

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

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

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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 Series

Since 1881 every decennial population census in Scotland included a question about the “Gaelic-speaking” population. Despite some difficulty in interpreting this data (what really means to tick a box being able to speak Gaelic) this long-term data set holds a wealth of sociological and historical information. It highlights the circumstances in which people speaking this Celtic language have lived and still live today. In most cases this data has been used only either for very problem-specific socio-linguistic studies or they were the basis of regional or Scotland wide analysis. However, it proved very difficult for people who were interested in their own local area to have a comprehensive overview of the number and distribution of Gaelic-speaking people right on their doorstep. This series is planned to cover all regions of Scotland where Scottish Gaelic (*A’Ghàidhlig* to be correct in its own words) was still spoken by a substantial part of the population at the start of the 20th century². 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.

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 have been very supportive – Mrs. Anne Blackwood should be mentioned here especially. Crown Copyright on the census data is acknowledged gratefully. Very worthwhile was also the relentless assistance of Mrs. Melissa Barlow of the University of Texas and Mrs. Liz Mackie of the University of Aberdeen who both proved to be very successful in unearthing rare material of more than a century ago. And last but not least thank is also due to the many individuals with whom I spent endless hours of discussion witnessing true Highland hospitality. *Tapadh leibh a h-uile duine!*

Wedel, *An Dàmhar 2003*

Kurt C. Duwe

² A road-map of the planned publication schedule is provided at the end of this publication.

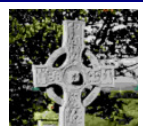


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1 Introduction

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.

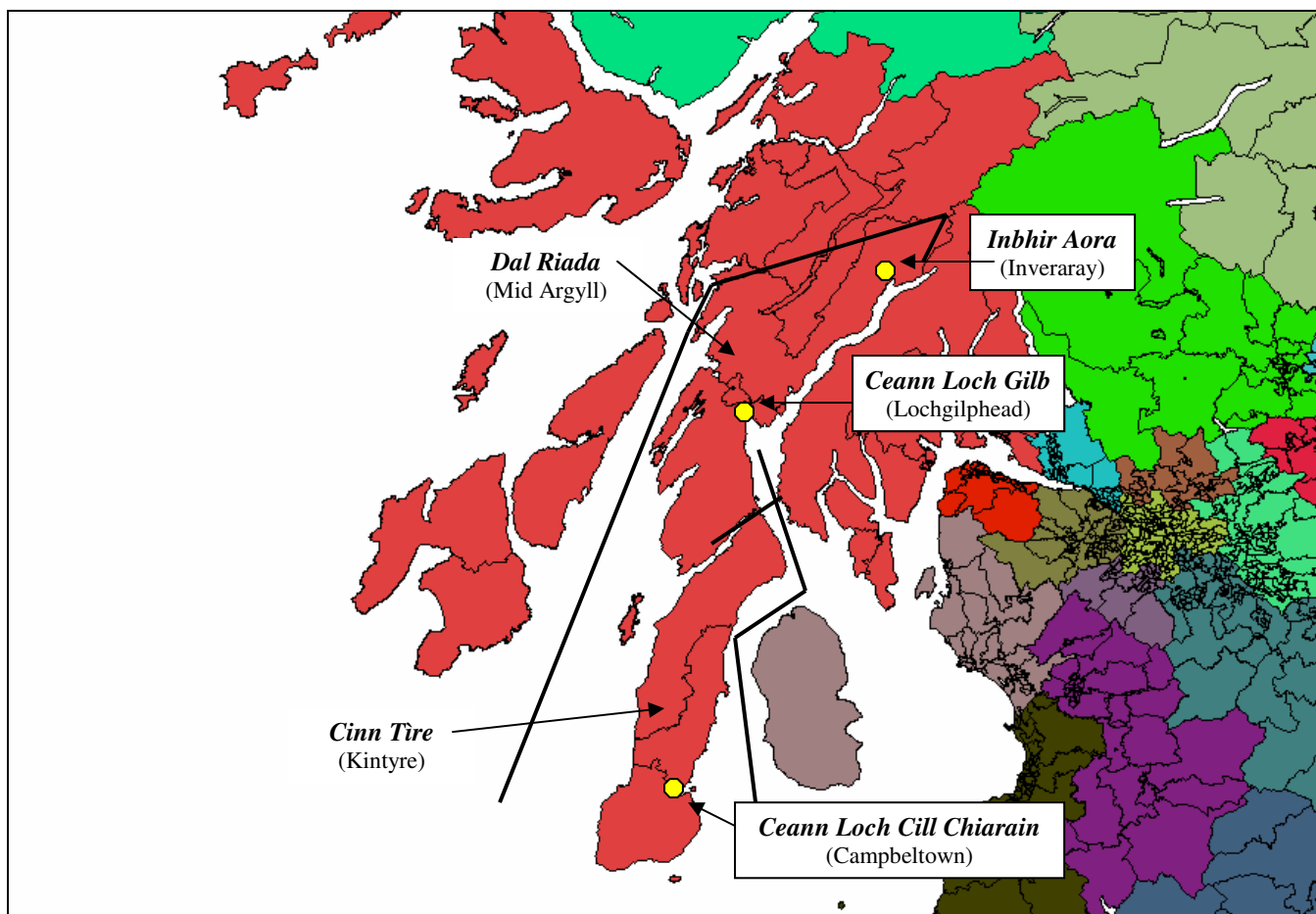


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas³

³ 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.

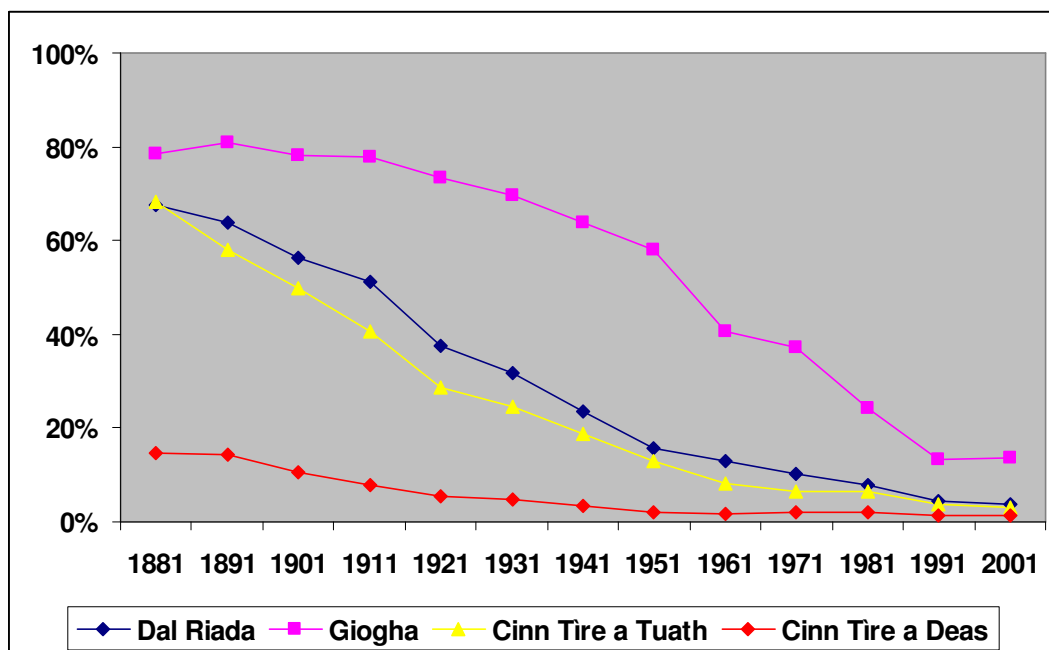


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) in comparison with *Cinn Tìre a Tuath* (North Kintyre), *Cinn Tìre a Deas* (South Kintyre)⁴ and the island of *Giogha* (Gigha)⁵

⁴ This encompasses the southernmost tip of the peninsula with the civil parishes of *Ceann Loch Cill Chiarain* (Campbeltown) and *An Ceann a Deas* (Southend).

⁵ 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 raised. 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.

| <i>Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre</i> | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 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 reports of 1881, 1891 and 1901 are especially rich in local information. The following tables 2 and 3 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 *Glairsaidh* (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 and 15).

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 3 and 17).

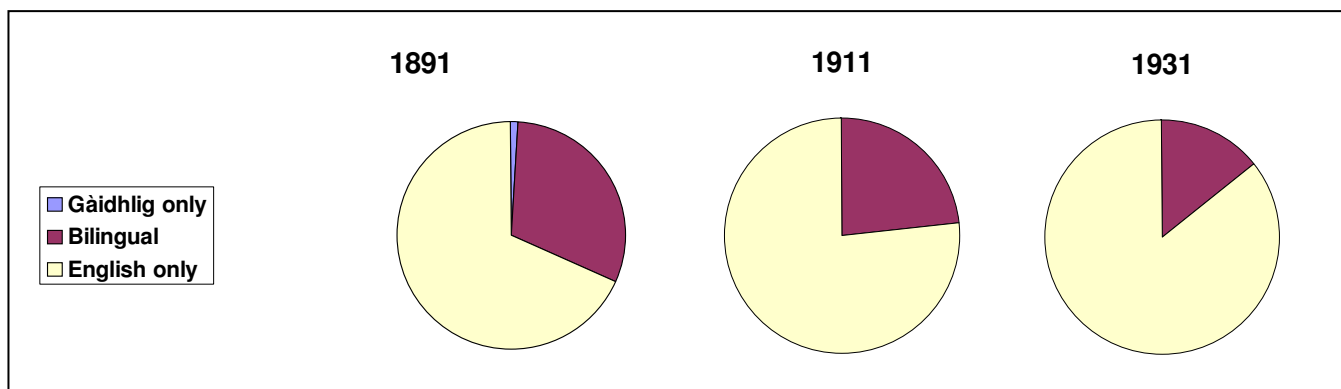


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Dal Riada – 1881 - 1901 | | | | | |
|--|--|------------------------|------------------------|---|-------------|
| Area ⁶ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁷ | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁸ | |
| | 1881 ⁹ | 1891 | 1901 | 1891 | 1901 |
| <i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish) | 374 82.9 % | 273 69.3 % | 248 75.8 % | 7 2.6 % | 16 6.5 % |
| <i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> ¹⁰ (Kilmartin) | 647 79.8 % | 507 72.9 % | 453 68.3 % | 11 2.2 % | 4 0.9 % |
| <i>Glasairidh</i> (Glassary) | 1,788 78.8 % | 1,577 77.6 % | 1,456 69.8 % | 149 9.4 % | 28 1.9 % |
| <i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead) | 764 51.3 % | 698 52.9 % | 573 43.6 % | 18 2.6 % | 5 0.9 % |
| <i>Mionaird</i> (Minard) | 439 74.3 % | 336 69.6 % | 258 68.3 % | 12 3.6 % | – |
| <i>An Fhùirnis</i> (Furnace) | 191 63.9 % | 133 64.9 % | 117 46.6 % | – | 1 0.9 % |
| <i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) | 311 35.7 % | 300 40.4 % | 218 32.2 % | 2 0.7 % | – |
| <i>Inbhir Aora Dùthaich</i> (Inveraray Rural) | 18 23.7 % | 28 30.1 % | 18 29.5 % | – | – |
| <i>Gleann Aora</i> (Glenaray) | 353 76.6 % | 323 76.0 % | 241 63.6 % | 2 0.6 % | – |
| <i>Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (North Knapdale) | 628 72.4 % | 711 88.3 % | 583 80.5 % | 43 6.0 % | 19 3.3 % |
| <i>Danna & Ulbha</i> (Danna & Ulva Islands) | 7 11.9 % | 59 95.2 % | 42 95.5 % | 3 5.1 % | – |
| <i>Cnapadal a Deas</i> (South Knapdale) | 561 69.8 % | 575 72.1 % | 404 60.0 % | 23 4.0 % | 5 1.2 % |
| <i>Rubha Aird Driseig</i> (Ardrishaig) | 505 41.3 % | 469 37.3 % | 391 30.4 % | 1 0.2 % | 1 0.3 % |
| <i>Cill Bheiridh</i> (Kilberry) | 356 77.4 % | 258 66.5 % | 224 65.3 % | 12 4.7 % | 1 0.4 % |
| <i>An Tairbeart (Tuath)</i> (Tarbert – northern part of town) | 381 75.0 % | 294 51.3 % | 228 47.2 % | 2 0.7 % | 1 0.4 % |

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Dal Riada according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

⁶ Ecclesiastical sub-division/registration district/ burgh/town/village/island or part thereof.

⁷ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

⁸ Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 20 % are shown in bold figures.

⁹ Speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.

¹⁰ Includes *Eilean MhicEasgainn* (MacAskin Island) and *Eilean Rìgh* (Ree Island).



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Cinn Tìre – 1881 - 1901 | | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------|----------------------|--|------------|
| Area ¹¹ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹² | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹³ | |
| | 1881 ¹⁴ | 1891 | 1901 | 1891 | 1901 |
| <i>An Tairbeart (Deas)</i> (Tarbert – southern part of town) | 723 64.5 % | 513 42.7 % | 507 35.7 % | 11 2.1 % | 5 1.0 % |
| <i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) | 537 74.3 % | 492 70.4 % | 316 63.8 % | 28 5.7 % | 3 0.9 % |
| <i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) | 901 65.9 % | 825 63.8 % | 608 56.4 % | 17 2.1 % | 2 0.3 % |
| <i>Giogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) | 332 87.4 % | 325 81.0 % | 291 77.8 % | 24 7.4 % | 3 1.0 % |
| <i>Sgibinis</i> (Skipness) | 362 77.0 % | 298 75.4 % | 226 70.4 % | – | – |
| <i>Saghadal</i> (Saddell) | 420 61.2 % | 396 52.3 % | 373 48.8 % | 6 1.5 % | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) | 1,043 13.5 % | 1,113 13.4 % | 808 9.7 % | 9 0.8 % | – |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain Dùthaich</i> ¹⁵ (Campbeltown Rural) | 419 20.5 % | 346 17.7 % | 251 12.9 % | 2 0.6 % | 1 0.4 % |
| <i>An Ceann a Deas</i> ¹⁶ (Southend) | 121 12.7 % | 116 13.7 % | 107 14.6 % | 1 0.9 % | – |

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

Subsequent census returns saw a relentless decline of Gàidhlig speakers. In 1911 just four civil parishes in *Dal Riada* still had a Gàidhlig speaking majority (table 12): *Creiginis* (Craignish), *Cill Mhàrtainn* (Kilmartin), *Glasairidh* (Glassary) and *Cnapadal a Tuath* (North Knapdale). By 1931 this was only the case in *Creiginis* 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.

¹¹ Ecclesiastical sub-division/registration district/ burgh/town/village/island or part thereof.

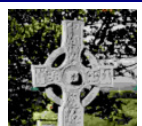
¹² Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

¹³ Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 20 % are shown in bold figures.

¹⁴ Speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.

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

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



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 4). 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 uneven (tables 21 and 23). 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 4: 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 20 and 22). 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 Fhùirnis* (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 visiting 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.

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.



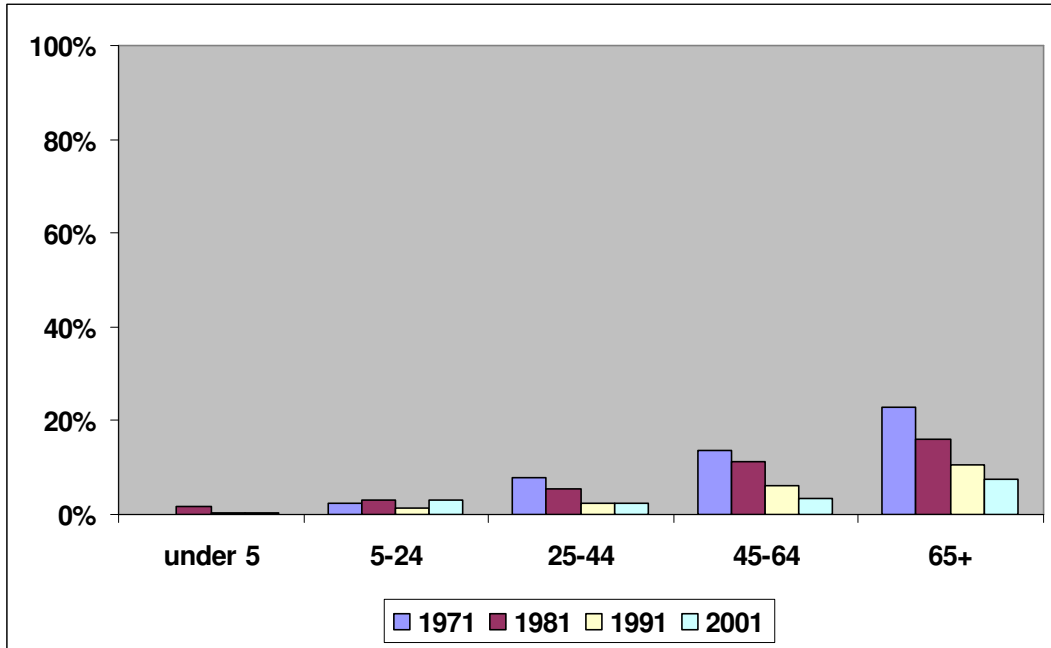


Fig. 4: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Dal Riada (Mid Argyll)¹⁷

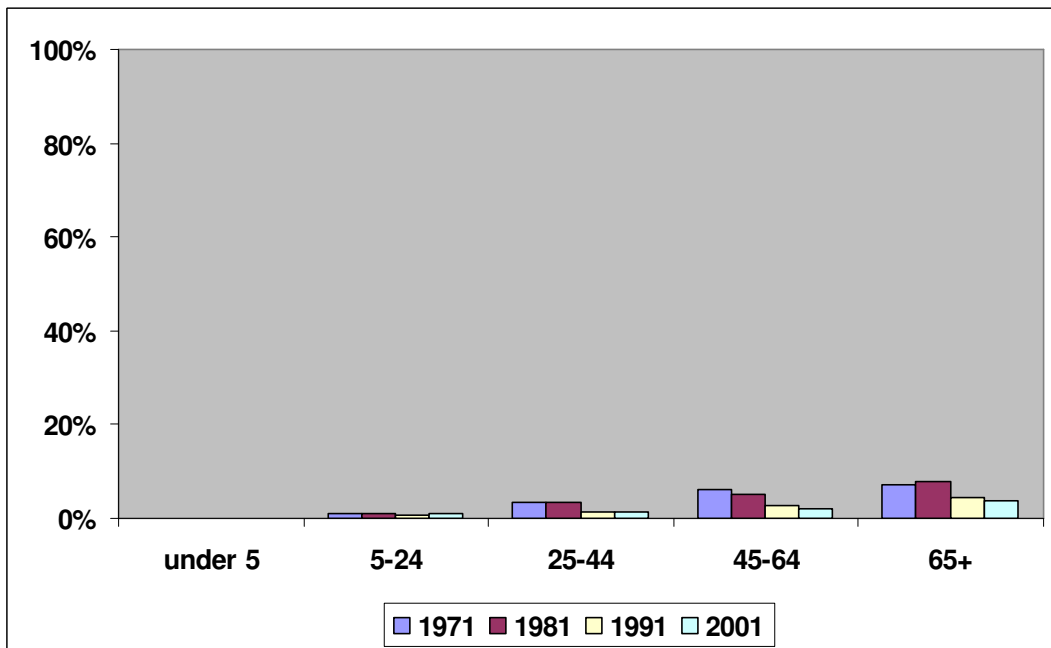
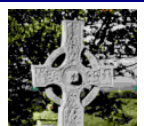


Fig. 5: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)

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



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 5).

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 4) 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 6). 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.

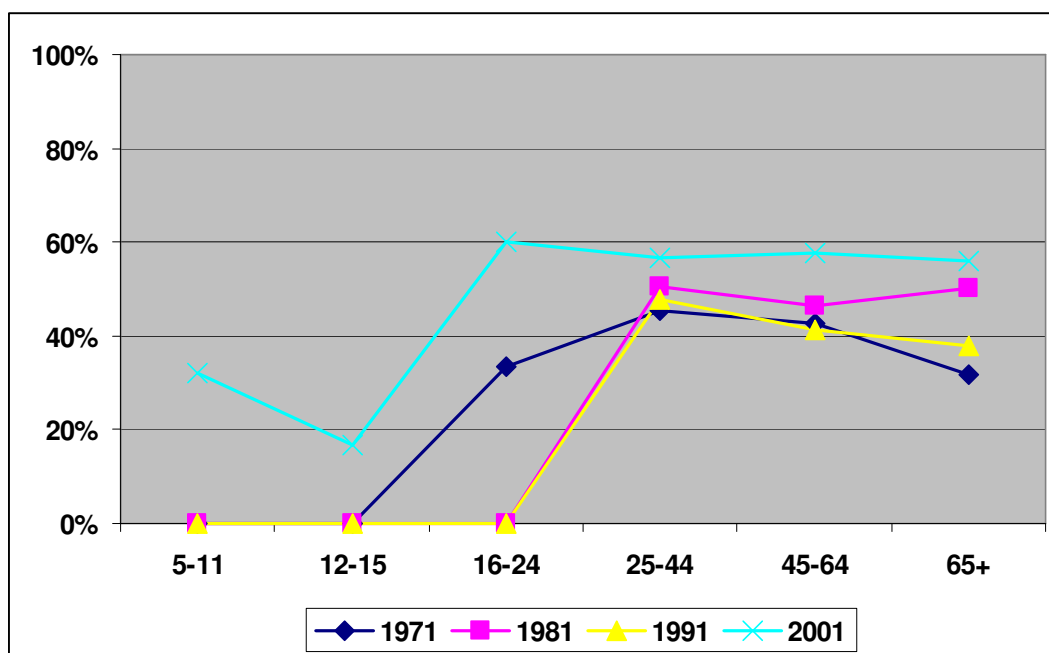


Fig. 6: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Dal Riada (Mid Argyll)



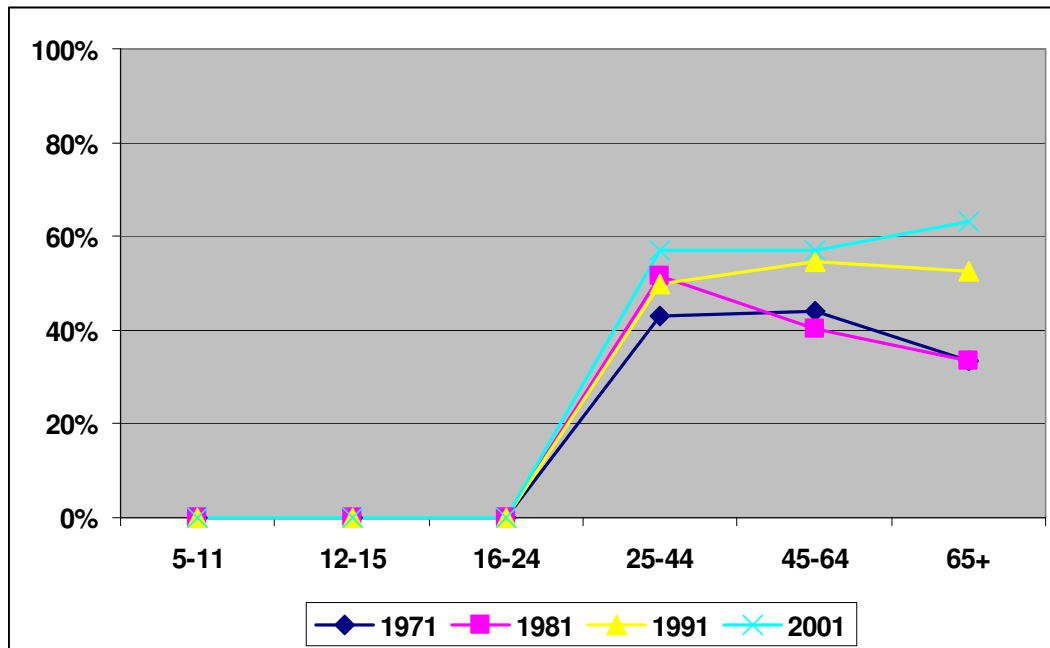


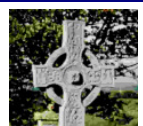
Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)

| | 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 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>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 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

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 7) 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 7).
- 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 20 and 24.
- *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.



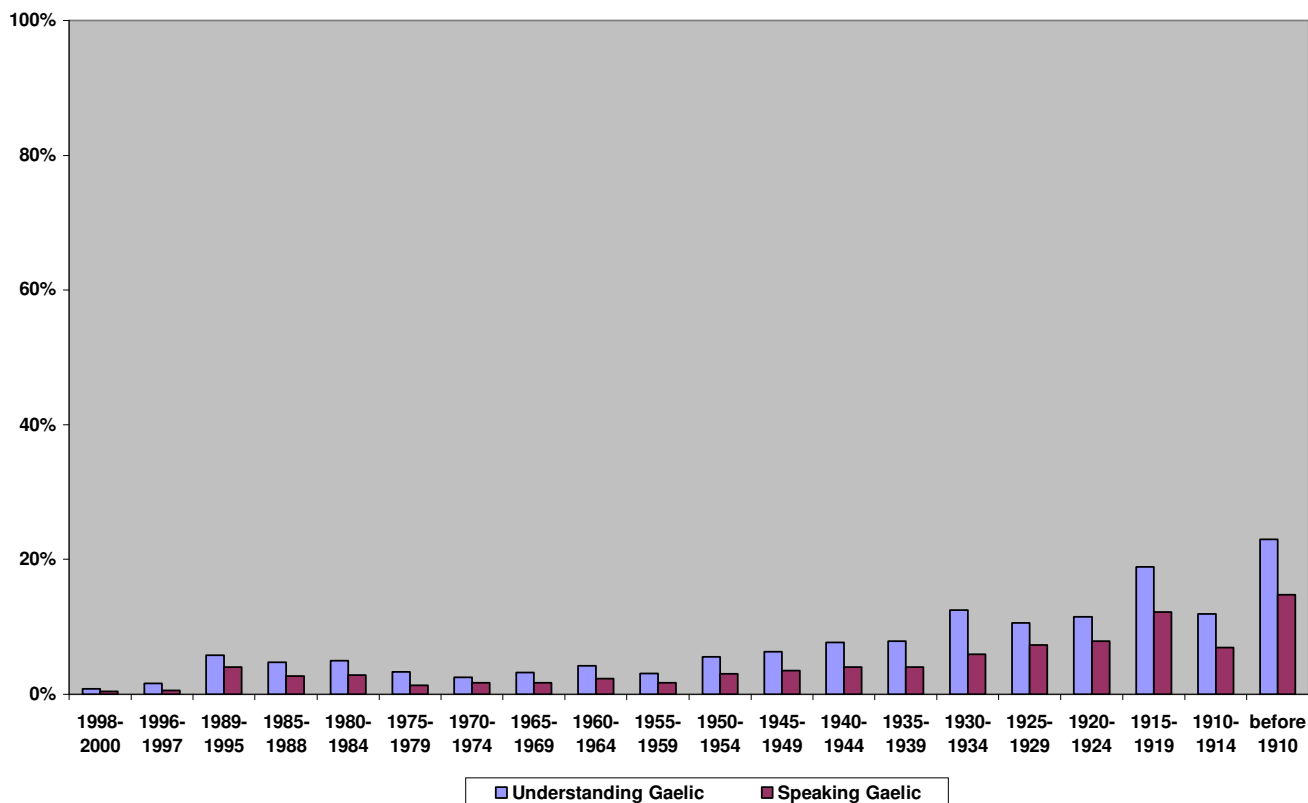


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) according to Census 2001

| 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 7: 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 8) 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 22 and 25.
- *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.

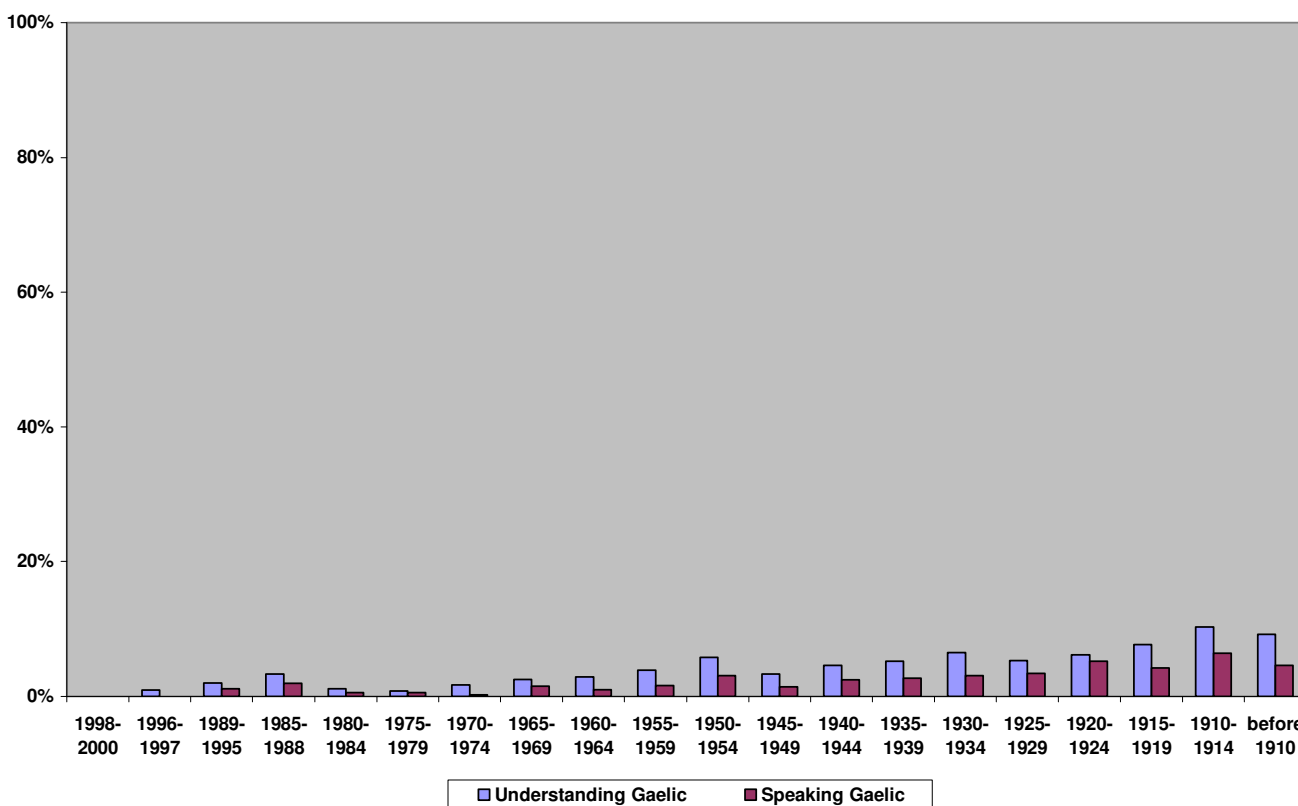


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)* according to Census 2001



| 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 8: 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

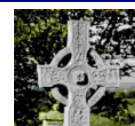
In the 2001 census results the knowledge of Gàidhlig can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local schools. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups and for 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 9 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 Drìseig</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 9: 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 10) 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 10: 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 24 and 25).

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 Tairheart* (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 11: 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 12: 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 13: 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 14: 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 Fine (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 15: 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 |
| 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 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs) 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 17: 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 | - |
| 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 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs) 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 19: 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 Fhùrnis</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 20: 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 21: 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 22: 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 23: 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 24: 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>Gìogha</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 25: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) according to census data of 2001



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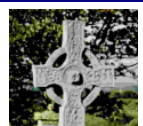
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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> (Port-nachuillan), <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 |

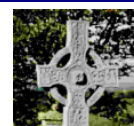
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VII. List of Abbreviations

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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