

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

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

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

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

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



## Foreword to the First Edition

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

## Foreword to the Second Edition

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

**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* place-names 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

Kurt C. Duwe



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## 1 Introduction

In this issue the development of language communities is considered on the island group around *Muile* (Mull) in the Inner Hebrides. This is a sociologically and economically very heterogeneous archipelago. *Tìriodh* (Tiree) may still be characterised as a crofting community with its respectably high population of some 800 people – here *Gàidhlig* plays an important role in day-to-day conversation of the “locals”. Neighbouring *Colla* (Coll) on the other hand is far less populated and there are today only a handful of locally born inhabitants left. The famous *Eilean Idhe* (Iona) shares the same fate and *Gàidhlig* is almost exclusively confined to placenames on this island. Nonetheless in general terms the language has experienced some sort of renaissance both in education and in the community; namely on *Tìriodh* and around the townships of *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory) and *An Sailean* (Salen) on *Muile*.

During the last decades severe depopulation has occurred in many of the small settlements. This out-migration was matched with a substantial number of people moving into the area for business and retirement reasons. Nowadays (traditionally defined) *Muileachs* and *Colachs* are a minority on their islands. In 2001 only 62 % of the inhabitants of *Colla* were born in Scotland, on *Muile* this figure was around 67 %. On *Tìriodh* on the other hand only 14 % of inhabitants were born outside Scotland. This factor has to be kept in mind when considering language maintenance in such communities.

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

Three quarters of the approximately 3,700 inhabitants of this area (108,300 hectares) live today on the island of *Muile* (Mull) and some 1,000 alone in its “capital” *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory). Traditional occupations like crofting and fishing now play a minor role in the economical framework of the local communities. Tourism, local government and associated services provide a major source of income of the population – not to forget those who have already earned their lot in their working lives and have retired to this part of Scotland.

With this background in mind the following short chapters will look into the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail. Information on additionally available studies of language use and especially educational provision to study (or even being educated through the medium of the language) is used where considered as useful. The area of interest is shown in fig. 1 for information<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey are part of Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



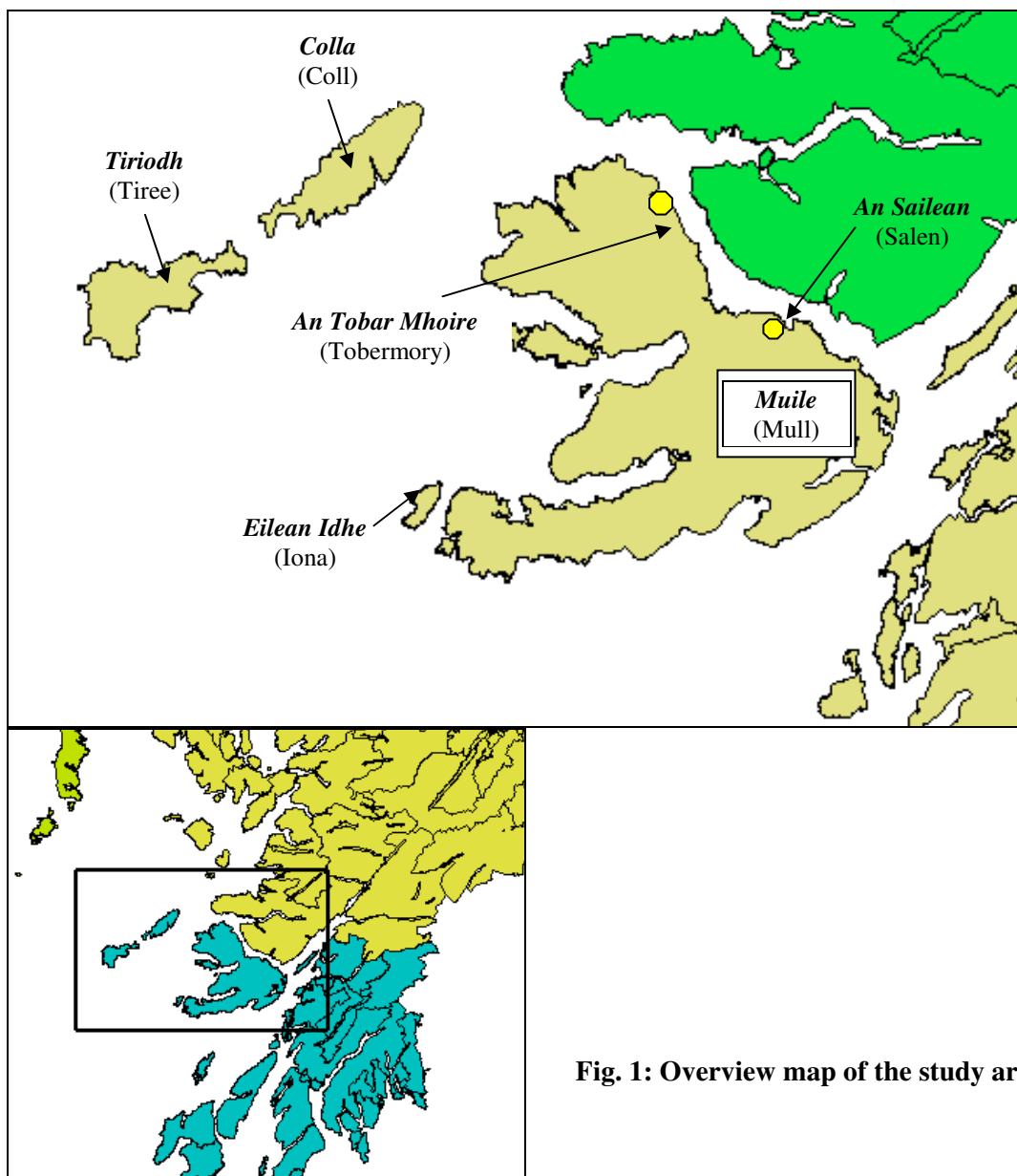


Fig. 1: Overview map of the study area



## 2 The Historical Background

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

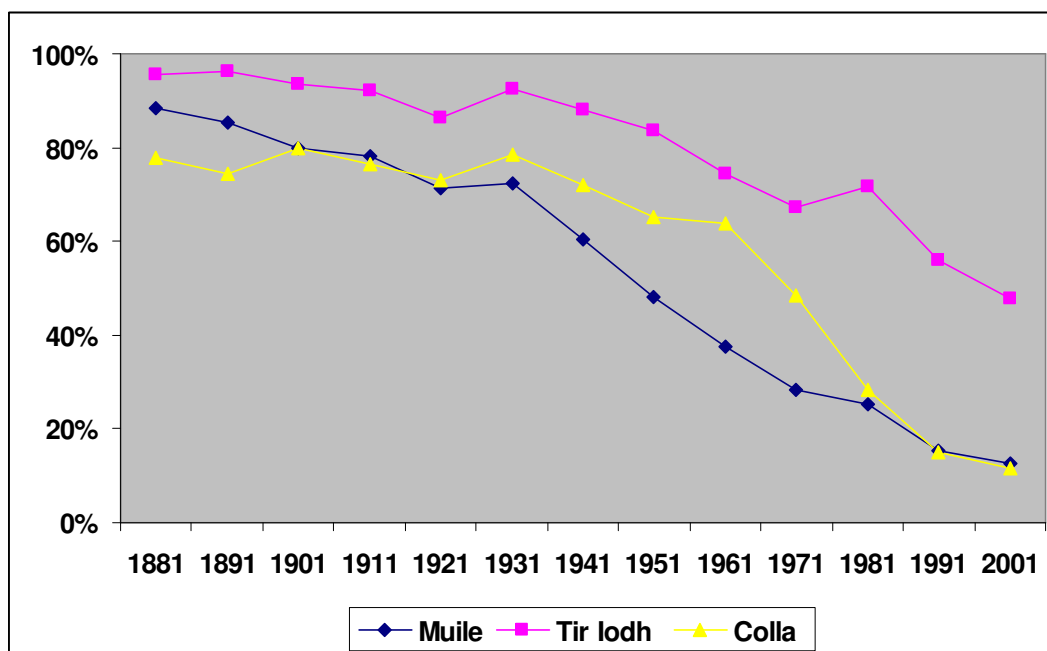


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years +) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 – islands of *Muile* (Mull), *Tiriodh* (Tiree) and *Colla* (Coll)<sup>3</sup>

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

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

<sup>3</sup> There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.



Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides even more interesting additional information. Generally the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors, dumb people as well as children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. Therefore some “corrected” 1891 details about three enumeration areas in this district are cited below<sup>4</sup> (Duwe, 2006):

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

<sup>4</sup> After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891 and 1901.



were underestimating the real strength of the language. 156 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 28 persons were reported as monolingual *Gàidhlig* speakers. These figures led to an “official” share of *Gàidhlig* speakers of 92.5 %. The more realistic share of the usually resident population, however, amounted to 96.6 % !!!

Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Colla</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> <sup>5</sup>			Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers <sup>6</sup>	
	1881 <sup>7</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Breac Achadh &amp; Àirigh Leòid</i> (Breacachadh & Arileod)		86 <b>74.1 %</b>	77 <b>71.3 %</b>	23 <b>26.7 %</b>	11 <b>14.3 %</b>
<i>Cliad &amp; Baile Hogh</i> (Cliad & Ballyhaugh)	500 <b>77.8 %</b>	75 <b>73.5 %</b>	72 <b>72.0 %</b>	10 <b>13.3 %</b>	3 4.2 %
<i>An t-Achadh &amp; Àirigh nan Gobhar</i> (Acha & Arinagour)		107 <b>78.1 %</b>	78 <b>75.7 %</b>	21 <b>19.6 %</b>	16 <b>20.5 %</b>
<i>Sòrasdal &amp; Còrnaig Mhòr</i> (Sorisdale & Cornaigmore)		121 <b>72.5 %</b> <sup>8</sup>	118 <b>97.5 %</b>	69 <b>57.0 %</b>	27 <b>22.9 %</b>

**Table 1: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population on the island of *Colla* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901**

Very detailed local information is available in census publications until 1901. The census reports and enumeration files provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 1 to 5). Although all official percentages of *Gàidhlig* speakers were notoriously underestimating the real strength of the language (children less than 3 years of age and visitors were included in the population base) the temporal evolution of language knowledge and the incidence of monolingualism can clearly be depicted from official figures. By looking at the enumeration district level the geographical distribution and its variability is more evident than in the official census publications for 1881, 1891 and 1901 which did not show details down to enumeration district level.

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

On the neighbouring island of *Tiriodh* (Tiree) virtually everyone spoke *Gàidhlig* at this period (table 2). In 1891 even a majority of islanders did not speak English at all. Notable strongholds in this respect were the crofting townships around *Baile a’Mhuilinn* (Balevullin), *Hogh* (Hough) and *Haoidhinis*

<sup>5</sup> Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

<sup>6</sup> Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

<sup>7</sup> 1881 census figures were concerned with people speaking “habitually” *Gàidhlig*.

<sup>8</sup> 36 fishermen from Aberdeenshire were enumerated in this part of the island at census night. Ignoring these visitors the percentage would have been 92.4 %.





(Hynish). No decline in Gàidhlig speaking intensity overall was experienced during the whole period until 1901.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Tiriodh – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking Gàidhlig			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers	
	1881 <sup>9</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>An Caolas &amp; Ruthaig</i> (Caolas & Ruaig)	1,161 <b>93.6 %</b>	276 <b>97.9 %</b>	256 <b>96.2 %</b>	109 <b>39.5 %</b>	113 <b>44.1 %</b>
<i>Bhalla &amp; Got</i> (Vaul & Gott)		202 <b>95.3 %</b>	162 <b>97.0 %</b>	92 <b>45.5 %</b>	59 <b>36.4 %</b>
<i>Sgairinis &amp; Am Bàgh</i> (Scarinish & Baugh)		234 <b>97.1 %</b>	190 <b>95.0 %</b>	104 <b>44.4 %</b>	23 <b>12.1 %</b>
<i>Còrnaig Mhòr &amp; Baile Pheadrais</i> (Cornaigmore & Balphetrish)		307 <b>92.5 %</b>	276 <b>92.3 %</b>	154 <b>50.2 %</b>	121 <b>43.8 %</b>
<i>Baile a’Mhuilinn &amp; Cille Mo Luaig</i> (Balevullin & Kilmaluaig)	1,449 <b>97.1 %</b>	357 <b>97.0 %</b>	338 <b>92.1 %</b>	340 <b>95.2 %</b>	230 <b>68.0 %</b>
<i>Am Baile Meadhonach &amp; Hough</i> (Balmeanach & Hough)		252 <b>99.2 %</b>	208 <b>87.8 %</b>	173 <b>68.7 %</b>	161 <b>77.4 %</b>
<i>Baile a’Phuill &amp; Haoidhinis</i> (Balephuill & Hynish)		191 <b>93.2 %</b>	175 <b>91.1 %</b>	119 <b>62.3 %</b>	71 <b>40.6 %</b>
<i>Manal &amp; Baile Mhàrtainn</i> (Mannel & Balemartine)		316 <b>97.8 %</b>	249 <b>96.5 %</b>	103 <b>32.6 %</b>	63 <b>25.3 %</b>
<i>An Cruadh Ghoirtean &amp; Am Baile Nodha</i> (Heylipol & Balinoe)		224 <b>95.3 %</b>	194 <b>92.8 %</b>	131 <b>58.5 %</b>	53 <b>25.4 %</b>

**Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population on the island of Tiriodh according to local census data from 1881 to 1901**

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

<sup>9</sup> 1881 census figures were concerned with people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Cill Naoinin &amp; Cill Mhoire</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>10</sup>			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>11</sup>	
	1881 <sup>12</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> <sup>13</sup> (Tobermory)	1,095 <b>81.6 %</b>	998 <b>81.7 %</b>	898 <b>78.4 %</b>	135 <b>13.5 %</b>	74 8.2 %
<i>An Leitir Mòr &amp; Sorn</i> (Lettermore & Sorn)	743 <b>90.7 %</b>	41 <b>63.1 %</b>	64 <b>70.3 %</b>	2 4.9 %	9 <b>14.1 %</b>
<i>Dearbhaig &amp; Miogharraidh</i> (Dervaig & Mingarry)		150 <b>92.0 %</b>	123 <b>93.9 %</b>	19 <b>12.7 %</b>	12 9.8 %
<i>Achadh na Driseig &amp; An Tòrr</i> (Achnadrish & Torr)		67 <b>95.7 %</b>	58 <b>93.5 %</b>	12 <b>17.9 %</b>	7 <b>12.1 %</b>
<i>An Àird Dubh &amp; Peighinn Mòr</i> (Ardow & Penmore)		88 <b>90.7 %</b>	68 <b>85.0 %</b>	22 <b>25.0 %</b>	1 1.5 %
<i>Calgarraidh &amp; Cille Chrìosd</i> (Calgary & Killechrist)		97 <b>79.5 %</b>	76 <b>80.9 %</b>	19 <b>19.6 %</b>	9 <b>11.8 %</b>
<i>Easaigh &amp; Treisinis</i> (Ensay & Treshnish)		100 <b>98.0 %</b>	68 <b>93.2 %</b>	46 <b>46.0 %</b>	2 2.9 %
<i>Cill Naoinin &amp; Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Kilninian & Ballygown)		129 <b>96.3 %</b>	125 <b>96.2 %</b>	26 <b>20.2 %</b>	53 <b>42.4 %</b>
<i>Lagan Ulbha &amp; Osgamul</i> (Laggan Ulva & Oskamull)		80 <b>96.4 %</b>	81 <b>95.3 %</b>	66 <b>73.3 %</b>	19 <b>23.5 %</b>
<i>Gomastra &amp; Colbhasa Bheag</i> (Gometra & Little Colonsay)	29 <b>96.7 %</b>	30 <b>96.8 %</b>	41 <b>73.2 %</b>	11 <b>36.7 %</b>	12 <b>29.3 %</b>
<i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva)	50 <b>94.3 %</b>	42 <b>91.3 %</b>	55 <b>93.2 %</b>	9 <b>21.4 %</b>	8 <b>14.5 %</b>
<i>Àros &amp; Àird na Croise</i> (Aros & Ardnacross)	147 <b>71.0 %</b>	45 <b>59.2 %</b>	20 <b>57.1 %</b>	7 <b>15.6 %</b>	2 <b>10.0 %</b>
<i>Tòrr Lochan &amp; Cille Chrònain</i> (Torlochan & Killiechronan)		104 <b>83.9 %</b>	99 <b>77.3 %</b>	13 <b>12.5 %</b>	5 5.1 %

**Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in the parish of *Cill Naoinin & Cill Mhoire* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901**

The civil parish of *Torasaigh* (Torosay) forms the central and south-eastern part of the island and as such the area had been under stronger anglicisation pressures than the remoter locations to the north and west (table 4). Keeping this in mind Gàidhlig still held its ground rather comfortably even in 1901. But almost all Gàidhlig speakers became bilingual in the area with only a handful of “Gaelic only” returns in later census enumerations. Among the English monoglots shepherds and gamekeepers from North-East

<sup>10</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

<sup>11</sup> Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

<sup>12</sup> 1881 census figures were concerned with people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.

<sup>13</sup> Figures include the inhabitants of *Calbhaigh* (Calvay Island).



Scotland or the Borders were the most numerous examples, besides the usual school teachers and the odd servant in the upper class households. Strongest *Gàidhlig* speaking areas remained *Gleann Mòr* (Glen More) and *Gleann Forsa* (Glen Forsa) in the mountainous centre of the district.

Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Torasaigh</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> <sup>14</sup>			Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers <sup>15</sup>	
	1881 <sup>16</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>An Sàilean</i> (Salen)		168 <b>76.7 %</b>	155 <b>75.6 %</b>	8 4.8 %	6 3.9 %
<i>Gleann Forsa &amp; Gleann Cainneir</i> (Glen Forsa & Glen Cannel)	289 <b>74.7 %</b>	33 <b>86.8 %</b>	29 <b>87.9 %</b>	15 <b>45.5 %</b>	8 <b>27.6 %</b>
<i>Peighinn a'Ghobhainn &amp; Fisnis</i> (Pennygown & Fishnish)		50 <b>83.9 %</b>	39 <b>95.1 %</b>	7 <b>14.0 %</b>	4 <b>10.3 %</b>
<i>Ceann Loch Dona &amp; Dubh Àird</i> (Lochdonhead & Duart)		162 <b>89.5 %</b>	156 <b>83.4 %</b>	22 <b>13.6 %</b>	3 1.9 %
<i>Achadh na Creige &amp; Leitir Daraich</i> (Auchnacraig & Oakbank)	359	44 <b>66.7 %</b>	36 <b>94.7 %</b>	2 4.5 %	1 2.8 %
<i>Àird a'Choille &amp; An Gleann Mòr</i> (Ardachoil & Glenmore)	<b>90.7 %</b>	28 <b>96.6 %</b>	19 <b>100.0 %</b>	3 <b>10.7 %</b>	–
<i>Creag an Iubhair &amp; Torasaigh</i> (Craignure & Torosay)		67 <b>81.7 %</b>	57 <b>79.2 %</b>	12 <b>17.9 %</b>	–
<i>Ardura &amp; Ceann Loch Spèilbhidh</i> (Ardura & Kinlochspelve)	276	93 <b>83.0 %</b>	81 <b>73.6 %</b>	14 <b>15.1 %</b>	9 <b>11.1 %</b>
<i>Loch Buidhe &amp; An Crògan</i> (Lochbuie & Croggan)	<b>88.7 %</b>	115 <b>72.8 %</b>	91 <b>61.1 %</b>	16 <b>13.9 %</b>	10 <b>11.0 %</b>

**Table 4: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in the parish of *Torasaigh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901**

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

<sup>14</sup> Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

<sup>15</sup> Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

<sup>16</sup> 1881 census figures were concerned with people speaking “habitually” *Gàidhlig*.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Cill Fhionnchain &amp; Cill MhicEòghain</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> <sup>17</sup>			Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers <sup>18</sup>	
	1881 <sup>19</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Tìr Odhrain &amp; Baile na h-Àirde</i> (Tiroran & Balnahard)		127 <b>89.4 %</b>	124 <b>87.3 %</b>	46 <b>36.2 %</b>	14 <b>11.3 %</b>
<i>Peighinn nan Gaidheal &amp; Carsaig</i> (Pennyghael & Carsaig)		198 <b>91.2 %</b>	126 <b>82.9 %</b>	37 <b>18.7 %</b>	29 <b>23.0 %</b>
<i>Na Tòrran &amp; Àird Chraoisinis</i> (Torrans & Ardchrishnish)		52 <b>94.5 %</b>	42 <b>95.5 %</b>	26 <b>50.0 %</b>	6 <b>14.3 %</b>
<i>Lì &amp; An Sgùrr</i> (Lee & Scoor)	1,201 <b>94.0 %</b>	94 <b>86.2 %</b>	110 <b>83.3 %</b>	17 <b>18.1 %</b>	8 7.3 %
<i>Àird Tunna &amp; Eorabus</i> (Arduin & Eorabus)		250 <b>94.3 %</b>	180 <b>86.1 %</b>	70 <b>28.0 %</b>	21 <b>11.7 %</b>
<i>Bun Easain &amp; Tìr a'Ghaoil</i> (Bunessan & Tiraghoil)		162 <b>92.0 %</b>	157 <b>92.9 %</b>	27 <b>16.7 %</b>	16 <b>10.2 %</b>
<i>Àird Chiabhaig &amp; Uisgean</i> (Ardchiavaig & Uisken)		123 <b>91.1 %</b>	109 <b>91.6 %</b>	22 <b>17.9 %</b>	70 <b>64.2 %</b>
<i>Crèich &amp; Cinn Tràgha</i> (Creich & Kintra)		175 <b>93.6 %</b>	157 <b>95.7 %</b>	54 <b>30.9 %</b>	20 <b>12.7 %</b>
<i>Fionnphort &amp; Tòrr Mòr</i> (Fionnphort & Tormore)	400 <b>95.5 %</b>	95 <b>94.1 %</b>	86 <b>92.5 %</b>	21 <b>22.1 %</b>	9 <b>10.5 %</b>
<i>Na Fidean &amp; Cnoc Mhaolagain</i> (Fidden, Pottie & Knockvolagan)		60 <b>93.8 %</b>	50 <b>80.6 %</b>	26 <b>43.3 %</b>	8 <b>16.0 %</b>
<i>Eilean Earraid</i> (Isle of Erraid)	30 <b>58.8 %</b>	14 29.8 %	16 <b>53.3 %</b>	5 35.7 %	–
<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	215 <b>88.5 %</b>	224 <b>90.7 %</b>	168 <b>78.9 %</b>	21 9.4 %	6 3.6 %

**Table 5: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in the parish of *Cill Fhionnchain & Cill MhicEòghain* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901**

The overall share of *Gàidhlig* speakers stayed on a very high level during the whole period until 1931 (see fig. 3) but the number of people who did not speak English<sup>20</sup> decreased substantially. This educational factor becomes also apparent when looking at the age distribution of “Gaelic only” returns (table 12). Gradually everyone became bilingual apart from children below school age. In the island parishes of former Argyll even in this age group the percentage went down from 56.7 % in 1891 to 30.5 % in 1931. This temporal evolution was in strong contrast with the respective statistics of the other Hebridean is-

<sup>17</sup> Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

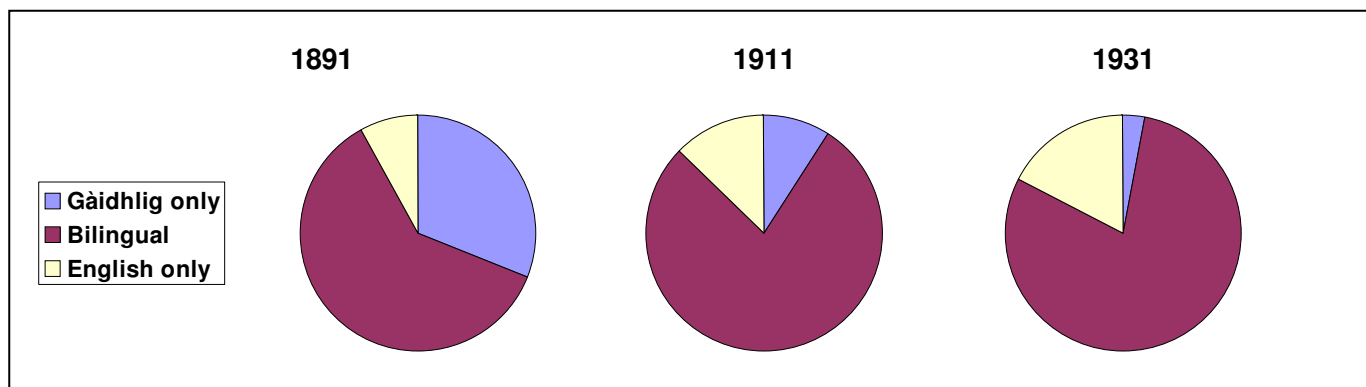
<sup>18</sup> Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

<sup>19</sup> 1881 census figures were concerned with people speaking “habitually” *Gàidhlig*.

<sup>20</sup> This does not imply English being used habitually. In these days heads of households certainly were very much inclined to report to officialdom that the whole family could speak the high status language.



lands in Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty in those days where English remained very much a minority issue before children entered school.



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

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

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

**Table 6: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers in Muile, Tiriodh & Colla (Mull, Tìree & Coll) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931**

## 2.2 Developments in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Census 1951–2001)

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



all 18 first language speakers. On the other hand only a few children from English speaking homes knew some *Gàidhlig*. Although the nursery school teachers were themselves *Gàidhlig*-speaking in the five schools on *Tiriodh* the main medium of instruction was always English. There was, however, time set aside for teaching *Gàidhlig* (as a second language) and in three schools the language was used in helping non-English speakers and for religious instruction.

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

**Table 7: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Muile, Tiriodh & Colla* (Mull, Tiree & Coll) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2001**

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

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

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

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



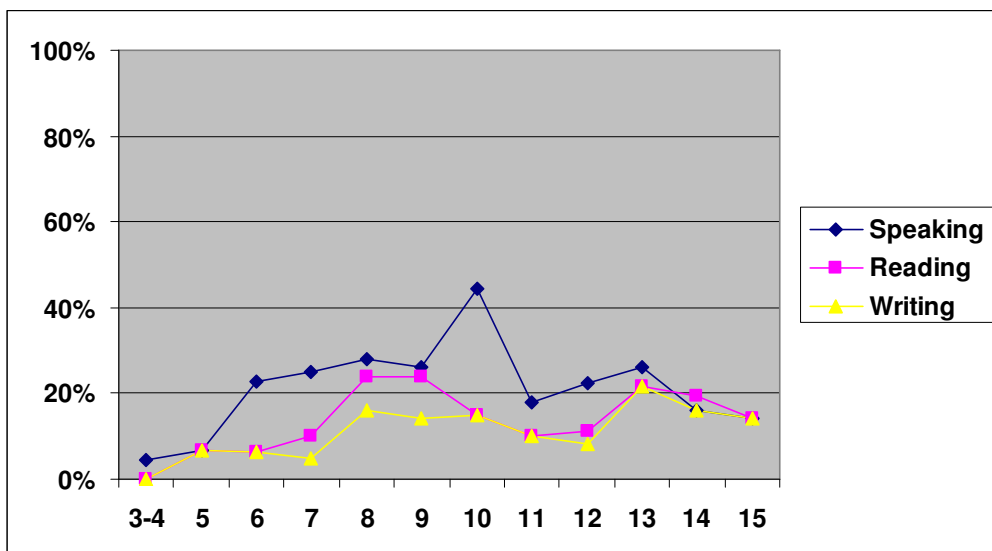


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Muile (Mull)

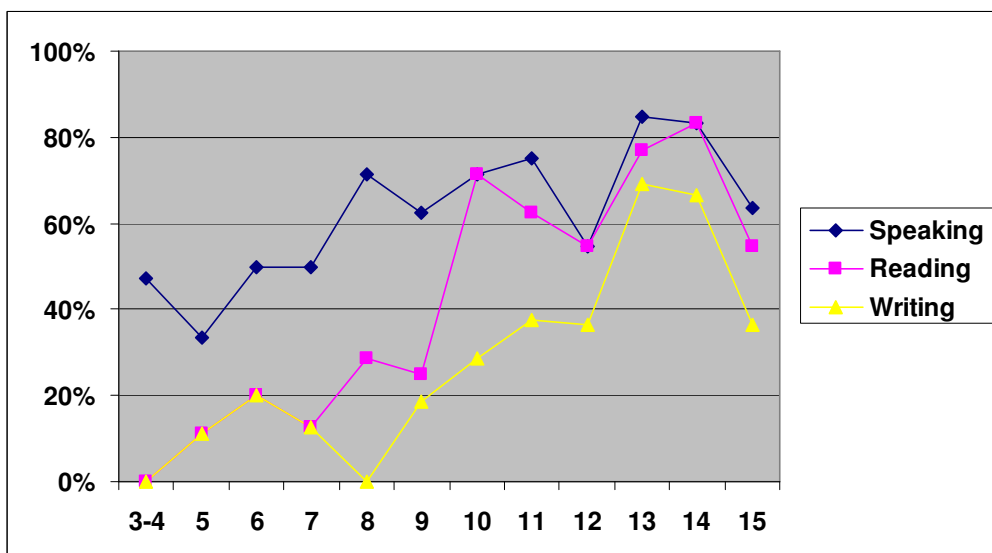


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll)

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



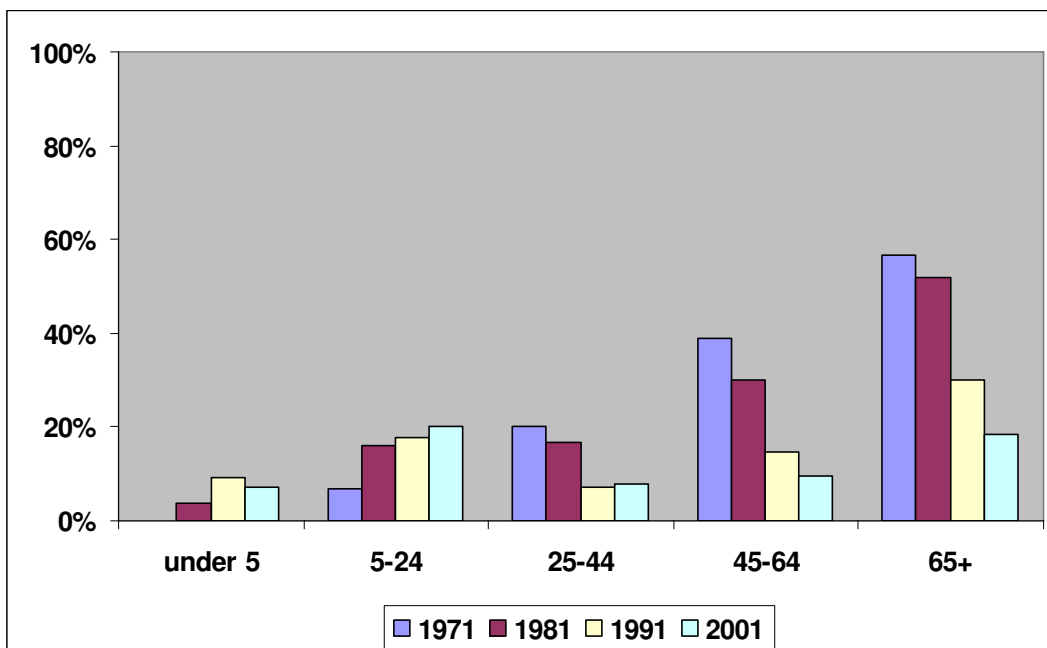


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Muile (Mull)<sup>21</sup>

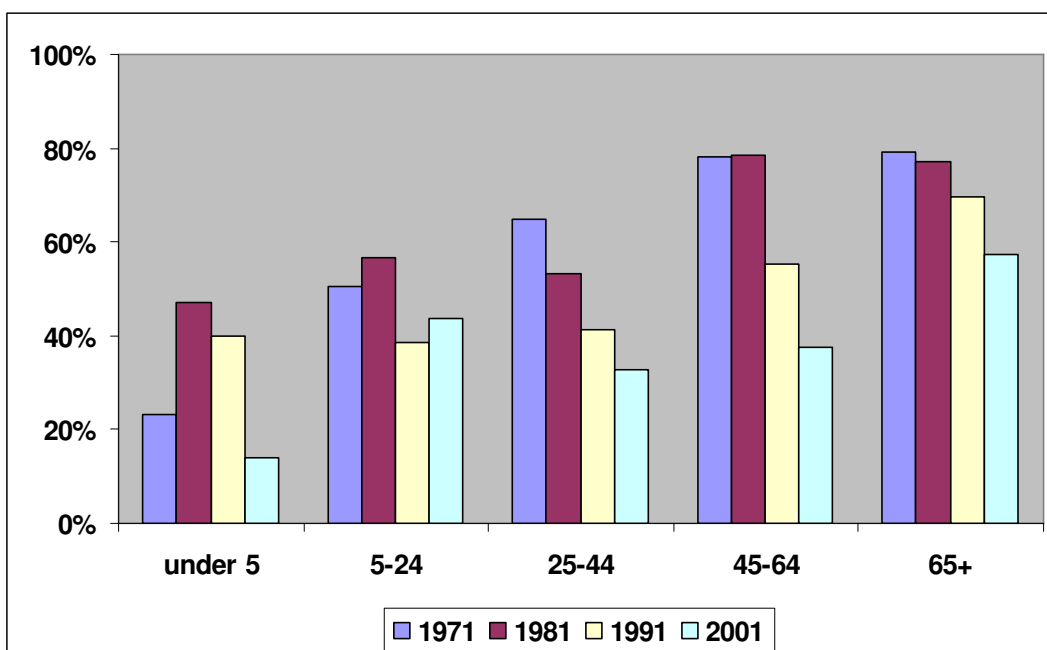


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Tìriodh & Colla (Tìree & Coll)

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

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

<sup>21</sup> Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.





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

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

### 2.3 Development of literacy in *Gàidhlig* between 1971 and 2001

There was also a considerable change in literacy of *Gàidhlig*-speakers during a time span of 30 years. This information became available from 1971 onwards: Census questions were introduced on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 3 and 4 below). The literacy levels on *Tiriodh* were on a relatively high level even in 1971 and could be compared with the strong *Gàidhlig*-speaking islands further north and west. The conditions on *Muile*, however, were not so favourable because of the lack of *Gàidhlig* lessons in formal education. In later censuses reading and writing abilities improved consistently in the island group with more than half of all *Gàidhlig*-speakers also being able to write in the language in 2001.

	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	1971	1981	1991	2001
<b><i>Muile</i> (Mull)</b>	270	283	231	223	43.2 %	48.4 %	52.1 %	62.8 %
<b><i>Tiriodh &amp; Colla</i> (Tìree &amp; Coll)</b>	415	383	306	282	62.9 %	66.5 %	66.7 %	72.9 %

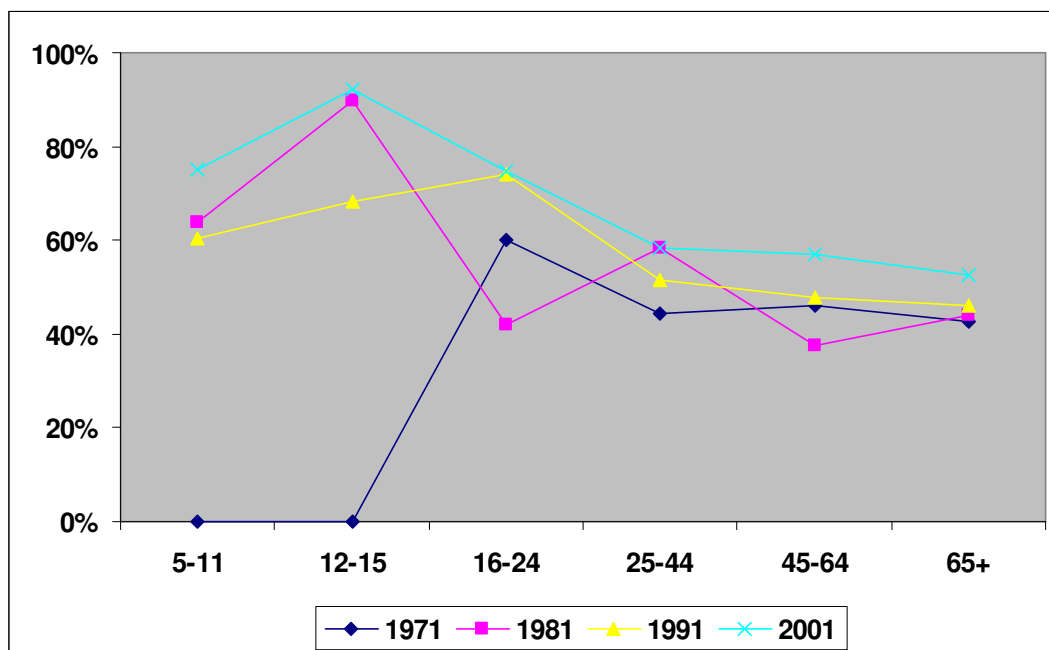
**Table 8: Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2001)**



	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<b>Muile (Mull)</b>	150	202	191	191	24.0 %	34.5 %	43.1 %	53.4 %
<b>Tìriodh &amp; Colla (Tìree &amp; Coll)</b>	245	274	233	228	37.1 %	47.6 %	50.8 %	58.9 %

**Table 9:** Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2001)

These improvements were almost totally caused by an intensified educational provision (see fig. 8 and 9) which can be demonstrated by the apparent rise in literacy in the 5-24 age groups during that period.



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



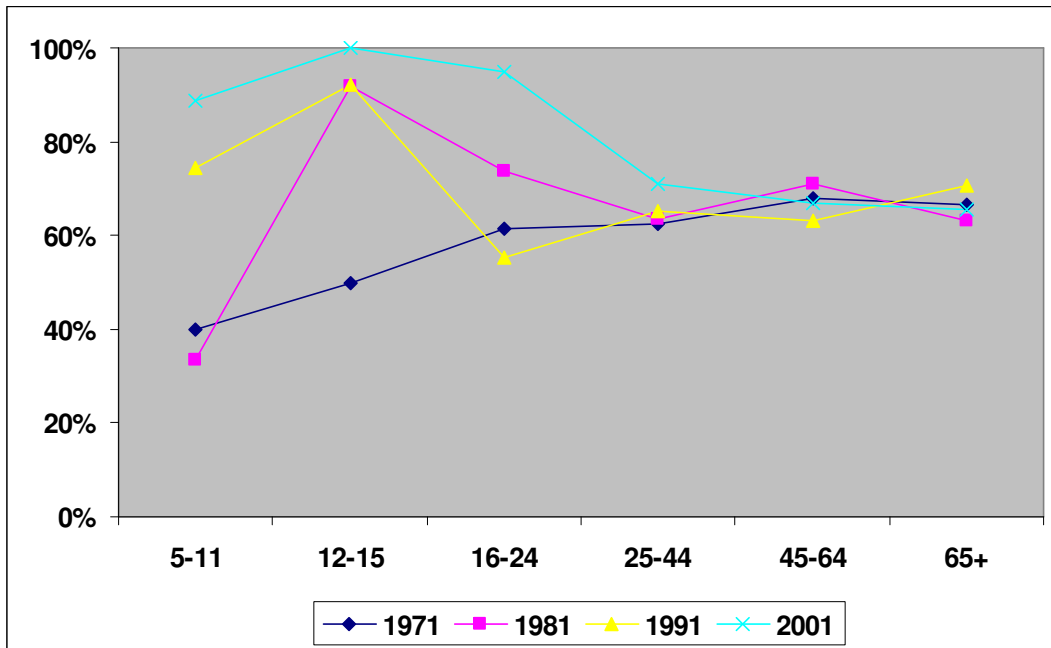


Fig. 9: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Tìriodh & Colla*



### 3 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.

The following sections describe the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational and community by community) and the specific conditions of the younger age groups in local primary school catchments.

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

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

- Whereas only some 10 % of the working age population speak or understand *Gàidhlig*, language ability at pensionable and school age (fig. 10) is considerably higher. Roughly 11 % of pre-school children at least understand the language.
- A slight decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking has occurred since 1991 (table 5) especially in older age groups. On the other hand in the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers is up by almost 3 %. Intergenerational language difference is definitely positive when comparing percentages of the total population with those for the 3-24 age cohort.
- There is considerable local variation in language strength. Census output areas show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 25 % in *Creag an Iubhair* (Craignure) to some 4 % in *Aros*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category range between almost 37 % in *Creag an Iubhair* and around 7 % in *Aros*.
- Fig. 11 outlines that just under 50 % of the population live still in neighbourhoods where over 20 % of the people know at least some *Gàidhlig*.
- Literacy in *Gàidhlig* is still improving with 62.8 % of speakers being able to read and 53.4 % of speakers able to write the language.
- Language acquaintance in very young age is still lacking. In the new category of children aged less than 3 years none were found to be able to speak *Gàidhlig* and only two understood spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (12.7 % of the population) 193 inhabitants (6.8 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.



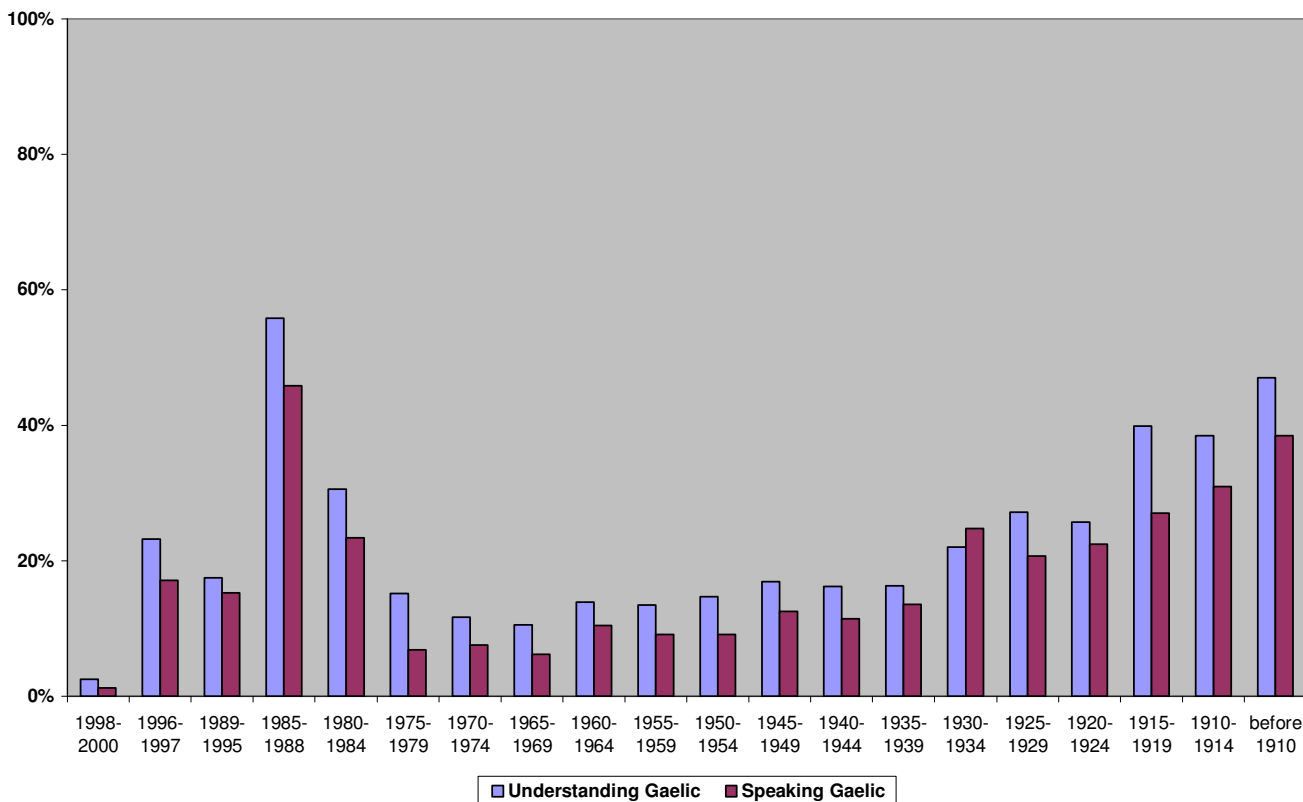


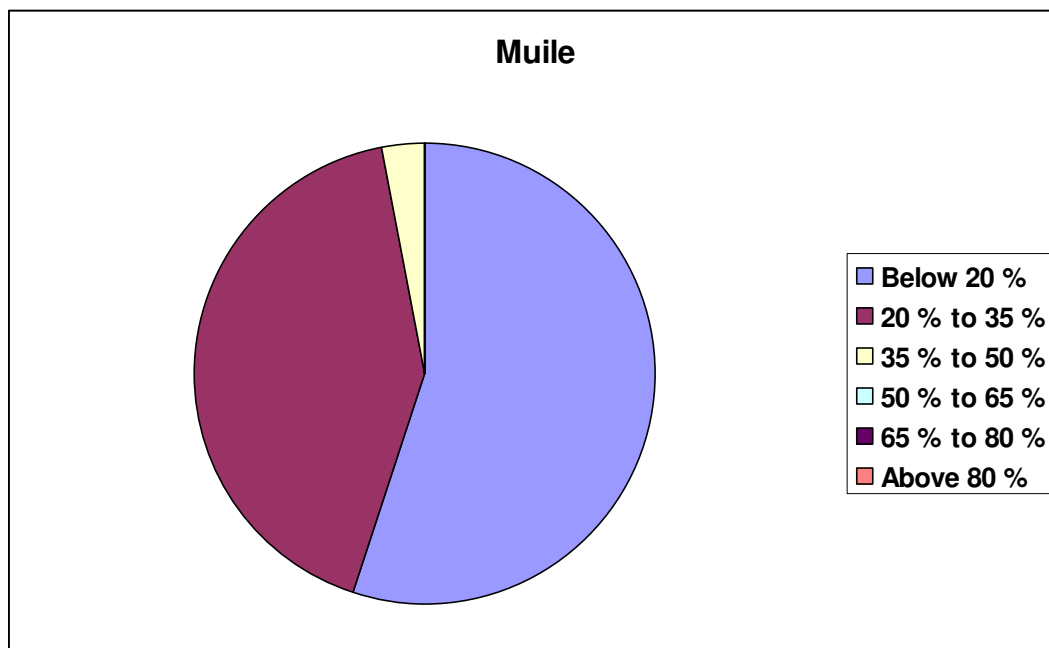
Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – Muile (Mull) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>22</sup> Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	2	2.5 %	0	0.0 %	0	0.0 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	16	23.2 %	1	1.5 %	11	15.9 %	6	9.2 %	+ 6.7 %
5-11	41	17.5 %	24	10.3 %	32	13.7 %	53	21.9 %	- 8.2 %
12-15	67	55.8 %	47	39.2 %	51	42.5 %	44	28.4 %	+14.1 %
16-24	45	22.8 %	20	10.2 %	28	14.2 %	25	9.0 %	+ 5.2 %
3-24	169	27.3 %	92	14.8 %	122	19.7 %	128	17.1 %	+ 2.6 %
All ages	551	19.5 %	223	7.9 %	358	12.7 %	438	16.2 %	- 3.5 %
Difference	+ 7.8 %		+ 6.9 %		+ 7.0 %		+ 0.9 %		

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

<sup>22</sup> Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.





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

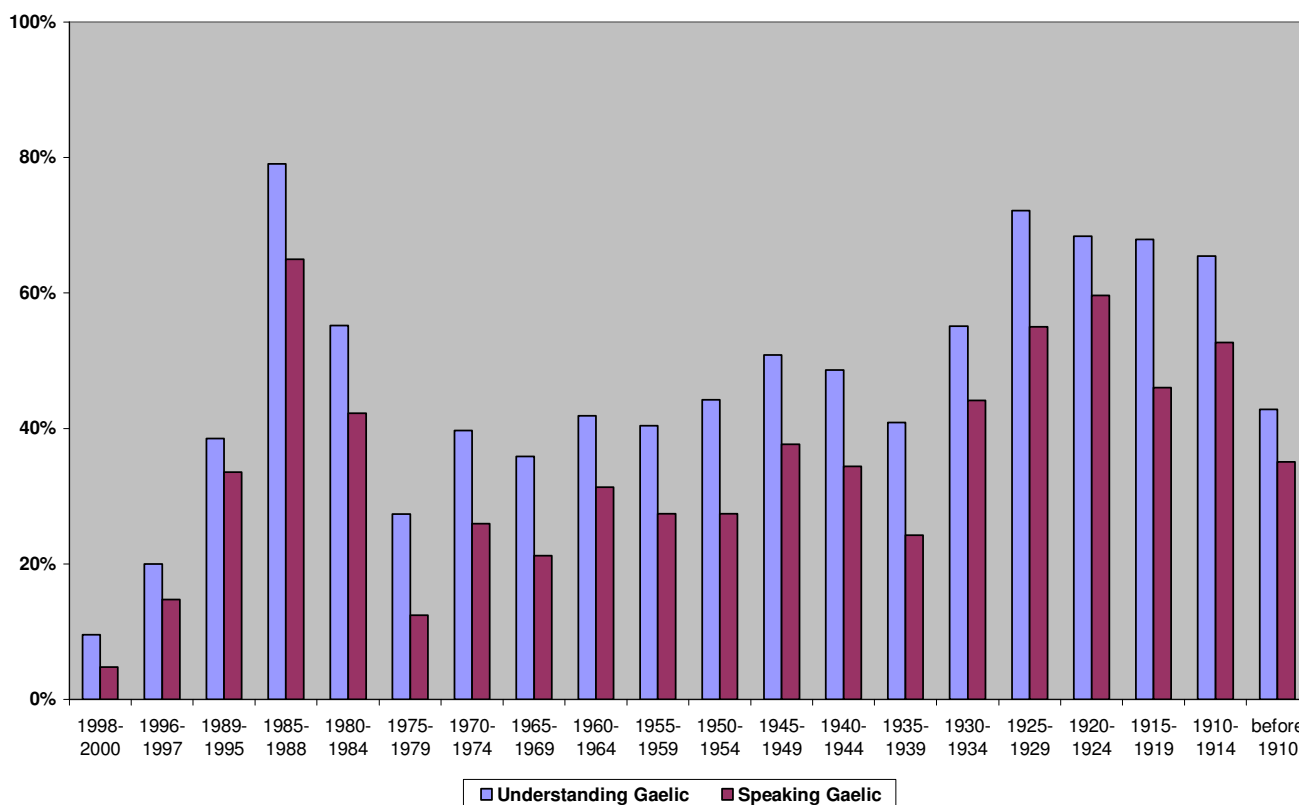
The two islands of *Tìriodh & Colla* (Tìree & Coll) report a rather different state of *Gàidhlig*:

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



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

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



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



Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>23</sup> Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
<b>0-2</b>	2	9.5 %	1	4.8 %	2	9.5 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>3-4</b>	3	20.0 %	0	0.0 %	3	20.0 %	10	40.0 %	<b>-20.0 %</b>
<b>5-11</b>	37	38.5 %	32	33.3 %	36	37.5 %	39	43.3 %	<b>-7.8 %</b>
<b>12-15</b>	34	79.1 %	32	74.4 %	32	74.4 %	13	30.0 %	<b>+44.4 %</b>
<b>16-24</b>	26	41.3 %	19	30.2 %	20	31.8 %	28	37.2 %	<b>-5.4 %</b>
<b>3-24</b>	100	46.1 %	83	38.3 %	91	41.9 %	90	38.6 %	<b>+3.3 %</b>
<b>All ages</b>	482	48.4 %	282	30.2 %	387	41.4 %	455	50.3 %	<b>-8.9 %</b>
<b>Difference</b>		<b>-2.3 %</b>		<b>+8.1 %</b>		<b>+0.5 %</b>		<b>-11.7 %</b>	

Table 11: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) in 2001 and 1991

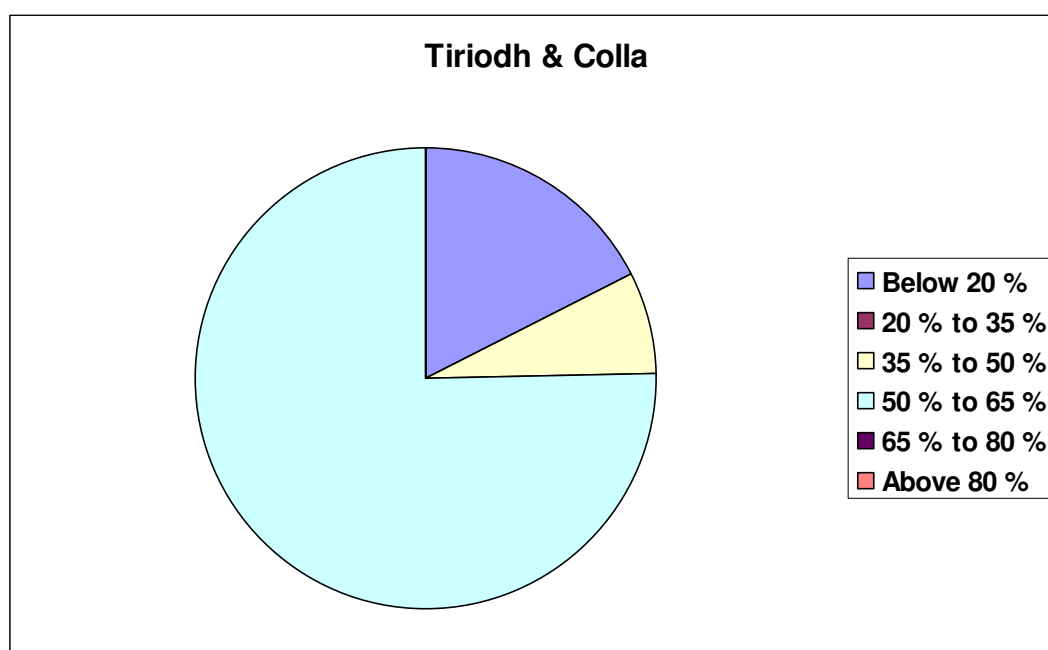


Fig. 13: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to Census 2001

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

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

<sup>23</sup> Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.





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

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

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

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

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



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

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



## 4 Future Perspectives

The comparative strength of the language within these islands in 2001 will be the basis of future growth or decline. The picture is quite different for the two districts. The language community indicator (LCI<sup>24</sup>) is at 25.6 % on *Muile* and a very respectable 56.4 % for *Tiriodh & Colla*. The language viability indicator (LVI<sup>25</sup>) is already positive for *Muile*. It is slightly less encouraging on *Tiriodh & Colla* which points to inadequate educational efforts and insufficient intergenerational language transmission (table 8).

Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
	Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
<b><i>Muile</i> (Mull)</b>	171	24.4 %	551	19.5 %	<b>+ 4.9 %</b>	<b>25.6 %</b>
<b><i>Tiriodh &amp; Colla</i> (Tiree &amp; Coll)</b>	102	42.9 %	452	48.4 %	<b>- 5.5 %</b>	<b>56.4 %</b>
<i>In comparison:</i> <b><i>Earra-Ghàidheal &amp; Bòd</i></b>		6.1 %		7.2 %	<b>- 1.1 %</b>	<b>7.5 %</b>

**Table 13: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Muile* and *Tiriodh & Colla* compared with *Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2001**

On *Muile* the LVI is generally positive except in the southwest where educational provision was practically non-existent (table 18). *Colla* sets a very negative example whereas on *Tiriodh* the LVI ranges from +36.5 % to -43.3 % (table 19). Intergenerational viability there is almost accomplished. The LCI on *Muile* ranges between values of 8.5 % at *Gleann Gorm* (Glengorm) and 40.3 % at *Aiseag Ulbha* (Ulva Ferry). *Colla* data show 16.1 % for *Airigh Leòid* (Arileod) and 26.1 % for *Airigh nan Gobhar* (Arinagour). Very high values for the language community indicator are of course attained on *Tiriodh* with a minimum of 56.4 % at *Baile Mhàrtainn* (Balemartine) and a maximum of 73.3 % at *Sgairinis* (Scarinish). The knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups (also tables 18 and 19) sets the scene for possible improvement potentials in the future. On *Colla* there were virtually no people under the age of 25 reported as knowing some Gàidhlig. On *Muile* percentages were of course much higher with most respectable percentages of 50 % at *Ceann Loch Donn* (Lochdonhead) and in parts of *An Tobar Mhoire* (Tobermory). *Tiriodh* is still the island with most of the young Gàidhlig speakers and very respectable percentages especially in its eastern part (table 19).

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

**In conclusion: Gàidhlig on *Muile* seems to have narrowly escaped from the “point of no return”. The island could provide an excellent example for language resurrection if current initiatives continue - hopefully with increasing vigour. Gàidhlig on *Tiriodh* still constitutes a prominent factor in**

<sup>24</sup> LCI: The "Language Community Indicator" is a measure of the relative strength of the language in the "local" population. It is calculated here by taking the values for Gàidhlig knowledge only for those who were born in Scotland. This is a rough estimation as many who are born in Scotland come from English speaking homes but nevertheless it is a better approximation of language strength than looking simply at the resident population.

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



local life. This status could be enhanced much more successfully, however, if the whole community (and all school children) would have a real chance to embrace *Gàidhlig* as part of their own lives.

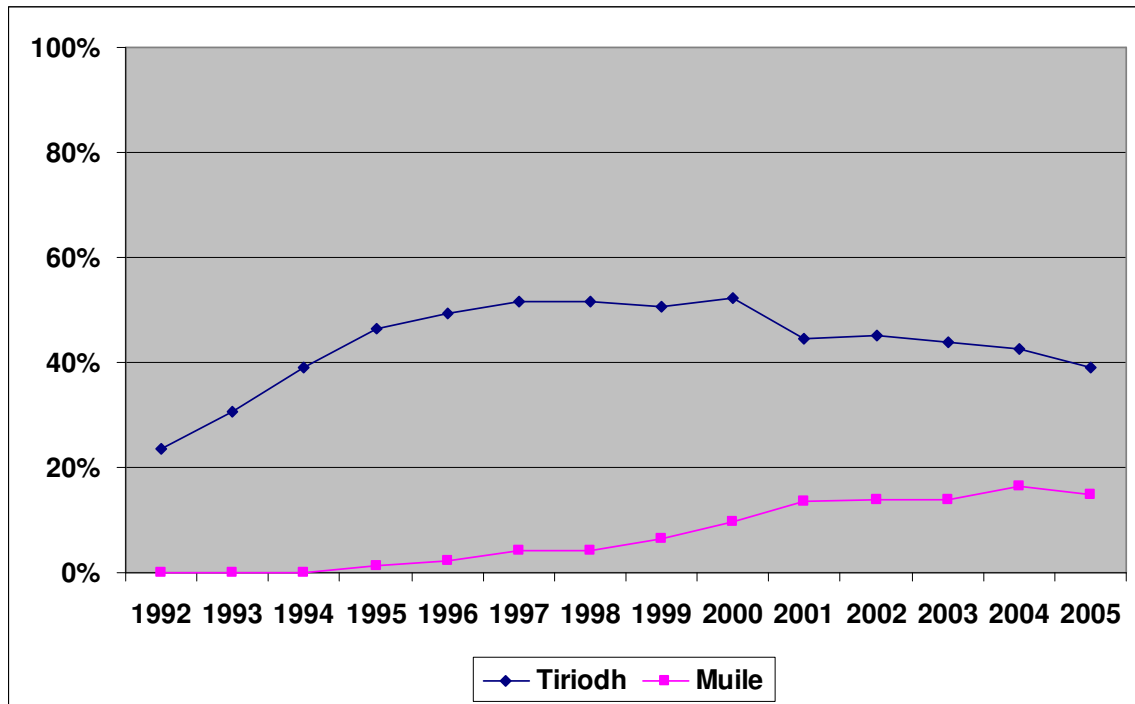
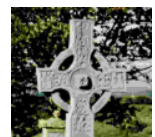


Fig. 14: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes on *Tiriodh* and *Muile* (September 1992 – September 2005)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



## I. Supplementary Tables

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

**Table 14: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001**

Census	<i>Civil Parish</i>				
	<i>Tìriodh</i> (Tìree)	<i>Colla</i> (Coll)	<i>Cill Naoinin &amp; Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilninian & Kilmore)	<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	<i>Cill Fhionnchain &amp; Cill Mhic Eòghain</i> (Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon)
1881	95.5 %	77.8 %	84.8 %	84.6 %	95.1 %
1891	96.2 %	74.5 %	84.0 %	80.0 %	89.9 %
1901	93.4 %	79.9 %	76.8 %	76.9 %	86.7 %
1911	92.3 %	76.3 %	78.6 %	73.7 %	80.5 %
1921	86.4 %	73.1 %	72.7 %	69.1 %	70.7 %
1931	92.6 %	78.6 %	73.4 %	64.3 %	75.8 %
1951	83.7 %	65.2 %	47.1 %	42.5 %	53.8 %
1961	74.4 %	63.9 %	33.4 %	41.1 %	43.8 %
1971	67.4 %	48.3 %	24.1 %	28.4 %	35.9 %
1981	71.7 %	28.2 %	22.3 %	28.1 %	28.0 %
1991	55.9 %	15.1 %	13.8 %	20.5 %	13.5 %
2001	47.5 %	11.6 %	12.9 %	16.3 %	8.7 %

**Table 15: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001**



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

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



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

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



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

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





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

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



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1971: Muile, Tiriodh &amp; Colla</b>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1971<sup>27</sup></b>	3,230	1,280	5
<i>Tiriodh (Tiree) CP</i>	875	585	5
<i>Colla (Coll) CP</i>	145	70	*
<i>Cill Fhionnchain &amp; Cill Mhic Eòghain (Kilfinichen &amp; Kilvickeon) CP</i>	585	210	*
<i>Cill Naoinein &amp; Cill Mhoire (Kilninian &amp; Kilmore) CP</i>	1,080	260	*
<i>Torasaigh (Torosay) CP</i>	545	155	*
<i>--- small burgh and county council electoral divisions ---</i>			
<i>An Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag) (Tobermory Small Burgh)</i>	640	155	*
<i>Muile a Tuath (Mull North)</i>	680	180	*
<i>Muile a Deas (Mull South)</i>	890	285	*
<i>Tiriodh &amp; Colla (Tiree &amp; Coll)</i>	1,020	655	5

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

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

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

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

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



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Argyll) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Tìriodh &amp; Colla</i> (Tìree & Coll)	TC	835 75.7 %	660 66.7 %	582 67.2 %	455 49.9 %	385 42.4 %
<i>Tobar Mhoire (Baile Beag)</i> (Tobermory (Small Burgh))	TM	230 36.1 %	160 26.2 %	163 25.0 %	122 15.1 %	125 13.3 %
<i>Cill Naoinin</i> (Kilninian) <sup>29</sup>	KN	186 33.8 %	105 25.1 %	107 22.0 %	79 11.8 %	64 12.6 %
<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen) <sup>30</sup>	SA	98 45.0 %	75 32.5 %	96 30.9 %	92 24.7 %	68 18.5 %
<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay) <sup>31</sup>	TO	97 39.6 %	75 24.8 %	68 27.8 %	54 17.8 %	42 14.4 %
<i>An Ros Muileach</i> (Ross of Mull) <sup>32</sup>	RM	273 45.6 %	210 37.6 %	160 29.3 %	91 14.1 %	59 8.9 %

**Table 22: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) and some sub-areas according to census data from 1961 to 2001**

<i>Muile: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
<b>0-2</b> <sup>33</sup>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0.0 %
<b>3-4</b>	0	0.0 %	3	3.9 %	6	9.2 %	11	15.9 %
<b>5-24</b>	35	6.7 %	103	16.2 %	122	17.8 %	111	20.2 %
<b>25-44</b>	95	20.0 %	106	16.7 %	58	7.2 %	60	7.7 %
<b>45-64</b>	255	38.9 %	157	30.0 %	92	14.7 %	78	9.6 %
<b>65 +</b>	235	56.6 %	225	52.0 %	160	29.9 %	98	18.4 %
<b>Total (3 years and over)</b>	445	21.0 %	594	25.8 %	438	16.2 %	358	13.1 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	563	33.4 %	407	21.9 %	314	17.6 %

**Table 23: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Muile (Mull) according to data from 1971 to 2001**

<sup>29</sup> Figures are derived from the difference between the civil parish of Kilninian & Kilmore and Tobermory (Small Burgh).

<sup>30</sup> Figures are derived from the difference between the electoral division of Mull North and the civil parish of Kilninian & Kilmore.

<sup>31</sup> Figures are derived from the difference between the electoral division of Mull South and the civil parish of Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon.

<sup>32</sup> Identical to the civil parish of Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon.

<sup>33</sup> Information is only available since 2001.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>34</sup>							
<i>Muile</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 1a	39	24.4 %	23	15.2 %	31	16.2 %
02	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 1b			6	7.7 %	10	10.6 %
03	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 2a	75	30.2 %	24	16.8 %	17	11.3 %
04	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 2b			17	10.9 %	19	15.3 %
05	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 3a	49	20.7 %	14	22.4 %	13	24.1 %
06	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 3b			16	12.8 %	18	22.2 %
07	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 3c			22	12.0 %	17	8.5 %
08	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory) 4	10	16.9 %	12	11.3 %	12	14.0 %
09	<i>Gleann Gorm</i> (Glengorm)					3	3.8 %
10	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig) a	32	18.8 %	30	12.7 %	18	18.4 %
11	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig) b					4	5.2 %
12	<i>Calgarraidh</i> (Calgary)	16	21.6 %	8	10.8 %	7	10.6 %
13	<i>Aiseag Ulbha</i> (Ulva Ferry)	25	56.8 %	22	19.2 %	18	15.9 %
	<i>Na Ceallan</i> (Kellan)	6	16.2 %				
	<i>Cill Naoinin</i> (Kilninian)	7	70.0 %				
	<i>Ulbha &amp; Gomastra</i> (Ulva & Gometra)	1	6.7 %				
14	<i>Aros</i> (Aros)	11	14.1 %	7	5.0 %	2	3.6 %
15	<i>Grùilinn</i> (Gruline)	9	24.3 %	61	25.8 %	26	17.0 %
16	<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen) a	87	31.8 %			15	15.6 %
17	<i>An Sailean</i> (Salen) b			31	22.8 %	27	20.8 %
	<i>Ardura</i> (Ardura)	1	11.1 %	23	22.8 %	11	8.1 %
18	<i>Torasaigh</i> (Torosay)	45	31.5 %	22	19.4 %	21	25.0 %
19	<i>Creag an Iubhair</i> (Craignure)						
20	<i>Ceann Loch Donn</i> (Lochdonhead)	12	18.2 %	9	10.0 %	10	12.8 %
21	<i>Peighinnean a' Ghàidheil</i> (Pennyghael)	10	35.7 %	19	16.7 %	9	7.4 %
	<i>Griobuinn</i> (Gribun)	4	36.4 %				
	<i>An Aird Mheadhanach</i> (Ardmeanach)	3	20.0 %				
	<i>Càrsaig</i> (Carsaig)	14	20.0 %				
22	<i>Bun Easain</i> (Bunessan) a	49	38.5 %	12	17.4 %	10	11.1 %
23	<i>Bun Easain</i> (Bunessan) b			15	14.9 %	9	14.3 %
24	<i>Bun Easain</i> (Bunessan) c	22	26.5 %	6	6.6 %	7	7.5 %
25	<i>Fionnphort</i> (Fionnphort)	40	30.8 %	32	21.9 %	12	10.1 %
26	<i>Ceann na Tràgha</i> (Kintra)					6	9.5 %
27	<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona) a	27	25.2 %	5	6.6 %	6	4.8 %
	<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona) b			2	4.2 %		

**Table 24: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas on *Muile* (Mull) according to data from 1981 to 2001**

<sup>34</sup> Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.



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

Table 25: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to data from 1981 to 2001

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

Table 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Tiriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) according to data from 1971 to 2001

<sup>35</sup> Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.



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

**Table 27: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland on Muile (Mull) according to census data of 2001 – Part A**



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
19	<i>Creag an Iubhair</i> (Craignure)	9	37.5 %	31	36.9 %	+ 0.6 %	37.5 %
20	<i>Ceann Loch Donn</i> (Lochdonhead)	4	50.0 %	14	18.0 %	+ 32.0 %	27.9 %
21	<i>Peighinnean a' Ghàidheil</i> (Pennyghael)	6	30.0 %	20	16.4 %	+ 13.6 %	27.6 %
22	<i>Bun Easain a</i> (Bunessan a)	1	4.8 %	17	18.9 %	- 14.1 %	23.9 %
23	<i>Bun Easain b</i> (Bunessan b)	2	20.0 %	14	22.2 %	- 2.2 %	26.8 %
24	<i>Bun Easain c</i> (Bunessan c)	1	4.8 %	13	14.0 %	- 9.2 %	18.8 %
25	<i>Fionnphort</i> (Fionnphort)	2	8.3 %	21	17.7 %	- 9.4 %	22.4 %
26	<i>Ceann na Tràgha</i> (Kintra)	-	-	10	15.9 %	- 15.9 %	17.0 %
27	<i>Eilean Idhe</i> (Iona)	1	4.8 %	9	7.2 %	- 2.4 %	13.6 %

**Table 28: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland on Muile (Mull) according to census data of 2001 – Part B**



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

**Table 29: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Tiriodh & Colla (Tiree & Coll) according to census data of 2001**





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### III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

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



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



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

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

Census Output Areas in <i>Muile</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC01A	60QD000549
02	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC01B	60QD000550
03	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC02A	60QD000551
04	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC02B	60QD000552
05	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC03A	60QD000553
06	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC03B	60QD000554
07	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	TM	32CC03C	60QD000555
08	<i>Tobar Mhoire</i> (Tobermory)	KN	32CC06 32CC07	60QD000556
09	<i>Gleann Gorm</i> (Glengorm), <i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig), <i>An Linne Dubh</i> (Linndhu), <i>An Sorn</i>	KN	32CC07	60QD000123
10	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig), <i>Cuidhinis</i> (Quinish)	KN	32CC05	60QD000715
11	<i>Dearbhaig</i> (Dervaig), <i>Loch na Cuilce</i> , <i>An Àird Dubh</i> (Ardhu)	KN	32CC05	60QD000716
12	<i>Calgarraidh</i> (Calgary), <i>Cnoc Odhar</i> , <i>Am Peighinn Mòr</i> (Penmore), <i>Cill Chrìosd</i> , <i>Treisinis</i> (Treshnish), <i>Cille Chrònain</i> (Kilchronan), <i>Suaineapol</i> (Sunipol), <i>Am Fàn Mòr</i> (Fanmore), <i>Ceallan</i> (Kellan)	KN	32CC04	60QD000122
13	<i>Aiseag Ulbha</i> (Ulva Ferry), <i>Cill Naoinein</i> (Kilninian), <i>Eilean Ulbha</i> (Isle of Ulva), <i>Gomastra</i> (Isle of Gometra), <i>Osgamul</i> (Oskamull)	KN	32CA01 32CA02 32CA03 32CA04 32CB01	60QD000585
14	<i>Àros</i> , <i>Ceann an t-Sàilein</i> (Kentallen), <i>An Leathad Mòr</i> (Ledmore), <i>Loch Àros</i>	KN	32BZ03	60QD000121

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



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

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Tiriodh &amp; Colla</i>				
Map No.	Census output area <sup>36</sup>	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Baile Mhartainn</i> (Balemartine), <i>Manal</i> (Mannel)	TC	32CE02A	60QD000125
52	<i>Baile Phuill</i> (Balephuill), <i>Haoidhnis</i> (Hynish)	TC	32CE02B	60QD000126
53	<i>Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Balevullin), <i>Sraid Ruadh</i> , <i>Cill Mo Luaig</i> (Kilmaluag)	TC	32CE03A	60QD000127
54	<i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Middleton), <i>Hogh</i> (Hough), <i>Sann-daig</i> (Sandaig), <i>Goirtean Dòmhnail</i> (Barrapoll), <i>Cill Choinnich</i> (Kilkenneth)	TC	32CE03B	60QD000128
55	<i>Crosabol</i> (Crossapoll), <i>An Cruairtean</i> (Heylipol), <i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Balinoe)	TC	32CE04	60QD000129
56	<i>Cornaig Mòr</i> (Cornaimore), <i>Cornaig Beag</i> (Cornaimbeag), <i>Ceann a' Bhàigh</i> (Kenevay), <i>An Àird Mhòr</i> (Ard Mor), <i>Baile Pheadrais</i> (Balephetrish)	TC	32CE05	60QD000130
57	<i>Sgairinis</i> (Scarinish), <i>An Sgèir</i>	TC	32CE06A 32CE01	60QD000131
58	<i>Got</i> (Gott), <i>Am Bàgh</i> (Baugh), <i>Hianais</i> (Heanish), <i>Circepol</i> (Kirkapol)	TC	32CE06B	60QD000132
59	<i>Ruaig</i> , <i>An Caolas</i> , <i>Acarsaid an Dùin</i> , <i>Bhalla</i> (Vaul)	TC	32CE07	60QD000133
60	<i>Airigh Leòid</i> (Arileod), <i>Uige</i> (Uig), <i>An t-Achadh</i> (Acha), <i>Airidh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour)	TC	32CF01	60QD000134
61	<i>Airidh nan Gobhar</i> (Arinagour), <i>A' Ghallanaich</i> (Gallanach), <i>Sòrasdal</i> (Sorisdale)	TC	32CF02	60QD000135

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

<sup>36</sup> Placenames are given according to official information by the Ordnance Survey and used in modern maps. The placenames in the Outer Hebrides do have officially Gàidhlig names. „English“ versions are only used in addition for major settlements. Therefore the old anglicised names are provided in table A-1 for a few prominent locations only.





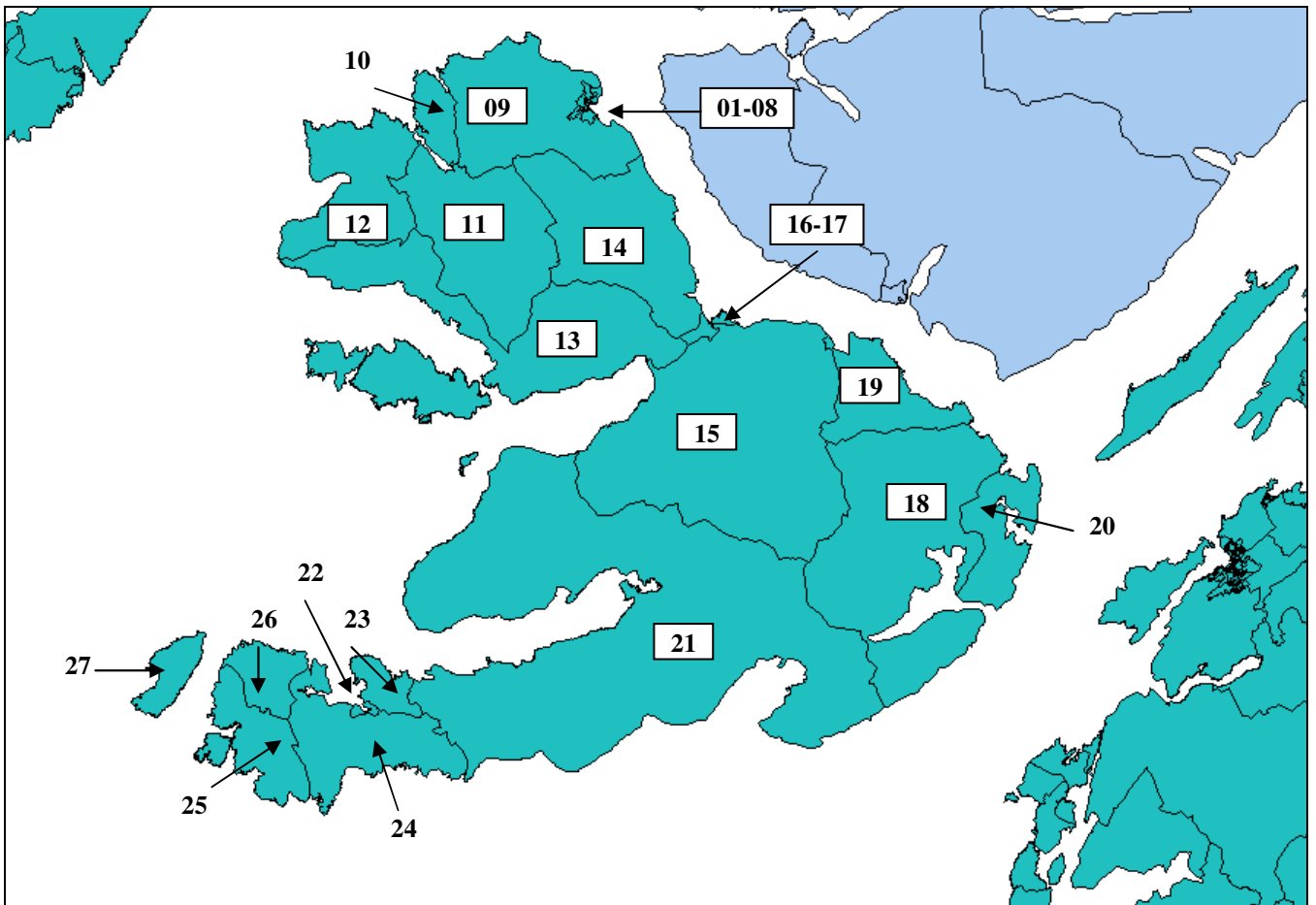


Fig. 15: Overview of census output areas for *Muile* (Mull) - numbers are provided in tables A-1 and A-2 <sup>37</sup>

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



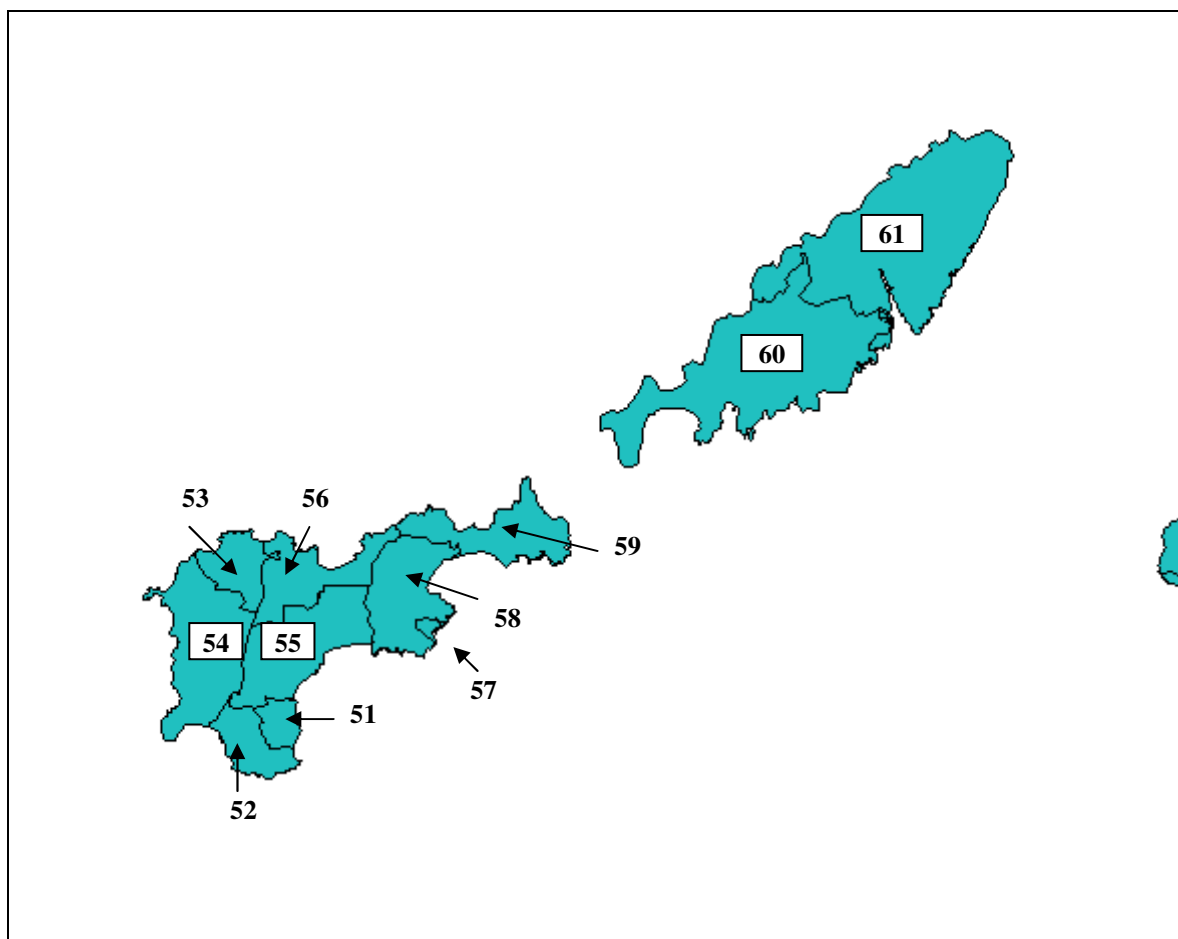


Fig. 16: Overview map of census output areas for *Tìriodh & Colla* (Tiree & Coll) - numbers are provided in table A-3<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census



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## VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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