

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

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

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Extended² 2nd Edition

March 2024

Executive Summary

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

The 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 to introduce Gaelic language lessons in a few primary schools and the introduction of bilingual road signs 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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² Tables were extended with more census results of enumeration districts provided for 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1981.



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.

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

Important note: Although this text is written in the modern lingua franca for the purpose of maximum readership the object has to take its rightful place. Therefore, *Gàidhlig* placenames or expressions are preferred, and the so-called English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For those unfamiliar with the language: Every Gaelic expression is written in *italics* and the other 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 finally thank is also due to the many individuals with whom I spent endless hours of discussion witnessing true Highland hospitality. *Tapadh leibh a h-uile duine!*

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

Kurt C. Duwe

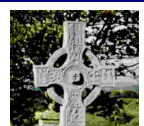


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1 Introduction

The area with the longest tradition of Gàidhlig in Scotland – *Dal Riada* or Mid Argyll – and the long peninsula of *Cinn Tìre* (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 several 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 investigate 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.

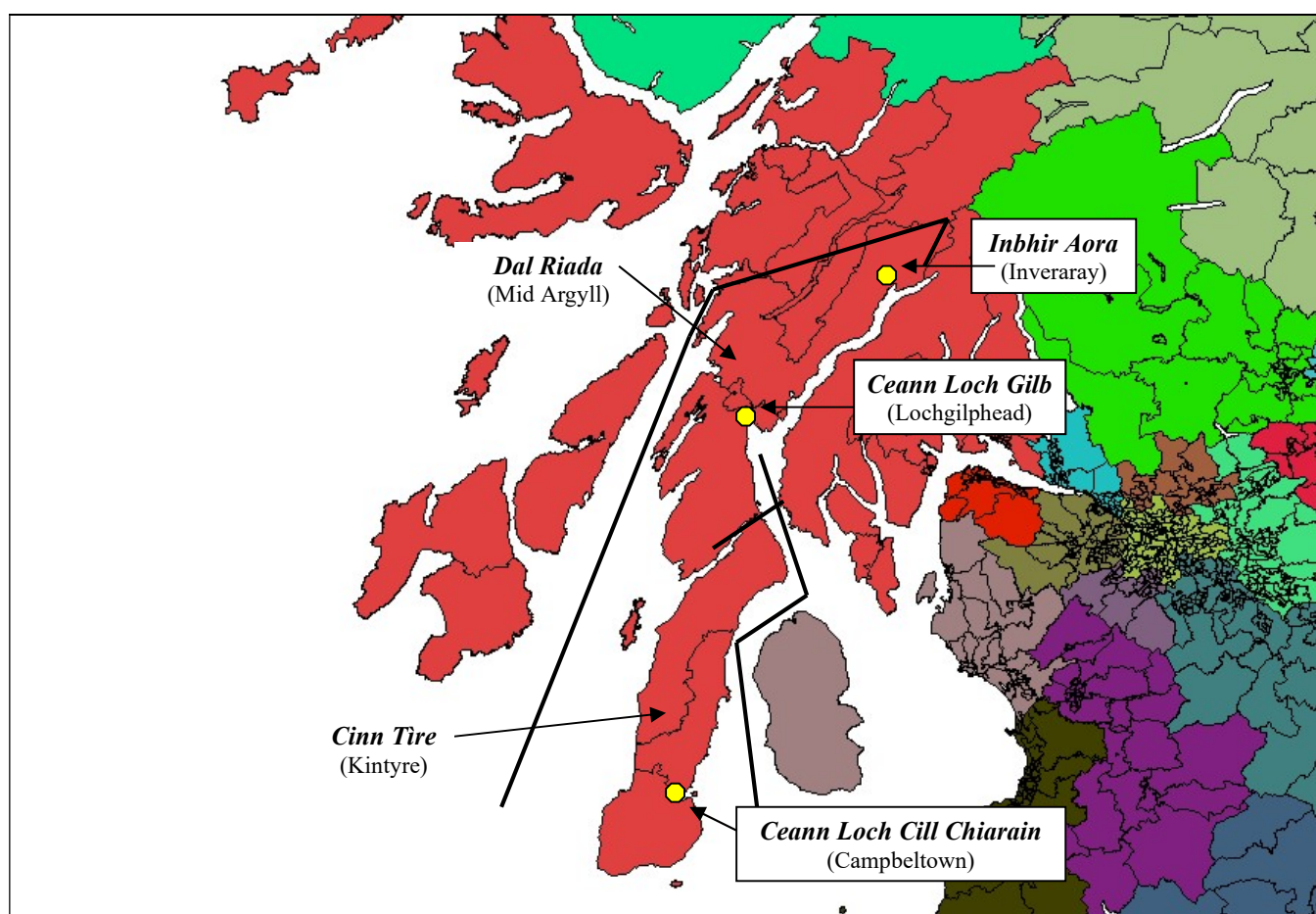


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas³

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's 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.

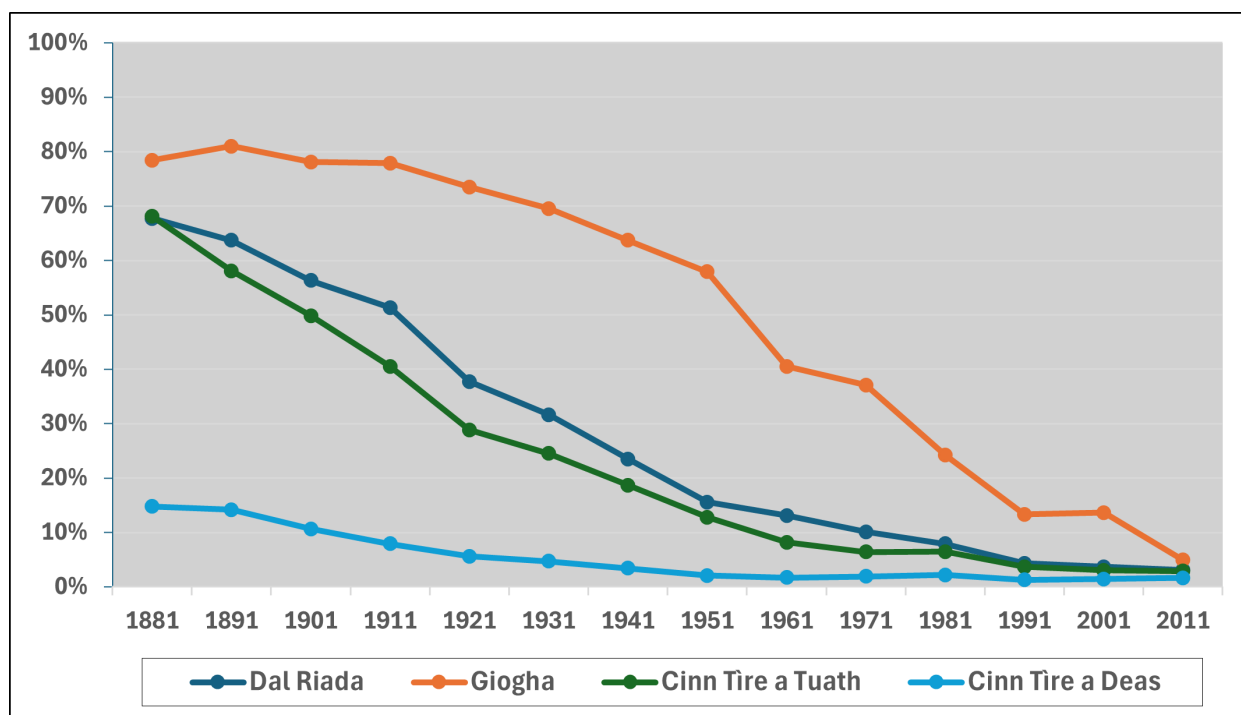


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) in comparison with *Cinn Tìre a Tuath* (North Kintyre), *Cinn Tìre a Deas* (South Kintyre)⁴ and the island of *Giogha* (Gigha)⁵

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 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.

| <i>Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre</i> | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Subject \ Census | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 |
| <i>Gàidhlig</i> -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).

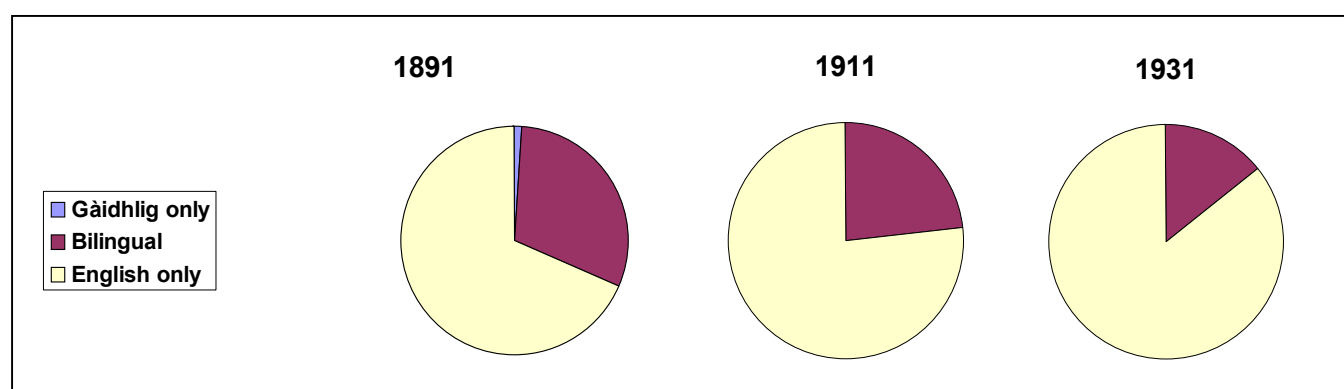


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Inbhir Aora & Glasairidh</i> – 1881 - 1911 | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---|--------------------|-----------|
| Area ⁶ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁷ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁸ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>Gleann Aora</i> (Glenarary) | 100 68.0% | 108 80.6% | 68 59.1% | 56 47.5% | 2 1.9% | – | 1 1.8% |
| <i>Am Màin & Gleann Siara</i> (Maam & Glen Shira) | 73 69.5% | 70 72.2% | 72 67.3% | 44 68.8% | – | – | – |
| <i>Dail Cheann</i> (Dalcheanna) | 180 86.1% | 145 74.7% | 101 64.3% | 82 67.8% | – | – | – |
| <i>Caisteal Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray Castle) | 18 23.7% | 28 30.1% | 17 27.9% | 24 28.9% | – | – | – |
| <i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) | 309 35.8% | 286 39.2% | 206 31.1% | 129 24.8% | 2 0.7% | – | – |
| <i>Achadh an Droighinn & An Fhùirneis</i> (Tuath) (Auchindrain & Furnace North) | 191 63.9% | 153 65.4% | 117 44.7% | 111 39.4% | – | 1 0.9% | – |
| <i>An Fhùirneis (Deas) & Cùil Lodair</i> (Furnace South & Cumlodden) | 227 79.9% | 174 70.4% | 145 63.0% | 121 54.5% | 2 1.1% | – | 1 0.8% |
| <i>Carr Eighe</i> (Crarae) | 210 68.4% | 141 70.1% | 113 76.4% | 90 70.9% | 10 7.1% | – | – |
| <i>Am Bàrr & Mionaird</i> (Barr & Minard) | 179 71.6% | 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) | 180 78.9% | 143 73.0% | 103 64.0% | 62 46.3% | – | – | 1 1.6% |
| <i>An Dùn Fhada & An Càrn Bàn</i> (Dunadd & Cairnbaan) | 225 86.2% | 200 87.3% | 168 76.4% | 128 60.4% | 1 0.5% | – | – |
| <i>Dùn Creagaig & Roghadal</i> (Dunchregaig & Ruddle) | 148 77.5% | 140 87.0% | 136 77.7% | 95 70.4% | 5 3.6% | 1 0.7% | 3 3.2% |
| <i>Fionn Chàrn</i> (Fincharn) | 88 88.9% | 62 89.9% | 43 84.3% | 33 57.9% | – | – | – |
| <i>An t-Àth & Glas Bhàrr</i> (Ford & Glasvar) | 117 70.9% | 114 70.8% | 79 64.2% | 65 63.1% | 10 8.8% | 2 2.5% | 1 1.5% |
| <i>An Loch Geàrr</i> (Lochgair) | 257 90.5% | 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).

⁶ Enumeration division or burgh.

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

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



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Creiginis, Cill Mhàrtainn & Ceann Loch Gilb</i> – 1881 - 1911 | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--|--------------------|-----------|
| Area ⁹ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁰ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹¹ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>Am Bàrr Breac & Àird Larach</i> (Barbreck & Ardlarach)) | 162 81.4% | 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 & Daill) | 113 81.3% | 67 57.8% | 91 75.8% | 68 70.8% | 2 3.0% | – | – |
| <i>Creiginis & Àird</i> (Craignish & Airds) | 99 87.6% | 79 76.7% | 45 64.3% | 44 66.7% | 1 1.3% | 1 2.2% | – |
| <i>Gleann Liobhair & An t-Àth</i> (Glenliver & Ford) | 83 80.6% | 63 82.9% | 52 75.4% | 32 59.3% | 1 1.6% | – | – |
| <i>Seileachairidh</i> (Sallachary) | 38 80.9% | 42 82.4% | 42 89.4% | 38 79.2% | – | – | – |
| <i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin) | 214 80.5% | 150 72.8% | 126 65.6% | 120 65.6% | 2 1.3% | – | 1 0.8% |
| <i>Sloc Mhuilinn</i> (Slockvullin) | 175 76.1% | 164 76.3% | 148 68.8% | 114 62.3% | 2 1.2% | 3 2.0% | – |
| <i>Crionan</i> (Crinan) | 137 83.0% | 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 most 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

⁹ Enumeration division or village.

¹⁰ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹¹ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



with the “Highland” parishes nearby. However, the larger part of the peninsula was home to strong 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 ¹² | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹³ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁴ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>Caisteal Suaine</i> (Castle Sween) | 133 93.7% | 82 70.7% | 89 65.4% | 74 69.8% | 8 9.8% | 4 4.5% | – |
| <i>An Crìonan</i> (Crinan) | 224 80.3% | 227 91.9% | 168 80.4% | 129 68.6% | 4 1.8% | 5 3.0% | – |
| <i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) | 55 94.8% | 34 81.0% | 41 89.1% | 42 100% | – | – | – |
| <i>Taigh a’ Bhealaich</i> (Tayvallich) | 201 75.0% | 234 89.3% | 198 84.3% | 153 76.1% | 26 11.1% | 10 5.1% | – |
| <i>A’ Chill</i> ¹⁵ (Keils) | 15 13.0% | 93 93.9% | 87 90.6% | 64 87.7% | 5 5.4% | – | 1 1.6% |
| <i>Eilean Danna & Eilean Ulbha</i> ¹⁶ (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) | 154 74.0% | 143 74.9% | 105 63.3% | 100 55.6% | 5 3.5% | 1 1.0% | 4 4.0% |
| <i>Aird Phàraig</i> (Ardpatrick) | 106 75.7% | 32 40.5% | 49 52.7% | 121 55.3% | 7 21.9% | – | – |
| <i>An Dùn Mòr</i> (Dunmore) | 96 88.1% | 83 70.3% | 70 83.3% | 50 63.3% | – | – | – |
| <i>Ormsaraidh</i> (Ormsary) | 121 70.3% | 109 72.2% | 86 62.8% | 80 62.0% | 8 7.3% | 4 4.7% | 4 5.0% |
| <i>Eilearaidh</i> (Ellary) | 135 85.4% | 111 77.1% | 80 68.4% | 65 56.0% | 1 0.9% | – | – |
| <i>Inbhir Néill</i> (Inverneil) | 64 52.0% | 120 72.7% | 76 67.3% | 70 53.8% | 5 4.2% | 1 1.3% | – |
| <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% |
| <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% |

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

¹² Enumeration division or village.

¹³ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁴ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁵ 1881 values are doubtful because only one enumeration page records Gàidhlig speakers although 10 years later almost everyone in the area spoke the language.

¹⁶ 1881 values are doubtful, too. On the island of *Danna* not one Gàidhlig speaker was recorded.



| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Cinn Tire – 1881 - 1911 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--|-----------|-----------|
| Area ¹⁷ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁸ | | | | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁹ | | |
| | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| <i>Giogha: An Tairbeart</i> (Isle of Gigha: Tarbert) | 154 89.5% | 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) | 174 85.3% | 161 85.6% | 167 75.9% | 171 77.7% | 15 9.3% | 3 1.8% | 1 0.6% |
| <i>An Taigh Bàn & Ceann na Creige</i> (Whitehouse & Kennacraig) | 178 68.5% | 194 73.2% | 151 69.9% | 133 61.0% | 4 2.1% | 1 0.7% | – |
| <i>An Clachan</i> (Clachan) | 249 78.5% | 186 78.5% | 163 58.1% | 121 55.3% | 7 3.8% | 2 1.2% | – |
| <i>Rubha na h-Aoireann</i> (Rhunahaorine) | 190 84.4% | 136 70.8% | 126 71.2% | 81 66.9% | – | – | – |
| <i>Taigh an Lòin & Cill Eathain</i> (Tayinloan & Killean) | 277 82.2% | 215 77.9% | 164 69.2% | 133 58.8% | 5 2.3% | – | 2 1.5% |
| <i>Am Bàrr & Muasdal</i> (Barr & Muasdale) | 262 67.2% | 251 69.3% | 181 59.5% | 163 54.7% | 5 2.0% | – | – |
| <i>Bealach an t-Suidhe</i> (Bellochantuy) | 117 62.2% | 133 73.5% | 64 49.6% | 46 27.9% | 2 1.5% | – | – |
| <i>Sgibinis</i> (Skipness) | 164 72.6% | 119 72.1% | 93 60.4% | 69 56.1% | – | – | – |
| <i>Claonaig</i> (Claonaig) | 106 86.2% | 92 92.0% | 74 83.1% | 56 61.5% | – | – | – |
| <i>Crosaig</i> (Crossaig) | 90 76.9% | 87 66.9% | 59 75.6% | 35 60.3% | – | – | 1 2.3% |
| <i>Am Bracal</i> (Brackley) | 77 50.3% | 66 51.6% | 64 44.8% | 29 24.8% | – | – | – |
| <i>Càradal</i> (Carradale) | 132 59.7% | 152 51.5% | 147 49.2% | 120 41.4% | – | – | 1 0.8% |
| <i>Tòrrasdal & Duipinn</i> (Torrisdale & Dippen) | 123 71.9% | 100 57.1% | 102 53.7% | 65 37.1% | 6 6.0% | – | – |
| <i>Saghadal</i> (Saddell) | 88 63.3% | 78 49.1% | 60 45.5% | 39 35.5% | – | – | – |
| <i>Cill Choinnich & Tangaidh</i> (Kilchenzie & Tangy) | 55 20.4% | 90 31.9% | 73 31.6% | 44 21.0% | 5 5.6% | 2 2.7% | – |
| <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 Dùthaich²⁰</i> (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 Deas²¹</i> (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 Tire (Kintyre) between 1881 and 1911

¹⁷ Enumeration division or burgh.

¹⁸ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁹ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

²⁰ Figures include Eilean Dà Bhàrr (Davaar Island).

²¹ 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 only 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 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

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 | 2011 |
| Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +) | 1,899 | 1,404 | 1,105 | 981 | 560 | 489 | 432 |
| Percentage of total population | 6.8 % | 5.4 % | 4.4 % | 3.8 % | 2.1 % | 1.9 % | 2.6 % |

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 1951-2011

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 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.

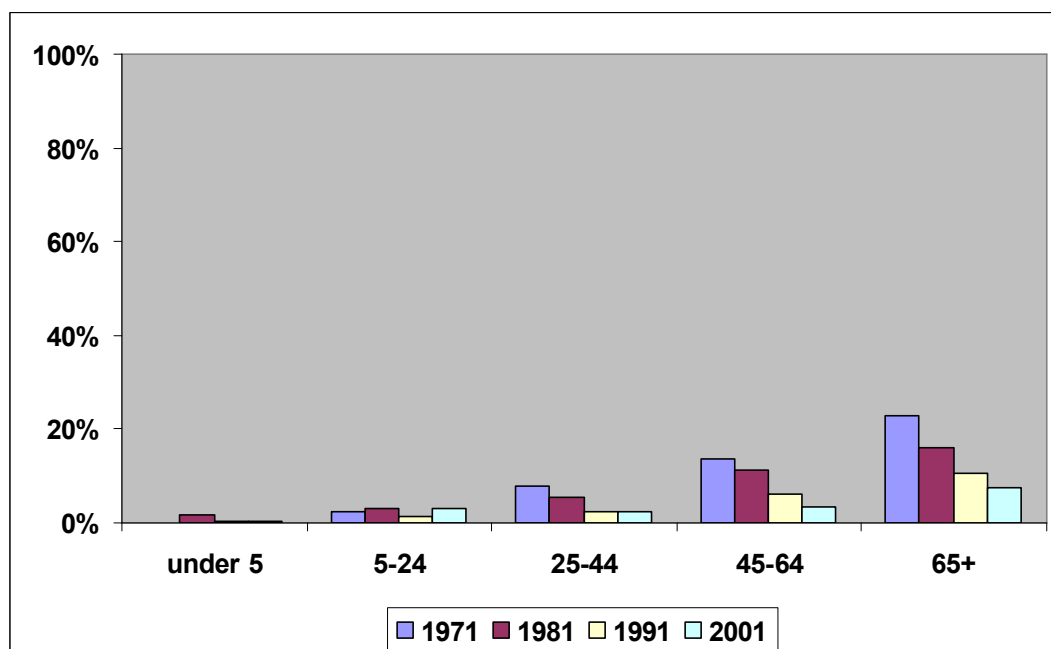


Fig. 4: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll)²²

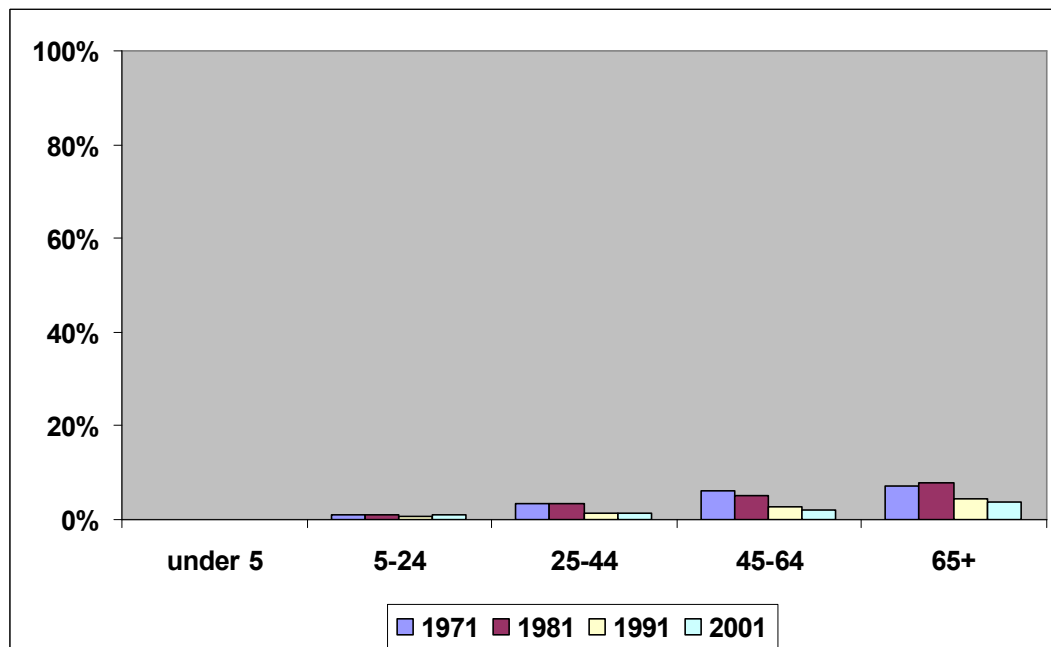


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre)

²² 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. Details of the 2001 census results are described in chapter 3 of this report.

In the period after 2001 some positive development took place in the area. But, unfortunately, not very long-lasting! 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 began also in some other schools (even in *Cinn Tìre*) in accordance with the GLPS scheme. There were even talks of re-introducing the language as a subject in the secondary schools of *Ceann Loch Gilb* (Lochgilphead) and *An Tairbeart* (Tarbert). But this was only a short interlude: In 2011 the area experienced generally a further decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking. In tables 14 to 17 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. Apart from a small numerical increase in *Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain* (Campbeltown), the tendency was pointing downwards.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, in 2011 the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. Accordingly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures of *Gàidhlig* knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population for selected data zones are provided in table 7 below. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones showed no clear trend.



Bilingual signs are the most prominent reminders of the *Gàidhlig* tradition of the area (Duwe, 2016)



A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area roughly 25 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 7.

| Census Data Zones | Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre – Census 2011 | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------|----------|------|--|--|
| | Knowledge of Gàidhlig | | | | | Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers) |
| | Young age (3-15) | | All ages | | Difference (Language viability indicator) | |
| Inbhir Aora (Inveraray) | 13 | 13.3% | 52 | 6.9% | + 6.4 % | 42.1 % |
| An Fhùirneis & Carr Eighe (Furnace & Crarae) | 6 | 4.9% | 50 | 6.7% | - 1.8 % | 29.0 % |
| Creiginis & Cill Mhàrtainn (Craignish & Kilmartin) | 7 | 5.3% | 43 | 4.5% | + 0.8 % | 4.2 % |
| Cill Mhicheil Glasairaidh (Kilmichael Glassary) | 3 | 3.2% | 34 | 5.5% | - 2.3 % | 26.1 % |
| Ceann Loch Gilb & Cill Mhoire (Lochgilphead & Kilmory) | 11 | 3.1% | 106 | 4.4% | - 1.3 % | 26.8 % |
| Rubha Àird Driseig (Ardrishaig) | 10 | 4.7% | 71 | 5.4% | - 0.7 % | 36.6 % |
| Taigh a'Bhealaich & Achadh (Tayvallich & Achahoish) | 2 | 2.1% | 25 | 3.4% | - 1.3 % | 20.0 % |
| Cill Bheiridh & Ceann na Crèige (Kilberry & Keannacraig) | 4 | 7.1% | 22 | 3.8% | + 3.3 % | 17.6 % |
| An Tairbeart (Tarbert) | 8 | 6.2% | 78 | 6.7% | - 0.5 % | 22.0 % |
| Gìogha & Taigh an Lòin (Gigha & Tayinloan) | 8 | 7.3% | 41 | 6.0% | + 1.3 % | 29.2 % |
| Càradal & Saghadal (Carradale & Saddell) | 1 | 1.3% | 23 | 3.0% | - 1.7 % | 20.0 % |
| Machair Shanais & An Ceann a Deas (Machrihanish & Southend) | 7 | 3.2% | 44 | 3.0% | + 0.2 % | 37.5 % |
| Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Campbeltown) | 11 | 1.7% | 117 | 2.5% | - 0.8 % | 21.6 % |
| <i>In comparison:</i> Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute) | 6.7 % | | 5.9 % | | + 0.8 % | 36.9 % |

Table 7: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole *Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011



2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011

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 Tìre* 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.

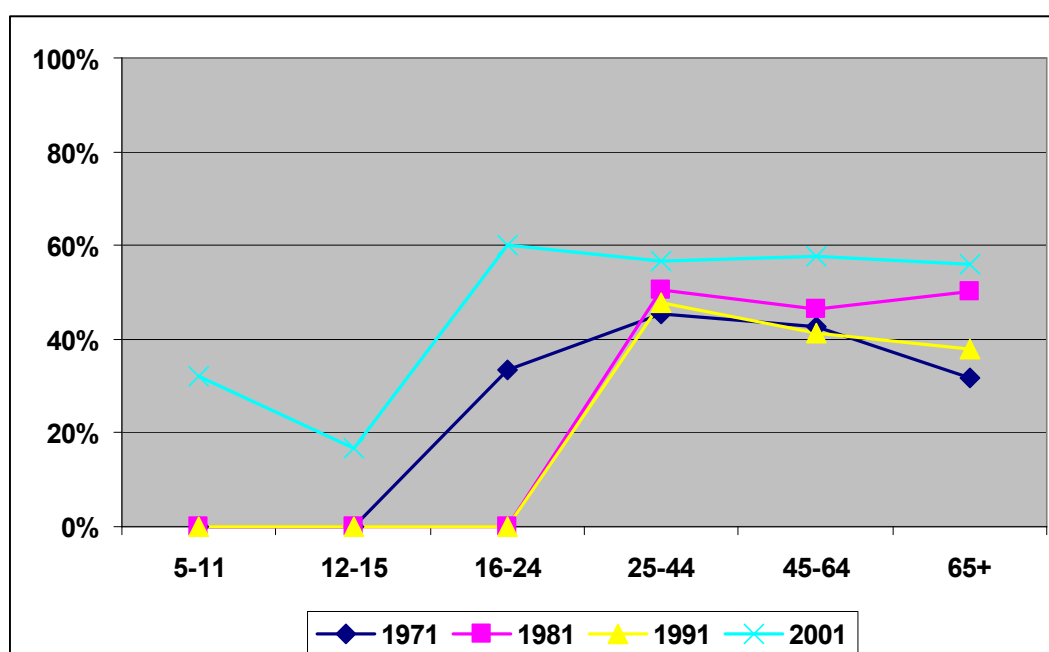


Fig. 6: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll)

In 2011 a further improvement of Gàidhlig literacy was observed in *Dal Riada* (tables 8 and 9). This contrasted sharply a further decline in *Cinn Tìre*.



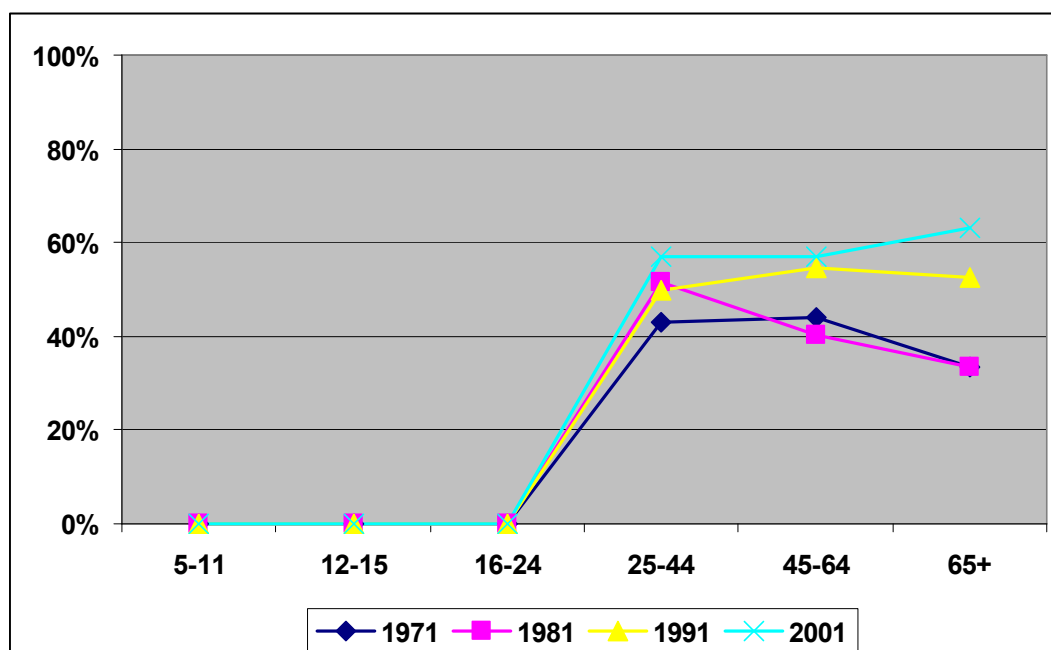


Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre)

| | Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig | | | | | Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------|------|------|------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
| <i>Dal Riada</i> (Mid Argyll) | 250 | 239 | 131 | 149 | 137 | 37.3% | 41.3% | 38.4% | 50.3% | 55.5% |
| <i>Cinn Tìre</i> (Kintyre) | 165 | 161 | 102 | 109 | 93 | 38.4% | 41.3% | 47.9% | 56.2% | 50.3% |

Table 8: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

| | Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig | | | | | Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|------|------|------|------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
| <i>Dal Riada</i> (Mid Argyll) | 160 | 174 | 109 | 120 | 115 | 23.9% | 30.1% | 32.0% | 40.5% | 46.6% |
| <i>Cinn Tìre</i> (Kintyre) | 105 | 116 | 82 | 89 | 74 | 24.4% | 29.7% | 38.5% | 45.9% | 40.0% |

Table 9: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

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

The following sections 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 Tìre* – *Gàidhlig* was very much a minority affair. Census results in 2001 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 10) 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 was still very negative although not as pronounced as in 1991 (table 10).
- 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 23 and 27.
- *Gàidhlig* reading and writing abilities improved in the previous 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.



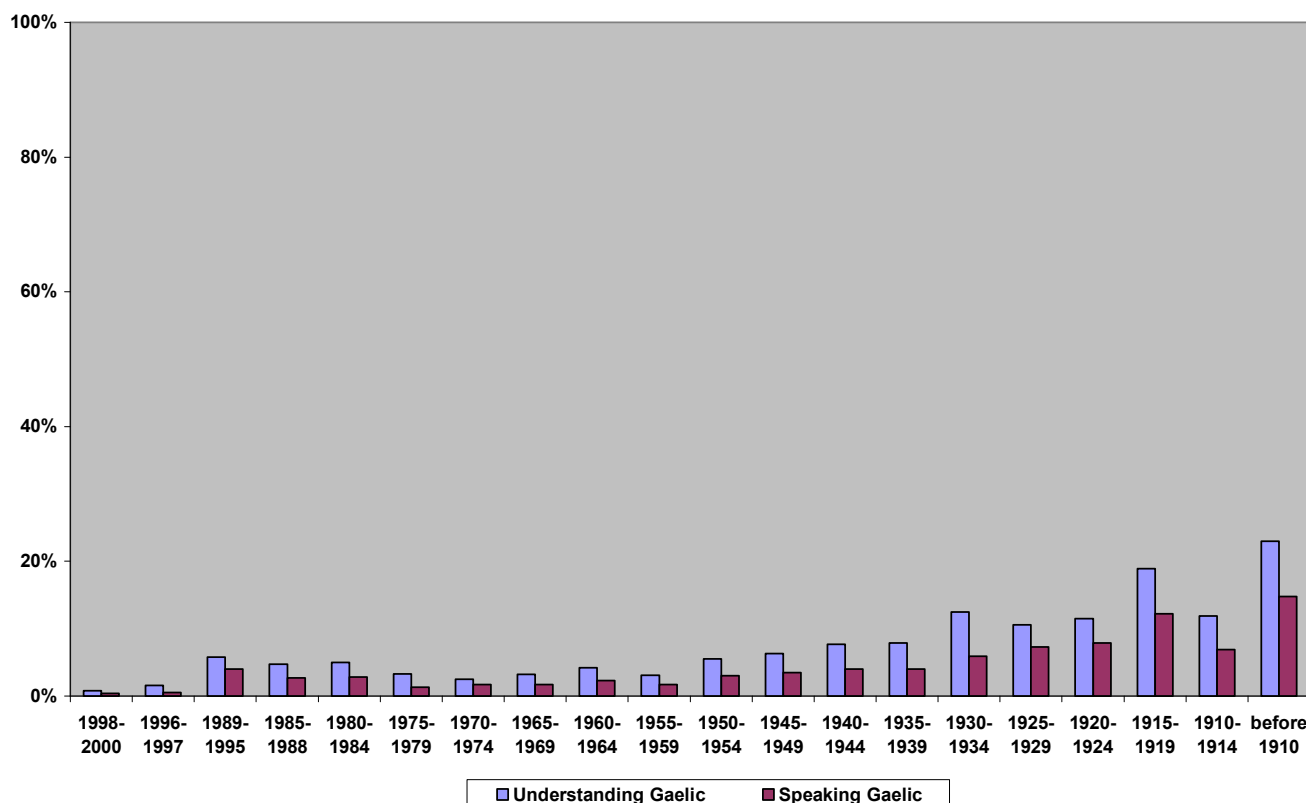


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) according to Census 2001

| Age group | 2001 | | | | | | 1991 | | Diff. 2001 – 1991 |
|------------|--|-------|---|-------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| | Knowing ²³ <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | |
| 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 10: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) in 2001 and 1991

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



Information for the area of **Cinn Tìre (Kintyre)** was 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 25 and 28.
- *Gàidhlig* reading and writing abilities improved a bit 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.

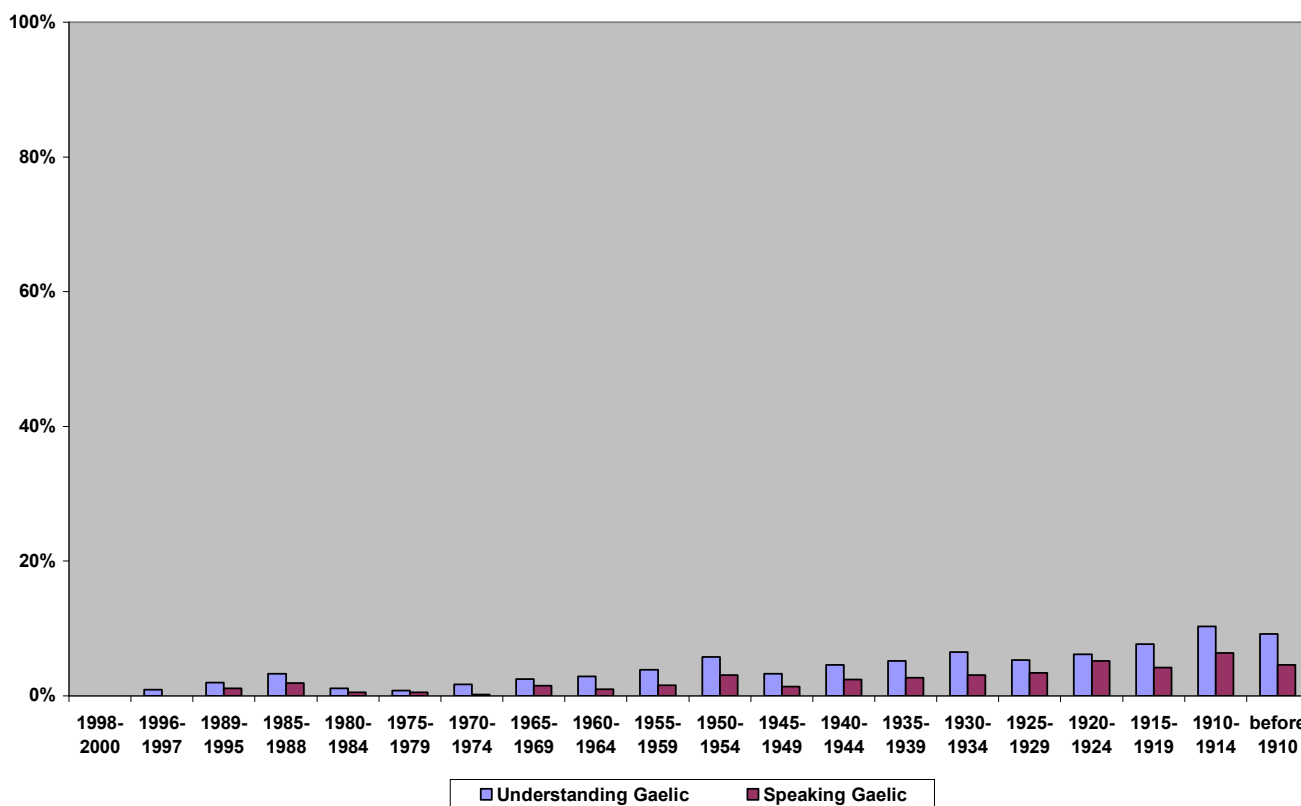


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) according to Census 2001



| Age group | 2001 | | | | | | 1991 | | Diff. 2001 – 1991 |
|-----------|--|-------|---|-------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| | Knowing ²⁴ <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i> | | |
| 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 11: 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 would have to be based on Gàidhlig medium initiatives to ensure substantial results.

In conclusion: Census results underlined 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 was a very depressing fact.

²⁴ 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 Tairheart</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> (Drumlemble) | 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 12: 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 – 2011 and beyond

Far less than 10 % of Scottish-born residents in the area had some knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in 2011. The language viability indicator (LVI²⁵) still pointed to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 13) which was due to a comparatively low language intensity in younger age groups. Based on these unfavourable facts the future of *Gàidhlig* in the area looked bleak if not substantial efforts were taken.

| Area | Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre – Census 2011 | | | | | Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers) |
|--|-------------------------------------|------|----------|------|--|--|
| | Knowledge of Gàidhlig | | | | | |
| | Young age (3-15) | | All ages | | Difference (Language viability indicator) | |
| Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) | 64 | 4.9% | 481 | 5.2% | - 0.3 % | 27.0 % |
| Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) | 27 | 2.6% | 225 | 2.9% | - 0.3 % | 26.4 % |
| In comparison: Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute) | 6.7 % | | 5.9 % | | + 0.8 % | 36.9 % |

Table 13: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in Dal Riada (Mid Argyll) and Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) in comparison with the whole Earra-Ghaidheil & Bòd (Argyll & Bute) local authority according to census data of 2011

The rather poor conditions of the language in 2011 were slightly favourable in a few locations only. Figures for the 3-15 age groups were not encouraging (tables 7 and 13). At time of writing (2024) there still was no *Gàidhlig* medium unit available for local school children. In addition, no *Gàidhlig* tuition at secondary schools had been introduced. On the positive side: Local primaries on the island of *Giogha*, in *Aird Driseig*, *Creiginis* and *Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain* provided language lessons as L3 (language 3) in the upper stages of school education in 2023-2024.

In conclusion: In essence *Gàidhlig* in both areas is very much waiting to be developed. 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.

²⁵ LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.



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 |
| 2011 | 7 | 17 | 113 | 38 | 5 | 70 |

Table 14: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in *Dal Riada* according to census data from 1881 to 2011

| 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 % |
| 2011 | 1.9 % | 3.2 % | 3.3 % | 5.1 % | 1.0 % | 3.1 % |

Table 15: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in *Dal Riada* according to census data from 1881 to 2011

| Census | Civil Parish | | | | | |
|--------|--|--|---|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| | <i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killeen & 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 |
| 2011 | 16 | 8 | 42 | 14 | 102 | 4 |

Table 16: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in Cinn Tìre according to census data from 1881 to 2011

| Census | Civil Parish | | | | | |
|--------|--|--|---|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| | <i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killeen & 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 % |
| 2011 | 3.1 % | 4.9 % | 3.2 % | 2.2 % | 1.6 % | 1.0 % |

Table 17: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in Cinn Tìre according to census data from 1881 to 2011



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

Table 18: 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: <i>Dal Riada</i> | <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</i> (Craignish) CP | 322 | 212 | 6 |
| <i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin) CP | 582 | 350 | 1 |
| <i>Glasairidh</i> (Kilmichael Glassary) | 3,107 | 1,781 | 9 |
| <i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) CP | 1,204 | 444 | 1 |
| <i>Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (North Knapdale) CP | 656 | 491 | 2 |
| <i>Cnapadal a Deas</i> (South Knapdale) CP | 2,710 | 1,099 | 8 |
| ---- included in the above:---- | | | |
| <i>Eilean Rìgh</i> (Ree Island) | 8 | 7 | - |
| <i>Danna</i> (Danna Island) | 33 | 25 | 1 |
| <i>Ulbha</i> (Ulva Island) | 13 | 11 | 1 |
| 1921 | 8,192 | 3,076 | 8 |
| <i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish) CP | 255 | 124 | 1 |
| <i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin) CP | 557 | 264 | 2 |
| <i>Glasairidh</i> (Kilmichael Glassary) | 2,986 | 1,323 | 3 |
| <i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) CP | 1,103 | 334 | - |
| <i>Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (North Knapdale) CP | 719 | 335 | 1 |
| <i>Cnapadal a Deas</i> (South Knapdale) CP | 2,576 | 696 | 1 |
| 1931 | 7,433 | 2,340 | 8 |
| <i>Creiginis</i> (Craignish) CP | 280 | 143 | - |
| <i>Cill Mhàrtainn</i> (Kilmartin) CP | 455 | 180 | - |
| <i>Glasairidh</i> (Kilmichael Glassary) | 2,970 | 1,044 | 7 |
| <i>Inbhir Aora</i> (Inveraray) CP | 990 | 248 | - |
| <i>Cnapadal a Tuath</i> (North Knapdale) CP | 550 | 259 | 1 |
| <i>Cnapadal a Deas</i> (South Knapdale) CP | 2,188 | 466 | - |
| - included in the above - | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag)</i> (Lochgilphead Small Burgh) | 974 | 253 | - |
| <i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag)</i> (Inveraray Small Burgh) | 455 | 75 | - |
| 1951 | 7,755 | 1,213 | - |
| - included in the above - | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag)</i> (Lochgilphead Small Burgh) | 1,229 | 148 | - |
| <i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag)</i> (Inveraray Small Burgh) | 503 | 52 | - |
| 1961 | 7,369 | 965 | - |
| - included in the above - | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag)</i> (Lochgilphead Small Burgh) | 1,208 | 109 | - |
| <i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag)</i> (Inveraray Small Burgh) | 501 | 36 | - |
| 1971²⁶ | 6,805 | 690 | * |
| - included in the above - | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Gilb (Baile Beag)</i> (Lochgilphead Small Burgh) | 1,185 | 110 | * |
| <i>Inbhir Aora (Baile Beag)</i> (Inveraray Small Burgh) | 440 | 25 | * |

Table 19: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, islands) in *Dal Riada*

²⁶ 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: <i>Cinn Tìre</i> | 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</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP | 1,368 | 901 | |
| <i>Gìogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) CP | 382 | 324 | |
| <i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP – <i>excluding Cill Bheiridh</i> (Kilberry) | 1,844 | 1,260 | |
| <i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) CP | 1,163 | 789 | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) CP | 9,755 | 1,462 | |
| <i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) CP | 955 | 121 | |
| - included in the above – | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh) | 7,693 | 1,040 | |
| <i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert) Vi | 508 | 381 | |
| <i>Cara</i> (Island of Cara) | 4 | 4 | |
| <i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr</i> (Davaar Island Lighthouse) | 5 | - | |
| <i>Eabhainn</i> (Sanda Island Lighthouse) | 14 | - | |
| 1891 | 15,855 | 4,700 | 89 |
| <i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP | 1,293 | 808 | 17 |
| <i>Gìogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) CP | 401 | 301 | 24 |
| <i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP – <i>excluding Cill Bheiridh</i> (Kilberry) | 1,901 | 978 | 27 |
| <i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) CP | 1,156 | 692 | 6 |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) CP | 10,260 | 1,448 | 11 |
| <i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) CP | 844 | 473 | 4 |
| - included in the above – | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh) | 8,291 | 1,098 | 9 |
| <i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert) Vi | 1,775 | 794 | 13 |
| <i>Cara</i> (Island of Cara) | 3 | 3 | - |
| <i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr</i> (Davaar Island Lighthouse) | 6 | - | - |
| <i>Eabhainn</i> (Sanda Island Lighthouse) | 36 | 3 | - |
| 1901 | 15,422 | 3,472 | 16 |
| <i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) CP | 1,078 | 606 | 2 |
| <i>Gìogha & Cara</i> (Gigha & Cara) CP | 374 | 289 | 3 |
| <i>Cill Cholman Eala</i> (Kilcalmonell) CP | 1,915 | 813 | 8 |
| <i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) CP | 1,087 | 599 | 2 |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) CP | 10,236 | 1,058 | 1 |
| <i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) CP | 732 | 107 | - |
| - included in the above – | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh) | 8,286 | 807 | - |
| <i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert) Vi | 1,697 | 335 | 3 |
| <i>Cara</i> (Island of Cara) | 2 | 2 | - |
| <i>Eilean Dà Bhàrr</i> (Davaar Island Lighthouse) | 7 | - | - |
| <i>Eabhainn</i> (Sanda Island Lighthouse) | 19 | 2 | - |
| electoral divisions – | | | |
| <i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert) | 1,419 | 501 | 5 |
| <i>Cill Cholman Eala & Gìogha</i> (Kilcalmonell & Gigha) | 883 | 597 | 6 |
| <i>Saghadal & Sgibinis</i> (Saddell & Skipness) | 1,087 | 599 | 2 |
| <i>Cill Eathain & Cill Choinnich</i> (Killean & Kilchenzie) | 1,078 | 606 | 2 |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain a Tuath</i> (Campbeltown North) | 758 | 124 | 1 |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain a Deas</i> (Campbeltown South) | 1,192 | 127 | - |
| <i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) | 732 | 107 | - |

Table 20: 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: <i>Cinn Tìre</i> | Total Popula- tion | <i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish | <i>Gàidhlig</i> 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 |
| 1971²⁷ | 11,630 | 415 | * |
| - included in the above – | | | |
| <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain (Baile Beag)</i> (Campbeltown Small Burgh) | 5,960 | 120 | * |

Table 21: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, islands) in *Cinn Tìre*

²⁷ 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 Tairheart</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 22: 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



| Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Dal Riada</i> ²⁸ | | | | | | |
|--|--|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| Map No | Census output area ²⁹ | Age groups | | | | Born in Scotland ³⁰ |
| | | 3 - 24 | 25 - 44 | 45 - 64 | 65+ | |
| 01+02 | <i>Inbhir Aora & Gleann Siara</i> (Inveraray) | 2 1.0% | 9 5.8% | 16 9.8% | 19 15.0% | 45 8.1% |
| 03-05 | <i>Mionaird & An Fhùirnis</i> (Minard & Furnace) | 5 3.6% | 6 5.9% | 11 8.5% | 29 25.7% | 52 12.9% |
| 06+07 | <i>An Loch Geàrr & Port Anna</i> (Lochgair & Port Ann) | 3 6.5% | 1 1.5% | 15 12.5% | 36 15.9% | 50 12.8% |
| 08 | <i>Creiginis & Aird Fheàrna</i> (Craignish & Ardfern) | 1 1.4% | 6 10.7% | 4 10.5% | 3 15.0% | 9 7.9% |
| 09 | <i>Cill Mhàrtainn & Àth na Crà</i> (Kilmartin & Ford) | 2 2.4% | 9 11.0% | 5 6.9% | 12 19.4% | 27 11.9% |
| 10 | <i>Cill Mhicheil Glasairidh</i> (Kilmichael Glassary) | 1 1.4% | — | 12 25.5% | 7 26.9% | 18 10.1% |
| 11 | <i>Achadh na Mara & Ormsaraidh</i> (Achnamara & Ormsary) | 1 1.0% | 4 6.2% | 5 7.8% | 6 17.6% | 17 8.4% |
| 12 | <i>Taighnis & Taigh a'Bhealaich</i> (Taynish & Tayvallich) | — | 4 14.8% | 6 20.7% | 6 26.1% | 12 13.2% |
| 13+14 | <i>An Crìonan & An Carn Bàn</i> (Crinan & Cairnbaan) | 2 2.0% | 3 3.8% | 13 15.7% | 14 25.9% | 29 11.1% |
| 15 | <i>Sloc a'Mhuilinn & Dùn Treòin</i> (Slockavullin & Duntrune) | — | — | 7 16.3% | 11 39.3% | 17 13.6% |
| 16-18 | <i>Ceann Loch Gilb</i> (Lochgilphead) | 35 4.7% | 44 7.6% | 58 12.2% | 62 20.3% | 193 10.1% |
| 19+20 | <i>Rubha Aird Driseig</i> (Ardrishaig) | 10 2.8% | 12 4.2% | 31 14.8% | 26 16.8% | 73 8.2% |
| 21 | <i>Cill Bheiridh & Inbhir Nèill</i> (Kilberry & Inverneil) | 3 3.2% | 4 5.5% | 8 11.1% | 7 12.1% | 19 8.1% |
| Total | <i>Dal Riada</i> (Mid Argyll) | 65 3.1% | 102 6.1% | 191 12.4% | 238 19.3% | 561 10.0% |

Table 23: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

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

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

³⁰ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



| Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Cinn Tìre</i> ³¹ | | | | | | |
|--|--|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Map No | Census output area ³² | Age groups | | | | Born in Scotland ³³ |
| | | 3 - 24 | 25 - 44 | 45 - 64 | 65+ | |
| 51+52 | <i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbert) | 14 3.3% | 19 6.2% | 20 6.3% | 16 6.6% | 66 5.6% |
| 53 | <i>Ceann na Crèige</i> (Keannacraig) | 2 3.8% | 7 12.5% | 6 17.1% | 9 30.0% | 19 14.2% |
| 54 | <i>An Clachan</i> (Clachan) | 1 1.3% | 3 4.9% | 2 4.9% | 7 19.4% | 13 7.8% |
| 55 | <i>Taigh an Lòin</i> (Tayinloan) | — | 9 13.6% | 8 14.5% | 10 27.0% | 25 11.7% |
| 56 | <i>Giogha</i> (Isle of Gigha) | 1 2.0% | 4 11.1% | 16 42.1% | 18 66.7% | 39 27.7% |
| 57 | <i>Am Bàrr & Muasdal</i> (Glenbarr & Musdale) | : | 2 3.9% | 6 11.5% | 7 14.3% | 14 7.9% |
| 58 | <i>Sgibinis & Claonaig</i> (Skipness & Claonaig) | — | 3 13.6% | 10 32.3% | 8 28.6% | 17 18.1% |
| 59+60 | <i>Càradal & Ceann na Drochaid</i> (Carradale & Bridgend) | 4 2.4% | 7 5.5% | 19 14.2% | 24 23.5% | 48 10.1% |
| 61 | <i>Saghadal & Cill Choinnich</i> (Saddell & Kilchenzie) | — | 2 8.3% | 2 9.1% | 1 5.3% | 6 7.9% |
| 62+63 | <i>Machaire Shanais</i> (Machrihanish) | 1 0.4% | 4 1.9% | 4 1.9% | 8 8.9% | 21 3.0% |
| 64-67 | <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) | 20 0.8% | 47 3.2% | 51 3.8% | 32 3.3% | 144 2.6% |
| 68 | <i>An Ceann a Deas & Breac Airidh</i> (Southend & Breackerie) | — | 3 2.0% | 5 3.3% | 7 6.8% | 14 13.6% |
| Total | <i>Cinn Tìre</i> (Mid Argyll) | 40 1.1% | 120 4.5% | 156 6.3% | 155 8.7% | 447 4.9% |

Table 24: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

³¹ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³² A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³³ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



| 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 Driseig</i> (Ardrishaig) a | 43 | 8.4 % | 32 | 5.5 % | 21 | 3.2 % | |
| 20 | <i>Rubha Aird Driseig</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 25: 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 ³⁴ | | 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 26: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Dal Riada* (Mid Argyll) between 1971 and 2001

³⁴ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ³⁵ <i>Cinn Tìre</i> | | | | | | | |
|--|--|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|
| Map No | Census output area | 1981 | | 1991 | | 2001 | |
| 51 | <i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbert) a | 33 | 4.9 % | 28 | 3.9 % | 23 | 3.4 % |
| 52 | <i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbert) b | 27 | 4.7 % | 29 | 4.3 % | 32 | 4.9 % |
| 53 | <i>Ceann na Crèige</i> (Keannacraig) | 24 | 14.5 % | 4 | 2.2 % | 2 | 1.1 % |
| 54 | <i>An Clachan</i> (Clachan) | 13 | 6.0 % | 4 | 2.0 % | 5 | 2.6 % |
| 55 | <i>Taigh an Lòin</i> (Tayinloan) | 20 | 9.1 % | 6 | 7.0 % | 5 | 2.4 % |
| 56 | <i>Giogha</i> (Gigha) | 36 | 24.3 % | 20 | 13.7 % | 15 | 13.6 % |
| 57 | <i>Am Bàrr</i> (Glenbarr) | 13 | 6.6 % | 3 | 1.5 % | 4 | 2.2 % |
| 58 | <i>Sgibinis</i> (Skipness) | 17 | 15.3 % | 6 | 5.1 % | 5 | 4.5 % |
| 59 | <i>Càradal</i> (Carradale) a | 21 | 10.7 % | 16 | 6.9 % | 3 | 1.4 % |
| 60 | <i>Càradal</i> (Carradale) b | 23 | 7.4 % | 16 | 4.1 % | 14 | 4.1 % |
| 61 | <i>Saghadal</i> (Saddell) | 4 | 1.6 % | 2 | 0.8 % | 2 | 0.8 % |
| 62 | <i>Machaire Shanais</i> (Machrihanish) | 7 | 1.2 % | 2 | 0.3 % | 5 | 4.0 % |
| 63 | <i>Baile nan Stiùbhartach</i> (Stewarton) | 16 | 2.3 % | 3 | 0.4 % | 8 | 1.1 % |
| 64 | <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) a | 49 | 2.9 % | 24 | 1.3 % | 26 | 1.6 % |
| 65 | <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) b | 25 | 2.9 % | 26 | 2.5 % | 10 | 1.1 % |
| 66 | <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) c | 26 | 1.9 % | 21 | 1.4 % | 18 | 1.4 % |
| 67 | <i>Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain</i> (Campbeltown) d | 37 | 2.1 % | 23 | 1.4 % | 22 | 1.3 % |
| 68 | <i>An Ceann a Deas</i> (Southend) | 9 | 2.4 % | 5 | 1.2 % | 5 | 1.0 % |

Table 27: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) between 1981 and 2001

| <i>Cinn Tìre: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i> | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
| Age group | 1971 ³⁶ | | 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 28: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Cinn Tìre* (Kintyre) according to data from 1971 to 2001

³⁵ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

³⁶ 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 Fhùirnis</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>Taighnis</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 Drìseig a</i> (Ardrishaig) a | 7 | 4.8 % | 40 | 6.1 % | - 1.3 % | 7.1 % |
| 20 | <i>Rubha Aird Drìseig</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 29: 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 30: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cinn Tìre (Kintyre) according to census data of 2001



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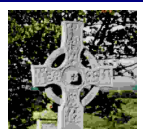
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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>Aird 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 Mhìcheil</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 Tredòin</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'Chuilinn</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 <i>Cinn Tìre – Part A</i> | | | | |
|---|---|--------------|----------------------------|--|
| | 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 Mhèanaish</i> (Ardminish), <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> (Ballochan-tuy), <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 Shanaìs</i> (Machrihanish) | KS | 32AN21 32AN29 | 60QD000041 60QD000663 |
| 63 | <i>Baile nan Stiùbhartach</i> (Stewarton), <i>Druim Leamhan</i> (Drumlemble), <i>Machaire Shanaìs</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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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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