

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 21: *Bàideanach, Srath Spè, Nàrann & Bràighean Mhàrr* (Badenoch, Strathspey, Nairn & Braes of Mar)

Author: Kurt C. Duwe

Extended² 2nd Edition

March 2024

Executive Summary

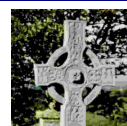
This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic speaking at the end of the 19th century. Based mainly (but not exclusively) on local population census information the reports strive to examine the state of the language through the ages from 1881 until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

The report does not only cover the traditional “Highland” districts of Badenoch and Nairn, but it also describes the situation in a *terra incognita* of Gaelic speech: The north-eastern fringe. Right until the First World War it was commonplace to hear Gaelic on the streets of Grantown-on-Spey, Tomintoul and even Braemar in Aberdeenshire. Equally unknown in many circles is the fact that the last “native speaker” of Aberdeenshire Gaelic died as late as the early 1980s. In Badenoch Gaelic still survived as a community language until the Second World War. Today the language is still being held up in the area by a very small number of speakers. Newtonmore in western Badenoch and Nairn are the only communities where Gaelic still shows some flickering light with Gaelic-medium nursery and primary school education in local schools. Essentially arrived at rock bottom ironically the situation of Gaelic can only improve in this district.

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



Foreword to the Series

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

Important note: Although this text is written in the modern lingua franca for the purpose of maximum readership the object has to take its rightful place. Therefore, *Gàidhlig* placenames or expressions are preferred, and the so-called English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For those unfamiliar with the language: Every Gaelic expression is written in *italics* and the other placenames 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 – Mrs. Anne Blackwood should be mentioned here especially. Crown Copyright on the census data is acknowledged gratefully. Very worthwhile was also the relentless assistance of Mrs. Melissa Barlow of the University of Texas and Mrs. Liz Mackie of the University of Aberdeen who both proved to be very successful in unearthing rare material of more than a century ago. And last but not least thank is also due to the many individuals with whom I spent endless hours of discussion witnessing true Highland hospitality. *Tapadh leibh a h-uile duine!*

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

Kurt C. Duwe

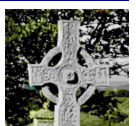


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1 Introduction

The Northeast Grampians with their straths and glens of Spey, Dee and Findhorn are the object of this study. Quite a few county boundaries meet here on the hilltops of the Cairngorms in a sort of transition country between *Gàidhlig* and Doric tradition. Until 1974 the counties of Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, and Inverness all had their share of these Highland parishes. The population is concentrated in a few towns and villages in the lower parts of the straths with *An Aghaidh Mhòr* (Aviemore), *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) and *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey) being the most important ones. Occupations today are mainly related to agriculture, whisky distilling and, of course, tourism.

Without doubt the most famous son of this area has been James Macpherson, the “father” of the Ossianic legends and tales. Traditionally *Gàidhlig* speaking this district experienced a dramatic decline of the language during the last century. Whereas in the 19th century *Gàidhlig* was still the main vernacular in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) and could be heard frequently in *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) and even *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar), the language today is confined to a few enthusiasts and a small bunch of fortunate *Gàidhlig* medium pupils. This report strives to explain how this development came about and where (if any) reasons for hope of language revival exist today.

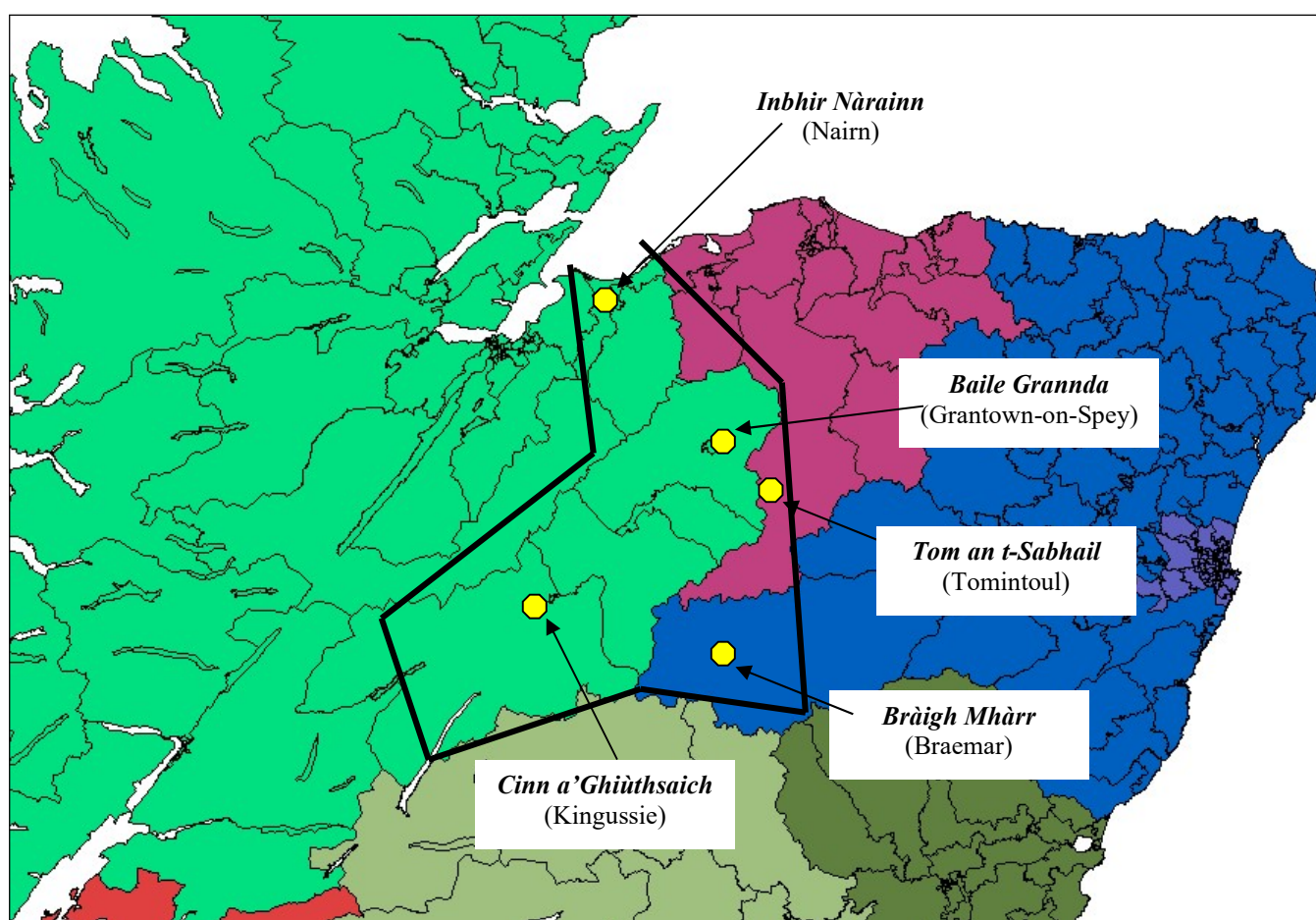


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas³

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



2 The Historical Background

According to Withers (1984) *Gàidhlig* probably ceased to be commonly spoken in the east-central and coastal stretches of Aberdeenshire “some time between 1500 and 1600”. Later the “language frontier” in north-eastern Scotland remained rather static; *Gàidhlig* only marginally giving ground to Doric speech in the lower stretches of Deeside and Strathspey. The scarce information sources from this period are mainly of ecclesiastic origin. Around 1650 still *Gàidhlig* speaking priests were called for in Morayshire places like *Cnoc Cheannachd* (Knockando), *Ràthais* (Rothes) or *Both Sheirm* (Boharm) because a substantial proportion of the people spoke only *Gàidhlig*. In 1705 the Synod of Aberdeen recognised even the parishes of *Mòrthlach* (Mortlach), *Srath Deathain* (Strathdon) and *A’Chabrach* (Cabrach) as *Gàidhlig*-speaking. At the same time *Gleann Buichead* (Glenbuchat) was mentioned in church records as location where the language was widely used (Withers, 1984). Considered as thoroughly *Gàidhlig*-speaking were parishes like *Nàrann* (Nairn), *Inbhir Athfhionn* (Inveravon) and even *Gleann Clàbha* (Glen Clova) in Angus (The General Assembly Committee for the Highland Libraries, 1705-08).

At the end of the 18th century the Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-99) provided a nationwide overview of the situation when parish priests gave their (often prejudiced) opinion about their flock and parish. These parish accounts nevertheless documented some sort of language boundary. The report on *Aodann na Coille* (Edinkillie) in Moray for example mentions: “*In the lower part of the parish, the Scotch dialect of the English language is only spoken; but, in the upper part, the Gaelic is still much in use.*” About neighbouring *Cnoc Cheannachd* (Knockando) the account reckons that “*the Gaelic was generally spoken here until about 50 years ago.*” Circumstances in the glens of Aberdeenshire did show the traditional language retreating further and further: “*...in the upper parts of the parishes of Tulloch and Glengairn ... some of them use a barbarous dialect of the Gaelic among themselves, but they all understand English.(in Strathdon) the language spoken is English, or rather broad Scotch, excepting in Curgarff. The people there, especially in the upper part of that district, speak also a kind of Gaelic; but that language among them is much on the decline.*” The language in parishes like *Caladar* (Cawdor) and *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar), however, did still appear in a very healthy state in this period.

Some years earlier reports had been produced on behalf of the General Assembly Committee on the state of religion and education in the Highlands and Islands (Walker, 1808). A very remarkable result was the estimation of *Gàidhlig*-speaking parts of the population in Scottish counties about 1765: These were given for Aberdeen at 7.6 %, Banff at 9.7 %, Moray at 23.0 % and Nairn at 50.4 %. These estimations were very rough figures and have to be taken with a substantial pinch of salt. However, they underline that *Gàidhlig* still had a foothold in Scotland's North-East at the time.

Half a century later conditions for survival were even more precarious in the more marginal *Gàidhlig* communities. A rough definition of the “language boundary” then might be as follows: The “Celtic side” included the western half of *Nàrainn*, the whole parish of *Caladar*, the southern half of *Aird Chlach*, the western half of *Aodann na Coille*, the entire parishes of *Crombail* and *Cill Mhìcheil*, the uppermost part of *Srath Deathain* and the areas of *Gleann Garthain* and *Bràigh Mhàrr*.

The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1834-42) reported for the parish of *Cill Mhìcheil* (Kirk-michael) in Banffshire: “*The language generally spoken is the Gaelic, but it has decreased very considerably within the last forty years. There is not an individual between twelve and forty years who cannot speak English. They all read English, and there are many of the rising generation who cannot speak Gaelic.*” Some additional hints about the linguistic division in nearby parishes were given by the descriptions about *Crombail* (“*Gaelic is the language generally spoken by the great body of the common people, particularly the old; but almost the whole population, young and old, speak and understand the English language. Indeed, in the lower part of the parish, English is preferred, from its proximity to Inveravon and Knockando, where no Gaelic is spoken.*”) and *Inbhir Athfhionn* (“*Towards the borders of Kirk-michael and Cromdale, Gaelic is spoken by a few; but it is fast dying out, and the number who either speak or understand it, is becoming smaller every year*”). Further



downstream the situation was also not favourable like in *Dalais* (Dallas): “Not many years ago, the Gaelic language was spoken by the whole people of the parish, and most of the places still retain Gaelic names. There are not, however, now above twelve persons in the parish who understand that language.” In neighbouring *Cnoc Cheannachd* (Knockando) things were similar: “Not very long ago, the Gaelic tongue was spoken in the parish. There are now, however, not above a dozen individuals who understand it, and not the half of these natives.”

The state of Gàidhlig in rural *Siorrachd Nàrainn* (Nairnshire) seemed to be only slightly more comfortable. *Caladar* (Cawdor) was described as forming “the extreme limit of the Gaelic district in this direction, there being nothing but English spoken beyond its eastern boundary.” In the adjacent parish of *Àird Chlach* (Ardclach) the language boundary was still existing along the well-known lines: “The language now generally spoken is English; but in the upper or southern district of the parish they continue to speak the native Gaelic, though, within the last forty years, it has been gradually losing ground ..”.

In the area covered by this report – especially in *Bàideanach* - there were of course still strongholds of Gàidhlig where it was used as local vernacular by almost everyone – except nobility and schoolmasters of course. The parish priest of *Lagan* (Laggan) documented the widely belief of superiority held by the monolingual upper class: “The language of the people is Gaelic; but many understand English, which is always spoken by the better sort of people.”

Accordingly at the time of the first Gaelic census enumerations in 1881 the “bilingual corridor” ran from the town of *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) south-eastwards towards the upland village of *Tom an t-Sabhail* (Tomintoul) in Banffshire, then via *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar) in Aberdeenshire to *Gleann Sith* (Glen Shee) in Perthshire. This report then is concerned with the north-eastern *Gaidhealtachd* of *Bàideanach* (Badenoch), *Nàrann* (Nairn) and some neighbouring parishes in the counties of Moray, Banff and Aberdeen. Within a century the language was destined to total collapse in this area as fig. 2 illustrates clearly.

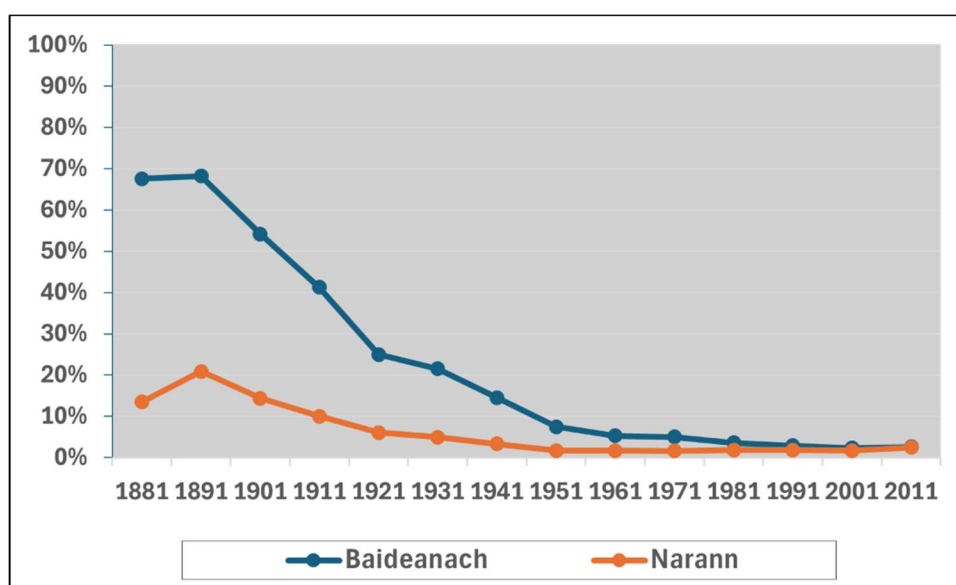


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) in comparison with *Nàrann* (Nairn)⁴

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



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

Apart from Gaels in *Bàideanach* most of the *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the area were already beyond their prime age at the turn of the 19th century. Just a few children were fortunate enough to learn the language of their forebears as a mother tongue.

There were of course large geographical variations of the strength of *Gàidhlig* and these were documented in great detail in the early census results of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. The first census questions in 1881 were concerned with those who were “habitually” speaking *Gàidhlig* and more than a third of the population of *Bàideanach* and *Nàrann* were still reported as using the language intensively. Most speakers were bilingual. A mere hundred were reported to speak “only” *Gàidhlig* in 1891 (tables 25-31). Until 1931 the number of speakers was to dwindle to just below 2,000 people in *Bàideanach* and *Nàrann* (see table 1).

In the neighbouring parishes of *Srath Spè* and the glens of *Am Monadh Ruadh* (Cairngorm Mountains) the language was vanishing even faster. Although widely considered as staunch Doric heartlands the counties of Moray (then called Elginshire), Banffshire and Aberdeenshire still boasted some *Gàidhlig* communities in their westernmost parts in the Grampian Mountains. Several districts around *Baile Grànnda* (Grantown-on-Spey), *Tom an t-Sabhail* (Tomintoul) and *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar) still had respectable *Gàidhlig*-speaking communities at the end of the 19th century. Largely ignored by the county administrations in Elgin, Banff and Aberdeen a few local folks still withstood the trend and stubbornly refused being assimilated in the culture of “Gods own Country”. The following subchapters describe the local conditions in the five counties concerned in more detail.

<i>Bàideanach & Nàrann</i> ⁵						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	5,883	6,654	4,990	3,808	2,516	1,867
% of total population	36.1 %	41.1 %	31.1 %	23.4 %	15.1 %	12.4 %

Table 1: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Bàideanach & Nàrann* (Badenoch & Nairn) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

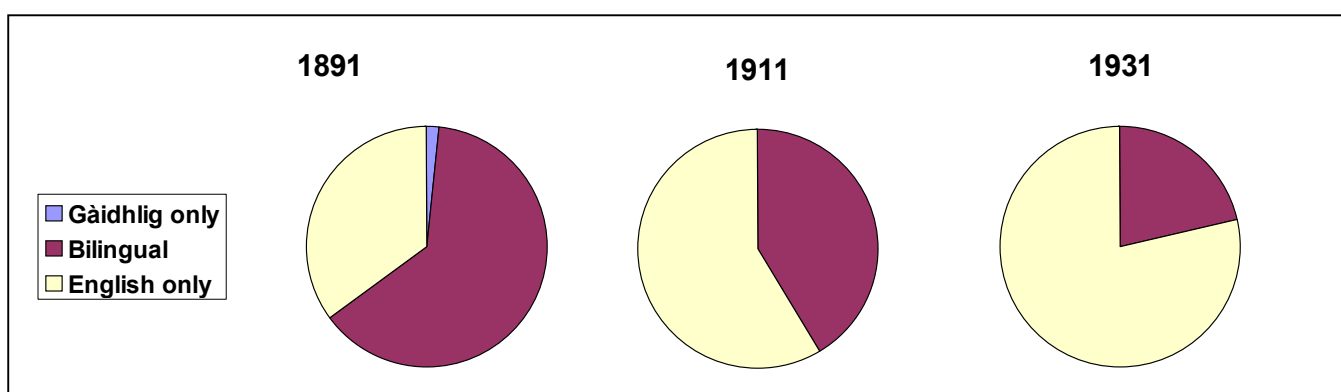


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in *Bàideanach* according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

⁵ For the purpose of historic continuity only areas in the former counties of Inverness and Nairn are considered in this table. There are no local census data available for individual parts of Morayshire, Banffshire and Aberdeenshire for the period 1921-1971.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in western parts of <i>Baideanach</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁶	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁷				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁸		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn & Cluanaidh</i> (Balgown & Cluny)	201 85.2%	131 70.1%	107 69.0%	96 66.7%	2 1.5%	–	–
<i>Garbhghaisg & An Lagan</i> (Gergask & Laggan)	142 92.8%	106 82.2%	69 76.7%	47 58.8%	4 3.8%	2 2.9%	1 2.1%
<i>Garbh Beag & Creathadh</i> (Garvabeg & Crathie)	65 82.2%	73 86.9%	56 94.9%	38 62.3%	10 13.7%	3 5.4%	–
<i>Obar Ardair & Loch an Lagain</i> (Aberarder & Loch Laggan)	129 87.2%	121 82.9%	101 80.8%	97 71.3%	1 0.8%	2 2.0%	2 2.1%
<i>Beinn Eallair & Ceann Locha</i> (Ben Alder & Kinloch)	45 76.3%	37 69.8%	58 95.1%	49 69.0%	–	–	–
<i>Breacachaidh & Druim a'Ghaisg</i> (Breakachy & Drumgask)	139 94.6%	107 77.0%	83 69.2%	69 63.9%	3 2.8%	1 1.2%	–
<i>Dail Chuinnidh & Druim Uachdar</i> (Dalwhinnie & Drumochter)	150 86.2%	131 70.1%	97 50.8%	74 31.8%	6 4.6%	1 1.0%	–
<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich</i> (Kingussie)	300 46.5%	399 53.9%	401 41.4%	403 34.4%	5 1.3%	2 0.5%	–
<i>Bail' Ur an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore)	277 81.5%	267 73.4%	324 67.8%	301 46.7%	2 0.7%	–	1 0.3%
<i>Gleann Beannchar & Gleann Gòineig</i> (Glen Banchor & Glen Gynack)	235 94.0%	148 80.4%	111 74.0%	75 55.6%	–	–	–
<i>Eadrais & Fothairis</i> (Ettridge & Phoness)	55 38.2%	91 70.5%	67 63.8%	36 43.9%	1 1.1%	–	–
<i>Gleann Tromaidh & Ruadhainn</i> (Glen Tromie & Ruthven)	105 69.1%	73 64.6%	52 49.1%	41 46.6%	2 2.7%	–	–
<i>Druim a'Ghiuthsaich & Sgìre Innis</i> (Drumguish & Insh)	282 81.7%	191 85.7%	133 77.8%	110 65.1%	2 1.0%	1 0.8%	1 0.9%
<i>Gleann Fhèisidh</i> (Glen Feshie)	182 70.5%	245 74.0%	151 66.5%	114 56.7%	1 0.4%	1 0.7%	–
<i>Dail Radaidh & Lann a'Bhuilg</i> (Dalraddy & Lynwilg)	78 66.1%	76 64.4%	70 54.7%	48 44.9%	–	–	–
<i>Dail a'Phùir & Ceann na Creige</i> (Dalifours & Kincaig)	180 70.3%	97 51.1%	117 57.6%	104 36.6%	5 5.2%	1 0.9%	1 1.0%
<i>Baile Bhile & Lainn a'Chait</i> (Balavil & Lynchat)	109 85.8%	90 70.3%	41 48.2%	26 27.7%	3 3.3%	–	–
<i>Inbhir Dhrùidh & Dr. na Cuingleum</i> (Inverdrue & Coylumbridge)	125 85.6%	107 79.9%	64 68.1%	40 31.7%	1 0.9%	1 1.6%	–
<i>An Dùn & Loch an Eilein</i> (Doune & Loch an Eilein)	96 65.3%	99 75.0%	63 55.8%	47 40.2%	7 7.1%	–	–

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in western parts of *Baideanach* (Badenoch) between 1881 and 1911

⁶ Enumeration division.

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

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



2.1.1 Bàideanach (Badenoch)

The upper straths and glens of *Bàideanach* were of course as strongly *Gàidhlig* as most of the Highlands in those days (see table 2). Remote *Lagan* reported the highest percentage with 88.3 % “habitual” *Gàidhlig*-speakers in 1881 but then all rural parts of the district had respectable figures, too. *Albhaidh* (Alvie) and *Obar Neithich* (Abernethy) had two-thirds of their population speaking the language in 1891. Even in villages like *Bail’ Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) *Gàidhlig* was still predominant. The only exception from this rule was the small town of *Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh* (Kingussie) where English monoglots were already in the majority around 1901.

Gàidhlig monolingualism on the other hand was a minor issue in the area at the end of the 19th century and mainly confined to elderly people. In 1891 just 105 persons were returned as “speaking Gaelic only” in *Bàideanach*. In completely *Gàidhlig* speaking households the old generation sometimes returned to their mother tongue. Such family situation swiftly died out because almost all children were raised as English monoglots “to get on in life”. Eventually no “Gaelic only” return was reported in *Bàideanach* during the 1931 census.

Generally, *Gàidhlig* was still in a healthy state in the area in 1891. Intergenerational transmission appeared successful especially in the more western parishes. Analysis of original census forms enables a look at the birthplace of enumerated *Gàidhlig* speakers. Focussing on the civil parish of *Lagan* (Laggan) census returns (table 3) saw also many locally born children as *Gàidhlig* speakers. Thus, the vast majority of speakers of the language was not “imported” from somewhere else. This fact was also revealed by looking at census returns in eastern parts of *Bàideanach*.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in the civil parish of <i>Lagan</i> in 1891							
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
<i>Lagan</i>	373	11	51	64	62	88	55	42
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh & Sgìre Innis</i>	80	-	3	11	21	26	15	4
<i>Siorrachd Inbhirnis (a’chuid eile)</i>	116	1	1	6	20	44	34	10
<i>Siorrachd Pheairt</i>	28	-	3	-	8	7	10	-
<i>Rois & Chrombaidh</i>	15	-	-	-	2	5	4	4
<i>Earra-Ghaidheal</i>	13	-	2	-	2	4	4	1
<i>Àiteachan eile</i>	28	-	-	3	6	12	7	-

Table 3: *Gàidhlig* speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions⁹ in the civil parish of *Lagan* (Laggan) in 1891

Further east at *Sgiath Churr & Drochaid Thulnain* on the left bank of the *Uisge Spè* (River Spey) the picture was slightly different from *Lagan* in 1891. The main settlement of this area was the hamlet of *Sgiath Churr* (Skye of Curr). The remaining population lived rather scattered around the district in a handful of farms and crofting dwellings like *Achadh na h-Annaid* (Achnahannet).

The analysis of individual census returns revealed (Duwe, 2006)¹⁰: “Although situated at the eastern language boundary the district was still mainly *Gàidhlig* speaking in 1891. English monolingualism was only prominent in the age groups below 15 years – in the remaining generations four out of five persons spoke *Gàidhlig* at that time. There were no “Gaelic only” speakers around on the other hand. The language was strongest in the

⁹ Registration district of Laggan (seven enumeration divisions).

¹⁰ After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911.



hamlet of Drochaid Thulnain (Dulnain Bridge) with 84.8 % of the usually resident population still speaking the traditional language. In original census report terms the district had a population of 437 persons of all ages. 216 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” leading to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 49.4%. This was a substantial under-estimate of 8.3 % compared with the realistic figures taking into account only the usually resident population!”

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in eastern parts of Baideanach – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹¹	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹²				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹³		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Coit a'Ghartain & Deisear (Boat of Garten & Deshar)	205 52.4%	237 60.2%	167 48.0%	131 39.5%	24 10.1%	1 0.6%	–
An Aghaidh Mhòr (Aviemore)	246 75.9%	230 63.4%	171 46.8%	108 25.9%	9 3.9%	2 1.2%	1 0.9%
Daothal & Am Bog Ruadh (Duthil & Bogroy)	246 64.4%	314 49.4%	208 50.2%	141 43.9%	6 2.0%	3 1.5%	–
Drochaid Churra (Carrbridge)	220 80.3%	213 63.6%	132 43.6%	96 34.9%	5 2.3%	–	–
Obair Neithich (Nethy Bridge)	139 25.9%	234 48.4%	198 44.0%	176 37.4%	–	–	–
Ruigh a'Bhaic & Blàr Gorm (Revack & Blairgorm)	187 54.0%	195 68.4%	132 49.1%	90 42.5%	1 0.5%	–	–
Gleann Bhruthainn & Br. Obair N. (Glenbrown & Braes of Abernethy)	116 69.5%	127 63.2%	77 38.5%	46 24.2%	2 1.6%	1 1.3%	–
Muilinn Gairbheach & Loch Gàrtain (Mullingaroch & Loch Garten)	93 51.4%	100 75.8%	75 70.1%	34 33.7%	4 4.0%	–	–
Cinn Chàrdainn & Tulach (Kincardine & Tulloch)	245 81.9%	182 71.9%	165 65.2%	140 55.1%	5 2.7%	2 1.2%	–
Drochaid Thulnain & Sgiath Churr (Dulnain Bridge & Skye of Curr)	206 58.9%	188 49.5%	116 41.7%	92 25.9%	–	1 0.9%	–
Achadh na h-Annaid & Mucrach (Auchnahannet & Muckrach)	9 9.8%	28 49.1%	36 37.5%		–	1 2.9%	–

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in eastern parts of Baideanach (Badenoch) between 1881 and 1911

Even in the easternmost parts of Bàideanach, however, percentages of language knowledge remained high – notably around Loch Gàrtain (Loch Garten) and Daothal (Duthil). The gradient in Gàidhlig speaking percentage from West to East was due to an ageing speaker community in the parishes near the county boundary. In figures 4 and 5 the age profiles of the Gàidhlig speaking populations of Lagan (Laggan) and Sgiath Churr (Skye of Curr) underline this fact.

¹¹ Enumeration division.

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

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



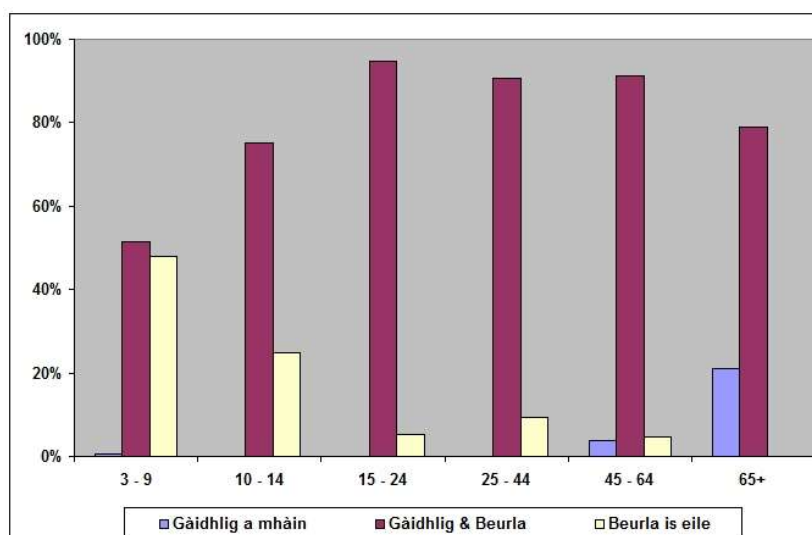


Fig. 4: Age profile in *Lagan* (Laggan) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig & English*, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all

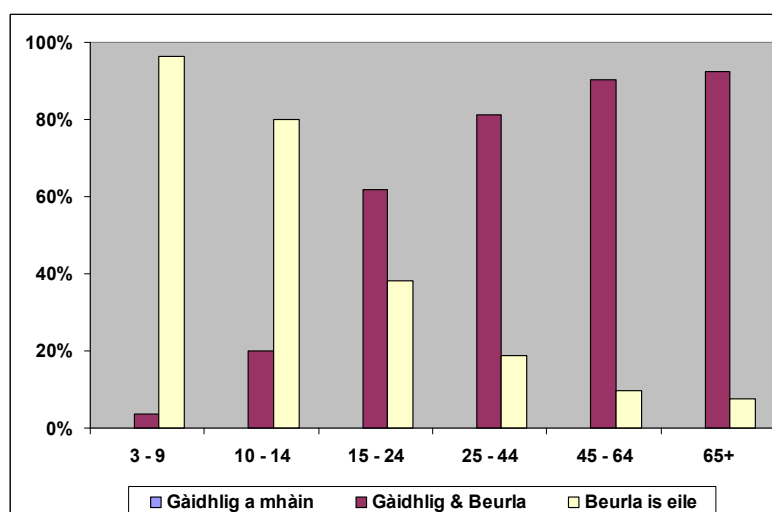


Fig. 5: Age profile in *Sgiath Churr* (Skye of Curr) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig & English*, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all

Gradually the local language retreated, however, with the fastest erosion taking place in the villages and townships of the eastern parishes. The parish of *Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais* (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) lost its *Gàidhlig* speaking majority in 1901. Eventually the western parish of *Lagan* (Laggan) was the last area in *Bàideanach* where *Gàidhlig*-speaking became a minority issue. This occurred in 1921. Ten years later the last census before World War II saw 36.4 % of the population of this remote parish able to speak the local tongue (table 24).



2.1.2 Nàrann (Nairn)

Further east the flat and fertile land of **Nàrann (Nairn)** had already seen its *Gàidhlig* tradition weakened before the first census information on *Gàidhlig*-speaking was collected. Tradition has it that “*Gaelic is spoken on the western banks of the River Nairn, English on the eastern ...*” This statement may have had some merits a few decades before the 1881 census date. But notably roughly a third of inhabitants still spoke *Gàidhlig* in 1891 (see table 6) – especially in the western parishes of *Nàrann* bordering Inverness-shire. Nonetheless many local *Gàidhlig*-speakers were elderly, and the demographic time bomb was ticking.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in rural parts of <i>Siorrachd Nàrainn</i> in 1891							
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
<i>Crothaigh (Nàrann)</i>	43	-	1	2	6	14	13	7
<i>Caladar</i>	158	-	4	4	12	44	54	40
<i>Àird Chlach</i>	98	-	1	-	5	30	33	29
<i>Nàrainn</i>	68	-	-	2	9	17	24	16
<i>Allt Eireann</i>	11	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois (Inbhirnis)</i>	74	-	1	1	16	25	25	6
<i>Siorrachd Inbhirnis (a'chuid eile)</i>	447	-	3	7	51	157	144	85
<i>Siorrachd Mhoireibh</i>	21	-	1	1	1	8	8	2
<i>Siorrachd Rois & Chrombaidh</i>	235	-	1	3	40	83	84	24
<i>Aiteachan eile</i>	48	1	1	-	4	18	20	4

Table 5: *Gàidhlig* speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions¹⁴ in the rural parts of *Siorrachd Nàrainn* (Nairnshire) in 1891

Those speakers were not exclusively migrants from “traditional” highland communities further west. A closer look at census returns from the rural parts of the county in 1891 reveals that a substantial number of speakers was of local origin (table 5). Except for *Allt Eireann* (Auldearn) every parish boasted significant numbers of locally born *Gàidhlig* speakers.

In 1891 local details (table 6) include high proportions of *Gàidhlig* speakers around *Canntara* (41.9 %), *Cluanais* (39.9 %) and *Cill Ràthaig* (38.9 %). On the other hand, very interesting is the almost total absence of the language in the Fishertown part of *Inbhir Nàrainn*.

Some “corrected” 1891 details about two local areas in the south and west of the county are cited below (Duwe, 2006): “*At this time intergenerational language transmission of the Gàidhlig language had almost come to a halt in the district of Flionais (Fleenas) and Cnoc an Eòrna (Knockaneorn). Whereas still a majority of residents beyond the age of 25 spoke the language almost none of the younger folk spoke the tongue of their ancestors. On the other hand, Gàidhlig was still overwhelmingly spoken among the elderly. Geographically the strength of the language was rather diverse. The highest percentages were recorded in the tiny settlements around Beannchar & Na Bothachan (Banchor & Boath) and Cnoc an Eòrna & Tom Lòin (Knockaneorn & Tomloan) with a 40 % share of Gàidhlig speakers.*” – “*The language had apparently declined in use since the 1870s as the age structure of the Gàidhlig speaking community suggests. It is quite clear that Caladar (Cawdor) had been a genuine part of the Gàidhlig speaking world as also locally born people were returned as speaking the traditional language as well as English. Gàidhlig was less strong in the village (26.6%) than in some other loca-*

¹⁴ Registration districts of Cawdor (6 enumeration divisions), Ardclach (6 enumeration divisions), Auldearn (5 enumeration divisions), Croy & Dalcross (enumeration divisions no. 1 and no. 2) and Nairn (enumeration divisions no. 13 and no. 14). Thus, figures represent all parts of the county apart from the town of *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) itself.



tions nearby like Baile nan Coitear & Baile an Todhair (Cotterton & Ballintore) where 64.3% still spoke the language.”

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Siorrachd Nàrainn – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> ¹⁷ (Nairn (Small Burgh))	168 4.6%	450 15.1%	361 11.2%	277 7.6%	4 0.9%	—	—
<i>Baile nan Iasgairean</i> (Fishertown)		57 5.6%	14 1.3%	18 2.3%	—	—	—
<i>Baile Bhlàir</i> (Balblair)	97 30.1%	113 29.2%	100 25.6%	31 13.5%	1 0.3%	3 1.5%	—
<i>Ach' Rèidh</i> (Achareidh)	35 17.9%	60 24.0%	44 11.3%	21 8.1%	—	—	—
<i>Cill Droma</i> (Kildrummie)	134 44.1%	88 30.3%	59 18.6%	75 19.5%	—	—	—
<i>Geadais</i> (Geddes)	4 1.0%	89 31.7%	74 24.0%	51 15.5%	—	—	—
<i>Cill Ràthaig</i> (Kilravock)	212 33.4%	140 38.9%	98 33.8%	62 19.8%	3 2.2%	4 4.3%	—
<i>Canntara</i> (Cantray)		125 41.9%	77 30.3%	45 31.3%	3 2.5%	1 1.3%	—
<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor)		77 21.0%	83 22.4%	72 19.7%	—	1 1.2%	—
<i>A'Bhraclaich</i> (Brackla)	239 22.3%	112 32.3%	50 15.7%	32 6.4%	1 0.9%	—	—
<i>Cluanais</i> (Clunas)		125 39.9%	80 30.5%	55 25.3%	—	—	1 1.8%
<i>Aird Chlach</i> (Ardclach)		72 19.1%	44 20.6%	22 11.3%	—	—	—
<i>Gleann Fùirneis</i> (Glenferness)	199 17.8%	49 14.9%	25 11.3%	23 9.3%	1 2.1%	1 4.2%	—
<i>Allt Mhigeil</i> (Meikle Burn)		106 37.2%	72 21.4%	43 13.5%	—	—	—
<i>Allt Èireann</i> (Auldearn Village)	44 12.1%	67 18.4%	39 12.1%	37 11.3%	1 1.5%	1 2.5%	—
<i>Muighnis & Bràghaid</i> (Moyness & Brodie)	16 1.7%	78 8.2%	117 12.4%	69 7.5%	—	1 0.9%	—

Table 6: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in districts of Siorrachd Nàrainn (Nairnshire) between 1881 and 1911

In 1911 in Siorrachd Nàrainn (Nairnshire) only 27 out of a total of 929 Gàidhlig-speakers were younger than 20 years. Even in those days, however, not all Gàidhlig-speakers in the county were immigrants

¹⁵ Enumeration division, burgh or village.

¹⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁷ Burgh apart from enumeration divisions no. 1 and no. 2 (Fishertown).



from stronger Gàidhlig-speaking areas. Quoting official census reports: “Of those so returned (in Nairnshire) at this census, all except three were born in Scotland – 156 being born in the County of Nairn; 410 in the County of Inverness; and 263 in the County of Ross and Cromarty....”. Naturally enough most of these locally born Gàidhlig-speakers would have come from places like *Caladar* (Cawdor) or *Crothaigh* (Croy). In 1911 in Scotland as a whole 514 speakers were counted who were born in the county.

From 1921 onwards census information about the county unfortunately is rather scarce. No local detail about Gàidhlig-speakers is available about areas beyond the “traditional” Highland counties. County-wide figures are nonetheless revealing. The fate of the language, however, was predictable – without any official support and encouragement the number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the county fell sharply with 537 speakers (6.1 %) enumerated in 1921. Just 14 of those speakers were under 20 years of age.

In 1931 only 410 (5.2 %) were recorded in *Siorrachd Nàrainn*. In Scotland the number of speakers born in the county also decreased with 304 counted in 1921 and 194 in 1931. It is easy to contemplate that “native” speakers had disappeared shortly after Word War II.

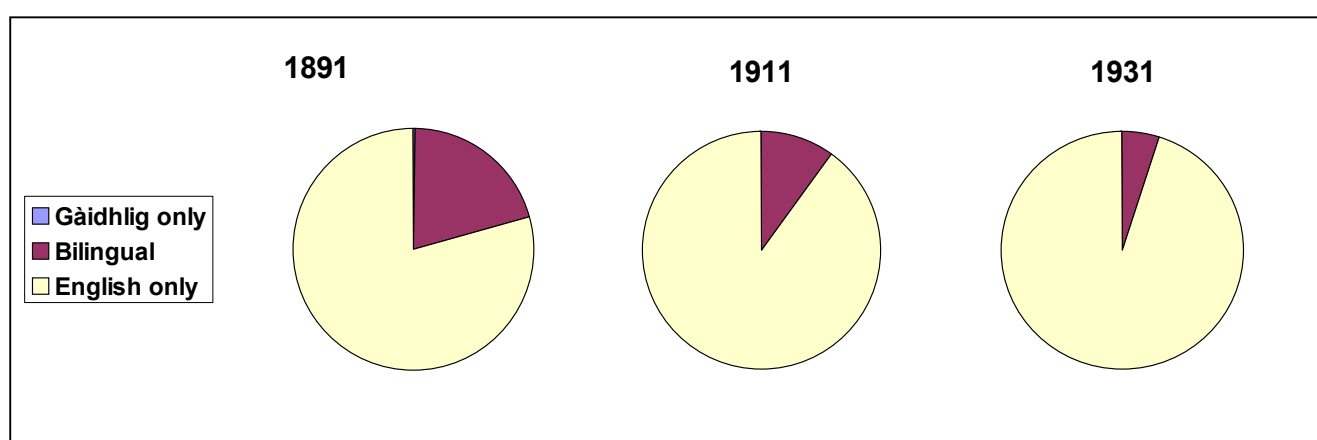


Fig. 6: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in Nàrann according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

2.1.3 Moireabh (Moray)

The county of Moray is not generally associated with the Gàidhlig language and culture although in former times inhabitants of parishes as far east as *Cnoc Cheannachd* (Knockando) and *Dalais* (Dallas) had been declared as Gàidhlig speakers. Nonetheless at the end of the 19th century a considerable number of native speakers lived within the boundaries of the county - especially in the Speyside town of *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey) and its neighbouring rural parishes of *Crombail* (Cromdale) and *Àbhaidh* (Advie). In 1891 for example the majority of enumerated Gàidhlig speakers were native speakers in the rural parts of this Speyside region (see table 8).

Of course, the strongholds of the language were to be found in places like *Druim Ghiuthais & An Damhath* (Druimgush & Dava) and *Inbhir Ailein & Lìon Mòr* (Inverallan & Lynemore) on the county boundaries with Inverness and Nairn. But even in the parishes of *Dìg & A'Mhòigh* (Dyke & Moy) and *Aodann na Coille* (Edinkillie) a few hamlets had respective percentages of Gàidhlig speakers (see table 7). In other places like *Dalais* (Dallas) and *Forrais* (Forres) most speakers originated from outside the county, however. Therefore, it can be stated with some certainty that the “Gaelic speaking area” in the county was almost exclusively confined to the parish of *Inbhir Ailein, Crombail & Àbhaidh* (Inverallan, Cromdale and Advie) in 1891. Of course, the language retreated further in the coming decades but even in 1911 some places had still more than 30 % Gàidhlig speakers counted in the census.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in western parts of <i>Siorrachd Mhoireabh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁸	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey)	196 13.9%	468 32.9%	338 21.6%	159 11.7%	4 0.9%	–	–
<i>Druim Ghiuthais & An Damhath</i> (Druimgush & Dava)	99 28.5%	142 46.0%	80 32.4%	68 33.8%	–	–	–
<i>Goirtean & Creagan</i> (Gorton & Creggan)	36 12.9%	89 35.9%	59 33.3%	51 21.2%	–	–	–
<i>Inbhir Ailein & Lìon Mòr</i> (Inverallan & Lynemore)	34 59.7%	64 28.7%	31 16.7%	–	–	–	–
<i>Baranachd Chrombail an Iar</i> (Barony of Cromdale West)	60 32.8%	62 36.7%	34 17.7%	18 12.0%	1 1.6%	–	–
<i>Baranachd Chrombail an Ear</i> (Barony of Cromdale East)	38 24.5%	40 21.6%	63 27.4%	31 15.3%	1 2.6%	–	–
<i>Abhaidh & Dail a'Mhàigh</i> (Advie & Dalvey)	59 18.6%	27 11.6%	28 11.6%	12 5.8%	–	–	–
<i>Gleann Tulchan & An Leithdach</i> (Glentulchan & Lettoch)	46 32.6%	32 32.7%	19 24.1%	9 9.3%	–	–	–
<i>Dail a'Phùir</i> (Delliefure)	33 20.9%	50 35.5%	36 30.0%	25 23.1%	–	–	–
<i>Achadh nan Arbha & An Doire Roid</i> (Achnarrow & Derraid)	84 39.8%	89 46.6%	63 34.1%	37 27.6%	1 1.1%	–	–
<i>Dig & A'Mhòigh (Tuath)</i> (Dyke & Moy (North))	53 4.1%	40 7.8%	48 7.6%	37 5.9%	–	–	–
<i>Logaidh Bochanaidh & Taranaich</i> (Logiebuchany & Darnaway)	27 17.2%	14 10.2%	9 7.1%	–	–	–	–
<i>Bràighean Mhòigh</i> (Braes of Moy)	26 10.7%	19 6.8%	11 4.1%	–	–	–	–
<i>Bràigh Mhoireibh</i> (Braemoray)	19 15.8%	32 43.8%	17 32.7%	12 30.0%	–	–	–
<i>Aodann na Coille an Ear</i> (Edinkillie East)	9 0.8%	86 9.5%	74 9.1%	52 6.9%	–	–	–
<i>Dalais an Ear</i> (Dallas East)	5 0.6%	7 1.8%	4 1.2%	2 0.7%	–	–	–
<i>Dalais an Iar</i> (Dallas West)	22 4.6%	21 5.1%	17 4.5%	–	–	1 5.9%	–
<i>Forrais</i> (Forres)	73 1.8%	252 6.3%	229 5.3%	196 4.4%	1 0.4%	–	–
<i>Forrais Dùthaich</i> (Forres Landward)	3 0.4%	62 7.5%	47 5.1%	16 3.1%	–	1 1.3%	–

Table 7: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in western parts of *Siorrachd Mhoireabh* (Morayshire) between 1881 and 1911

¹⁸ Ecclesiastic parish, enumeration division or village.

¹⁹ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.



Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of Gàidhlig speakers by age enumerated in <i>Crombail, Àbhaidh & Inbhir Ailein</i> in 1891							
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
<i>Crombail, Àbhaidh & Inbhir Ailein</i>	326	-	6	7	42	103	117	51
<i>Siorrachd Mhoireibh (A'chuid eile)</i>	5	-	-	1	1	-	1	2
<i>Siorrachd Inbhirnis</i>	146	-	3	1	20	48	44	30
<i>Siorrachd Bhanbh</i>	10	-	-	-	1	4	1	4
<i>Siorrachd Rois & Chrombaidh</i>	18	-	-	-	1	11	4	2
<i>Siorrachd Nàrainn</i>	9	-	-	-	-	1	1	7
<i>Àiteachan eile</i>	16	-	-	-	1	6	3	6

Table 8: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from rural enumeration divisions²⁰ in the civil parish of *Crombail, Àbhaidh & Inbhir Ailein* (Cromdale, Advie & Inverallan) in 1891

As mentioned at some other occasion census results were underestimating the real strength of the language in census reports. Omitting children below the age of 3 and visitors, statistics can provide an even more precise insight into the conditions of Gàidhlig in individual communities. Therefore, also here some “corrected” 1891 details about an area around *An Doire Roid* (Derraid) are cited below (Duwe, 2006): “*The district investigated is situated in the middle reaches of Uisge Spè (River Spey) on the outskirts of Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) in the south-western corner of the old county of Siorrachd Mhoireibh (Morayshire). People in those days were mainly engaged in activities related to farming. The inhabitants lived in a scattered patchwork of tiny groups of houses and farms. At this time the language was still in use by the majority of the usually resident population. English monolingualism was only dominant among children at or below school age. On the other hand, nearly everyone beyond the age of 44 spoke the traditional tongue. Language knowledge was more common among women than men. Gàidhlig was spoken by the majority of locally born persons. There was even a number of speakers reported among those born outside the Gaidhealtachd. Gàidhlig presence was most strongly in the hillside settlements around An Doire Roid (Derraid) and Achadh an Arbha (Auchnarrow) where almost two thirds of the local folk spoke the language in 1891. There was one monolingual Gàidhlig speaker registered in the area: A 84-year-old deaf annuitant in Creag Dubh (Craigdhu). She was born locally*”.

Also interesting regarding *Siorrachd Mhoireibh* (Moray- or Elginshire) is the official 1911 census report stating a.o.: “*Of those enumerated in the County, and who are more than two years of age, 1214 were returned as able to speak Gaelic. Of them only 17 were less than 20 years of age, and all except one, a woman of over 85 and who was born in the County of Ross and Cromarty, were stated to be able to speak English as well as Gaelic. Of the Gaelic speakers, 470 were born in Inverness, 280 in Ross and Cromarty, 287 in the County of Elgin itself, and 45 in Sutherland. Five of those returned as speaking Gaelic are of Irish birth*”. In 1911 in Scotland as a whole, 870 speakers were counted who were born in the county.

From 1921 onwards countywide figures are available, only. Later the number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the county fell sharply with 812 speakers (2.0 %) enumerated in 1921. Among them was found only a tiny number of 10 speakers below the age of 20. In 1931 just 533 (1.3 %) were recorded in *Siorrachd Mhoireibh*. Speakers born in the county also decreased with 510 counted in 1921 and 308 in 1931 for Scotland as a whole.

²⁰ Registration districts of Cromdale & Advie (all 6 enumeration divisions) and Inverallan (enumeration divisions no. 1 and no. 2). Thus, figures represent the rural parts of the parish and do not comprise persons living in *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey).



2.1.4 Siorrachd Bhanbh (Banffshire)

It is also not well known that Gàidhlig was spoken in parts of this county well into the 20th century. Geographically speaking this was the parish of *Cille Mhìcheil* (Kirkmichael) in the south-westernmost corner of the county including the village of *Tom an t-Sabhail* (Tomintoul). However, 1891 census results did show that the language had almost totally vanished in the parishes of *Inbhir Athfhinn* (Inveravon) and *Gleann Liobhaid* (Glenlivet) which had been formerly associated with the language (see table 10).

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of Gàidhlig speakers by age enumerated in the civil parish of <i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> in 1891							
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i>	159	-	-	-	5	18	79	57
<i>Siorrachd Bhanbh (A'chuid eile)</i>	10	-	-	-	-	1	5	4
<i>Siorrachd Inbhirnis</i>	50	-	-	-	4	10	17	19
<i>Siorrachd Mhoireibh</i>	8	-	-	-	1	1	3	3
<i>Àiteachan eile</i>	21	-	-	-	3	6	8	4

Table 9: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions²¹ in the civil parish of *Cille Mhìcheil* (Kirkmichael) in 1891

Analysis of the original census forms of 1891 revealed that the majority of Gàidhlig speakers were born locally (table 9) in the parish of *Cille Mhìcheil* (Kirkmichael). The truth was also that no person below the age of 15 was found to speak the traditional language. The fate of Gàidhlig in this part of Scotland was clear to see. Circumstances in the village and the neighbouring glens were rather similar. Some “corrected” 1891 details (Duwe, 2006) are outlined here for two locations in the parish:

1. **Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul):** “The Gàidhlig language was still spoken by almost one quarter of the usually resident population of the district (the village of Tomintoul). However, the language community was already heavily biased towards older generations. There was only an elderly woman who did not speak English. English monolingual persons held the majority among residents below the age of 45. Accordingly, the Gàidhlig language had ceased to be transmitted from parents to their children around the 1850s. The language had been of course traditionally used in the village as 25 % of those born in the parish were also Gàidhlig speaking.”
2. **Srath Athfhinn (Strath Avon):** “The human settlements consisted of scattered farmhouses and crofts on both banks of the middle course of *Abhainn Athfhinn* (River Avon). More than a third of the usually resident population still spoke Gàidhlig. Only a 66-year-old woman was returned as speaking “Gaelic only”. She was married to a local crofter and water bailiff. Her birthplace, however, was located on *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Isle of Skye). The language was spoken by most of all persons older than 45. Accordingly, it can be assumed that intergenerational language transmission had ceased in this district roughly in the 1850s. On the other hand, no school aged children were returned as speaking Gàidhlig. Gàidhlig - speakers were most prominent in the dwellings of *Sròn a'Charbhaigh* (Stroncharvie) and *Tom Breac* (Tombreck) with over 57 % of inhabitants speaking the traditional language.”

The census results of 1901 and 1911 underlined the trend of continuing decline with only a few places reporting more than 10 % of Gàidhlig speakers in 1911 (table 10). *Dail nam Bò & Innis Ruairaidh* (Dalnabo & Inchrory) reported 19.0 % as a maximum result.

²¹ Registration districts of Kirkmichael (all 6 enumeration divisions) and Tomintoul (all 4 enumeration divisions).



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in south-western parts of <i>Siorrachd Bhanbh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ²²	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ²³				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon)	11 1.2%	28 3.3%	27 2.6%	14 1.9%	–	–	–
<i>Gleann Lìobhait</i> (Glenlivet)	7 0.4%	37 2.5%	26 1.8%	10 1.0%	–	–	–
<i>Obar Lobhair</i> (Aberlour)	14 0.7%	44 2.0%	36 1.4%	24 1.2%	–	–	–
<i>Loinn</i> (Lyne)	20 25.0%	24 33.8%	11 15.1%	15 18.5%	–	–	–
<i>Baile na Lòin & Baile Raineach</i> (Balnalon & Balranaich)	18 48.6%	13 40.7%	5 12.8%		1 7.7%	–	
<i>Foirleitar & Tom Breac</i> (Fodderletter & Tombrecks)	45 69.2%	26 44.4%	15 34.9%	6 14.0%	–	–	–
<i>Drochaidh Athfhinn</i> (Bridge of Avon)	12 21.4%	13 25.5%	8 18.6%	8 15.1%	–	–	–
<i>Gleann Conghlais</i> (Glenconglass)	11 13.3%	7 9.7%	14 17.7%	5 7.7%	–	–	–
<i>Baile an Leis & Àird Gaoithe</i> (Ballinish & Ardgeith)	16 24.2%	15 23.8%	5 6.6%	7 10.0%	–	–	–
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul)	146 30.5%	104 21.6%	90 17.5%	42 8.8%	1 1.0%	–	–
<i>Lagan a'Mhuilinn & An Leac</i> (Lagganvulin & Lecht)	9 9.9%	15 14.9%	6 7.5%	2 3.4%	–	–	–
<i>Dail nam Bò & Innis Ruairidh</i> (Dalnabo & Inchrory)	50 42.7%	31 35.8%	30 34.5%	19 19.0%	1 3.3%	–	–

Table 10: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in south-western parts of *Siorrachd Bhanbh* (Banffshire) between 1881 and 1911

Also, in 1911 the official census report reads about *Siorrachd Bhanbh* (Banffshire): “Of the population of this County, 378 were returned as able to speak Gaelic as well as English, and none as speaking Gaelic but not English. Of these 378, 89 were born within the County, 118 in Inverness, 66 in Ross and Cromarty, 102 in other Scottish Counties, 2 in England, and 1 in Ireland.” Just 26 enumerated speakers were younger than 20 years in 1911. In Scotland as a whole, 309 speakers were counted who were born in this county.

After World War I until 1961 general figures for this county are available, only. In 1921 the number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the county fell sharply with 258 speakers (0.5 %) enumerated. Among them was only the tiny number of 10 speakers below the age of 20.

In 1931 just 159 (0.3 %) Gàidhlig speakers were recorded in *Siorrachd Bhanbh*. Speakers born in the county also decreased with 180 counted in 1921 and 117 in 1931 for Scotland as a whole.

²² Enumeration division or civil parish.

²³ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.



2.1.5 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (Aberdeenshire)

Upper Deeside was home to a dwindling number of Gàidhlig speaking families at the end of the 19th century. This fact was described very vividly by Ian Mitchell (1994) in his report “How the North’s Linguistic Frontier Was Re-drawn”: “The more mountainous areas around Braemar were cleared to make sporting estates, 40 families were cleared from Glen Ey in the 1840s for example. But from the families of game-keepers’ children were still coming to school in Inverey around the turn of the century, with no English. ... Inverey itself was formed largely from those cleared from surrounding glens, and in 1881 about 85% of its population of 100 had Gaelic as their first language.” During the next decades, however, the last pockets of Gàidhlig-speaking communities were disappearing, partly because tenants had no legal protection to stay on their land in contrast to the neighbouring “crofting counties”. The last “native speakers of Aberdeenshire Gaelic” were to die only after World War II – the end of a century old saga.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of Gàidhlig speakers by age enumerated in the area of Bràighean Mhàrr and Srath Deathain in 1891							
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr	262	1	5	10	18	52	96	80
Gleann Garthain, Gleann Muice & Tulach	38	-	-	-	2	5	17	14
Srath Deathain	7	-	-	-	-	1	4	2
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (A’chuid eile)	5	-	-	-	-	1	3	1
Siorrachd Inbhirnis	29	-	-	1	5	11	10	2
Àiteachan eile	34	-	-	-	4	10	21	9

Table 11: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions²⁴ in Bràighean Mhàrr (Braes of Mar) and Srath Deathain (Strathdon) in 1891

Looking at original census forms it becomes clear that Gàidhlig must have been traditionally spoken around Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar), in Gleann Garthain (Glengairn) and the uppermost parts of Srath Deathain (Strathdon) and speakers of the language were not born somewhere else in the Highlands. The vast majority of speakers in 1891 were born locally (table 11). The area west of Bràigh Mhàrr (Duwe, 2006) had a Gàidhlig speaking majority even in 1891 with the tiny village of Inbhir Eìdh (Inverey) being the last stronghold of Aberdeenshire Gaelic with 82.1 % speakers.

In 1911 the situation in Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (Aberdeenshire) generally was described as follows in the general census report: “No persons speaking Gaelic exclusively were returned in the County, while 527 were returned as speaking Gaelic as well as English. ... Of them only twenty were less than twenty years old Those returned as born in the County of Aberdeen numbered 141, in Ross and Cromarty 140, in Inverness 118, in the rest of Scotland 125, in England 1, and in Ireland 2.” The circumstances in the City of Aberdeen were similar: “By this Census no persons speaking Gaelic only, and 602 speaking Gaelic in addition to English were found ... Of the 602 Gaelic speakers in Aberdeen, 245 were born in the County of Ross and Cromarty, 113 were born in the County of Inverness, and 33 in Argyll. There were only 5 Gaelic speakers of Irish birth and presumably speaking Irish Gaelic.” The majority of speakers in the City originated from the traditional Highland counties. In contrast the number of “indigenous” Gàidhlig speakers in the landward area of the county was still significant. In Scotland as a whole, 557 speakers were counted who were born in this county.

²⁴ Registration districts of Crathie & Braemar (all divisions), Strathdon (enumeration divisions no. 1 and 2) and Glengairn, Glenmuick & Tullach (enumeration divisions no. 1, 2, 3 and 6).



**Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in
south-western parts of Siorrachd Obair Dheathain – 1881 - 1911**

Area ²⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ²⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Achadh an Droighinn</i> (Braemar - Auchendryne)	66 24.5%	82 27.2%	69 19.7%	47 9.4%	—	—	—
<i>Baile a'Chaisteil</i> (Braemar - Castleton)	7 3.3%	29 21.6%	18 8.8%		—	—	—
<i>Coire Müillidh</i> (Corriemulzie)	27 61.4%	27 52.9%	11 19.6%	9 15.3%	—	—	—
<i>Inbhir Eidh</i> (Inverey)	72 80.9 %	64 82.1%	34 50.0%	16 27.1%	—	—	—
<i>Geallaidh & Àilean Choich</i> (Geldie & Allanquoich)	34 43.6%	28 38.9%	27 47.4%	21 38.2%	—	—	—
<i>Inbhir Callda & Gleann Cluanaidh</i> (Invercauld & Glen Clunie)	15 23.8%	22 18.8%	4 5.5%	12 11.4%	—	—	—
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul)	13 39.4%	14 56.0%	11 33.3%		—	—	—
<i>Craichidh & Baile Mhoireil</i> (Crathie & Balmoral)	25 3.4%	45 6.5%	33 5.5%	18 3.0%	—	—	—
<i>Gleann Muice & Tulach</i> (Glenmuick & Tullich)	4 0.2%	27 1.7%	22 1.2%	16 0.8%	—	—	—
<i>Gleann Garhain</i> (Glengairn)	29 6.6%	37 9.3%	17 5.4%	16 8.1%	—	—	—
<i>Corr Garaidh</i> (Corgarff)	11 3.0%	22 5.9%	14 4.2%	9 3.0%	—	—	—
<i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon)	25 2.2%	19 2.0%	5 0.6%	2 0.3%	—	—	—
<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mór)</i> (Aberdeen City)	159 0.2%	660 0.5%	680 0.5%	712 0.5%	7 1.1%	6 0.9%	6 0.8%

Table 12: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in south-western parts of Siorrachd Obair Dheathain (Aberdeenshire) between 1881 and 1911

From 1921 onwards general figures are available only for Aberdeenshire and the City of Aberdeen. No local detail has been provided by census authorities. The downward trend in the number of Gàidhlig-speakers was reaffirmed in the 1921 census when 405 speakers (0.3 %) were enumerated in the county and 484 speakers (0.3 %) in the city. 13 respectively 31 speakers were found to be below the age of 20. In 1931 only 372 (0.3 %) were recorded in *Siorrachd Obair Dheathain* and 405 (0.3%) in the City. Speakers born in the county as a whole also decreased with 373 counted in 1921 and 315 in 1931 for Scotland as a whole.

²⁵ Enumeration division, city or village.

²⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.



2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

World War II was a major watershed for *Gàidhlig* in the Highlands. Around the Grampian Mountains figures proved even more disastrous in the 1951 census. Apart from some remote locations in *Bàideanach* just a *Gàidhlig* diaspora was left.

2.2.1 *Bàideanach, Nàrainn & Srath Spé* (Badenoch, Nairn & Strathspey)

In 1951 the language had disappeared as a community language in all districts of *Bàideanach*. Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Bàideanach & Nàrann* was almost cut by three from 12.4 % to 4.3 % (table 13).

<i>Bàideanach & Nàrann</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	652	489	520	421	430	396	579
Percentage of total population	4.3 %	3.3 %	2.9 %	2.5 %	2.3 %	2.0 %	2.6 %

Table 13: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Bàideanach & Nàrann* (Badenoch & Nairn) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011

With the incorporation of the traditionally *Gàidhlig* speaking area of *Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àbhaidh* and the town of *Baile Grannda* in Highland Region in 1974, prospects of a moderate revival of the traditional language in this more “Gaelic” local authority seemed to improve. However, no real effort was being made to raise the profile of the language there or even introduce *Gàidhlig* in local schools.

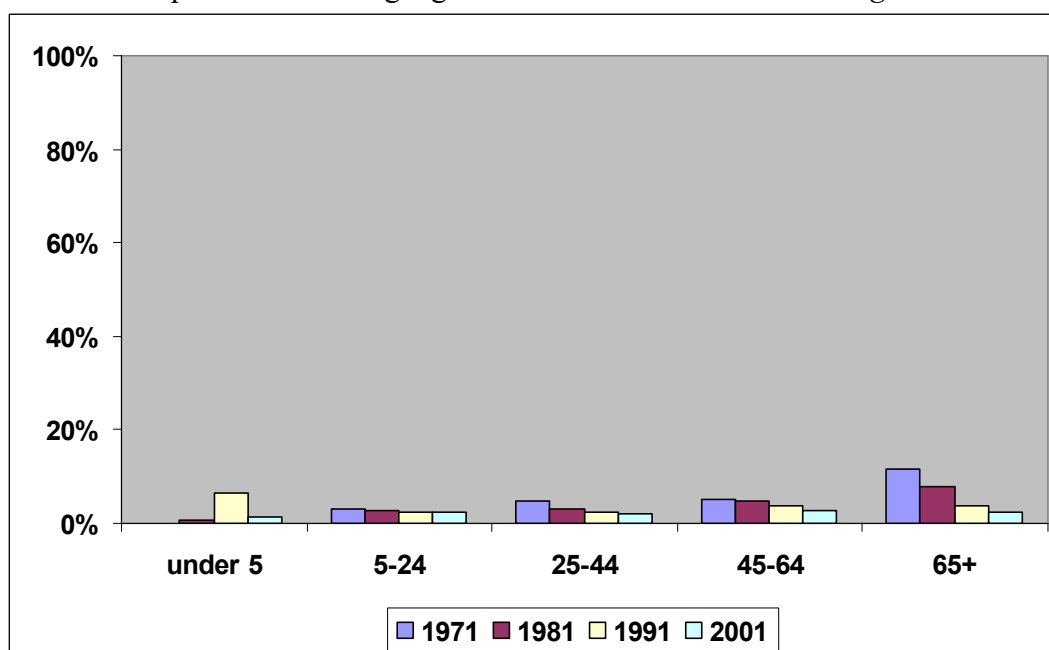


Fig. 7: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) ²⁷

Developments in later decades were non-dramatic and secretive. Figure 7 presents the overall decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking in different age groups until 2001. There was nothing really happening to raise the

²⁷ Under 5: *Gàidhlig* abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



profile of the language – even the second language provision at Kingussie High School stopped in the 1970s.

The census of 1981 was notable because it included a very detailed information about local results both in geographical and social terms. Data became available about the *Gàidhlig* population in small output areas and in generational detail. Table 14 below describes the situation in a few areas of *Bàideanach an Iar* (Western Badenoch) where language incidence remained notably higher than the national average.

Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Selected output areas in Bàideanach an Iar</i> ²⁸						
Map No	Census output area ²⁹	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁰
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01+06	<i>Dail Chuinnidh & Gleann Truim</i> (Dalwhinnie & Glen Truim)	2 3.4%	6 10.9%	7 11.3%	1 3.8%	15 8.6%
02	<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan)	0 0.0%	1 2.2%	1 5.6%	3 11.1%	6 4.7%
03-05	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Sleibh</i> (Newtonmore)	18 6.1%	12 5.3%	13 5.8%	25 13.3%	64 8.0%
07+08	<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich</i> (Kingussie)	13 3.6%	11 3.8%	12 4.7%	12 5.8%	48 5.0%
09	<i>Ceann na Crèige</i> (Kincraig)	7 7.2%	4 4.8%	2 3.5%	6 11.3%	17 7.7%
12	<i>Sgìre Innis & Drochaid Fhèisidh</i> (Insh & Feshie Bridge)	9 12.9%	4 7.3%	6 9.7%	2 5.6%	20 11.8%
Total	<i>Bàidenach an Iar</i> (Western Badenoch)	49 5.6%	37 5.2%	40 6.1%	46 9.0%	164 7.0%

Table 14: Population with *Gàidhlig* knowledge in selected output areas of *Bàidenach an Iar* (Western Badenoch) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

Within this rather gloomy picture there were two notable exceptions in the late 1980s: *Cròileagan* were founded in the small town of *Bail' Ùr an t-Sleibh* (Newtonmore) in western *Bàideanach* and in the harbour town of *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn). Parental pressure meant that even *Gàidhlig*-medium units were opened in Newtonmore Primary School in the 1990/91 school year and in Millbank Primary School in the town of Nairn in 2006/07. Future developments rather concentrated on these two locations with no progress in the remaining parts of the region.

The census of 2011 saw generally an increase of *Gàidhlig* speaking in the area. This was due to a substantial immigration movement from outside the Highlands. In tables 23 to 26 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, in 2011 the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. According-

²⁸ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

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

³⁰ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



ly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures of Gàidhlig knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population is provided in table 15 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones shows some positive values in the vicinity of both GMU (*Gàidhlig* medium unit) in the area.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in the different data zones roughly between 10 % and 52 % of Gàidhlig speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 15 below.

Census Data Zones	Bàideanach, Stath Spè & Nàrann – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Dail Chuinnidh & Lagan (Dalwhinnie & Laggan)	12	15.2%	37	6.8%	+ 8.4 %	48.4 %
Baile Ùr an t-Sleibh (Newtonmore)	34	23.9%	114	10.6%	+ 13.3 %	46.8 %
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Kingussie)	13	6.0%	86	6.0%	0.0 %	46.8 %
Ceann Crèige (Kincraig)	6	4.9%	30	4.3%	+ 0.6 %	52.4%
An Aghaidh Mhòr (Aviemore)	9	2.3%	81	3.4%	- 1.1 %	28.0 %
Coit a'Ghartain & Obair N. (Boat of Garten & Nethybridge)	7	2.2%	82	3.2%	- 1.0 %	42.9 %
Drochaid Churra & Dr. Thuln. (Carrbridge & Dulnain Bridge)	3	1.5%	49	3.5%	- 2.0 %	36.4 %
Baile Grannda & Crombail (Grantown-on-Sp. & Cromdale)	5	1.0%	59	1.9%	- 0.9 %	17.9 %
Nàrann (Nairn)	34	3.2%	222	3.2%	0.0 %	46.4 %
Allt Èireann (Auldearn)	12	3.3%	60	3.1%	+ 0.2 %	48.8 %
Caladar, Crothaigh & Àird C. (Cawdor, Croy & Ardclach)	14	4.8%	51	2.5%	+ 2.2 %	12.3 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 15: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

In 2011 educational provision was still unsatisfactory. Schools in *Bail' Ùr an t-Sleibh* (Newtonmore) and *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) were the sole locations where parents could look for Gàidhlig medium edu-



cation in the whole district. A planned GMU in *Inbhir Nàrainn* had opened at last in 2006. Additional second language teaching of Gàidhlig was totally absent in all local schools.



Despite the sign, Gàidhlig teaching at Kingussie High School was only confined to “fluent” speakers from the GMU at nearby Baile Ùr an t-Sleibh (Newtonmore) – (Duwe, 2018)

2.2.2 *Moireabh, Banbh & Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Moray, Banff & Aberdeenshire)

The parish of *Cille Mhicheil* and the town of *Tom an t-Sabhail* became part of Grampian Region in 1974 and afterwards in the *Moireabh* authority. Until today no improvement concerning Gàidhlig was made.

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Moireabh (Moray)</i>	n/a	522	470	460	623	n/a	0.7%	0.6%	0.5%	0.7%
<i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (Aberdeenshire)</i>	n/a	835	887	877	1397	n/a	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.6%
<i>Obar Dheathain (Aberdeen City)</i>	1240	1106	1134	1422	1628	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%

Table 16: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2011) in *Moireabh* (Moray) and *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire)

The historical links with its linguistic past seem all but gone in the area. However, the number of speakers in the entire region rose slightly between 1981 and 2011 (table 16). This was probably caused by



adult learning initiatives and the immigration of *Gàidhlig* speakers due to the general economic upturn in Scotland's north-east. Educational provision of *Gàidhlig* medium became available in Gilcomstoun primary school in the City of Aberdeen in 1991. In 2008 Aberdeenshire even introduced second language teaching in some schools in Deeside and Upper Donside, a late acknowledgement of its linguistic past. This provision, however, was shortlived and a few years later it was withdrawn by the school authorities.

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

From 1971 onwards census information became available on *Gàidhlig* literacy in local detail. Due to the relatively high proportion of *Gàidhlig* learners in the small language community the proportion of people able to read or write *Gàidhlig* was “relatively” high in 1971 if compared with some “traditional” *Gàidhlig* counties in the west. During the next decades literacy increased considerably with a slightly better result in *Bàideanach* than in *Nàrann & Srath Spè* (tables 16 and 17).

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Bàideanach&Srath Spè</i> (Badenoch&Strathsp.)	150	133	135	143	225	44.8%	53.0%	56.0%	69.1%	66.4%
<i>Nàrann</i> (Nairn)	106	114	117	144	218	48.2%	53.3%	47.8%	57.1%	62.8%
<i>Moireabh</i> (Moray)	n/a	251	241	278	377	n/a	52.7%	51.3%	60.6%	60.5%
<i>S. Obar Dheathain</i> (Aberdeenshire)	n/a	396	478	571	882	n/a	52.2%	53.9%	65.6%	63.1%
<i>Obar Dheathain</i> (Aberdeen City)	n/a	533	640	978	1075	n/a	53.2%	56.5%	69.3%	66.0%

Table 17: Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2011)

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>					Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Bàideanach&Srath Spè</i> (Badenoch&Strathsp.)	110	98	105	120	200	32.8%	39.0%	43.6%	58.0%	59.0%
<i>Nàrann</i> (Nairn)	72	82	107	111	180	32.7%	38.3%	43.7%	44.0%	51.9%
<i>Moireabh</i> (Moray)	n/a	205	194	215	306	n/a	43.1%	41.3%	46.8%	49.1%
<i>S. Obar Dheathain</i> (Aberdeenshire)	n/a	320	397	461	720	n/a	42.2%	44.8%	52.9%	51.5%
<i>Obar Dheathain</i> (Aberdeen City)	n/a	429	529	825	929	n/a	42.8%	46.7%	58.4%	57.1%

Table 18: Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2011)



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

IMPORTANT NOTICE: The more recent census data of 2011 were not as detailed as 2001 regarding generational differences in language use. Therefore 2001 is used here as baseline for research purposes.

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

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

In both areas – *Bàideanach* and *Nàrann & Srath Spè* – the very low incidence of *Gàidhlig* knowledge was obvious. There were only marginal differences between the two areas.

In *Bàideanach* (**Badenoch**) in general the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 2.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- Language incidence in all age groups was very low. Just nine pre-school children knew some aspects of the language in 2001.
- A slight decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 17). In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was down by just 0.2 %.
- Of course, results were not the same over the whole area. The local detail of census output areas did show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of almost zero per cent in a few eastern districts to some 7.4 % in *Bail Ùr ant-Slèibh* (Newtonmore). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied also between around 1.4 % in *Ceann na Creige* (Kincraig) and almost 10 % in *Bail Ùr ant-Slèibh*.
- Literacy in the language was still improving with 69.1 % of speakers being able to read and a respectable 58.0 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years three children were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and five children were able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (2.4 % of the population) 140 inhabitants (1.6 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.
- The only location with any significant *Gàidhlig* presence was *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh*.



Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ³¹ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	5	1.8 %	-	-	3	1.1 %	-	-	-
3-4	4	2.0 %	1	0.5 %	3	1.5 %	12	6.5 %	- 5.0 %
5-11	25	3.5 %	18	2.5 %	24	3.3 %	6	0.8 %	+ 2.5 %
12-15	16	3.6 %	14	3.1 %	15	3.3 %	12	3.1 %	+ 0.2 %
16-24	18	2.6 %	8	1.1 %	8	1.1 %	33	3.0 %	- 1.9 %
3-24	63	3.0 %	41	2.0 %	50	2.4 %	63	2.6 %	- 0.2 %
All ages	348	4.0 %	144	1.6 %	207	2.4 %	237	3.1 %	- 0.7 %
Difference	- 1.0 %		+ 0.4 %		+/- 0.0 %		- 0.5 %		

Table 19: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Bàideanach (Badenoch) in 2001 and 1991

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	3	0.7 %	-	-	1	0.2 %	-	-	-
3-4	11	3.4 %	1	0.3 %	9	2.8 %	6	1.9 %	+ 0.9 %
5-11	18	1.4 %	8	0.6 %	13	1.0 %	14	1.2 %	- 0.2 %
12-15	4	0.5 %	1	0.1 %	3	0.4 %	6	0.8 %	- 0.4 %
16-24	22	1.8 %	8	0.7 %	13	1.1 %	19	1.2 %	- 0.1 %
3-24	55	1.5 %	18	0.5 %	38	1.1 %	45	1.2 %	- 0.1 %
All ages	392	2.7 %	142	1.0 %	251	1.8 %	248	1.9 %	- 0.1 %
Diff.	- 1.2 %		- 0.5 %		- 0.7 %		- 0.7 %		

Table 20: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Nàrann & Srath Spè (Nairn & Strathspey) in 2001 and 1991

The area of *Nàrann & Srath Spè* (Nairn & Strathspey) presented the following main characteristics according to 2001 census results:

- Generally, and in all age groups language incidence was on a negligible level.
- A remarkable number of 14 pre-school children knew at least some aspects of the language.
- Numbers and percentages of Gàidhlig speaking essentially stayed the same between 1991 and 2001.
- Literacy in the language had improved since 1991 with 57.1 % of speakers being able to read and 44.0 % of speakers able to write the language.

³¹ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years only one child was able to speak Gàidhlig and three understood spoken Gàidhlig.
- In addition to those able to speak Gàidhlig (1.8 % of the population) 141 inhabitants (0.9 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

In general, *Bàideanach*, *Nàrann* and *Srath Spè* could only be considered as part of the *Gàidhlig* Diaspora in 2001 showing only slightly higher language incidence than the national average.

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics where the knowledge of *Gàidhlig* can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “*Gàidhlig* knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary schools. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups and 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). Additionally, a column is provided in table 19 with the age group of 24-35 which may be representative of the language abilities of possible parents.

Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary/Secondary School Catchment Areas								
Primary / Secondary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Dail Chuinnidh</i> (Dalwhinnie)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8.7 %
<i>Garbhghaisg</i> (Gergask)	1	6.3 %	-	-	2	15.9 %	1	2.7 %
<i>Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore)	4	7.7 %	17	21.0 %	11	21.1 %	7	6.9 %
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh</i> (Kingussie)	1	1.1 %	2	1.5 %	-	-	4	2.1 %
<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr</i> (Aviemore)	1	0.7 %	1	0.5 %	2	1.7 %	9	2.4 %
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie)	-	-	1	3.4 %	1	5.9 %	4	6.3 %
<i>Drochaid Charra</i> (Carrbridge)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3.0 %
<i>Obar Neithich</i> (Abernethy)	1	2.7 %	-	-	-	-	2	2.8 %
<i>Deisear</i> (Deshar)	1	3.2 %	-	-	-	-	2	2.7 %
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey)	1	0.7 %	6	2.4 %	2	1.4 %	4	1.2 %
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn)	13	2.1 %	12	1.1 %	2	0.3 %	28	2.2 %

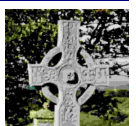
Table 21: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for school catchment areas according to census 2001



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

- Pre-school children: In 2000/2001 a few children attended *cròileagan* and *Gàidhlig* nursery education in *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* and *Inbhir Nàrainn*. This is clearly visible in the census results. The remaining territory was a “no man’s land” as far as *Gàidhlig*-speaking children are concerned.
- Primary school children: In 2000/2001 some 17 GME children attended primary classes in *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh*. Obviously *Gàidhlig* was not taught widely (or at all) in other primary schools.
- Secondary school children: In 2000/2001 some 11 children learned *Gàidhlig* as fluent speakers at Kingussie High School. These pupils had previously attended GME in their local primary school in Newtonmore. Apparently, the language was not considered as useful subject to other pupils.
- Parents: A small proportion of parents still had some knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in every school catchment in the area.

In conclusion: Apart from the *Gàidhlig* medium provision in *Bail’ Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) and – partially – in *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn), the language did not play any role in the educational provision in 2001. The share of pupils in GME even in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) was modest (fig. 8) and has stayed at this level almost since its introduction in the early 1990s.



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

The language viability indicator (LVI³²) still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 22) which is due to a comparatively low language intensity in younger age groups.

Area	Bàideanach, Srath Spè & Nàrann – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Bàideanach & Srath Spè (Badenoch & Strathspey)	89	4.5%	538	4.1%	+ 0.4 %	39.9 %
Nàrann (Nairn)	60	3.5%	333	3.0%	+ 0.5 %	39.0 %
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 22: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in Bàideanach & Srath Spè (Badenoch & Strathspey) and Nàrainn (Nairn) in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

Locally the LVI was negligible in 2011 except around *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) due to the impact of GME in the local primary school (table 22). Intergenerational viability was only maintained in this township with positive LVI values between + 8 % and + 15 %. The knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups (table 15) was negligible except in *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) and the other communities in its school catchment area: *Dail Chuinnidh* (Dalwhinnie) and *Lagan*.

Future educational progress: The overall temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 8 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 44 pupils (38.3 %) attended the GMU in *Baile Ùr an t-Slèibh* and 29 pupils (10.2 %) were recorded in the *Inbhir Nàrainn* GMU at Rockfield primary. The numbers of nursery children stood at 9 and 16 children respectively. In addition, some “mainstream” pupils at Rockfield primary received second language instructions in Gàidhlig. The secondary education ranged from 7 “fluent” pupils in *Cinn a’Ghiuthsaich* to 8 “fluent” pupils and 103 Gàidhlig learners in *Inbhir Nàrainn*.

In conclusion: Today the language is still being held up in the area by a very small number of speakers. *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) in western Bàideanach is the only community where Gàidhlig still shows some flickering light with Gaelic-medium nursery and primary school education in the local school. Parental demand on the contrary is high but so far only a further Gaelic-medium stream in *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) has been realised. Essentially arrived at rock bottom ironically the situation of Gàidhlig can only improve in this district.

³² LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of Gàidhlig in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.



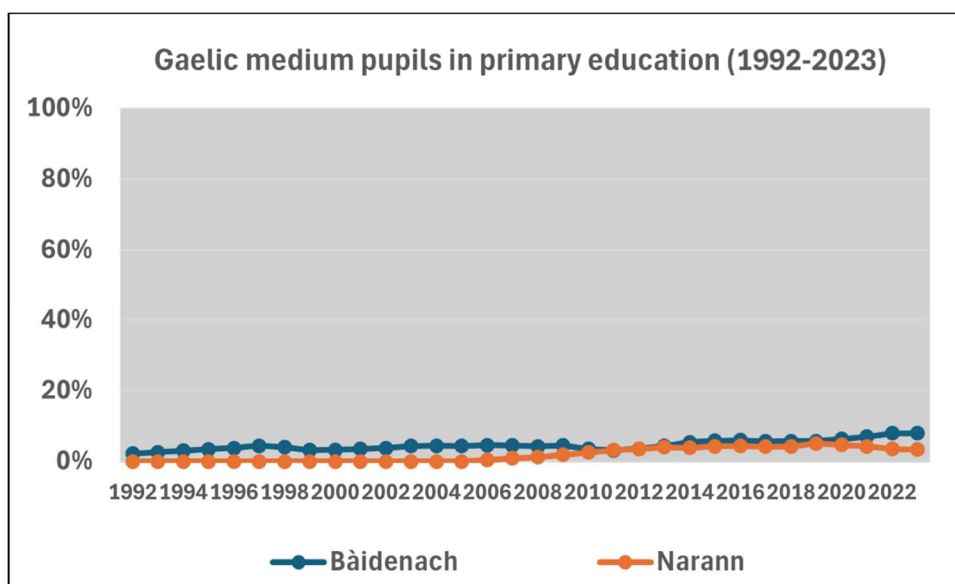


Fig. 8: Share of primary school children attending Gàidhlig-medium classes in Bàideanach (Badenoch) in comparison with neighbouring Narann (Nairn) (September 1992 – September 2023) ³³

³³ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn)	<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> ³⁴ (Croy & Dalcross)	<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor)	<i>Allt Eireann</i> (Auldearn)	<i>Aird Chlach</i> (Ardclach)	<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael)	<i>Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Crathie & Braemar)
1881 ³⁵	570	212	239	60	199	260	259
1891	857	265	314	247	227	248	319
1901	652	182	204	156	141	184	198
1911	473	121	142	107	88	107	123
1961	77	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1971	110	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1981	127	5	22	8	4	9	6
1991	162	10	6	15	0	2	9
2001	150	11	13	18	7	9	5
2011	233	*	16	24	10	12	7

Table 23: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for selected civil parishes in Nàrann, Banbh & Bràighean Mhàrr according to available census data from 1881 to 2011³⁶

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn)	<i>Crothaigh & Dail Chrois</i> (Croy & Dalcross)	<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor)	<i>Allt Eireann</i> (Auldearn)	<i>Aird Chlach</i> (Ardclach)	<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael)	<i>Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Crathie & Braemar)
1881	10.6 %	33.4 %	22.3 %	4.6 %	17.8 %	24.2 %	16.1 %
1891	16.4 %	45.8 %	30.6 %	18.8 %	22.9 %	23.8 %	20.8 %
1901	11.4 %	31.9 %	22.1 %	12.1 %	18.3 %	17.8 %	13.6 %
1911	8.0 %	21.6 %	16.8 %	8.6 %	11.6 %	12.2 %	8.3 %
1961	1.6 %	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1971	1.4 %	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1981	1.7 %	1.9 %	3.6 %	0.9 %	1.6 %	2.0 %	0.8 %
1991	2.1 %	3.1 %	0.8 %	1.4 %	-	0.4 %	1.1 %
2001	1.7 %	2.4 %	2.1 %	1.6 %	1.6 %	1.7 %	0.6 %
2011	2.4 %	*	2.9 %	1.8 %	2.1 %	2.1 %	0.9 %

Table 24: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for selected civil parishes in Nàrann, Banbh & Bràighean Mhàrr according to available census data from 1881 to 2011

³⁴ The remainder of this civil parish was part of Inverness-shire (see Vol. 23 of this series).

³⁵ The 1881 census question was concerned with “habitually” speaking Gaelic.

³⁶ Census information with local detail between 1921 and 1951 in particular was restricted to the “main” Gàidhlig-speaking counties. Therefore figures are not available for some of the “peripheral” civil parishes of the *Gaidhealtachd* for all years.



Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine)	<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie)	<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothie-murchus)	<i>Cinn a' Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh)	<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan)	<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) ³⁷
1881	780	504	1,138	1,371	810	866
1891	838	439	1,416	1,280	666	1,237
1901	651	319	947	1,198	540	778
1911	487	243	667	1,046	436	441
1921	330	174	451	742	282	n/a
1931	204	131	297	599	226	n/a
1951	56	29	113	224	90	n/a
1961	40	22	67	159	57	n/a
1971	30	20	115	150	30	45
1981	25	19	76	106	25	48
1991	16	12	83	99	27	55
2001	20	6	50	119	9	52
2011	21	15	96	157	8	43

Table 25: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in Bàideanach & Srath Spè according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine)	<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie)	<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothie-murchus)	<i>Cinn a' Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh)	<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan)	<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie)
1881	51.0 %	71.3 %	68.4 %	69.0 %	88.3 %	23.8 %
1891	61.9 %	66.9 %	58.2 %	65.9 %	77.7 %	35.7 %
1901	50.9 %	59.8 %	47.5 %	54.6 %	73.2 %	24.1 %
1911	39.7 %	41.2 %	34.3 %	42.5 %	57.8 %	15.3 %
1921	23.3 %	26.0 %	18.3 %	27.3 %	42.5 %	n/a
1931	18.2 %	24.2 %	13.9 %	25.3 %	36.4 %	n/a
1951	5.1 %	5.9 %	5.0 %	9.4 %	16.0 %	n/a
1961	4.0 %	4.8 %	3.1 %	7.0 %	10.3 %	n/a
1971	3.4 %	5.0 %	4.0 %	6.5 %	7.6 %	1.8 %
1981	3.5 %	4.4 %	2.5 %	4.7 %	6.9 %	1.9 %
1991	1.8 %	2.3 %	2.2 %	3.9 %	5.8 %	1.9 %
2001	1.9 %	1.4 %	1.3 %	4.2 %	3.2 %	1.7 %
2011	1.7 %	2.7 %	1.9 %	5.2 %	3.1 %	1.4 %

Table 26: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in Bàideanach & Srath Spè according to census data from 1881 to 2011

³⁷ This civil parish was part of Morayshire until 1974. Information on Gàidhlig-speaking for census returns in 1921-1961 was not published in local detail for this county.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1911: <i>Bàideanach</i> ³⁸	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) <i>Bàideanach</i>	6,805	4,603	
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP</i>	1,530	780	
<i>Albhaidh (Alvie) CP</i>	707	504	
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP</i>	1,664	1,138	
<i>Lagan (Laggan) CP</i>	917	810	
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP</i>	1,987	1,371	
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh (Kingussie) Vi</i>	645	301	
<i>Bail’ Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) Vi</i>	306	254	
<i>Daothal (Duthil) EP</i>	1,371	917	
<i>Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) EP</i>	293	221	
1891 <i>Bàideanach</i>	6,802	4,318	105
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP</i>	1,354	826	12
<i>Albhaidh (Alvie) CP</i>	656	431	8
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP</i>	1,994	1,148	52
<i>Lagan (Laggan) CP</i>	850	640	20
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP</i>	1,948	1,273	13
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh (Kingussie) Vi</i>	740	394	5
<i>Bail’ Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) Vi</i>	364	265	2
<i>Drochaid Charra (Carrbridge) Vi</i>	335	208	5
<i>Daothal (Duthil) EP</i>	1,728	950	44
<i>Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) EP</i>	266	198	8
1901 <i>Bàideanach</i>	6,739	3,623	32
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP</i>	1,279	644	7
<i>Albhaidh (Alvie) CP and CCED</i>	533	318	1
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP</i>	1,995	938	9
<i>Lagan (Laggan) CP</i>	738	532	8
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP</i>	2,194	1,191	7
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Bail’ Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) Vi</i>	478	324	-
<i>Drochaid Charra (Carrbridge) Vi</i>	303	132	-
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh a Tuath (Kingussie North) CCED</i>	628	435	2
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh a Deas (Kingussie South) CCED</i>	577	357	3
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh (Baile Beag) (Kingussie Burgh) ED and Vi</i>	989	399	2
<i>Lagan a Tuath (Laggan North) CCED</i>	429	326	7
<i>Lagan a Deas (Laggan South) CCED</i>	309	206	1
<i>Obar Neithich (Abernethy) CCED</i>	1,279	644	7
<i>Daothal (Duthil) CCED</i>	1,788	822	8
<i>Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) CCED</i>	207	116	1
1911 <i>Bàideanach</i>	6,979	2,870	9
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP</i>	1,228	486	1
<i>Albhaidh (Alvie) CP</i>	590	241	2
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP</i>	1,943	666	1
<i>Lagan (Laggan) CP</i>	754	434	2
<i>Cinn a’Ghiùthsaidh & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP</i>	2,464	1,043	3

Table 27: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1911 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Bàideanach*

³⁸ Figures are provided for areas in the parish boundaries of 1901. In previous censuses a number of detached parts of land of Nairnshire were located as small enclaves in Inverness-shire, Moray and Ross & Cromarty. In order to enable historical comparisons these enclave figures are integrated in their larger surrounding parishes also regarding 1881 and 1891.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: <i>Bàideanach</i>	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1921 Bàideanach	7,926	1,977	2
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,416	330	-
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie) CP	670	173	1
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,458	451	-
<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan) CP	664	281	1
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,718	742	-
1931 Bàideanach	6,784	1,457	-
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,123	204	-
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie) CP	541	131	-
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,136	297	-
<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan) CP	621	226	-
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,363	599	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,067	204	-
1951 Bàideanach	6,814	507	5
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,099	56	-
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie) CP	488	29	-
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,272	112	1
<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan) CP	562	90	-
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,393	220	4
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,075	68	4
1961 Bàideanach	6,472	341	4
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,008	40	-
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie) CP and CCED	454	22	-
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,191	65	2
<i>Lagan</i> (Laggan) CP	551	57	-
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,268	157	2
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,079	57	-
<i>Obar Neithich</i> (Abernethy) CCED	837	38	-
<i>Coit a'Ghartain</i> (Boat of Garten) CCED / <i>Daothal</i> (Duthil) CCED	458 / 758	4 / 37	- / -
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Tuath)</i> (Kingussie North) CCED	880	66	-
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Deas)</i> (Kingussie South) CCED	272	34	2
<i>Lagan a Tuath</i> (Laggan North) CCED / <i>Lagan a Deas</i> (Laggan South) CCED	283 / 230	33 / 24	- / -
<i>Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Rothiemurchus) CCED	992	26	2
1971³⁹ Bàideanach	6,850	345	*
<i>Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	890	30	*
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie) CP and CCED / <i>Lagan</i> (Laggan) CP	400 / 395	20 / 30	* / *
<i>Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,840	115	*
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh & Innis</i> (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,325	150	*
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,105	80	*
<i>Obar Neithich</i> (Abernethy) CCED	770	25	*
<i>Coit a'Ghartain</i> (Boat of Garten) CCED / <i>Daothal</i> (Duthil) CCED	500 / 810	20 / 30	* / *
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Tuath)</i> (Kingussie North) CCED	950	50	*
<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh (Deas)</i> (Kingussie South) CCED	270	20	*
<i>Lagan a Tuath</i> (Laggan North) CCED / <i>Lagan a Deas</i> (Laggan South) CCED	250 / 145	20 / 10	* / *
<i>Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Rothiemurchus) CCED	1,050	65	*

Table 28: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions and burghs) in Bàideanach

³⁹ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide „Gaelic only“-numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1971: <i>Nàrann</i> ⁴⁰	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) Nàrann	9,481	1,280	
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn) CP -	5,368	570	
<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy) CP -- (Nairnshire Part)	634	212	
<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor) CP	1,070	239	
<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn) CP	1,292	60	
<i>Àird Chlach</i> (Ardclach) CP	1,117	199	
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,165	300	
<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn) Vi	363	44	
1891 Nàrann	9,133	1,894	16
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn) CP -	5,222	852	5
<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy) CP -- (Nairnshire Part)	579	259	6
<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor) CP	1,026	313	1
<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn) CP	1,315	244	3
<i>Àird Chlach</i> (Ardclach) CP	991	226	1
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,014	503	4
<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn) Vi	364	66	1
1901 Nàrann	9,291	1,325	10
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn) CP -	5,732	649	3
<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy) CP -- (Nairnshire Part)	570	179	3
<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor) CP	925	203	1
<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn) CP	1,292	154	2
<i>Àird Chlach</i> (Ardclach) CP	772	140	1
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,487	391	-
<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn) Vi and CCED	313	38	1
<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor) CCED / <i>Àird Chlach</i> (Ardclach) CCED	371 / 214	82 / 44	1 / -
<i>Gleann Fùirneis</i> (Glenferness) CCED / <i>Allt Mhigeil</i> (Meikle Burn) CCED	222 / 336	24 / 72	1 / -
<i>Muighnis</i> (Moyness) CCED / <i>Bràghaid</i> (Brodie) CCED	446 / 533	60 / 56	- / 1
<i>A'Bhraclaich</i> (Brackla) CCED / <i>Cluanais</i> (Clunas) CCED	318 / 262	50 / 80	- / -
<i>Cill Ràthaig</i> (Kilravock) CCED	290	94	4
<i>Canntra</i> (Cantray) CCED	254	76	1
<i>Geadais</i> (Geddes) CCED	351	82	-
<i>Cill Droma</i> (Kildrummie) CCED	455	105	2
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn) CCED	439	71	1
1911 Nàrann	9,319	929	2
1921 Nàrann	8,790	537	-
1931 Nàrann	8,294	410	-
1951 Nàrann	8,284	140	-
1961 Nàrann	8,423	144	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,667	77	-
1971 Nàrann	11,050	175	*
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> (Nairn Small Burgh)	8,035	110	*

Table 29: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in Nàrann (Nairn)

⁴⁰ Figures are provided for areas in the parish boundaries of 1901. Accordingly, the figures concerning the county of Nairn are different from old census publications which included also inhabitants of the parishes of Daviot & Dunlichity, Dyke & Moy, Moy & Dalarossie, Petty and Urquhart & Logie Wester in 1881 and 1891.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1971: <i>Moireabh</i>	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) <i>Moireabh</i>	43,788	1,059	
<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	3,642	866	
<i>Dig & A’Mhòigh</i> (Dyke & Moy) CP	1,236	53	
<i>Aodann na Coille</i> (Edinkillie) CP	1,175	28	
<i>Dalais</i> (Dallas) CP	915	5	
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,374	183	
<i>Forrais</i> (Forres) Town	4,030	73	
<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale) EP	1,145	310	
<i>Inbhir Ailein</i> (Inverallan) EP	2,497	556	
1891 <i>Moireabh</i>	43,453	2,263	12
<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	3,463	1,230	7
<i>Dig & A’Mhòigh</i> (Dyke & Moy) CP	1,044	103	-
<i>Aodann na Coille</i> (Edinkillie) CP	983	118	-
<i>Dalais</i> (Dallas) CP	860	29	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,423	464	4
<i>Forrais</i> (Forres) Town	3,971	251	1
<i>Àlbhaidh</i> (Advie) EP	330	59	-
<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale) EP	659	226	3
<i>Inbhir Ailein</i> (Inverallan) EP	2,474	945	4
1901 <i>Moireabh</i>	44,800	1,865	2
<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	3,229	778	-
<i>Dig & A’Mhòigh</i> (Dyke & Moy) CP	1,049	81	-
<i>Aodann na Coille</i> (Edinkillie) CP	869	91	-
<i>Dalais</i> (Dallas) CP	738	25	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,568	338	-
<i>Forrais</i> (Forres) Town	4,313	229	-
<i>Àlbhaidh</i> (Advie) EP	321	47	-
<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale) EP	695	190	-
<i>Inbhir Ailein</i> (Inverallan) EP	2,587	691	2
1911 <i>Moireabh</i>	43,427	1,213	1
<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	2,881	441	-
<i>Aodann na Coille</i> (Edinkillie) CP	789	64	-
<i>Dalais</i> (Dallas) CP	656	16	1
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,451	175	-
<i>Àlbhaidh</i> (Advie) EP	303	21	-
<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale) EP	575	106	-
<i>Inbhir Ailein</i> (Inverallan) EP	2,003	314	-
1921 <i>Moireabh</i>	41,561	816	-
1931 <i>Moireabh</i>	40,806	533	-
1951 <i>Moireabh</i>	48,218	268	-
1961 <i>Moireabh</i>	46,301	247	2
1971 <i>Moireabh</i>	51,500	430	*
<i>Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àlbhaidh</i> (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	2,465	45	*
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) / <i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale) CCED	1,600 / 865	30 / 15	*

Table 30: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastical parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Moireabh* (Moray)



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1971: <i>Siorrachd Bhanbh</i>	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) <i>Banbh</i>	62,736	331	
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) CP	1,073	260	
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) CP	2,568	18	
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) Vi	478	79	
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) RD	387	122	
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) RD	686	138	
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) RD	952	11	
<i>Gleann Liobhait</i> (Glenlivet) RD	1,616	7	
1891 <i>Banbh</i>	64,190	639	3
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) CP	1,043	245	3
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) CP	2,319	65	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) Vi	506	103	1
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) RD	348	97	1
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) RD	695	148	2
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) RD	842	28	-
<i>Gleann Liobhait</i> (Glenlivet) RD	1,477	37	-
1901 <i>Banbh</i>	61,488	499	-
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) CP	1,035	184	-
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) CP	2,201	53	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) Vi	515	90	-
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) RD	353	58	-
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) RD	682	126	-
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) RD	760	27	-
<i>Gleann Liobhait</i> (Glenlivet) RD	1,441	26	-
1911 <i>Banbh</i>	61,402	378	-
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) CP	879	107	-
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) CP	2,017	24	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) Vi	479	42	-
<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kirkmichael) RD	242	44	-
<i>Tom an t-Sabhail</i> (Tomintoul) RD	637	63	-
<i>Inbhir Athfhinn</i> (Inveravon) RD	754	14	-
<i>Gleann Liobhait</i> (Glenlivet) RD	1,263	10	-
1921 <i>Banbh</i>	57,293	258	-
1931 <i>Banbh</i>	54,907	159	-
1951 <i>Banbh</i>	50,148	146	-
1961 <i>Banbh</i>	44,000	126	3
1971⁴¹ <i>Banbh</i>	43,505	305	*

Table 31: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Siorrachd Bhanbh* (Banffshire)

⁴¹ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide „Gaelic only“ numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1921: <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic) <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	267,990	807	
<i>Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,611	259	
<i>Gleann Muice, Tulach & Gleann Garthain</i> (Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn)	2,109	33	
<i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon) CP	1,068	23	
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr)</i> (Aberdeen City)	105,189	159	
<i>Gleann Garthain</i> (Glengairn) EP	437	29	
<i>Gleann Muice & Tulach</i> (Glenmuick & Tullich) EP	1,672	4	
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) EP	859	234	
<i>Corr Garaidh</i> (Corgarff) EP	370	11	
<i>Creichidh</i> (Crathie) EP	735	25	
<i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon) EP	1,068	23	
1891 <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	281,332	1,534	8
<i>Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,534	319	-
<i>Gleann Muice, Tulach & Gleann Garthain</i> (Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn)	2,299	68	-
<i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon) CP	1,183	37	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) Vi	482	111	-
<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr)</i> (Aberdeen City)	124,943	653	7
<i>Gleann Garthain</i> (Glengairn) EP	396	37	-
<i>Gleann Muice & Tulach</i> (Glenmuick & Tullich) EP	1,600	27	-
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) EP	835	273	-
<i>Corr Garaidh</i> (Corgarff) EP	371	22	-
<i>Creichidh</i> (Crathie) EP	689	45	-
<i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon) EP	935	19	-
1901 <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	304,439	1,365	8
<i>Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,452	198	-
<i>Gleann Muice, Tulach & Gleann Garthain</i> (Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn)	2,469	41	-
<i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon) CP	1,096	19	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) Vi	516	80	-
<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr)</i> (Aberdeen City)	153,503	706	6
<i>Gleann Garthain</i> (Glengairn) EP	317	17	-
<i>Gleann Muice</i> (Glenmuick) EP	1,867	22	-
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) EP	846	164	-
<i>Corr Garaidh</i> (Corgarff) EP	333	14	-
<i>Creichidh</i> (Crathie) EP / <i>Srath Deathain</i> (Strathdon) EP	596 / 859	33 / 5	- / -
1911 <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	312,177	1,129	-
<i>Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,485	123	-
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) Vi	502	47	-
<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr)</i> (Aberdeen City)	163,891	602	-
<i>Gleann Garthain</i> (Glengairn) EP	197	14	-
<i>Gleann Muice</i> (Glenmuick) EP	1,805	12	-
<i>Bràigh Mhàrr</i> (Braemar) EP	880	105	-
<i>Corr Garaidh</i> (Corgarff) EP	299	9	-
<i>Creichidh</i> (Crathie) EP	605	18	-
1921 <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	301,016	852	1
----- included in the above-----			
<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr)</i> (Aberdeen City)	158,963	484	-

Table 32: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1921 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire)



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1931 and 1971: <i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>		Total Population	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area				
1931	<i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	312,859	776	1
----- included in the above-----				
	<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)</i>	167,258	405	-
1951	<i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	327,529	789	3
1961	<i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	305,560	753	3
----- included in the above-----				
	<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)</i>	196,087	479	3
1971	<i>Siorrachd Obar Dheathain</i>	445,035	2,100	*
----- included in the above-----				
	<i>Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)</i>	182,070	1,240	*

Table 33: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1931 and 1971 – county and city in *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire)



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness-shire) and the County of Nairn (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Kingussie (Small Burgh))	KI	57 5.5 %	80 7.5 %	44 3.7 %	40 3.3 %	34 2.3 %
<i>Lagan a Tuath</i> (Laggan (North) CCED)	LN	33 11.7 %	20 8.7 %	13 5.7 %	18 7.4 %	13 4.5 %
<i>Lagan a Deas</i> (Laggan (South) CCED)	LS	24 10.4 %	10 7.4 %	12 11.9 %	9 6.4 %	6 3.1 %
<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich Tuath</i> (Kingussie (North) CCED)	KN	66 7.7 %	50 5.5 %	23 4.7 %	12 2.4 %	19 2.7 %
<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich Deas</i> (Kingussie (South) CCED)	KS	36 13.2 %	20 7.7 %	60 6.6 %	56 5.8 %	62 6.5 %
<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie CCED)	AL	22 5.0 %	20 5.3 %	14 3.4 %	13 3.2 %	7 1.6 %
<i>Ràta Mhurchais</i> (Rothiemurchus CCED)	RM	28 2.8 %	65 4.1 %	41 2.8 %	43 2.6 %	30 1.3 %
<i>Coit a'Ghartain</i> (Boat of Garten CCED)	BG	4 0.9 %	20 4.2 %	6 3.4 %	11 3.2 %	5 1.6 %
<i>Daothal</i> (Duthil CCED)	DU	37 5.0 %	30 3.9 %	13 1.4 %	22 2.0 %	16 1.4 %
<i>Obar Neithich</i> (Abernethy CCED)	AN	38 4.5 %	30 4.1 %	25 4.4 %	13 2.6 %	18 2.6 %
<i>Baile Grannda (Baile Beag)</i> (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh))	GS	n/a	30 2.0 %	42 2.6 %	46 2.1 %	51 2.4 %
<i>Crombail (Sgìreachd)</i> (Cromdale (District))	CR	n/a	15 1.8 %	11 1.8 %	6 0.9 %	3 0.4 %
<i>Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)</i> (Nairn (Small Burgh))	NB	77 1.6 %	110 1.4 %	123 1.8 %	163 2.2 %	151 1.8 %
<i>Nàrann Duthaich</i> (Nairn Rural)	NR	67 2.0 %	70 2.4 %	38 1.9 %	33 1.3 %	49 1.9 %

Table 34: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions according to census data from 1961 to 2001



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Bàideanach</i>							
Map No	Census output areas	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Dail Chuinnidh</i> (Dalwhinnie)	12	11.6 %	9	6.2 %	6	3.0 %
02	<i>An Lagan</i> (Laggan)	13	5.5 %	18	7.2 %	13	4.3 %
03	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore) a	19	7.4 %	10	3.2 %	22	6.9 %
04	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore) b	19	5.1 %	28	6.0 %	29	5.6 %
05	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore) c	22	7.2 %	18	8.6 %	11	7.4 %
06	<i>Gleann Tromaidh</i> (Glentromie)	7	4.4 %	6	2.8 %	15	5.2 %
07	<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh</i> (Kingussie) a	18	2.5 %	19	2.9 %	16	2.4 %
08	<i>Cinn a'Ghiùthsaidh</i> (Kingussie) b	26	5.1 %	21	3.5 %	18	2.1 %
09	<i>Ceann na Creige</i> (Kincraig)	16	5.0 %	6	2.0 %	4	1.2 %
10	<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr</i> (Aviemore) a	34	3.0 %	34	3.0 %	22	1.8 %
11	<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr</i> (Aviemore) b	7	1.9 %	9	1.5 %	8	0.7 %
12	<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie)	14	3.3 %	13	3.1 %	7	1.6 %
13	<i>Drochaid Charra</i> (Carrbridge)	12	2.8 %	19	3.3 %	11	1.5 %
14	<i>Coit a'Ghartain</i> (Boat of Garten)	6	1.4 %	11	2.3 %	5	0.8 %
15	<i>Cinn Drochaid</i> (Nethy Bridge)	25	4.4 %	13	2.5 %	18	2.5 %
16	<i>Drochaid Thulnain</i> (Dulnain Bridge)	1	0.2 %	3	0.7 %	5	1.1 %

Table 35: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for census output areas in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Bàideanach: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ⁴²		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	1.1 %
3-4	-	-	1	0.8 %	12	6.5 %	3	1.5 %
5-24	65	3.2 %	51	2.6 %	51	2.3 %	47	2.5 %
25-44	80	4.8 %	56	3.2 %	54	2.3 %	50	2.1 %
45-64	80	5.0 %	68	4.8 %	72	3.7 %	65	2.6 %
65 +	120	11.7 %	75	7.8 %	48	3.9 %	39	2.5 %
Total (3 years and over)	345	5.3 %	251	4.0 %	237	3.1 %	204	2.4 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	239	4.4 %	218	3.6 %	187	2.9 %

Table 36: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) between 1971 and 2001

⁴² Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ⁴³ <i>Nàrann & Srath Spè</i>							
Map No	Civil parish	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy)	5	1.9 %	11	3.1 %	11	2.4 %
52	<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor)	21	3.6 %	6	0.8 %	13	2.1 %
53	<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn)	8	0.9 %	16	1.4 %	18	1.6 %
54	<i>Aird Chlach</i> (Ardclach)	4	1.6 %	-	-	7	1.6 %
55	<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn)	123	1.7 %	163	2.1 %	151	1.7 %
56	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) a	15	2.1 %	20	2.0 %	26	2.8 %
57	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) b	15	3.5 %	12	1.7 %	12	1.9 %
58	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) c	12	2.3 %	14	2.4 %	13	2.2 %
59	<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale)	11	1.7 %	6	0.9 %	3	0.4 %

Table 37: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for selected areas in *Nàrann* (Nairn) and *Srath Spè* (Strathspey) between 1981 and 2001

<i>Nàrann & Srath Spè: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ⁴⁴		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.2 %
3-4	1	0.2 %	-	-	6	1.9 %	9	2.8 %
5-24	49	1.0 %	33	0.9 %	39	1.1 %	29	0.9 %
25-44	68	1.9 %	75	2.4 %	70	1.9 %	57	1.6 %
45-64	59	2.3 %	61	2.3 %	75	2.4 %	75	1.9 %
65 +	43	2.5 %	45	2.1 %	58	2.3 %	80	2.9 %
Total (3 years and over)	220	1.7 %	214	1.8 %	248	1.9 %	250	1.8 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	197	2.0 %	229	2.1 %	227	2.0 %

Table 38: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Nàrann & Srath Spè* (Nairn & Strathspey) according to data from 1971 to 2001

⁴³ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

⁴⁴ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. The * for the age group between 3 and 4 means less than three Gàidhlig-speaking children and possibly zero. Distribution in age groups was calculated based on county-wide data about Nairnshire and Morayshire – no local census information was published for these counties in 1971.



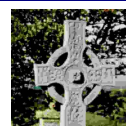
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	<i>Dail Chuinnidh</i> (Dalwhinnie)	-	-	9	4.6 %	- 4.6 %	4.4 %
02	<i>An Lagan</i> (Laggan)	4	5.9 %	22	7.3 %	- 1.4 %	10.0 %
03	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh a</i> (Newtonmore) a	12	18.5 %	31	9.7 %	+ 8.8 %	11.7 %
04	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh b</i> (Newtonmore) b	17	12.1 %	40	7.8 %	+ 4.3 %	8.3 %
05	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh c</i> (Newtonmore) c	5	17.2 %	12	8.1 %	+ 9.1 %	8.9 %
06	<i>Gleann Tromaidh</i> (Glentromie)	6	9.2 %	19	6.6 %	+ 2.6 %	8.6 %
07	<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich a</i> (Kingussie) a	3	1.7 %	23	3.4 %	- 1.7 %	4.4 %
08	<i>Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich b</i> (Kingussie) b	3	1.4 %	32	4.4 %	- 3.0 %	5.4 %
09	<i>Ceann na Creige</i> (Kincaig)	-	-	5	1.4 %	- 1.4 %	2.2 %
10	<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr a</i> (Aviemore) a	7	2.0 %	45	3.8 %	- 1.8 %	4.0 %
11	<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr b</i> (Aviemore) b	3	1.1 %	19	1.9 %	- 0.8 %	1.8 %
12	<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie)	2	1.4 %	15	3.3 %	- 1.9 %	4.7 %
13	<i>Drochaid Charra</i> (Carrbridge)	-	-	21	2.8 %	- 2.8 %	3.5 %
14	<i>Coit a'Ghartain</i> (Boat of Garten)	1	0.7 %	19	3.1 %	- 2.4 %	3.6 %
15	<i>Cinn Drochaid</i> (Nethy Bridge)	3	1.9 %	24	3.6 %	- 1.7 %	4.4 %
16	<i>Drochaid Thulnain</i> (Dulnain Bridge)	1	0.9 %	8	1.7 %	- 0.8 %	1.5 %

Table 39: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Bàideanach (Badenoch) according to census data of 2001



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy)	5	3.7 %	17	3.0 %	+ 0.7 %	4.3 %
52	<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor)	4	2.0 %	20	3.2 %	- 1.2 %	3.0 %
53	<i>Allt Eireann</i> (Auldearn)	4	1.2 %	28	2.5 %	- 1.3 %	3.0 %
54	<i>Aird Chlach</i> (Ardclach)	2	1.6 %	16	3.8 %	- 2.2 %	4.4 %
55	<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn)	28	1.1 %	233	2.6 %	- 1.5 %	3.0 %
56	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) a	6	2.1 %	31	3.3 %	- 1.2 %	3.7 %
57	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) b	4	2.5 %	22	3.4 %	- 0.9 %	4.0 %
58	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey) c	3	2.3 %	16	2.7 %	- 0.4 %	3.5 %
59	<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale)	2	1.0 %	11	1.4 %	- 0.4 %	1.6 %

Table 40: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Nàrann & Srath Spè (Nairn & Strathspey) according to census data of 2001



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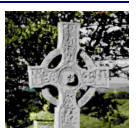
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

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



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



IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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

Census Output Areas in <i>Bàideanach</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Dail Chuinnidh</i> (Dalwhinnie), <i>Srath Mhathaisidh</i> (Strathmashie), <i>Loidse Beinn Eallair</i> (Ben Alder Lodge), <i>Loidse Obar Ardair</i> (Aberarder Lodge), <i>Ceann Loch an Lagain</i> (Kinlochlaggan)	LS	20AA01 20AB01	60QT001225 60QT001314
02	<i>An Lagan</i> (Laggan), <i>Siorraith Mòr</i> (Sherramore), <i>Garbhghaisg</i> (Gergask), <i>Caisteal Chuanaidh</i> (Cluny Castle), <i>Bail' Ailean</i> (Balallan), <i>Caitleag</i> (Catlodge), <i>Gleann Truim</i> (Glen Truim)	LN	20AC06 20AC01B 20AC05 20AC07 20AC08	60QT001366 60QT001411 60QT001412
03	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore)	KS	20AC01	60QT001547 60QT001548 60QT000470
04	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore)	KS	20AC02	60QT000471 60QT001549 60QT000472
05	<i>Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh</i> (Newtonmore)	KS	20AC03 20AC04	60QT000473
06	<i>Gleann Tromaidh</i> (Glentromie), <i>Soillearaidh</i> (Soillierie), <i>Baile Ùr Sgìre Innis</i> (Insch), <i>Inbhir Dhùghlais</i> (Inveruglass), <i>Lainn Ach' Lagain</i> (Lynachlaggan), <i>Toll a' Bhàthaidh</i> (Tolvah), <i>Coille Chunndainn</i> (Killiehuntly), <i>Druim a' Ghiuthsaich</i> (Drumguish)	KN	20AD09 20AD10	60QT000001 60QT000002
07	<i>Cinn a' Ghiuthsaich</i> (Kingussie)	KI	20AD01 20AD02	60QT000474 60QT001375 60QT000475 60QT000476 60QT000477
08	<i>Cinn a' Ghiuthsaich</i> (Kingussie)	KI	20AD03 20AD04 20AD05 20AD06	60QT001376 60QT000478 60QT000479 60QT000480 60QT001550
09	<i>Ceann na Creige</i> (Kincraig), <i>Drochaid Fhèisidh</i> (Feshiebridge), <i>Bruach Spè</i> (Speybank), <i>Loidse Dùnachdain</i> (Dunachton Lodge), <i>Leth Allt</i> (Leault), <i>Lainn a' Chait</i> (Lynchat), <i>Baile Bhile</i> (Balavil)	KN	20AD07 20AD08	60QT001414 60QT001228 60QT001413 60QT001258



10	<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr</i> (Aviemore)	RM	20AE02 20AE03 20AE04	60QT000484 to 60QT000489 60QT001378 60QT001380 60QT001551 to 60QT001554
11	<i>An Aghaidh Mhòr</i> (Aviemore), <i>Creag Eileachaidh</i> (Craigel-lachie), <i>Slugan Grèanais</i> (Sluggangranish), <i>Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Milton)	RM	20AE05 20AE06 20AE07	60QT000004 60QT000490 to 60QT000493 60QT001379 60QT001381 60QT001748 60QT001749
12	<i>Albhaidh</i> (Alvie), <i>Innis Riabhach</i> (Inshriach), <i>Drochaid na Cuingleum</i> (Coylumbridge), <i>Bad a'Ghiuthsaich</i> (Badaguish), <i>Baile Gheallais</i> (Pityoulish), <i>Inbhir Dhrùidh</i> (Inverdrue)	AL	20AE01 20AE08A 20AE08B 20AE09 20AE10 20AE11	60QT000003 60QT001382 60QT000005 60QT000006
13	<i>Drochaid Charra</i> (Carrbridge), <i>Fèith Mhòr</i> , <i>Uachdar Blàir</i> (Auchterblair), <i>Slochd</i> , <i>Uachdar Teanga</i> (Auchterteang), <i>Daothal</i> (Duthil)	DU	20AF01 20AF02 20AF03	60QT000007 to 60QT000011
14	<i>Coit a'Ghartain</i> (Boat of Garten), <i>An Rath Breac</i> (Rae-breck), <i>Gartan Beag</i> (Gartenbeg), <i>Druim Òllaidh</i> (Drumol-lie)	BG	20AG01 20AG02 20AG03	60QT000012 60QT000013 60QT000014 60QT001415 60QT001416 60QT001417
15	<i>Cinn Drochaid</i> (Nethy Bridge), <i>Clachaig</i> , <i>An Tulach</i> (Tul-loch), <i>Loch Gartain</i> (Loch Garten)	AN	20AH01 20AH02 20AH03	60QT000015 60QT000016 60QT000494 60QT000495 60QT000496 60QT001383 60QT001384
16	<i>Drochaid Thulnain</i> (Dulnain Bridge), <i>Gealaghaidh an Ear</i> (Easter Gallovie), <i>Sgiath Churr</i> (Skye of Curr), <i>Croit na h-Aibhne</i> (Croftnahaven), <i>Creagan an Iar</i> (Wester Craggan), <i>Inbhir Ailein</i> (Inverallan), <i>Mucarach</i> (Muckrach), <i>Creagan Uarach</i> (Upper Craggan), <i>Lagan an Iar</i> (Wester Laggan), <i>Achadh na h-Annaid</i> (Achnahannet)	DU	20AJ07 20AJ08	60QT000017 60QT000018 60QT000019

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Nàrann & Srath Spè</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Crothaigh</i> (Croy), <i>Cill Ràthaig</i> (Kilravock), <i>Baile a'Ghlaic an Ear</i> (Easter Glackton), <i>Ceann Locha an Ear</i> (Easter Lochend), <i>Fèith Caladair</i> (Bog of Cawdor)	NR	24AA03 24AC09	60QT000169 60QT000170 60QT001467 60QT001468
52	<i>Caladar</i> (Cawdor), <i>A'Bhraclaich</i> (Brackla), <i>Baile Ùr</i> (Newton), <i>Urchanaidh</i> (Urchany), <i>Gall Canntra</i> (Galcantray), <i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blairmore), <i>Geadais</i> (Geddes), <i>Cnoc a'Phiobair</i> (Piperhill)	NR	24AC11 24AC12 24AC17	60QT000172 60QT000174 60QT001469
53	<i>Àllt Eireann</i> (Auldearn), <i>Muileann Ùr</i> (Newmill), <i>Baile an Ear</i> (Easterton), <i>Bruach an Fhraoich</i> (Muirside), <i>Bràghaid</i> (Brodie), <i>Achadh na Cloiche</i> (Auchnacloiche), <i>Cnoc a'Bhealaidh</i> (Broombank), <i>Muighnis</i> (Moyness)	NR	24AC16 24AC18 24AC19 24AC20A 24AC20B 24AC21	60QT000178 60QT000179 60QT000180 60QT000181 60QT000951 60QT000952 60QT000953 60QT000954 60QT001471
54	<i>Aird Chlach</i> (Ardclach), <i>Cnoc an Eòrna</i> (Knockaneorn), <i>Lainn an Tobair</i> (Lynethobair), <i>Achadh na Tobhaire</i> (Achnatore), <i>Muileann Beag</i> (Littlemill), <i>Slug a 'Choire</i> (Slugachorrie), <i>Òrd Breac</i> (Ordbreck), <i>Migeil Urchanaidh</i> (Meikle Urchany), <i>Achadh Ghoididh</i> (Fortnighty), <i>Flionais Mòr</i> (Fleenasmore), <i>Tir fo Grèine</i> (Tirfogrean), <i>Loidse Droighneachain</i> (Drynachan Lodge), <i>An Druim Mòr</i> (Drumore), <i>Dùn Eireann</i> (Dunearn), <i>Baile Bhlàir</i> (Balblair)	NR	24AC13 24AC14 24AC15	60QT000175 60QT000176 60QT000177
55	<i>Inbhir Nàrainn</i> (Nairn)	NB	24AC01 24AC02 24AC03 24AC04 24AC05 24AC06 24AC07 24AC08 24AC09 24AC10 24AC20A 24AC20B	60QT000171 60QT000173 60QT000892 up to 60QT000950 60QT001260 60QT001327 60QT001470 60QT001658 up to 60QT001664 60QT001732 up to 60QT001735



56	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey), <i>Allt Ruadh</i> (Redburn), <i>Carn Glas</i> (Cairnglass), <i>Buail Fhiodhaid</i> (Belivat), <i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie), <i>Ruigh Lugais</i> (Relugas)	GS	20AJ01 20AJ02	60QT000502 60QT000503 60QT000504 60QT000505 60QT000506 60QT001386 60QT001555 60QT001556
57	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey)	GS	20AJ03 20AJ04	60QT000507 60QT000508 60QT000509 60QT000510 60QT000511 60QT001387
58	<i>Baile Grannda</i> (Grantown-on-Spey)	GS	20AJ05 20AJ06	60QT000512 60QT000513 60QT000514 60QT001388 60QT001557 60QT001558
59	<i>Crombail</i> (Cromdale), <i>Àlbhaidh</i> (Advie), <i>Achadh a'Chroisg</i> (Auchroisk), <i>An Tòrr Mòr</i> (Tormore), <i>Dail a'Chapaill</i> (Dallachaple), <i>Leathandaidh</i> (Lethendry), <i>Baile Coiteir</i> (Cottartown), <i>An Doire Roid Iarach</i> (Lower Derraid), <i>An Damhath</i> (Dava), <i>Loch nan Doirb</i> (Lochindorb), <i>Loidse Tulachain</i> (Tulchan Lodge), <i>Both Chrombail</i> (Boat of Cromdale), <i>Achadh na h-Annaid</i> (Achnahannet), <i>Drochaid Bhruthainn</i> (Bridge of Brown), <i>Drochaid Spè</i> (Speybridge), <i>Baile an Luig</i> (Ballinluig), <i>Tir Dubh</i> (Dirdhu), <i>Sliabhclachd</i>	CR	20AJ09 20AJ10 20AJ11 20AJ12 20AJ13 20AK01	60QT000020 60QT000021 60QT000025 60QT001339 60QT000022 60QT000023 60QT000024 60QT000025

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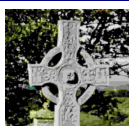
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VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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