

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 18: *An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas* (Oban & South Lorn)

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2nd Edition

June, 2006

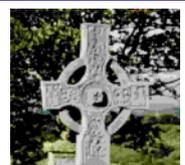
Executive Summary

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

Oban is the main focal point of the communities of northern Argyll. This harbour town acts as an economic and social bridge between the mainland communities of Lorn and the central Hebridean islands from Mull to Barra. As such Oban was always home of a considerable number of “exiles” from the stronger Gaelic-speaking island communities – a fact which strengthened the status of the language in this area for a long time. Parts of neighbouring Lorn were strongly Gaelic-speaking until World War II especially the islands of Seil and Luing. There regrettably the language has almost gone. Nowadays despite recent educational efforts the profile of Gaelic is still remarkably low in the town of Oban and its hinterland. In order to halt the decline or even start a revival much stronger emphasis has to be laid upon educational provision from pre-school to secondary stages.

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Foreword to the First Edition

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

Wedel, *An Dàmhar* 2003
Hamburg, *An t-Sultain* 2005

Kurt C. Duwe



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1 Introduction

The northern mainland part of Argyll has long retained its *Gàidhlig* tradition well into the 20th century. This report is concerned with the harbour town of *An t-Oban* and its hinterland of *Latharna* (Lorn). More precisely it looks at *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) because the northern part was already described in Vol. 17 of this series. Figure 1 provides an overview of the investigation area which covers over 112,000 hectares of the South-West Highlands.

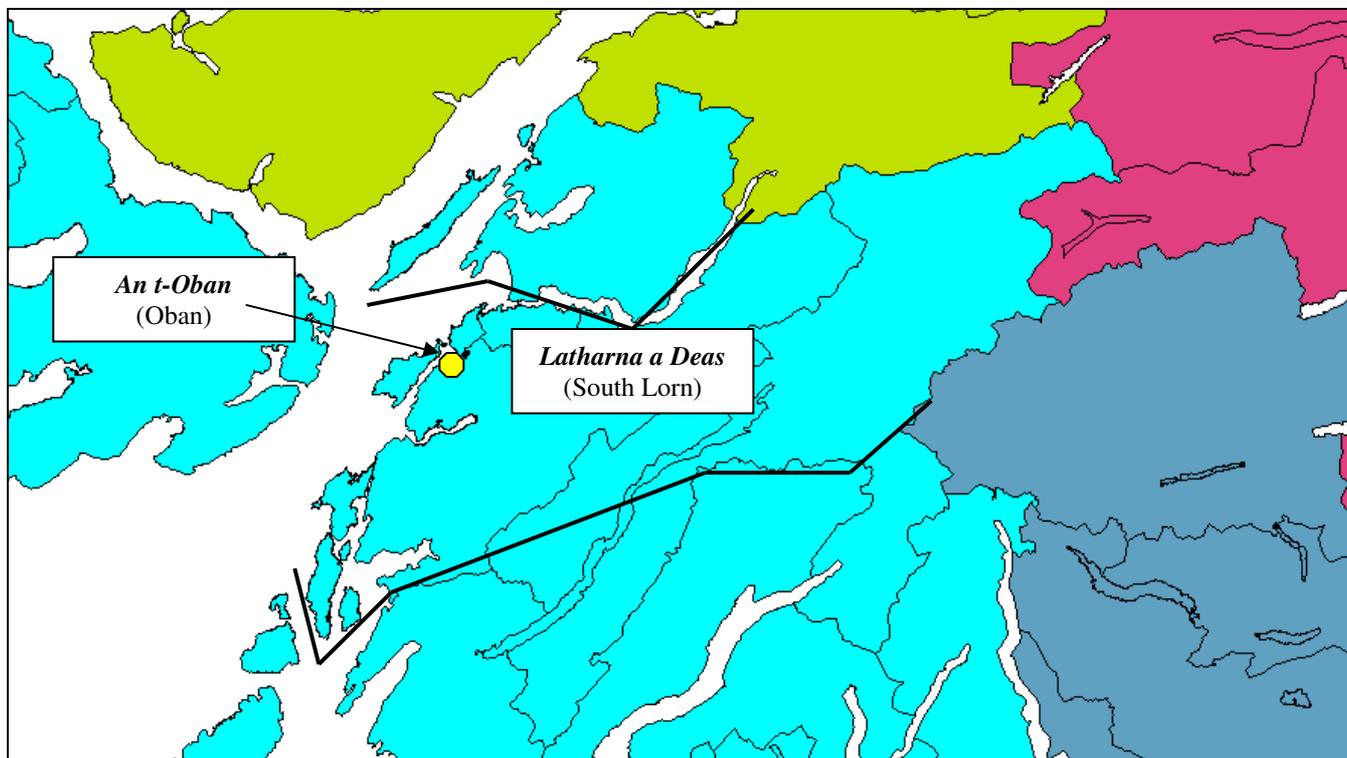


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of *An t-Oban* (Oban) and *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn)²

An t-Oban is a medium-sized harbour town with some 7,500 inhabitants and a relative diverse economy. Apart from its importance for ferry services to the Hebridean islands between *Muile* (Mull) and *Barraigh* (Barra) the town is the main tourism focus of the district. It has also a significant production sector including of course the well-known whisky distillery. In contrast the thinly populated hinterland is largely confined to farming and forestry occupations with a few tourist spots here and there.

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

² Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.



2 The Historical Background

Gàidhlig had been the dominant language of this area well into the 19th century. Before the era of compulsory “English only” schooling Gàidhlig was used also for technical instruction! In the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) for example the local minister reported about the parish of *Cill Bhri-anainn & Cill Chatain* (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) and its slate islands: “Mr John Whyte, the engineer of the slate works has, during the last three winters, delivered a course of lectures on mechanics in the Gaelic language. The people in general, and especially the young men at Easdale, seem to appreciate his laudable and gratuitous efforts for imparting to them useful and interesting knowledge. It is believed this is the first attempt that has been made to communicate such knowledge to the Highlanders in their own language.” Of course Gàidhlig was understood by almost everyone in the area. Even in the parish encompassing the town of *An t-Oban* the account mentions: “The prevailing language is Gaelic, but English is generally understood and gaining ground”. During the decades to come the area experienced a decline of Gàidhlig-speaking intensity like other areas of the West Highlands. This set in approximately at the end of the 19th century. It is easily depicted in figure 2 that the language lost more ground in its former rural strongholds than in the town of *An t-Oban* itself. From 1981 onwards Gàidhlig was more common in the booming harbour town than in the quieter hinterland – albeit on a comparatively low level. The following subchapters will lay out in detail the underlying reasons and developments for the temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-speaking in the communities around and in *An t-Oban*.

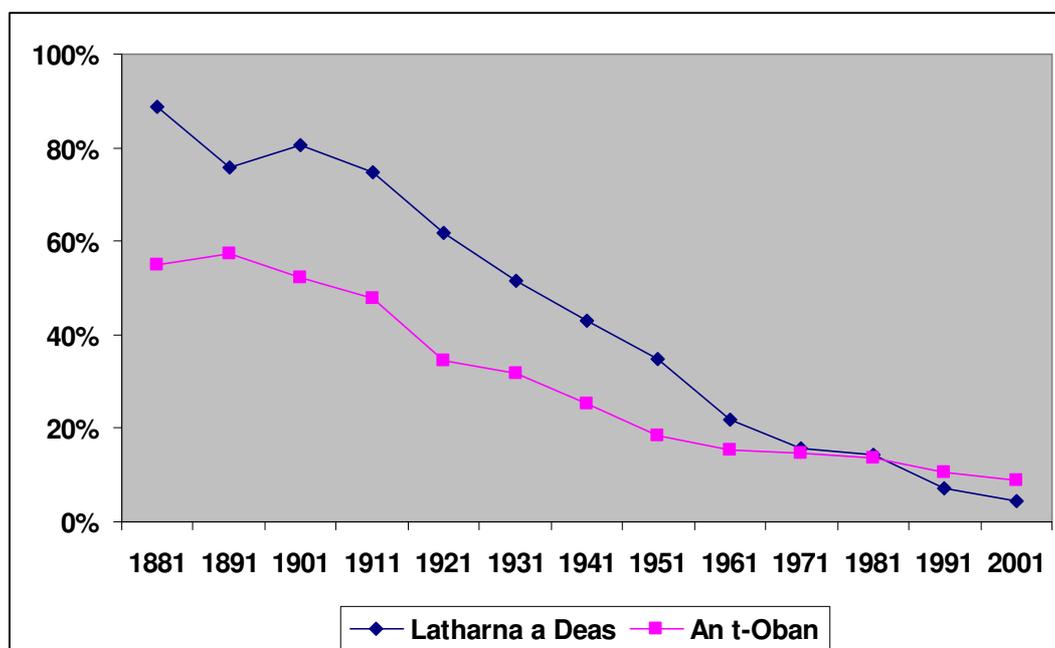


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 for *An t-Oban* (Oban) and *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn)³

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

In 1881 far more than 80 % of the population of *Latharna a Deas* were “habitually” speaking Gàidhlig according to census statistics. The language then was still spoken by a majority of townspeople in *An t-Oban* which was the main port to the strongly Gàidhlig-speaking islands of the southern Hebrides in-

³ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951. 1891 percentages concerning South Lorn are artificially low: The population was increased substantially by the presence of more than 400 railway workers and engineers in eastern districts. In addition 104 Gàidhlig speakers on the island of *Eisdeal* (Easdale) were ignored altogether.



cluding *Barraigh* (Barra), *Muile* (Mull) and *Uibhist a Deas* (South Uist). The number and population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers stayed on a comparative level through the next two decades (see tables 1, 11 and 12) until World War II.

<i>An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	6,169	6,344	6,134	5,419	4,154	3,501
% of total population	69.1 %	65.0 %	62.5 %	57.0 %	41.7 %	37.7 %

Table 1: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas* (Oban & South Lorn) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

Bilingualism, however, was already the norm for *Gàidhlig*-speakers as the local detail in tables 2 and 3 underlines. Significant numbers of people who could not speak English were mainly recorded on the remoter islands of *Saoil* (Seil), *Eisdeal* (Easdale) and *Luinn* (Luing) south of *An t-Oban*. The language remained predominantly spoken in the area until at least 1911 with major strongholds in the islands (see below).

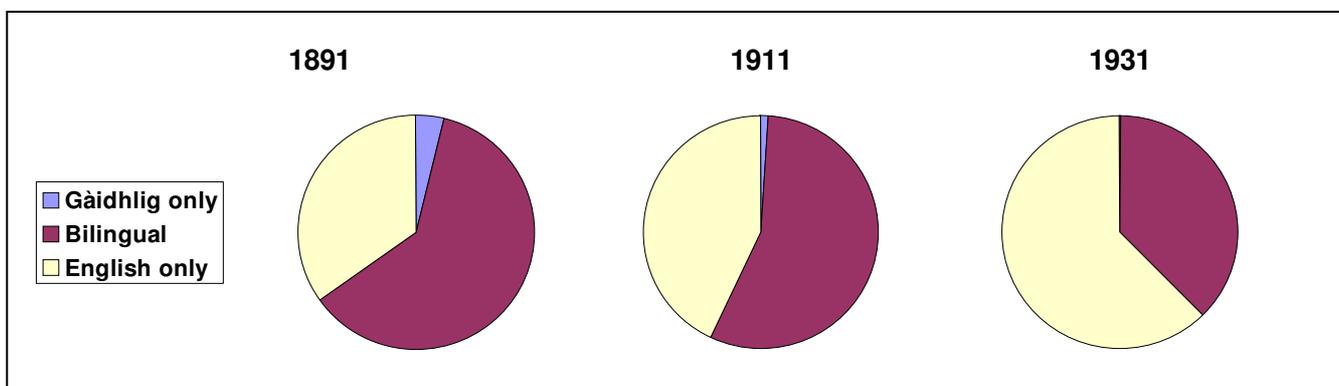


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides interesting additional information. Generally the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors, dumb people as well as children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. Therefore some “corrected” 1891 details about three communities in this district are cited below⁴ (Duwe, 2006):

1. ***Gleann Urchaidh* (Glen Orchy):** The crofting village of *Sròn Mhaolagain* (Stronmilchan) was the only larger human settlement in this vast Highland district encompassing *Am Monadh Dubh* (Black Mount) and much of *Monadh Raineach* (Rannoch Moor) in the north-east of *Earra-Ghaidheal* (Argyll). “During the time of the census a large railway workforce was enumerated in this district which distorted the official census figures considerably. Looking at the usually resident population, however, the district emerged still as a strongly *Gàidhlig*-speaking area. A majority of all age groups spoke *Gàidhlig* with a few of monolingual speakers still around in 1891. Almost everyone born either locally or in the wider *Gaidhealtachd* spoke the traditional language. - In original census report

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



terms the district had a population of 915 persons of all ages. 542 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English”; an additional number of 12 persons spoke “Gaelic only”. This led to an “official” share of *Gàidhlig* speakers of just 60.5 %. This figure, however, was a dramatic under-estimate of 34.5 % because the huge number of railway workers was included in the total population of official census reports.” In real terms 95 % of the usually resident population had been *Gàidhlig* speaking!

2. ***Dail Abhaich (Dalavich)***: This old ecclesiastic parish occupies stretches of land on both shores of the middle reaches of *Loch Obha* (Loch Awe). At the time of the census this was a sparsely populated district with only a few shepherds, gamekeepers, and farmers left after the Highland Clearances. In total 93.7 % of the usually resident population spoke the traditional tongue: “The language was universally spoken by the local population. Seven of the nine inhabitants “with no Gaelic” were born outside the *Gaidhealtachd*. Almost the whole population was essentially bilingual with four monolingual *Gàidhlig* speakers reported between the ages of three and five. The highest proportions of *Gàidhlig* speakers were found in the communities around *Abhach* (Avich) and *Blàr Gobhar* (Blarghour)... Nine persons in the district were enumerated as not speaking *Gàidhlig*. Among them was a farmer, his wife and brother-in-law from Galloway. In addition another farmer (born in Lanarkshire), a servant from Forfarshire and a tailor from Linlithgowshire did not speak *Gàidhlig*. The remaining “English only” returns came from two 4-year old children in the district.”

3. ***An t-Oban Meadhonach (Central Oban)***: This part of the town around *Sràid Sheorais* (George Street) and *Cidhe a Tuath* (North Pier) was home to a very cosmopolitan society including ordinary seamen and hotel servants as well as the inhabitants of upper class villas in assorted crescents and terraces. Nonetheless the town was not completely anglicised as might be expected at the end of the 19th century: “More than a third of the usually resident population of this part of the town originated from outside the Highlands. These persons apart the vast majority of townspeople still spoke *Gàidhlig* at the time. Only in the school age generation was English monolingualism dominant. *Gàidhlig* was especially strong in quarters like *Sràid Stafford* (Stafford Street) and *Sràid Sheorais* (George Street) whereas in well-off villas around *Leth-chearcall Bhictoria* (Victoria Crescent) English was the language of the day. In the latter Lowlanders and Englishmen were most prominent. Official census figures reported 267 bilingual inhabitants and six monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers out of a total population of 515 persons (53.0 %). The usually resident population, however, consisted of 253 *Gàidhlig*-speakers (59.5 %) including five persons “with no Gaelic”. A house carpenter’s wife and two young children belonged to the latter group – they came originally from *Uibhist a Tuath* (North Uist). In addition a 60 year old dairyman from *Lios Mòr* (Lismore) and a 53 year old seaman’s wife from the district of *Torosaigh* (Torosay) on *Muile* (Mull) did not speak English.”

Therefore it is quite obvious that the state of *Gàidhlig* in this mainland district was even stronger than the census statistics suggested. Setting aside the substantial number of Lowlanders in *An t-Oban* and the temporal presence of hundreds of railway workers *Gàidhlig* was almost universally spoken in the area in 1891.

Such very detailed local information is available in census publications until 1901. The census reports and enumeration files provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2 and 3). Although all official percentages of *Gàidhlig* speakers were notoriously underestimating the real strength of the language the temporal evolution of language knowledge and the incidence of monolingualism can clearly be depicted from official figures. By looking at the census results on enumeration district level the geographical distribution and its variability become even more evident than in the less detailed census publications for 1881, 1891 and 1901.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts around <i>An t-Oban</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Area	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> ⁵			Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ⁶	
	1881 ⁷	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilmore & Kilbride: Rural Part)	431 81.9 %	362 76.1 %	334 71.4 %	7 1.9 %	8 2.4 %
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban Ecclesiastic Parish)	1,725 54.7 %	1,957 58.6 %	2,095 54.5 %	110 5.6 %	67 3.2 %
<i>An t-Oban: Naomh Chaluim Chille</i> (Oban: St. Columba Ecclesiastic Parish)	569 41.8 %	889 48.5 %	796 42.0 %	22 2.5 %	10 1.3 %
<i>Cearrara</i> (Island of Kerrera)	91 88.3 %	73 89.0 %	73 73.7 %	2 2.7 %	–

Table 2: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population around *An t-Oban* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

The civil parish of *A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrìghde* (Kilmore & Kilbride) includes the town of *An t-Oban*, its immediate hinterland and the island of *Cearrara* (Kerrera). Table 2 shows that the rural part of the parish and *Cearrara* were still overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig* speaking during this period. Although the language was less strong in *An t-Oban* itself this situation was more due to the large community of Lowland people than caused by a genuine language shift within the “native” population (see also above). *Gàidhlig* monolingualism, however, was already almost entirely a thing of the past.

The rural parts of *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) on the other hand were almost entirely *Gàidhlig* speaking during this period (table 3). The 1891 picture was slightly distorted in communities adjacent to the railway track between *Taigh an Droma* (Tyndrum) and *Stèisean Raineach* (Rannoch Station) where over 400 workers and engineers (mostly from the Central Belt) lived temporarily in tents and rented houses. Also a few erratic enumeration errors occurred like the ignoring of over 100 *Gàidhlig* speakers on the slate quarrying island of *Eisdeal* (Easdale). Nonetheless it is obvious that the traditional language was pre-dominant in every village and hamlet of the district. Special strongholds of *Gàidhlig* were of course the islands between *Saoil* (Seil) and *Luinn* (Luing) where a substantial number of inhabitants did not speak English at all. In general the language held its ground rather successfully within the two decades between 1881 and 1901.

Even in 1901 *Gàidhlig* was spoken by more than 50 % of the inhabitants of *An t-Oban*. Economic slumps, the First World War and a depressingly anti-Gaelic education policy took their toll thereafter. *Gàidhlig* retreated very fast from its former strength. In 1921 it became a minority language in the area and until 1931 the overall percentage plummeted to 37.7 % (table 1). In those days strongholds remained especially in the small islands around *Saoil* (Seil) and *Luinn* (Luing). The civil parish of *Cill Bhrianainn*

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

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

⁷ Speaking “habitually” *Gàidhlig*.



& Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) – essentially representing this small archipelago – reported remarkable 78.0 % of Gàidhlig-speakers even in 1931 (Table 15).

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Latharna a Deas – 1881 - 1901					
Area	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁸			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁹	
	1881 ¹⁰	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Gleann Urchaidh</i> (Glenorchy)	666	796 ¹¹ 63.5 %	651 78.7 %	18 2.3 %	17 2.6 %
<i>Na Sraithibh</i> (Strathfillan)	87.5 %	267 ¹¹ 46.7 %	126 80.3 %	4 1.5 %	1 0.8 %
<i>Innis Fhàil</i> (Inishail)	282 82.0 %	298 76.5 %	366 79.0 %	20 6.7 %	16 4.4 %
<i>Macàrna</i> (Muckairn)	530 86.2 %	539 74.7 %	466 73.7 %	12 2.2 %	11 2.4 %
<i>Cill Chrèanain</i> (Kilchrenan)	249 89.6 %	211 82.1 %	115 71.9 %	3 1.4 %	1 0.9 %
<i>Dail Abhaich</i> (Dalavich)	195 86.3 %	142 89.9 %	106 76.8 %	6 4.2 %	8 7.5 %
<i>Cill an Inbhir</i> (Kilninver)	211 94.2 %	162 81.0 %	146 84.9 %	2 1.2 %	7 4.8 %
<i>Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilmelford)	129 71.3 %	152 75.2 %	119 64.3 %	7 4.6 %	2 1.7 %
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan: Mainland)	84 90.3 %	46 78.0 %	179 79.6 %	1 2.2 %	10 5.6 %
<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil)	589 89.1 %	467 85.2 %	343 80.9 %	38 8.1 %	15 4.4 %
<i>Eisdeal</i> (Isle of Easdale)	446 97.0 %	198 ¹² 62.5 %	269 94.7 %	62 31.3 %	8 3.0 %
<i>Luinn</i> ¹³ (Isle of Luing)	492 89.0 %	588 90.5 %	542 85.4 %	79 14.2 %	28 5.2 %

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Latharna a Deas according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

⁸ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

⁹ Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

¹⁰ Speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.

¹¹ Percentage strongly diluted by the presence of a large labour force of railway workers in 1891.

¹² The 1891 census statistics for the island of *Eisdeal* (Easdale) were incomplete. On the first seven enumeration pages language information among 158 inhabitants was only provided for household heads. A close examination of the original forms, however, resulted in 59 “Gaelic only” speakers, 87 bilingual persons, 7 genuine monolingual English speakers and five children below the age of 3. Keeping this in mind the return for the island would have been more realistically to be 302 Gàidhlig speakers (97.1 %) with 105 monolingual speakers (35.5 %).

¹³ Includes *Eilean Seona* (Shuna Island), *Torsaigh* (Torsay Island) and *Eilean nan Caorach* (Sheep Island).



2.2 Developments in the late 20th century (Census 1951–2001)

Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of Gàidhlig-speakers fell from 37.7 % to 22.0 % in the area. The economic upheaval and population migration caused by World War II had a remarkable negative effect on the frequency of Gàidhlig-speaking. However, the remoter parts of *Latharna a Deas* still boasted some areas with high language incidence. Especially the parish of *Cill Bhriainn & Cill Chatain* remained still above the 50 % mark in 1951. Ten years later there were no CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) with a majority of Gàidhlig-speakers. However, remarkable figures were still reported for the divisions of *Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil* (24.7 %) and *Latharna Iarach* (Nether Lorn) with a percentage of 32.4 %. The latter of course was identical to the civil parish of *Cill Bhriainn & Cill Chatain* (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) which is made up mainly by the islands of *Saoil* and *Luinn*. Like in other mainland areas these figures were a little bit misleading as almost all Gàidhlig-speakers were born well before World War II.

The real demographic picture came out with the more detailed census reports in 1971 (tables 18 and 20) showing only comparatively few children speaking the language in the area. Even those numbers were not totally representative because quite many island children attended Oban High School for secondary education at that time. In essence Gàidhlig was confined to the older generation in the area and the road to further decline was almost inevitable.

<i>An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas</i>						
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	2,178	1,791	1,620	1,529	1,220	993
% of total population	22.0 %	16.7 %	14.8 %	13.7 %	10.0 %	8.0 %

Table 4: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas* (Oban & South Lorn) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001

Apart from some voluntary 2nd language classes at secondary school there still was no educational provision of Gàidhlig for the pupils in the area. Figure 4 outlines this fact for the school-aged population in *An t-Oban* in 1981. Overall only one in seven of the local population were able to speak Gàidhlig at this census date. Locally these percentages differed very much from place to place, however. Considering individual census output areas (tables 19 and 21) there was still a comparatively strong Gàidhlig presence in the vast Highland area around *Drochaid Urchaidh* (33.8 %) and on the islands of *Luinn* (32.2 %) and *Cearrara* (27.0 %). The strength of the language was unevenly distributed through the different generations nonetheless. There were many Gàidhlig-speakers counted in the generation aged 65 and older – 26.7 % in *An t-Oban* and 28.8 % in *Latharna a Deas*. The respective percentages for younger people aged between 5 and 24 were considerably lower – 8.5 % and 7.7 % respectively (tables 18 and 20).

The local government reorganisation with the substitution of Argyll County Council by Strathclyde Regional Council in 1974 had not shown any effect as the Gàidhlig language was concerned. But the “Gaelic Renaissance” had already hit *An t-Oban* when the first *cròileagan* was set up in 1981. It was one of four Gàidhlig playgroups which opened in Scotland during this year and it was from these humble beginnings the strong voluntary playgroup organisation *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* started its success story in the coming decades.



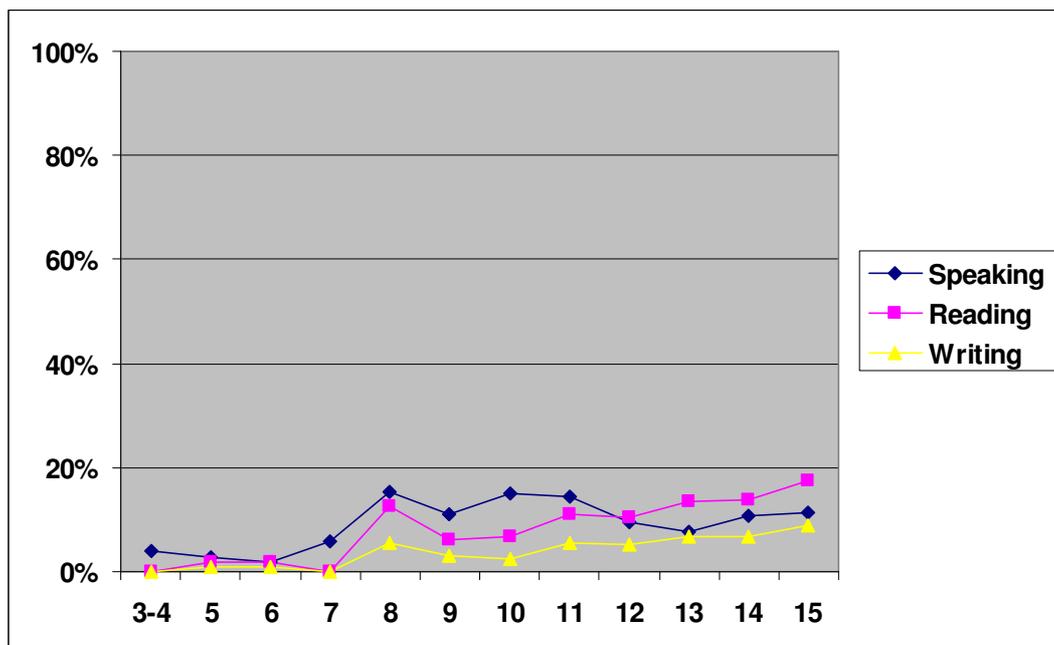


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – town of An t-Oban (Oban)

The following period of some 15 years was a very quiet one as *Gàidhlig* language activities were concerned in the district. There was some talk of opening a *Gàidhlig*-medium unit in *An t-Oban* and a voluntary Gaelic Partnership of the district was introduced. But in total the impetus was rather weak and intermittent. Census results in 1991 and 2001 were accordingly not very encouraging as they underlined still a strong downward trend. The local mother-tongue speakers passed away with every year and finally the island of *Luinn* (Luing) lost its last “native” speakers.

But all was not doom and gloom in the area as momentum of language support increased considerably during the late 1990s. Eventually a *Gàidhlig*-medium unit was established at *An t-Oban* in 1997/98 and the introduction of a local authority *Gàidhlig* nursery in the town followed suit. At the turn of the century even second language teaching in some local primary schools started for a trial period under the GLPS (Gaelic language in Primary School) scheme. By means of these activities the incidence of *Gàidhlig*-speaking at younger age groups in the district was successfully kept at former levels and might be the basis for future growth in this sector.

Perhaps fittingly the locality with the liveliest *Gàidhlig* cultural scene, *Taigh an Uillt* (Taynuilt), reported a first increase of number and percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in 2001 (table 17). Details of 2001 census results are interpreted in chapter 3 of this report.



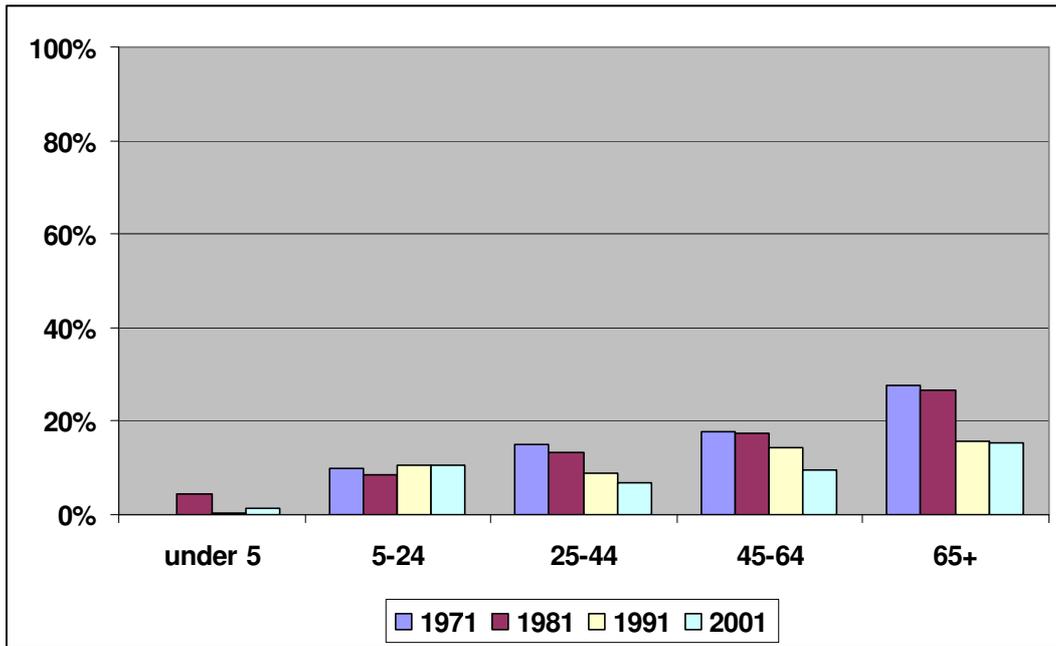


Fig. 5: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – An t-Oban (Oban)¹⁴

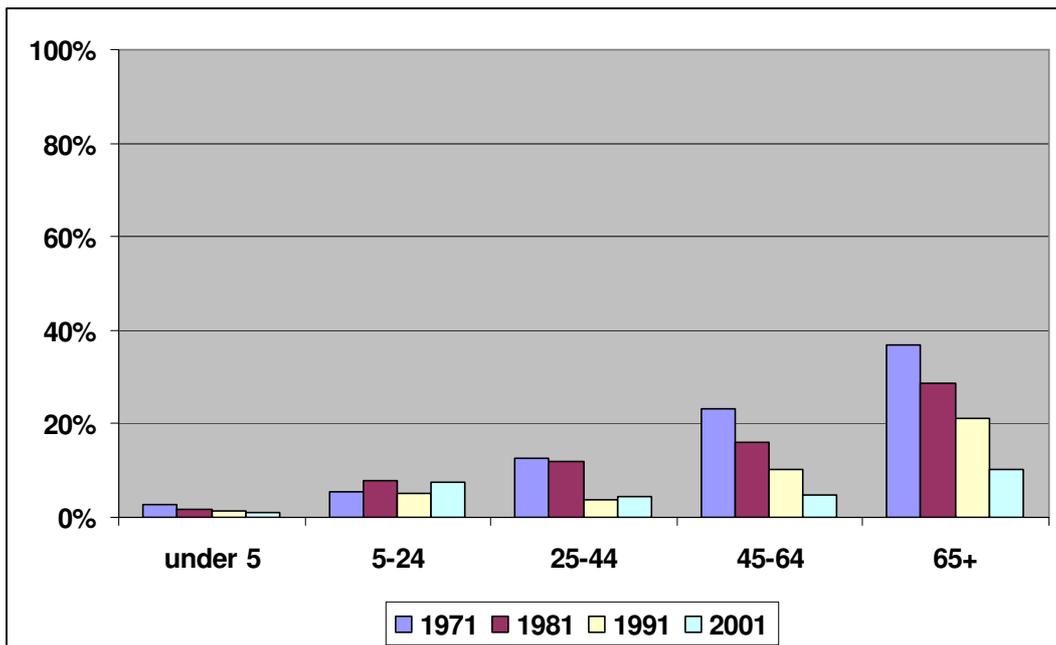
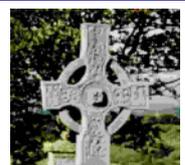


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Latharna a Deas (South Lorn)

¹⁴ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



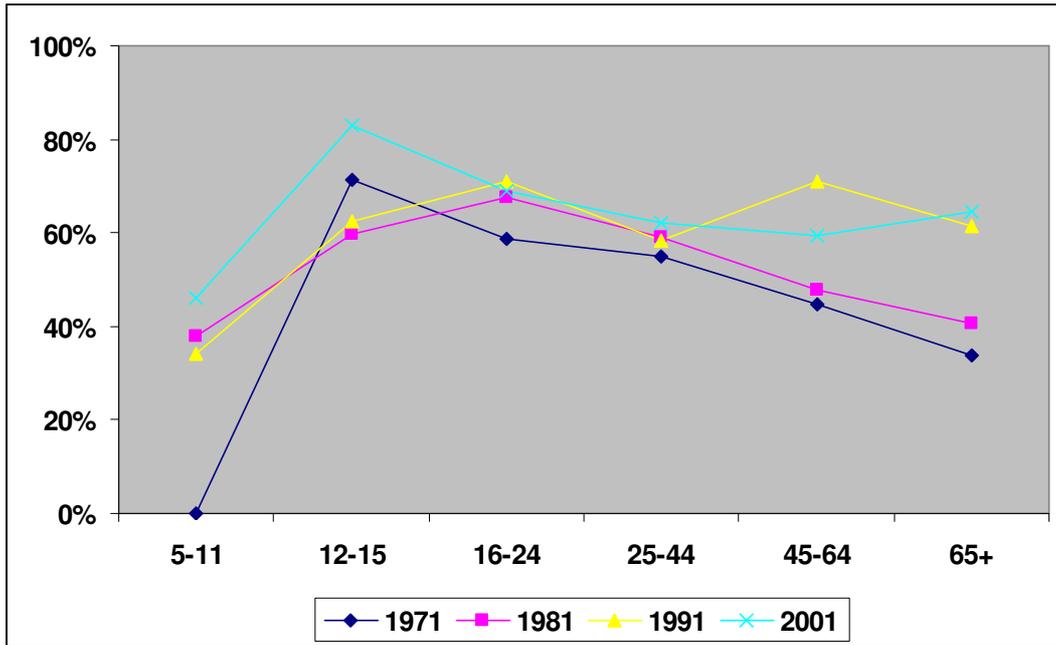


Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): An t-Oban (Oban)

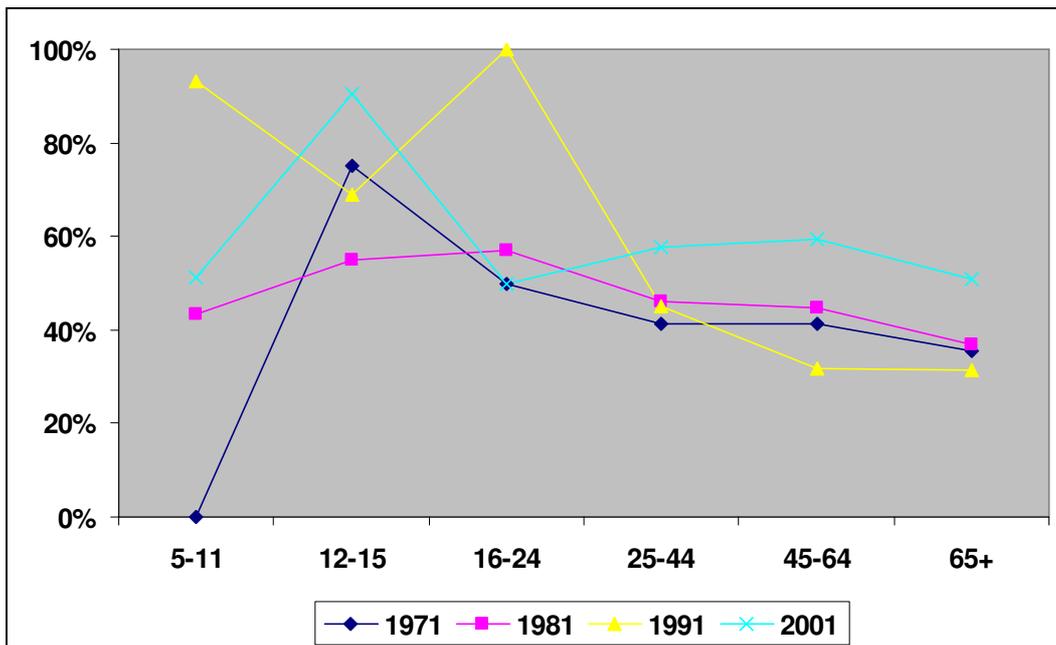


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Latharna a Deas (South Lorn)



2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001

From the point of view of Gàidhlig literacy additional census information had become available from 1971 onwards. In 1971 less than 50 % of those speaking Gàidhlig were able to read text in the language (tables 5 and 6) in the area. The percentages reported were somewhat higher in the more urban context of *An t-Oban* than in its rural hinterland. Nonetheless results were not at all satisfactory when compared with other mainland areas in Ross & Cromarty for example. The answer to these discrepancies lies in the apparent lack of formal education in the language in Argyll and also to some extent to the less important role of Gàidhlig in local church life.

During the next decades education at primary and secondary school level was slightly improved (fig. 7 and 8) and overall literacy figures increased considerably in the areas' Gàidhlig-speaking population.

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	485	529	522	455	47.3%	50.4 %	60.6 %	62.2 %
<i>Latharna a Deas</i> (South Lorn)	285	279	168	184	40.4 %	44.2 %	41.5 %	57.0 %

Table 5: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2001)

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	365	419	461	393	35.6 %	39.9 %	53.5 %	53.8 %
<i>Latharna a Deas</i> (South Lorn)	175	204	140	156	24.8 %	32.3 %	34.6 %	49.3 %

Table 6: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2001)



3 The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

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

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

Comparing both areas – *An t-Oban* and *Latharna a Deas* – it is obvious that the urban part of the district has succeeded to keep its *Gàidhlig* profile somewhat better than the smaller rural communities of *Latharna* nearby.

Looking at the town of *An t-Oban* (Oban) the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information:

- There is still a decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 9) from older to younger generations with a second peak at secondary school age. Intergenerational language difference (table 7) is almost zero which in itself is a good sign. Roughly 2 % of the pre-school children know the language.
- A slight decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking has still occurred since 1991 (table 7) especially in older age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers has stayed at the same level as 1991.
- Results differ considerably between parts of the town. The local detail of census output areas show the population share being able to speak the *Gàidhlig* ranging from roughly 5 % to some 13 %. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 10 % and more than 22 %.
- Literacy in the language is still improving through educational efforts with 62.2 % of speakers being able to read and 53.8 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years some 5 children were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 8 children could understand spoken *Gàidhlig* in *An t-Oban*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (9.4 % of the population) 412 inhabitants (5.3 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language. Almost one in six of local residents recorded themselves as knowing some *Gàidhlig*. The town of *An t-Oban* has therefore still a considerable *Gàidhlig* language community.



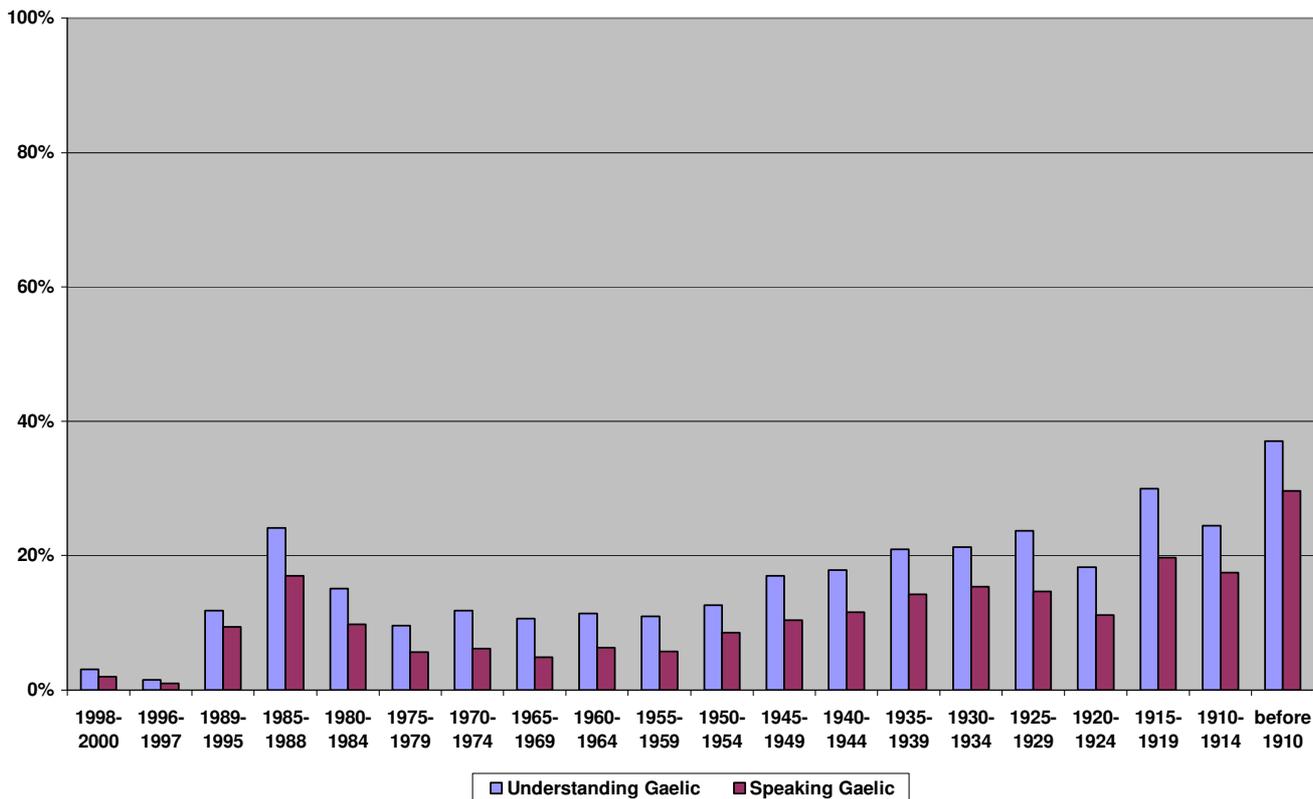


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – town of An t-Oban (Oban) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁵ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	8	3.1 %	-	-	5	1.9 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	3	1.5 %	-	-	2	1.0 %	1	0.5 %	+ 0.5 %
5-11	82	11.8 %	30	4.3 %	65	9.4 %	71	8.5 %	+ 0.9 %
12-15	110	24.6 %	63	14.1 %	76	17.0 %	53	14.3 %	+ 2.7 %
16-24	98	12.1 %	44	5.4 %	64	7.9 %	111	10.3 %	- 2.4 %
3-24	293	13.6 %	137	6.4 %	207	9.6 %	236	9.5 %	+ 0.1 %
All ages	1,143	14.7 %	455	5.9 %	731	9.4 %	870	11.1 %	- 1.7 %
Difference		- 1.1 %		+ 0.5 %		+ 0.2 %		- 1.6 %	

Table 7: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in An t-Oban (Oban) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁵ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



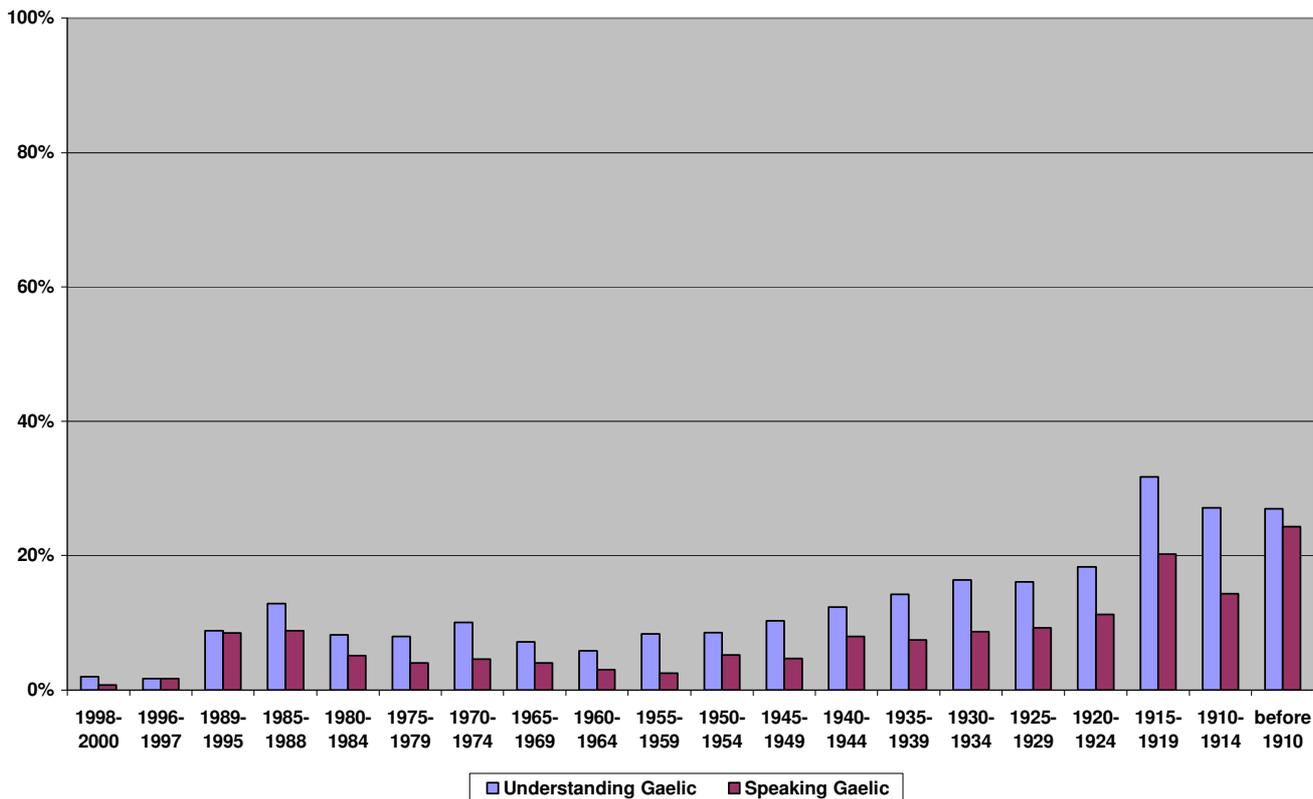


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Latharna a Deas (South Lorn) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁶ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	3	2.0 %	-	-	1	0.7 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	2	1.7 %	-	-	2	1.7 %	2	1.3 %	+ 0.4 %
5-11	45	8.8 %	22	4.3 %	43	8.5 %	29	6.4 %	+ 2.1 %
12-15	31	12.9 %	19	7.9 %	21	8.8 %	32	10.9 %	- 2.1 %
16-24	29	8.0 %	9	2.5 %	18	5.0 %	6	1.1 %	+ 3.9 %
3-24	107	8.7 %	50	4.1 %	84	6.8 %	69	4.8 %	+ 2.0 %
All ages	544	10.0 %	184	3.4 %	323	6.0 %	406	8.4 %	- 2.4 %
Diff.		- 1.3 %		+ 0.7 %		+ 0.8 %		- 3.6 %	

Table 8: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Latharna a Deas (South Lorn) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁶ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



According to the census enumeration of 2001 the following conclusions may be drawn for the rural district of *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn):

- There is a constant decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 10) from older to younger generations with only a small percentage peak at secondary school age.
- Intergenerational language difference is positive as speaking ability is concerned (table 8). This is a marked improvement compared with the situation in 1991.
- Roughly 2 % of the pre-school children knew something of the language in 2001. This highlights the lack of *cròileagan* in the area other than the one in *An t-Oban*.
- A considerable decrease by over 2 % in *Gàidhlig*-speaking has occurred since 1991 (table 8) especially in older age groups. However, in the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers is up by 2 %.
- Results are not the same over the whole area. The local detail of census output areas show those being able to speak the language ranging from a derisory 1.1 % in *Bràigh a' Bhealaich* (Braevallich) to some 11.8 % in *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmore). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 5 % in *An Cladach* (Cladich) and more than 15 % in *Cill Mhoire*.
- Literacy in the language may be described as less satisfactory with 57.0 % of speakers being able to read and 49.3 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years only one child was able to speak *Gàidhlig* and three children could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (6.0 % of the population) 221 inhabitants (4.0 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Taking all details under consideration it is obvious that *Gàidhlig* in *Latharna a Deas* and its “capital” *An t-Oban* show some signs of recovery. These tendencies, however, are by far not intensive enough to ensure a revival in the district.

3.2 Children with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in primary 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 9 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 School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
	<i>Drochaid Urchaidh</i> (Bridge of Orchy)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Clachan an Dìseirt</i> (Dalmally)	-	-	2	5.3 %	-	-	6	8.8 %
<i>Taigh an Uillt</i> (Taynuilt)	1	2.2 %	5	6.6 %	8	16.0 %	9	10.2 %
<i>Aird Chonghail</i> (Ardchonnell)	-	-	3	14.3 %	-	-	1	4.3 %
<i>A'Chonghail</i> (Achaleven)	1	3.4 %	4	8.2 %	3	13.0 %	9	15.5 %
<i>An Dùn Beag</i> (Dunbeg)	-	-	4	4.3 %	7	19.0 %	10	10.3 %
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	11	2.2 %	93	12.0 %	115	23.8 %	131	11.1 %
<i>Cill Chrèanain</i> (Kilchrenan)	-	-	2	9.5 %	3	25.0 %	2	4.8 %
<i>Cill an Inbhir</i> (Kilninver)	2	11.1 %	7	17.5 %	1	6.3 %	6	10.2 %
<i>Eisdeal</i> (Easdale)	-	-	6	11.3 %	3	16.7 %	1	2.0 %
<i>Luinn</i> (Luing)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	17.4 %

Table 9: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

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

- **Pre-school children:** At the time of the census a local authority *sgoil-araich* (nursery school) was provided as pre-stage for the local Gàidhlig-medium unit in *An t-Oban*. Apart from this there were virtually no Gàidhlig-speaking children at pre-school age left in the area.
- **Primary school children:** In the school-year of 2000/2001 in total 21 children attended the Gàidhlig-medium unit in *An t-Oban* (see also fig. 11). A small number of the remaining 1,118 primary school children had some opportunity to have a few Gàidhlig lessons at certain local primary schools. These schools can easily be depicted from the census results.
- **Secondary school children:** All children in the area had to attend Oban High School for their secondary education. Gàidhlig as a second language was available as a non-compulsory subject and during 2000/2001 88 pupils attended these lessons at S1 and S2. It has to be stated, however, that a few of these will have originated from the wider catchment of Oban High School which also covered *Apainn* (Appin), *Àird Chatain* (Ardchattan), *Colla* (Coll), *Colbhasa* (Colonsay) and the south-western part of the island of *Muile* (Mull).



- Parents: More or less one in ten of those at “parental age” conceded to have some knowledge of Gàidhlig in the area.

In short educational provision for Gàidhlig was existent but rather unevenly distributed throughout the area. Conditions were most favourable in *An t-Oban* itself – in contrast the former strongholds of the island of *Luinn* (Luing) and the area around *Drochaid Urchaidh* (Bridge of Orchy) were left with no children with at least some understanding of spoken Gàidhlig.

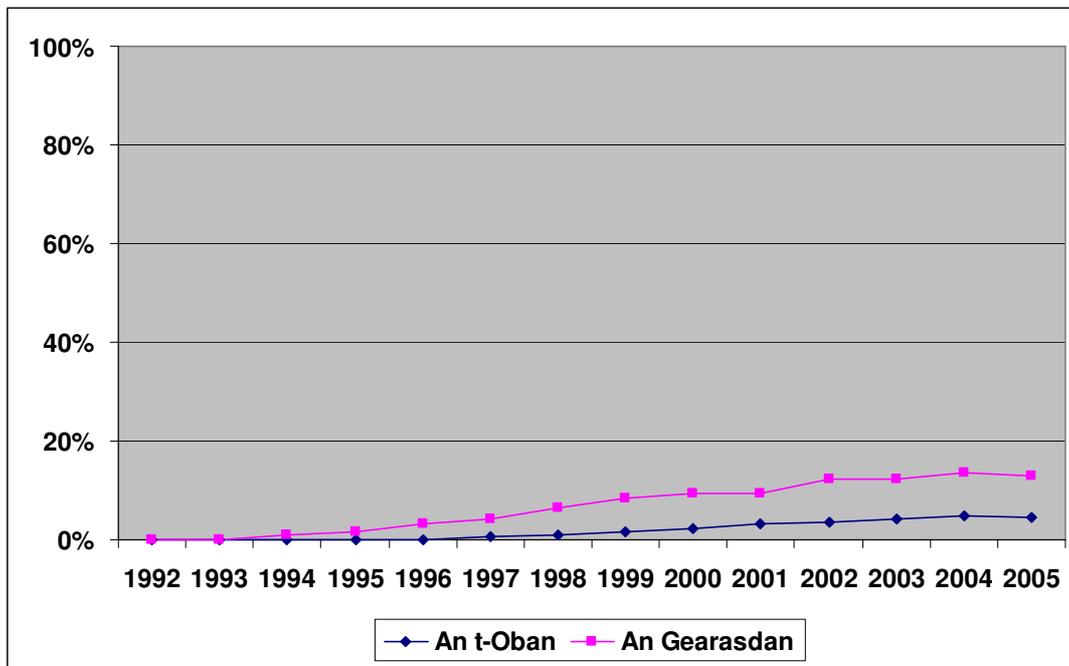
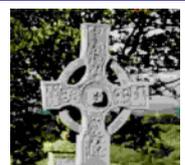


Fig. 11: Share of primary school children attending Gàidhlig-medium classes in *An t-Oban* in comparison with *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) (September 1992 – September 2005)¹⁷

¹⁷ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



4 Future Perspectives

The basis for future developments is the state of the language recorded in the 2001 census. In this respect conditions are much more favourable in the town of *An t-Oban* than in its rural hinterland. The language community indicator (LCI¹⁸) ranges now in both investigation area between 12 % and 16 %. The language viability indicator (LVI¹⁹) in both areas is still negative leading to weak intergenerational language-maintenance (table 10).

Area	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 2001					
	Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	301	12.5 %	1,143	14.7 %	- 2.2 %	16.1 %
<i>Latharna a Deas</i> (South Lorn)	110	8.0 %	544	10.0 %	- 2.0 %	12.4 %
<i>In comparison: Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd</i>	6.1 %		7.2 %		- 1.1 %	7.5 %

Table 10: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *An t-Oban* (Oban) and *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) compared with the *Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2001

Locally the LVI is negative except in a few locations. The few census output areas with positive intergenerational viability are mainly located in some quarters of *An t-Oban* or nearby communities like *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmore). The LCI is generally below 20 % with maximum values recorded in parts of *An t-Oban* and *Cill Mhoire*. The data about the knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age-groups (tables 22 to 25) reflect these distributions quite well.

In the meantime the GLPS scheme has been extended to primary schools throughout the area. Accordingly primary school pupils have now the chance to get acquainted with *Gàidhlig* rather early in their school life. The GMU in *An t-Oban* still thrives and the first children are now receiving education at secondary school as “fluent speakers”. Also the nursery sector is improving. In 2003/2004 for example eight pre-school children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 at the *Gàidhlig* nursery unit in *An t-Oban*.

In conclusion: Despite recent educational efforts the profile of *Gàidhlig* is still remarkably low in the town of *An t-Oban* and its hinterland. In order to halt the decline or even start a revival much stronger emphasis has to be laid upon educational provision from pre-school to secondary stages.

¹⁸ LCI: The “Language Community Indicator” is a measure of the relative strength of the language in the “local” population. It is calculated here by taking the values for *Gàidhlig* knowledge only for those who were born in Scotland. This is a rough estimation as many who are born in Scotland come from English speaking homes but nevertheless it is a better approximation of language strength than looking simply at the resident population.

¹⁹ LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 25 years of age and the total population.



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish				
	<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil</i> (Glenorchy & Inishail)	<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich</i> (Kilchrenan & Dalavich)	<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilmore & Kilbride)	<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilninver & Kilmelford)	<i>Cill Bhrianna-inn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)
1881	948	444	2,816	340	1,621
1891	1,094	353	3,281	316	1,300
1901	930	308	3,298	265	1,333
1911	748	222	3,014	249	1,186
1921	598	190	2,525	198	643
1931	467	168	2,064	160	642
1951	225	99	1,454	100	300
1961	216	62	1,257	60	196
1971	130	35	1,280	45	130
1981	127	27	1,240	32	103
1991	58	9	1,053	13	87
2001	50	10	879	23	31

Table 11: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001

Census	Civil Parish				
	<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil</i> (Glenorchy & Inishail)	<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich</i> (Kilchrenan & Dalavich)	<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilmore & Kilbride)	<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilninver & Kilmelford)	<i>Cill Bhrianna-inn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)
1881 ²⁰	85.8 %	88.1 %	54.8 %	84.0 %	91.7 %
1891	66.7 %	85.1 %	57.3 %	77.6 %	82.6 %
1901	77.9 %	78.2 %	52.3 %	74.2 %	85.0 %
1911	68.1 %	62.2 %	47.9 %	63.0 %	86.6 %
1921	55.1 %	49.5 %	34.5 %	63.5 %	75.2 %
1931	34.8 %	52.2 %	31.7 %	53.7 %	78.0 %
1951	25.5 %	28.4 %	18.6 %	35.8 %	52.3 %
1961	22.0 %	9.8 %	15.2 %	23.2 %	35.1 %
1971	13.6 %	7.8 %	14.6 %	18.4 %	24.8 %
1981	14.9 %	8.8 %	13.6 %	15.8 %	15.6 %
1991	6.1 %	2.7 %	10.7 %	7.0 %	10.3 %
2001	5.4 %	2.6 %	8.9 %	5.7 %	3.7 %

Table 12: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the five civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001

²⁰ The 1881 census question was concerned with “habitually” speaking Gaelic.



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881: <i>An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas</i> ²¹	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	8,913	6,159	
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil</i> (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP	1,105	948	
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich</i> (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP	504	444	
<i>A’Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP	5,142	2,816	
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP	405	340	
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP	1,757	1,611	
--- Islands or burghs (not identical to the above) -----			
<i>Cearrara</i> (Kerrera)	103	91	
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) Burgh	4,046	2,060	
<i>Eisdeal</i> (Easdale Island)	460	446	
<i>Luinn</i> (Luing)	521	482	
<i>Saoil</i> (Seil)	656	588	
<i>Eilean Seona</i> (Shuna Island)	5	1	
<i>Eilean Chapuill</i> (Capel Island)	2	2	
<i>Torosaigh</i> (Torsay Island)	14	2	
--- Ecclesiastic parishes (not identical to the above) -----			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil</i> (Glenorchy & Inishail)	1,105	948	
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich</i> (Kilchrenan & Dalavich)	504	444	
<i>A’Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilmore & Kilbride)	629	522	
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilninver & Kilmelford)	405	340	
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)	1,767	1,621	
<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	3,153	1,725	
<i>Naomh Chalum Chille</i> (St. Columba)	1,360	569	
--- Registration districts (not identical to the above) -----			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil</i> (Glenorchy & Inishail)	761	666	
<i>Màcarna</i> (Muckairn)	731	696	
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain</i> (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)	1,921	1,758	
<i>Cill Chrèanain</i> (Kilchrenan)	406	365	
<i>Dail Abhaich</i> (Dalavich)	226	195	
<i>Cill an Inbhir</i> (Kilninver)	224	211	
<i>Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilmelford)	181	129	
<i>A’Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilmore & Kilbride)	5,142	2,816	

Table 13: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, burghs or inhabited islands)

²¹ Overall figures excludes the *Macàrna* (Muckairn) area. To enable historical comparison only census results for complete parishes are shown here.



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1891: An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas²²	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1891	9,760	5,965	358
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>1,641</i>	<i>1,056</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>415</i>	<i>344</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>5,729</i>	<i>3,140</i>	<i>122</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>402</i>	<i>305</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>1,573</i>	<i>1,120</i>	<i>180</i>
<i>--- Islands or burghs (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Cearrara (Kerrera)</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>An t-Oban (Oban) Burgh</i>	<i>4,421</i>	<i>2,359</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Eisdeal (Easdale Island)</i>	<i>317</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>Luinn (Luing)</i>	<i>632</i>	<i>498</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>Saoil (Seil)</i>	<i>547</i>	<i>430</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Torosaigh (Torsay Island)</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>--- Ecclesiastic parishes (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail)</i>	<i>1,069</i>	<i>793</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich)</i>	<i>415</i>	<i>344</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride)</i>	<i>558</i>	<i>426</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford)</i>	<i>402</i>	<i>305</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)</i>	<i>1,574</i>	<i>1,120</i>	<i>180</i>
<i>An t-Oban (Oban)</i>	<i>3,337</i>	<i>1,847</i>	<i>110</i>
<i>Naomh Chaluim Chille (St. Columba)</i>	<i>1,834</i>	<i>867</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Na Sraithibh (Strathfillan)</i>	<i>572</i>	<i>263</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>--- Registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail)</i>	<i>1,252</i>	<i>778</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Màcarna (Muckairn)</i>	<i>962</i>	<i>695</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)</i>	<i>1,677</i>	<i>1,206</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain (Kilchrenan)</i>	<i>406</i>	<i>318</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Dail Abhaich (Dalavich)</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir (Kilninver)</i>	<i>200</i>	<i>160</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Cill Mhealaird (Kilmelford)</i>	<i>202</i>	<i>145</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride)</i>	<i>5,729</i>	<i>3,140</i>	<i>141</i>

Table 14: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1891 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, burghs or inhabited islands)

²² Overall figures exclude the *Macàrna* (Muckairn) area. To enable historical comparison only census results for complete parishes are shown here.



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1901 and 1911: An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas²³	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1901	9,814	5,937	197
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>1,194</i>	<i>903</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>293</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride)</i>	<i>1,301</i>	<i>694</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Cearrara (Kerrera)</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>An t-Oban (Oban)</i>	<i>4,901</i>	<i>2,446</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>357</i>	<i>256</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)</i>	<i>225</i>	<i>169</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Eisdeal (Easdale Island)</i>	<i>284</i>	<i>261</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Luinn (Luing)</i>	<i>620</i>	<i>499</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Saoil (Seil)</i>	<i>424</i>	<i>328</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Torosaigh (Torsay Island)</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>--- Electoral divisions (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail)</i>	<i>1,194</i>	<i>903</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Màcarna (Muckairn)</i>	<i>632</i>	<i>455</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride)</i>	<i>857</i>	<i>562</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford)</i>	<i>357</i>	<i>256</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)</i>	<i>1,563</i>	<i>1,267</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich)</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>293</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>--- Ecclesiastic parishes (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail)</i>	<i>1,037</i>	<i>778</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich)</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>293</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride)</i>	<i>567</i>	<i>399</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford)</i>	<i>353</i>	<i>252</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)</i>	<i>1,586</i>	<i>1,272</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>An t-Oban (Oban)</i>	<i>3,841</i>	<i>2,028</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>Naomh Chaluim Chille (St. Columba)</i>	<i>1,893</i>	<i>786</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Na Sraithibh (Strathfillan)</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>125</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>--- Registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail)</i>	<i>827</i>	<i>634</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Màcarna (Muckairn)</i>	<i>1,492</i>	<i>924</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan)</i>	<i>1,631</i>	<i>1,311</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain (Kilchrenan)</i>	<i>416</i>	<i>309</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Dail Abhaich (Dalavich)</i>	<i>138</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir (Kilninver)</i>	<i>172</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Cill Mhealaird (Kilmelford)</i>	<i>185</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride)</i>	<i>6,301</i>	<i>3,213</i>	<i>85</i>
1911	9,509	5,325	94
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>1,098</i>	<i>736</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>357</i>	<i>222</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>6,289</i>	<i>2,983</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>395</i>	<i>244</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>1,370</i>	<i>1,140</i>	<i>46</i>

Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1901 and 1911 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, census registration districts, electoral areas, burghs or inhabited islands)

²³ Overall figures exclude the *Macàrna* (Muckairn) area. To enable historical comparison only census results for complete parishes are shown here.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1921	9,961	4,133	21
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>1,086</i>	<i>596</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>384</i>	<i>189</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>7,324</i>	<i>2,514</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>312</i>	<i>197</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>855</i>	<i>637</i>	<i>6</i>
1931	9,362	3,508	14
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>1,342</i>	<i>467</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>322</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>6,377</i>	<i>2,074</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>298</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>823</i>	<i>640</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>---- Small Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An t-Oban (Oban Small Burgh)</i>	<i>5,759</i>	<i>1,690</i>	<i>7</i>
1951	9,891	2,176	2
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>881</i>	<i>225</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>349</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>7,808</i>	<i>1,354</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>279</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>574</i>	<i>298</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>---- Small Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An t-Oban (Oban Small Burgh)</i>	<i>6,226</i>	<i>1,155</i>	<i>-</i>
1961	10,701	1,943	1
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>984</i>	<i>216</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>631</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>8,269</i>	<i>1,257</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>259</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>558</i>	<i>195</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>---- Small Burgh and County Council Electoral Divisions (included above) -----</i>			
<i>An t-Oban (Oban Small Burgh)</i>	<i>6,869</i>	<i>1,044</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CCED</i>	<i>564</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Mâcarna (Kilchrenan & Muckairn) CCED</i>	<i>1,286</i>	<i>238</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CCED</i>	<i>1,466</i>	<i>260</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Latharna Iarach (Nether Lorn) CCED</i>	<i>755</i>	<i>255</i>	<i>1</i>
1971²⁴	11,585	1,730	*
<i>Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail) CP</i>	<i>955</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Cill Chrèanain & Dail Abhaich (Kilchrenan & Dalavich) CP</i>	<i>450</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>A'Chill Mhòr & Cill Bhrighde (Kilmore & Kilbride) CP</i>	<i>8,740</i>	<i>1,280</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Cill an Inbhir & Cill Mhealaird (Kilninver & Kilmelford) CP</i>	<i>245</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>Cill Bhrianainn & Cill Chatain (Kilbrandan & Kilchattan) CP</i>	<i>525</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>*</i>
<i>---- Small Burgh (included in the above) -----²⁵</i>			
<i>An t-Oban (Oban Small Burgh)</i>	<i>6,895</i>	<i>1,025</i>	<i>*</i>

Table 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, county council electoral divisions or small burghs)

²⁴ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.

²⁵ 1971 data about County Council Electoral Divisions are provided in table 13.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Argyll) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
An t-Oban (Baile Beag) (Oban (Small Burgh))	OB	1,044 15.9 %	1,025 15.5 %	1,032 14.4 %	870 11.1 %	726 9.7 %
Gleann Urchaidh & Innis Fhàil (Glenorchy & Inishail CCED)	GL	146 24.7 %	85 15.0 %	96 12.9 %	62 8.4 %	34 4.8 %
Cille Chrèanain & Macàrna (Kilchrenan & Muckairn CCED)	KM	238 17.7 %	150 13.3 %	194 13.1 %	85 5.5 %	108 6.6 %
Cill Mhoire & Cill Bhrìghde (Kilmore & Kilbride CCED)	KK	260 16.9 %	195 9.8 %	197 14.2 %	171 11.7 %	141 7.6%
Latharna Iarach (Nether Lorn CCED)	NL	256 32.4 %	175 23.8 %	135 16.5 %	88 8.6 %	54 4.5 %

Table 17: 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

Latharna a Deas: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)								
Age group	1971 ²⁶		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.7 %
3-4	5	2.7 %	2	1.7 %	2	1.3 %	2	1.7 %
5-24	75	5.5 %	112	7.7 %	67	5.2 %	82	7.4 %
25-44	145	12.6 %	145	12.0 %	52	3.9 %	64	4.4 %
45-64	255	23.2 %	165	16.2 %	140	10.1 %	76	4.7 %
65 +	225	36.9 %	198	28.8 %	145	21.2 %	98	10.1 %
Total (3 years and over)	705	16.0 %	622	13.9 %	406	8.4 %	322	6.1 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	575	16.2 %	394	10.7 %	296	7.7 %

Table 18: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Latharna a Deas (South Lorn) according to data from 1971 to 2001

²⁶ 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.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>An t-Oban</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 1	41	8.6 %	47	6.3 %	51	7.2 %
	<i>Cearrara</i> (Kerrera)	10	27.0 %				
02	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 2	44	20.5 %	36	11.5 %	44	12.9 %
03	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 3	19	16.0 %	33	13.1 %	25	9.4 %
04	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 4	54	18.2 %	56	10.5 %	51	13.0 %
05	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 5	37	18.3 %	29	12.6 %	38	11.2 %
06	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 6	34	10.4 %	33	10.1 %	22	7.9 %
07	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 7	69	19.1 %	50	15.3 %	32	10.4 %
08	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 8	55	12.9 %	67	15.5 %	67	10.7 %
09	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 9	76	11.9 %	48	10.0 %	37	9.8 %
10	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 10	51	11.9 %	67	12.1 %	41	8.1 %
11	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 11	54	11.0 %	78	10.0 %	55	9.2 %
12	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 12	19	12.3 %	8	4.9 %	7	5.3 %
13	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 13	37	13.6 %	26	8.1 %	19	6.1 %
14	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 14	53	13.9 %	27	10.0 %	28	8.8 %
15	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 15	76	20.7 %	60	19.0 %	32	10.0 %
16	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 16	75	19.7 %	67	13.8 %	53	12.3 %
17	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 17	48	17.8 %	23	8.2 %	23	7.6 %
18	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 18	31	17.9 %	23	13.4 %	6	5.5 %
19	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 19	37	14.6 %	33	12.4 %	30	8.0 %
20	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 20	56	16.0 %	33	11.4 %	25	8.0 %
21	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban) 21	49	12.9 %	26	10.2 %	35	10.6 %

Table 19: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *An t-Oban* (Oban) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>An t-Oban: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	1.9 %
3-4	-	-	9	4.4 %	1	0.5 %	2	1.0 %
5-24	210	9.8 %	200	8.5 %	235	10.6 %	205	10.5 %
25-44	245	15.0 %	263	13.4 %	205	8.9 %	148	6.8 %
45-64	290	17.8 %	277	17.4 %	226	14.5 %	186	9.4 %
65 +	280	27.7 %	283	26.7 %	203	15.8 %	185	15.4 %
Total (3 years +)	1,025	15.5 %	1,032	14.4 %	870	11.1 %	726	9.7 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,021	15.7 %	856	12.5 %	705	10.7 %

Table 20: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *An t-Oban* (Oban) between 1971 and 2001



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ²⁷							
<i>Latharna a Deas</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Drochaid Urchaidh</i> (Bridge of Orchy)	22	33.8 %	5	6.9 %	4	7.6 %
52	<i>Bràigh a'Bhealaich</i> (Braevallich)	7	6.4 %	6	8.0 %	1	1.1 %
53	<i>An Cladach</i> (Cladich)	9	7.2 %	9	7.6 %	5	4.4 %
54	<i>Clachan an Dìseirt</i> (Dalmally)	20	10.1 %	17	9.7 %	10	4.7 %
55	<i>Sròn Mhaolagain</i> (Stronmilchan)	19	18.9 %	11	9.5 %	8	7.0 %
56	<i>Loch Obha</i> (Lochawe)	19	12.7 %	14	7.8 %	6	4.0 %
57	<i>Dail A'ach</i> (Dalavich)	12	11.5 %	-	-	3	3.2 %
58	<i>Inbhir Fionain</i> (Inverinan)	8	5.8 %	4	3.1 %	6	4.6 %
59	<i>Drochaid Obha</i> (Bridge of Awe)	16	10.4 %	3	2.4 %	2	2.6 %
60	<i>Cill Chrèanain</i> (Kilchrenan)					7	5.4 %
61	<i>Taigh an Uillt</i> (Taynuilt)	57	18.8 %	13	4.3 %	18	5.3 %
62	<i>Macàrna</i> (Muckairn)	52	15.7 %	34	8.0 %	42	10.2 %
63	<i>A'Chonghail</i> (Connel) a	19	10.2 %	19	8.0 %	15	5.5 %
64	<i>A'Chonghail</i> (Connel) b	30	11.4 %	12	5.7 %	15	5.8 %
65	<i>An Dùn Beag</i> (Dunbeg) a	72	18.4 %	57	16.2 %	23	6.7 %
66	<i>An Dùn Beag</i> (Dunbeg) b	56	16.7 %	52	14.0 %	24	6.2 %
67	<i>Dùn Stafhainis</i> (Dunstaffnage)	16	6.0 %	22	8.5 %	9	5.4 %
68	<i>Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilmelfort)	21	17.1 %	12	6.4 %	16	5.8 %
69	<i>Cill an Inbhir</i> (Kilninver)	17	16.5 %	12	10.5 %	7	5.6 %
70	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmore)	13	12.0 %	15	10.1 %	17	11.8 %
71	<i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride)	20	13.7 %	11	6.9 %	31	7.5 %
72	<i>Gleann Cruitein</i> (Glen Cruitten)	20	14.0 %	14	8.0 %	37	8.2 %
73	<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil) a	19	11.7 %	18	9.3 %	6	3.0 %
74	<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil) b	27	15.9 %	15	6.6 %	12	4.7 %
75	<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil) c	14	14.7 %	8	6.6 %	6	3.8 %
76	<i>Luinn</i> (Isle of Luing) a	19	32.2 %	12	12.6 %	2	2.6 %
77	<i>Luinn</i> (Isle of Luing) b	18	17.8 %	11	12.6 %	5	3.5 %

Table 21: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) between 1981 and 2001

²⁷ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	An t-Oban 1 (Oban) 1	20	7.2 %	90	12.8 %	- 5.6 %	12.8 %
02	An t-Oban 2 (Oban) 2	13	13.5 %	54	15.8 %	- 2.3 %	12.7 %
03	An t-Oban 3 (Oban) 3	4	10.8 %	45	16.9 %	- 6.1 %	19.2 %
04	An t-Oban 4 (Oban) 4	19	26.0 %	85	21.7 %	+ 4.3 %	23.3 %
05	An t-Oban 5 (Oban) 5	13	12.6 %	59	17.5 %	- 4.9 %	19.0 %
06	An t-Oban 6 (Oban) 6	8	10.4 %	30	10.7 %	- 0.3 %	11.7 %
07	An t-Oban 7 (Oban) 7	16	20.5 %	49	16.0 %	+ 4.5 %	16.2 %
08	An t-Oban 8 (Oban) 8	47	16.4 %	104	16.6 %	- 0.2 %	17.9 %
09	An t-Oban 9 (Oban) 9	22	11.2 %	57	15.0 %	- 3.8 %	16.4 %
10	An t-Oban 10 (Oban) 10	26	13.5 %	64	13.8 %	- 0.3 %	12.2 %
11	An t-Oban 11 (Oban) 11	22	11.5 %	84	14.0 %	- 2.5 %	14.8 %
12	An t-Oban 12 (Oban) 12	4	10.0 %	16	12.0 %	- 2.0 %	12.4 %
13	An t-Oban 13 (Oban) 13	7	7.9 %	31	10.0 %	- 2.1 %	11.2 %
14	An t-Oban 14 (Oban) 14	5	7.0 %	40	9.4 %	- 2.4 %	13.1 %
15	An t-Oban 15 (Oban) 15	3	3.3 %	49	15.3 %	- 12.0 %	16.6 %
16	An t-Oban 16 (Oban) 16	10	9.0 %	88	20.4 %	- 11.4 %	17.5 %
17	An t-Oban 17 (Oban) 17	11	12.9 %	35	11.6 %	+ 1.3 %	13.1 %
18	An t-Oban 18 (Oban) 18	2	9.5 %	11	11.0 %	- 1.5 %	11.1 %
19	An t-Oban 19 (Oban) 19	20	14.9 %	58	15.5 %	- 0.6 %	18.2 %
20	An t-Oban 20 (Oban) 20	5	5.5 %	38	12.2 %	- 6.7 %	13.1 %
21	An t-Oban 21 (Oban) 21	10	10.0 %	53	16.1 %	- 6.1 %	16.7 %

Table 22: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in An t-Oban (Oban) in 2001



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Drochaid Urchaidh</i> (Bridge of Orchy)	1	10.0 %	5	9.4 %	+ 0.6 %	10.9 %
52	<i>Bràigh a' Bhealaich</i> (Braevallich)	1	3.8 %	6	6.5 %	- 2.7 %	5.1 %
53	<i>An Cladach</i> (Cladich)	2	9.1 %	6	5.2 %	+ 3.9 %	7.5 %
54	<i>Clachan an Diseirt</i> (Dalmally)	1	2.0 %	19	9.0 %	- 7.0 %	10.3 %
55	<i>Sròn Mhaolagain</i> (Stronmilchan)	2	9.1 %	17	14.9 %	- 5.8 %	16.9 %
56	<i>Loch Obha</i> (Lochawe)	-	-	10	6.7 %	- 6.7 %	7.9 %
57	<i>Dail A'ach</i> (Dalavich)	1	5.0 %	10	10.5 %	- 5.5 %	14.1 %
58	<i>Inbhir Fionain</i> (Inverinan)	3	12.0 %	8	6.2 %	+ 5.8 %	6.5 %
59	<i>Drochaid Obha</i> (Bridge of Awe)	1	7.7 %	6	7.8 %	- 0.1 %	8.7 %
60	<i>Cill Chrèanain</i> (Kilchrenan)	2	5.4 %	10	10.1 %	- 4.7 %	15.8 %
61	<i>Taigh an Uillt</i> (Taynuilt)	7	7.1 %	31	13.1 %	- 6.0 %	9.8 %
62	<i>Macàrna</i> (Muckairn)	13	10.7 %	62	15.1 %	- 4.4 %	18.7 %
63	<i>A'Chonghail a</i> (Connel) a	-	-	28	10.2 %	- 10.2 %	14.1 %
64	<i>A'Chonghail b</i> (Connel) b	9	14.8 %	21	8.1 %	+ 6.7 %	10.3 %
65	<i>An Dùn Beag a</i> (Dunbeg) a	4	4.3 %	45	13.2 %	- 8.9 %	15.0 %
66	<i>An Dùn Beag b</i> (Dunbeg) b	8	6.1 %	40	10.3 %	- 4.2 %	11.5 %
67	<i>Dùn Stafhainis</i> (Dunstaffnage)	3	10.0 %	13	7.8 %	+ 2.2 %	10.3 %
68	<i>Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilmelfort)	9	14.3 %	24	8.7 %	+ 5.6 %	12.3 %
69	<i>Cill an Inbhir</i> (Kilniver)	3	8.8 %	14	11.2 %	- 2.4 %	16.1 %
70	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmore)	7	20.0 %	22	15.3 %	+ 4.7 %	21.0 %

Table 23: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) according to census data of 2001 – Part A



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
71	<i>Cill Bhrìghde (Kilbride)</i>	6	5.7 %	43	10.5 %	- 4.8 %	12.7 %
72	<i>Gleann Cruitein (Glen Cruitten)</i>	28	17.1 %	60	13.3 %	+ 3.8 %	15.6 %
73	<i>Saoil a (Isle of Seil) a</i>	6	14.3 %	17	8.2 %	+ 6.1 %	10.2 %
74	<i>Saoil b (Isle of Seil) b</i>	3	4.8 %	19	7.4 %	- 2.6 %	9.0 %
75	<i>Saoil c (Isle of Seil) c</i>	3	9.1 %	8	5.0 %	+ 4.1 %	7.4 %
76	<i>Luinn a (Isle of Luing) a</i>	1	5.0 %	6	7.7 %	- 2.7 %	12.8 %
77	<i>Luinn b (Isle of Luing) b</i>	-	-	17	12.0 %	- 12.0 %	15.1 %

Table 24: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) according to census data of 2001 – Part B



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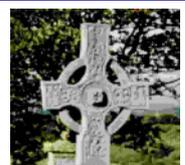
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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>An t-Oban – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban), <i>Cearara</i> (Isle of Kerrera), <i>A'Ghallanach</i> (Gallanach)	OS	32AU01A 32AU01B 32AU01C 32AU01D 32AU01E 32AU29 32AU28	60QD000653 60QD000503 60QD000504 60QD000505 60QD000506
02	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU02A 32AU02B 32AU02C	60QD000507 60QD000508 60QD000509
03	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU03A 32AU03B	60QD000510 60QD000764 60QD000765
04	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU04A 32AU04B 32AU04C 32AU04D	60QD000511 60QD000512 60QD000513 60QD000514
05	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU05A 32AU05B 32AU05C	60QD000515 60QD000516 60QD000517
06	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU06A 32AU06B	60QD000518 60QD000519 60QD000655
07	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU07A 32AU07B	60QD000766 60QD000767 60QD000520
08	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU08A 32AU08B	60QD000768 60QD000769 60QD000770 60QD000771 60QD000521
09	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU09A 32AU09B	60QD000670 60QD000671 60QD000522

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



Census Output Areas in <i>An t-Oban– Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
10	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU10A 32AU10B 32AU10C	60QD000523 60QD000657 60QD000524
11	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AU11A 32AU11B 32AU11C 32AU11D	60QD000772 60QD000773 60QD000774 60QD000775 60QD000658
12	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW01B	60QD000526 60QD000527
13	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW02B	60QD000659 60QD000660 60QD000528
14	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW03B 32AW03C	60QD000661 60QD000529 60QD000530
15	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW04B	60QD000672 60QD000673 60QD000531
16	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW05B 32AW05C	60QD000532 60QD000533 60QD000534
17	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW06B	60QD000778 60QD000779 60QD000535
18	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW07	60QD000536
19	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW08B 32AW08C	60QD000537 60QD000538 60QD000539
20	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW0A 32AW09B 32AW09C	60QD000540 60QD000541 60QD000542
21	<i>An t-Oban</i> (Oban)	OS	32AW1A 32AW10B	60QD000543 60QD000544

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Latharna a Deas – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Drochaid Urchaidh</i> (Bridge of Orchy), <i>Gleann Lochaidh</i> (Glen Lochy), <i>Achadh Chaladair</i> (Achallader), <i>An t-Achadh</i> (Auch), <i>Inbhir Dhobhrain</i> (Inveroran), <i>Àiridh a’Mheadhoin</i> (Arrivain), <i>Inbhir Gamhna</i> (Inbhirgaunan)	GL	32AY01 32AA01	60QD000001
52	<i>Bràigh a’Bhealaich</i> (Braevallich), <i>Blàr Gobhar</i> (Blarghour)	GL	32AT01	60QD000074
53	<i>An Cladach</i> (Cladich), <i>Aird Breicinis</i> (Ardbrecknish), <i>Port Samhnachain</i> (Portsonachan), <i>Clachan an Dìseirt</i> (Dalmally), <i>Port Innis Sia Ràmhaich</i> (Portinisherrich)	GL	32AT02	60QD000075
54	<i>Clachan an Dìseirt</i> (Dalmally), <i>Gleann Urchaidh</i> (Glen Orchy)	GL	32AT03	60QD000699 60QD000700
55	<i>Sròn Mhaolagain</i> (Stronmilchan), <i>Clachan an Dìseirt</i> (Dalmally), <i>Loidse na Crèige</i> (Craig Lodge), <i>An Dubh Leitir</i> (Duiletter)	GL	32AT04	60QD000076
56	<i>Loch Obha</i> (Lochawe), <i>Drìseag</i> (Drishaig), <i>Innis Chonain</i>	GL	32AT05 32AT06	60QD000564
57	<i>Loch A’ach</i> (Loch Avich), <i>Dail A’ach</i> (Dalavich)	KM	32AX01	60QD000084
58	<i>Inbhir Fionain</i> (Inverinan), <i>Àird an Aiseig</i> (Ardanaiseig), <i>Annaid</i> (Annat)	KM	32AX02	60QD000085
59	<i>Drochaid Obha</i> (Bridge of Awe), <i>Inbhir Obha</i> (Inverawe), <i>Loidse Gleann Chonghlais</i> (Glenkinglass Lodge), <i>Inbhir Libhir</i> (Inverliver)	KM	32AX03 32AX04	60QD000087
60	<i>Cill Chrèanain</i> (Kilchrenan), <i>Iodhrachan</i> (Idhrachan), <i>Drochaid Obha</i> (Bridge of Awe)	KM	32AX03	60QD000086
61	<i>Taigh an Uillt</i> (Taynuilt), <i>Am Bruach Ruadh</i> (Bruchroy)	KM	32AX05A 32AX05B	60QD000703 60QD000704 60QD000088
62	<i>Taigh an Uillt</i> (Taynuilt), <i>Macàrna</i> (Muckairn), <i>Feàrnach</i> (Fearnoch), <i>Baile an Dobhair</i> (Balindore)	KM	32AX06A 32AX06B 32AX07A 32AX07B	60QD000089 60QD000090 60QD000091 60QD000092
63	<i>A’Chonghail</i> (Connel)	KM	32AZ04A 32AZ04B	60QD000093 60QD000094
64	<i>A’Chonghail</i> (Connel)	KM	32AZ05A 32AZ05B	60QD000095 60QD000574
65	<i>An Dùn Beag</i> (Dunbeg)	KK	32AZ01A 32AZ01B 32AZ03	60QD000545 60QD000546

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in Latharna a Deas – Part B				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
66	<i>An Dùn Beag</i> (Dunbeg)	KK	32AZ02A 32AZ02B 32AZ02C	60QD000547 60QD000548 60QD000662
67	<i>Dùn Stafhainis</i> (Dunstaffnage), <i>Dùn Ollaigh</i> (Dunollie), <i>A'Ghaineamh Bhàn</i> (Ganavan)	KK	32AW11	60QD000572
68	<i>Cill Mhealaird</i> (Kilmelfort), <i>Àird Uaine</i> (Arduaine), <i>Tulach</i> (Tullich), <i>Mealaird</i> (Melfort)	NL	32AU22A 32AU22B	60QD000569 60QD000570
69	<i>Cill an Inbhir</i> (Kilninver), <i>Bràighean Latharna</i> (Braes of Lorn), <i>Loch Faochain</i> (Loch Feochan), <i>An Clachan</i> , <i>Aird nam Madadh</i> (Armadaddy), <i>Sgamadail</i> (Scammadale), <i>Gleann Iochdar</i> (Glen Eochar), <i>Achadh nan Sabhal</i> (Achnasaul)	NL	32AU23	60QD000081
70	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmore), <i>Gleann Faochain</i> (Glen Feochan)	KK	32AU24	60QD000082
71	<i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride), <i>Dùn Gallanach</i> , <i>Creagan Àird Bhàn</i> (Ardbhan Craigs), <i>Gallanach Beag</i> (Gallanachbeg), <i>An Lagan</i> (Laggan), <i>Dùnach</i> , <i>Àird an t-Sailein</i> (Arden-tallen), <i>Soroba</i> , <i>Gleann Sheileach</i>	KK	32AU27 32AU26	60QD000083 60QD000776 60QD000777
72	<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Ballygowan), <i>Gleann Cruitein</i> (Glen Cruitten), <i>Soroba</i> , <i>Bàrran</i> (Barran), <i>Loch an Eala</i> (Loch Nell)	KK	32AU25	60QD000525 60QD000701 60QD000702
73	<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil): <i>Clachan Saoil</i> (Clachan Seil), <i>Oban Saoil</i> (Oban Seil), <i>Drochaid a'Chlachain</i> (Clachan Bridge)	NL	32AU21A 32AU21B	60QD000079 60QD000080
74	<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil): <i>Baile a'Bhiocaire</i> (Balvicar), <i>An t-Achadh</i> (Acha), <i>Cuan</i> , <i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> , <i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride)	NL	32AU20A 32AU20B	60QD000077 60QD000078
75	<i>Saoil</i> (Isle of Seil): <i>Eisdeal</i> (Easdale), <i>Lunga</i> (Isle of Lunga), <i>Eilean nam Beathach</i> (Ellanbeich), <i>Eilean Eisdeal</i> (Easdale Island)	NL	32AU19A 32AU19B 32AU18	60QD000567 60QD000568
76	<i>Luinn</i> (Isle of Luing): <i>Tobar Dhonnchaidh</i> (Toberonochy), <i>Rubha Cùil</i> , <i>Siùna</i> (Isle of Shuna), <i>Torsa</i> (Isle of Torsa)	NL	32AU14 32AU13 32AU15 32AU16	60QD000565
77	<i>Luinn</i> (Isle of Luing): <i>Aiseag a'Chuain</i> (Cuan Ferry), <i>Cu-lapul</i> (Cullipool), <i>Bàrr Drìseag</i> (Bardrishaig)	NL	32AU17	60QD000566

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Latharna a Deas* (South Lorn) – 1961-2001 – Part B



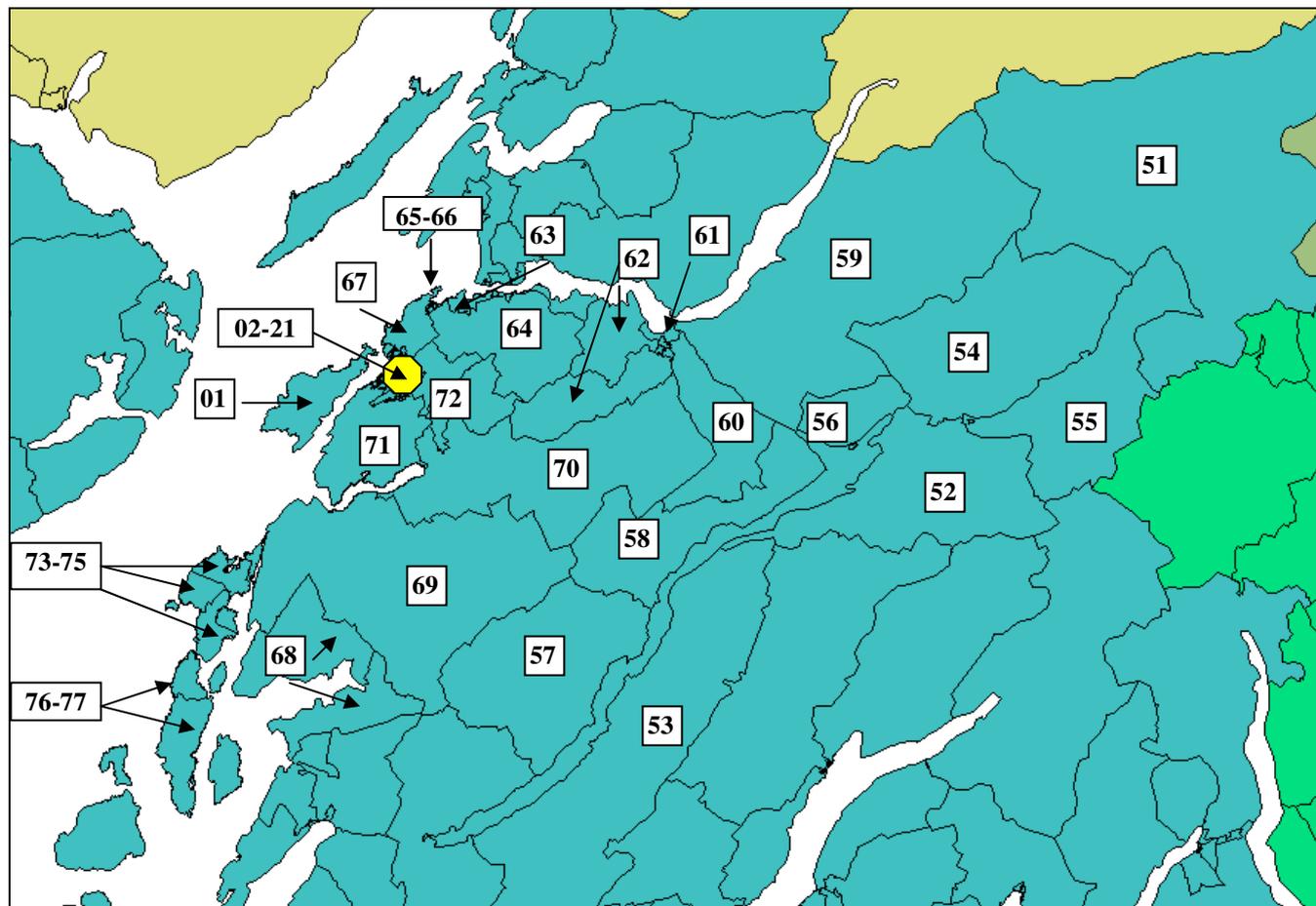


Fig. 12: Overview map of census output areas in *An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas* (Oban & South Lorn) (Numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 to A-4)²⁸

²⁸ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



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VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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