Language Use and Attitudes in Ireland

A preliminary evaluation of survey results

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1 Introduction

Although the number of native speakers of Irish is only a tiny fraction of the entire population of Ireland, attitudes to the Irish language determine to no small extent the attitudes to English in Ireland. This fact became quite apparent in the investigations of English as spoken in Ireland which were undertaken for a number of recent monographs by the present author (Hickey 2004a, 2005, 2007). In order to put the subjective perception of such attitudes on a more objective basis the author undertook a large-scale survey entitled Language Use and Attitudes in Ireland which was begun in 2006 and which was completed in the autumn of 2008. In all, 1,086 questionnaires were collected for the survey: 611 of these stem from the first phase and 475 from a later collectin phase second phase. There was a very slight difference between the information gathered in the second phase (a question was added asking if respondents had attended a Gaelscoil).

The survey covered both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland and in the latter region a sub-part of the survey was carried out which refers to the use of and attitudes towards Ulster Scots. For Northern Ireland 247 respondent returns were gathered. These will not be the subject of the present paper, but the findings from Northern Ireland, which deal in particular with attitudes to Ulster Scots, will be included in a future evaluation of the results of the entire survey in the north and south of Ireland.

For the survey a representative cross-section of the Irish-population was tested. There was, however, a clear emphasis on the younger generation. This was a deliberate design feature of the survey as the author particularly wished to ascertain the attitudes which were prevalent among the generation of Irish people who had grown up during the years of economic prosperity which began in the early 1990s in the Republic of Ireland. This emphasis on younger speakers applies to both the preliminary database of 427 respondents and the entire database which will be presented at a future date. The 50+ age group is negligible (9 respondents) in the preliminary database and will not be considered here.
Before looking at the preliminary results of the current survey a brief consideration will be given of a number of countries which are now English-speaking through contact with England during the colonial period. These countries can be divided according to type. First of all a binary distinction can be made between settler and non-settler colonies (Schneider 2007). Settler colonies are those where the majority of the English-speaking population are the direct descendants of settlers from the regions of the British Isles during the colonial period. This type is illustrated by the large anglophone countries throughout the world today, the USA and Canada, Australia and New Zealand, for example. None of these countries is an exclusive settler colony, they all have indigenous populations, but in quantitative terms the label is useful, e.g. the great majority of English speakers in Australia are descendants of immigrants or deportees from Britain and Ireland.

The non-settler colonies on the other hand are quite different. Here English has survived through being learned as a second language by the indigenous population. There were not any significant numbers of settlers during the colonial period. Rather England governed these colonies without settling them and so their presence was largely an administrative and military one. India is a good instance of a non-settler colony (Kachru 1990, Kachru and Nelson 2006). The colonial treatment was different from that of North America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, for example. These countries were regarded by the English as ‘empty’ and thus suitable for settlement by people from Britain and Ireland (Hickey 2004b). This was also true, in a more limited sense, of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Of course such countries were not ‘empty’, they were populated by indigenous peoples, but the decision whether to settle or not did not involve them. Other factors played a role, above all the climate and the amount of arable or pasture land, e.g. in North America or Australia. In one or two other instances, settlement was undertaken in order to pre-empt colonisation by others, e.g. the British settlement of South Africa was begun before the French could have had a chance to do this and was in deliberate competition with the Dutch who were there before the English (Branford 1994).

Settler colonies are characterised by language continuity and are not of primary concern in the present paper. However, non-settler colonies and indigenous communities within larger settler colonies are of relevance because they have all been confronted with language shift to English. In these cases traces of the switch-over to English can still be observed, both linguistically, in the forms of English spoken at these locations, and attitudinally, in the manner in which English and the former indigenous language or languages are viewed.

Aligning Ireland as a settler or non-settler colony is not a straightforward matter. Ireland reflects both types: in its history it shows both linguistic continuity and language shift. Settlers are more typical of the north of Ireland, both the Scots who came in large numbers in the early seventeenth century (Montgomery and Gregg 1997) and the English who also came to Ulster at the same time, mostly from the north of England (Adams 1967).

Before looking at the Irish situation more closely, a classification of language shift scenarios in the English-speaking world is given below as this will help to throw a more general light on the situation in Ireland, both historical and contemporary.
Language Shift: Scenario 1

**Outset**  Indigenous language(s), spoken by a small minority within a settler community.

**Result**  Shift to English, frequently as a non-prestige, non-standard variety, but also as a full merger with the standard variety of English in the country in question.

**Examples**  USA and Canada (native Americans, First Nations peoples), Australia (aborigines), New Zealand (Maori).

Language Shift: Scenario 2

**Outset**  Immigrant language(s), spoken by a minority within a settler community.

**Result**  Shift to English as a prestige standard variety, but with some retention of earlier transition varieties.

**Examples**  South Africa (with the Indian community transferred there between 1860-1911).

Language Shift: Scenario 3

**Outset**  Indigenous or immigrant language(s), spoken by the majority within a non-settler community.

**Result**  Shift to English as a prestige standard variety as a result of a deliberate choice.

**Examples**  Singapore (especially the Chinese community).

Situations of stable bilingualism

**Outset**  Two main languages represented among the original settlers.

**Result**  Continuity of both languages in a prestige variety which may form a national standard different from that of the source country.

**Examples**  South Africa (English and Afrikaans – from Dutch), Canada (English and Quebecois – from French).

Situations of relatively stable diglossia

**Outset**  The language of the original settlers is maintained as a domestic language (L-variety) and that of the host country is used in public (H-variety).

**Result**  Continuity of both languages with a distinction according to social function.

**Examples**  USA (English and Pennsylvanian Dutch – from the Palatinate dialect of German; English and Yiddish).

Of the three language shift scenarios outline above, Ireland is closest to the first. The vast majority of the population has switched to English with a small minority still speaking the original language natively. The variety of English is non-standard in pronunciation (compared to southern British English), but more or less the norm in writing.
It is significant that neither stable bilingualism nor long-term diglossia developed in Ireland. And this applies not just to Irish and English but to other languages as well. The Anglo-Normans who established their political authority over the Irish as of the late 12th century switched to Irish (Curtis 1919, Cahill 1938) and became ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’ as we know from reports about them. Once they switched to Irish, the Normans in time were no longer distinguishable from the original Irish. This can be still seen in Gaeltacht today, e.g. in Connemara where names like Ó Liodáin (Lydon), de Bhailís (Wallace) or Seoighe (Joyce) testify to Norman ancestry.

With the increasing dominance of the English and the English language in the 17th century the chances for Irish surviving in the public sphere and thus partaking in stable bilingualism receded considerably and this situation was never to be reversed. Another linguistic scenario, which would in theory have been possible in Ireland, never fully developed. This is diglossia where two languages are spoken in a society with one found in the private and domestic sphere, the so-called L variety, and the other in the public arena, the so-called H variety (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967). There are a number of locations in the anglophone world where diglossia is found. For instance, in many countries where pidgins and/or creoles are spoken, e.g. in the anglophone Caribbean and in West Africa, diglossia can be found. In Jamaica, for example, there is a local creole used in the private sphere and there is regionally flavoured standard English found in public usage.

Could this kind of situation have developed fully\(^1\) in Ireland with Irish as the domestic language and English as the public language? In theory it could have, but there are factors which militated against this situation arising. For diglossia to establish itself there must be a strong personal identification with the L variety and a readiness to use it in personal exchanges. Where the L and H varieties are basically forms of the same language, as in Jamaica, the situation is easier to realise and maintain, as there is a continuum between the extremes of these varieties (Cassidy 1971, Patrick 1999). However, with two completely different languages, as with Irish and English, a clear distinction must be made about which language to use in which social situation. But again there are examples of where this has been successful. In Paraguay, for instance, the H variety is Spanish, the former colonial language, and the L variety is Guaraní, a native South American language.

The reason for neither bilingualism nor diglossia establishing themselves in Ireland on a large scale probably lies in the language shift in the 19th century. This was given great impetus in the decades after the Great Famine (1845-8) when large sections of the population abandoned Irish for English in order to improve their position in Irish society and to gain an acceptable level of education (Hindley 1990). There was also considerable superstition surrounding the Irish language. Its close association with the famine meant that there was frequently and an irrational feeling that the Irish language brought bad luck and should thus be avoided. Even if this perception of the language was not shared by all speakers, there was a clear identity of the language with poverty and lack of social acceptance.

Both during the Great Famine and in its aftermath, the necessity for English was driven home to the Irish with frightening effect. Emigration could only be considered if people spoke English: urban life and possible employment in state service was only possible for those who had mastered English.

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\(^1\) There were, of course, different degrees of bilingualism in Ireland, especially before the nineteenth century in the cities, above all Dublin. This has been studied by some scholars, cf. Ó Háinle (1986) and Mac Mathúna (2003).
Yet a further reason for abandoning the language can be found in the general lack of support given by the Catholic clergy in the nineteenth century when the National School system (introduced in the 1830s) was responsible for providing primary school education for the great majority of the population. Indeed pupils in Irish-speaking areas were forced to speak English. The *tallystick*, Irish: *bata scóir*, was used to punish children who were found speaking Irish. This kind of atmosphere was clearly not conducive to promoting the voluntary use Irish in the home and thus establish the L-variety in an incipient diglossic situation which could have then established itself throughout the country. Instead one has, in the nineteenth century, a rapid and forceful language shift.

For the reasons just given one can regard the mid-nineteenth century as a linguistic watershed in the history of language shift in Ireland. Before the Great Famine, up to 50% of the population was Irish-speaking. By the end of the 19th century, 50 years later, this figure had been reduced to not more than 10%. By any terms, this represents a massive and speedy language shift. Its legacy can be seen in the forms of Irish English which are present today and importantly, the legacy is evident in the attitude of English-speaking Irish people to the native language of their not too distant ancestors.

3 What is unique about the Irish situation?

Because the majority of people in the Republic of Ireland speak English due to language shift, Irish English is a particular case where a shift variety, or a later modification of this, represents the prestige variety of a post-colonial country. Even Scotland which also has numerically significant language shift varieties (spoken in the north-west) has a prestige variety – Standard Scottish English – which arose through modifications of English spoken in the lowlands and borders of Scotland. English here is a continuity form originally going back to northern varieties of Old English (Anglian) which arrived in southern Scotland in the 8th century AD.

3.1 Attitudes, consciousness and recognition

Many Irish people have an ambivalent attitude to English. On the one hand the language is undoubtedly the native language of the vast majority of the population. On the other hand there is a reluctance to give open recognition to this fact because ‘national’ feelings demand that one views the Irish language as the carrier of native culture, although the language has receded greatly over the past 150 years and continues to do so (Ó Riagáin 1997).

Attitudes to Irish have consequences for English in Ireland. To accord English equal status with Irish in the consciousness of the people would be somehow to openly acknowledge the language of the former colonisers. Hence there is no strong awareness of a supraregional form of English (in the south of Ireland) although unconsciously this does exist and is adhered to by educated speakers. Another consequence is that there is no general, non-linguistic label for Irish English, nothing like Cockney, Scouse or Geordie in England, terms like *brogue* (Murphy 1943) being somewhat negative in their connotation. Furthermore, there is no established popular description of Irish English like H. L. Mencken’s *The American language* or S. J. Baker’s *The Australian language*. The nearest equivalent is P. W. Joyce’s *English as we speak it in Ireland* (first published in 1910) but this work did not achieve anything like the degree of
popularity of, say, Mencken’s work and is largely unknown outside academic circles in Ireland today.

Compared to other anglophone countries, Ireland shows little if any recognition of its own varieties of English (with the possible exception of Ulster Scots in Northern Ireland). Dictionaries and popular treatments of Irish English deal primarily with rural vocabulary and put an emphasis on colloquial and slightly farcical, if not to say downright vulgar items. A view is often found that Irish English is a substandard form of language not to be taken seriously. Many publications serve, intentionally or not, to support this. Often the impression conveyed is that Irish English is nothing but an amusing form of language confined to colloquial usage. Irish publishers seem prepared to support and further this view, see Beecher (1991) and Ó Muirithe (2004), Share (2006), or in a vulgar vein, Murphy and O’Dea (2004) and Bannister (2008).

The denial of a role for vernacular Irish English in modern Irish society also lies behind the dissociation from colloquial Dublin English which has been the motor behind the major changes in metropolitan Irish English during the 1990s (Hickey 2005). This dismissive attitude is not necessarily found in other countries where a non-standard variety of an extra-national language is spoken. In Switzerland, for instance, local forms of German are used preferentially by the native population, even in public contexts. The same is true of Austria, though there the distance from standard German is slighter.

The question remains as to why the Irish do not hold the specific features of their own variety of English in higher regard. Any answer here must refer to several factors. The rise of a native middle class in the late 19th century brought with it a large amount of linguistic prejudice against specific features of Irish English. These were removed by supraregionalisation (the rise of a non-local variety of Irish English) with the effect that they were then confined to vernacular varieties, e.g. the habitual with do, them as a demonstrative, went as a past participle or learn in the sense of teach, to mention just a few examples (Hickey 2007).

Two further factors may well play a role here. The first is a post-colonial attitude that anything homegrown is inferior, an attitude which still lingers on and which is often seen in the lack of support the Irish give to their form of English. The second is that endorsing English in Ireland would be tantamount to disloyalty to Irish. From an external perspective this notion might seem strange. But recall that a legacy of this shift is a certain uneasiness on the part of the Irish towards their present-day native language English. It may seem a little far-fetched, but there could well be an unconscious trauma among English-speaking Irish today over their ancestors having abandoned the Irish language in the relatively recent past.

4 Previous surveys on language use and attitudes

The remainder of this paper is concerned with analysing the preliminary results of the current survey in the light of what has been said in this context so far. However, to begin with a brief summary of previous surveys is called for in order to see the present one in perspective. All surveys on language attitudes and use to date have been concerned with the Irish language. In addition, they have largely been focussed on educational issues. The two surveys closest to the present one are the following.
Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1973-6)

In 1973, the first national survey dedicated entirely to issues concerning the Irish language was undertaken by the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR 1976). The questions in this survey included items relating to: (a) ability or proficiency in Irish and other European languages, (b) how language skills, especially in Irish, were acquired and (c) attitudinal questions relating to language and identity, public interest/apathy towards Irish, future of Irish, policy priorities, attitudes to Irish and other languages in the schools, etc. The original 1973 survey was replicated by the Institiúid Teangeolaíochta na hÉireann/Linguistics Institute of Ireland in 1983 and 1993. For more information on these and other surveys, see Ó Riagáin (1986), Ó Riagáin (ed. 1988) and Ó Riagáin (1997).

The North-South Languages Survey 2000

Following on from the above series, the present survey was conducted in 2000. The survey was the first occasion that a major language survey was conducted across the whole island of Ireland. One thousand randomly selected adults over 18 years were interviewed in each jurisdiction, giving a total sample of approximately 2,000 respondents. When compared with the earlier surveys, the 2000 survey can track changes that have occurred in the Republic of Ireland in the last decade of the twentieth century. For the first time a survey permits an examination of differences in public attitudes towards Irish across the entire spectrum of political and ethno-religious divisions on the island – i.e. between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland on the one hand and between Catholics and Protestants on the other. Completion date for the project was March 2008. From the beginning the project was supported by the cross-border language body, Foras na Gaeilge. This body has recently awarded a grant to Trinity College to enable the report to be completed by Pádraig Ó Riagáin, the Principal Investigator.

5 Preliminary evaluation of Language Use and Attitudes in Ireland

The survey which is the subject of this paper differs in two essential respects from its predecessors (see the discussion in 4. above).

1) It is concerned with both English and Irish and sees the two as linked in the linguistic attitudes of the Irish people.

2) It is focussed not just on education but on the broader issue of the perception of the Irish and English languages in present-day Irish society.

The survey questionnaire consisted of three pages with questions on the use and knowledge of Irish. But it also contained information on the attitudes of present-day Irish people to both the language of their ancestors and for most respondents their native language, English. The hypothesis which was overwhelmingly confirmed by the survey is that attitudes to English are coloured by those to Irish.

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2 The percentages given in this section are derived from a statistical analysis of the preliminary database of 427 respondents. Data collection for this project is now (January 2009) complete. There are returns for 1,086 respondents for the Republic of Ireland and 247 respondents for Northern Ireland in the final database.
Furthermore, although native-like knowledge of Irish is rare in contemporary Ireland, there would seem to be a strong regard for the cultural importance of the language and it appears that the majority of respondents of the survey viewed the Irish language as a central part of their national identity. For instance, 4.69% of the respondents claimed that Irish was their ‘native language’ which cannot be the case in this population sample, given that the population of native-speakers of Irish is less than 1% and that the survey was done outside the historically continuous Irish-speaking areas (Gaeltachtaí). Even more telling in this context is the figure of 26.53% of respondents who claimed that both Irish and English were their ‘native languages’, a statement which can only be interpreted in terms of cultural identity because, linguistically, this is obviously not true.3

The above tendency was also confirmed by responses to the statement ‘I think the Irish language is central to Irish culture and history’. 72.62% responded positively, 22.86% answered ‘not really’ while only 4.52% said ‘no’. This attitude to Irish correlated to a certain knowledge of the language. The vast majority of respondents claimed (correctly) that Irish exists in three main dialects and that before the Great Famine (1845-8) more than 50% of the population spoke Irish natively (see Figures 4 and 5 below). Knowledge of speaker numbers today was also fairly accurate: 5.88% believed that there were about 500,000 native speakers currently, 31.82% thought this number was around 100,000 while 62.30% believed (correctly) that the number was less that 50,000. Future prospects for the Irish language were generally seen optimistically with 70.26% believing that the language would survive through the twenty-first century. This belief was reflected in the statistics for respondents’ personal assessment of the future for the language: 55.53% would regard the demise of Irish as a cause for considerable concern, 27.53% for reasonable concern, 10.82% for mild concern, while only 6.12% would see it as no cause for concern.

Despite the general concern and attachment which respondents showed towards the Irish language, there were some points where this did not correspond to actual knowledge about the language, either on a personal or a general level. For instance, 67.21% did not know which of their ancestors was the most recent native speaker of Irish. Knowledge of literature in Irish was also poor, and this despite the fact that the majority of respondents were under 25 and thus not more than eight years out of secondary school: 44.73% could not name any major writer in the Irish language.

6 Conclusion

The results of this survey bear out the view that the great majority of Irish people see the language as central to the history and culture of Ireland. Furthermore, there is concern about the future of the language and explicit approval of the institutions which support it (see Figures 7 and 8). This support would also appear to translate into the desire for concrete measures, notably Irish as a compulsory subject in school (see Figure 10).

In addition, the survey shows that Irish people are aware of their own variety of the English language and support its being different from British varieties (see Figures 15 - 17). From a sociolinguistic point of view this is interesting as it shows how all Irish people, Irish and English speakers alike, maintain a sense of their own linguistic identity which is unique to this country.

3It should be said at this point that the term ‘native language’ appeared not to be understood by respondents in the linguistic sense of the first language acquired in early childhood, but in the more general, lay sense of a language with which speakers show a cultural identification.
References

Mesthrie, Rajend 1992. English in Language Shift. The History, Structure and
Ó Riagáin, Pádraig (ed.) 1988. Language Planning in Ireland, Published as a special issue of International Journal of Sociology of Language, No. 70.
Appendix 1 Structure of questionnaire for *Language Attitude and Use in Ireland*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Possible answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Home county</td>
<td>Name of county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Gender</td>
<td>male / female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Age group</td>
<td>under 25 / 25- 50 / over 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I Attitudes to Irish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Possible answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) What is your native language?</td>
<td>(a) English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) both English and Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) If Irish, why?</td>
<td>(a) I speak it every day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) I read it but don’t speak it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) By and large, I can understand it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) I think the Irish language is central to Irish culture and history</td>
<td>(a) yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) not really</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II Knowledge about language in Ireland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Possible answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Encircle Irish areas on map</td>
<td>(a) fully accurate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) very accurate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) fairly accurate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) not accurate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) no answer (did not know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) What is Ulster Scots?</td>
<td>(a) a separate language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) a dialect of English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) I don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Where is Ulster Scots spoken?</td>
<td>(a) Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Northern Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Ireland, north &amp; south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) How many main dialects of Irish are there?</td>
<td>(a) number (1 to ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Do some people use Irish as an everyday language in Dublin, Belfast</td>
<td>(a) Dublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Belfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Dublin and Belfast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6) Before the Great Famine (1845-8) how many people do you think were native speakers of Irish?  
(a) under 10%  
(b) 10-30%  
(c) 30-50%  
(d) over 50%  

7) By the 1960s how many people do you think were still native speakers of Irish?  
(a) under 10%  
(b) 10-30%  
(c) 30-50%  
(d) over 50%  

8) How many native speakers of Irish do you think there are today (roughly)?  
(a) about 500,000  
(b) about 100,000  
(c) about 50,000  
(d) other: __________  
(e) I don’t know

III Continuity of Irish

1) Do you think that Irish will survive through the 21st century?  
[ ] yes [ ] no  

2) If it does NOT, is this a cause for  
(a) considerable concern  
(b) reasonable concern  
(c) mild concern  
(d) no concern  

3) Who was your most recent ancestor who was a native speaker of Irish?  
(e.g. great-great-grandfather)  
____________________ [ ] I don’t know

IV Public position of Irish

1) Is it right that Irish is still compulsory in schools?  
[ ] yes [ ] no  

2) Can you name any major writer in the Irish language?  
____________________ [ ] I don’t know  

3) Can you name any major work of literature in Irish?  
____________________ [ ] I don’t know  

4) Is it necessary for Irish universities to have departments of Irish?  
[ ] yes [ ] not really [ ] no  

5) Is it necessary for Irish to be an official language of the EU?  
[ ] yes [ ] not really [ ] no  

6) Is Irish sufficiently represented in public life today?  
[ ] yes [ ] not really [ ] no
**V  Attitudes without knowledge of Irish**

1) If you don’t speak Irish, do you nonetheless listen to Irish music and like things Irish, e.g. clothes, food, drink?  
   [ ] yes  [ ] no

2) When you talk to foreigners, would you tell them about the Irish language?  
   [ ] yes  [ ] no

3) Do you speak any foreign languages?  
   [ ] French  [ ] Spanish  [ ] German  
   [ ] Other:_________________

**VI  Knowledge about and attitudes to English in Ireland**

1) When was the English language first brought to Ireland?  
   [ ] before 1200  [ ] before 1400  [ ] before 1600  [ ] before 1800

2) How would you rate speakers of Irish English with the following accents?  
   strong local accent  
   [ ] pleasant  [ ] doesn’t matter  [ ] not acceptable
   slight local accent  
   [ ] pleasant  [ ] doesn’t matter  [ ] not acceptable

3) Is it acceptable for Irish people to speak with a recognisably English, i.e. British, accent?  
   [ ] yes  [ ] no

4) Do you think Irish English has a separate identity today?  
   [ ] yes  [ ] no

5) Will the identity of Irish English survive in an increasingly globalised world?  
   [ ] yes  [ ] no

6) Do you think you pronounce English differently from your parents?  
   [ ] yes  [ ] no

7) If so, can you mention one aspect: ______________________________

8) Do you know any term used by the Irish for the English language in Ireland?  
   ______________________  [ ] I don’t know

9) Do you know any term used by outsiders, e.g. the British, for the English language in Ireland?  
   ______________________  [ ] I don’t know
Appendix 2 Preliminary statistics for Language Attitude and Use in Ireland

Note. The heights of columns in the following charts are always relative to the numerical scale of the Y-axis (visible on the left of each chart). The totals for respondents numbers in each chart may not be 427 (the respondent total for the preliminary database). The reason for this is that some respondents may have given an answer which is not represented in the columns of the chart in question.

Figure 2. Answers to question ‘What is your native language’ (total: 426)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both English and Irish</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. Answers to question ‘I think the Irish language is central to Irish culture and history’ (total: 420)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not really</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4. Answers to question ‘How many dialects of Irish are there?’ (total: 427)

Figure 5. Answers to question ‘Before the Great Famine (1845-8) how many people do you think were native speakers of Irish?’ (total: 426)
Figure 6. Answers to question ‘By the 1960s how many people do you think were still native speakers of Irish?’ (total: 374)

Figure 7. Answers to question ‘Do you think that Irish will survive through the 21st century?’ (total: 427)
Figure 8. Answers to question ‘If it does not survive this is a cause for (a) considerable concern, (b) reasonable concern, (c) mild concern, (d) no concern?’ (total: 424)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concern Level</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Considerable concern</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasonable concern</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mild concern</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No concern</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9. Answers to question ‘Who was your most recent ancestor who was a native speaker of Irish?’ (total: 427)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestor Information</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation specified</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 10. Answers to question ‘Is it right that Irish is still compulsory in schools?’
(total: 427)

Figure 11. Answers to question ‘Can you name any major writer in the Irish language?’
(total: 427)
Figure 12. Answers to question ‘Is it necessary for Irish universities to have departments of Irish?’ (total: 427)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Not Really</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13. Answers to question ‘If you don’t speak Irish, do you nonetheless listen to Irish music and like things Irish, e.g. clothes, food, drink?’ (total: 420)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 14. Answers to question ‘When was the English language first brought to Ireland?’ (total: 421)

![Bar chart showing responses to the question 'When was the English language first brought to Ireland?']

- Before 1200: 107
- Before 1400: 110
- Before 1600: 126
- Before 1800: 78

Figure 15. Answers to question ‘How would you rate speakers of Irish English with a strong local accent?’ (total: 426)

![Bar chart showing responses to the question 'How would you rate speakers of Irish English with a strong local accent?']

- Pleasant: 179
- Doesn't Matter: 227
- Not Acceptable: 20
Figure 16. Answers to question ‘Is it acceptable for Irish people to speak with a recognisably English, i.e. British, accent?’ (total: 425)

Figure 17. Answers to question ‘Do you think Irish English has a separate identity today?’ (total: 426)
Figure 18. Answers to question ‘Will the identity of Irish English survive in an increasingly globalised world?’ (total: 422)