81.8%	—	4 8.9%	1 1.9%
<i>Maol Ardaich & Gleann Canaich</i> (Mullardoch & Glen Cannich)	40 97.3%	16 100%	22 78.6%	20 80.0%	1 6.3%	—	—

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cill Mhòraig (Kilmorack) between 1881 and 1911

¹⁰ Enumeration division.

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.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Cill Targhlain, Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹³	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁴				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁵		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Tomaich</i> (Tomich)	143 79.0%	112 61.2%	112 63.3%	80 65.0%	4 3.6%	1 0.9%	2 2.5%
<i>An Ceathramh</i> (Kerrow)	120 90.9%	95 88.0%	92 80.7%	76 71.7%	10 7.4%	3 3.3%	3 3.9%
<i>Earghlais</i> (Erchless)	125 81.7%	101 71.1%	75 63.6%	66 48.9%	12 11.9%	4 5.3%	5 9.1%
<i>Cùil Braonaidh</i> (Culburnie)	226 83.7%	200 81.0%	146 59.3%	124 53.4%	11 5.5%	1 0.7%	–
<i>Eisgeadal</i> (Eskadale)	147 88.6%	117 76.5%	121 63.4%	77 50.0%	9 7.7%	4 3.3%	1 1.3%
<i>Cam Allt</i> (Camault)	224 96.6%	153 76.5%	149 63.1%	133 54.3%	–	1 0.7%	1 0.8%
<i>Confhadhach</i> (Convinth)	207 92.0%	185 90.2%	141 70.5%	94 47.2%	23 12.4%	2 1.4%	2 2.1%
<i>Cill Targhlain</i> (Kiltarlity)	158 47.0%	145 57.8%	127 45.0%	96 33.3%	4 2.8%	2 1.6%	–
<i>Tom na Croise</i> (Tomnacross)	193 81.8%	153 69.9%	129 67.5%	99 46.9%	21 13.7%	6 4.7%	3 3.0%
<i>Caplaich</i> (Caplaich)	178 87.7%	136 80.0%	116 70.7%	101 62.0%	15 11.0%	5 4.3%	9 8.9%
<i>Coire Monaidh</i> (Corriemony)	202 81.5%	169 74.1%	152 81.3%	104 64.6%	11 6.5%	4 2.6%	1 0.9%
<i>Baile an Fhàin</i> (Balnain)	313 92.3%	268 89.9%	226 86.6%	184 68.7%	71 26.5%	11 4.9%	8 4.3%
<i>Baile a' Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	243 87.7%	250 82.2%	220 81.8%	166 69.7%	19 7.6%	10 4.5%	2 1.2%
<i>Druim na Drochaide</i> (Drumnadrochit)	390 80.9%	147 76.6%	105 60.0%	102 59.6%	16 10.9%	12 11.4%	2 2.0%
<i>Blàr na Maigh</i> (Lewiston)	204 79.1%	225 67.4%	218 65.3%	185 56.9%	–	7 3.2%	3 1.6%
<i>Allt Saidhe</i> (Aultsigh)	101 87.1%	109 87.9%	88 73.3%	71 74.0%	16 14.7%	16 18.2%	6 8.5%
<i>Bun Leothaid</i> (Bunloit)	273 93.5%	161 89.4%	137 89.5%	116 94.3%	52 32.3%	26 19.0%	22 19.0%
<i>Inbhir Moireasdan</i> (Invermoriston)	137 82.5%	132 80.0%	98 64.9%	101 64.3%	21 15.9%	8 8.2%	1 1.0%
<i>Dul Dreagain & Tòrr a' Ghoill</i> (Dundreggan & Torgyle)	219 97.3%	154 86.5%	135 85.4%	75 92.6%	30 19.5%	7 5.2%	1 1.3%
<i>Ceann nan Cnoc</i> (Ceannacroc)	33 97.1%	16 50.0%	17 85.0%	45 81.8%	–	–	1 2.2%

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Cill Targhlain, Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan* (Kiltarlity, Urquhart & Glenmoriston) between 1881 and 1911

¹³ Enumeration division.

¹⁴ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁵ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in districts of <i>Both Fhleisginn, Obar Thairbh & Dubhras</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁶	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ¹⁷				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ¹⁸		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Taobh Loch Ghairt & Goirtlig</i> (Lochgarthside & Gorthleck)			107 69.0%	87 71.9%		3 2.8%	4 4.6%
<i>Inbhir Farragaig & Both Fhleisginn</i> (Inverfarigaig & Boleskine)	355 83.3%	252 71.8%	101 77.1%	93 61.6%	19 9.3%	4 4.0%	2 2.2%
<i>Foithear & Gleann Liath</i> (Foyers & Glenlea)			111 32.3%	136 24.0%		—	—
<i>An Drochaid Bhàn & An Dail</i> (Whitebridge & Dell)	62 81.6%	45 59.2%	68 63.0%	52 54.2%	—	—	—
<i>Cille Chaluim & Ardachaigh</i> (Killie Choilum & Ardochy)	89 87.3%	82 81.2%	74 79.6%	63 79.7%	—	—	—
<i>Dail Cataig</i> (Dalcataig)	73 82.0%	62 66.7%	65 56.0%	51 58.6%	3 4.8%	2 3.1%	1 2.0%
<i>Gleann Dobha</i> (Glen Doe)	63 77.8%	32 68.1%	31 67.4%	28 48.3%	2 6.3%	—	—
<i>Gleann Thairbh</i> (Glentarff)	51 83.6%	50 90.9%	30 68.2%	24 55.8%	—	2 6.7%	—
<i>Cill Chuimein & Bun Abha</i> (Fort Augustus & Bunoich)	333 70.9%	264 44.3%	289 56.3%	255 43.6%	3 1.1%	12 4.2%	3 1.2%
<i>Drochaid Abha</i> (Bridge of Oich)	100 89.3%	93 72.7%	68 73.1%	54 49.1%	4 4.3%	—	—
<i>Allt Dobhraig</i> (Aldourie)	179 60.7%	169 70.7%	120 63.8%	69 30.5%	13 7.7%	2 1.7%	—
<i>Dùn Deilcheig & Loch Athaisidh</i> (Duntelchaig & Loch Ashie)	150 83.3%	76 73.1%	63 79.7%	64 75.3%	10 13.2%	1 1.6%	1 1.6%
<i>Dubhras & A'Chluain</i> (Dores & Clune)	174 77.0%	158 74.5%	117 60.9%	69 52.3%	11 7.0%	—	2 2.9%
<i>Abairsgigh & Earrogaidh</i> (Abersky & Errogie)	376 90.8%	255 73.3%	291 77.4%	198 58.6%	40 14.7%	2 0.7%	—

Table 5: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in *Both Fhleisginn, Obar Thairbh & Dubhras* (Boleskine, Abertarff & Dores) between 1881 and 1911

¹⁶ Enumeration division.

¹⁷ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁸ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in districts of <i>Deimhidh, Dùn Fhlicheadaidh, A' Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁹	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ²⁰				Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ²¹		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Obar Chaladair</i> (Aberchalder)	51 86.4%	55 78.6%	20 66.7%	25 64.1%	2 3.6%	–	1 4.0%
<i>Eilreig</i> (Elrig)	215 78.5%	156 82.1%	121 63.4%	102 63.4%	11 7.1%	3 2.5%	2 2.0%
<i>Flicheadaidh</i> (Flichity)	198 83.5%	181 76.7%	111 61.3%	102 53.1%	4 2.2%	2 1.8%	–
<i>Gleann Narann</i> (Glennairn)	186 86.5%	138 78.4%	76 59.8%	49 39.5%	25 18.1%	4 5.3%	3 6.1%
<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot)	179 80.6%	138 75.4%	107 56.0%	85 50.6%	5 3.6%	2 1.9%	–
<i>Creagaidh</i> (Craggie)	93 73.8%	82 73.9%	72 51.8%	61 48.8%	2	–	–
<i>Leanach</i> ²² (Leanach)	15 26.3%	30 50.0%	23 38.3%	13 23.6%	3 10.0%	1 4.3%	–
<i>Braoin Mòr</i> ¹⁸ (Brinmore)	54 87.1%	63 78.8%	65 81.3%	22 55.0%	–	–	–
<i>Dail Fhearghais & Còig na Feàrna</i> (Dalarossie & Coignafearn)	87 79.1%	70 67.3%	67 63.8%	33 34.7%	2 2.9%	2 3.0%	2 6.1%
<i>Tom Aitinn</i> (Tomatin)	158 75.6 %	171 78.1%	134 56.8%	113 50.2%	4 2.3%	1 0.7%	–
<i>A' Mhòigh</i> (Moy)	154 77.0 %	123 61.8%	108 51.7%	54 30.9%	1 0.8%	–	–
<i>Dail Mhigeachaidh & Cnocan Dubh</i> (Dalmigavie & Knockandoo)	99 90.8 %	77 97.5%	68 75.6%	42 54.5%	–	–	1 2.4%
<i>Inbhir Bhruachaig</i> (Inverbrough)	126 72.0 %	116 89.9%	89 73.6%	71 61.2%	1 0.9%	–	–
<i>Drochaid Eireann</i> ¹⁸ (Findhorn Bridge)	10 52.6%	11 100%			–	–	–

Table 6: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in *Deimhidh, Dùn Fhlicheadaidh, A' Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais* (Daviot, Dunlichity, Moy & Dalarossie) between 1881 and 1911

The decline, however, remained unimpeded and was reported census after census. In 1911 only four civil parishes were left with a majority of *Gàidhlig* speakers (table 18): *Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh* (Daviot & Dunlichity) and *Dubhras* (Dores) to the east of *Loch Nis*; *Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach* (Kiltarlity & Convinth) and *Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan* (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) further west. In 1931 no civil parish in the district had a majority of *Gàidhlig* speakers. In 1931 the Burgh of Inverness (table 20) even reported less than 10 % of speakers of the once dominant language.

¹⁹ Enumeration division.

²⁰ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

²¹ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

²² These enumeration divisions were part of Nairnshire until 1892.



2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

The Second World War did not only have a strong impact on the post-war economic conditions in the Highlands. Severe were also the repercussions on the cultural front. Reports from the “Language Survey of Scotland” in the 1950s mentioned an increased tendency of speakers to abandon their mother tongue in everyday conversation - even with their lifelong friends. An often-cited example is the village of *Druim na Drochaid* (Drumnadrochit). Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers had fallen sharply from 15.3 % to 7.4 % in the area (table 7). Just 5 % of Inverness townspeople spoke *Gàidhlig* in 1951. In contrast 21.1 % of people in the parish of *Urchadain & Gleann Urchadain* (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) still spoke the language at that time.

<i>Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	3,398	2,959	3,455	3,408	3,476	3,377	3,423
Percentage of total population	7.4 %	6.5 %	6.9 %	6.3 %	5.6 %	5.1 %	4.5 %

Table 7: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis* (Inverness & Loch Ness-side) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011

Inevitably decline commenced and the census report of 1961 made further depressing reading. This was to be expected considering the demographic picture of the *Gàidhlig* speaking population. Table 23 in the annex underlines the staggering difference of *Gàidhlig* speaking ability between those aged 3-24 (3.3 %) and those aged 65+ (12.3 %) in the Burgh of Inverness. Locally results were of course different. Information about County Council Electoral Divisions (CCEDs) highlighted that the language was strongest in *Gleann Moireasdan* (15.9 %), *Urchadain* (15.1 %) and, perhaps unexpected, in the Inverness suburbs to the west of the Caledonian Canal with 19.1 % (table 21).

In the following decade *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) became the main focus of the economic development of the Scottish Highlands. The population began to grow considerably, and nearby villages turned into separate semi-urban communities. Apart from other things this brought many families from still *Gàidhlig* speaking islands (mainly from Inverness-shire) to the area in search of work. At this stage began the still ongoing consolidation phase for *Gàidhlig* in the area: The number of speakers remained almost constant between 1971 and today (table 7). Whereas *Gàidhlig* retreated further and further in the rural communities around *Loch Nis* (Loch Ness), the language almost held its own in the town and its outskirts.

Despite the still negative or pessimistic attitudes towards *Gàidhlig* in many circles quite a few speakers in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) started to re-assure themselves in their cultural background. From the 1970s onwards the town was almost everywhere at the forefront of the “Gaelic renaissance”. The first (although short-lived) attempt to found a *Gàidhlig* playgroup in Scotland was made in the town in the 1970s. Not at all typical for the time *Gàidhlig* became a relatively popular subject in four of the five secondary schools of the town. This is illustrated in figure 4 where ability to speak, read and write *Gàidhlig* is shown for the age cohorts between 3 and 15 in the census 1981 for *Inbhirnis* (Inverness). A further boost for more progressive educational efforts was the abolition of the old county of Inverness-shire and the start of its successor local authority. *Inbhirnis* became administrative centre of this vast new authority in 1974 and very soon emerged as more sympathetic towards *Gàidhlig*. The starting conditions for a successful language recovery in the immediate surrounding of the town, however, were not very favourable. The 1981 census revealed a further retreat in the rural parishes and a strongly ageing speaker population (tables 22 – 26). Locally there were still a few locations with more than 10 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers. These included parts of the town wards *Sgòr Gaoithe* (Scorguie), *Crùn* (Crown) and *Baile na Faire* (Ballifeary). In the communities near *Loch Nis* also a few locations reported double figures: *Gleann Moireasdan* (Glenmoriston), *Cill Mhòraig* (Kilmorack) and *An Tom Breac* (Tombreck) with the highest percentages in the generations born before 1936.



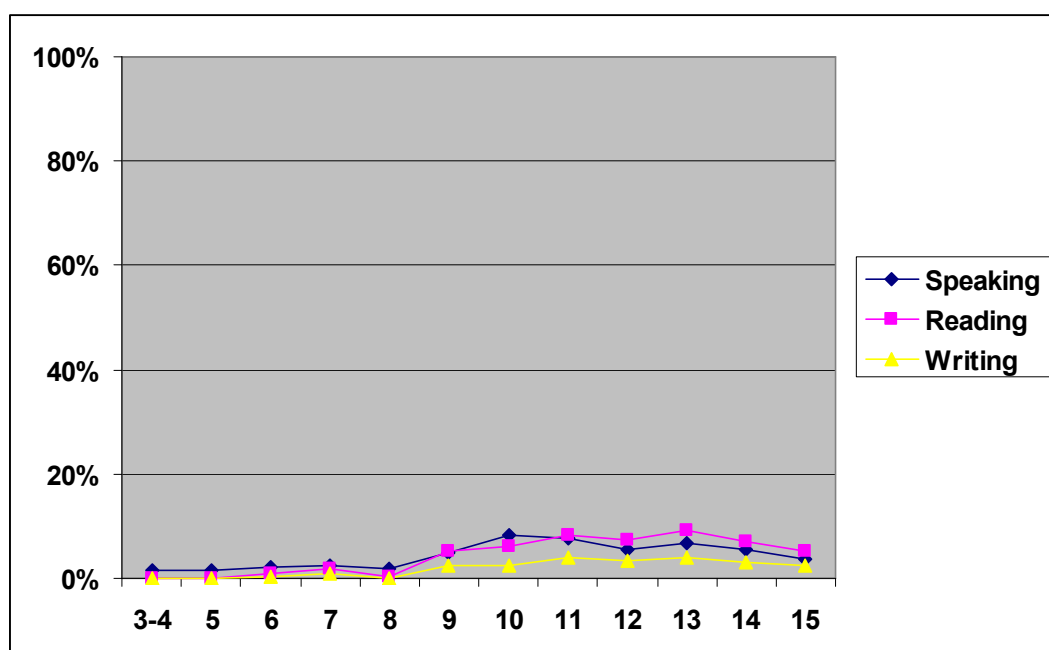


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Inbhirnis (Inverness)

The 1990s saw major developments in Gàidhlig medium education in Scotland and Inbhirnis was almost always at the centre of events. Shortly after the playgroup association *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* (CNSA) was founded in 1982, a *cròileagan* opened in the town. CNSA (as many Gàidhlig organisations before) choose Inbhirnis as their headquarters. Parental pressure eventually succeeded in persuading Highland Council to open its first Gàidhlig medium unit in Central Primary School in 1985. A further first was the opening of a Gàidhlig medium nursery in 1988. A growing impetus was working in favour of Gàidhlig especially in Inbhirnis. But this was still not enough to overcome the burden of an ageing Gàidhlig speaking population especially in the rural communities. The census in 1991 saw, however, some signs of consolidation especially in the expanding eastern suburbs of the town. Also, the communities north-east of Loch Nis provided some positive results like Fàrr with 17.3 % of Gàidhlig speakers.

Within the 1990s developments were still positive, but growth was slow. Some Gàidhlig medium tuition (of other subjects than just Gàidhlig) started at the secondary school at Millburn. Gàidhlig pre-school provision continued at Central Primary as well as in Baile a'Chnuic (Hilton) and Cùil Lodair (Culloden). Generally, the temporal evolution of the age distribution of Gàidhlig speakers in the area (figures 5 and 6), however, may still be characterised by a contraction in the older generation and a small increase in the school aged population. Accordingly, the census of 2001 saw encouraging but still not sufficient results.

2011 saw the population of the area rising by more than 6.000 inhabitants compared with 2001. The number of Gàidhlig speakers remained almost unchanged. In tables 15 to 18 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the speakers 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 8 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones did show generally still negative values.



A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area more than 40 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers did live in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 8.

Census Data Zones	<i>Inbhir Nis & Taobh Loch Nis – Census 2011</i>					
	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i>					<i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
<i>Inbhir Nis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness City)	407	4.6%	3768	6.4%	- 1.8 %	44.8 %
<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly)	5	3.9%	67	5.8%	- 1.9 %	26.8 %
<i>An Cnoc Bàn & Bun Chraoibh</i> (Knockbain & Bunchrew)	9	4.4%	68	5.0%	- 0.6 %	28.9 %
<i>Baile a'Bhlair</i> (Balblair)	8	5.2%	52	5.6%	- 0.4 %	39.4%
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	2	1.7%	34	4.6%	- 2.9 %	30.8 %
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth)	10	5.7%	72	6.7%	- 1.0 %	44.4 %
<i>Canaich & An t-Srùigh</i> (Cannich & Struy)	10	6.1%	49	5.5%	+ 0.6 %	33.3 %
<i>Obar Itheachan</i> (Abriachan)	7	6.3%	48	7.0%	- 0.7 %	40.0 %
<i>Druim na Dr. & Baile an Fhàin</i> (Drumnadrochit & Balnain)	11	8.9%	70	8.7%	+ 0.2 %	66.7 %
<i>Blàr na Maigh</i> (Lewiston)	7	4.6%	52	5.6%	- 1.0 %	55.9 %
<i>Cill Chuimein & Inbhir Moir.</i> (Fort Augustus & Invermoriston)	1	0.8%	45	4.2%	- 3.4 %	7.7 %
<i>Foithir & Dubhras</i> (Foyers & Dores)	16	10.1%	62	6.7%	+ 3.4 %	61.0 %
<i>Srath Nàrainn</i> (Strathnairn)	8	5.0%	54	6.9%	- 1.9 %	67.6 %
<i>A'Mhòigh & Tom Aitinn</i> (Moy & Tomatin)	9	5.1%	60	5.7%	- 0.6 %	43.2 %
<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot)	14	8.8%	75	7.2%	+ 1.6 %	41.8 %
<i>Dail Chrois & Àird nan Saor</i> (Dalcross & Ardersier)	14	3.1%	90	3.2%	- 0.1 %	27.0 %
<i>In comparison:</i> <i>Gaidhealtachd</i> (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 8: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011



Future signs for the state of *Gàidhlig* in *Inbhirnis* looked brighter with the opening of an all *Gàidhlig* primary school in 2006. Nevertheless, nothing could be taken for granted as even in 2005 local councillors objected to bilingual road signs in the “Highland Capital”. The certain improvement in speaker numbers can be mainly attributed to the existing language teaching activities in local schools. There was an intensification of second language tuition in some schools in the period between 2001 and 2011, and in addition, a new *Gàidhlig* medium provision started in *Gleann Urchadain* (Glenurquhart) in 2010.

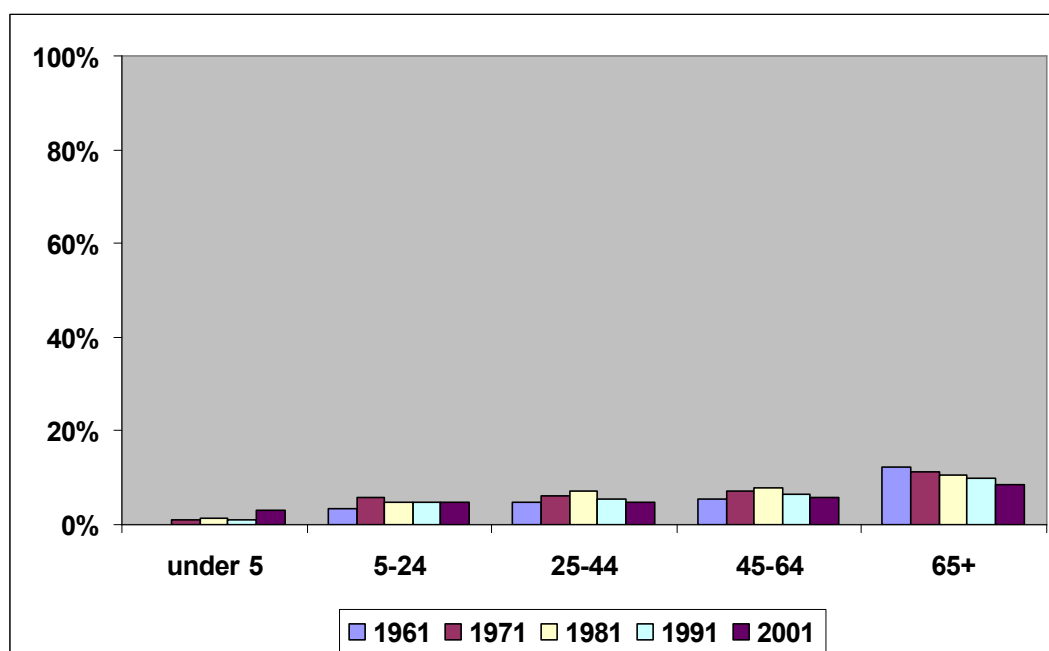


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in age groups from 1961 and 2001 – *Inbhirnis* (Inverness)²³

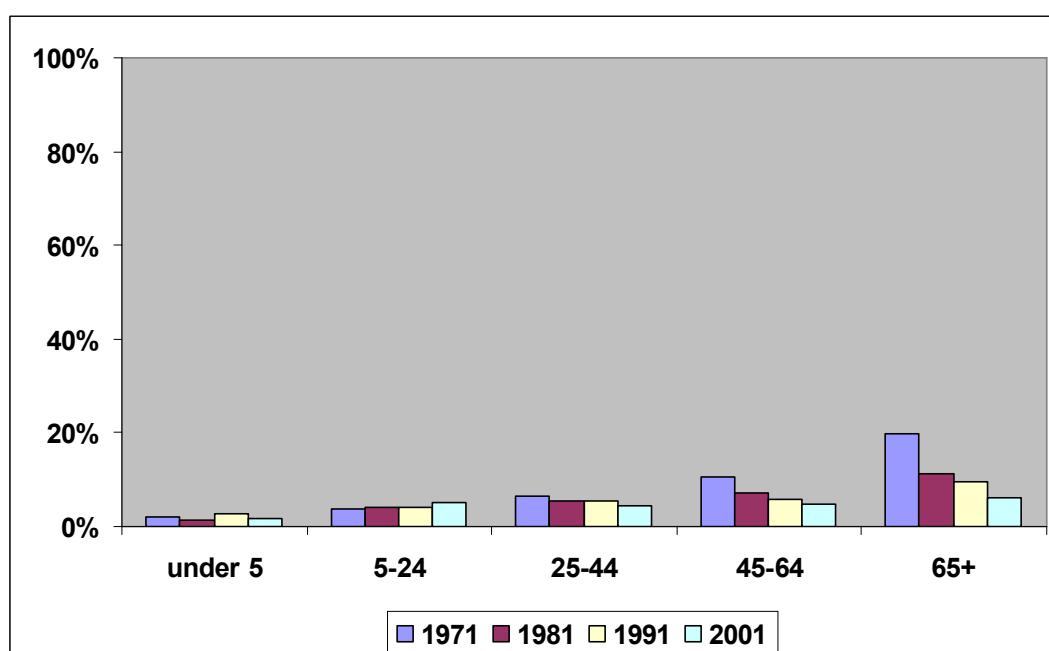


Fig. 6: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in age groups 1971 and 2001 – *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side)

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



2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011

The census of 1971 was the first of its kind which asked for information about the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig*. In the area investigated the gap between townspeople and the rural population was enormous (see tables 8 and 9). *Gàidhlig* speakers in *Inbhirnis* were very often “exiled” Gaels from the then heartlands of the language where many have had some opportunity to learn to read - at least the Gaelic Bible in the Protestant islands. In addition, the language was taught as second language in some secondary schools adding to the number of “Gaelic readers”. On the other hand, the rural population had never had a realistic opportunity since the introduction of compulsory monolingual education to learn how to read their own mother tongue.

	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>Inbhir Nis</i> (Inverness)	1300	1264	1234	1278	1413	57.6%	58.9%	61.8%	70.3%	69.6%
<i>Taobh Loch Nis</i> (Loch Ness-side)	480	677	878	1110	930	39.7%	53.6%	59.4%	70.8%	67.1%

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

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Inbhir Nis</i> (Inverness)	915	968	1023	1051	1190	40.6%	45.1%	51.2%	57.8%	58.6%
<i>Taobh Loch Nis</i> (Loch Ness-side)	290	518	758	909	787	24.0%	41.0%	51.2%	57.9%	56.8%

Table 10: Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

Over the years educational provision in secondary schools, the efforts of “Gaelic learners” and, last but not least, the growth of *Gàidhlig* medium education began to close the gap between literacy levels in *Inbhirnis* and *Taobh Loch Nis*. In figures 7 and 8 the impact of educational progress can clearly be seen in the age groups of 5-11 and 12-15. Parts of the “improvement” of literacy levels in *Taobh Loch Nis*, however, are due to the ever-increasing growth of satellite communities especially on the eastern margins of *Inbhirnis* with mainly well-educated incomers – in parts of course born and bred in the Hebrides. Progress however seemed to have reached a plateau, because in 2011 no real improvement in the literacy of *Gàidhlig* speakers could be recorded.



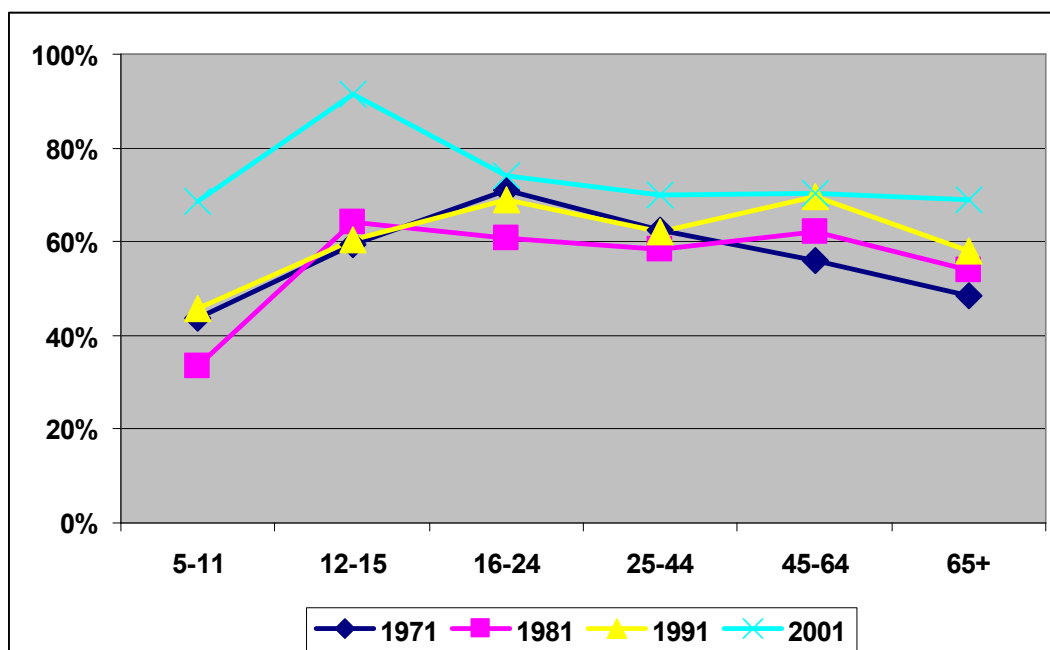


Fig. 7: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Inbhirnis* (Inverness)

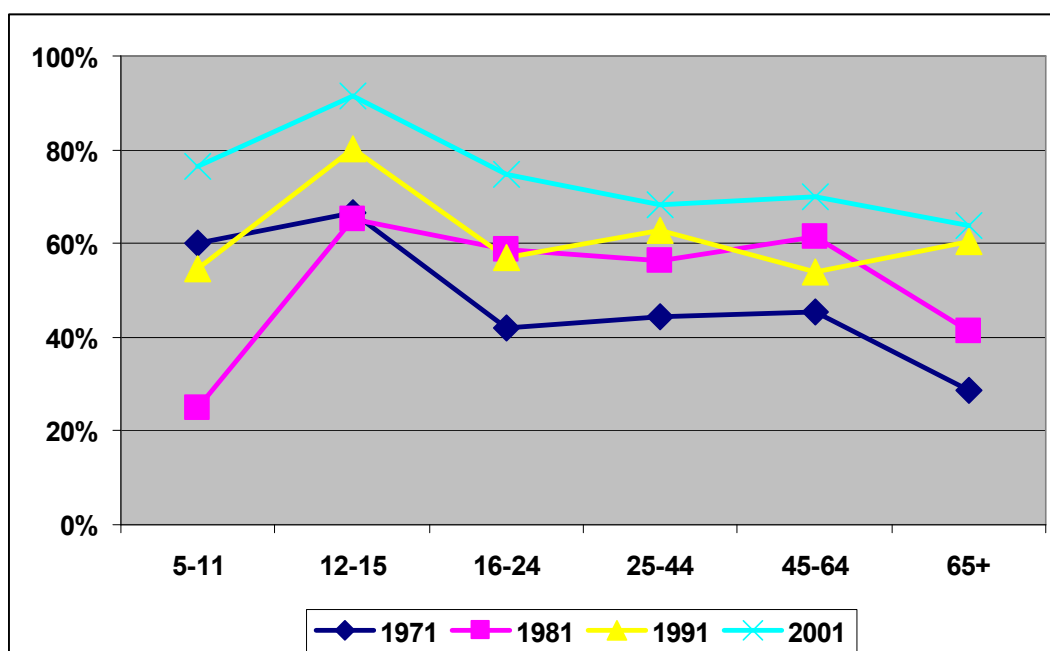


Fig. 8: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side)



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

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

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

Generally, both areas – *Inbhirnis* and *Taobh Loch Nis* – did show remarkable similarities in the age distribution of their *Gàidhlig* speakers and the intensity of their language capabilities. There were of course differences between individual localities.

Looking at the town of *Inbhirnis* (**Inverness**) itself the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information:

- The age distribution of *Gàidhlig* speakers (fig. 9) did show a slight decline from older to younger persons with two additional maxima around school age and the generation born just after the war.
- It is also worth mentioning that 46 pre-school children could at least understand spoken *Gàidhlig* (see also section 3.2 for details of educational aspects including the impact of *Gàidhlig* pre-school activities).
- A slight decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 10) apart from younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers remained almost constant at 4.6 %.
- Results were not the same in different parts of the town (tables 22, 27 and 28). The local detail of census output areas showed those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 2 % in parts of *Ceasaig a Deas* (South Kessock) to over 8 % in *Baile na Faire* (Ballifeary) and *Crùn* (Crown). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 3 % and more than 11 % in the same locations.
- Literacy in the language was very high with 70.3 % of speakers being able to read and 57.8 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years 7 were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 19 could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (5.5 % of the population) 838 inhabitants (2.6 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language (table 10).



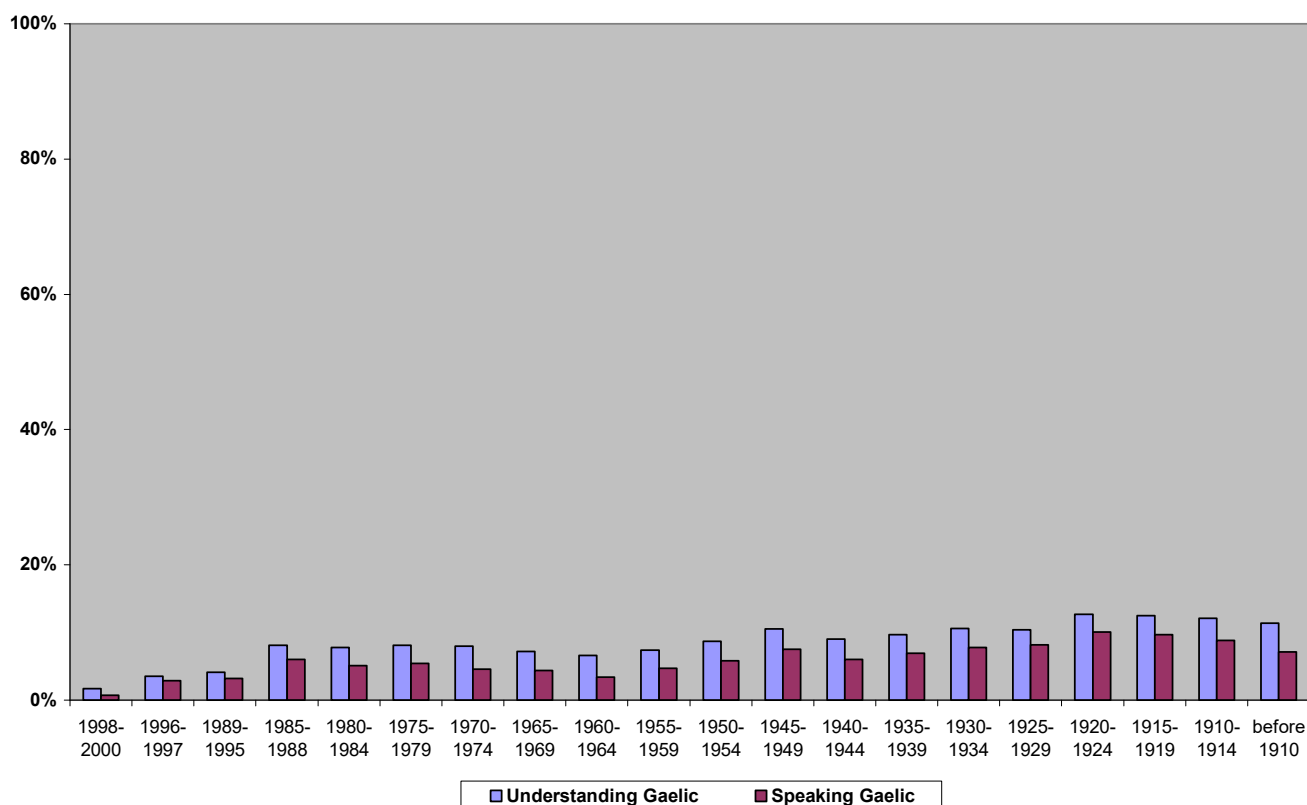


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) according to Census 2001

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	19	1.7 %	0	0.0 %	7	0.6 %	n/a	n/a	-
3-4	27	3.7 %	2	0.3 %	22	3.0 %	9	1.1 %	+ 1.9 %
5-11	110	4.1 %	59	2.2 %	86	3.2 %	127	4.5 %	- 1.2 %
12-15	127	9.4 %	86	6.4 %	94	6.9 %	83	5.3 %	+ 1.4 %
16-24	265	7.8 %	131	3.9 %	177	5.2 %	213	4.6 %	+ 0.6 %
3-24	529	6.5 %	278	3.4 %	379	4.6 %	432	4.4 %	+ 0.2 %
All ages	2,656	8.1 %	1278	3.9 %	1,818	5.5 %	1,997	5.9 %	- 0.4 %
Difference	- 1.6 %		- 0.5 %		- 0.9 %		- 1.5 %		

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

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



The area of **Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side)** showed considerable differences between the ever-expanding outskirts of *Inbhirnis* and the rural hinterland of *Loch Nis* according to 2001 census results:

- Like *Inbhirnis* there was a slight decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 10) from older to younger generations with a conspicuous peak in the age group at secondary school age.
- Some 34 pre-school children understood spoken *Gàidhlig* in 2001.
- A further decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 11) especially in older age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24, however, the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was up by over 0.7 %. Locally there had been a remarkable stabilisation on the north-eastern shores of *Loch Nis* around *Dubhras* (Dores) and *Fàrr* (table 25).
- There was a big variation in *Gàidhlig* speaking intensity over the area. The percentages of speakers in the suburbs around *Sgòr Gaoithe* (Scorguie) and *Cuil Lodair* (Culloden) varied slightly around 5 %. However, those “able to understand spoken” *Gàidhlig* showed shares between 6 % and 8 % of the population in those “Inverness satellites”. In the rural communities around *Loch Nis* the picture was much more diverse. The share of speakers there ranged from just 1 % in *Goirtlig* (Gorthleck) and *Baile Fhàin* (Balnain) to over 11 % in *Tòrr Daraich* (Tordarroch) and *Fàrr* (tables 25 and 26). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 4 % and more than 12 %.
- In 2001 literacy in the language was very high with 70.8 % of speakers being able to read and 57.9 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years just 3 were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 7 could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those persons able to speak *Gàidhlig* (4.7 % of the population) 738 inhabitants (2.2 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²⁵ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	7	0.6 %	0	0.0 %	3	0.3 %	n/a	n/a	-
3-4	27	3.5 %	2	0.3 %	13	1.7 %	21	2.6 %	- 0.9 %
5-11	138	4.4 %	81	2.6 %	106	3.4 %	99	3.6 %	- 0.2 %
12-15	180	10.1 %	138	7.8 %	151	8.5 %	91	5.8 %	+ 2.7 %
16-24	225	7.0 %	118	3.7 %	158	4.9 %	137	4.0 %	+ 0.9 %
3-24	570	6.4 %	339	3.8 %	428	4.8 %	351	4.1 %	+ 0.7 %
All ages	2,307	6.9 %	1,110	3.3 %	1,569	4.7 %	1,479	5.3 %	- 0.6 %
Diff.	- 0.5 %		+ 0.5 %		+ 0.1 %		- 1.2 %		

Table 12: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) in 2001 and 1991

²⁵ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*, or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



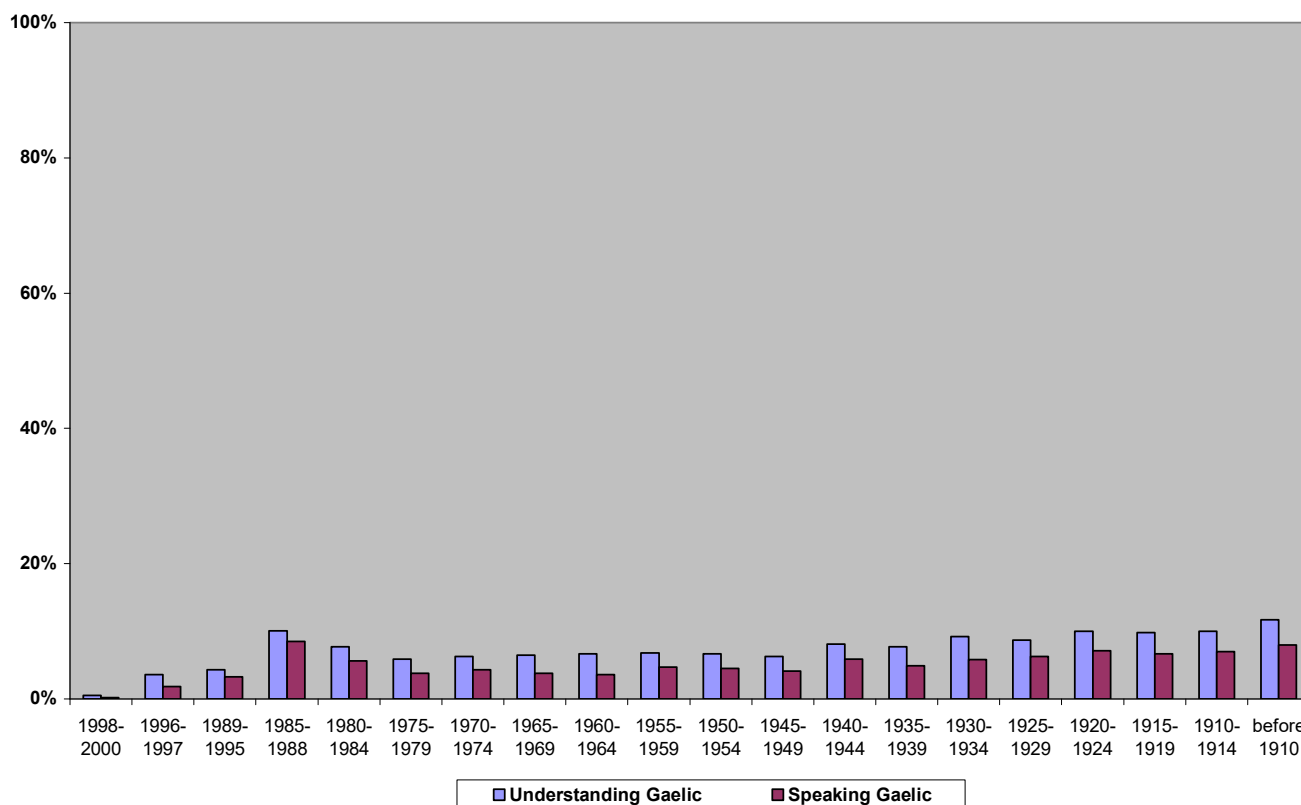


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side) according to Census 2001

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics where the knowledge of Gàidhlig can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary schools. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups. For this investigation, they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). Additionally, a column is provided in table 12 below with the age group of 24-35 representing the language abilities of possible parents.

Looking at the different age groups the following statements could be provided:

- Pre-school children: In 2000/2001 a total of 42 children attended Gàidhlig medium nurseries in Inbhirnis at the age of 3 or 4. The number of 80 pre-school children (aged between 0 and 4) able to understand spoken Gàidhlig in 2001 corresponded very well with this figure. In the remaining communities of the area the number of children knowing some Gàidhlig was negligible.
- Primary school children: The Gàidhlig medium roll in Central primary in Inbhirnis was 116 in 2000/2001 (figure 11). Roughly 200 children enumerated as “knowing Gàidhlig” lived in the wider catchment of this Gàidhlig medium unit in 2001. This leads to the conclusion that no significant second language teaching occurred at primary stage in the town. The picture in rural Taobh Loch Nis was even worse. Numbers of children acquainted with Gàidhlig were minimal except in the primary school catchments around Fàrr and Dubhras (Dores) where a quarter of all children were enumerated as understanding spoken Gàidhlig.



Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Inbhirnis</i> ²⁶ (Inverness)	51	2.3 %	135	4.2 %	149	9.1 %	413	7.3 %
<i>Aird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier)	1	1.6 %	4	2.6 %	5	6.7 %	7	3.0 %
<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy)	1	1.4 %	5	3.6 %	12	16.7 %	9	7.4 %
<i>Bealach</i> (Balloch)	2	1.4 %	10	4.8 %	8	6.4 %	14	6.8 %
<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden)	3	1.4 %	14	4.2 %	31	16.5 %	49	8.4 %
<i>Baile a’Ghobhainn</i> (Smithton)	2	1.4 %	8	5.9 %	27	16.5 %	38	8.0 %
<i>An Cnoc Shuas</i> (Cradlehall, Westhill)	9	3.5 %	16	4.6 %	20	11.1 %	42	7.0 %
<i>Deimhidh & Srath Èireann</i> (Daviot & Strathdearn)	-	-	2	4.3 %	2	4.7 %	3	3.8 %
<i>Allt Dobhraig & Fàrr</i> (Aldourie & Farr)	3	6.4 %	15	23.8 %	9	25.0 %	11	12.6 %
<i>Foithear & Srath Fharragaig</i> (Foyers & Stratherrick)	-	-	1	1.2 %	1	3.2 %	3	5.6 %
<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus)	-	-	1	1.2 %	-	-	7	7.6 %
<i>Gleann Urchadain & Dail Chreachaird</i> (Glen Urquhart & Dulchreichard)	-	-	5	5.3 %	2	3.9 %	8	8.3 %
<i>Baile an Fhàin & Drochaid Chanaich</i> (Balnain & Cannich Bridge)	1	2.2 %	2	2.1 %	5	7.2 %	1	1.1 %
<i>Taigh an Fhasaidh</i> (Teanassie, Kilmorack)	-	-	1	2.3 %	4	14.8 %	2	3.8 %
<i>Tom na Croise</i> (Tomnacross, Kiltarlity)	-	-	1	1.1 %	7	12.3 %	7	6.9 %
<i>A’Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully)	-	-	3	3.5 %	3	6.0 %	8	5.7 %
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	-	-	3	2.0 %	6	9.4 %	7	5.0 %
<i>Dabhach Gairbheach</i> (Dochgarroch)	2	5.7 %	1	1.9 %	2	5.6 %	6	12.2 %
<i>Ceann a’Mhìlidh</i> (Kinmylies)	5	3.5 %	21	8.3 %	14	8.6 %	20	5.2 %

Table 13: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for school catchment areas according to the census 2001

²⁶ Catchment areas of all primary schools situated within the bounds of the former Burgh of Inverness. This figure includes also children living in *Clach na h-Aire* (Clachnaharry), *Sgòr Gaoithe* (Scorguie) and *Na h-Innseagan* (Inshes).



- Secondary school children: All secondary schools providing *Gàidhlig* lessons in the area were situated in the town of *Inbhirnis*. Children from neighbouring rural primary schools received their secondary education in the town. A remarkable number of secondary school children received *Gàidhlig* lessons as second language at the time. In the S1-S4 stages figures for learners were as follows: Charleston 62, Culloden 94, Millburn 55 and Royal Academy 50. In addition, 58 children were categorised as fluent speakers and had *Gàidhlig* medium education in a few subjects apart from their language lessons. At the 2001 census 300 children at this age group were counted as knowing some *Gàidhlig*: almost exactly the number who had language lessons at school.

The two rural secondary schools *Cill Chuimein* (Fort Augustus) and *Gleann Urchadain* (Glen Urquhart), however, did not provide *Gàidhlig* lessons for their pupils at the time. Census results are ample proof of this sad fact.

- Parents: There was still a considerable number of persons “at parental age” with some knowledge of the language. Many of those were of course first or second-generation exiles from the Hebrides who had found better (or any) job prospects in the booming Highland capital.

In conclusion: *Inbhirnis* and the surrounding district already experienced considerable *Gàidhlig* provision in its schools. Especially *Gàidhlig* medium education in the town and its “suburbs” was well established. There were, however, major weaknesses especially relating to second language tuition in primary schools (virtually none) and the missing language teaching in the two smaller rural secondary schools.



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

Generally, conditions in the area are somewhat typical for the state of *Gàidhlig* in the whole local authority (table 14). Well over 8 % of Scottish-born residents in the area had still some knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in 2011. On the other hand, the language viability indicator (LVI²⁷) in 2011 still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance despite some education efforts in younger age groups (see section 3.2). Therefore, future developments must be focussed more clearly to redraw this picture.

Area	Inbhir Nis & Taobh Loch Nis – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Inbhir Nis (Inverness)	407	4.6%	3768	6.4%	- 1.8 %	44.8 %
Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side)	131	5.1%	898	5.5%	- 0.4 %	41.8 %
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 14: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) and *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

Future educational progress: 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 213 pupils attended the *Bun-sgoil Gàidhlig Inbhirnis* and 14 pupils (9.8 %) were recorded in the *Gleann Urchadain* GMU. The numbers of nursery children stood at 82 and 6 children respectively. In addition, third language teaching of *Gàidhlig* was introduced in the vast majority of primary schools in the area (French being the "second language"). In all but two secondaries the language was taught either as learner or fluent speaker subject at the time.

In conclusion: *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) has recently been at the forefront of many positive developments concerning provision of *Gàidhlig* medium education. Commendable efforts to support the language in the town and its surrounding district have been done but there is still scope for considerable improvement. This includes more intensive second language teaching in primary and secondary schools and a more positive attitude concerning the usage and visibility of the language.

²⁷ 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 25 years of age and the total population.



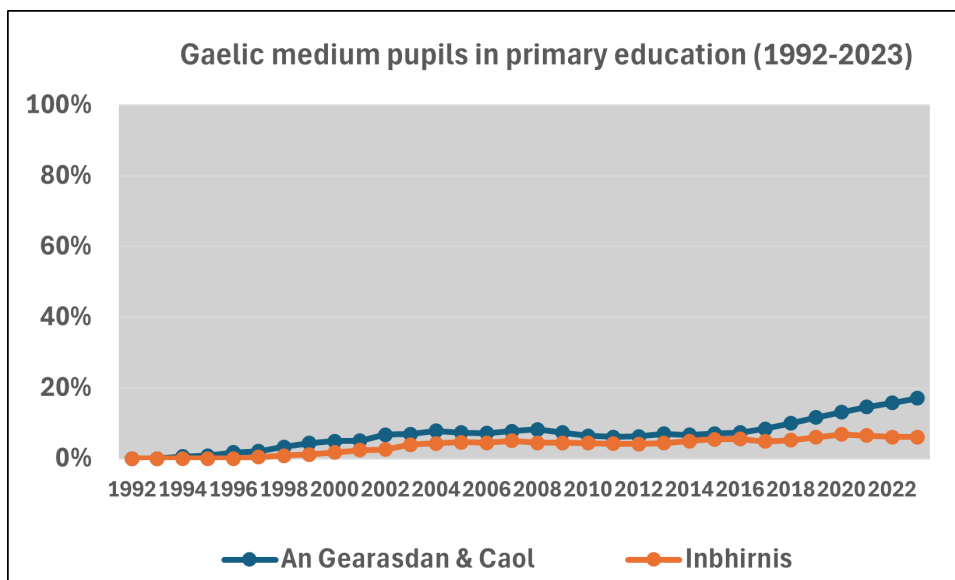


Fig. 11: Share of primary school children attending Gàidhlig-medium classes in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) compared with *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) (September 1992 – September 2023)²⁸

²⁸ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànanath</i> (Inverness & Bona)	<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier)	<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty)	<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> ²⁹ (Croy & Dal-cross)	<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack)
1881	6,211	724	807	496	886	2,024
1891	8,355	863	524	564	804	1,426
1901	7,217	190	435	259	617	1,302
1911	5,632	296	319	224	487	976
1921	3,600	85	193	139	352	651
1931	2,926	52	115	109	251	485
1951	1,863	46	66	33	113	324
1961	1,946	24	46	28	68	219
1971	2,705	30	55	20	45	140
1981	2,808	25	91	46	47	109
1991	2,923	26	69	31	34	112
2001	2,820	24	75	61	59	68
2011	2,807	25	64	67	65	77

Table 15: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in *Inbhirnis* and the northern part of *Taobh Loch Nis* according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànanath</i> (Inverness & Bona)	<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier)	<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty)	<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dal-cross)	<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack)
1881	28.6 %	34.7 %	54.0 %	46.1 %	59.9 %	77.3 %
1891	34.5 %	45.1 %	40.4 %	46.0 %	61.5 %	68.5 %
1901	26.7 %	11.9 %	33.7 %	44.7 %	47.6 %	64.9 %
1911	21.7 %	15.5 %	25.3 %	41.3 %	39.4 %	46.6 %
1921	14.6 %	7.0 %	16.1 %	37.7 %	29.0 %	34.7 %
1931	11.0 %	3.0 %	9.4 %	21.9 %	21.7 %	27.9 %
1951	6.0 %	2.3 %	4.0 %	6.4 %	10.2 %	10.5 %
1961	5.9 %	2.3 %	3.6 %	5.4 %	6.2 %	7.9 %
1971	7.0 %	2.6 %	3.6 %	4.3 %	4.3 %	7.1 %
1981	6.4 %	3.2 %	5.3 %	5.5 %	5.0 %	5.6 %
1991	5.9 %	2.3 %	3.8 %	3.2 %	3.2 %	5.2 %
2001	5.4 %	2.2 %	3.5 %	4.9 %	3.6 %	3.4 %
2011	4.8 %	2.2 %	3.1 %	4.1 %	3.7 %	3.4 %

Table 16: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in *Inbhirnis* and the northern part of *Taobh Loch Nis* according to census data from 1881 to 2011

²⁹ The remainder of this civil parish was part of Nairnshire (see Vol. 21 of this series).



Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhear-ghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie)	<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dun-lichity)	<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores)	<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff)	<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston)	<i>Cill Tara-ghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth)
1881	624	922	900	1,142	2,116	1,721
1891	557	851	672	888	1,633	1,437
1901	456	595	591	1,000	1,396	1,218
1911	309	457	399	841	1,147	942
1921	213	291	233	690	864	729
1931	150	186	154	525	634	526
1951	65	62	72	226	303	228
1961	38	48	39	155	223	123
1971	45	35	30	105	170	80
1981	30	28	22	71	91	40
1991	27	48	30	52	83	41
2001	18	55	32	35	71	59
2011	16	59	27	40	107	69

Table 17: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for six civil parishes in the southern part of Taobh Loch Nis according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhear-ghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie)	<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dun-lichity)	<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores)	<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff)	<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston)	<i>Cill Tara-ghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth)
1881	77.7 %	81.4 %	78.7 %	78.9 %	86.8 %	80.6 %
1891	76.3 %	76.9 %	72.8 %	59.8 %	80.0 %	74.8 %
1901	59.9 %	59.6 %	70.8 %	54.3 %	76.4 %	63.5 %
1911	44.9 %	50.4 %	51.1 %	44.4 %	68.5 %	50.8 %
1921	29.5 %	34.1 %	33.9 %	35.1 %	56.6 %	40.1 %
1931	26.5 %	23.0 %	26.9 %	26.6 %	42.6 %	31.5 %
1951	12.3 %	8.9 %	11.8 %	15.3 %	21.1 %	15.9 %
1961	7.4 %	7.0 %	7.6 %	9.9 %	14.4 %	10.4 %
1971	9.6 %	6.8 %	7.6 %	7.4 %	13.4 %	8.8 %
1981	6.9 %	6.5 %	5.8 %	6.7 %	7.2 %	4.2 %
1991	6.1 %	7.9 %	5.1 %	5.3 %	5.6 %	3.5 %
2001	3.8 %	7.6 %	7.5 %	3.0 %	3.9 %	4.2 %
2011	2.7 %	4.8 %	4.9 %	3.0 %	4.6 %	4.2 %

Table 18: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for six civil parishes in the southern part of Taobh Loch Nis according to census data from 1881 to 2011



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891: <i>Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	39,624	18,583	
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	21,725	6,211	
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) CP	2,086	724	
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,531	807	
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	1,075	496	
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	1,480	886	
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack) CP	2,618	2,024	
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth) CP	2,134	1,721	
<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) CP	2,438	2,116	
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff) CP	1,448	1,142	
<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dunlichity) CP	1,123	922	
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores) CP	1,144	900	
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie) CP	822	634	
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Town)	17,098	3,888	
<i>Clach na h-Aire</i> (Clachnaharry)	287	164	
<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully) Vi	915	598	
<i>Dùn Deòrsa</i> (Fort George) Vi ³⁰	831	123	
<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus) Vi	530	370	
1891	39,701	17,370	1,007
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	23,895	7,906	272
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) CP	1,914	862	1
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,298	514	10
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	937	456	20
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	1,307	768	36
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack) CP	2,224	1,365	158
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth) CP	1,878	1,288	109
<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) CP	2,040	1,397	236
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff) CP	1,429	854	31
<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dunlichity) CP	1,106	799	52
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores) CP	932	601	74
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie) CP	741	560	8
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Town)	20,596	6,114	130
<i>Clach na h-Aire</i> (Clachnaharry)	259	107	5
<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully) Vi	879	451	30
<i>Dùn Deòrsa</i> (Fort George) Vi	748	212	-
<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus) Vi	611	283	3

Table 19: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes and burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in *Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis*

³⁰ Made up of parts called Campbelltown and Stuartown according to the nomenclature of the time.



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1901 and 1911: <i>Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis</i>	Total Popu- lation	Gàidhlig and English	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1901	41,978	14,912	364
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	27,026	7,106	111
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) CP	1,594	190	-
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,291	433	2
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	579	258	1
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	1,296	605	12
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack) CP	2,007	1,249	53
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth) CP	1,919	1,179	39
<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) CP	1,828	1,295	101
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff) CP	1,843	975	25
<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dunlichity) CP	999	583	12
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores) CP	835	586	5
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie) CP	761	453	3
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Large Burgh)	23,066	5,576	68
<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly) Vi	855	420	13
<i>Dùn Deòrsa</i> (Fort George) Vi	823	168	-
<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus) Vi	706	332	14
- electoral divisions ----			
<i>Inbhirnis an Iar</i> (Inverness West)	1,979	1,024	43
<i>Inbhirnis an Ear</i> (Inverness East)	2,454	626	5
<i>Inbhirnis a Deas</i> (Inverness South)	1,360	444	3
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) / <i>Peitidh</i> (Petty)	1,760 / 1,125	232 / 391	- / 2
<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy) / <i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	579 / 1,296	258 / 605	1 / 12
<i>Cill Mhòraig an Iar</i> (Western Kilmorack)	322	251	9
<i>Cill Mhòraig an Ear</i> (Eastern Kilmorack)	789	563	31
<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly)	896	435	13
<i>Cill Taraghlain Uarach</i> (Kiltarlity Upper)	1,132	730	23
<i>Cill Taraghlain Iarach</i> (Kiltarlity Lower)	787	449	16
<i>Urchadain</i> (Urquhart)	1,499	1,060	86
<i>Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Glenmoriston)	329	235	15
<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus)	988	513	18
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff)	831	453	7
<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot) / <i>Dubhras</i> (Dores)	999 / 835	583 / 586	12 / 5
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie)	761	453	3
1911	40,804	11,851	178
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	25,952	5,565	67
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) CP	1,913	296	-
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,263	319	-
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	542	224	-
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	1,237	485	2
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack) CP	2,094	962	14
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth) CP	1,856	916	26
<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) CP	1,675	1,100	47
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff) CP	1,896	831	10
<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dunlichity) CP	907	451	6
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores) CP	781	396	3
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie) CP	688	306	3

Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1901 and 1911 – selected areas (civil parishes and burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in *Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis*



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and English	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1921	38,194	7,986	54
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	24,614	3,573	27
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) CP	1,216	85	-
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,202	193	-
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	501	139	-
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	1,212	351	1
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack) CP	1,877	647	4
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth) CP	1,817	723	6
<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) CP	1,526	855	9
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff) CP	1,966	687	3
<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dunlichity) CP	853	290	1
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores) CP	687	231	2
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie) CP	723	212	1
1931	40,046	6,092	21
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	26,587	2,911	15
<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) CP	1,760	52	-
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,223	115	-
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	498	109	-
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill) CP	1,155	251	-
<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack) CP	1,741	485	-
<i>Cill Taraghlain & Confhadhach</i> (Kiltarlity & Convinth) CP	1,670	524	2
<i>Urchadain & Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Urquhart & Glenmoriston) CP	1,488	632	2
<i>Both Fhleisginn & Obar Thairbh</i> (Boleskine & Abertarff) CP	1,976	523	2
<i>Deimhidh & Dùn Fhlicheadaidh</i> (Daviot & Dunlichity) CP	810	186	-
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores) CP	572	154	-
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie) CP	566	150	-
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Large Burgh)	22,583	1,958	11
1951	45,620	3,392	9
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Large Burgh)	28,107	1,408	4
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	31,069	1,856	7
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty) CP	1,634	65	1
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross) CP	518	32	1
1961	45,819	2,939	20
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Large Burgh)	29,774	1,494	9
<i>Inbhirnis & Am Bànaith</i> (Inverness & Bona) CP	33,096	1,926	20
1971³¹	49,760	3,455	10*
- included in the above			
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Large Burgh)	34,840	2,245	10*

Table 21: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes and burghs) with significant numbers of "Gaelic only" census returns in *Inbhirnis & Taobh Loch Nis*

³¹ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness-shire) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	61/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Inbhirnis (Baile Mòr)</i> (Inverness Large Burgh)	IB	1,503 5.3 %	2,255 6.8 %	2,289 6.7 %	1,997 6.1 %	1,811 5.7 %
<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly)	BE	86 6.5 %	80 7.1 %	58 5.3 %	55 4.9 %	32 2.9 %
<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	KH	68 6.6 %	45 4.7 %	47 5.2 %	34 3.3 %	59 3.7 %
<i>Cill Mhòraig an Iar</i> (Western Kilmorack)	KW	70 9.0 %	35 11.1 %	11 6.3 %	7 3.4 %	14 9.2 %
<i>Cill Mhòraig an Ear</i> (Eastern Kilmorack)	KE	63 11.5 %	25 5.6 %	26 7.8 %	21 5.1 %	22 5.1 %
<i>Cill Taraghlain Uarach</i> (Kiltarlity Upper)	KU	74 12.3 %	45 9.8 %	29 5.7 %	28 4.6 %	31 4.1 %
<i>Cill Taraghlain Iarach</i> (Kiltarlity Lower)	KL	49 9.4 %	35 8.4 %	23 5.0 %	20 3.5 %	28 4.3 %
<i>Urchadain</i> (Urquhart)	UR	161 15.1 %	140 13.9 %	59 6.6 %	68 6.2 %	53 3.9 %
<i>Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Glenmoriston)	GM	76 15.9 %	35 13.2 %	32 9.9 %	15 4.4 %	18 4.4 %
<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus)	FA	90 10.8 %	50 5.9 %	43 7.0 %	46 7.8 %	23 3.6 %
<i>Both Fhleisginn</i> (Boleskine)	BO	51 9.1 %	45 9.9 %	28 6.8 %	6 1.7 %	12 2.5 %
<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores)	DO	39 7.9 %	35 7.7 %	22 6.0 %	30 5.3 %	32 7.7 %
<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot)	DA	48 7.5 %	30 6.3 %	28 6.7 %	48 8.1 %	55 7.8 %
<i>A'Mhòigh & Dail Fhearghais</i> (Moy & Dalarossie)	MO	38 8.0 %	45 10.1 %	30 7.1 %	27 6.3 %	18 3.9 %
<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy)	CR	28 5.8 %	20 4.5 %	46 5.7 %	31 3.3 %	61 5.1 %
<i>Peitidh</i> (Petty)	PE	32 4.0 %	50 4.7 %	81 6.8 %	63 4.0 %	61 3.8 %
<i>Aird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier)	AR	38 2.6 %	40 2.7 %	35 2.8 %	32 2.5 %	38 2.6 %
<i>Inbhirnis an Ear</i> (Inverness East)	IE	31 3.5 %	60 5.4 %	74 2.7 %	454 6.3 %	526 5.4 %
<i>Inbhirnis an Iar</i> (Inverness West)	IW	361 19.1 %	355 17.7 %	420 7.9 %	439 5.7 %	368 5.1 %
<i>Inbhirnis a Deas</i> (Inverness South)	IS	51 11.2 %	30 6.7 %	25 5.9 %	33 7.0 %	115 5.2 %

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



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Taobh Loch Nis³² - Part A</i>						
Map No	Census output area ³³	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁴
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
41	Foithear & An Drochaid Bhàn (Foyers & Whitebridge)	—	2 3.3%	10 15.6%	6 11.8%	16 8.4%
42	Goirtlig & Earrogaidh (Gorthleck & Errogie)	3 4.3%	2 4.9%	9 14.1%	3 7.7%	13 8.2%
43+44	Inbhir Farragaig & Fàrr (Inverfarigaig & Farr)	—	3 9.7%	—	5 18.5%	6 6.3%
45-47	Dubhras & Allt Dobhraig (Dores & Aldourie)	14 11.8%	5 5.2%	9 9.0%	2 3.6%	21 7.2%
65	Deimhidh (Daviot)	—	2 3.5%	2 7.0%	1 5.6%	7 4.2%
66	Tom Aitinn (Tomatin)	7 8.1%	3 4.8%	3 6.4%	4 8.9%	13 6.8%
67	A'Mhoigh (Moy)	2 3.2%	1 2.2%	9 17.0%	6 37.5%	15 11.9%
68-69	Cill Chuimein & Bun Obhaich (Fort Augustus & Bunoich)	7 3.7%	9 6.2%	9 5.6%	20 16.8%	43 8.6%
70	Inbhir Moireasdan (Invermoriston)	3 5.0%	4 9.5%	10 21.3%	8 25.0%	23 18.0%
70	Bun Leothaid & An t-Sròn (Bunloit & Strone)	1 2.2%	1 2.2%	1 3.8%	3 13.0%	6 6.5%
71	Blàr na Maigh (Lewiston)	—	5 6.7%	4 6.3%	5 12.5%	13 5.9%
72	Druim na Drochaid (Drumnadrochit)	1 1.5%	3 6.5%	1 1.9%	14 23.7%	15 7.7%
73	Gleann Urchadain (Glenurquhart)	3 2.1%	6 4.7%	20 14.8%	10 13.5%	38 9.7%
74	Obar Itheachan (Abriachan)	1 3.6%	1 3.8%	2 7.4%	4 36.4%	7 9.9%
75	Dabhach Gairbheach (Dochgarroch)	2 1.9%	1 1.1%	3 4.8%	7 19.4%	12 5.2%
85	Tomaich & Canaich (Tomich & Cannich)	3 3.3%	10 16.9%	3 3.8%	10 35.7%	22 11.8%
86	An t-Srùigh & Srath Farair (Struy & Strathfarrar)	—	1 2.4%	4 7.3%	5 14.3%	9 7.1%
Total	Taobh Loch Nis - Part A (Loch Ness-side)	47 3.4%	59 5.4%	101 9.0%	113 16.0%	279 8.3%

Table 23: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side) according to age group and birthplace in 1981 – Part A

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

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

³⁴ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Taobh Loch Nis³⁵ - Part B</i>						
Map No	Census output area ³⁶	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁷
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
87	<i>Confhadach</i> (Convinth)	—	1 1.8%	2 5.1%	7 29.2%	9 6.6%
88	<i>Tom na Croise</i> (Tomnacross)	2 3.1%	5 7.9%	2 6.3%	3 11.1%	14 8.7%
89	<i>Cill Taraghlain</i> (Kiltarlity)	1 1.0%	2 2.5%	3 4.9%	3 7.0%	11 4.2%
90	<i>Aigeis</i> (Aigas)	—	2 3.9%	4 8.7%	4 16.7%	8 5.6%
91	<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack)	1 2.7%	2 6.3%	4 9.8%	6 22.2%	14 11.5%
92	<i>Innis Ruairidh</i> (Inchrory)	—	—	4 8.0%	—	5 3.5%
93	<i>Mon Itheig & An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Moniack & Knockbain)	3 3.4%	4 4.5%	11 13.1%	3 8.3%	21 7.9%
94	<i>Cnoch Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	—	2 8.7%	7 15.6%	1 20.0%	10 10.4%
82-84	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully)	8 2.0%	13 4.6%	22 8.4%	20 13.9%	62 6.1%
75	<i>Bun Chraoibh</i> (Bunchrew)	6 4.3%	9 7.1%	5 5.7%	5 8.2%	25 7.8%
Total	Taobh Loch Nis - Part B (Loch Ness-side)	17 1.9%	35 4.6%	68 9.6%	42 11.4%	167 7.3%

Table 24: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side) according to age group and birthplace in 1981 – Part B

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

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

³⁷ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Inbhirnis</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach</i> (Inverness Central) a	61	10.1 %	33	5.7 %	33	5.9 %
02	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach</i> (Inverness Central) b	102	8.4 %	92	7.7 %	81	6.8 %
03	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach</i> (Inverness Central) c	46	6.4 %	50	6.8 %	49	6.5 %
04	<i>Crùn</i> (Crown) a	82	6.7 %	87	6.5 %	88	6.5 %
05	<i>Crùn</i> (Crown) b	88	9.3 %	84	8.9 %	82	8.1 %
06	<i>Crùn</i> (Crown) c	106	13.1 %	66	8.1 %	57	7.9 %
07	<i>Ràthaig Mòr</i> (Raigmore) a	69	8.2 %	55	5.9 %	49	4.6 %
08	<i>Ràthaig Mòr</i> (Raigmore) b	53	5.1 %	59	4.7 %	57	4.5 %
09	<i>Cùil na Càbaig</i> (Culcabock) a	60	7.3 %	94	7.3 %	83	6.7 %
10	<i>Cùil na Càbaig</i> (Culcabock) b	98	8.5 %	81	7.3 %	55	5.1 %
11	<i>Cùil na Càbaig</i> (Culcabock) c	73	7.6 %	63	7.9 %	48	6.5 %
12	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton) a	90	6.2 %	98	6.1 %	100	7.4 %
13	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton) b	21	6.0 %	28	7.9 %	20	6.0 %
14	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton) c	114	7.4 %	122	8.1 %	98	6.9 %
15	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton) a	34	4.0 %	30	4.3 %	19	3.1 %
16	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton) b	43	4.1 %	41	3.9 %	36	4.3 %
17	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton) c	55	4.7 %	50	5.0 %	49	4.8 %
18	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton) d	40	5.2 %	27	3.9 %	26	4.2 %
19	<i>Cùil Daothail</i> (Culduthel)	117	8.9 %	117	7.9 %	122	7.2 %
20	<i>An Tuilm</i> (Holm)	91	7.3 %	86	5.0 %	86	5.3 %
21	<i>Loch Àrdail</i> (Lochardil)	103	6.9 %	111	6.3 %	107	5.6 %
22	<i>Baile na Faire</i> (Ballifeary)	43	4.8 %	52	6.6 %	30	3.7 %
23	<i>Baile na Faire</i> (Ballifeary)	59	4.4 %	57	4.5 %	53	4.2 %
24	<i>Baile na Faire</i> (Ballifeary)	70	11.8 %	53	8.8 %	49	8.3 %
25	<i>Dail an Eich</i> (Dalneigh) a	61	5.9 %	44	5.2 %	40	4.5 %
26	<i>Dail an Eich</i> (Dalneigh) b	26	3.0 %	17	2.1 %	15	2.1 %
27	<i>Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Muirtown) a	79	5.8 %	72	5.2 %	75	5.9 %
28	<i>Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Muirtown) b	83	9.3 %	74	7.7 %	68	6.8 %
29	<i>Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Muirtown) c	78	5.8 %	61	5.1 %	59	4.5 %
30	<i>Ceasaig a Deas</i> (South Kessock) a	24	2.4 %	19	2.0 %	15	2.0 %
31	<i>Ceasaig a Deas</i> (South Kessock) b	19	3.5 %	17	3.1 %	15	2.9 %
32	<i>Marc Innis</i> (Merkinch)	57	4.6 %	57	4.6 %	49	3.6 %

Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) according to data from 1981 to 2001



<i>Inbhirnis: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1961-2001)</i> ³⁸										
Age	1961		1971 ³⁹		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	0.6 %
3-4	1	0.1 %	10 (+3)	1.1 %	9	1.3 %	9	1.1 %	22	3.0 %
5-24	290	3.3 %	620 (+3)	5.7 %	509	4.8 %	423	4.7 %	357	4.8 %
25-44	358 (+2)	4.7 %	520 (+1)	6.2 %	580	6.9 %	535	5.5 %	443	4.9 %
45-64	411 (+2)	5.6 %	580 (+1)	7.3 %	592	7.7 %	497	6.5 %	482	5.8 %
65 +	434 (+5)	12.3 %	515 (+2)	11.4%	455	9.4 %	533	9.8 %	507	8.6 %
Total (3 +)	1,494 (+9)	5.5 %	2,245(+10)	6.8 %	2,145	6.7 %	1,997	6.1 %	1,811	5.7 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2,107	7.2 %	1,954	6.8 %	1,730	6.3 %

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) between 1961 and 2001

<i>Taobh Loch Nis: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ⁴⁰		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	0.3 %
3-4	10	2.0 %	9	1.5 %	21	2.6 %	13	1.7 %
5-24	175	3.8 %	267	4.1 %	327	4.2 %	415	5.1 %
25-44	225	6.6 %	347	5.6 %	502	5.3 %	429	4.4 %
45-64	375	10.6 %	311	7.8 %	338	5.9 %	435	4.7 %
65 +	435	19.9 %	329	13.8 %	291	9.4 %	274	6.3 %
Total (3 years and over)	1,210	8.5 %	1,263	6.4 %	1,479	5.5 %	1,566	4.9 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,169	7.1 %	1,354	6.1 %	1,472	5.6 %

Table 27: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) according to data from 1971 to 2001

³⁸ Figures in brackets denote “Gaelic only” returns in addition to the “Gaelic and English” figures in 1961 and 1971.

³⁹ Returns of “Gaelic only” were distributed according to the mean age distribution in Ross & Cromarty and Inverness-shire in the 1971 census.

⁴⁰ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ⁴¹ <i>Taobh Loch Nis - Part A</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
41	<i>An Drochaid Bhàn</i> (Whitebridge)	6	6.2 %	-	0.0 %	4	3.5 %
	<i>Foithear</i> (Foyers)	12	7.4 %	6	3.7 %	3	1.8 %
42	<i>Goirtlig</i> (Gorthleck)	9	8.5 %	5	4.2 %	1	0.7 %
	<i>Earrogaidh</i> (Errogie)	5	4.3 %	5	4.0 %	1	1.5 %
	<i>Abairsgigh</i> (Abersky)					4	4.7 %
43	<i>Inbhir Farragaig</i> (Inverfarigaig)	7	8.3 %	4	5.7 %	5	6.0 %
44	<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr)	1	1.8 %	13	17.3 %	14	11.3 %
45	<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores)	11	7.2 %	12	7.8 %	16	9.5 %
46	<i>An Tom Breac</i> (Tombreck)	16	12.2 %	18	9.1 %	15	9.5 %
	<i>Tòrr Daraich</i> (Tordarroch)					15	11.0 %
47	<i>Allt Dobhraig</i> (Aldourie)	1	1.0 %	7	7.4 %	10	9.2 %
48	<i>Taobh Nis</i> (Ness-side)	18	7.9 %	29	9.0 %	27	5.6 %
49	<i>Na h-Innseagan</i> (Inshes)	7	3.6 %	6	3.6 %	88	4.9 %
50	<i>Cnoc Shuas</i> (Westhill) a	23	4.5 %	61	5.5 %	113	6.3 %
51	<i>Cnoc Shuas</i> (Westhill) b	7	2.3 %	58	6.2 %	84	4.1 %
52	<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Smithton) a	55	6.2 %	45	5.6 %	35	4.7 %
53	<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Smithton) b	30	7.0 %	47	6.3 %	72	6.6 %
54	<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden) a	41	7.2 %	59	8.3 %	75	5.8 %
55	<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden) b	24	6.2 %	106	6.4 %	94	5.0 %
56	<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden) c	40	4.5 %	50	5.7 %	50	6.1 %
57	<i>Allt Rollaidh</i> (Alturlie)	9	5.1 %	6	3.0 %	12	2.8 %
58	<i>Bealach</i> (Balloch) a	31	6.9 %	48	7.3 %	27	3.8 %
59	<i>Bealach</i> (Balloch) b	32	8.2 %	25	5.7 %	17	4.3 %
60	<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) a	28	2.8 %	30	3.0 %	30	3.1 %
61	<i>Àird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier) b	9	3.3 %	3	1.0 %	9	1.5 %
62	<i>Dùthaich Nuadh</i> (Newlands)	11	4.0 %	11	3.4 %	24	4.8 %
63	<i>Dail Chrois</i> (Dalcross)	23	6.1 %	22	3.9 %	30	4.1 %
64	<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy)	24	5.4 %	15	3.3 %	19	4.5 %
65	<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot)	8	3.7 %	25	4.8 %	23	5.6 %
66	<i>Tom Aitinn</i> (Tomatin)	12	5.0 %	11	4.0 %	9	3.1 %
67	<i>A'Mhòigh</i> (Moy)	17	9.7 %	17	9.2 %	9	4.9 %

Table 28: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) between 1981 and 2001 – Part A

⁴¹ 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 ⁴² <i>Taobh Loch Nis - Part B</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
68	<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus) a	24	10.5 %	24	9.1 %	11	3.9 %
69	<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus) b	19	4.9 %	22	6.7 %	12	3.3 %
70	<i>Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Glen Moriston)	11	13.1 %	7	6.8 %	2	2.0 %
	<i>Inbhir Moireasdan</i> (Invermoriston)	18	11.1 %	6	4.2 %	9	5.6 %
	<i>Bun Leothaid</i> (Bunloit)	3	3.9 %	2	2.1 %	7	4.6 %
71	<i>Blàr na Maigh</i> (Lewiston)	16	5.7 %	16	4.4 %	14	3.0 %
72	<i>Druim na Drochaid</i> (Drumnadrochit)	16	7.2 %	14	5.6 %	17	4.9 %
73	<i>Gleann Urchadain</i> (Glenurquhart)	26	7.0 %	33	7.2 %	24	5.0 %
	<i>Baile an Fhàin</i> (Balnain)	6	7.9 %	4	4.3 %	1	0.7 %
74	<i>Obar Itheachan</i> (Abriachan)	8	8.7 %	7	5.2 %	7	4.1 %
75	<i>Dabhach Gairbheach</i> (Dochgarroch)	19	4.5 %	20	3.8 %	28	4.5 %
76	<i>Clach na h-Aire</i> (Clachnaharry)	24	7.0 %	28	7.4 %	30	5.3 %
77	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> (Scorguie) a	36	6.6 %	79	7.2 %	47	3.8 %
78	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> (Scorguie) b	196	13.0 %	70	5.0 %	47	4.5 %
79	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> (Scorguie) c	76	9.6 %	60	7.0 %	46	5.5 %
80	<i>Ceann a'Mhilidh</i> (Kinmylies) a	26	3.5 %	113	5.2 %	91	5.4 %
81	<i>Ceann a'Mhilidh</i> (Kinmylies) b	40	4.6 %	72	5.5 %	75	6.0 %
82	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully) a	14	3.1 %	8	2.1 %	3	0.9 %
83	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully) b	28	8.3 %	27	6.1 %	21	4.8 %
84	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beaully) c	17	5.7 %	20	6.7 %	8	2.5 %
85	<i>Tomaich</i> (Tomich)	4	3.6 %	4	2.8 %	2	1.4 %
	<i>Canaich</i> (Cannich)	16	8.8 %	10	5.3 %	9	4.6 %
86	<i>Srath Farair</i> (Strathfarrar)	4	6.7 %	1	1.4 %	7	8.8 %
	<i>An t-Srùigh</i> (Struy)	7	6.1 %	6	4.4 %	6	6.3 %
87	<i>Confhadhach</i> (Convinth)	9	4.9 %	14	4.8 %	16	4.1 %
88	<i>Tom na Croise</i> (Tomnacross)	14	7.5 %	10	3.4 %	9	3.5 %
89	<i>Cill Taraghlain</i> (Kiltarlity)	9	3.1 %	10	3.5 %	15	3.9 %
90	<i>Àigeis</i> (Aigas)	10	5.1 %	13	6.7 %	5	1.9 %
91	<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack)	16	11.7 %	8	3.7 %	4	4.4 %
	<i>Baile a'Bhlair</i> (Balblair)					11	8.5 %
92	<i>Innis Ruaraidh</i> (Inchrory)	5	2.7 %	11	5.1 %	12	3.6 %
93	<i>Mon Itheig</i> (Moniack)	14	4.8 %	12	3.8 %	14	3.4 %
94	<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	15	5.2 %	4	0.9 %	24	4.1 %

Table 29: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) between 1981 and 2001 – Part B

⁴² Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach a</i> (Inverness Central)	9	5.9 %	45	8.0 %	- 2.1 %	9.4 %
02	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach b</i> (Inverness Central)	21	7.9 %	117	9.8 %	- 1.9 %	11.4 %
03	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach c</i> (Inverness Central)	9	5.6 %	56	8.7 %	- 3.1 %	10.4 %
04	<i>Crùn a</i> (Crown) a	13	4.4 %	140	10.4 %	- 6.0 %	11.8 %
05	<i>Crùn b</i> (Crown) b	24	9.2 %	111	11.0 %	- 1.8 %	11.8 %
06	<i>Crùn c</i> (Crown) c	13	7.3 %	80	11.1 %	- 3.8 %	12.3 %
07	<i>Ràthaig Mòr a</i> (Raigmore) a	12	3.6 %	76	7.2 %	- 3.6 %	8.2 %
08	<i>Ràthaig Mòr</i> (Raigmore) b	22	4.7 %	76	6.0 %	- 1.3 %	7.5 %
09	<i>Cùil na Càbaig a</i> (Culcabock) a	28	6.1 %	114	9.2 %	- 3.1 %	10.3 %
10	<i>Cùil na Càbaig b</i> (Culcabock) b	20	6.2 %	79	7.3 %	- 1.1 %	8.1 %
11	<i>Cùil na Càbaig c</i> (Culcabock) c	19	7.6 %	71	9.6 %	- 2.0 %	10.3 %
12	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn a</i> (Milton) a	30	8.6 %	136	10.1 %	- 1.5 %	10.9 %
13	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn b</i> (Milton) b	12	9.2 %	29	8.6 %	+ 0.5 %	9.6 %
14	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn c</i> (Milton) c	35	9.4 %	142	9.9 %	- 0.5 %	10.8 %
15	<i>Baile a'Chnuic a</i> (Hilton) a	4	1.7 %	29	4.7 %	- 3.0 %	4.9 %
16	<i>Baile a'Chnuic b</i> (Hilton) b	13	4.7 %	52	6.3 %	- 1.6 %	6.1 %

Table 30: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) according to census data of 2001 – Part A



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
17	Baile a'Chnuic c (Hilton) c	17	5.6 %	70	6.8 %	- 1.2 %	7.2 %
18	Baile a'Chnuic d (Hilton) d	13	6.7 %	38	6.1 %	+ 0.6 %	6.6 %
19	Cùil Daothail (Culduthel)	21	4.8 %	160	9.4 %	- 4.6 %	10.4 %
20	An Tuilm (Holm)	17	3.9 %	132	8.2 %	- 4.3 %	8.7 %
21	Loch Ardail (Lochardil)	30	6.0 %	158	8.3 %	- 2.3 %	8.9 %
22	Baile na Faire a (Ballifeary)	13	4.9 %	50	6.1 %	- 1.2 %	6.9 %
23	Baile na Faire b (Ballifeary) b	9	3.3 %	77	6.1 %	- 2.8 %	6.0 %
24	Baile na Faire c (Ballifeary) c	13	7.8 %	68	11.6 %	- 3.8 %	13.6 %
25	Dail an Eich a (Dalneigh) a	11	3.9 %	63	7.0 %	- 3.1 %	7.3 %
26	Dail an Eich b (Dalneigh) b	4	1.8 %	32	4.5 %	- 2.7 %	4.5 %
27	Baile an Fhraoich a (Muirtown) a	24	8.1 %	105	8.3 %	- 0.2 %	8.4 %
28	Baile an Fhraoich b (Muirtown) b	25	12.3 %	102	10.2 %	+ 2.1 %	11.0 %
29	Baile an Fhraoich c (Muirtown) c	29	6.5 %	108	8.2 %	- 1.7 %	8.4 %
30	Ceasaig a Deas a (South Kessock) a	8	2.2 %	26	3.4 %	- 1.2 %	3.5 %
31	Ceasaig a Deas b (South Kessock) b	12	3.9 %	43	4.9 %	- 1.0 %	5.1 %
32	Marc Innis (Merkinch)	22	5.1 %	74	5.4 %	- 0.3 %	6.7 %

Table 31: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Inbhirnis (Inverness) 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)
41	Foithear (Foyers)	2	3.2 %	13	4.5 %	- 1.3 %	4.4 %
42	Earrogaidh (Errogie)	1	1.4 %	12	4.1 %	- 2.7 %	6.4 %
43	Inbhir Farragaig (Inverfarigaig)	2	11.1 %	9	10.7 %	+ 0.4 %	15.7 %
44	Fàrr (Farr)	9	28.1 %	16	12.9 %	+ 15.2 %	25.9 %
45	Dubhras (Dores)	6	13.3 %	23	13.7 %	- 0.4 %	16.9 %
46	An Tom Breac (Tombreck)	16	18.2 %	35	11.9 %	+ 6.3 %	16.1 %
47	Allt Dobhraig (Aldourie)	2	6.9 %	11	10.1 %	- 3.2 %	12.9 %
48	Taobh Nis (Ness-side)	6	4.7 %	39	8.0 %	- 3.3 %	9.4 %
49	Na h-Innseagan (Inshes)	29	5.4 %	125	6.9 %	- 1.5 %	7.7 %
50	Cnoc Shuas a (Westhill) a	48	9.0 %	158	8.9 %	+ 0.1 %	9.9 %
51	Cnoc Shuas b (Westhill) b	21	3.5 %	131	6.4 %	- 2.9 %	6.1 %
52	Baile a'Ghobhainn a (Smithton) a	19	6.0 %	52	7.0 %	- 1.0 %	7.2 %
53	Baile a'Ghobhainn b (Smithton) b	21	6.8 %	93	8.6 %	- 1.8 %	9.5 %
54	Cùil Lodair a (Culloden) a	45	8.7 %	108	8.4 %	+ 0.3 %	9.1 %
55	Cùil Lodair b (Culloden) b	34	5.8 %	141	7.5 %	- 1.7 %	8.4 %
56	Cùil Lodair c (Culloden) c	36	10.6 %	70	8.5 %	+ 2.1 %	8.7 %
57	Allt Rollaidh (Alturlie)	3	2.3 %	20	4.7 %	- 2.4 %	5.3 %
58	Bealach a (Balloch) a	7	3.2 %	34	4.8 %	- 1.6 %	5.7 %
59	Bealach b (Balloch) b	3	2.8 %	24	6.0 %	- 3.2 %	6.9 %
60	Àird nan Saor a (Ardersier) a	11	3.6 %	41	4.2 %	- 0.6 %	4.3 %

Table 32: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side) 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)
61	<i>Aird nan Saor</i> b (Ardersier) b	4	1.6 %	20	3.3 %	- 1.7 %	4.0 %
62	<i>Dùthaich Nuadh</i> (Newlands)	12	7.1 %	36	7.2 %	- 0.1 %	8.1 %
63	<i>Dail Chrois</i> (Dalcross)	12	5.0 %	45	6.2 %	- 1.9 %	7.2 %
64	<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy)	12	8.1 %	30	7.2 %	+ 0.9 %	8.9 %
65	<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot)	3	2.9 %	33	8.1 %	- 5.2 %	8.8 %
66	<i>Tom Aitinn</i> (Tomatin)	4	5.6 %	12	4.5 %	+ 1.1 %	5.7 %
67	<i>A'Mhòigh</i> (Moy)	3	6.1 %	12	6.6 %	- 0.5 %	8.2 %
68	<i>Cill Chuimein</i> a (Fort Augustus) a	-	-	19	6.8 %	- 6.8 %	8.2 %
69	<i>Cill Chuimein</i> b (Fort Augustus) b	-	-	22	6.0 %	- 6.0 %	3.6 %
70	<i>Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Glen Moriston)	1	1.2 %	24	5.7 %	- 4.5 %	6.2 %
71	<i>Blàr na Maigh</i> (Lewiston)	3	2.4 %	22	4.7 %	- 2.3 %	6.2 %
72	<i>Druim na Drochaid</i> (Drumnadrochit)	3	2.9 %	30	8.6 %	- 5.7 %	10.1 %
73	<i>Gleann Urchadain</i> (Glenurquhart)	7	4.1 %	42	6.7 %	- 2.6 %	10.0 %
74	<i>Obar Itheachan</i> (Abriachan)	4	7.1 %	11	6.4 %	+ 0.7 %	7.6 %
75	<i>Dabhach Gairbheach</i> (Dochgarroch)	12	7.1 %	43	6.9 %	+ 0.2 %	8.2 %
76	<i>Clach na h-Aire</i> (Clachnaharry)	10	6.9 %	37	6.5 %	+ 0.3 %	6.8 %
77	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> a (Scorguie) a	19	6.2 %	81	6.6 %	- 0.4 %	7.1 %
78	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> b (Scorguie) b	15	5.0 %	68	6.5 %	- 1.5 %	6.7 %
79	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> c (Scorguie) c	12	4.7 %	63	7.5 %	- 2.8 %	8.3 %

Table 33: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side) 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)
80	<i>Ceann a'Mhìlidh a</i> (Kinmylies) a	35	6.7 %	126	7.4 %	- 0.7 %	7.8 %
81	<i>Ceann a'Mhìlidh b</i> (Kinmylies) b	32	7.8 %	108	8.6 %	- 0.8 %	9.2 %
82	<i>A'Mhanachainn a</i> (Beaully) a	1	0.9 %	11	3.2 %	- 2.3 %	3.5 %
83	<i>A'Mhanachainn b</i> (Beaully) b	7	7.2 %	33	7.5 %	- 0.3 %	8.6 %
84	<i>A'Mhanachainn c</i> (Beaully) c	4	4.7 %	18	5.7 %	- 1.0 %	6.5 %
85	<i>Canaich</i> (Cannich)	2	2.4 %	18	5.4 %	- 3.0 %	6.8 %
86	<i>An t-Sruigh</i> (Struy)	6	16.7 %	18	10.2 %	+ 6.5 %	11.4 %
87	<i>Confhadhach</i> (Convinth)	8	7.1 %	24	6.1 %	+ 1.0 %	8.2 %
88	<i>Tom na Croise</i> (Tomnacross)	-	-	15	5.8 %	- 5.8 %	7.4 %
89	<i>Cill Taraghlain</i> (Kiltarlity)	6	5.3 %	22	5.7 %	- 0.4 %	6.2 %
90	<i>Aigeis</i> (Aigas)	1	1.4 %	16	6.2 %	- 4.8 %	5.9 %
91	<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack)	6	10.5 %	19	8.6 %	+ 1.9 %	7.3 %
92	<i>Innis Ruairaidh</i> (Inchrory)	2	2.4 %	21	6.3 %	- 3.9 %	6.7 %
93	<i>Mon Itheig</i> (Moniack)	5	4.5 %	21	5.1 %	- 0.6 %	5.7 %
94	<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	5	2.9 %	31	5.3 %	- 2.4 %	6.1 %

Table 34: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Taobh Loch Nis (Loch Ness-side) according to census data of 2001 – Part C



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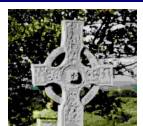
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig*-speaking people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland (1912): “*When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.*” Due to the ever-increasing presence of English in the *Gàidhlig* community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 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 lists provides detailed information on all postcode names included in individual census output areas and shows the abbreviations/numbers defining output areas in census statistics between 1961 and 2001.

Census Output Areas in <i>Inbhirnis – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach</i> (Inverness Central); <i>An Raon Rèidh</i> (Longman), <i>Glib</i> (Glebe)	IB	22AA01 22AA02 22AA03 22AA04	60QT000516 to 60QT000520 60QT001564 60QT001565
02	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach</i> (Inverness Central)	IB	22AD24 22AD25 22AD26 22AD27	60QT000654 to 60QT000665
03	<i>Inbhirnis Meadhonach</i> (Inverness Central)	IB	22AE18 22AE19 22AE20	60QT000708 to 60QT000713 60QT001609 60QT001610
04	<i>Crùn</i> (Crown)	IB	22AC04 22AC05 22AC06	60QT000530 to 60QT000540
05	<i>Crùn</i> (Crown)	IB	22AC07 22AC08 22AC09	60QT000541 to 60QT000546 60QT001390 60QT001391
06	<i>Crùn</i> (Crown)	IB	22AC10 22AC11 22AC12	60QT000547 to 60QT000554
07	<i>Ràthaig Mòr</i> (Raigmore)	IB	22AC13 22AC14 22AC15	60QT000555 to 60QT000560 60QT001580 to 60QT001582
08	<i>Ràthaig Mòr</i> (Raigmore)	IB	22AC16 22AC17 22AC18	60QT000561 to 60QT000569

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Inbhirnis – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
09	<i>Cùil na Càbaig</i> (Culcabock)	IB	22AC19 22AC20 22AC21	60QT000570 to 60QT000578
10	<i>Cùil na Càbaig</i> (Culcabock)	IB	22AC22 22AC23 22AC24	60QT000579 to 60QT000586
11	<i>Cùil na Càbaig</i> (Culcabock)	IB	22AC25 22AC26 22AC27	60QT000587 to 60QT000592
12	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	IB	22AC01 22AC02 22AC03	60QT000521 to 60QT000529 60QT001390 60QT001578 60QT001579
13	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	IB	22AC28 22AC29 22AC30	60QT000593 60QT000594
14	<i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	IB	22AD21 22AD22 22AD28 22AD29	60QT000647 to 60QT000651 60QT000666 to 60QT000670 60QT001227
15	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton)	IB	22AD11 22AD12	60QT000622 to 60QT000626
16	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton)	IB	22AD13 22AD14 22AD15	60QT000627 to 60QT000634
17	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton)	IB	22AD16 22AD17 22AD18	60QT000635 to 60QT000640 60QT001593 60QT001594

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Inbhirnis – Part C</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
18	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton)	IB	22AD19 22AD20	60QT000641 to 60QT000646
19	<i>Cùil Daothail</i> (Culduthel)	IB	22AD04 22AD08 22AD09 22AD10	60QT000605 to 60QT000607 60QT000613 to 60QT000621 60QT001226 60QT001585 to 60QT001587
20	<i>An Tuilm</i> (Holm), <i>Loch Àrdail</i> (Lochardil)	IB	22AD01 22AD02 22AD06 22AD30 22AD31	60QT000595 to 60QT000599 60QT000610 60QT000611 60QT000671 60QT000672 60QT000673 60QT001583 60QT001584
21	<i>Loch Àrdail</i> (Lochardil)	IB	22AD03 22AD05 22AD07 22AD23	60QT000600 to 60QT000604 60QT000608 60QT000609 60QT000612 60QT000652 60QT000653 60QT001588 to 60QT001592 60QT001595 60QT001596

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) – 1961-2001 – Part C



Census Output Areas in <i>Inbhirnis – Part D</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
22	<i>Baile na Faire</i> (Ballifeary)	IB	22AE01 22AE02 22AE03	60QT000674 to 60QT000678 60QT001597
23	<i>Baile na Faire</i> (Ballifeary)	IB	22AE07 22AE08 22AE21 22AE22	60QT000686 to 60QT000691 60QT000714 to 60QT000719
24	<i>Baile na Faire</i> (Ballifeary)	IB	22AE23 22AE24 22AE25 22AE26	60QT000720 to 60QT000722 60QT001611
25	<i>Dail an Eich</i> (Dalneigh)	IB	22AE04 22AE05 22AE06	60QT000679 to 60QT000685
26	<i>Dail an Eich</i> (Dalneigh)	IB	22AE09 22AE10	60QT000692 to 60QT000695 60QT001598 60QT001599
27	<i>Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Muirtown)	IB	22AE11 22AE12 22AE13 22AE14	60QT000696 to 60QT000703 60QT001600 to 60QT001603
28	<i>Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Muirtown)	IB	22AE15 22AE16 22AE17	60QT000704 to 60QT000707 60QT001229 60QT001604 to 60QT001608

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) – 1961-2001 – Part D



Census Output Areas in <i>Inbhirnis – Part E</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
29	<i>Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Muirtown)	IB	22AF11 22AF18 22AF19 22AF23	60QT000746 60QT000759 to 60QT000764 60QT000772 to 60QT000774 60QT001234 60QT001235
30	<i>Ceasaig a Deas</i> (South Kessock)	IB	22AF12 22AF13 22AF14	60QT000747 to 60QT000752
31	<i>Ceasaig a Deas</i> (South Kessock)	IB	22AF15 22AF16	60QT000753 to 60QT000756 60QT001615 to 60QT001616
32	<i>Marc Innis</i> (Merkinch)	IB	22AF17 22AF20 22AF21 22AF22	60QT000757 60QT000758 60QT000765 to 60QT000771 60QT001236 60QT001237 60QT001617 to 60QT001620

Table A-5: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) – 1961-2001 – Part E



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
41	<i>Foithear</i> (Foyers), <i>An Drochaid Bhàn</i> (Whitebridge), <i>An Gleann Liath</i> (Glenlia), <i>An Coire Garbh</i> (Corriegarth), <i>Cnoc Chaluim</i> (Knockchoilum), <i>An Cnoc Carrach</i> (Knockcar-rach)	BO	22AB01 22AB02	60QT000080 60QT000081 60QT001255
42	<i>Goirtlig</i> (Gorthleck), <i>Earrogaidh</i> (Errogie), <i>Abairsgigh</i> (Abersky), <i>Both Fhleisginn</i> (Boleskine), <i>Taobh Loch Gairt</i> (Lochgarthside), <i>Tòrr an Easa</i> (Torness), <i>Cruachaidh</i> (Croachy), <i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	BO	22AB03 22AB04	60QT000082 60QT000083 60QT001259
43	<i>Inbhir Farragaig</i> (Inverfarigaig)	BO / DO	22AB05	60QT000084
44	<i>Fàrr</i> (Farr), <i>Earchoighd</i> (Erchite), <i>Leud Cluanaidh</i> (Lead-clune), <i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Balvoulin), <i>Braoin</i> (Brin)	DA	22AB06	60QT000085
45	<i>Dubhras</i> (Dores), <i>Clach an Druim</i> (Clachindruim)	DO	22AB07	60QT000086
46	<i>An Tom Breac</i> (Tombreck), <i>Tòrr Daraich</i> (Tordarroch), <i>Dail Mheallan</i> (Dalveallan)	DA	22AB08	60QT001435 60QT001436
47	<i>Allt Dobhraig</i> (Aldourie), <i>Sganaphort</i> (Scaniport)	DO	22AB09	60QT000087
48	<i>An Tuilm</i> (Holm), <i>Taobh Nis</i> (Ness-side), <i>Caisteal Nis</i> (Ness Castle), <i>An Druim Diomhan</i> (Drumdevan), <i>Baile Raibeirt</i> (Balrobert), <i>An Slag Buidhe</i> (Slackbuie), <i>Caisteal Leathoir</i> (Castle Heather), <i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	IS	22AB10 22AB11	60QT000088 60QT001264 60QT001750 60QT001751
49	<i>Na h-Innseagan</i> (Inshes), <i>Dail nan Innseagan</i> (Dail of Inshes), <i>Caisteal Leathoir</i> (Castle Heather), <i>Cùil Daothail</i> (Culduthel)	IS	22AB17	60QT000090 60QT000091 60QT001280 60QT001566 to 60QT001577
50	<i>Cnoc Shuas</i> (Westhill), <i>Cnoc a'Chaisteil</i> (Castlehill), <i>Coille Mucamhaigh</i> (Muckovie)	IE	22AB18 22AB36	60QT000092 60QT000093 60QT000783 to 60QT000787 60QT000793 60QT000794 60QT001409 60QT001410 60QT001623 to 60QT001626

Table A-6: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Cnoc Shuas</i> (Westhill)	IE	22AB20	60QT000095 60QT000788 to 60QT000792 60QT001242 60QT001247 60QT001627 to 60QT001629 60QT001727 to 60QT001731
52	<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Smithton)	IE	22AB22 22AB23	60QT000844 to 60QT000848
53	<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Smithton)	IE	22AB24	60QT000823 60QT000824 60QT000825 60QT000849 60QT000850 60QT001249 60QT001650 to 60QT001652
54	<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden)	IE	22AB35 22AB21	60QT000837 60QT000838 60QT000096 60QT000097 60QT001646 to 60QT001649
55	<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden)	IE	22AB25	60QT000826 to 60QT000835 60QT001248 60QT001641 to 60QT001645

Table A-7: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) – 1961-2001 – Part B



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part C</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
56	<i>Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden)	IE	22AB37 22AB38	60QT000839 to 60QT000843
57	<i>Allt Rollaidh</i> (Alturlie), <i>Baile Mhoireibh</i> (Morayston), <i>An Caisteal Stiùbhairt</i> (Castle Stuart), <i>Bealach</i> (Balloch)	PE	22AB26	60QT000098 60QT001636 60QT001637 60QT001638
58	<i>Bealach</i> (Balloch)	PE	22AB27	60QT000817 60QT000818 60QT000819 60QT001639 60QT001640
59	<i>Bealach</i> (Balloch)	PE	22AB28	60QT000820 60QT000821 60QT000822
60	<i>Aird nan Saor</i> (Ardersier)	AR	22AB12 22AB13 22AB14	60QT000885 to 60QT000891
61	<i>Aird nan Saoir</i> (Ardersier), <i>Baile nan Gobhann</i> (Balnagown), <i>Taobh an Locha</i> (Lochside)	AR	22AB33 22AB34	60QT000106 60QT001439 60QT001440
62	<i>Dùthaich Nuadh</i> (Newlands), <i>Blàr Cùil Lodair</i> (Culloden Muir), <i>Leanach</i>	IE	22AB19	60QT000094 60QT001437 60QT001438
63	<i>Dail Chrois</i> (Dalcross), <i>Bealach</i> (Balloch), <i>Cannta Bruthaich</i> (Cantraybruich), <i>Cannta</i> (Cantray)	CR	22AB29 22AB30	60QT000099 to 60QT000102 60QT000836 60QT001246
64	<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy), <i>Port Adhair Inbhirnis</i> (Inverness Airport), <i>Bad na Glaice</i> (Badnaglack), <i>Baile an Iasgaich</i> (Fisherton)	CR	22AB31 22AB32	60QT000103 60QT000104 60QT000105

Table A-8: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) – 1961-2001 – Part C



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part D</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
65	<i>Deimhidh</i> (Daviot), <i>Fionn Ghlaic</i> (Finglack), <i>Crann Mòr</i> (Cranmore)	DA	22AB15 22AB16	60QT000089 60QT001275
66	<i>Tom Aitinn</i> (Tomatin), <i>An Chuain</i> (Clune), <i>Coileachaigh</i> (Kyllachy), <i>Còig na Feàrna</i> (Coignafearn)	MO	22AJ01 22AJ02	60QT000132 60QT000133 60QT000134
67	<i>A'Mhòigh</i> (Moy)	MO	22AJ03	60QT000135
68	<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus)	FA	22AK01	60QT000481 60QT001377
69	<i>Cill Chuimein</i> (Fort Augustus), <i>Obar Chaladair</i> (Aberchalder), <i>Innis na Ceàrdaich</i> (Inchnacardoch), <i>Uachdar Abha</i> (Auchteraw), <i>Bun Obhaich</i> (Bunoich)	FA	22AK02 22AL01	60QT000136 60QT000482 60QT000483
70	<i>Inbhir Moireasdan</i> (Invermoriston), <i>Gleann Moireasdan</i> (Glen Moriston), <i>Bun Leothaid</i> (Bunloit), <i>Dail Chreachaird</i> (Dulchreichard), <i>Ceann nan Cnoc</i> (Ceannacroc), <i>Rubha Bànn</i> , <i>Allt Saidhe</i> (Alltsigh), <i>Blàraidh</i> (Blairy), <i>An Chuain Beag</i> (Clunebeg), <i>Bun Leothaid</i> (Bunloit), <i>Grotaig</i> , <i>Bòrlum</i> , <i>An Druim Buidhe</i> (Drumbuie), <i>Am Baile Beag</i> (Balbeg), <i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone)	GM	22AF24 22AF25 22AF26 22AF27	60QT000107 60QT000108 60QT000109 60QT000110
71	<i>Blàr na Maigh</i> (Lewiston)	UR	22AF01	60QT001389 60QT001559 60QT001560 60QT001561
72	<i>Druim na Drochaid</i> (Drumnadrochit), <i>Blàr na Maigh</i> (Lewiston)	UR	22AF02	60QT000515 60QT001562 60QT001563
73	<i>Gleann Urchadain</i> (Glenurquhart), <i>Baile an Fhàin</i> (Balnain), <i>Baile a'Mhuilinn</i> (Milton), <i>Achadh Monaidh</i> (Achmony), <i>An t-Àilean Mòr</i> (Allanmore), <i>Dìobhach</i> (Divach), <i>Gleann Coilltigh</i> (Glen Coltie), <i>Baile an Fhàin</i> (Balnain)	UR / KU	22AF28 22AF29 22AF30	60QT000111 60QT000112 60QT001312 60QT001738 60QT001739

Table A-9: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) – 1961-2001 – Part D



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part E</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
74	<i>Obar Itheachan</i> (Abriachan), <i>Achadh Monaidh</i> (Achmony), <i>A'Chaiplich</i> (Caiplich), <i>Baile a'Chreagain</i> (Balchraggan)	IW	22AF31	60QT000113 60QT000114
75	<i>Dabhach Gairbheach</i> (Dochgarroch), <i>Bun Chraoibh</i> (Bunchrew), <i>Dabhach Phùir</i> (Dochfour), <i>An Dabhach Dearg</i> (Lochend), <i>Achadh Cùlainn</i> (Achculin)	IW	22AF32 22AF33 22AF34	60QT000115 60QT000116 60QT000117 60QT001313
76	<i>Clachan na h-Aire</i> (Clachnaharry)	IW	22AF10	60QT000742 to 60QT000745
77	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> (Scorguie)	IW	22AF35 22AF36	60QT000775 to 60QT000777 60QT001238 to 60QT001240 60QT001315 60QT001441 60QT001442 60QT001621 60QT001622
78	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> (Scorguie)	IW	22AF07 22AF37 22AF38	60QT000734 to 60QT000736 60QT000778 to 60QT000782 60QT001241
79	<i>Sgòr Gaoithe</i> (Scorguie)	IW	22AF08 22AF09	60QT000737 to 60QT000741 60QT001232 60QT001233 60QT001614

Table A-10: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) – 1961-2001 – Part E



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part F</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
80	<i>Ceann a'Mhilidh</i> (Kinmylies)	IW	22AF03 22AF04	60QT000723 to 60QT000728 60QT001230 60QT001231 60QT001612 60QT001613 60QT001725 60QT001726
81	<i>Ceann a'Mhilidh</i> (Kinmylies)	IW	22AF05 22AF06	60QT000729 to 60QT000733 60QT001399 to 60QT001402
82	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly)	BE	22AG01	60QT000807 60QT000808 60QT000809
83	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly)	BE	22AG02	60QT000810 60QT000811 60QT000812 60QT001245
84	<i>A'Mhanachainn</i> (Beauly)	BE	22AG03	60QT000813 60QT000814 60QT000815
85	<i>Tomaich</i> (Tomich), <i>Fas na Coille</i> (Fasnakyle), <i>Allt Bèithe</i> , <i>Canaich</i> (Cannich), <i>Muchrachd</i>	KU	22AG04 22AG05 22AG06	60QT000118 60QT001443 60QT001444
86	<i>An t-Srùigh</i> (Struy), <i>Èisgeadal</i> (Eskadale), <i>Srath Farair</i> (Strathfarrar)	KW	22AG07 22AG08	60QT000119 60QT000120
87	<i>Confhadhach</i> (Convinth)	KU	22AG09	60QT000121 60QT000122 60QT000123
88	<i>Tom na Croise</i> (Tomnacross), <i>Achadh a'Bhàthaich</i> (Auch-vaich)	KL	22AG10	60QT000124 60QT000125

Table A-11: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Taobh Loch Nis* (Loch Ness-side) – 1961-2001 – Part F



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Loch Nis – Part G</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
89	<i>Cill Taraghlain</i> (Kiltarlity), <i>Cùil Braonaigh</i> (Culburnie)	KL	22AG11	60QT000126 60QT000127 60QT001445 60QT001446
90	<i>Àigeis</i> (Aigas), <i>Cluanaidh</i> (Cluanie)	KE	22AG12	60QT001447 60QT001448
91	<i>Cill Mhòraig</i> (Kilmorack), <i>Baile a'Bhlair</i> (Balblair)	KE	22AG13	60QT001449 60QT001450
92	<i>Innis Ruaraidh</i> (Inchrory)	KH	22AG14	60QT000816 60QT001316 60QT001317 60QT001318
93	<i>Mon Itheig</i> (Moniack), <i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain), <i>An Cnocan Òrd</i> (Crockanord), <i>Achadh na Garthairn</i> (Achnagairn), <i>Baile a'Chreagain</i> (Balchreggan), <i>Creagach</i> (Craggach), <i>An Innis Mòr</i> (Inshmore)	KH	22AH01 22AH02	60QT000128 60QT000129 60QT000130
94	<i>Cnoc Mhoire</i> (Kirkhill)	KH	22AH03	60QT000131 60QT001319 60QT001451 60QT001452 60QT001453

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VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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