

## **Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies<sup>1</sup>**

### **Vol. 26: *Comhal, Siorrachd Bhòid & Dùn Breatainn* (Cowal, County of Bute & Dumbarton)**

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**Extended<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition**

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#### **Executive Summary**

This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic speaking at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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.

This study is concerned with traditionally Gaelic speaking districts on the western and northern shores of the Firth of Clyde. In this respect the report looks at the past strength of the language on the peninsula of Cowal, in the neighbouring Highland parishes of Dunbartonshire and, last but not least, on the islands of the former County of Bute. The latter of course includes the island of Arran where the local dialect lingered on until the 1990s. Since the 1880s Gaelic went into a substantial decline in the area until quite recently when numbers of Gaelic speakers rose again for the first time on the Cowal peninsula between 1991 and 2001. Unfortunately, second language teaching stopped on *Comhal* in the years afterwards except in a few locations. Despite this setback Dunoon has started to act as a catalyst for Gaelic language activities in the area – even Arran slowly wakes up to its cultural legacy. Currently a few small steps are being taken to bring new life into the once thriving language in places which tended to be considered as hard core “Gaelic free zones” a few years ago.

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<sup>2</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, besides the main “Highland counties” of Sutherland, Ross & Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll the fringe areas of Bute (including the Isle of Arran), western Caithness, Nairn, North Dunbartonshire and more particularly Highland Perthshire will be covered. It is hoped that these small reports will be of interest not only to science people but also to those who have to cope with opinions like “Gaelic was never spoken here” in their own local community.

## Foreword to the Second Edition

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

## Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

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



## Acknowledgements

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

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

*Kurt C. Duwe*



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# 1 Introduction

This volume is concerned with formerly Gàidhlig-speaking districts on the north-western shores of the *Caolas Chluaidh* (Firth of Clyde) and the islands of *Bòd* (Bute), *Cumaradh* (Cumbrae) and *Arainn* (Arran). This large area (figure 1) of more than 173,000 hectares is inhabited by just over 30,000 people. Most of them live in the two main towns *Dùn Omhain* (Dunoon) or *Baile Bhòid* (Rothesay), in the hey-days of Clydeside tourism popular destinations “doon the watter” for the people of Glasgow and the industrialised Central Belt of Scotland. Main attraction of course then (and today) is the spectacular hill and loch scenery where the rural population sought to wrutch some income from hill and moorland pastures until relatively recently. In these wide-open spaces and glens Gàidhlig survived well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, generally ignored by visitors and inhabitants alike of these holiday and weekend resorts.

These districts were administered by three different counties until local government reorganisation in 1974. The largest mainland part - the *Comhal* (Cowal) peninsula - belonged to *Earra-Ghaidheal* (Argyll) whereas the parishes *An t-Àrar* (Arrochar) and *Lus* (Luss) further east were part of the county of *Dùn Breatainn* (Dumbarton). The third authority was the insular county of *Bòd* (Bute) comprising also the large island of *Arainn* (Arran) and the two islands of *Cumaradh* (Cumbrae).

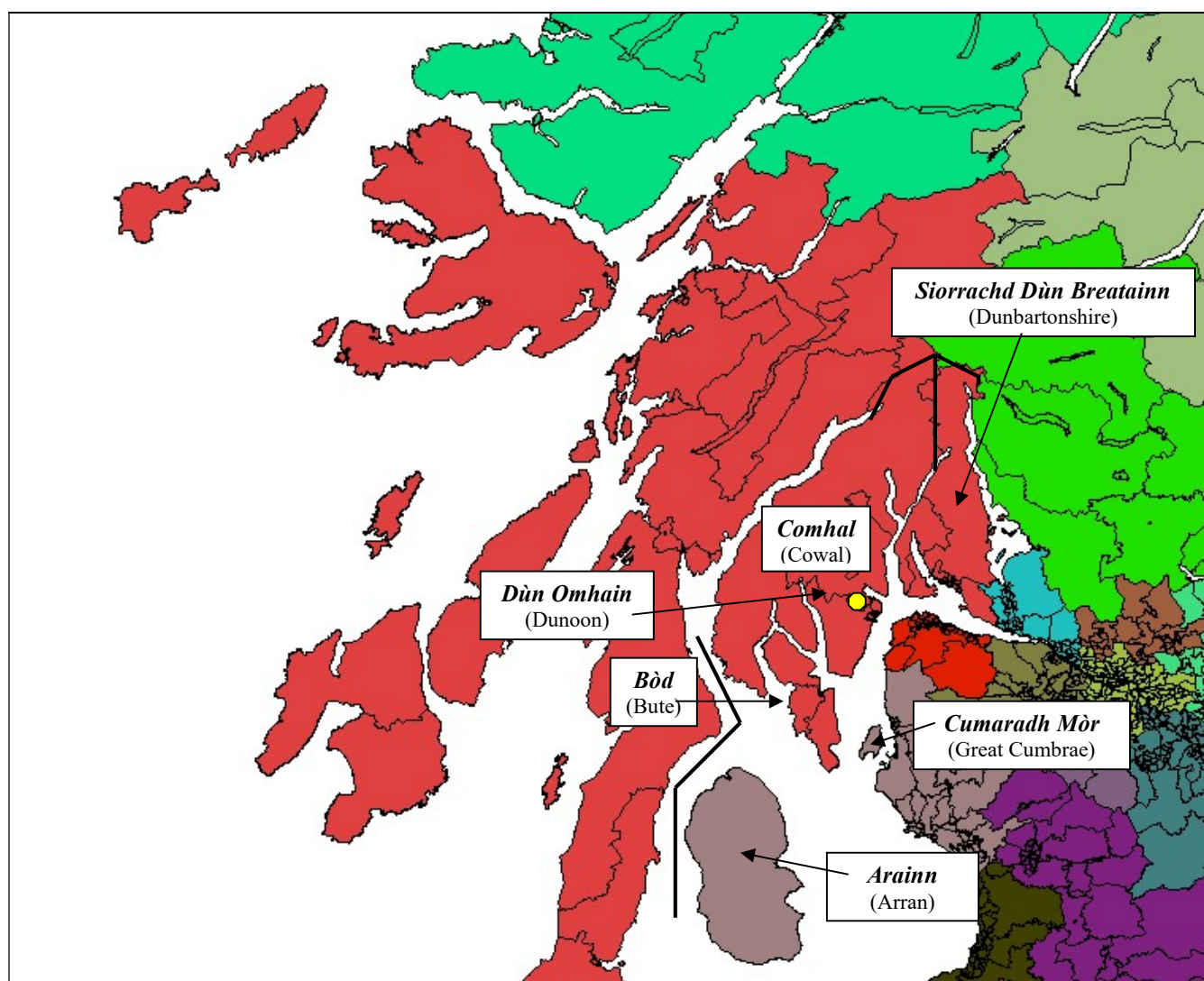
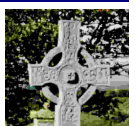


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



The short interlude of the existence of the huge Strathclyde Region was finally ended in 1994 when almost the whole investigation area became part of *Earra-Ghaidheal agus Bòd* (Argyll & Bute) local authority. Only the islands of *Arainn* and *Cumaradh* became attached to *Siorrachd Inbhir Àir a Tuath* (North Ayrshire). The following short chapters look into the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail.



## 2 The Historical Background

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century the whole area under consideration was thoroughly Gàidhlig speaking. Even the parish priests in *Dùn Omhain* (Dunoon) and *Baile Bhòid* (Rothesay) declared in the first “Statistical Account” (1791-99) that the majority of their flock spoke “Erse” as Gàidhlig was called then by the higher ranks of English-speaking society. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) saw these two places already as staunchly anglicised. However, rural *Comhal* remained consistently Gàidhlig speaking at the time as comments in the account about *Cill Fhionain* (Kilfinan) documented: “*Gaelic is the language generally spoken, though it may be considered as having lost ground in some measure during the last forty years, in consequence of increased facilities of intercourse with people of the low country, and also in consequence of a considerable number of families from the low country having of late settled in the parish.*” On the island of *Arainn* the language was also spoken widely. Although on the more accessible eastern shores English penetrated already many a home like in the parish of *Cill Bhrigde* (Kilbride): “*English is well understood, and more or less spoken in all parts of the parish: but among the rural population, Gaelic is decidedly the prevailing language.*” Even in the northern parishes of Dunbartonshire Gàidhlig still had a presence among the local population: “*English and Gaelic are generally understood (i.e. the parish of Arrochar) .... Within the last forty years, Gaelic has rapidly lost ground, and will, ere long, as in other parts of Dumbartonshire, be known here only as a matter of history.*” The general line in most comments by parish priests was testimony of their belief that the disappearance of the language would support “progress”.

With the closure of voluntary schools (including Gàidhlig schools) in Scotland after the introduction of compulsory education (with its “English only” policy) in 1872 the decline of the traditional tongue accelerated considerably. Figure 2 shows the percentage of Gàidhlig speakers between 1881 and 2011 in different parts of the area. Whereas *Comhal* and *Arainn* at first still had respectable percentages of Gàidhlig speakers, *Dùn Omhain* and the islands of *Bòd* and *Cumaradh* were already anglicised at the start of this period. Details of this history are provided in the next sections.

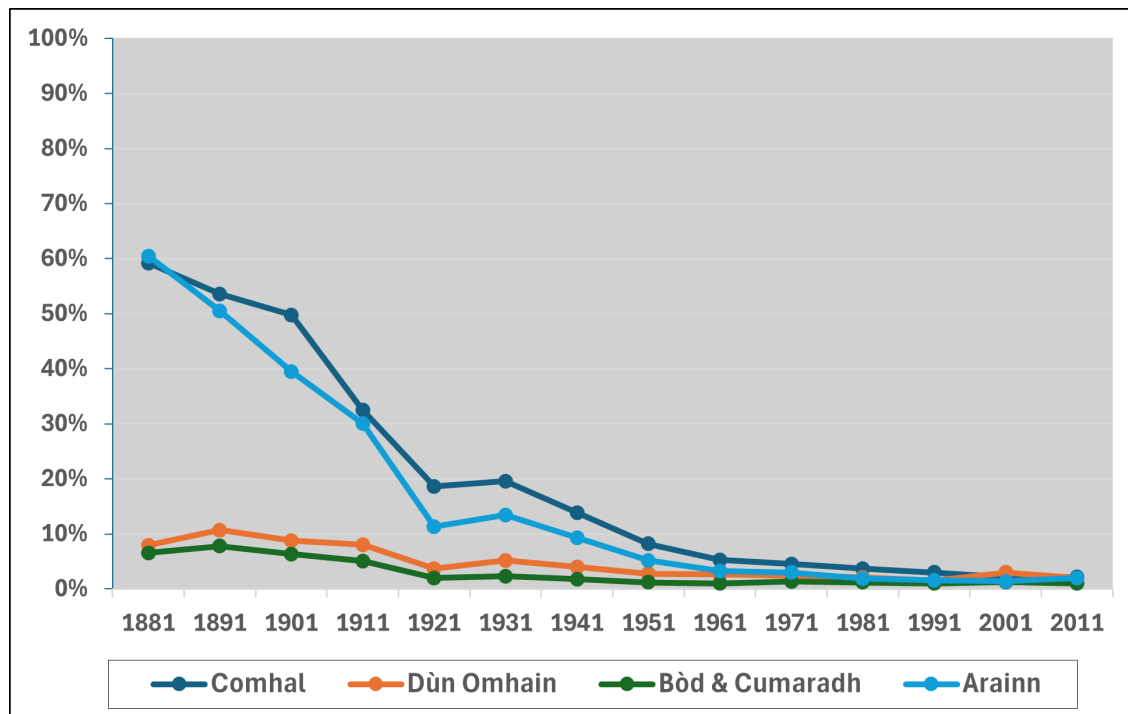


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 in rural parts of *Comhal* (Cowal) in comparison with *Dùn Omhain* (Dunoon), *Bòd & Cumaradh* (Bute & Cumbrae) and *Arainn* (Arran)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> 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)

Within a generation (or a span of 50 years) numbers of *Gàidhlig* speakers in the region shrank to a mere third of its 1881 level (table 1). Whereas in 1891 even a few inhabitants (122 in fact) were returned as speaking “Gaelic but not English” no-one was categorised as such in the census of 1931 (figure 3 and tables 19 to 24). Of course, circumstances were different indeed ranging from the “English” towns of *Dùn Omhain* (Dunoon) and *Baile Bhòid* (Rothesay) to *Gàidhlig* communities in *Comhal* like *Srath Lachlainn* (Strathlachlan) or the parish of *Cill Mhoire* (Kilmory) on the island of *Arainn* (Arran). The general trend can also be seen in tables 16 to 19 in individual parish results in the annex of this report.

<i>Comhal &amp; Siorrachd Bhòid</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921 <sup>5</sup>	1931
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	7,127	6,752	5,714	4,199	3,048	2,241
% of total population	26.4 %	25.0 %	21.3 %	16.0 %	7.0 %	8.8 %

Table 1: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Comhal & Siorrachd Bhòid* (Cowal & County of Bute) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

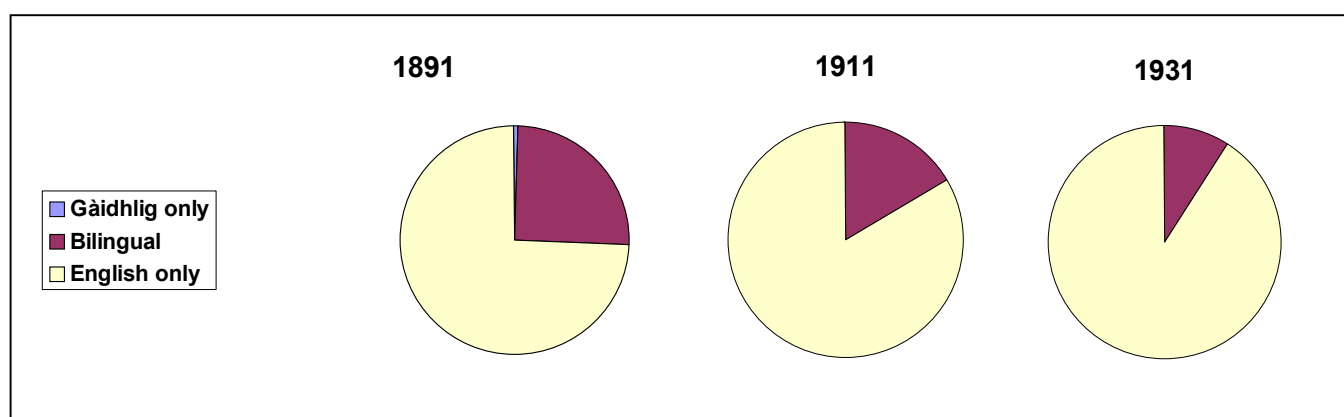


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in *Comhal & Siorrachd Bhòid* according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

The local information in the census reports of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 is very detailed indeed. It is therefore worthwhile to look at the distribution of *Gàidhlig* speakers in the individual areas more closely (tables 2 to 6) during this period. Especially the western parts of *Comhal* and the island of *Arainn* were still strongholds of the language before World War I.

**Comhal (Cowal):** Only a short glimpse at tables 2 and 3 shows quite clearly the “language frontier” between the anglicised townships around *Dùn Omhain* and its rural hinterland. Between *Àird an t-Sionnaich* (Ardentinny) in the north and *Innis Ailleann* (Innellan) further south the population share of “habitual” *Gàidhlig* speakers in 1881 was nowhere higher than 25 % in these anglicised Clydeside townships on the peninsula. In other places *Gàidhlig* still held its ground with strongholds in the western and northern parts of *Comhal* around *Srath Lachlainn* (Strathlachlan), *Àird Ghàrtain* (Ardgartan) and *Cill Fhionain* (Kilfinan). The latter community had even a substantial number of *Gàidhlig* monoglots reported in 1891 with 8 % of all *Gàidhlig* speakers knowing no English. 10 years later, however, almost no-one was categorised as “Gaelic only”.

<sup>5</sup> The 1921 census was held in the summer months and the area was overwhelmed by visitors from the Central Belt. Therefore, the population base was artificially high and *Gàidhlig* percentages accordingly misleading.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Comhal an Iar</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>6</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>7</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>An Càrn Dubh</i> (Cairndow)	110 <b>52.6%</b>	95 <b>54.0%</b>	73 41.7%	59 38.1%	2 2.1%	–	1 1.7%
<i>Dùn Dà Ràmh</i> (Dundarave)	85 <b>70.2%</b>	62 <b>68.1%</b>	45 <b>68.2%</b>	36 41.4%	3 4.8%	–	–
<i>Leitir a'Mhaigh</i> (Lettermay)	76 44.5%	60 42.9%	39 31.0%	26 19.0%	1 1.7%	–	–
<i>Ceann Loch Goill</i> (Lochgoilhead)	105 36.3%	91 32.0%	60 26.7%	70 22.5%	–	–	–
<i>Aird Ghàrtain</i> (Ardgartan)	43 <b>53.1%</b>	66 <b>74.2%</b>	51 <b>64.6%</b>	37 40.2%	–	5 9.8%	–
<i>Gleann Branntair &amp; An Socach</i> (Glenbranter & Succoth)	82 <b>64.1%</b>	65 <b>60.3%</b>	70 <b>55.6%</b>	68 <b>56.7%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Clachan Srath Chura</i> (Clachan of Strachur)	144 <b>50.7%</b>	124 <b>53.4%</b>	106 43.3%	73 31.7%	1 0.8%	1 0.9%	–
<i>Creagan &amp; An Rat</i> (Creggans & St. Catherine's)	88 <b>54.3%</b>	60 43.5%	52 41.6%	46 34.6%	–	–	1 2.2%
<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan)	234 <b>89.3%</b>	156 <b>92.3%</b>	125 <b>80.6%</b>	95 <b>68.8%</b>	3 1.9%	–	–
<i>Garbh Allt</i> (Garvalt)	75 <b>77.3%</b>	72 <b>71.3%</b>	58 <b>69.9%</b>	53 <b>67.1%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Na Dùnanan</i> (Dunans)	132 <b>75.9%</b>	97 <b>59.1%</b>	82 40.4%	43 31.4%	–	–	–
<i>Cill Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan)	97 <b>65.1%</b>	85 49.4%	72 42.6%	61 <b>54.0%</b>	–	–	–
<i>An Oitir &amp; Cill Fhionain</i> (Otter Ferry & Kilfinan)	923 <b>66.9%</b>	105 42.3%	123 <b>61.5%</b>	81 39.1%	4 3.8%	1 0.8%	1 1.2%
<i>Port a'Mhadaidh</i> (Portvadie)	274 <b>88.1%</b>	204 <b>74.7%</b>	132 <b>80.5%</b>	56 <b>50.9%</b>	24 <b>11.8%</b>	–	–
<i>Aird MhicLaomainn &amp; Taigh a'Mhuilinn</i> (Ardlamont & Millhouse)	291 <b>57.4%</b>	243 47.7%	249 <b>53.5%</b>	100 27.1%	33 <b>13.6%</b>	3 1.2%	1 1.0%
<i>Camas nam Muclach &amp; Ach' an Lochain</i> (Kames & Auchenlochan)	388 <b>66.8%</b>	281 <b>56.1%</b>	325 <b>57.9%</b>	181 30.4%	7 2.5%	–	–
<i>Taigh na Bruaich &amp; Gleann Calaidh</i> (Tighnabruaich & Glen Caladh)	261 <b>54.1%</b>	263 49.4%	182 35.0%	99 16.8%	–	–	–

**Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Comhal an Iar* (West Cowal) between 1881 and 1911**

<sup>6</sup> Enumeration division.

<sup>7</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of <i>Comhal an Ear</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>8</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Achadh an Fhuarain &amp; An Àird Beag</i> (Springfield & Ardbeg)	54 30.5%	87 <b>58.4%</b>	83 46.9%	59 27.8%	1 1.1%	1 1.2%	–
<i>Am Baile Mòr &amp; Gleann Tarsainn</i> (Balliemore & Glen Tarsan)	11 23.9%	33 <b>76.7%</b>	17 <b>60.7%</b>	15 40.5%	–	–	–
<i>Gleann Cinn &amp; Caol an t-Snàimh</i> (Glenkin & Colintrave)	37 48.1%	31 40.8%	31 <b>52.5%</b>	22 39.3%	–	1 3.2%	–
<i>Port MhicLaomainn &amp; An Cnoc Duibhe</i> (Port Lamont & Knockdow)	21 20.4%	21 23.1%	18 30.5%	12 18.2%	1 4.8%	–	–
<i>Gleann Masain</i> (Glen Massan)	139 <b>53.3%</b>	45 22.7%	70 22.7%	51 21.3%	2 4.4%	–	–
<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun)	73 16.9%	88 21.7%	57 13.7%	50 13.8%	4 4.5%	1 1.8%	–
<i>An t-Sròn &amp; Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Strone & Blairmore)	49 9.1%	85 14.9%	47 8.0%	44 7.6%	3 3.5%	–	–
<i>Àird an t-Sionnaich</i> (Ardentinny)	25 12.3%	43 19.6%	35 17.3%	32 16.7%	–	–	–
<i>Tollard</i> (Toward)	12 5.9%	32 16.6%	32 13.0%	15 6.7%	–	–	–
<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon)	219 4.9%	439 8.0%	459 6.7%	432 6.2%	4 0.9%	3 0.7%	5 1.2%
<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan)	30 3.5%	62 7.4%	41 5.4%	52 6.9%	–	–	–
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	54 9.5%	119 16.5%	157 15.4%	144 15.1%	–	–	–

**Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Comhal an Ear* (East Cowal) between 1881 and 1911**

**Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn (Dunbartonshire):** Normally not considered as being a “Highland” county the area nonetheless had its Gàidhlig speaking pockets even at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (table 4). These communities were located in the northernmost stretch of the county situated between the shores of *Loch Long* and *Loch Laomuinn* (Loch Lomond). The civil parishes of *An t-Àrar* (Arrochar) and *Lus* (Luss) had long been associated as lying on the “Highland Line” and even in 1911 Gàidhlig was not dead as a minority language in these places. The original census forms of 1891 for example show that most of the farms between *Ard Laoigh* (Ardlui) and *Gleann Dubh Ghlais* (Glen Douglas) were run by Gàidhlig speaking families (Duwe, 2008):

*Àird Laoigh* (Ardlui): “The district forms the northern part of the parish of *An t-Àrar* (Arrochar) on both shores of *Loch Laomuinn* (Loch Lomond). During the time of the census a large railway workforce was enumerated in this district which distorted the official census figures beyond recognition. Looking at the usually resident population, however, the district emerged as a thoroughly Gàidhlig-speaking area. Apart from the hotel at *Àird Laoigh* (Ardlui) the language was still spoken almost universally. 25 of the 28 “English only” speakers had Lowland or England backgrounds. Local folk between *An Dùn* (Doune) and *Blàr Raineach* (Blairanaich) used the traditional tongue. Even the youngest children spoke Gàidhlig.... A two-year-old boy was the only person enumerated as not speaking English.” In total 63.6 % of the usually resident population spoke Gàidhlig in 1891.

<sup>8</sup> Enumeration division, burgh or village.



In table 26 of the annex further local results are outlined for the towns and cities on the northern shore of *Abhainn Chluaidh* (River Clyde). Even in *Baile Eilidh* (Helensburgh) the language was still spoken by a small number of Highland exiles.

Area <sup>9</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>10</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>11</sup>		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Aird a'Mhaigh &amp; Stuc a'Ghobhainn</i> (Ardmay & Stuckgowan)	31 45.6 %	65 35.3%	20 25.3%	16 23.9%	1 1.5%	—	—
<i>An t-Àrar &amp; An Tairbeart</i> (Arrochar & Tarbet)	84 26.9 %	156 27.1%	77 19.8%	57 15.6%	7 4.5%	—	—
<i>Àird Laoigh</i> <sup>12</sup> (Ardlui)	42 <b>51.9 %</b>	113 16.4%	32 23.4%	52 <b>50.0%</b>	1 0.9%	—	—
<i>Inbhir Beag &amp; An Dùn</i> (Inverbeg & Doune)	7 13.0%	29 <b>54.7%</b>	11 12.8%	16 17.8%	—	—	—
<i>Gleann Luis</i> (Glen Luss)	12 10.4%	18 16.2%	20 21.7%	8 10.1%	2 <b>11.1%</b>	—	—
<i>Lus</i> (Luss)	22 7.3%	32 12.5%	32 15.4%	16 8.9%	4 <b>11.1%</b>	1 3.1%	—
<i>An Ros Meadhonach &amp; Dùn Fionn</i> (Midross & Dumfin)	13 5.2%	18 10.1%	10 5.4%	11 5.4%	—	1 <b>10.0%</b>	—
<i>Innis Lònaig &amp; Innis nam Manach</i> (Inchlonaig & Inchtavannach)	—	4 17.4%	2 16.7%	2 40.0%	—	—	—
<i>Loch Long</i> (Loch Longside)	11 8.1%	37 16.4%	31 22.1%	20 9.0%	—	2 6.5%	—
<i>Ceann a'Gheàrrloch</i> (Garelochhead)	34 5.1%	103 18.5%	42 7.3%	32 5.9%	6 5.8%	—	—
<i>Gleann Freòin</i> (Glen Fruin)	—	11 11.6%	5 6.2%	10 15.2%	—	—	—
<i>Ros Neimhidh</i> (Rosneath)	63 7.3%	86 9.6%	86 11.1%	89 12.3%	—	—	—
<i>Cill nan Creagan &amp; An Uaighaidh</i> (Kilcreggan & Cove)	54 4.8%	93 8.0%	86 7.5%	55 5.2%	—	—	—

**Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in selected districts of Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn (Dunbartonshire) between 1881 and 1911**

**Siorrachd Bhòid (County of Bute):** A very diverse archipelago was administered from Council Offices in Rothesay. This was not only true geographically but also in a cultural sense. The two sister islands of *Cumaradh* (Cumbrae) were as thoroughly anglicised as for example Edinburgh at the time of the first census which introduced a “Gaelic question” in 1881. The island of *Bòd* (Bute) lost its Gàidhlig speaking majority sometime after the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century according to reports in the two “Statistical Accounts of Scotland”. An examination of original 1891 census forms reveals that most enumerated Gàidhlig speakers had moved to the island from neighbouring Highland districts.

<sup>9</sup> Enumeration division, islands, burgh or village.

<sup>10</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

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

<sup>12</sup> Census returns in 1891 are misleading for the whole parish of *An t-Àrar* (Arrochar). A large railway building workforce resided in the area. Ignoring more than 950 workers the census percentage of Gàidhlig speaking would have been at least 38 % in this parish.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Bòd & Cumaradh – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>13</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne)	105 8.9%	82 11.0%	71 6.1%	61 7.3%	–	–	–
<i>An Rubha Bòdach</i> (Rhubodach)		13 14.3%	20 23.0%	24 30.4%	–	–	1 4.2%
<i>Eadaraig</i> (Ettrick)		35 20.7%	19 11.8%	10 6.6%	–	–	–
<i>Caisteal a'Chamais</i> (Kames Castle)		25 29.4%	8 12.7%	6 9.0%	–	–	–
<i>An t-Sràid</i> (Straad)		9 10.0%	7 8.6%	11 16.4%	1 11.1%	–	–
<i>An Camas</i> (Kames)		8 4.5%	13 12.0%	6 4.9%	–	–	–
<i>Innis Mhearnaig</i> (Inchmarnock)	6 33.3%	1 5.6%	2 10.5%	2 12.5%	–	–	–
<i>Ascaig &amp; An Ceathramh Cruaidh</i> (Ascog & Kerrycroy)	53 4.2%	33 14.2%	21 9.9%	12 5.6%	–	1 4.8%	–
<i>Cnoc Stiùbhairt</i> (Mt. Stuart)		12 4.8%	24 8.6%	22 9.3%	–	–	–
<i>Cill Chatain</i> (Kilchattan)		21 6.2%	20 6.1%	14 4.5%	–	–	–
<i>Aird na Hogh</i> (Ardnahoe)		30 12.6%	14 5.9%	13 6.3%	–	–	–
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay)	619 7.3%	689 7.5%	569 6.1%	437 4.7%	5 0.7%	6 1.1%	–
<i>Cumaradh Beag</i> (Lt. Cumbrae)	–	1 5.9%	3 20.0%	3 23.1%	–	–	–
<i>Cumaradh Mòr</i> (Gt. Cumbrae Landward)	10 9.3%	8 8.0%	10 11.0%	8 11.0%	–	–	–
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millport)	27 1.6%	56 3.4%	49 2.9%	58 3.6%	–	–	–

**Table 5: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Bòd & Cumaradh (Bute & Cumbrae) between 1881 and 1911**

Left as thoroughly Gàidhlig-speaking, however, was the large island of *Arainn* (Arran). Table 6 illustrates very clearly this completely different language pattern with strong Gàidhlig communities especially on the western side of the island (see also tables 23 to 25 for further local results). In 1891 the whole west coast of *Arainn* was overwhelmingly Gàidhlig speaking with the sole exception of the hamlet of *Seideag* (Shedog). Also, *Eadar Dhà Ruadh* (Whitingbay) registered a Gàidhlig majority at the time. Even in 1911 a majority of inhabitants of *Am Muileann* (Pirnmill), *Loch Raonasa* (Lochranza), and *Sannaig* (Sannox) spoke Gàidhlig. Of course, the general decline of language use was obvious on the whole island.

<sup>13</sup> Enumeration division, island, burgh or village.



Area <sup>14</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>15</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan)	189 <b>64.9%</b>	155 <b>55.0%</b>	127 44.9%	84 33.2%	—	—	—
<i>Seann Achaidh</i> (Shannochie)	241 <b>80.3%</b>	176 <b>69.0%</b>	131 <b>54.6%</b>	95 38.6%	5 2.8%	1 0.8%	—
<i>Cill Mhoire &amp; An Lag</i> (Kilmory & Lagg)	177 <b>57.7%</b>	167 <b>56.8%</b>	116 40.6%	87 32.6%	1 0.6%	—	—
<i>Gleann Sgoradail</i> (Glen Scorrodale)	162 <b>68.6%</b>	136 <b>65.4%</b>	84 <b>50.6%</b>	53 37.1%	—	1 1.2%	—
<i>An Fheorlain</i> (Feorline)	236 <b>85.5%</b>	183 <b>66.1%</b>	190 <b>55.4%</b>	138 45.4%	—	1 0.5%	—
<i>Seideag</i> (Shedog)	144 <b>63.8%</b>	113 45.0%	86 36.6%	50 27.8%	—	—	—
<i>Am Machaire</i> (Machrie)	280 <b>84.6%</b>	203 <b>61.5%</b>	155 <b>61.3%</b>	101 40.1%	11 5.4%	5 3.2%	1 1.0%
<i>Am Muileann</i> (Pirnmill)	213 <b>85.9%</b>	182 <b>67.9%</b>	187 <b>73.9%</b>	142 <b>58.9%</b>	3 1.6%	—	—
<i>Loch Raonasa</i> (Lochranza)	252 <b>84.6%</b>	252 <b>79.5%</b>	149 <b>62.6%</b>	127 <b>58.3%</b>	1 0.4%	—	—
<i>Am Baile Ur &amp; Sannaig mu Thuath</i> (Newton & North Sannox)	96 <b>61.5%</b>	86 <b>60.1%</b>	70 <b>51.9%</b>	68 <b>50.0%</b>	—	—	—
<i>An Coire &amp; Sannaig mu Dheas</i> (Corrie & South Sannox)	32 12.9%	62 23.1%	54 13.2%	39 14.1%	—	—	—
<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil (Tuath)</i> (Brodict North)	222 37.7%	125 37.7%	74 23.6%	68 19.0%	1 0.8%	—	—
<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil (Deas)</i> (Brodict South)	37.7%	91 29.4%	87 27.3%	64 18.1%	—	—	—
<i>An t-Eilean (Tuath)</i> (North Lamlash)	280 43.0 %	82 28.0%	43 14.2%	24 8.4%	—	—	—
<i>An t-Eilean (Meadhon)</i> (Mid Lamlash)		53 20.7%	56 17.8%	53 16.0%	—	—	—
<i>An t-Eilean (Deas)</i> (South Lamlash)		58 30.7%	38 16.6%	33 22.1%	—	—	—
<i>Eadar Dhà Ruadh (Tuath)</i> (North Whitingbay)	336 <b>63.3%</b>	105 <b>56.8%</b>	85 <b>53.5%</b>	60 27.9%	—	—	—
<i>Eadar Dhà Ruadh (Meadhon)</i> (Mid Whitingbay)		156 <b>65.8%</b>	128 45.2%	60 28.0%	1 0.6%	—	—
<i>Eadar Dhà Ruadh (Deas)</i> (South Whitingbay)		47 <b>54.7%</b>	40 42.1%	27 30.0%	—	—	—

**Table 6: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Eilean Arrain (Isle of Arran) between 1881 and 1911**

The general direction of decline was further highlighted in the 1911 census results. Regarding *Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn* (Dunbartonshire) the county report stated: “*The large majority of these Gaelic speakers were born in Scotland, but a considerable minority, 530, or 16.6 per cent were of Irish birth, and presumably speakers of Irish, and not Scottish Gaelic.... The one person returned as speaking Gaelic but not English was a child of three years of age whose parents were both born in one of the islands of Argyll where Gaelic is commonly spo-*

<sup>14</sup> Enumeration division.

<sup>15</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.



ken“ (Scottish Census Office, 1912). Just 206 *Gàidhlig* speakers in the county were under 20 years of age (6.5 % of all *Gàidhlig* speakers).

Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English in <i>Siorrachd Bhòid</i> (County of Bute)				
Age group	1891	1901	1911	1921
3-4	3	4	1	-
5-9	-	1	-	-
10-14	1	-	-	-
15-19	1	1	-	-
20-24	1	-	-	-
25-29	2	-	-	-
30-34	-	1	-	-
35-39	1	-	-	-
40-44	-	-	-	-
45-49	-	1	-	-
50-54	5	-	-	-
55-59	4	1	-	-
60-64	6	3	-	-
65-69	1	2	-	-
70-74	-	1	-	-
75-79	1	-	-	-
80 and over	3	5	1	-
<b>Total “Gaelic only”</b>	29	20	2	-
<b>Total “Gaelic and English”</b>	3,481	2,764	2,079	1,453

**Table 7: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) according to census data from 1891 to 1921**

Circumstances in *Siorrachd Bhòid* were also not favourable as the respective county report reads: “Of the Gaelic speakers of the County, the great majority, 82.0 per cent, were born either in Bute or in Argyll, 1246 being born in the County of Bute, and 460 in Argyll. The two persons returned as speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English were both women, and both upwards of 80 years of age, one of them was born in Bute, and the other in Argyll” (Scottish Census Office, 1912). Only 143 *Gàidhlig* speakers then were under 20 years of age (7.0 % of all *Gàidhlig* speakers). And the handful of “Gaelic only” returns (see table 5) was to reach zero in the county in 1921.

Conditions in neighbouring *Comhal* (Cowal) were only slightly less dramatic with the civil parish of *Srath Lachlainn* (Strathlachlan) still boasting a *Gàidhlig* speaking majority. Further strongholds remained around *Gleann Branntair* (Glenbranter) and *Port a'Mhadaidh* (Portavadie) in 1911 (table 2). Rather surprisingly *Gàidhlig* held its ground until 1911 in *Comhal an Ear* (East Cowal) – albeit on a lower level (table 3).

In 1931 *Gàidhlig* was definitely on the way out in the whole area with only a few places reporting a population share of more than 20 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers (tables 17 and 19). Remnants of the traditional culture still survived of course. On the Isle of Arran for example when visited by the linguist Nils Holmer in 1938, *Gàidhlig* was still spoken by a fair number of old inhabitants. He investigated the special *Arainn* dialect. He wrote: “It belongs to the southern group of Scottish Gaelic dialects, along with that of Kintyre, and shows in consequence a larger amount of analogies with Irish Gaelic than any other Scottish Gaelic dialect” (Holmer, 1957). On the eve of the Second World War the “Language of Eden” had almost completely disappeared from the shores of the Clyde.



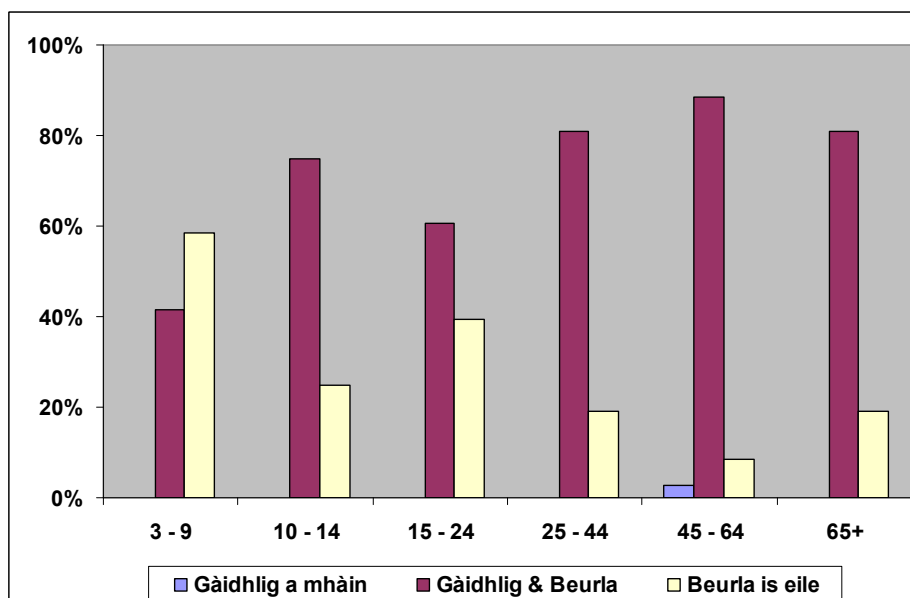


Fig. 4: Age profile in *Am Muileann* (Pirnmill) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig & English*, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all

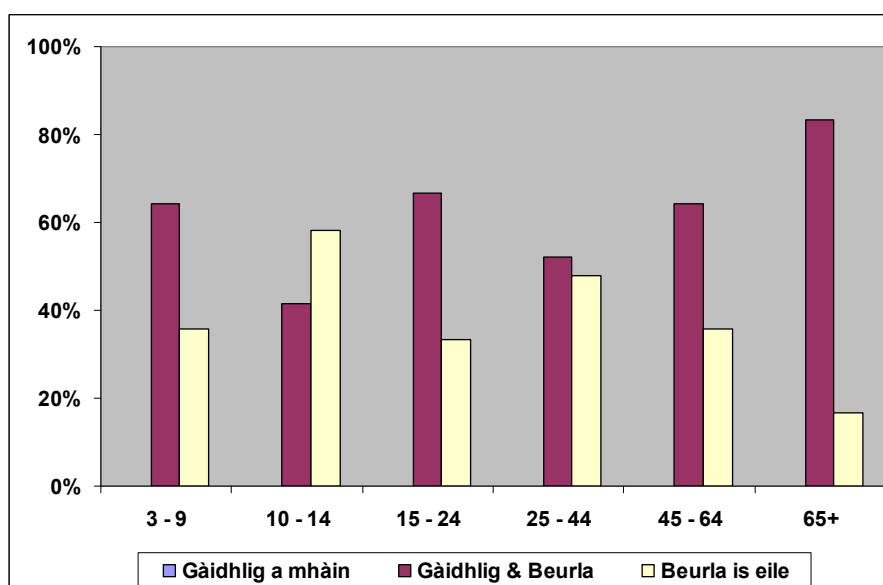


Fig. 5: Age profile in *Àird Laoigh* (Ardlui) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig & English*, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all



## 2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of Gàidhlig-speakers in the area was cut down from 8.8 % to 4.3 %. Only a few parishes still had percentages around the 10 % mark (tables 16 and 18) but the downward trend appeared to be unstoppable. It seemed that people did not even remember that Gàidhlig was once spoken there. Nothing happened apart from the erratic National Mod which appeared to be held in Dùn Omhain relatively often – to no real effect for the language in the town. Also, the abolition of the old county councils and the formation of the huge Strathclyde Region in 1974 did not change anything in the provision of Gàidhlig lessons at school – there simply was none. In addition, Arainn's own dialect of Gàidhlig is no more. Recordings of dialect speakers were fortunately carried out in the 1960s. Alas the last two native speakers of Gàidhlig Arainn died in 1994.

The detailed local census results in 1981 did not reveal any dramatic surprises (tables 28, 30 and 32). The highest percentages of speakers were recorded in northern Comhal at Cill Chaitriona (St. Catherine's), Gleann Branntair (Glenbranter) and perhaps surprisingly in An t-Àrar (Arrochar). Approximately 5 % of the older inhabitants of the peninsula still spoke the language in Comhal (table 29) then. In the island communities of Siorrachd Bhòid, however, Gàidhlig had disappeared almost completely.

<i>Comhal &amp; Siorrachd Bhòid</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	1,119	744	717	551	454	616	478
Percentage of total population	4.3 %	3.4 %	3.7 %	3.0 %	2.4 %	3.2 %	1.8 %

**Table 8: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in Comhal & Siorrachd Bhòid (Cowan & County of Bute) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2011**

Within the next two decades Gàidhlig kept a very low profile in the whole area – the language was almost completely confined to appear on local maps. Nobody really seemed to care. Perhaps with local government reorganisation and the disappearance of the huge Strathclyde Region things in education started to improve in the late 1990s at last. The newly formed Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute) authority set an example and allowed the teaching of Gàidhlig in local primary schools in the Dùn Omhain (Dunoon) area. Activities started to have a Gàidhlig playgroup (*cròileagan*) there, too. Even parents wondered about having a local Gàidhlig medium unit (GMU) at the primary school of Taigh a'Chladaich (Sandbank). There had also been some activities around a Gaelic Centre in Tràigh a'Chaisteil (Brodict) around 2000. Hopefully also on the island of Arainn things had begun to change.

All these developments had a first substantial result in the unexpected increase of Gàidhlig speakers on the Comhal peninsula (table 29) recorded in 2001. The growing number was completely due to the increase of speakers in the 5-24 age-group (figure 6). Details of the 2001 census results are described in chapter 3 of this report.

Since 2001 quite a number of positive developments took place in part due to the changing attitudes of the two local authorities concerned. A long awaited GMU opened in Taigh a'Chladaich (Sandbank) in the 2001/2002 school year. A *sgoil-araich* followed swiftly afterwards. Even some activities started on Arainn bringing Gàidhlig back to life on this island, for example with the foundation of a Gaelic Centre. There were even requests for Gàidhlig to be introduced in the secondary school and the establishment of a GMU on the island. But to no avail! In contrast some Gàidhlig lessons were introduced in primary schools on the island of Arainn.

In 2011 there was generally a decrease of Gàidhlig speaking observed in the region. This was mainly due to the stop of language lessons in primary schools in Comhal. In tables 16 to 19 the figures on civil



parish level are given. Positive news, however, are the increasing numbers on *Arainn* where some *Gàidhlig* lessons had commenced at last.

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 is provided in table 9 for local selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these census data zones did show minor positive values.

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 a third of *Gàidhlig* speakers lived in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 9.

Census Data Zones	Comhal, Bòd & Dùn Breatainn – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
<b>Cill Fhìonain &amp; Taigh na Br.</b> (Kilfinan & Tighnabruaich)	6	5.7%	44	3.9%	+ 1.9 %	32.0 %
<b>Innis Ailleann &amp; Inbhir Chaol.</b> (Innellan & Inverchaolain)	12	7.8%	45	3.2%	+ 4.6 %	30.4 %
<b>Ceann Loch G. &amp; Srath Chura</b> (Lochgoilhead & Strachur)	8	4.4%	54	3.1%	+ 1.3 %	17.9 %
<b>Taigh a’Chladaich &amp; Àird nan Dàmh</b> (Sandbank & Ardnadam)	26	8.0%	87	3.7%	+ 4.3 %	49.2 %
<b>Cill Mhunna &amp; Am Blàr Mòr</b> (Kilmun & Blairmore)	4	5.3%	26	3.7%	+ 1.6 %	27.8 %
<b>Dùn Omhainn</b> (Dunoon)	37	3.4%	215	2.9%	+ 0.4 %	37.1 %
<b>Eilean Bhòid</b> (Isle of Bute)	12	1.6%	110	1.7%	- 0.1 %	29.3 %
<b>Cumaradh</b> (Cumbrae)	8	5.8%	32	2.4%	+ 3.4 %	66.7 %
<b>Àrainn</b> (Arran)	30	6.7%	112	3.0%	+ 3.7 %	38.1 %
<b>An t-Àrar &amp; Lus</b> (Arrochar & Luss)	17	8.6%	58	3.7%	+ 4.9 %	35.0 %
<i>In comparison:</i> <b>Earra-Ghàidheal &amp; Bòd</b> (Argyll & Bute)	6.7 %		5.9 %		+ 0.8 %	36.9 %

**Table 9: 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**



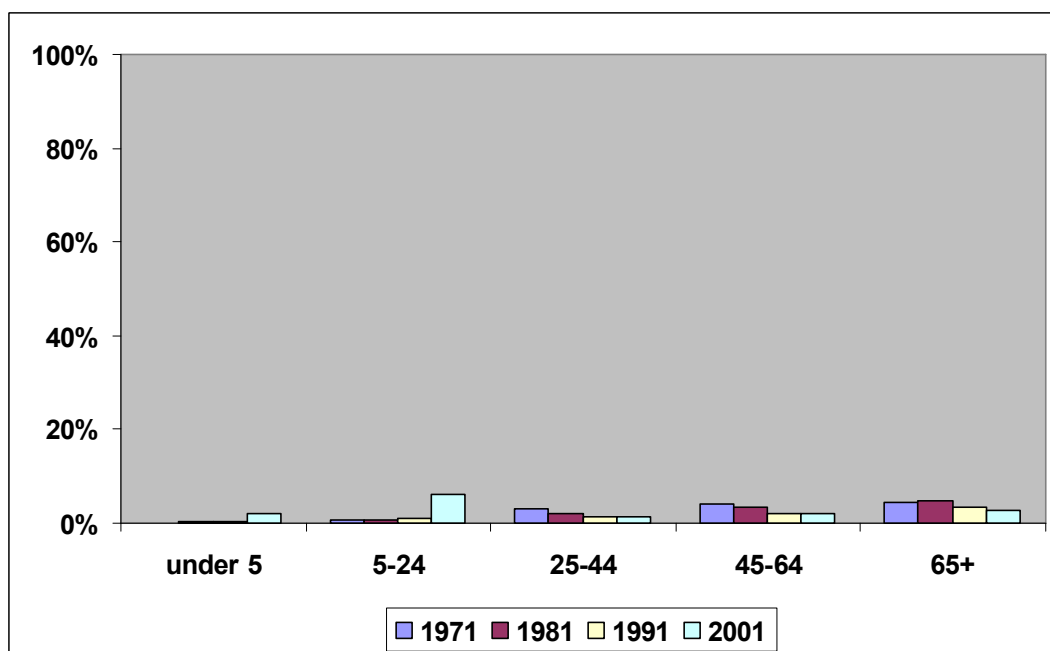


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Comhal* (Cowal)<sup>16</sup>

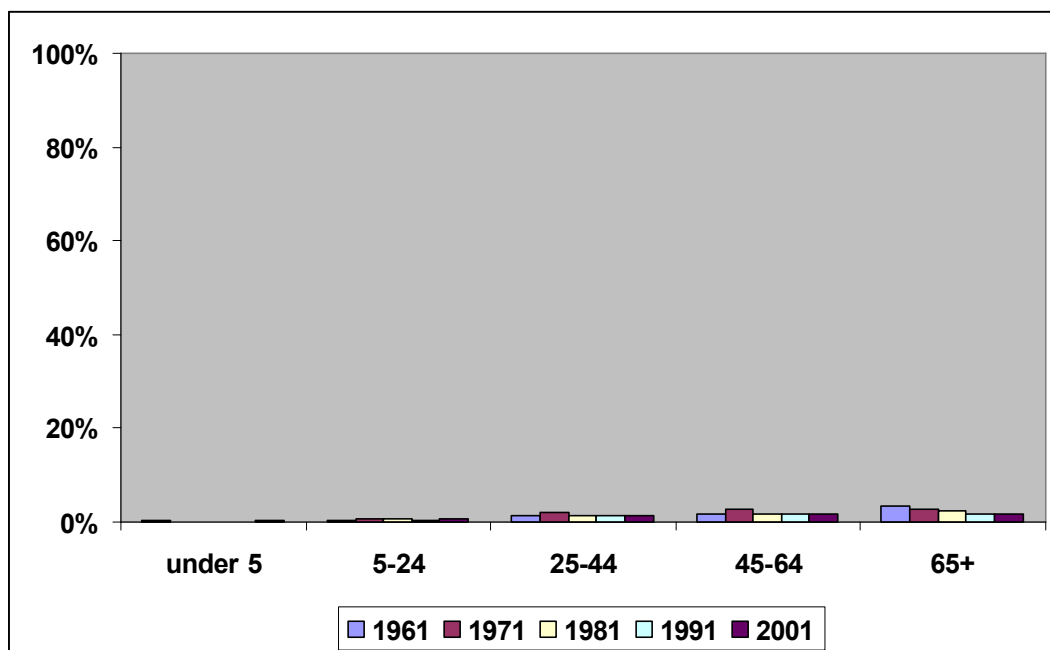


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1961 and 2001 – *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute)

<sup>16</sup> Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



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

The census in 1971 for the first time, sought information about the ability of Gàidhlig speakers to read or write the language. Results (tables 10 and 11) at this point of time found just over 40 % of speakers able to read and around 30 % able to write Gàidhlig in the areas concerned.

In *Comhal* reading and writing abilities varied over time with no clear trend. In 2001 percentages decreased even because the educational efforts in *Dùn Omhain* paid off almost immediately with many primary school children starting to speak the language before their writing skills were found to be satisfactory by their parents (who completed the census forms of course). This effect is also obvious in figure 8 when looking at the age range between 5 and 15.

The other two areas saw a small positive trend in literacy levels which indicates an ever-increasing share of adult learners among the tiny number of resident Gàidhlig speakers. Further proof of the non-existent presence of Gàidhlig in schools presents figure 9 where readers were absent from the generation aged less than 25 years in 2001!

	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
<b>Comhal (Cowal)</b>	195	179	141	204	198	41.5%	47.7%	48.0%	46.3%	64.9%
<b>Siorrachd Bhòid (County of Bute)</b>	110	101	88	110	88	44.9%	57.8%	55.4%	60.7%	51.2%
<b>An t-Àrar &amp; Lus (Arrochar &amp; Luss)</b>	n/a	26	23	18	16	n/a	41.9%	47.9%	52.9%	47.1%

Table 10: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for all 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
<b>Comhal (Cowal)</b>	135	148	126	156	174	28.7%	39.5%	42.9%	35.4%	57.0%
<b>Siorrachd Bhòid (County of Bute)</b>	80	79	74	92	74	32.7%	44.7%	46.5%	50.8%	43.0%
<b>An t-Àrar &amp; Lus (Arrochar &amp; Luss)</b>	n/a	20	15	12	12	n/a	32.3%	31.3%	35.3%	35.3%

Table 11: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for all areas (1971-2011)

Literacy levels in 2011 had increased in *Comhal* considerably but went down in *Siorrachd Bhòid*.



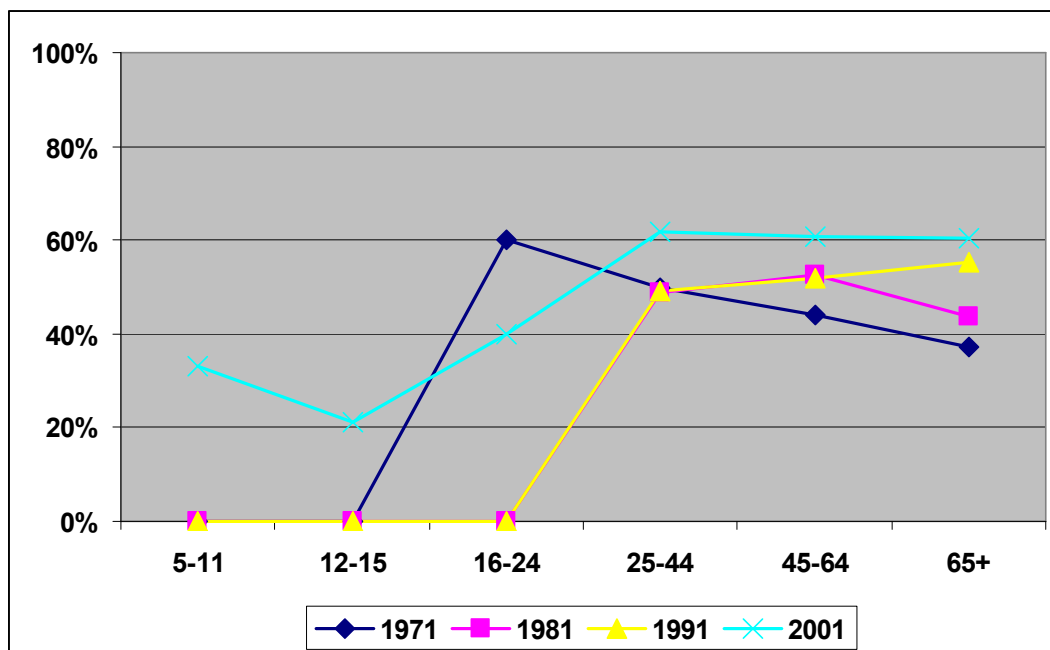


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Comhal* (Cowal)

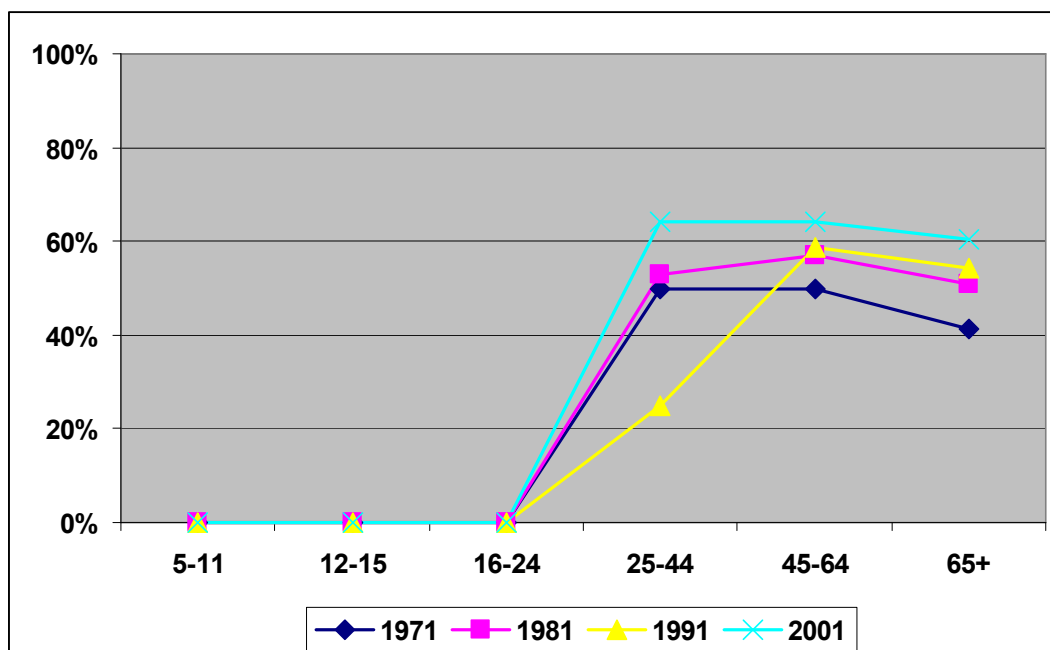


Fig. 9: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute)



### 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

Looking at both areas – *Comhal* and *Siorrachd Bhòid* – there could be only small consolation drawn from the 2001 results. Conditions were not only light years apart from the heydays of the language – they were also less favourable compared with other districts in Scotland where *Gàidhlig* had already made a small comeback.

In *Comhal* (Cowal) in general 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):

- Most probably caused by the introduction of *Gàidhlig* in the school curriculum of *Dùn Omhain* (Dunoon) schools the inter-generational difference was considerably positive (fig. 10) and well above the figures reported in the 1991 census (table 11).
- Among the pre-school population 13 children could speak *Gàidhlig* and 15 understood spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- Since 1991 there had been a substantial increase in numbers and percentages generally caused by a rocketing share in younger age groups reaching double figures in the primary school generation.
- Locally *Gàidhlig* speaking (and understanding also) was on a consistently low level with maxima in *An Càrn Dubh* (Cairndow), *Tigh na Bruaiche* (Tighnabruaich) and *Tollard* (Toward) as outlined in tables 28 and 33.
- Unlike other areas of Scotland *Gàidhlig* reading and writing abilities declined in the last decade and reached values of over 45 % and 30 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers respectively. The decline was due to the presence of a large number of learners at school age which dominated overall figures.
- In the new category of *Gàidhlig* speaking children aged between 0 and 2 only five were enumerated in 2001 (all originating from *Dùn Omhain*); another child could at least understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- Passive knowledge of *Gàidhlig* was considerably more common than full speaking ability. In 2001 in *Comhal* 293 inhabitants (1.9 %) knew some *Gàidhlig* in addition to 441 (2.8 %) who could speak the language in the area in 2001.



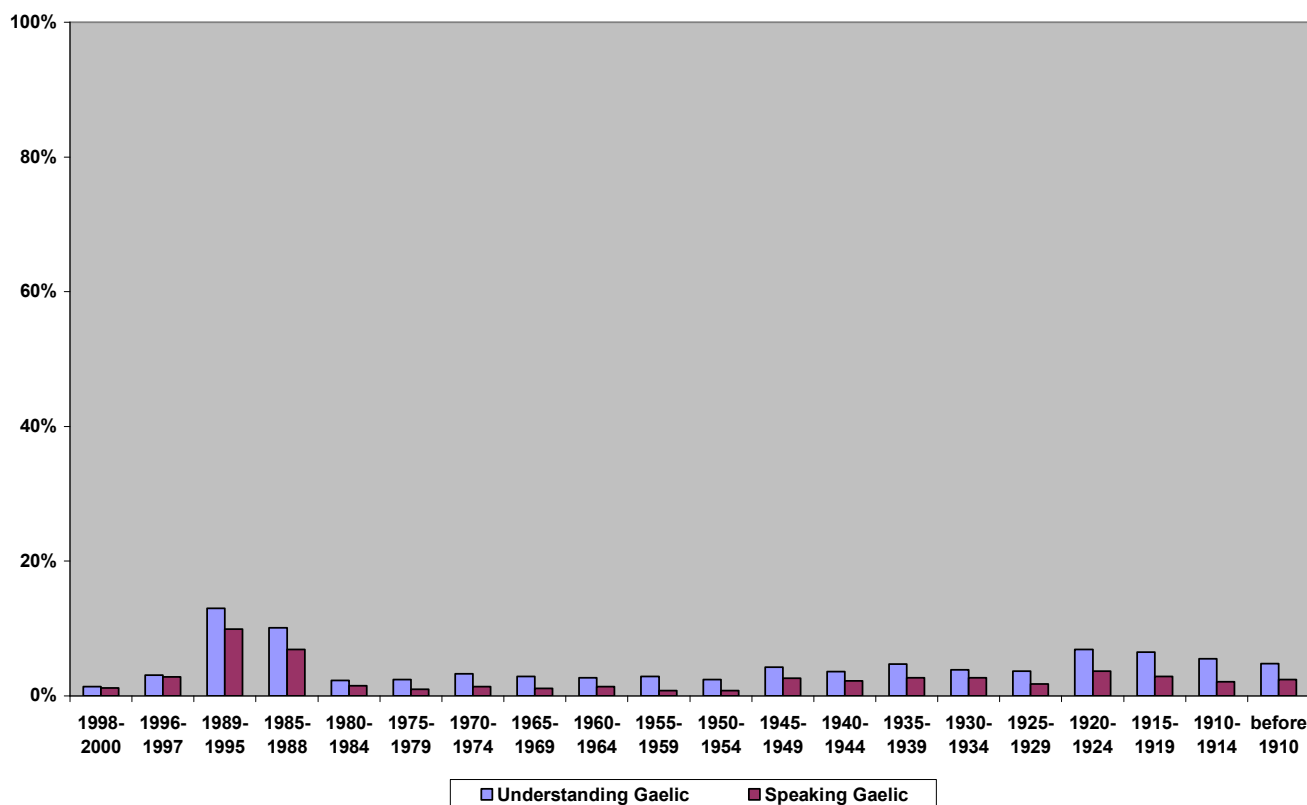


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Comhal (Cowal) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>17</sup> <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	6	1.4 %	1	0.2 %	5	1.2 %	n/a	n/a	-
3-4	9	3.1 %	2	0.7 %	8	2.8 %	1	0.2 %	+ 2.6 %
5-11	167	12.8 %	43	3.3 %	130	10.0 %	8	0.5 %	+ 9.5 %
12-15	75	9.9 %	11	1.5 %	52	6.9 %	11	1.4 %	+ 5.5 %
16-24	28	2.3 %	6	0.5 %	15	1.2 %	19	1.0 %	+ 0.2 %
3-24	279	7.9 %	62	1.7 %	205	5.8 %	39	0.8 %	+ 5.0 %
All ages	734	4.7 %	204	1.3 %	441	2.8 %	294	1.9 %	+ 0.9 %
Difference	+ 3.2 %		+ 0.4 %		+ 3.0 %		- 1.1 %		

Table 12: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Comhal (Cowal) in 2001 and 1991

<sup>17</sup> Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



The area of **Siorrachd Bhòid (County of Bute)** provided a very unfavourable picture in the 2001 census as far as *Gàidhlig* knowledge results were concerned:

- The inter-generational difference was considerably negative (fig. 11) and even below the dismal figures reported in the 1991 census (table 12).
- Among the pre-school population only one child could speak *Gàidhlig* – it was enumerated in the new 0-2 age group.
- Locally *Gàidhlig* speaking (and understanding also) was on a very low level everywhere with no local exceptions as outlined in tables 30 and 34.
- Nonetheless *Gàidhlig* reading and writing abilities improved in the previous decade and reached values of over 60 % and 50 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers respectively.
- Like in *Comhal* passive knowledge of *Gàidhlig* was considerably more common than full speaking ability. In 2001 124 inhabitants (0.9 %) knew some *Gàidhlig* in addition to 181 (1.3 %) who could speak the language in the area in 2001.

Census returns for the northernmost parishes of the former county of **Dùn Breatainn (Dumbarton)** did not reveal any positive developments during the last decade (tables 32 and 34).

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>18</sup> <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	1	0.3 %	-	-	1	0.3 %	n/a	n/a	-
3-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-11	14	1.2 %	2	0.2 %	11	1.0 %	3	0.3 %	+ 0.7 %
12-15	8	1.2 %	5	0.8 %	5	0.8 %	1	0.2 %	+ 0.6 %
16-24	9	0.9 %	5	0.5 %	7	0.7 %	6	0.5 %	+ 0.2 %
3-24	31	1.0 %	12	0.4 %	23	0.8 %	10	0.3 %	+ 0.5 %
All ages	305	2.2 %	110	0.8 %	181	1.3 %	170	1.2 %	+ 0.1 %
Diff.	- 1.2 %		- 0.4 %		- 0.5 %		- 0.9 %		

Table 13: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) in 2001 and 1991

<sup>18</sup> Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*, or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



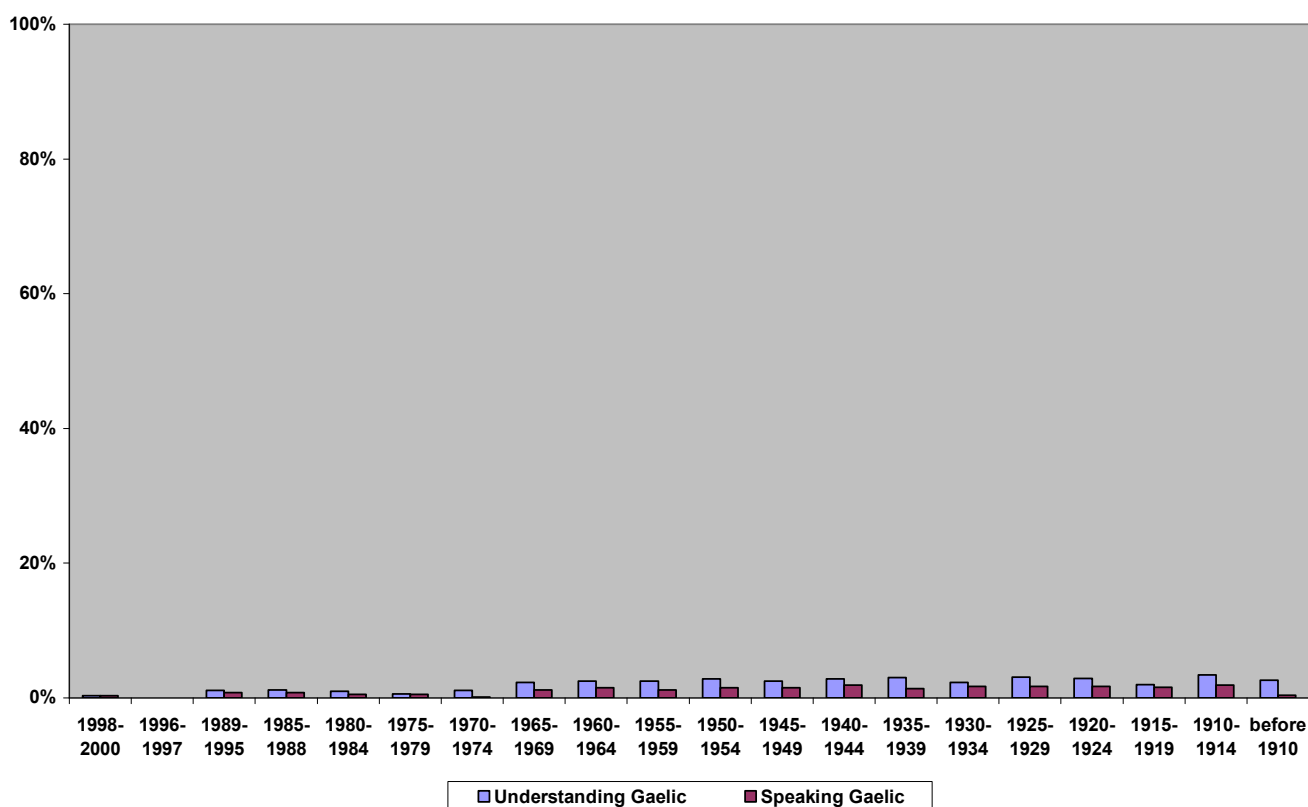


Fig. 11: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) according to Census 2001

### 3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in school catchments

The 2001 census data provided small area statistics where the knowledge of Gàidhlig can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local 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 13 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: In line with some developments of Gàidhlig nursery groups in *Dùn Omhain* there were a few children enumerated who understood spoken Gàidhlig. In other places returns were of course negligible.
- Primary school children: The impact of language lessons in *Comhal* primary schools was clearly shown in census returns with very significant numbers of children counted especially around *Dùn Omhain*. On the islands further south there were no comparable educational efforts undertaken with the expected results.
- Secondary school children: The educational efforts in *Comhal* show also up in this age group. *Bòd* and *Arainn*, however, remained essentially “Gaelic free zones” as far as the language in schools was concerned.
- Parents: Just a small proportion of inhabitants at “parental age” had some knowledge of Gàidhlig at the time.



In conclusion: *Dùn Omhain* was a showcase at the time for how much could be gained by a very small educational effort. It does not need much imagination what a more consistent language policy could achieve.

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>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar)	-	-	-	-	1	1.8 %	3	2.4 %
<i>Ceann Loch Goill</i> (Lochgoilhead)	-	-	3	9.7 %	1	8.3 %	-	-
<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur)	1	4.3 %	2	3.8 %	-	-	-	-
<i>Taigh na Bruaich</i> (Tighnabruaich)	1	2.1 %	5	7.1 %	4	15.4 %	6	5.6 %
<i>Cill Mhoadhain</i> (Kilmodan)	-	-	1	3.4 %	-	-	-	-
<i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone)	2	4.7 %	7	8.8 %	6	10.9 %	5	8.2 %
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	1	1.4 %	28	19.9 %	6	6.4 %	4	2.7 %
<i>An Càrn</i> (Kirn)	5	3.1 %	24	9.3 %	20	10.4 %	9	3.1 %
<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon)	2	0.7 %	74	13.3 %	30	11.5 %	15	2.6 %
<i>Innis Ailleann &amp; Tollard</i> (Innellan & Toward)	3	6.3 %	19	18.3 %	7	11.9 %	3	3.0 %
<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne, Bute)	-	-	2	2.6 %	-	-	4	4.9 %
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay, Bute)	1	0.4 %	13	2.3 %	4	1.3 %	9	1.4 %
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millport, Cumbrae)	-	-	-	-	2	3.6 %	-	-
<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil</i> (Brodict, Arran)	-	-	1	0.2 %	2	0.8 %	8	1.7 %

**Table 14: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for school catchment areas according to the census 2001**



## 4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

Only a small proportion of Scottish-born residents in the area has still some knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. The language viability indicator (LVI<sup>19</sup>) points to neutral intergenerational language-maintenance (table 15) in the whole region.

Area	Comhal, Bòd & Dùn Breatainn – Census 2011					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Comhal (Cowal)	93	4.8%	471	3.2%	+ 1.6 %	36.5 %
Siorrachd Bhòid (County of Bute)	50	3.7%	254	2.2%	+ 1.5 %	36.3 %
In comparison: Earra-Ghàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute)	6.7 %		5.9 %		+ 0.8 %	36.9 %
In comparison: Siorrachd Inbhir Àir a Tuath (North Ayrshire)	0.7 %		0.8 %		- 0.1 %	18.9 %

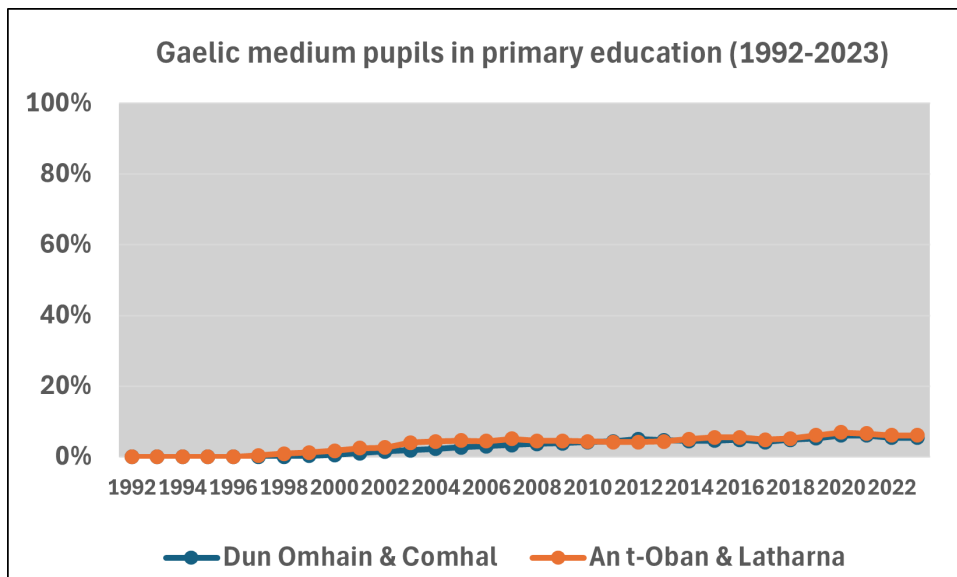
**Table 15: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in *Comhal* (Cowal) and *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) in comparison with relevant local authorities according to census data of 2011**

Locally the LVI was consistently positive in many parts albeit on a very low level in 2011. Since then, the GMU (Gaelic Medium Unit) at *Taigh a'Chladaich* (Sandbank) went from strength to strength. The overall temporal evolution of *Gàidhlig*-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 12 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 39 pupils (37.9 %) attended the GMU in *Taigh a'Chladaich*. On secondary level Oban High School offered *Gàidhlig* for fluent speakers, only. Apart from this the language was offered as subject (status of information 2024) in all primary schools on *Arainn* as well as at *Taigh na Bruaiche* (Tighnabruaich) and *Càrdainn Ros* (Cardross) primary schools.

**In conclusion:** Some small steps are being taken to bring new life to the once thriving language in places like *Arainn* and *Comhal* which tended to be considered as hard core “Gaelic free zones” a few years ago.

<sup>19</sup> LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator“ is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.





**Fig. 12: Share of primary school children attending Gàidhlig-medium classes in the secondary school catchment of Dùn Omhainn (Dunoon) compared with An t-Oban (Oban) (September 1992 – September 2023)**



**Bilingual road signs are sometimes also signs for change (Duwe, 2016)**



## I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich)	<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur)	<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan)	<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan)	<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan)	<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhun-na</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun)	<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaulain)
1881	419	314	309	1,377	229	629	125
1891	376	249	228	1,102	187	927	172
1901	268	228	183	1,013	163	916	159
1911	227	192	147	517	109	820	107
1921	143	111	98	344	73	735	91
1931	131	69	63	265	58	638	83
1951	88	40	27	95	15	395	40
1961	56	28	15	49	8	333	15
1971	40	35	15	35	5	335	10
1981	33	31	7	23	4	269	8
1991	33	18	9	23	2	208	1
2001	26	12	2	17	2	370	7
2011	20	9	1	15	8	251	2

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

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich)	<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur)	<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan)	<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan)	<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan)	<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhun-na</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun)	<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaulain)
1881	48.2 %	54.7 %	86.1 %	64.0 %	70.9 %	7.9 %	30.7 %
1891	47.8 %	52.1 %	84.4 %	53.1 %	53.3 %	10.7 %	47.9 %
1901	39.9 %	46.0 %	76.9 %	52.9 %	42.1 %	8.8 %	47.6 %
1911	29.0 %	39.8 %	67.7 %	27.5 %	41.3 %	8.0 %	28.8 %
1921	14.6 %	20.3 %	42.1 %	15.6 %	31.9 %	3.7 %	21.3 %
1931	18.3 %	13.6 %	35.2 %	17.8 %	27.2 %	5.2 %	26.1 %
1951	8.9 %	6.9 %	12.5 %	7.6 %	5.8 %	2.8 %	9.2 %
1961	6.4 %	4.8 %	8.2 %	4.5 %	4.0 %	2.6 %	5.3 %
1971	4.6 %	5.1 %	8.8 %	3.6 %	3.4 %	2.4 %	3.4 %
1981	4.4 %	4.8 %	4.3 %	2.6 %	2.1 %	2.1 %	3.2 %
1991	4.1 %	2.9 %	4.8 %	2.5 %	1.0 %	1.5 %	0.7 %
2001	3.1 %	1.8 %	1.3 %	1.8 %	1.1 %	3.0 %	2.9 %
2011	2.7 %	1.5 %	0.7 %	2.0 %	4.5 %	2.1 %	1.8 %

**Table 17: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the seven civil parishes in *Comhal* according to census data from 1881 to 2011**



Census	Civil Parish <sup>20</sup>						
	<i>Bòd a Tu-ath</i> (North Bute)	<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay)	<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth)	<i>Cill Bhrìgde</i> (Kilbride)	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar)	<i>Lus</i> (Luss)
1881	116	636	53	971	1,909	158	54
1891	178	712	96	871	1,579	337	91
1901	146	585	79	676	1,236	129	75
1911	123	435	61	507	880	125	53
1921	93	311	45	331	600	n/a	n/a
1931	72	194	22	217	388	n/a	n/a
1951	22	120	17	107	137	n/a	n/a
1961	17	69	14	52	75	n/a	n/a
1971	<i>16</i>	100	9	61	46	n/a	n/a
1981	19	62	5	43	32	46	16
1991	12	53	2	59	13	37	11
2001	18	66	3	58	15	26	8
2011	7	48	3	61	31	29	5

**Table 18: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for selected civil parishes in Siorrachd Bhòid & Dùn Breatainn according to census data from 1881 to 2011<sup>21</sup>**

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Bòd a Tu-ath</i> (North Bute)	<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay)	<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth)	<i>Cill Bhrìgde</i> (Kilbride)	<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar)	<i>Lus</i> (Luss)
1881	9.5 %	7.4 %	4.2 %	44.6 %	73.8 %	30.6 %	7.5 %
1891	12.9 %	7.7 %	9.0 %	37.4 %	62.7 %	23.1 %	14.4 %
1901	8.4 %	6.2 %	7.5 %	26.8 %	53.3 %	14.3 %	13.1 %
1911	7.8 %	4.7 %	6.3 %	20.7 %	40.7 %	23.3 %	9.6 %
1921	3.4 %	2.0 %	3.0 %	6.3 %	20.0 %	n/a	n/a
1931	3.9 %	2.1 %	2.3 %	8.2 %	20.7 %	n/a	n/a
1951	1.5 %	1.2 %	1.8 %	3.4 %	9.1 %	n/a	n/a
1961	1.4 %	0.9 %	1.5 %	2.0 %	5.9 %	n/a	n/a
1971	<i>1.4 %</i>	1.5 %	<i>1.4 %</i>	2.6 %	3.8 %	n/a	n/a
1981	2.4 %	1.0 %	1.0 %	1.6 %	2.7 %	6.4 %	3.7 %
1991	1.4 %	0.9 %	0.5 %	1.9 %	1.0 %	4.5 %	3.0 %
2001	1.9 %	1.2 %	0.6 %	1.6 %	1.0 %	3.4 %	2.2 %
2011	1.0 %	0.9 %	0.8 %	1.9 %	2.3 %	4.1 %	1.9 %

**Table 19: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for selected civil parishes in Siorrachd Bhòid & Dùn Breatainn according to census data from 1881 to 2011**

<sup>20</sup> Figures in italics are approximate only.

<sup>21</sup> Census information with local detail between 1911 and 1951 in particular was restricted to the “main” Gàidhlig-speaking counties. Therefore figures are not available for some of the “peripheral” civil parishes of the *Gaidhealtachd* for all years.



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891: <i>Comhal</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
<b>1881 (speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</b>	<b>12,687</b>	<b>3,402</b>	
<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich) CP	870	419	
<i>Srath Chura &amp; Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strachur and Strathlachlan) CP	932	623	
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan) CP	2,153	1,377	
<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan) CP	323	229	
<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhunna</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun) CP	8,002	629	
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain) CP	407	125	
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	4,692	231	
<i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blairmore) Vi	244	16	
<i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone) Vi	295	33	
<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan) Vi	859	30	
<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun) Vi	331	48	
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank) Vi	570	54	
<i>Taigh na Bruaich</i> (Tighnabruaich) Vi	771	454	
<b>1891</b>	<b>13,002</b>	<b>3,148</b>	<b>93</b>
<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich) CP	787	370	6
<i>Srath Chura &amp; Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strachur & Strathlachlan) CP	748	473	4
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan) CP	2,074	1,034	68
<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan) CP	351	187	-
<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhunna</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun) CP	8,683	914	13
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain) CP	359	170	2
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	5,283	419	4
<i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blairmore) Vi	248	35	-
<i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone) Vi	325	49	3
<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan) Vi	836	62	-
<i>Camas</i> (Kames) Vi	434	234	7
<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun) Vi	347	61	2
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank) Vi	721	119	-
<i>Taigh na Bruaich</i> (Tighnabruaich) Vi	515	255	-

**Table 20: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, villages) in *Comhal***



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1921: <i>Comhal</i></b>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1901</b>	<b>14,470</b>	<b>2,914</b>	<b>16</b>
<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich) CP	669	263	5
<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur) CP	469	227	1
<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan) CP	238	183	-
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan) CP	1,915	1,009	4
<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan) CP	387	163	-
<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhunna</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun) CP	10,468	912	4
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain) CP	324	157	2
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	6,779	445	3
<i>Am Blàr Mòr &amp; An t-Sròn</i> (Blairmore & Strone) Vi	587	47	-
<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan) Vi	761	41	-
<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun) Vi	443	65	1
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank) Vi	1,018	157	-
----- Electoral divisions-----			
<i>Ceann Loch Goill</i> (Lochgoilhead)	669	263	5
<i>Srath Chura &amp; Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strachur & Strathlachlan)	734	410	1
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan)	1,910	1,007	4
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain)	323	147	2
<i>Cill Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan)	372	154	-
<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun)	1,515	208	1
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	1,009	135	-
<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan)	1,078	84	-
<i>Dùn Omhain a Deas</i> (Dunoon South)	3,631	224	3
<i>Dùn Omhain a Tuath</i> (Dunoon North)	3,137	221	-
<b>1911</b>	<b>14,223</b>	<b>2,111</b>	<b>8</b>
<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich) CP	782	227	-
<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur) CP	483	191	1
<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan) CP	217	147	-
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan) CP	1,879	515	2
<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan) CP	264	109	-
<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhunna</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun) CP	10,227	815	5
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain) CP	371	107	-
<b>1921<sup>22</sup></b>	<b>24,351</b>	<b>1,591</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich) CP	982	141	2
<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur) CP	548	110	1
<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan) CP	223	97	1
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan) CP	2,199	344	-
<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan) CP	229	73	-
<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhunna</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun) CP	19,742	735	-
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain) CP	428	91	-

**Table 21: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1901 and 1921 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs, villages) in *Comhal***

<sup>22</sup> Population numbers were heavily increased by large number of summer visitors.



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1931 and 1971: <i>Comhal</i></b>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1931</b>	15,783	1,307	-
<i>Ceann Loch Goill &amp; Cill Mhuirich</i> (Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich) CP	716	131	-
<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur) CP	507	69	-
<i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan) CP	179	63	-
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan) CP	1,489	265	-
<i>Cille Mhaodhain</i> (Kilmodan) CP	213	58	-
<i>Dùn Omhain &amp; Cill Mhunna</i> (Dunoon & Kilmun) CP	12,361	638	-
<i>Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Inverchaolain) CP	318	83	-
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	8,780	376	-
<b>1951</b>	17,901	700	-
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	9,940	246	-
<b>1961</b>	16,251	504	-
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	9,215	221	-
<b>1971</b> <sup>23</sup>	17,100	475	*
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon Small Burgh)	9,720	240	*

**Table 22: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1931 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs) in *Comhal***

<sup>23</sup> 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 in 1881 and 1891: <i>Siorrachd Bhòid</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
<b>1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</b>	<b>17,634</b>	<b>3,725</b>	
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) CP	8,538	636	
<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute) CP	1,218	116	
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth) CP	1,260	53	
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae) CP	1,856	40	
<i>Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilbride) CP	2,176	971	
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) CP	2,586	1,909	
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	8,329	618	
<i>Bàgh Cill Chatain</i> (Kilchattan Bay) Vi	343	12	
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millport) Vi	1,749	30	
<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne) Vi	651	31	
<i>Arainn</i> (Isle of Arran)	4,730	2,879	
<i>Bòd</i> (Isle of Bute)	10,044	799	
<i>Cumaradh Mòr</i> (Great Cumbrae Island)	1,721	40	
<i>Cumaradh Beag</i> (Little Cumbrae Island)	24	-	
<i>Eilean Mo Laise</i> (Holy Island)	15	1	
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Island Lighthouse)	14	-	
<i>Innis Mhearnaig</i> (Inchmarnock Island)	15	6	
<b>1891</b>	<b>18,384</b>	<b>3,481</b>	<b>29</b>
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) CP	9,306	707	5
<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute) CP	1,385	177	1
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth) CP	1,062	96	-
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae) CP	1,781	74	-
<i>Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilbride) CP	2,331	869	2
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) CP	2,519	1,558	21
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	9,108	686	5
<i>Bàgh Cill Chatain</i> (Kilchattan Bay) Vi	340	21	-
<i>An t-Eilean</i> (Lamlash) Vi	314	75	-
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millport) Vi	1,668	60	-
<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne) Vi	753	82	-
<i>Arainn</i> (Isle of Arran)	4,824	2,420	23
<i>Bòd</i> (Isle of Bute)	11,735	979	6
<i>Cumaradh Mòr</i> (Great Cumbrae Island)	1,784	74	-
<i>Cumaradh Beag</i> (Little Cumbrae Island)	17	1	-
<i>Eilean Mo Laise</i> (Holy Island)	16	1	-
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Island Lighthouse)	10	6	-
<i>Innis Mhearnaig</i> (Inchmarnock Island)	18	1	-

**Table 23: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, villages, islands) in Siorrachd Bhòid**



Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1901 and 1911: <i>Siorrachd Bhòid</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
<b>1901</b>	18,787	2,764	20
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) CP	9,378	579	6
<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute) CP	1,747	142	4
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth) CP	1,056	78	1
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae) CP	1,769	62	-
<i>Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilbride) CP	2,518	676	-
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) CP	2,319	1,227	9
---- included in the above ----			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	9,378	579	6
<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil</i> (Brodick) Vi	319	87	-
<i>An t-Eilean</i> (Lamlash) Vi	315	56	-
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millport) Vi	1,663	49	-
<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne) Vi	1,165	71	-
<i>Arainn</i> (Isle of Arran)	4,819	1,900	9
<i>Bòd</i> (Isle of Bute)	14,062	797	11
<i>Cumaradh Mòr</i> (Great Cumbrae Island)	1,734	59	-
<i>Cumaradh Beag</i> (Little Cumbrae Island)	15	3	-
<i>Eilean Mo Laise</i> (Holy Island)	12	1	-
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Island Lighthouse)	6	2	-
<i>Innis Mhearnaig</i> (Inchmarnock Island)	19	2	-
----- Electoral divisions -----			
<i>An Coire</i> (Corrie)	543	124	-
<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil</i> (Brodick)	632	161	-
<i>An t-Eilean</i> (Lamlash)	630	106	-
<i>Eadar Dhà Rubha</i> (Whiting Bay)	664	276	-
<i>Loch Raonasa</i> (Lochranza)	440	304	-
<i>An Dubh Gharadh</i> (Dougarie)	533	282	5
<i>Seideag</i> (Shedog)	657	309	2
<i>Ceann mu Dheas</i> (Southend)	667	205	2
<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne)	1,102	58	-
<i>Ceann mu Thuath</i> (Northend)	267	44	-
<i>Comar Meadhonach</i> (Cummermenoch)	368	30	4
<i>Am Monadh Stiùbhartach</i> (Mount Stuart)	645	49	1
<i>Bàgh Cille Chatain</i> (Kilchattan Bay)	399	24	-
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae)	106	13	-
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn an Ear</i> (Millport East)	724	17	-
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn an Iar</i> (Millport West)	939	32	-
<b>1911</b>	18,186	2,079	2
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) CP	9,299	436	-
<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute) CP	1,585	122	1
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth) CP	967	61	-
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae) CP	1,707	69	-
<i>Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilbride) CP	2,451	506	-
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) CP	2,177	883	1
---- included in the above ----			
<i>Cumaradh Mòr</i> (Great Cumbrae Island)	1,694	66	-
<i>Cumaradh Beag</i> (Little Cumbrae Island)	13	3	-
<i>Eilean Mo Laise</i> (Holy Island)	18	7	-
<i>Plada</i> (Pladda Island Lighthouse)	8	-	-
<i>Innis Mhearnaig</i> (Inchmarnock Island)	16	2	-

**Table 24: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1901 and 1911 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, villages, burghs, islands) in Siorrachd Bhòid**



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: <i>Siorrachd Bhòid</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
<b>1921</b> <sup>24</sup>	33,711	1,453	-
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) CP	15,218	311	-
<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute) CP	2,767	93	-
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth) CP	1,480	45	-
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae) CP	5,952	73	-
<i>Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilbride) CP	5,293	331	-
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) CP	3,001	600	-
<b>1931</b>	18,823	934	-
<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) CP	9,347	194	-
<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute) CP	1,828	72	-
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth) CP	951	22	-
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae) CP	2,165	41	-
<i>Cill Bhrighde</i> (Kilbride) CP	2,658	217	-
<i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmory) CP	1,874	388	-
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	9,347	194	-
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn (Baile Beag)</i> (Millport Small Burgh)	2,083	38	-
<b>1951</b>	19,283	421	-
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	10,141	120	-
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn (Baile Beag)</i> (Millport Small Burgh)	2,012	15	-
<b>1961</b>	15,140	236	4
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	7,665	68	1
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn (Baile Beag)</i> (Millport Small Burgh)	1,560	12	-
<i>Seadaig</i> (Shedog) CCED	448	22	3
<b>1971</b> <sup>25</sup>	13,315	445	*
---- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay Small Burgh)	6,595	100	*
<i>Port a'Mhuilinn (Baile Beag)</i> (Millport Small Burgh)	1,255	10	*

**Table 25: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, burghs, county council electoral divisions) in *Siorrachd Bhòid***

<sup>24</sup> Population numbers were heavily increased by large number of summer visitors.

<sup>25</sup> 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 1971: <i>Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
<b>1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</b>	75,333	1,397	
---- included in the above ---			
<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar) CP	517	158	
<i>Lus</i> (Luss) CP	719	54	
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kilmaronock) CP	927	13	
<i>Ros Neimhidh</i> (Rosneath) CP	1,994	117	
<i>An Rubha</i> (Rhu) CP	10,097	339	
<i>Buth an Uillt</i> (Bonhill) CP	12,524	160	
<i>Càrdainn Ros</i> (Cardross) CP	9,365	146	
<i>Baile Eilidh</i> (Helensburgh Town)	7,693	235	
<i>Ceann a'Gheàrrloch</i> (Garelochhead) Vi	460	23	
<i>Cill a Mhunna &amp; An Uaighaidh</i> (Kilcreggan & Cove) Vi	816	17	
<b>1891</b>	94,495	3,556	36
---- included in the above ---			
<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar) CP	1,457	328	9
<i>Lus</i> (Luss) CP	633	95	6
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kilmaronock) CP	900	40	-
<i>Ros Neimhidh</i> (Rosneath) CP	2,064	179	-
<i>An Rubha</i> (Rhu) CP	11,172	611	6
<i>Buth an Uillt</i> (Bonhill) CP	14,379	410	3
<i>Càrdainn Ros</i> (Cardross) CP	10,550	350	3
<i>Baile Eilidh</i> (Helensburgh Burgh)	8,408	370	-
<i>Ceann a'Gheàrrloch</i> (Garelochhead) Vi	557	97	6
<i>Cill a Mhunna &amp; An Uaighaidh</i> (Kilcreggan & Cove) Vi	946	65	-
<i>Innis nam Manach &amp; Innis Lònaig</i> (Inchtavannach & Inchlonaig)	42	5	-
<b>1901</b>	93,900	2,554	14
---- included in the above ---			
<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar) CP	605	129	-
<i>Lus</i> (Luss) CP	572	73	2
<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kilmaronock) CP	874	36	-
<i>Ros Neimhidh</i> (Rosneath) CP	1,923	167	-
<i>An Rubha</i> (Rhu) CP	11,187	445	2
<i>Buth an Uillt</i> (Bonhill) CP	14,581	274	1
<i>Càrdainn Ros</i> (Cardross) CP	11,387	302	2
<i>Baile Eilidh</i> (Helensburgh Burgh)	8,554	266	-
<i>Ceann a'Gheàrrloch</i> (Garelochhead) Vi	578	42	-
<i>Cill a Mhunna &amp; An Uaighaidh</i> (Kilcreggan & Cove) Vi	913	64	-
<i>Innis nam Manach &amp; Innis Lònaig</i> (Inchtavannach & Inchlonaig)	12	2	-
<b>1911</b>	139,831	3,189	1
---- included in the above ---			
<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar) CP	537	125	-
<i>Lus</i> (Luss) CP	553	53	-
<i>Ros Neimhidh</i> (Rosneath)	724	89	-
<i>An Uaighaidh &amp; Cill a Mhunna</i> (Cove & Kilcreggan)	1,059	55	-
<i>Innis nam Manach &amp; Innis Lònaig</i> (Inchtavannach & Inchlonaig)	5	2	-
<b>1921</b>	150,861	2,024	9
<b>1931</b>	147,744	1,874	-
<b>1951</b>	154,607	1,372	4
<b>1961</b>	184,559	1,339	2
<b>1971</b>	237,550	2,340	*

**Table 26: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, villages, burghs, islands) in Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn (Dunbartonshire)**



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected former County Council Electoral Divisions (Argyll and Bute) <sup>26</sup> (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/ 71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Srath Chura, Srath L. &amp; Ceann L.</i> (Strachur, Strathl. & Lochgoilhead)	ST	99 6.4 %	90 5.5 %	71 4.6 %	60 3.7 %	40 2.5 %
<i>Cill Fhìonan</i> (Kilfinan)	KF	49 4.6 %	35 3.9 %	23 2.7 %	23 2.6 %	17 1.9 %
<i>Cill Mhaodhain &amp; Inbhir Chaolainn</i> (Kilmodan & Inverchaolain)	KI	23 5.0 %	10 2.4 %	12 2.8 %	3 0.9 %	9 2.2 %
<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun)	KM	52 3.7 %	35 2.3 %	37 2.7 %	21 1.4 %	38 3.0 %
<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	SB	31 3.1 %	30 3.0 %	27 2.1 %	10 0.7 %	45 3.6 %
<i>Dùn Omhain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dunoon (Small Burgh))	DU	221 2.5 %	240 2.6 %	178 2.1 %	147 1.6 %	240 3.0 %
<i>Innis Aileann</i> (Innellan)	IN	29 2.3 %	30 1.9 %	27 2.5 %	30 2.3 %	47 3.8 %
<i>Baile Bhòid (Baile Beag)</i> (Rothesay (Small Burgh))	RT	69 0.9 %	100 1.6 %	62 1.0 %	53 0.9 %	67 1.2 %
<i>Bòd a Tuath &amp; Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (North Bute & Kingarth)	NK	31 1.3 %	25 1.4 %	24 1.9 %	14 1.2 %	21 1.5 %
<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbræ)	CB	13 0.8 %	10 0.8 %	15 1.2 %	21 1.5 %	20 1.5 %
<i>Cill Bhrìghde &amp; Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilbride & Kilmory)	AR	127 3.6 %	110 3.2 %	75 2.0 %	72 1.7 %	73 1.5 %

**Table 27: 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**

<sup>26</sup> In the case of Bute data of several CCEDs have been amalgamated to facilitate comparisons between years.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Comhal</i>								
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001		
01	<i>Aird Ghartain</i> (Ardgartan)	5	2.5 %	8	3.7 %	3	1.4 %	
02	<i>An Càrn Dubh</i> (Cairndow)	7	6.4 %	5	4.2 %	8	5.2 %	
	<i>Cill Chaitriona</i> (St. Catherine's)	8	10.7 %	6	6.6 %	2	2.1 %	
03	<i>Ceann Loch Goill</i> (Lochgoilhead)	12	5.6 %	11	5.8 %	8	3.9 %	
04	<i>Carraig</i> (Carrick)	11	5.6 %	8	3.2 %	7	2.7 %	
05	<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur)	10	3.2 %	7	2.5 %	7	2.0 %	
	<i>Gleann Branntair</i> (Glenbranter)	14	10.0 %	4	3.8 %			
06	<i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Newton)	14	5.6 %	5	2.0 %	4	1.3 %	
07	<i>Cill Fhionain</i> (Kilfinan)	4	1.9 %	6	2.7 %	4	1.6 %	
08	<i>Camas nam Muclach</i> (Kames)	15	3.7 %	11	3.7 %	9	1.8 %	
09	<i>Taigh na Bruaich</i> (Tighnabruaich)	6	2.8 %	6	2.9 %	4	1.8 %	
10	<i>Gleann Dà Ruadhail</i> (Glendaruel)	11	3.5 %	4	1.2 %	4	1.3 %	
11	<i>A'Bheinn Mhòr</i> (Benmore)	20	3.4 %	9	1.3 %	14	2.1 %	
12	<i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone)	8	1.8 %	7	1.3 %	13	3.3 %	
13	<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun)	8	2.2 %	5	1.4 %	12	3.8 %	
14	<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	26	2.0 %	10	0.7 %	47	3.5 %	
15	<i>Aird nan Damh</i> (Ardnadam)	8	1.8 %	10	1.4 %	16	2.6 %	
16	<i>An Càrn</i> (Kirn)	64	2.4 %	45	1.6 %	68	2.5 %	
17	<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon) a	25	1.7 %	15	1.1 %	34	2.4 %	
18	<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon) b	36	1.8 %	36	1.6 %	60	3.1 %	
19	<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon) c	37	1.8 %	46	2.1 %	73	3.4 %	
20	<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan)	22	2.4 %	27	2.1 %	44	3.6 %	
21	<i>Tollard</i> (Toward)	4	2.8 %	3	2.7 %	5	4.7 %	

Table 28: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for census areas in *Comhal* (Cowal) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Comhal: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
<b>0-2</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	1.2 %
<b>3-4</b>	*	*	1	0.2 %	1	0.2 %	8	2.8 %
<b>5-24</b>	25	0.6 %	30	0.6 %	38	0.9 %	197	6.0 %
<b>25-44</b>	95	3.0 %	82	2.1 %	63	1.4 %	54	1.5 %
<b>45-64</b>	175	4.2 %	110	3.5 %	78	2.2 %	83	1.9 %
<b>65 +</b>	180	4.5 %	152	4.8 %	114	3.5 %	94	2.6 %
<b>Total (3 years and over)</b>	475	2.9 %	375	2.5 %	294	1.9 %	436	2.9 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	348	2.9 %	267	2.3 %	396	3.2 %

Table 29: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Comhal* (Cowal) between 1971 and 2001



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>27</sup> <i>Siorrachd Bhòid</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Bòd a Tuath</i> (North Bute)	3	1.4 %	-	-	-	-
	<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne)	19	3.6 %	8	1.4 %	16	2.7 %
52	<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) a	28	0.9 %	24	0.8 %	36	1.2 %
53	<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay) b	35	1.3 %	34	1.2 %	33	1.1 %
54	<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth)	6	1.3 %	2	0.5 %	3	0.6 %
55	<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbrae)	15	1.2 %	21	1.5 %	20	1.4 %
56	<i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride)	43	1.7 %	59	1.9 %	25	1.4 %
57	<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil</i> (Brodict)					16	1.2 %
58	<i>An t-Eilean</i> (Lamlash)					17	1.8 %
59	<i>Cille Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	32	2.7 %	13	1.0 %	15	1.0 %

Table 30: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for selected census areas in *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) between 1981 and 2001

Siorrachd Bhòid: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1961-2001)										
Age	1961 <sup>28</sup>		1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.3 %
3-4	2	0.5 %	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-24	11	0.3 %	25	0.7 %	16	0.7 %	10	0.3 %	23	0.8 %
25-44	38	1.3 %	50	2.1 %	38	1.4 %	42	1.2 %	39	1.2 %
45-64	74 (+2)	1.8 %	90	2.6 %	46	1.7 %	58	1.6 %	62	1.6 %
65 +	111 (+2)	3.4 %	85	2.6 %	76	2.5 %	60	1.7 %	56	1.7 %
Total (3 +)	236 (+4)	1.7 %	245	1.9 %	176	1.4 %	170	1.2 %	180	1.3 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	167	1.6 %	151	1.5 %	152	1.4 %

Table 31: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) according to data from 1961 to 2001

Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
61	<i>Aird Laoigh</i> (Ardlui)	46	6.7 %	37	5.8 %	8	2.4 %
62	<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar)					18	4.2 %
63	<i>Lus</i> (Luss)	16	3.8 %	11	3.1 %	8	2.2 %

Table 32: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected census areas in *Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn* (Dunbartonshire) between 1981 and 2001

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

<sup>28</sup> Figures in brackets denote “Gaelic only” returns in addition to the “Gaelic and English” figures in 1961.



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>Àird Ghartain</i> (Ardgartan)	-	-	7	3.2 %	- 3.2 %	3.6 %
02	<i>An Càrn Dubh</i> (Cairndow)	5	9.4 %	15	6.0 %	+ 3.4 %	6.2 %
03	<i>Ceann Loch Goill</i> (Lochgoilhead)	3	6.5 %	11	5.3 %	+ 1.2 %	5.5 %
04	<i>Carraig</i> (Carrick)	1	2.7 %	10	3.8 %	- 1.1 %	4.7 %
05	<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur)	4	4.7 %	15	4.2 %	+ 0.5 %	4.2 %
06	<i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Newton)	-	-	7	2.2 %	- 2.2 %	2.8 %
07	<i>Cill Fhìonain</i> (Kilfinan)	3	5.5 %	10	4.0 %	+ 1.5 %	6.5 %
08	<i>Camas nam Muclach</i> (Kames)	6	5.9 %	23	4.7 %	+ 1.2 %	5.9 %
09	<i>Taigh na Bruaich</i> (Tighnabruaich)	1	3.6 %	13	6.0 %	- 2.4 %	7.1 %
10	<i>Gleann Dà Ruadhail</i> (Glendaruel)	1	1.5 %	8	2.5 %	- 1.0 %	2.9 %
11	<i>A'Bheinn Mhòr</i> (Benmore)	9	6.3 %	25	4.0 %	+ 2.3 %	4.0 %
12	<i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone)	7	6.6 %	19	4.8 %	+ 1.8 %	5.1 %
13	<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun)	6	8.6 %	17	5.4 %	+ 3.2 %	6.0 %
14	<i>Taigh a'Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	34	9.4 %	70	5.4 %	+ 4.0 %	5.8 %
15	<i>Àird nan Damh</i> (Ardnadam)	6	4.3 %	22	3.6 %	+ 0.7 %	3.3 %
16	<i>An Càrn</i> (Kirn)	48	7.0 %	101	4.0 %	+ 3.0 %	4.2 %
17	<i>Dùn Omhain a</i> (Dunoon) a	22	5.8 %	62	4.3 %	+ 1.5 %	4.4 %
18	<i>Dùn Omhain b</i> (Dunoon) b	36	7.2 %	104	5.5 %	+ 1.7 %	5.9 %
19	<i>Dùn Omhain c</i> (Dunoon) c	63	9.9 %	117	5.6 %	+ 4.3 %	5.9 %
20	<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan)	30	10.7 %	68	5.7 %	+ 5.0 %	6.4 %
21	<i>Tollard</i> (Toward)	1	4.3 %	10	9.1 %	- 4.8 %	10.6 %

**Table 33: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Comhal* (Cowal) 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>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne)	4	1.7 %	28	3.7 %	- 2.0 %	3.9 %
52	<i>Baile Bhòid a</i> (Rothesay) a	8	1.2 %	66	2.3 %	- 1.1 %	2.4 %
53	<i>Baile Bhòid b</i> (Rothesay) b	8	0.9 %	52	1.8 %	- 0.9 %	1.9 %
54	<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingarth)	-	-	5	1.1 %	- 1.1 %	1.1 %
55	<i>Cumaradh</i> (Cumbræ)	5	1.9 %	33	2.3 %	- 0.4 %	2.3 %
56	<i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride)	3	0.5 %	38	2.1 %	- 1.6 %	2.3 %
57	<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil</i> (Brodict)	1	0.5 %	21	2.2 %	- 1.7 %	2.4 %
58	<i>An t-Eilean</i> (Lamlash)	3	0.9 %	31	3.7 %	- 2.8 %	4.1 %
59	<i>Cille Mhoire</i> (Kilmory)	-	-	26	1.8 %	- 1.8 %	1.9 %
61	<i>Aird Laoigh</i> (Ardlui)	2	2.3 %	14	4.2 %	- 1.9 %	5.5 %
62	<i>An t-Àr ar</i> (Arrochar)	1	0.9 %	25	5.8 %	- 4.9 %	7.1 %
63	<i>Lus</i> (Luss)	-	-	11	3.0 %	- 3.0 %	3.3 %

**Table 34: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Siorrachd Bhòid (County of Bute) and selected areas in Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn (Dunbartonshire) according to census data of 2001**



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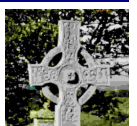
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### III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 Word 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 rec-



ord 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>Comhal – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
<b>01</b>	<i>Àird Ghartain</i> (Ardgartan), <i>Creag Dhubh</i> (Creagdhu), <i>An Socach</i> (Succoth)	ST	32AB01	60QD000002 60QD000003
<b>02</b>	<i>An Càrn Dubh</i> (Cairndow), <i>Cill Chaitriona</i> (St. Catherine's), <i>Na Creagan</i> (Craggans), <i>Àird nan Gobhann</i> (Ardnagowan), <i>Clachan Beag</i> , <i>Àird Chonghlais</i> (Ardkinglas), <i>Gleann Fine</i> (Glen Fyne)	ST	32AK01 32AL01	60QD000032 60QD000033
<b>03</b>	<i>Ceann Loch Goill</i> (Lochgoilhead)	ST	32AJ03	60QD000030 60QD000031
<b>04</b>	<i>Carraig</i> (Carrick), <i>Blàr Laomuinn</i> (Blairlomond), <i>Leitir a'Mhàigh</i> (Lettermay)	ST	32AJ01 32AJ02	60QD000028 60QD000029
<b>05</b>	<i>Srath Chura</i> (Strachur), <i>Gleann Branntair</i> (Glenbranter), <i>Clachan Srath Chura</i> (Clachan Strachur), <i>Srath Chura Mòr</i> (Strachurmore)	ST	32AM03 32AM04 32AM05	60QD000037 60QD000038 60QD000039
<b>06</b>	<i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Newton), <i>Leachd</i> , <i>Srath Lachlainn</i> (Strathlachlan), <i>An Leitir Meadhonach</i> (Mid Letter)	ST	32AM01 32AM02	60QD000034 60QD000035 60QD000036
<b>07</b>	<i>Cill Fhionain</i> (Kilfinan), <i>Taigh a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millhouse), <i>Port a'Mhadaidh</i> (Portavadie), <i>Achadh an Lochain</i> (Auchenlochan), <i>Achadh Gabhail</i> (Auchgoyle), <i>Achadh a'Choirce</i> (Auchoirk), <i>An Oitir</i> (Otter Ferry), <i>Meall Daraich</i> (Melldalloch)	KF	32AE06 32AE07 32AE08 32AE09	60QD000014 60QD000015
<b>08</b>	<i>Camas nam Muclach</i> (Kames), <i>Achadh an Lochain</i> (Auchenlochan)	KF	32AE01 32AE02 32AE05	60QD000006 60QD000007 60QD000008 60QD000009 60QD000013
<b>09</b>	<i>Taigh na Bruaich</i> (Tighnabruaich), <i>Port Driseach</i>	KF	32AE03 32AE04	60QD000010 60QD000011 60QD000012
<b>10</b>	<i>Gleann Dà Ruadhail</i> (Glendaruel), <i>Caisteal an Dùnan</i> (Dunans Castle), <i>Dubh Leitir</i> (Duiletter), <i>Ceann Locha</i> (Lochead), <i>Achadh nan Gearran</i> (Auchnagarron), <i>Allt Galtraig</i> (Altgaltraig), <i>Caol an t-Snàimh</i> (Colintraive), <i>Dùn Daraich</i> (Dundarroch)	KI	32AF01 32AF02 32AF03	60QD000016 60QD000017 60QD000018

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Comhal – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
<b>11</b>	<i>A' Bheinn Mhòr</i> (Benmore), <i>Inbhir Eachaig</i> (Inverreck), <i>An Àird Bheag</i> (Ardbeg), <i>Gleann Masain</i> (Glen Massan), <i>Baile a' Chaoil</i> (Ballochyle), <i>Clachaig</i> , <i>Loch Tarsainn</i> (Loch Tarsan), <i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blairmore), <i>Àird an t-Sionnaich</i> (Ardentinny), <i>Na Druimnean</i> (Drynam)	KM / KI	32AH14 32AH15 32AH16 32AH17	60QD000027 60QD000626 60QD000678 to 60QD000681
<b>12</b>	<i>An t-Sròn</i> (Strone), <i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blairmore)	KM	32AH12 32AH13	60QD000024 60QD000025 60QD000026 60QD000623
<b>13</b>	<i>Cill Mhunna</i> (Kilmun)	KM	32AH10 32AH11	60QD000023 60QD000676 60QD000677
<b>14</b>	<i>Taigh a' Chladaich</i> (Sandbank)	SB	32AH05 32AH06 32AH07 32AH08 32AH09	60QD000021 60QD000022 60QD000329 to 60QD000332 60QD000625 60QD000674 60QD000675 60QD000745 60QD000746
<b>15</b>	<i>Àird nan Damh</i> (Ardnadam)	DU	32AH02 32AH03	60QD000292 to 60QD000296
<b>16</b>	<i>An Càrn</i> (Kirn)	DU	32AH01 32AH04 32AH18 32AH25 to 32AH30	60QD000020 60QD000291 60QD000297 60QD000298 60QD000314 to 60QD000328 60QD000622 60QD000624 60QD000741 to 60QD000744

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Comhal – Part C</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
<b>17</b>	<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon)	DU	32AH19 to 32AH24	60QD000299 to 60QD000313
<b>18</b>	<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon)	DU	32AG01 to 32AG09	60QD000019 60QD000262 to 60QD000277 60QD000597 60QD000617 to 60QD000619
<b>19</b>	<i>Dùn Omhain</i> (Dunoon), <i>Claon Oitir</i> (Cluniter)	DU	32AG10 to 32AG17 32AG25	60QD000261 60QD000278 to 60QD000290 60QD000610 60QD000620 60QD000621
<b>20</b>	<i>Innis Ailleann</i> (Innellan)	IN	32AG18 to 32AG23	60QD000254 to 60QD000260 60QD000604 60QD000615 60QD000616 60QD000739 60QD000740
<b>21</b>	<i>Tollard</i> (Toward), <i>Cill Ailleann</i> (Kilellan), <i>An Cnoc Dubh</i> (Knockdow), <i>Gleann Sroigheann</i> (Glenstriven)	IN / KI	32AG24 32AG26 32AG27 32AG28	60QD000606

**Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Comhal* (Cowal) – 1961-2001 – Part C**



Census Output Areas in <i>Siorrachd Bhòid – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		61-71	81 -91	2001
<b>51</b>	<i>Port MhicEamailinn</i> (Port Bannatyne), <i>Cill Mo Cholmaig</i> (St. Colmac), <i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride), <i>Glaic na Bà</i> (Gleck-nabae), <i>Aird Mo Laise</i> (Ardmaleish)	NK	32AD05 32AD06 32AD07 32AD08 32AD24	60QD000571 60QD000242 60QD000243 60QD000244 60QD000735 to 60QD000738
<b>52</b>	<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay)	RT	32AC01 to 32AC14	60QD000005 60QD000223 to 60QD000241 60QD000605 60QD000607 60QD000608 60QD000609 60QD000611 60QD000729 to 60QD000734
<b>53</b>	<i>Baile Bhòid</i> (Rothesay)	RT	32AC01 to 32AC14	60QD000004 60QD000203 to 60QD000222 60QD000602 60QD000603 60QD000725 to 60QD000728
<b>54</b>	<i>Ceann a'Gharaidh</i> (Kingham), <i>Cill Chatain</i> (Kilchattan), <i>Ascaig</i> (Ascog), <i>An Ceathramh Cruaidh</i> (Kerrycroy), <i>Ceann Locha</i> (Lochend), <i>Bruachaig</i> (Bruchaig), <i>Luib an Easa</i> (Lubas)	NK	32AC15 to 32AC19	60QD000558 60QD000561 60QD000780 60QD000781
<b>55</b>	<i>Port a'Mhuilinn</i> (Millport), <i>Bealach Mhàrtainn</i> (Ballochmartin), <i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton), <i>Cumaradh Beag</i> (Little Cumbrae)	CB	37BH01 to 37BH13	60QY000032 60QY000033 60QY000747 to 60QY000757 60QY000870 60QY000871 60QY000892

**Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) – 1961-2001 – Part A**



Census Output Areas in <i>Siorrachd Bhòid – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		61-71	81-91	2001
56	<i>Cill Bhrìghde</i> (Kilbride), <i>An Coire</i> (Corrie), <i>Eadar Dhà Ruadh</i> (Whiting Bay), <i>Eilean Mo Laise</i> (Holy Island), <i>Sannaig</i> (Sannox), <i>An Cladach</i> , <i>Coire Ghoill</i> (Corrygills), <i>Marg na h-Eaglaise</i> (Margnaheglish), <i>Goirtean Alasdair</i> (Gortonallister), <i>Rubha na h-Àirde</i> (Kingscross), <i>Achadh a'Chàirn</i> (Auchencairn), <i>Cisteal</i> (Kiscadale), <i>Leargaidh Mòr</i> (Largymore), <i>Leargaidh Meadhanach</i> (Largymeanach), <i>Leargaidh Beag</i> (Largybeg), <i>Am Marg</i> (Merkland)	AR	37BG08 37BG15 to 37BG28	60QY000023 to 60QY000029 60QY000036 60QY000037 60QY0000889 60QY0000890 60QY0000891 60QY0000979 to 60QY0000982
57	<i>Tràigh a'Chaisteil</i> (Brodict), <i>Srath Chuilinn</i> (Strathwhillan)	AR	37AK01 37BG01 to 37BG04	60QY000015 60QY000038 60QY000039 60QY000040 60QY0000875 60QY0000897 60QY0000898
58	<i>An t-Eilean</i> (Lamlash), <i>Am Blàr Beag</i> (Blairbeg)	AR	37BG05 to 37BG07	60QY000034 60QY000035 60QY0000895 60QY0000896 60QY0000956 60QY0000957 60QY0000983 60QY0000984 60QY0000985
59	<i>Cille Mhoire</i> (Kilmory), <i>Loch Raonasa</i> (Lochranza), <i>An t-Seasgann</i> (Shiskine), <i>Am Muileann</i> (Pirnmill), <i>An Dubh Gharadh</i> (Dougarie), <i>Bun na Dubh Abhainn</i> (Blackwaterfoot), <i>An Lag</i> (Lagg), <i>Plada</i> (Pladda), <i>Gleann Sgoradail</i> (Glen Scorrodale), <i>Gleann Rìgh</i> (Glenree), <i>Beinn na Cànrageann</i> (Bennecarrigan), <i>Clachaig</i> , <i>Allt nam Bèithe</i> (Birchburn), <i>An Tòrr Beag</i> (Torbeg), <i>Baile Mhìcheil</i> (Balmichael), <i>An Tòrr Mòr</i> (Tormore), <i>Am Machaire</i> (Machrie), <i>An Iomachar</i> (Imachar), <i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan), <i>An Dipinn</i> (Dippin), <i>Marg an Eis</i> (Margenaish), <i>Achadh an Iùbh</i> (Auchenhew), <i>Am Beannan</i> (Bennan), <i>Seann Achaidh</i> (Shannochie), <i>An Leth Pheighinn Corrach</i> (Levenecorach), <i>An Fheorlain</i> (Feorline), <i>Cill Phàdraig</i> (Kilpatrick), <i>Slaodaraidh</i> (Sliderry), <i>Coire Craobhaidh</i> (Corriecravie), <i>Marg na h-Eaglais</i> (Margnaheglish), <i>Catagal</i> (Catacol)	AR	32BG09 to 32BG14 32BG29	60QY000016 to 60QY000022 60QY000030 60QY000031 60QY0000876 60QY0000877 60QY0000879 60QY0000887

**Table A-5: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Siorrachd Bhòid* (County of Bute) – 1961-2001 – Part B**



Selected Census Output Areas in <i>Siorrachd Dùn Breatainn</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
<b>61</b>	<i>Àird Laoigh</i> (Ardlui), <i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbet), <i>Stùc a'Ghobhainn</i> (Stuckgowan), <i>Gleann Loinn</i> (Glenloin), <i>Blàr Raineach</i> (Blairannaich), <i>Inbhir Dhùghlais</i> (Inveruglass), <i>Stùc an Droighinn</i> (Stuckendroin), <i>An Àird Mhùrlaig</i> (Ardvorlich), <i>Inbhir Àirnein</i> (Inverarnan)	AL	38AH03 38AH04 38AH05	60QD000142 60QD000143 60QD000144
<b>62</b>	<i>An t-Àrar</i> (Arrochar), <i>Taigh an Easa</i> (Tighness)	AL	38AH01 38AH02	60QD000140 60QD000141 60QD000717 60QD000718
<b>63</b>	<i>Lus</i> (Luss), <i>Inbhir Beag</i> (Inverbeg), <i>Innis Lònraig</i> (Inchlonaig), <i>Innis nam Manach</i> (Inchtavannach), <i>Gleann Luis</i> (Glen Luss), <i>Gleann Dùghlais</i> (Glen Douglas), <i>Achadh an Tulaich</i> (Auchentulloch), <i>Am Blàr Glas</i> (Blairglas), <i>An Ros Meadhonach</i> (Midross), <i>Allt an Fheàrna</i> (Arnburn), <i>Gleann Freòin</i> (Glen Fruin), <i>Blàr an Fheàrna</i> (Blairnairn), <i>An Druim Fada</i> (Drumfad)	AL	38AJ23 38AJ24 38AP15	60QD000146 60QD000147 60QD000149 60QD000587

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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:	Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)
<i>Comhairle nan Eilean Siar</i> (CNES)	
<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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