

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 25: *Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre* (Mid Argyll & Kintyre)

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2nd Edition

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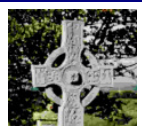
Executive Summary

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

The Gaelic language was once widespread and dominant all over Mid Argyll and the Kintyre peninsula. Whereas Campbeltown and the southernmost tip of Kintyre were anglicised relatively early by the introduction of Lowland settlers in the 18th and 19th century the remaining country kept its Gaelic tradition well into the inter-war period of the 1930s. Nowadays Gaelic in both areas is very much waiting to be revitalised. Besides some recent initiatives in the communities on the western shores of Loch Fyne there is not much worth reporting. Compared with the rich Gaelic tradition in these heartlands of *Earra-Ghàidheal* (Land of the Gael) the profile of the language in the district is on an all-time low these days.

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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

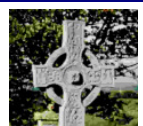


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1 Introduction

The area with the longest tradition of *Gàidhlig* in Scotland – *Dal Riada* or Mid Argyll – and the long peninsula of *Cinn Tire* (Kintyre) are objects of this volume of the study series. Besides a handful of small towns like *Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain* (Campbeltown) or *Ceann Loch Gilb* (Lochgilphead) this is sparsely populated hill and moorland interspersed by a number of long sea lochs. Until quite recently *Gàidhlig* was still being heard frequently on the streets of *An Tairbeart* (Tarbert) and of course in the farmhouses of the tiny Hebridean island of *Giogha* (Gigha).

Traditionally agriculture and fisheries provided the main occupation apart from whisky distilling (and even coal mining) in Campbeltown. Nowadays the 25,700 inhabitants depend on a much more diverse economic base with tourism giving a substantial part of the income for many. Lochgilphead is still the “capital” of the Argyll & Bute local authority – it had been administrative centre of the ancient county of Argyll for centuries.

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

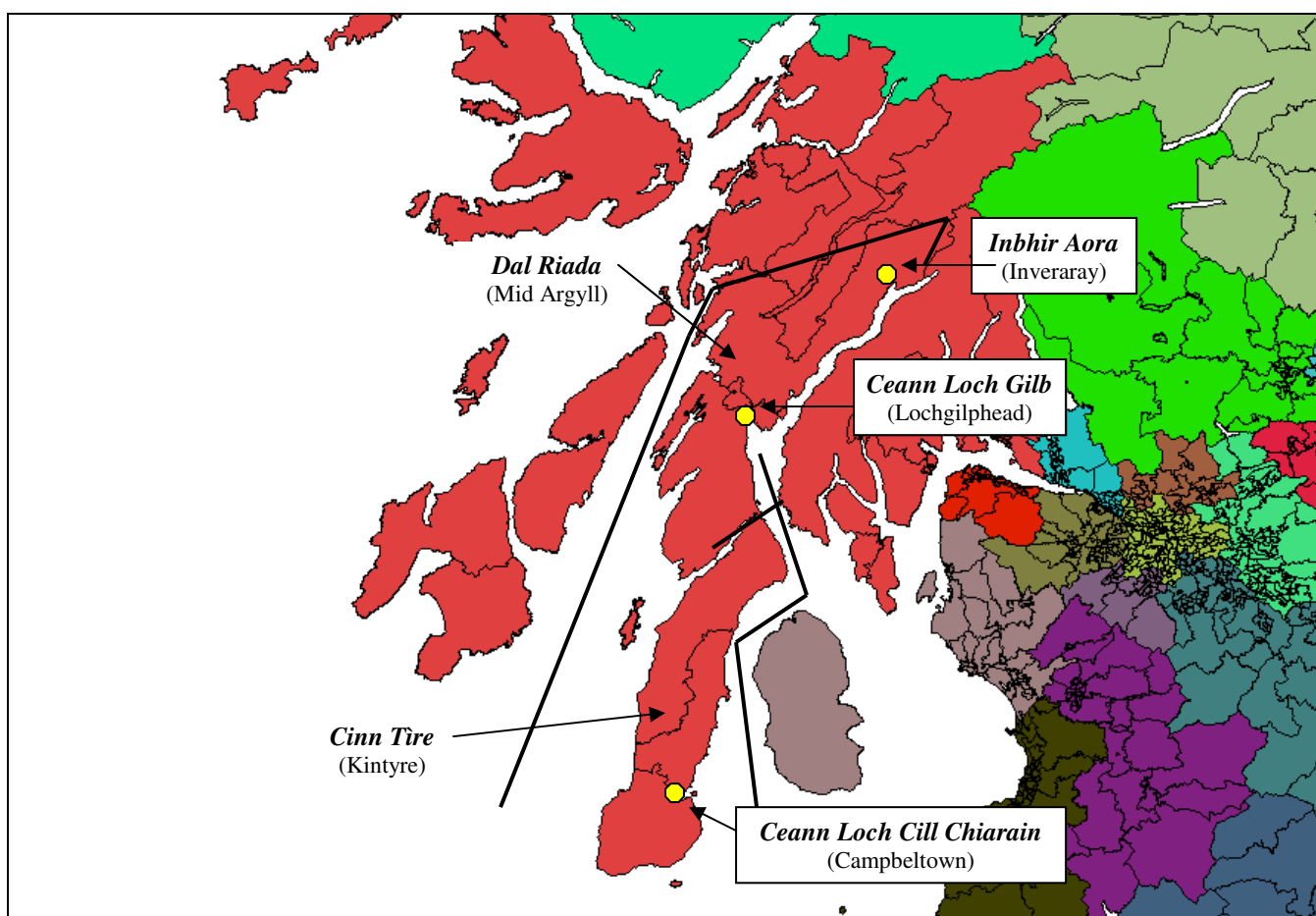


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas²

² Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey were provided by GROS as part of the Geography Products.



2 The Historical Background

Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) is of course the area of Scotland with the longest tradition of *Gàidhlig* because it was here where the first settlers from Ireland established their first kingdom around 400. Gaelic was also unquestionably the first language of most of the *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) peninsula up to the second half of the nineteenth century, i.e. up to about one hundred years ago. An exception was initiated by the Argyll family who encouraged settlers from Renfrewshire and Ayrshire to come to South Kintyre in the 17th century. Despite this interference *Gàidhlig* remained the language of the greater part of the population right up to the beginning of last century. The “Statistical Account of Scotland” of 1794 reported: “Nearly two-thirds of the people of *Campbeltown* are Gaelic speaking.” More surprisingly, perhaps, in view of the comparatively large lowlander plantation in *An Ceann a Deas* (Southend), the minister of that parish stated “the language of above two-thirds of the inhabitants of Southend is Gaelic; the remainder speak English. Both, however, know as much of each other a language as qualifies them to transact all manner of business”. So these days cultural integration went both ways. Half a century later the “New Statistical Account of Scotland” (1831-1845) reported about the parish of *Inbhir Aora* (Inveraray): “Among the agricultural labourers it (Gaelic) is almost exclusively used; and as many of them ... remove from the country to the burgh, they naturally continue to speak their mother tongue, and to teach it to their children.” Even in “anglicised” Southend the same account concludes still: “Families who understand Gaelic best, 210; do. English best, 145.” The fate of the language, however, was dealt a severe blow especially by the introduction of compulsory (English only) education in 1872. Figure 2 underlines quite impressively the decline which lasted until today.

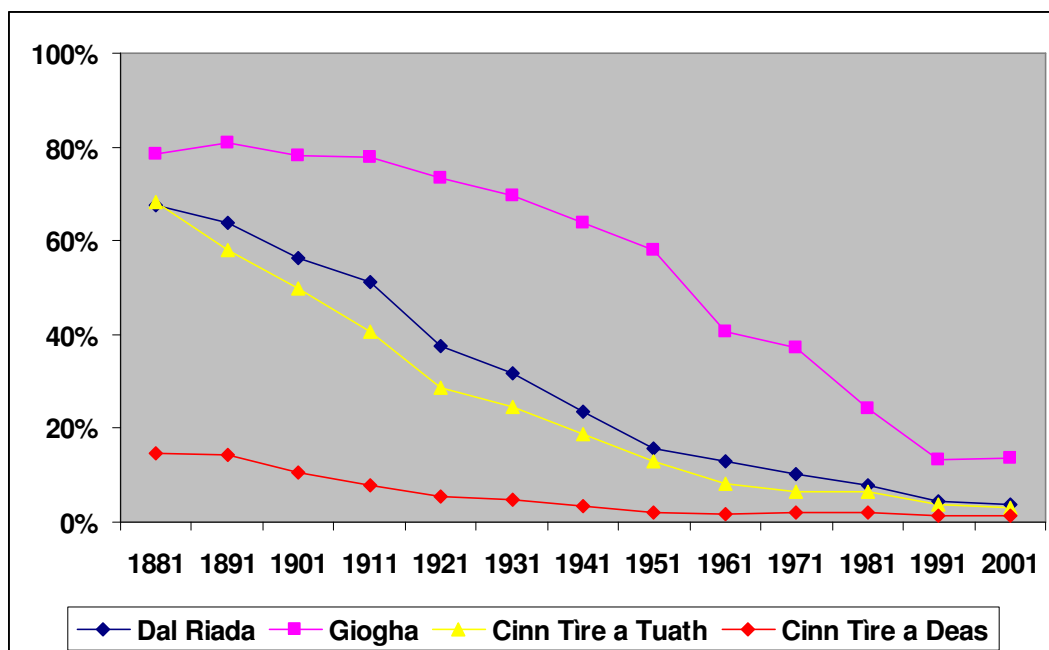


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) in comparison with *Cinn Tìre a Tuath* (North Kintyre), *Cinn Tìre a Deas* (South Kintyre)³ and the island of *Glogha* (Gigha)⁴

³ This encompasses the southernmost tip of the peninsula with the civil parishes of *Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain* (Campbeltown) and *An Ceann a Deas* (Southend).

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)

1881 saw the first census of Scotland in which a question about Gàidhlig was introduced. Apart from southern Cinn Tìre, especially the township of Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain (Campbeltown), the area was staunchly Gàidhlig speaking (fig. 2). Even a few inhabitants were recorded as speaking “Gaelic but not English” in the 1891 census (fig. 3 and tables 15 and 17). Until the Second World War numbers of Gàidhlig speakers were to fall by a factor of three (table 1) – details of this dramatic development are set out below.

Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	10,233	10,966	8,947	6,967	4,875	3,696
% of total population	31.8 %	30.5 %	26.0 %	22.4 %	16.5 %	13.9 %

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre (Mid Argyll & Kintyre) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

The census material of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 is especially rich in local information. The following tables 2 to 5 are intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the geographical strength of the language community in this period.

Dal Riada: Outside the small towns Gàidhlig remained predominant in all rural parts of the district. In 1891 even a remarkable number of returns were recorded of people who “spoke Gaelic but no English” especially so in Glasairidh (Glassary) and Cnapadal (Knapdale). “Progress” towards complete anglicisation could be detected in the three towns of the area whereby in Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) only a third of the population could still speak the local language at the turn of the 19th century. In 1901 further decline of Gàidhlig could be detected in the townships but the rural districts kept the language still very well (tables 2, 3, 4 and 17).

Cinn Tìre: There was still a very pronounced language “border” between the southerly parishes around Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain (Campbeltown) and the portions of the peninsula further north. The Gàidhlig strongholds in 1881 even included the fishing village of An Tairbeart (Tarbert) which subsequently was overwhelmed by the influx of lowlanders after the major extension of its fishing facilities in the 1880s. A major stronghold of the language was of course the Hebridean island of Giogha (Gigha) which for a long time very much remained a community of its own (tables 5 and 19).

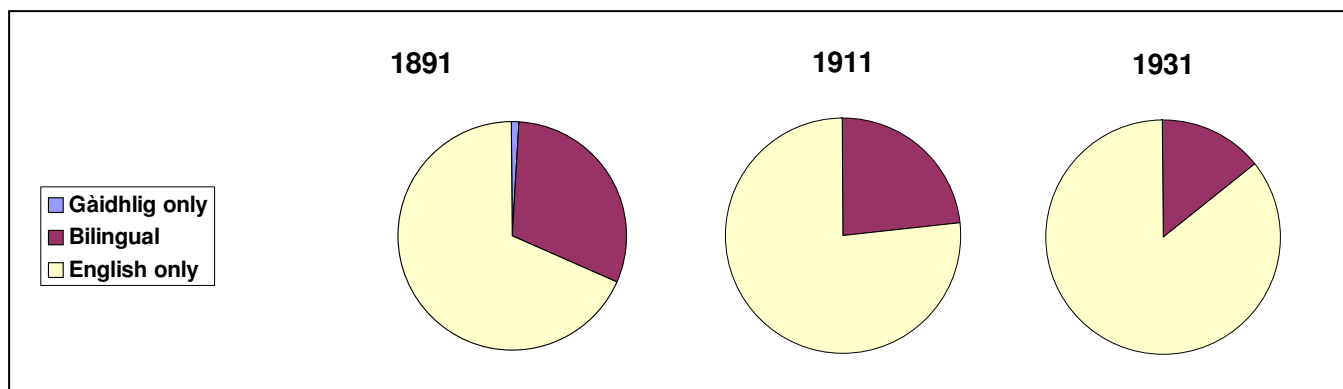


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Inbhir Aora & Glasairidh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁷		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray)	309 35.8%	286 39.2%	206 31.1%	129 24.8%	2 0.7%	–	–
<i>Caisteal Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray Castle)	18 23.7%	28 30.1%	17 27.9%	24 28.9%	–	–	–
<i>Gleann Aora</i> (Glenaray)	355 76.0%	108 80.6%	68 59.1%	56 47.5%	2 1.9%	–	1 1.8%
<i>Am Màin & Gleann Siara</i> (Maam & Glen Shira)		70 72.2%	72 67.3%	44 68.8%	–	–	–
<i>Dail Cheann</i> (Dalcheanna)		145 74.7%	101 64.3%	82 67.8%	–	–	–
<i>Achadh an Droighinn & An Fhùrneis</i> (<i>Tuath</i>)(Auchindrain & Furnace North)	191 63.9%	153 65.4%	117 44.7%	111 39.4%	–	1 0.9%	–
<i>An Fhùrneis (Deas)</i> (Furnace South)	1,788 78.8%	174 70.4%	145 63.0%	121 54.5%	2 1.1%	–	1 0.8%
<i>Carr Eighe</i> (Crarae)		141 70.1%	113 76.4%	90 70.9%	10 7.1%	–	–
<i>Am Bàrr</i> (Barr)		160 71.4%	180 76.6%	142 67.6%	2 1.3%	1 0.6%	1 0.7%
<i>Ceann na Drochaid & Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Bridgend & Kilmichael)		143 73.0%	103 64.0%	62 46.3%	–	–	1 1.6%
<i>An Dùn Fhada & An Càrn Bàn</i> (Dunadd & Cairnbaan)		200 87.3%	168 76.4%	128 60.4%	1 0.5%	–	–
<i>Dùn Creagaig & Roghadal</i> (Dunchreagaig & Ruddle)		140 87.0%	136 77.7%	95 70.4%	5 3.6%	1 0.7%	3 3.2%
<i>Fionn Chàrn</i> (Fincharrn)		62 89.9%	43 84.3%	33 57.9%	–	–	–
<i>An t-Àth</i> (Ford)		114 70.8%	79 64.2%	65 63.1%	10 8.8%	2 2.5%	1 1.5%
<i>An Loch Geàrr</i> (Lochgair)		196 91.6%	171 83.0%	109 67.3%	107 54.6%	19 11.1%	1 0.9%

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Inbhir Aora & Glasairidh* (Inveraray & Glassary) between 1881 and 1911

In tables 2 to 5 very detailed local information is provided about Gàidhlig speakers in the area for the period 1881 to 1911. With the notable exception of the southernmost tip of *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) all communities had considerable proportions of Gàidhlig speakers in the population. In *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) special strongholds were hamlets like *An Loch Geàrr* (Lochgair), *An Crìonan* (Crinan) and *Taigh a' Bhealaich* (Tayvallich).

⁵ Enumeration division or burgh.

⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

⁷ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are denoted in bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Creiginis, Cill Mhàrtainn & Ceann Loch Gilb</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁸	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁰		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Am Bàrr Breac & Àird Larach</i> (Barbreck & Ardlarach))		127 72.6%	112 81.8%	106 66.3%	4 3.1%	15 10.7%	6 5.7%
<i>Àird Fheàrna & An Dail</i> (Ardfern & Dail)	374 82.9%	67 57.8%	91 75.8%	68 70.8%	2 3.0%	–	–
<i>Craignish & Àird</i> (Creiginis & Airds)		79 76.7%	45 64.3%	44 66.7%	1 1.3%	1 2.2%	–
<i>Gleann Liobhair & An t-Àth</i> (Glenliver & Ford)		63 82.9%	52 75.4%	32 59.3%	1 1.6%	–	–
<i>Seileachairidh</i> (Sallachary)		42 82.4%	42 89.4%	38 79.2%	–	–	–
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin)	647 79.8%	150 72.8%	126 65.6%	120 65.6%	2 1.3%	–	1 0.8%
<i>Sloc Mhuilinn</i> (Slockvullin)		164 76.3%	148 68.8%	114 62.3%	2 1.2%	3 2.0%	–
<i>Crionan</i> (Crinan)		88 52.7%	84 61.8%	47 41.2%	6 6.8%	1 1.2%	–
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Tuath)</i> (Lochgilphead North)	593 76.2%	265 69.9%	274 67.2%	269 65.8%	9 3.4%	2 0.7%	1 0.4%
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead)	1,357 60.1%	995 57.9%	862 47.7%	785 52.4%	33 3.3%	9 1.0%	1 0.1%
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Deas)</i> (Lochgilphead South)	59 61.5%	105 66.5%	47 45.6%	49 44.5%	2 1.9%	–	–
<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig</i> (Ardrishaig)	564 42.7%	440 37.1%	374 30.5%	328 28.8%	1 0.2%	1 0.3%	–

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Creiginis, Cill Mhàrtainn & Ceann Loch Gilb* (Craignish, Kilmartin & Lochgilphead) between 1881 and 1911

On the eve of the First World War by far the vast majority of inhabitants of *Dal Riada* and northern parts of *Cinn Tìre* spoke the language. In 1891 still the number of monolingual speakers was not negligible although this phenomenon was already confined mainly to young children and elderly persons. The trend of anglicisation was most pronounced in villages like *Inbhir Aora* (Inveraray), *An Tairbeart* (Tarbert) and *Rubha Aird Drìseig* (Ardrishaig). This was mainly caused by the influx of Lowlanders, less so by the reluctance of locally born people to pass on the *Gàidhlig* language to their children.

On the peninsula of *Cinn Tìre* the very pronounced “language boundary” south of *Saghadal* (Saddell) and *Cill Choinnich* (Kilchenzie) remained static during this period. The prosperous town of *Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain* (Campbeltown), its rich agricultural hinterland and the parish of *An Ceann a Deas* (Southend) was linguistically very much a world of its own, having more in common with Ayrshire than with the “Highland” parishes nearby. However, the larger part of the peninsula was home to strong

⁸ Enumeration division or village.

⁹ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

¹⁰ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are denoted in bold figures.



Gàidhlig-speaking communities on both western and eastern coasts. These villages included places like *Claonaig* (Claonaig) or *Taigh an Lòin* (Tayinloan) where the language remained in everyday use even in 1911. The most vigorous Gàidhlig community of course remained the island of *Giogha* which preserved its linguistic privilege even after the Second World War.

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Cnapadal</i> & <i>An Tairbeart</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹¹	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹²				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹³		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Caisteal Suaine</i> (Castle Sween)		82 70.7%	89 65.4%	74 69.8%	8 9.8%	4 4.5%	–
<i>An Crìonan</i> (Crinan)		227 91.9%	168 80.4%	129 68.6%	4 1.8%	5 3.0%	–
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	628 72.9%	34 81.0%	41 89.1%	42 100%	–	–	–
<i>Taigh a' Bhealaich</i> (Tayvallich)		234 89.3%	198 84.3%	153 76.1%	26 11.1%	10 5.1%	–
<i>A' Chill</i> (Keils)		93 93.9%	87 90.6%	64 87.7%	5 5.4%	–	1 1.6%
<i>Eilean Danna & Eilean Ulbha</i> (Danna & Ulva)	7 11.9%	59 95.2%	42 95.5%	38 82.6%	3 5.0%	–	2 5.3%
<i>Cill Bheiridh & Taobh a' Chaoil</i> (Kilberry & Caolside)		143 74.9%	105 63.3%	100 55.6%	5	1	4
<i>Àird Phàraig</i> (Ardpatrick)	356 77.9%	32 40.5%	49 52.7%	121 55.3%	7 21.9%	–	–
<i>An Dùn Mòr</i> (Dunmore)		83 70.3%	70 83.3%	50 63.3%	–	–	–
<i>Ormsaraidh</i> (Ormsary)		109 72.2%	86 62.8%	80 62.0%	8 7.3%	4 4.7%	4 5.0%
<i>Eilearaidh</i> (Ellary)	320 70.6%	111 77.1%	80 68.4%	65 56.0%	1 0.9%	–	–
<i>Inbhir Néill</i> (Inverneil)		120 72.7%	76 67.3%	70 53.8%	5 4.2%	1 1.3%	–
<i>An Tairbeart (Deas)</i> (Tarbert – southern part of town)	831 66.2%	629 44.8%	511 36.0%	374 29.3%	16 2.5%	5 1.0%	4 1.1%
<i>An Tairbeart (Tuath)</i> (Tarbert – northern part of town)	556 74.2%	450 55.9%	357 50.6%	298 42.1%	9 2.0%	1 0.3%	1 0.3%

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Cnapadal* & *An Tairbeart* (Knapdale & Tarbert) between 1881 and 1911

¹¹ Enumeration division or village.

¹² Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

¹³ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are denoted in bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Cinn Tìre</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁴	All persons speaking Gàidhlig				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Giogha: An Tairbeart</i> (Isle of Gigha: Tarbert)	328	150 77.3%	122 82.4%	85 69.7%	9 6.0%	–	–
<i>Giogha: An t-Achadh Mòr & Cara</i> (Isle of Gigha: Achamore & Cara)	87.2%	161 85.6%	167 75.9%	171 77.7%	15 9.3%	3 1.8%	1 0.6%
<i>An Taigh Bàn</i> (Whitehouse)	427	194 73.2%	151 69.9%	133 61.0%	4 2.1%	1 0.7%	–
<i>An Clachan</i> (Clachan)	74.0%	186 78.5%	163 58.1%	121 55.3%	7 3.8%	2 1.2%	–
<i>Taigh an Lòin</i> (Tayinloan)		136 70.8%	126 71.2%	81 66.9%	–	–	–
<i>Cleit</i> (Cleith)		215 77.9%	164 69.2%	133 58.8%	5 2.3%	–	2 1.5%
<i>Clachaig</i> (Clachaig)	901 65.9%	251 69.3%	181 59.5%	163 54.7%	5 2.0%	–	–
<i>Am Bàrr</i> (Barr)		133 73.5%	64 49.6%	46 27.9%	2 1.5%	–	–
<i>Cill Choinnich</i> (Kilchenzie)		90 31.9%	73 31.6%	44 21.0%	5 5.6%	2 2.7%	–
<i>Sgibinis</i> (Skipness)		119 72.1%	93 60.4%	69 56.1%	–	–	–
<i>Claonaig</i> (Claonaig)	360 77.3%	92 92.0%	74 83.1%	56 61.5%	–	–	–
<i>Crosaig</i> (Crossaig)		87 66.9%	59 75.6%	35 60.3%	–	–	1 2.3%
<i>Saghadal</i> (Saddell)		78 49.1%	60 45.5%	39 35.5%	–	–	–
<i>Càradal</i> (Carradale)	420	100 57.1%	102 53.7%	65 37.1%	6 6.0%	–	–
<i>Grogport</i> (Grogport)	61.4%	152 51.5%	147 49.2%	120 41.4%	–	–	1 0.8%
<i>Am Bracal</i> (Brackley)		66 51.6%	64 44.8%	29 24.8%	–	–	–
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	1,022 13.5%	1,100 13.3%	794 9.3%	571 7.5%	9 0.8%	–	–
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain Dùthaich</i> ¹⁵ (Campbeltown Rural)	419 20.6%	346 17.7%	251 13.0%	175 9.4%	2 0.6%	1 0.4%	2 1.1%
<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> ¹⁶ (Southend)	114 12.2%	116 13.7%	107 14.6%	65 8.5%	1 0.9%	–	–

Table 5: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) between 1881 and 1911

¹⁴ Enumeration division or burgh.

¹⁵ Figures include *Eilean Dà Bhàrr* (Davaar Island).

¹⁶ Figures include lighthouse keepers on *Eabhainn* (Sanda Island).



In 1911 just four civil parishes in *Dal Riada* still had a *Gàidhlig* speaking majority (table 14): *Creiginis* (Craignish), *Cill Mhàrtainn* (Kilmartin), *Glasairidh* (Glassary) and *Cnapadal a Tuath* (North Knapdale). Subsequent census returns saw a relentless decline of *Gàidhlig* speakers, however. By 1931 a majority was registered inly in *Creiginis* (Craignish) with 51.1 % of inhabitants speaking *Gàidhlig*. Further south *Gàidhlig* in *Cinn Tìre* declined considerably with the notable exception of *Giogha* where even in 1931 69.5 % of islanders spoke the traditional tongue. Local sources reported even of the bewildered son of a newly appointed doctor in the 1930s. He stood in the school playground helplessly – all of his new peers spoke naturally *Gàidhlig* and he did not understand a word! There were of course still “native” speakers of the *Cinn Tìre* dialect around. In his language survey of 1935 the Swedish scholar, Nils Holmer, acknowledged the assistance of twenty *Gàidhlig* speakers (Holmer, 1962) from the area. But overall the language community was heavily biased towards the older generation and the future of *Gàidhlig* looked pretty bleak at the dawn of World War II.

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

Between 1931 and 1951 the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was almost cut by half in the area (tables 1 and 6). In 1951 only the island of *Giogha* still had a majority of *Gàidhlig* speakers (tables 11 to 14). The speed of decline was not halted in future decades although a few local enthusiasts in *Dal Riada* kept the torch still burning. The local provincial mod of Mid Argyll (*Mod Dhalriada*) was held almost annually against all the odds and until the 1970s *Gàidhlig* was taught as a voluntary second language in the secondary school at *Ceann Loch Gilb* (Lochgilphead). The age structure of the language community, however, remained very biased towards the older generations (tables 23 and 25). In 1971 for example *Gàidhlig* was still spoken by over 22 % of the generation aged over 65 years in *Dal Riada*. In the age group of 5 to 24 years only a mere handful spoke *Gàidhlig* there at the time. In *Cinn Tìre* the situation was even worse.

<i>Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre</i>						
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	1,899	1,404	1,105	981	560	489
% of total population	6.8 %	5.4 %	4.4 %	3.8 %	2.1 %	1.9 %

Table 6: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre* (Mid Argyll & Kintyre) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2001

From 1981 onwards the local picture became much more detailed in the census publications (tables 22 and 24). Then a few remaining “strongholds” with percentages in double figures were reported, among them of course the island of *Giogha* (24.3 %) but also *Mionaird* (Minard), *Carr Eighe* (Crarae), *Gleann Siara* (Glen Shira), *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmory), *Ceann na Crèige* (Keannacraig), *Sgibinis* (Skipness) and *Càradal* (Carradale). The latter community had been described by MacKenzie (1978) as having “*still a distinct nostalgic feeling for the language.*” But nostalgia does not normally stop language retreat. In the 1980s nothing really happened to realistically anticipate a language revival in the area. 1991 census returns proved this dismal fact beyond doubt. Only on *Giogha* (13.7 %) and in *An Fhùirnìs* (Furnace) percentages rose above the 10 % mark.

However, the “Gaelic Renaissance” finally reached also far flung *Dal Riada*. At the beginning of the 1990s a short-lived *cròileagan* experiment was started in *Ceann Loch Gilb* (Lochgilphead). In 1992 even a “Gaelic strategy conference” took place for Argyll & Bute to look for means of support of *Gàidhlig*. Afterwards in 1993 seven local voluntary partnerships were formed, a. o. *Co-Roinn Ghàidhlig Meadhan Earra-Ghàidheal* (Mid Argyll Gaelic Partnership) and *Co-Roinn Ghàidhlig Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre Gaelic Partnership) were founded to improve the situation. Progress was, however, very slow. Eventually a vis-



iting teacher of *Gàidhlig* was introduced in 1999 to give pupils of local primary schools in *Dal Riada* a smattering of the language. Accordingly at the time of the 2001 census a few schools offered half hourly lessons (once a week) in *Gàidhlig*. In addition to this local authority initiative the Mid Argyll Gaelic Partnership was actively encouraging efforts in *Inbhir Aora* (Inveraray) to establish a *cròileagan* and to provide more intensive language lessons in the nursery stages of the primary school.

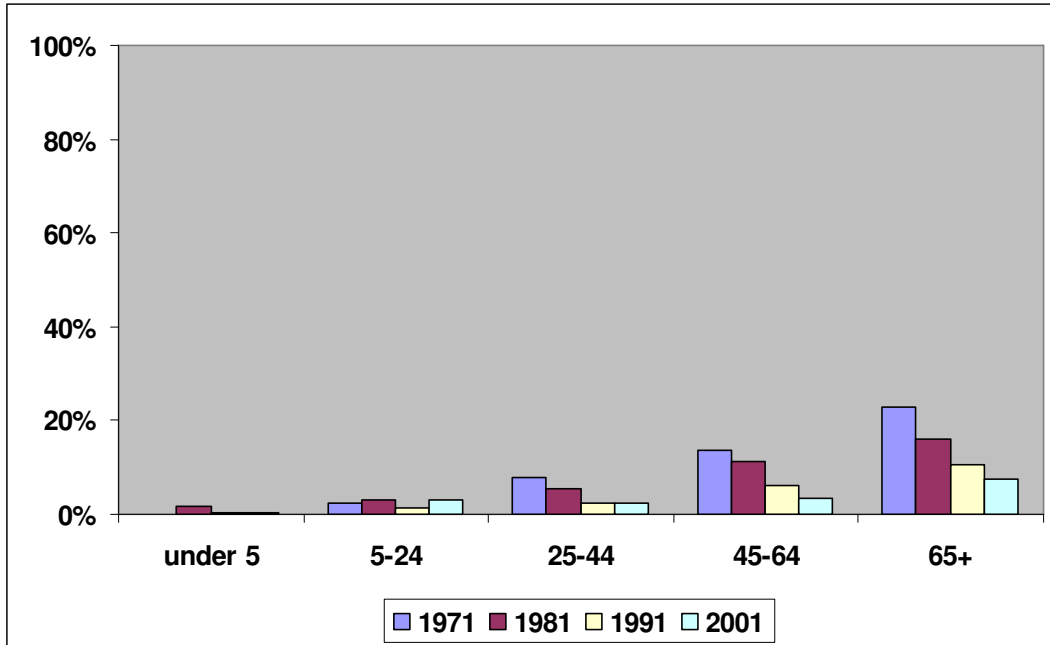


Fig. 4: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll)¹⁷

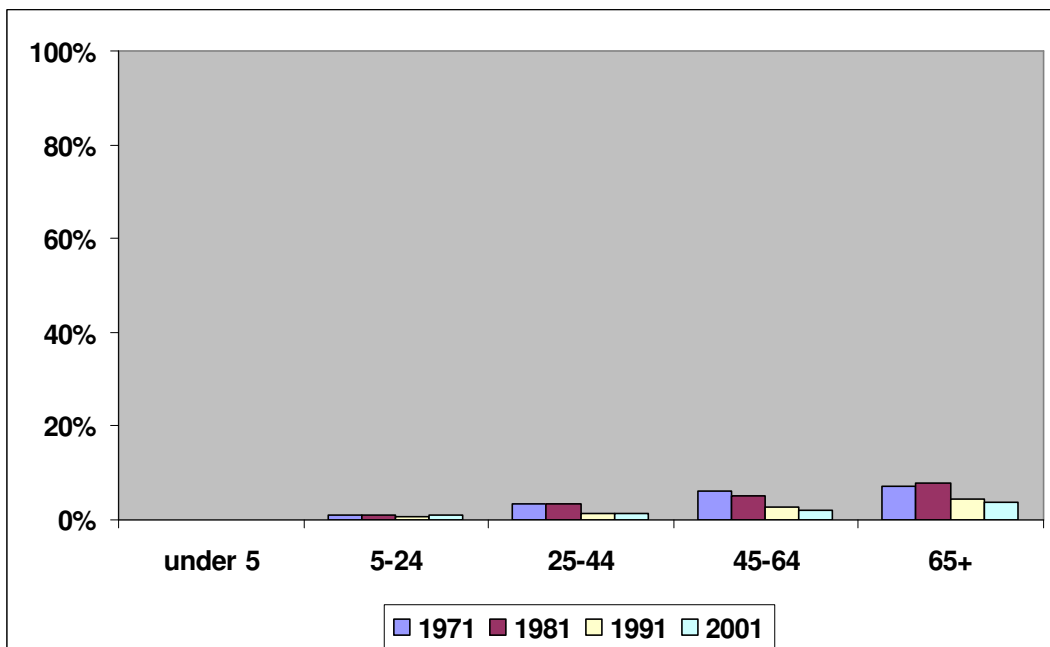


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre)

¹⁷ Under 5: *Gàidhlig* abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



Since World War II the story of the *Gàidhlig* language in the district has been largely one of decline and public apathy. Figures 4 and 5 quite clearly depict the constant deterioration of language knowledge in all age groups since 1971. It remains to be seen whether current and future initiatives may succeed in turning the tide. Details of the 2001 census results are described in chapter 3 of this report.

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

In addition to data on *Gàidhlig* speakers the important aspect of *Gàidhlig* literacy of these speakers should not be ignored. Respective information on the ability to read and/or write *Gàidhlig* is available from census records from 1971 onwards. This data is a very good indicator for the success (or lack of it) of educational provision in the local schools. Figures 6 and 7 provide details about literacy levels in different generations for both districts. Just over a third of all speakers could actually read *Gàidhlig* text in 1971 (table 7).

Gradually the situation in the younger groups in *Dal Riada* improved, however, with 2001 showing the best results so far. Generally 50.3 % of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Dal Riada* could read *Gàidhlig* in 2001. The corresponding figure for *Cinn Tire* was 56.2 % (table 7) although almost no-one of the few young *Gàidhlig* speakers was able to read text in this language! The information on writing ability was also testimony of the lack of formal education for *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the past (table 8). A little more than a quarter of speakers in the area could write *Gàidhlig* in 1971! These figures improved considerably through the decades and in 2001 over 40 % of speakers could write *Gàidhlig* as well.

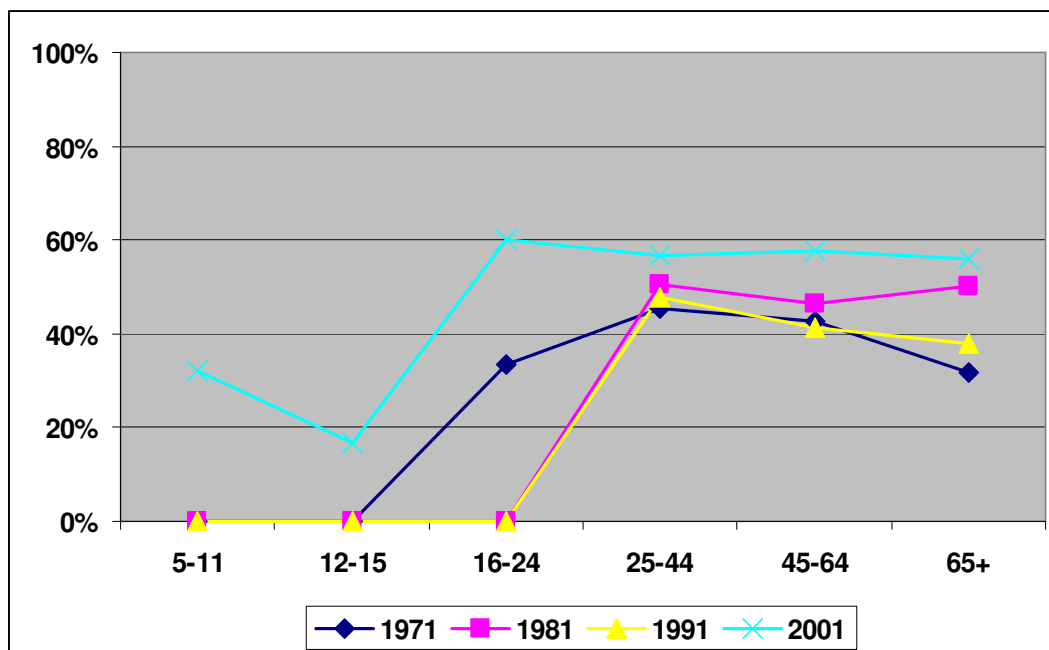


Fig. 6: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll)



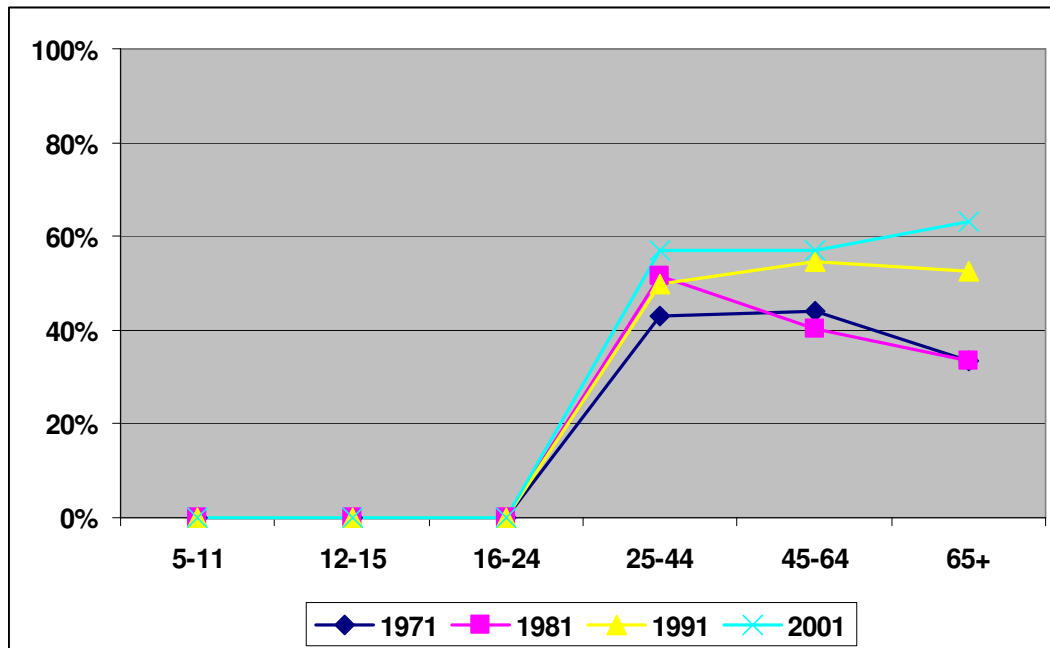


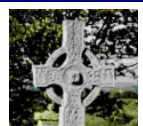
Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)

	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>Dal Riada</i> (Mid Argyll)	250	239	131	149	37.3 %	41.3 %	38.4 %	50.3 %
<i>Cinn Tìre</i> (Kintyre)	165	161	102	109	38.4 %	41.3 %	47.9 %	56.2 %

Table 7: 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>Dal Riada</i> (Mid Argyll)	160	174	109	120	23.9 %	30.1 %	32.0 %	40.5 %
<i>Cinn Tìre</i> (Kintyre)	105	116	82	89	24.4 %	29.7 %	38.5 %	45.9 %

Table 8: 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

In both areas – *Dal Riada* and *Cinn Tire* – *Gàidhlig* is very much a minority affair today. Latest census results underline this fact quite clearly.

In the case of *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- Knowledge of the language on a remarkable level was only reported in the generations born before World War II (see fig. 8).
- Just a handful of children younger than 5 years of age (table 9) could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*. All of them were enumerated either in *Inbhir Aora* (Inveraray) or *An Fhùirnis* (Furnace).
- The inter-generational difference of language knowledge is still very negative although not as pronounced as in 1991 (table 9).
- Since 1991 there has been further decline in numbers and percentages generally but in younger age groups a very slight upturn could be detected.
- Locally *Gàidhlig* speaking (and understanding also) reached maxima in *An Fhùirnis* (Furnace) and *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmory) as outlined in tables 22 and 26.
- *Gàidhlig* reading and writing abilities improved in the last decade and reached values of over 50 % and 40 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers respectively.
- In the new category of *Gàidhlig* speaking children aged between 0 and 2 only one was enumerated in 2001; another child could at least understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- 213 inhabitants (2.6 %) knew some *Gàidhlig* in addition to 296 (3.7 %) who could speak the language in the area in 2001.



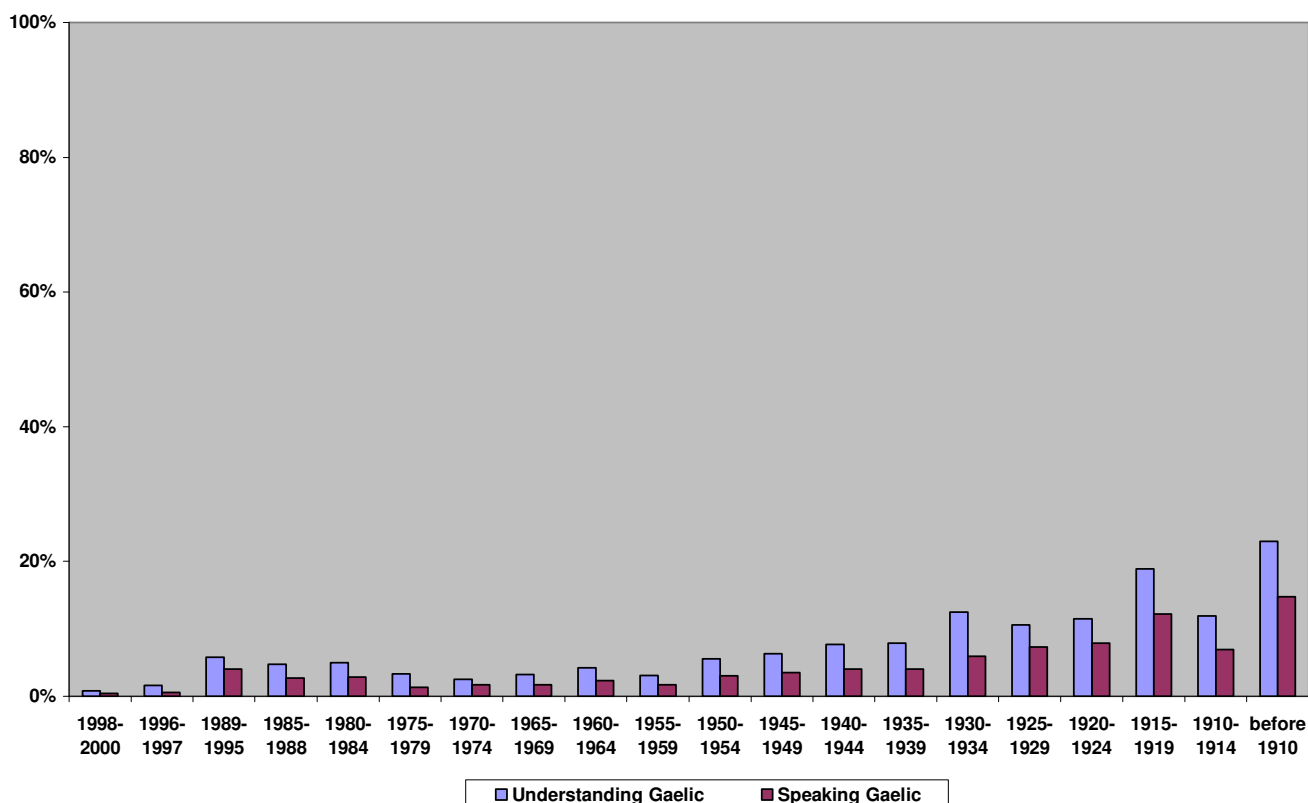


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁸ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	2	0.8 %	-	-	1	0.4 %	n/a	n/a	-
3-4	3	1.6 %	-	-	1	0.5 %	1	0.5 %	0.0 %
5-11	41	5.7 %	9	1.3 %	28	3.9 %	9	1.4 %	+2.5 %
12-15	19	4.7 %	2	0.5 %	12	2.9 %	2	0.5 %	+2.4 %
16-24	27	4.2 %	9	1.4 %	15	2.3 %	14	1.5 %	+0.8 %
3-24	90	4.6 %	20	1.0 %	56	2.9 %	26	1.2 %	+1.7 %
All ages	509	6.3 %	149	1.8 %	296	3.7 %	339	4.5 %	-0.8 %
Difference		-1.7 %		-0.8 %		-0.8 %		-3.3 %	

Table 9: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁸ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



Information for the area of *Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)* is even less encouraging. Here the following main characteristics are presented according to 2001 census results:

- *Gàidhlig* speakers were present to a considerable degree only in the generation born before World War II (fig. 9).
- Just two children younger than 5 years of age could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- Inter-generational difference of language knowledge was especially negative in 2001.
- Since 1991 there has been decline generally. In younger age groups (table 10) results are almost negligible.
- Locally *Gàidhlig* speaking (and understanding also) reached maxima on the island of *Giogha* and in *Sgibinis* (Skipness) as shown in tables 24 and 27.
- *Gàidhlig* reading and writing abilities improved further since 1991 and reached 56 % and 46 % of all *Gàidhlig* speakers in the area.
- No *Gàidhlig* speaking children aged less than 3 years were enumerated.
- 171 inhabitants (1.6 %) knew some *Gàidhlig* in addition to 194 (2.1 %) who could speak the language in the area in 2001.

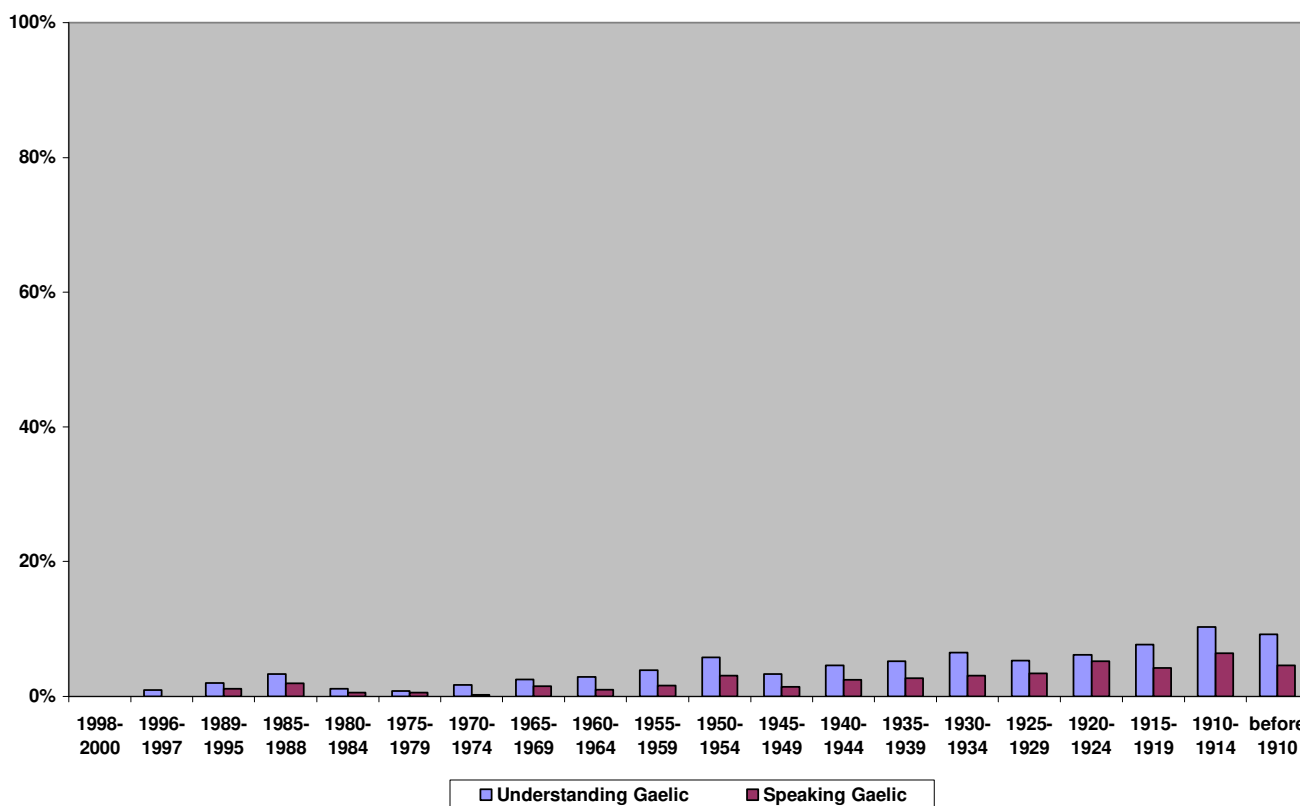


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)* according to Census 2001



Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁹ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	2	0.9 %	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-11	18	2.0 %	-	-	10	1.1 %	3	0.3 %	+ 0.8 %
12-15	17	3.3 %	4	0.8 %	10	2.0 %	3	0.6 %	+ 1.4 %
16-24	6	0.8 %	2	0.3 %	4	0.5 %	16	1.2 %	- 0.7 %
3-24	43	1.8 %	6	0.3 %	24	1.0 %	22	0.7 %	+ 0.3 %
All ages	365	3.7 %	109	1.1 %	194	2.0 %	228	2.3 %	- 0.3 %
Diff.		- 1.9 %		- 0.8 %		- 1.0 %		- 1.6 %	

Table 10: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) in 2001 and 1991

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary / secondary school catchments

In the 2001 census results 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 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 11 with the age group of 24-35 which may be representative of the language abilities of possible parents.

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

- Pre-school children: Apart from the communities around *Inbhir Aora* (where a *cròileagan* had been established) no effort to support the language at pre-school level had been taken. Census returns show this quite clearly.
- Primary school children: In a few primary schools some introductory Gàidhlig lessons had been started by enthusiastic teachers. This explains the modest (but significant) number of children in some school catchments who at least could understand some Gàidhlig.
- Secondary school children: None of the three secondary schools (*Ceann Loch Gilb*, *An Tair-beart*, *Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain*) in the area provided tuition of Gàidhlig as a second language. Census returns were understandably very low.
- Parents: Despite the past strong decline of the language there were still a few inhabitants at parental age with some acquaintance with the language. However, a language revival will have to be based on Gàidhlig medium initiatives to ensure substantial results.

In conclusion: Census results underline quite clearly the almost total lack of educational provision for Gàidhlig. Looking back at the considerable tradition of the language in *Dal Riada* and *Cinn Tìre* this is a very depressing fact.

¹⁹ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



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>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray)	3	4.8 %	13	18.6 %	2	5.7 %	5	3.9 %
<i>An Fhùirnis</i> (Furnace)	2	18.2 %	4	21.1 %	4	22.2 %	2	13.3 %	
<i>Mionaird</i> (Minard)	-	-	3	12.0 %	-	-	2	9.5 %	
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin)	-	-	5	10.2 %	1	3.1 %	4	4.9 %	
<i>Glasairidh</i> (Glassary)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.3 %	
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead)	-	-	12	4.0 %	10	6.3 %	8	2.0 %	
<i>Taigh a’ Bhealaich & Achadh na Mara</i> (Tayvallich & Achnamara)	-	-	1	1.7 %	-	-	3	4.8 %	
<i>Achadh a’ Chòthais</i> (Achahoish)	-	-	1	1.8 %	-	-	-	-	
<i>Rubha Aird Driseig</i> (Ardrishaig)	-	-	6	5.2 %	2	2.8 %	5	2.3 %	
<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert)	-	-	10	8.1 %	3	4.4 %	6	3.2 %	
<i>An Clachan & Rubha na h-Aoireann</i> (Clachan & Rhunahaorine)	-	-	1	2.2 %	-	-	1	4.0 %	
<i>Eilean Giogha</i> (Isle of Gigha)	-	-	2	22.2 %	-	-	-	-	
<i>Am Bàrr</i> (Glenbarr)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>Sgibinis & Càradal</i> (Skipness & Carradale)	-	-	2	3.9 %	2	5.9 %	1	2.2 %	
<i>Druim Leamhan</i> (Drumlembie)	1	2.0 %	1	1.3 %	-	-	3	1.6 %	
<i>Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	1	0.3 %	2	0.2 %	12	4.3 %	12	1.8 %	
<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.6 %	

Table 11: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary / secondary school catchment areas according to the census 2001



4 Future Perspectives

Far less than 1 in 10 of Scottish-born residents in the area has some knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. The language community indicator (LCI²⁰) is still considerably higher in *Dal Riada* than in *Cinn Tìre*. The language viability indicator (LVI²¹) still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 12) which is due to a comparatively low language intensity in younger age groups. Based on these unfavourable facts the future of *Gàidhlig* in the area looks bleak if not substantial efforts are taken.

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>Dal Riada</i> (Mid Argyll)	92	4.2 %	509	6.3 %	- 2.1 %	7.4 %
<i>Cinn Tìre</i> (Kintyre)	43	1.6 %	365	3.7 %	- 2.1 %	4.1 %
<i>In comparison: Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd</i>	6.1 %		7.2 %		- 1.1 %	7.5 %

Table 12: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) and *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) in comparison with the *Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2001

The rather poor conditions of the language are slightly favourable in a few locations only. Locally the LVI is negative with some positive signs mainly around *Inbhir Aora* (table 24). Some remarkable LCI value is still reached in the odd locality: 12.7 % in *An Fhùrnis* (Furnace), 25.6 % in *Giogha* and 13.1 % in *Sgibinis* (Skipness). Figures for the 0-24 age groups are also not encouraging (tables 26 and 27).

Concerning the future there have been a few positive developments recently. The *cròileagan* in *Inbhir Aora* went from strength to strength and some *Gàidhlig* lessons started in the local primary based on the GLPS scheme. Eventually even a *sgoil-araich* (*Gàidhlig* nursery) started there in 2003. Second language teaching at primary age started also in some other schools (even in *Cinn Tìre*) in accordance with the GLPS scheme. There are even talks of re-introducing the language as a subject in the secondary schools of *Ceann Loch Gilb* (Lochgilphead) and *An Tairbeart* (Tarbert).

In conclusion: In essence *Gàidhlig* in both areas is very much waiting to be developed. Besides some recent activities in the communities on the western shores of *Loch Fìne* (Loch Fyne) there is not much to be reported. Compared with the rich *Gàidhlig* tradition in these heartlands of *Earra-Ghàidheal* (Land of the Gael) regrettably the profile of the language is on an all-time low these days.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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>Creiginis</i> (Craignish)	<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin)	<i>Glasairidh</i> (Glassary)	<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray)	<i>Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (North Knapdale)	<i>Cnapadal a Deas</i> (South Knapdale)
1881	374	647	2,991	873	635	1,803
1891	271	507	2,611	783	770	1,596
1901	248	453	2,287	593	625	1,253
1911	218	351	1,790	445	493	1,107
1921	125	266	1,326	334	336	697
1931	143	180	1,051	248	260	466
1951	52	110	523	136	131	261
1961	44	87	476	94	83	179
1971	15	40	340	70	65	160
1981	17	25	304	53	28	151
1991	3	18	161	24	17	116
2001	9	20	143	40	11	72

Table 13: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in *Dal Riada* according to census data from 1881 to 2001

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish)	<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin)	<i>Glasairidh</i> (Glassary)	<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray)	<i>Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (North Knapdale)	<i>Cnapadal a Deas</i> (South Knapdale)
1881	82.9 %	80.0 %	68.8 %	51.2 %	68.5 %	60.2 %
1891	69.7 %	72.9 %	68.1 %	53.4 %	88.8 %	52.9 %
1901	75.8 %	68.3 %	60.5 %	43.3 %	81.4 %	45.0 %
1911	67.7 %	60.3 %	57.6 %	37.0 %	75.2 %	40.8 %
1921	49.0 %	47.8 %	44.4 %	30.3 %	46.7 %	27.1 %
1931	51.1 %	39.6 %	35.4 %	25.1 %	47.3 %	21.3 %
1951	22.1 %	23.9 %	17.9 %	9.8 %	29.8 %	11.2 %
1961	21.0 %	23.5 %	14.5 %	10.0 %	17.6 %	8.6 %
1971	7.9 %	12.3 %	11.7 %	9.2 %	14.1 %	7.4 %
1981	6.9 %	7.9 %	9.7 %	6.5 %	6.9 %	6.4 %
1991	1.1 %	3.6 %	4.7 %	3.5 %	5.4 %	4.4 %
2001	2.4 %	3.5 %	4.1 %	5.2 %	2.1 %	3.1 %

Table 14: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in *Dal Riada* according to census data from 1881 to 2001



Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie)	<i>Giogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara)	<i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonnell)	<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness)	<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend)
1881	901	334	1,260	789	1,462	121
1891	825	325	1,005	698	1,459	116
1901	608	292	821	601	1,059	107
1911	465	254	622	411	746	65
1921	344	194	427	301	464	61
1931	265	169	295	243	359	42
1951	95	110	162	104	165	27
1961	49	66	97	69	129	18
1971	35	65	85	55	145	20
1981	23	37	83	70	169	8
1991	23	19	49	36	95	6
2001	10	15	52	23	89	5

Table 15: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in Cinn Tìre according to census data from 1881 to 2001

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie)	<i>Giogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara)	<i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonnell)	<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness)	<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend)
1881	65.9 %	87.4 %	68.3 %	67.8 %	15.0 %	12.7 %
1891	63.8 %	81.0 %	52.9 %	60.4 %	14.2 %	13.7 %
1901	56.4 %	78.1 %	42.9 %	55.3 %	10.3 %	14.6 %
1911	45.6 %	77.9 %	36.3 %	42.6 %	7.9 %	8.5 %
1921	36.1 %	73.5 %	24.9 %	28.6 %	5.4 %	7.8 %
1931	27.6 %	69.5 %	21.7 %	25.7 %	4.5 %	6.6 %
1951	16.7 %	57.9 %	11.9 %	11.2 %	1.9 %	5.2 %
1961	8.7 %	40.5 %	7.7 %	8.6 %	1.6 %	3.4 %
1971	6.5 %	37.1 %	5.9 %	7.2 %	1.8 %	4.0 %
1981	5.8 %	24.2 %	5.4 %	9.1 %	2.2 %	2.0 %
1991	2.9 %	13.3 %	3.5 %	4.6 %	1.3 %	1.3 %
2001	1.8 %	13.6 %	3.4 %	3.0 %	1.4 %	1.0 %

Table 16: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in Cinn Tìre according to census data from 1881 to 2001



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: Dal Riada	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	10,779	6,967	
<i>Creiginis (Craignish) CP</i>	451	374	
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin) CP</i>	811	647	
<i>Glasairidh (Kilmichael Glassary)</i>	4,348	2,991	
<i>Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) CP / Gleann Aora (Glenaray) CP</i>	946 / 760	329 / 544	
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale) CP</i>	927	635	
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale) CP – including Cill Bheiridh (Kilberry)</i>	2,536	1,447	
<i>- included in the above -</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	1,489	764	
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	870	311	
<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig (Ardrishaig) Vi</i>	1,224	505	
<i>Eilean MhicEasgann (MacAskin Island)</i>	6	6	
<i>Danna (Danna Island) / Ulbha (Ulva Island)</i>	40 / 19	- / 7	
1891	10,272	6,255	285
<i>Creiginis (Craignish) CP</i>	391	266	7
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin) CP</i>	695	496	11
<i>Glasairidh (Kilmichael Glassary)</i>	3,836	2,432	179
<i>Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) CP / Gleann Aora (Glenaray) CP</i>	836 / 630	325 / 454	2 / 2
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale) CP</i>	867	724	46
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale) CP – including Cill Bheiridh (Kilberry)</i>	3,017	1,558	38
<i>- included in the above -</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	1,320	680	18
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	743	297	2
<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig (Ardrishaig) Vi</i>	1,258	468	1
<i>Eilean Rìgh (Ree Island)</i>	5	5	-
<i>Danna (Danna Island) / Ulbha (Ulva Island)</i>	42 / 20	41 / 15	- / 3
1901	10,281	5,378	111
<i>Creiginis (Craignish) CP</i>	327	232	16
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin) CP</i>	1,255	449	4
<i>Glasairidh (Kilmichael Glassary)</i>	3,778	2,254	33
<i>Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) CP</i>	1,369	592	1
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale) CP</i>	768	606	49
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale) CP</i>	2,784	1,245	8
<i>included in the above:</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	1,313	568	5
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	678	218	-
<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig (Ardrishaig) Vi</i>	1,285	390	1
<i>Eilean Rìgh (Ree Island) / Danna (Danna Island) / Ulbha (Ulva Island)</i>	8 / 32 / 12	6 / 30 / 12	- / - / -
<i>- electoral divisions -</i>			
<i>Loch Fìne (Lochfyne)</i>	1,696	1,134	25
<i>Gleann Aora (Glenaray)</i>	691	374	1
<i>Cill Mhìcheil (Kilmichael)</i>	755	548	3
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin)</i>	659	448	4
<i>Creiginis (Craignish)</i>	327	232	16
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale)</i>	766	606	19
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale)</i>	1,678	641	6
<i>Cill Bheiridh (Kilberry)</i>	1,067	595	2
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Lochgilphead)</i>	1,312	567	5

Table 17: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, islands, burghs) in Dal Riada



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: Dal Riada	<i>Total Popula- tion</i>	<i>Gàidhlig and Eng- lish</i>	<i>Gàidhlig but no English</i>
Census/Selected Area			
1911	8,583	4,377	27
<i>Creiginis (Craignish) CP</i>	322	212	6
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin) CP</i>	582	350	1
<i>Glasairidh (Kilmichael Glassary)</i>	3,107	1,781	9
<i>Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) CP</i>	1,204	444	1
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale) CP</i>	656	491	2
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale) CP</i>	2,710	1,099	8
<i>---- included in the above:----</i>			
<i>Eilean Rìgh (Ree Island)</i>	8	7	-
<i>Danna (Danna Island)</i>	33	25	1
<i>Ulba (Ulva Island)</i>	13	11	1
1921	8,192	3,076	8
<i>Creiginis (Craignish) CP</i>	255	124	1
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin) CP</i>	557	264	2
<i>Glasairidh (Kilmichael Glassary)</i>	2,986	1,323	3
<i>Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) CP</i>	1,103	334	-
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale) CP</i>	719	335	1
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale) CP</i>	2,576	696	1
1931	7,433	2,340	8
<i>Creiginis (Craignish) CP</i>	280	143	-
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn (Kilmartin) CP</i>	455	180	-
<i>Glasairidh (Kilmichael Glassary)</i>	2,970	1,044	7
<i>Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) CP</i>	990	248	-
<i>Cnapadal a Tuath (North Knapdale) CP</i>	550	259	1
<i>Cnapadal a Deas (South Knapdale) CP</i>	2,188	466	-
<i>- included in the above -</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	974	253	-
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	455	75	-
1951	7,755	1,213	-
<i>- included in the above -</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	1,229	148	-
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	503	52	-
1961	7,369	965	-
<i>- included in the above -</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	1,208	109	-
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	501	36	-
1971²²	6,805	690	*
<i>- included in the above -</i>			
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag) (Lochgilphead Small Burgh)</i>	1,185	110	*
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag) (Inveraray Small Burgh)</i>	440	25	*

Table 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, islands) in Dal Riada

²² Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: Cinn Tìre	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	15,467	4,857	
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP</i>	<i>1,368</i>	<i>901</i>	
<i>Giogha & Cara (Gigha & Cara) CP</i>	<i>382</i>	<i>324</i>	
<i>Cill Cholman Eala (Kilcalmonell) CP – excluding Cill Bheiridh (Kilberry)</i>	<i>1,844</i>	<i>1,260</i>	
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis (Saddell & Skipness) CP</i>	<i>1,163</i>	<i>789</i>	
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) CP</i>	<i>9,755</i>	<i>1,462</i>	
<i>An Ceann a Deas (Southend) CP</i>	<i>955</i>	<i>121</i>	
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag) (Campbeltown Small Burgh)</i>	<i>7,693</i>	<i>1,040</i>	
<i>An Tairheart (Tarbert) Vi</i>	<i>508</i>	<i>381</i>	
<i>Cara (Island of Cara)</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	
<i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr (Davaar Island Lighthouse)</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>-</i>	
<i>Eabhainn (Sanda Island Lighthouse)</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>-</i>	
1891	15,855	4,700	89
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP</i>	<i>1,293</i>	<i>808</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Giogha & Cara (Gigha & Cara) CP</i>	<i>401</i>	<i>301</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>Cill Cholman Eala (Kilcalmonell) CP – excluding Cill Bheiridh (Kilberry)</i>	<i>1,901</i>	<i>978</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis (Saddell & Skipness) CP</i>	<i>1,156</i>	<i>692</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) CP</i>	<i>10,260</i>	<i>1,448</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>An Ceann a Deas (Southend) CP</i>	<i>844</i>	<i>473</i>	<i>4</i>
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag) (Campbeltown Small Burgh)</i>	<i>8,291</i>	<i>1,098</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>An Tairheart (Tarbert) Vi</i>	<i>1,775</i>	<i>794</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Cara (Island of Cara)</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr (Davaar Island Lighthouse)</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Eabhainn (Sanda Island Lighthouse)</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>
1901	15,422	3,472	16
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP</i>	<i>1,078</i>	<i>606</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Giogha & Cara (Gigha & Cara) CP</i>	<i>374</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Cill Cholman Eala (Kilcalmonell) CP</i>	<i>1,915</i>	<i>813</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis (Saddell & Skipness) CP</i>	<i>1,087</i>	<i>599</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) CP</i>	<i>10,236</i>	<i>1,058</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>An Ceann a Deas (Southend) CP</i>	<i>732</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>-</i>
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag) (Campbeltown Small Burgh)</i>	<i>8,286</i>	<i>807</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>An Tairheart (Tarbert) Vi</i>	<i>1,697</i>	<i>335</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Cara (Island of Cara)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr (Davaar Island Lighthouse)</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Eabhainn (Sanda Island Lighthouse)</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>-</i>
electoral divisions –			
<i>An Tairheart (Tarbert)</i>	<i>1,419</i>	<i>501</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Cill Cholman Eala & Giogha (Kilcalmonell & Gigha)</i>	<i>883</i>	<i>597</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis (Saddell & Skipness)</i>	<i>1,087</i>	<i>599</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich (Killean & Kilchenzie)</i>	<i>1,078</i>	<i>606</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain a Tuath (Campbeltown North)</i>	<i>758</i>	<i>124</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain a Deas (Campbeltown South)</i>	<i>1,192</i>	<i>127</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>An Ceann a Deas (Southend)</i>	<i>732</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>-</i>

Table 19: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, islands, burghs) in Cinn Tìre



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: Cinn Tìre	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	14,285	2,552	11
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP	1,019	463	2
<i>Giogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) CP	326	253	1
<i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP	1,712	618	4
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) CP	964	409	2
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) CP	9,497	744	2
<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) CP	767	65	-
- included in the above –			
<i>Cara</i> (Island of Cara)	3	1	-
<i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr</i> (Davaar Island Lighthouse)	3	-	-
<i>Eabhainn</i> (Sanda Island Lighthouse)	21	-	-
1921	13,432	1,788	3
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP	952	344	-
<i>Giogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) CP	264	192	2
<i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP	1,716	426	1
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) CP	1,052	301	-
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) CP	8,663	464	-
<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) CP	785	61	-
1931	11,987	1,347	1
<i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP	870	240	-
<i>Giogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) CP	243	169	-
<i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP	1,360	294	1
<i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) CP	946	243	-
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) CP	7,928	359	-
<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) CP	640	42	-
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh)	6,309	260	-
1951	12,457	686	-
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh)	7,172	121	-
1961	11,340	438	1
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh)	6,523	108	-
<i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP	1,260	96	1
1971²³	11,630	415	*
- included in the above –			
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh)	5,960	120	*

Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, islands) in Cinn Tìre

²³ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Argyll) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Cill Mhàrtainn – Creiginis</i> (Kilmartin – Craignish)	KC	131 23.4 %	50 10.2 %	42 8.1 %	21 2.8 %	29 3.2 %
<i>Gleann Aora</i> (Glenaray)	GA	58 13.7 %	40 12.9 %	17 10.4 %	9 5.2 %	18 6.7 %
<i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag)</i> (Inveraray (Small Burgh))	IA	38 7.5 %	25 5.9 %	27 5.8 %	16 3.2 %	22 4.6 %
<i>Loch Fìne</i> (Lochfyne)	LF	304 19.7 %	175 13.7 %	116 11.3 %	54 6.7 %	48 5.8 %
<i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag)</i> (Lochgilphead (Small Burgh))	LG	109 9.4 %	110 9.7 %	177 9.3 %	120 5.2 %	87 4.0 %
<i>Glasairidh - Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (Glassary – North Knapdale)	GK	148 16.2 %	120 14.6 %	91 8.8 %	48 3.9 %	38 2.4 %
<i>Cnapadal a Deas – Cill Bheiridh</i> (South Knapdale – Kilberry)	KK	158 9.5 %	145 8.2 %	101 6.5 %	72 4.4 %	49 3.0 %
<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert)	TA	66 5.3 %	75 5.3 %	60 4.8 %	57 4.1 %	55 4.3 %
<i>Cinn Tìre a Tuath</i> (Kintyre North)	KN	75 17.9 %	45 11.8 %	54 10.9 %	14 2.8 %	12 2.5 %
<i>Cinn Tìre an Iar</i> (Kintyre West)	KW	126 15.4 %	110 13.4 %	69 12.2 %	29 6.7 %	24 4.9 %
<i>Cinn Tìre an Ear</i> (Kintyre East)	KE	55 5.1 %	40 2.3 %	48 6.3 %	34 5.3 %	19 2.4 %
<i>Cinn Tìre a Deas</i> (Kintyre South)	KS	30 2.2 %	40 2.9 %	32 1.9 %	10 0.5 %	18 1.4 %
<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown (Small Burgh))	CB	108 1.7 %	120 2.1 %	137 2.4 %	94 1.6 %	76 1.4 %

Table 21: 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>Dal Riada</i>								
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001		
01	<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) a	18	6.3 %	9	2.9 %	18	5.8 %	
02	<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) b	9	5.1 %	7	3.7 %	5	2.7 %	
	<i>Gleann Aora</i> (Glen Aray)	6	7.7 %	5	5.4 %	10	7.1 %	
	<i>Gleann Siara</i> (Glen Shira)	11	12.9 %	4	5.0 %	8	5.9 %	
03	<i>An Fhùirnis</i> (Furnace)	10	4.6 %	2	1.0 %	16	8.9 %	
04	<i>Carr Eighe</i> (Crarae)	12	11.7 %	16	11.6 %	8	4.7 %	
05	<i>Mionaird</i> (Minard)	25	16.5 %	13	6.8 %	2	1.1 %	
06	<i>An Loch Geàrr</i> (Lochgair)	9	8.0 %	9	7.1 %	6	5.0 %	
07	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	60	12.7 %	14	8.3 %	16	8.1 %	
08	<i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish)	13	7.1 %	2	0.8 %	9	2.4 %	
09	<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin)	26	9.1 %	8	2.9 %	14	4.0 %	
10	<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kilmichael)	19	9.2 %	12	3.7 %	12	2.4 %	
11	<i>Achadh na Mara</i> (Achnamara)	17	6.9 %	4	1.5 %	3	1.0 %	
12	<i>Taighnis</i> (Taynish)	11	10.0 %	7	6.1 %	4	3.4 %	
13	<i>An Crìonan</i> (Crinan)	14	8.5 %	7	3.8 %	10	2.6 %	
14	<i>An Carn Bàn</i> (Cairnbaan)	16	11.3 %	6	4.1 %	3	2.4 %	
15	<i>Sloc a 'Mhuilinn</i> (Slockavullin)	14	8.2 %	12	5.9 %	6	2.8 %	
16	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead) a	52	7.7 %	41	5.5 %	16	2.4 %	
17	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead) b	73	12.8 %	25	4.5 %	20	3.7 %	
18	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead) c	52	7.9 %	54	5.3 %	51	5.0 %	
19	<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig</i> (Ardrishaig) a	43	8.4 %	32	5.5 %	21	3.2 %	
20	<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig</i> (Ardrishaig) b	35	4.7 %	28	3.9 %	24	3.3 %	
21	<i>Cill Bheiridh</i> (Kilberry)	23	7.8 %	12	3.6 %	4	1.3 %	

Table 22: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Dal Riada: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ²⁴		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.4 %
3-4	*	*	3	1.8 %	1	0.5%	1	0.5 %
5-24	40	2.4 %	61	3.0 %	25	1.3 %	55	3.1 %
25-44	110	7.7 %	105	5.6 %	48	2.3 %	54	2.5 %
45-64	235	13.6 %	191	11.4 %	120	6.3 %	76	3.3 %
65 +	285	22.9 %	218	16.1 %	145	10.6 %	109	7.5 %
Total (3 years and over)	670	10.7 %	578	8.3 %	339	4.5 %	295	3.8 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	547	9.1 %	322	5.2 %	274	4.4 %

Table 23: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) between 1971 and 2001

²⁴ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ²⁵							
Cinn Tìre							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	An Tairbeart (Tarbert) a	33	4.9 %	28	3.9 %	23	3.4 %
52	An Tairbeart (Tarbert) b	27	4.7 %	29	4.3 %	32	4.9 %
53	Ceann na Crèige (Keannacraig)	24	14.5 %	4	2.2 %	2	1.1 %
54	An Clachan (Clachan)	13	6.0 %	4	2.0 %	5	2.6 %
55	Taigh an Lòin (Tayinloan)	20	9.1 %	6	7.0 %	5	2.4 %
56	Giogha (Gigha)	36	24.3 %	20	13.7 %	15	13.6 %
57	Am Bàrr (Glenbarr)	13	6.6 %	3	1.5 %	4	2.2 %
58	Sgibinis (Skipness)	17	15.3 %	6	5.1 %	5	4.5 %
59	Càradal (Carradale) a	21	10.7 %	16	6.9 %	3	1.4 %
60	Càradal (Carradale) b	23	7.4 %	16	4.1 %	14	4.1 %
61	Saghadal (Saddell)	4	1.6 %	2	0.8 %	2	0.8 %
62	Machaire Shanais (Machrihanish)	7	1.2 %	2	0.3 %	5	4.0 %
63	Baile nan Stiùbhartach (Stewarton)	16	2.3 %	3	0.4 %	8	1.1 %
64	Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) a	49	2.9 %	24	1.3 %	26	1.6 %
65	Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) b	25	2.9 %	26	2.5 %	10	1.1 %
66	Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) c	26	1.9 %	21	1.4 %	18	1.4 %
67	Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) d	37	2.1 %	23	1.4 %	22	1.3 %
68	An Ceann a Deas (Southend)	9	2.4 %	5	1.2 %	5	1.0 %

Table 24: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) between 1981 and 2001

Cinn Tìre: 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	-	-
3-4	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-24	35	1.0 %	35	1.0 %	22	0.8 %	24	1.1 %
25-44	105	3.5 %	97	3.5 %	42	1.4 %	35	1.4 %
45-64	170	6.1 %	124	5.0 %	76	3.0 %	55	2.0 %
65 +	120	7.0 %	134	7.7 %	88	5.0 %	80	3.9 %
Total (3 years and over)	430	3.8 %	390	3.6 %	228	2.3 %	194	2.0 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	387	4.1 %	208	2.4 %	185	2.3 %

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

²⁵ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 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.



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>Inbhir Aora a</i> (Inveraray) a	4	4.9 %	28	9.1 %	- 4.2 %	8.8 %
02	<i>Inbhir Aora b</i> (Inveraray) b	10	6.9 %	31	6.7 %	+ 0.2 %	7.9 %
03	<i>An Fhùrnis</i> (Furnace)	10	18.2 %	19	10.6 %	+ 7.6 %	12.7 %
04	<i>Carr Eighe</i> (Crarae)	3	10.3 %	13	7.6 %	+ 2.7 %	9.0 %
05	<i>Mionaird</i> (Minard)	-	-	9	4.8 %	- 4.8 %	5.8 %
06	<i>An Loch Geàrr</i> (Lochgair)	1	6.3 %	9	7.5 %	- 1.2 %	8.8 %
07	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	7	10.1 %	25	12.6 %	- 2.5 %	15.2 %
08	<i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish)	5	5.5 %	18	4.8 %	+ 0.7 %	7.3 %
09	<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin)	5	6.5 %	26	7.4 %	- 0.9 %	9.7 %
10	<i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kilmichael)	4	2.4 %	24	4.9 %	- 2.5 %	5.6 %
11	<i>Achadh na Mara</i> (Achnamara)	4	3.7 %	8	2.6 %	+ 1.1 %	2.8 %
12	<i>Taignis</i> (Taynish)	-	-	7	6.0 %	- 6.0 %	8.2 %
13	<i>An Crìonan</i> (Crinan)	-	-	9	2.3 %	- 2.3 %	5.9 %
14	<i>An Carn Bàn</i> (Cairnbaan)	1	3.2 %	7	5.6 %	- 2.4 %	4.2 %
15	<i>Sloc a 'Mhuilinn</i> (Slockavullin)	-	-	7	3.2 %	- 3.2 %	3.2 %
16	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb a</i> (Lochgilphead) a	7	4.2 %	33	5.0 %	- 0.8 %	5.7 %
17	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb b</i> (Lochgilphead) b	6	4.4 %	33	6.2 %	- 1.8 %	6.4 %
18	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb c</i> (Lochgilphead) c	9	2.8 %	77	7.6 %	- 4.8 %	8.0 %
19	<i>Rubha Aird Driseig a</i> (Ardrishaig) a	7	4.8 %	40	6.1 %	- 1.3 %	7.1 %
20	<i>Rubha Aird Driseig</i> (Ardrishaig) b	8	4.0 %	46	6.2 %	- 2.2 %	7.0 %
21	<i>Cill Bheiridh</i> (Kilberry)	-	-	12	4.0 %	- 4.0 %	5.0 %

Table 26: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) 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>An Tairbeart a</i> (Tarbert) a	7	3.5 %	35	5.1 %	- 1.6 %	5.2 %
52	<i>An Tairbeart b</i> (Tarbert) b	6	4.3 %	54	8.3 %	- 4.0 %	9.4 %
53	<i>Ceann na Crèige</i> (Keannacraig)	2	4.4 %	7	3.9 %	+ 0.5 %	4.1 %
54	<i>An Clachan</i> (Clachan)	-	-	8	4.2 %	- 4.2 %	5.6 %
55	<i>Taigh an Lòin</i> (Tayinloan)	1	1.6 %	16	7.7 %	- 6.1 %	8.9 %
56	<i>Giogha</i> (Isle of Gigha)	2	9.5 %	24	21.8 %	- 12.3 %	25.6 %
57	<i>Am Bàrr</i> (Glenbarr)	-	-	7	3.9 %	- 3.9 %	4.8 %
58	<i>Sgibinis</i> (Skipness)	2	10.0 %	12	10.7 %	- 0.7 %	13.1 %
59	<i>Càradal a</i> (Carradale) a	-	-	7	3.3 %	- 3.3 %	3.8 %
60	<i>Càradal b</i> (Carradale) b	2	3.6 %	20	5.9 %	- 2.3 %	8.1 %
61	<i>Saghadal</i> (Saddell)	-	-	4	1.5 %	- 1.5 %	1.6 %
62	<i>Machaire Shanais</i> (Machrihanish)	1	2.9 %	9	4.0 %	- 1.1 %	4.3 %
63	<i>Baile nan Stiùbhartach</i> (Stewarton)	1	0.5 %	15	2.1 %	- 1.6 %	2.0 %
64	<i>C. Loch Cille Chiarain a</i> (Campbeltown) a	6	1.5 %	53	3.3 %	- 1.8 %	3.4 %
65	<i>C. Loch Cille Chiarain b</i> (Campbeltown) b	3	1.4 %	23	2.5 %	- 1.1 %	2.4 %
66	<i>C. Loch Cille Chiarain c</i> (Campbeltown) c	8	1.9 %	34	2.7 %	- 0.8 %	2.7 %
67	<i>C. Loch Cille Chiarain d</i> (Campbeltown) d	3	0.6 %	40	2.6 %	- 2.0 %	2.7 %
68	<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend)	-	-	10	2.0 %	- 2.0 %	1.9 %

Table 27: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) according to census data of 2001



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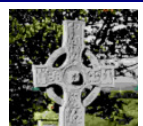
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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>Dal Riada – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray), <i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Newtown)	IA / GA	32AS05 32AS06	60QD000070 60QT000071 60QT000072
02	<i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray), <i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Newtown), <i>Gleann Siara</i> (Glen Shira)), <i>Gleann Aora</i> (Glen Aray), <i>Achadh na Tràgha</i> (Achnatra)	IA / GA	32AS04 32AS07	60QD000069 60QD000073 60QD000563
03	<i>An Fhùirnis</i> (Furnace)	LF	32AS03	60QD000068
04	<i>Carr Eighe</i> (Crarae), <i>Mionaird</i> (Minard), <i>Cam Lodan</i> (Cum-lodden)	LF	32AS02	60QD000697 60QD000698
05	<i>Mionaird</i> (Minard), <i>Tulach Gorm</i> (Tullochgorm)	LF	32AS01	60QD000067
06	<i>An Loch Geàrr</i> (Lochgair)	LF	32AR20	60QD000066
07	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory), <i>Achadh na Bà</i> (Achnaba), <i>Port Anna</i> (Port Ann)	GK	32AR13 32AR21	60QD000689 60QD000690
08	<i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish), <i>Àird Fheàrna</i> (Ardfern), <i>Port nan Craobh</i> (Craobh Haven)	KC	32AR16	60QD000062 60QD000063
09	<i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin), <i>Àth na Crà</i> (Ford), <i>Feàrnach</i> (Fearnoch), <i>Eadarlinn</i> (Ederline), <i>Bàrr a’Mhuilinn</i> (Baravulin), <i>Cinn na Tràgha</i> (Kintraw), <i>Glasairidh</i> (Glassary)	KC / GK	32AR17 32AR18	60QD000064 60QD000693 60QD000694
10	<i>Cill Mhicheil</i> (Kilmichael), <i>Feàrnach</i> (Fernocho), <i>Cearnan</i> (Kirnan), <i>Dùn nam Muc</i> (Dunamuck), <i>Achadh nam Breac</i> (Achnabreck), <i>Ceann na Drochaid</i> (Bridgend)	GK	32AR19	60QD000065 60QD000493 60QD000695 60QD000696
11	<i>Achadh na Mara</i> (Achnamara), <i>Eilean Danna</i> (Isle of Danna), <i>Loch Port a’Chaolais</i> (Loch Caolisport), <i>Achadh a’Chòthais</i> (Achahoish), <i>Ormsaraidh</i> (Ormsary), <i>Am Bracal</i> (Brackley), <i>An t-Sròin</i> (Strone), <i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride)	GK	32AR08 32AR09 32AR10	60QD000058 60QD000059
12	<i>Taighnis</i> (Taynish), <i>Taigh a’Bhealaich</i> (Tayvallich), <i>Ceann an t-Sàilein</i> (Kintallan)	GK	32AR11	60QD000559

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Dal Riada – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
13	<i>An Crìonan</i> (Crinan), <i>Càrsaig</i> (Carsaig), <i>Scoitnis</i> (Scotnish), <i>An Carn Bàn</i> (Cairnbaan), <i>Achadh nan Darach</i> (Oakfield)	GK	32AR12	60QD000060 60QD000061 60QD000560
14	<i>An Carn Bàn</i> (Cairnbaan)	GK	32AR14	60QD000562
15	<i>Sloc a 'Mhuilinn</i> (Slockavullin), <i>Dùn Treòin</i> (Duntrune), <i>An Druim Mòr</i> (Drimvore), <i>Dùn Creagaig</i> (Dunchraigaig)	GK	32AR15	60QD000691 60QD000692
16	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead)	LG	32AR01 32AR02 32AR03	60QD000481 to 60QD000486
17	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead)	LG	32AR04 32AR05	60QD000487 to 60QD000489 60QD000650 60QD000651
18	<i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead)	LG	32AR06 32AR07	60QD000490 60QD000491 60QD000492 60QD000760 to 60QD000763
19	<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig</i> (Ardrishaig)	KK	32AQ01 32AQ02	60QD000474 60QD000475 60QD000476 60QD000687 60QD000759
20	<i>Rubha Aird Drìseig</i> (Ardrishaig)	KK	32AQ03 32AQ04	60QD000477 to 60QD000480 60QD000648 60QD000649
21	<i>Cill Bheiridh</i> (Kilberry), <i>Bàrr a'Bhaile</i> (Baravalla), <i>Dùn Mòr</i> (Dunmore), <i>Tòrr an Tuirc</i> (Torinturk), <i>Loidse Ghòirtein</i> (Gorten Lodge), <i>Achadh na Cloiche</i> (Stonefield), <i>Am Bàrr Fada</i> (Barfad), <i>Inbhir Nèill</i> (Inverneill), <i>Sròn a'Chuillinn</i> (Stronachullin)	KK	32AQ05 32AP11 32AP12 32AP13	60QD000055 60QD000056 60QD000057 60QD000688

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



Census Output Areas in Cinn Tìre – Part A				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert)	TA	32AP01 32AP02	60QD000245 to 60QD000248 60QD000612 60QD000613
52	<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert)	TA	32AP03 32AP04 32AP05	60QD000249 to 60QD000253 60QD000614
53	<i>Ceann na Crèige</i> (Keannacraig), <i>Port nan Cùilean</i> (Portnachuilan), <i>An Taigh Bàn</i> (Whitehouse), <i>An Corran Buidhe</i> (Corranbuie)	KN	32AP10	60QD000054
54	<i>An Clachan</i> (Clachan), <i>Rònachan</i> (Ronachan)	KN	32AP08	60QD000052
55	<i>Taigh an Lòin</i> (Tayinloan), <i>Cill Eathain</i> (Killean), <i>Rubha na h-Aoireann</i> (Rhunahaorine)	KW	32AP07	60QD000050 60QD000051
56	<i>Giogha</i> (Isle of Gigha): <i>An t-Achadh Mòr</i> (Achmore), <i>Àird Mhèanais</i> (Arminish), <i>Druim a'Meadhoin</i> (Druimveon), <i>Eilean Chara</i> (Isle of Cara)	KW	32BB01 32BB02	60QD000101
57	<i>Am Bàrr</i> (Glenbarr), <i>Muasdal</i> (Muasdale), <i>Cill Mo Luaig</i> (Kilmaluag)	KW	32AP06	60QD000048 60QD000049
58	<i>Sgibinis</i> (Skipness), <i>Crosaig</i> (Crossaig)	KN	32AP09	60QD000053
59	<i>Càradal</i> (Carradale), <i>Ceann na Drochaid</i> (Bridgend), <i>Bun na h-Abhainn</i> (Waterfoot)	KE	32AN34	60QD000665 60QD000667
60	<i>Càradal</i> (Carradale), <i>Lag Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Lag Kilmichael), <i>A'Mhòine Ruadh</i> (Moineruadh), <i>Sùnadail</i> (Sunadale)	KE	32AN35 32AN36	60QD000046 60QD000047 60QD000557
61	<i>Saghadal</i> (Saddell), <i>Cill Choinnich</i> (Kilchenzie), <i>Am Baile Meadhonach</i> (Ballevain), <i>Bealach an t-Sruigh</i> (Ballochantuy), <i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan), <i>Tòrasdail</i> (Torrisdale)	KE	32AN31 32AN33	60QD000043 60QD000044 60QD000045

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>Cinn Tìre – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
62	<i>Machaire Shanais</i> (Machrihanish)	KS	32AN21 32AN29	60QD000041 60QD000663
63	<i>Baile nan Stiùbhartach</i> (Stewarton), <i>Druim Leamhan</i> (Drumlemble), <i>Machaire Shanais</i> (Machrihanish), <i>Gleann na Crèige</i> (Glencraigs), <i>A'Mhòigh</i> (Moy), <i>Dùn Mòr</i> (Dunmore), <i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> (Kilmichael)	KS	32AN28 32AN30 32AN32	60QD000042 60QD000664 60QD000684 60QD000685 60QD000686
64	<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	CB	32AN01 32AN02 32AN03 32AN04 32AN05	60QD000040 60QD000155 to 60QD000162 60QD000721 to 60QD000724
65	<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	CB	32AN06 32AN07 32AN08 32AN09 32AN10	60QD000163 to 60QD000170 60QD000596
66	<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown)	CB	32AN11 32AN12 32AN13 32AN14 32AN15	60QD000171 to 60QD000181
67	<i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown), <i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr</i> (Davaar Island)	CB	32AN16 32AN17 32AN18 32AN19 32AN20 32AN26 32AN27 32AN37	60QD000182 to 60QD000191 60QD000598 60QD000599 60QD000666 60QD000668 60QD000669 60QD000784 60QD000785
68	<i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend), <i>Maol Chinn Tìre</i> (Mull of Kintyre), <i>Breac Airidh</i> (Breackerie), <i>Pairc a'Mhuilinn</i> (Mill Park), <i>Am Machaire Mòr</i> (Machrimore), <i>Eabhainn</i> (Sanda Island)	KS	32AN22 32AN23 32AN24 32AN25	60QD000654 60QD000656 60QD000682 60QD000683

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) – 1961-2001 – Part B



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²⁷ This encompasses the southernmost tip of the peninsula with the civil parishes of *Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain* (Campbeltown) and *An Ceann a Deas* (Southend).



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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