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**The structure and functions of Irish-English codeswitching
as used by young Conamara Gaeltacht speakers**

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Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2022

Abstract

Codeswitching (CS) is a complex, subtle and common linguistic practice in bilingual communities. CS in the Irish Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking areas) is by no means a new phenomenon, but the declining intensity of Irish use and the corresponding increase in English use in these areas raise concerns about the influence which English exerts on the form of Irish spoken today. The speech of younger Gaeltacht speakers is particularly stigmatised.

This thesis investigates the language use of young people (aged 10–13) in a Gaeltacht area in Conamara, County Galway, with a particular focus on how CS is structured in their speech and how they use CS as a communicative tool to achieve various social functions. A new corpus of spoken Irish was collected and transcribed as the basis of analysis. Data was gathered from 30 participants in four primary schools. A corpus was compiled from semi-structured group interviews which were organised within the schools. The goal of these interviews was to elicit as much speech as possible from the participants through minimal interference from the researcher. The corpus data was supported by administering parental questionnaires to gather demographic and sociolinguistic data on the participants.

The data was analysed from both a grammatical (Myers-Scotton 1992, 1998, 2002) and socio-functional perspective (Gumperz 1982, Appel & Muysken 1987, Auer 1988, Zentella 1990). The aim of approaching the data from a grammatical perspective was to show that CS is not disorderly or random, while the aim of approaching the data from a socio-functional perspective was to investigate how the young speakers employ CS as a communicative strategy and establish some of the key functions that it serves.

The analysis found that Irish with CS was the norm for the speakers – echoing that of the wider community – but that CS neither impacts Irish language syntax nor the flow of speech, for the most part. A quantitative view of CS showed that speakers codeswitched more intrasententially (i.e., within sentences) than intersententially (i.e., between sentences) but that Irish-only turns of speech made up the majority of the corpus. Finally, the thesis greatly enhances our understanding of how these bilinguals communicate and use both their languages to achieve various communicative and social goals. For example, speakers were found to codeswitch in order to adapt to their addressee, emphasise or clarify a statement, quote others, convey humour and better express their emotions. As such, the thesis concludes that the speakers use of CS should not be understood as a reflection of limited ability but as the effective employment of their bilingual resources.

Lay summary

Codeswitching (CS) occurs when a speaker switches between two or more languages during a single conversation. Bilinguals, those who speak two or more languages, tend to use CS when conversing with each other. It is particularly common in minority language communities such as the Gaeltacht (traditional Irish speaking areas). Due to the concerns people have over the dominance of English in today's world, using English while speaking Irish is often viewed negatively and raises concerns about the future of the Irish language. The Irish spoken by younger speakers is particularly stigmatised.

I conducted interviews with 30 young people (aged 10-13) in Conamara, County Galway, to gain a better understanding of how they speak, with a particular focus on their use of CS. The study analysed how CS was structured in their speech and what motivated them to switch between languages.

It was found that CS was the norm for all participants and that most instances of CS were English words inserted into otherwise Irish clauses. Although CS to fill potential lexical gaps in their Irish occurred, the analysis showed that participants use Irish and English creatively and competently for various reasons. For example, they use CS to adapt to who they are speaking to, for clarification, quote others, convey humour and express their interests and emotions effectively.

The thesis concludes that CS as employed by the young Irish speakers involved in the study should not be viewed as a sign of limited Irish language speaking ability but as the effective use of their bilingual resources.

Acknowledgments

Tá mé go mór faoi chomaoin ag stiúrthóirí an tráchtais, an Dr Wilson McLeod agus an Dr Will Lamb, a léigh gach dréacht go cúramach, a roinn a gcuid saineolais liom agus a thug comhairle fhiúntach dom i gcaitheamh na mblianta.

Ba mhaith liom buíochas faoi leith a ghabháil leis na daoine óga cumasacha a bhí páirteach sa staidéar agus a bhí breá sásta neart cainte a dhéanamh liom. Is iad na comhráite sin bunchloch an taighde. Tá buíochas ag dul dá dtuismitheoirí agus dá gcaomhnóirí a thug cead dóibh a bheith páirteach agus a ghlac an t-am chun ceistneoirí a chomhlíonadh agus buíochas freisin le foirne na scoileanna a chuir fáilte 's fiche romham agus a bhí an-chabhrach agus mé ag eagrú na seisiún.

Tá buíochas ó chroí ag dul do mo chlann – Róisín, Joe, Tara, Órnaith, Áine, Fiachra, Mamó Abbie, Mamó Máirín, agus Clann Pheaitín Phaitch uilig – a thug cluas éisteachta dom go minic, a choinnigh ag gáire mé, agus a thug misneach dom an tráchtas a chur i gcrích. Mo bhuíochas le Brian a léigh sleachta ón tráchtas, a chuir moltaí ar fáil, agus a roinn míreanna léitheoireachta úsáideacha liom. Mo bhuíochas le mo chairde agus go háirithe iad siúd i nDún Éideann a chabhraigh liom chun baile nua a chruthú ann.

Buíochas ó chroí le Zac, atá agus a bhí ina chrann taca agam, agus a bhí foighneach, cabhrach agus tuisceanach agus mé á chur seo i gcrích.

Murach sibh!

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Abbreviations

BFLA	Bilingual First Language Acquisition
CnaG	Conradh na Gaeilge
CO	<i>An Caighdeán Oifigiúil</i> (The Official Standard of Irish)
CS	Codeswitching
EL	Embedded Language
GAA	Gaelic Athletics Association
LPA	Language Planning Area
ML	Matrix Language
MLF	Matrix Language Framework
R&O	Rights and Obligations
SPIL	Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language
ÚnaG	Údarás na Gaeltachta

1 Introduction

The Gaeltacht is often understood as an Irish-speaking area (Ó hÍfearnáin 2007). However, all speakers of Irish, whether they live in the Gaeltacht or elsewhere, are bilingual. Irish and English have been in contact in the Gaeltacht for centuries and these communities are bilingual as a result. Both languages are used in everyday life within the Gaeltacht and codeswitching (CS) is, therefore, the norm for those who live there. CS, for now, will be understood as the alternation between two languages in the same conversation (Gumperz 1982).

This thesis is based on the hypothesis that within this bilingual community, specifically a Gaeltacht area in Conamara, County Galway, speakers switch between Irish and English to achieve various social functions in different settings but also within the same setting. The present study focuses on the CS practices of young speakers (aged 10 to 13) in a school setting, where it is hypothesised that Irish forms the base language of communication.

This introduction briefly describes the background and the aims of the study which will include an explanation of its research questions and rationale for the study. The introduction also provides an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background to the study

Although prior research can be found that focusses on spoken CS in the Irish context has been conducted (Hickey 2009; Ní Laoire 2009, 2012, 2016; Darcy 2014, Ó Domagáin 2016), research on CS has been sporadic and has often been conducted as part of broader linguistic studies (Ó Curnáin 2007; Péterváry et al. 2014; Lenoach 2014). As Irish, a minority language, is in close contact with English, a majority language, much of the research on language use in the Irish context has focused on how language use today shows signs of pressure from the majority language and is, therefore, a sign of language shift or even language death. The simultaneous presence of English with Irish is argued to be a clear indicator of this (Péterváry et al. 2014, Lenoach 2014). Many of these studies have focused on the language use of young speakers, in particular. Studies have attempted to rate young speakers' abilities and 'bilingualism' and have concluded that the variety of Irish spoken by these young speakers is 'incomplete' (Lenoach 2012, 2014) or 'reduced' (Ó Curnáin 2007), or that these speakers are 'semilingual' (Ó Curnáin 2007) or 'flawed/faulty bilinguals' (Ó Giollagáin 2012). Petervary et al. (2014) talk of the use of 'divergent' and 'inappropriate' or 'improper' forms in relation to non-standard terms or the use of CS by the young speakers involved in their study. Although all speakers of Irish tend to codeswitch, it has become particularly stigmatised in the speech of younger speakers. Of most concern regarding the negative views towards language use in research is how it is then disseminated to the wider public through the media (Tuairisc 2017a, 2017b). Negative rhetoric delegitimises the language practices of communities in which Irish is still a widely spoken language. Deficit models can have a destructive impact on speakers' self-confidence and their own views on their language use (MacSwan 2000). This is an even greater risk in already fragile communities (O Murchadha 2020: 55). Negativity towards those growing up with the language or teaching it to their children is harmful and results in tension between community members and academics (Tuairisc 2017a).

Departing from negative findings on CS present in the Irish context, we look towards a tradition of delivering positive news in international literature on CS. In contrast, although CS was presented as a deficit in the first half of the 20th century (Weinreich 1953), as Gafaranga (2017: 11) states:

[...] studies have, on the whole, been geared towards rehabilitating bilingualism and bilingual language use. From being regarded as a problem, bilingualism is currently seen, if not as an advantage, at least as a resource. Likewise, from being considered a sign of lack of competence, bilingual language use is seen as a sign of high competence in the languages involved and as serving specific interactional tasks in the interaction where it is observed.

Gumperz's (1982) pioneering work in CS moved away from viewing CS as a tool to fill lexical gaps or as a sign of interference. Instead, through using a sociolinguistic approach to CS, he showed that it can be used to serve specific social goals. His research gave rise to the long-continuing research on CS as a communicative strategy to the present day (Auer 1988; Zentella 1990; Myers-Scotton 1993; Gafaranga 2007). Myers-Scotton (1993) has had success in rehabilitating CS from a grammatical perspective, by showing that CS is governed by specific grammatical rules which speakers have a tacit knowledge of and employ. She posits that speakers or communities who follow these rules indicate stable bilingualism.

Seeking to rehabilitate CS in the Irish context, Ní Laoire (2009, 2012, 2016) and Darcy (2014) have been the primary researchers to employ these or similar approaches in attempts to provide a more nuanced analysis of CS. Ní Laoire has primarily conducted research from a sociolinguistic perspective. Similar to the present study, most of her research has been conducted on speakers from the Conamara Gaeltacht. However, unlike the present study, her research has focused on adult speakers. The main positive news which her research has delivered is that CS is a strategy employed to serve various

social and contextual functions. On the other hand, Darcy (2014) has conducted research from a grammatical perspective through applying Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix-Language Framework to corpus data compiled in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht (County Kerry). Like the present study, Darcy's work focused on the speech of young people, although it was conducted in a different Gaeltacht area. The participants in her study were attending secondary school and were aged between 16-18 years. Her study found that her corpus supported the Framework through Irish being the dominant matrix language, which is indicative of stable bilingualism. The matrix language can be crudely understood, for now, as the base language of CS. The present study aims to complement this research as it will combine both perspectives fully in a way which has not been done before and will focus on an age group which also has not been researched before from either perspective. The age group involved in the present study from the Conamara Gaeltacht has primarily been the focus of the previous mentioned larger scale linguistic studies which have focused on language ability.

It is hoped that by adopting approaches specific to the research of CS, the current study can help to rehabilitate bilingual language use in the Irish-English context, specifically the use of CS by young speakers from a Conamara Gaeltacht area. In line with Ní Laoire (2012) and Darcy's (2014) view of CS in the Gaeltacht, this thesis posits that the speakers involved in the study are highly skilled bilinguals. Codeswitching is seen as part of the linguistic repertoire of these bilingual speakers, which is governed by local rules and procedures that most learners might not even be able to grasp (Ní Laoire 2012: 49).

1.2 Aim of the study

As mentioned, this study examines the language use of young people who live in a Conamara Gaeltacht area. The primary goal of this study is to conduct a close analysis of the ways in which CS is used for social and communicative purposes in the speech of these young people. It is hoped that this analysis will contribute to the rehabilitation of CS as a legitimate speech practice in the speech of young people. Given this goal, it is deemed important to determine whether their use of CS reflects stable use of Irish and English or if it shows a convergence towards English, as suggested in previous research on bilingual language use in this context. Darcy (2014) successfully applied the Matrix Language Framework (1993, 1998, 2002) to an Irish-English corpus compiled from a different group of speakers. The present study deploys the same framework with its own corpus. Applying a grammatical approach as the first stage of analysis can show how, at the grammatical level of CS, CS is not random or disorderly. The successful application of this framework in other language contact contexts (Myers-Scotton 1993, Deuchar 2006, Darcy 2014) has shown that a consistent dominant or 'matrix' language in conversation indicates a 'classic' case of CS. This can be understood as CS that indicates stable bilingual language use.

To further support the rehabilitation of CS in the present context, it was deemed equally important to analyse the corpus from a sociolinguistic perspective in order to assess what motivates the speakers' use of CS and how it is used as a communicative strategy to achieve particular social goals. This analysis was primarily conducted based on the theoretical frameworks of Gumperz (1982), Appel & Muysken (1987) and Zentella (1990). This more nuanced approach was important to highlight the intricacies of CS and show that it is much more than a tool to fill lexical gaps.

In brief, this study's three main research questions are as follows:

1. How is CS presented in the speech of these young speakers?
2. What are the functions of CS in the interactions of young Gaeltacht Irish speakers?
3. How can the findings support the rehabilitation of CS in the Irish-English context?

As previously mentioned, these research questions are built on the hypothesis that young speakers in the area of study are highly skilled bilinguals who primarily use Irish as the main language of communication in the school setting and draw on English for various communicative purposes.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is presented in seven chapters, including the present introduction. The remaining chapters are briefly summarised here.

Chapter 2 provides the sociolinguistic context and historical background of the study. The sections provide information on the history of the Irish language, the history of the Gaeltacht, the Irish language and the Gaeltacht today, Irish within the education system, the standardisation of Irish and the dialects of Irish. Of particular relevance to the present study is the concept of post-traditional Irish, which is a term adopted by some scholars to refer to the variety of Irish spoken today (Ó Giollagáin 2012). Background on post-traditional Irish and how it relates to the speech of young speakers is also provided in a section within this chapter. The final section further contextualises the study through providing data on the specific area of study. While protecting the anonymity of the participants, a general overview is presented of the area's demographics, reported language use, employment sectors, services and infrastructure, education, and culture, sport and entertainment sources.

Chapter 3 also aims to provide background and context concerning important and relevant themes in research on bilingual language use. The chapter begins with a section focusing on the overarching study of bilingualism and how it can be defined. As discussed in this section, various types and dimensions of bilingualism can be identified. Of relevance to the present study is simultaneous bilingualism, which is the notion of acquiring languages simultaneously. The simultaneous acquisition of two languages in early childhood is particularly relevant. Therefore, further exploration into research on bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) is presented in a succeeding section, which is then followed by a presentation of research on how it relates to acquiring languages in a minority language context and then more

specifically in the Irish context. The chapter then moves on to presenting research specifically related to CS. Various competing definitions and understandings of CS are present in the literature and some are discussed in this section, along with discussions on similar fields of study. An attempt is then made to define 'code' and 'codeswitching' as adopted for the present study. After discussing these terms, the chapter then moves on to presenting some of the leading approaches within the field of CS from both a grammatical and sociolinguistic perspective. This chapter concludes by reviewing current on Irish-English CS.

Chapter 4 explains the design of the current study. Firstly, a summary of the terminology adopted in the summary is provided. My own position as a researcher is then explored due to my close ties to the area of study. A review of research methods is provided before presenting the methods used (audio recordings and a questionnaire) and the rationale for using these methods. An overview of the setting of the field work and the participants involved is then laid out and is supported by data collected from questionnaires as part of the study. The transcription conventions used when transcribing the audio recordings in order to compile a corpus are set out and the procedure used to analyse the corpus based on the approaches presented in chapter three is described. Finally, the chapter considers the ethics involved in studying children's speech production in a minority language context.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the corpus. Firstly, a quantitative overview of the corpus data is provided in order to form a basis of understanding of the speakers' language use. Examples of borrowing found in the corpus are then presented in order to elucidate the difference between codeswitching and borrowing as presented in the corpus. The findings from the application of the Matrix Language Framework (Myers-Scotton 1993) are then presented. A summary of the analysis procedure is provided first before findings are divided

into instances where Irish was supported as the 'matrix language', instances where English was supported as the 'matrix language' and instances where a 'matrix language' could not be identified. Morphological integration of Irish and English words was found to be a notable feature of the corpus when applying the MLF. This process of codeswitching is presented along with examples. Finally, the findings from a sociolinguistic approach to analysis are then presented and divided into specific categories based on the CS functions which were identified.

Chapter 6 interprets and explains the results of the data analysis in relation to the research questions set out in the introduction. It also relates these results to the existing literature presented in chapter three.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis through providing a summary of the main findings and presenting how the thesis has achieved its goal in rehabilitating CS in the Irish-English context. The study's contribution to the field, its limitations and what it suggests for future research are also outlined in this chapter. Supplementary documents and information are provided as appendices at the end of the thesis.

2 Historical and sociolinguistic context of Irish

To better understand codeswitching as a language phenomenon in spoken Irish today, an in-depth knowledge of the country's sociohistorical and linguistic context is essential. This chapter focuses on the salient features of Ireland's history as relevant to the current study of Irish language use today. The chapter begins by providing a brief history of the Irish language in Ireland; from the first record of the language's presence on the island to the present. The concept of the Gaeltacht is then introduced and explained before moving on to discussions on Irish language standardisation, terminology and neologisms, the dialects of Irish, Gaeltacht youth speech and post-traditional Irish, and Irish in the education system.

The concluding sections specifically focus on the area of study, highlighting sociohistorical and sociolinguistic factors instructive to a deep appreciation of the unique bilingual community involved in the present research. This is presented in a way which protects the anonymity of the participants.

2.1 A brief history of the Irish language

The Irish language belongs to the Celtic family of languages within the Indo-European group of languages (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 64). Once the dominant vernacular of Ireland, Irish was spoken widely throughout the country until the middle of the nineteenth century. The earliest indisputable written record of the language dates back to the 4th century AD in the form of Ogam inscriptions on standing stones with sharp vertical edges which served as a baseline for the engraved letter-forms of the Ogam alphabet (Stifter 2009: 56). Over time, the language underwent major changes, with the main historical development stages of the language described as Proto or Archaic Old Irish

(4th century), Old Irish (c. 650 – 850 AD), then Middle Irish (c. 900 – 1200 AD), Classical or Early Modern Irish (c. 1200 – 1600 AD) and finally Modern Irish, from around 1600 (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 64).

Throughout its history, Irish has been in contact with other languages, including Latin, Old Norse, Norman French and English. Through a large corpus consisting mostly of manuscripts written by Irish monks, we know that Irish had adopted the Latin alphabet by the beginning of the seventh century after the introduction of Christianity to the country (Doyle 2015: 12). Latin had an indirect influence on Irish, as it was used as a written language in Ireland. It shaped Irish vocabulary, however, particularly in the ecclesiastical sphere. Examples of Latin loanwords still current today include *ifreann* ‘hell’ (< Lat. *infernus*), *peaca* ‘sin’ (< Lat. *peccatum*) and *corp* ‘body’ (< Lat. *corpus*).

Viking raids commenced around AD 800 in Ireland and their influence continued until the Battle of Clontarf in 1014 (Ó Dochartaigh 2000: 13). Research suggests that Scandinavians assimilated into the local population and that Old Norse was spoken among small communities in Ireland; some would have been bilingual in both Irish and Norse (Hickey 2020: 341). This extended contact with Norse is evident in surnames, placenames and loanwords still used today. Hickey (2020) posits, however, that due to the considerable structural distance between the languages, Old Norse’s influence on Old Irish grammar is not as apparent. Loanwords from Old Norse (ON), particularly relating to seafaring and commerce, are still commonly used today; examples include *margad* ‘market’ (< ON *markaðr*), *dorú* ‘fishing line’ (< ON *dorg*) and *beoir* ‘beer’ (< ON *bjórr*). Scholars have speculated that the drastic changes which Old Irish underwent, evolving into Middle Irish, can be correlated with the political and social change brought by Viking raids and not simply due to the linguistic impact of Old Norse (Greene 1976).

The arrival of the Anglo-Normans in the 12th century brought both the English and Norman French languages to Ireland. A high number of everyday loanwords from Anglo-Norman (AN) were adopted in Irish, many of which are still used today (Risk 1971). Hickey (1997) discusses the phonological adaptation to the Irish sound system upon adoption of these words and argues that this evidences the robust position of Irish at the time. Examples of these words include; *siúinéir* ‘carpenter’ (< AN *joignour*), *seomra* ‘room’ (< AN *chaumbre*) and *páiste* ‘child’ (< AN *page*). It is thought, however, that French was no longer in everyday usage by the 14th century and that English was likely to have been the majority language of the settler community at that time (Richter 1985; Bliss and Long 1987). This period signifies the beginning of a linguistic shift towards English in Ireland; Irish was not the formal language of law, administration and governance, but it remained the spoken language for most of the country and a language of status and power, especially in relation to literature (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005). However, as a result of the Tudor and Stuart conquests and colonisation in the mid-16th century, the shift towards English became more apparent and Irish was pushed out of all formal language domains; English was established as the language of power. Doyle (2015: 102) writes that the eighteenth century is when the borrowing of English words into Irish became particularly present, even in written documents. Some of the examples he provides of words adopted at the time are still in common usage today e.g., *cic* ‘kick’, *pléadáil* ‘plead’ and *siúráilte* ‘sure’.

By the early seventeenth century, according to O’Brien (1989: 153), many “indigenous Irish speakers” regarded English as “the tongue of advancement”. The *filidh*, professional Irish poets, previously held in high regard, were now rendered redundant and deprived of patronage (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 91-92). With the gradual relaxation of the Penal Laws in the late 18th century, the Catholic church saw little value in Irish and adopted English (Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 99-100). When the Commissioners of National Education was

established in 1831, it excluded Irish from the education system and refused requests to integrate it into the syllabus (Ó Buachalla 1984).

Although Irish survived as the first language of the majority in the greater part of rural Ireland, especially in the west and south-west, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a clear linguistic and cultural divide emerged, with Irish “found in rural areas and in farming, unskilled or family-based professions socially and economically peripheral to the largely anglophone economy of the growing urban areas, industry and large farms” (Ó hIfeárnáin 2009: 539). Ó hIfeárnáin illustrates this divide with an example from the Béarra peninsula (south-west Munster) where those involved in physical labour in the copper mines were Irish-speakers, while the engineers and managers were English-speaking Protestants. The Great Famine of 1845 to 1852 marked the end point for widespread Irish language use when an estimated over one million Irish citizens died of starvation and disease, and an even greater number emigrated (Kinealy 2001: 2). Due to their lower economic status and geographic concentration, Irish speakers suffered disproportionately during this period. Although census data is only available from 1851, Hindley (1990: 15) estimates that there were some 2.4 million speakers of Irish at the beginning of the nineteenth century and census show that there were just 680,174 by 1891, of whom only 3.5% were under ten years of age. Ó Cuív (1969: 128) contends that language shift occurred with such rapidity that by 1891, 99% of the population could speak English while 85% could not speak Irish. Post Famine, mass emigration continued, and the population continued to decline until the 1960s, which gave further rise to the spread of English language usage, then considered a necessary tool for opportunity and upward mobility (Ó Ceallaigh & Ní Dhonnabháin 2015: 181).

At the end of the 19th century, as a result of this decline and the push towards Irish independence from British rule, a cultural revival began which viewed Irish

as a critical, if not central, aspect to indexing Irish identity (Walsh 2021). Writers and educated people began to promote and use the language more and in 1876 the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (SPIL) was formed in Dublin. The society focused on preserving the living language in the parts of the country where it was still spoken (Ó Murchú 2001: 15). It also aimed to introduce Irish into the educational system, but faced many problems including the lack of available teaching resources and teachers with Irish (Doyle 2015: 167). Douglas Hyde, the first president of Ireland, played a key role in the revival and in 1892, in his well-known lecture 'The Necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland', stressed the importance of cultural identity and preserving the Irish language:

I have no hesitation at all in saying that every Irish-feeling Irishman, who hates the reproach of West Britonism, should set himself to encourage the efforts which are being made to keep alive our once great national tongue. The losing of it is our greatest blow, and the sorest stroke that the rapid Anglicisation of Ireland has inflicted upon us. In order to de-Anglicise ourselves we must at once arrest the decay of the language.
(Hyde 2000: 187)

In 1893, Hyde helped to found Conradh na Gaeilge (CnaG) – historically known as The Gaelic League – and the organisation still exists today. CnaG ultimately succeeded the SPIL and played a vital role in the revival of the language. The organisation stressed the necessity of speaking Irish in order for it to survive and encouraged both native speakers and learners to use it through organising language classes, cultural activities like concerts, summer schools, dancing classes, local and national competitions and publishing materials such as teaching aids and pamphlets. CnaG also built on the SPIL's progress in developing Irish at primary and secondary level and by 1913 competency in Irish became compulsory for matriculation to National University of Ireland colleges (Doyle 2015: 185; Ó hÉallaithe 2004: 161). The foundation of the Irish Free State marked a pivotal moment in revitalising the

Irish language and it received official status as the first language of the state in the Constitution of the Irish Free State (1922: Article 4):

The National language of the Irish Free State is the Irish language, but the English language shall be equally recognised as an official language. Nothing in this Article shall prevent special provisions being made by the Parliament of the Irish Free State (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as the “Oireachtas”) for districts or areas in which only one language is in general use.

One might celebrate the acknowledgement of Irish as the state’s only national language, but as Ó hÍfearnáin (2001: 8) points out, by the time of independence, the majority of native speakers of Irish no longer spoke the language. Building on the work and efforts of CnaG, the newly founded state undertook the establishment and development of the Gaeltacht, the few areas in which Irish remained the majority language. They also began to standardise the modern language and prioritised the language in the education system, all of which will be discussed below.

2.2 An Ghaeltacht

At the time of the revival, the concept of the Gaeltacht was developed (Ó Torna 2005). The Gaeltacht refers to geographical areas, mostly situated on the rural west coast where Irish was spoken as a first language by the majority of people (O'Donoghue & O'Doherty 2019: 12). Many CnaG members viewed these areas as culturally unique reservoirs of Irishness and would often visit to improve their own Irish (Walsh 2012: 178). As a result of perennial poverty, fewer schools per capita than the national average, and high levels of emigration, Irish as a spoken language was under threat even within these traditional heartland areas (O'Donoghue & O'Doherty 2019: 12). In 1925 in response to this crisis, the Irish Free State, soon after its foundation, established Coimisiún na Gaeltachta ('The Commission on the Gaeltacht') in support of language revitalisation efforts. The government tasked the Commission with officially specifying those areas to be defined as An Ghaeltacht, those which were almost entirely Irish speaking districts (Fíor-Ghaeltacht) or partly Irish speaking districts (Breac-Ghaeltacht) (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007: 8). The commission defined Fíor-Ghaeltacht as an area where 80% or more of the population spoke Irish, while they deemed areas where 25-79% of the population spoke Irish to be a Breac-Ghaeltacht, with the hope that they would evolve into a Fíor-Ghaeltacht in time.

The areas' exact geographical parameters were not delineated but 585 electoral divisions earned recognition as such districts, with Fíor-Ghaeltachtaí found in Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Kerry, Cork, Waterford and small pockets of Clare. Breac-Ghaeltachtaí also existed in parts of those counties that were contiguous to Fíor-Ghaeltachtaí and also in South-Tipperary. From the initial conception of An Ghaeltacht, however, the percentage of speakers has been misrepresented: to avoid fragmenting Gaeltacht areas and giving the appearance of being dispersed on the official Gaeltacht maps, electoral

divisions that failed to meet the requirements were, nonetheless, included (Walsh 2012: 179).

Due to the continued decline of the language, the number of Gaeltacht areas was reduced in 1956 as the boundaries laid down in the 1920s no longer reflected the linguistic reality (O'Donoghue & O'Doherty 2019: 5; Walsh 2012: 181). The number of districts considered as Gaeltacht areas were reduced to 84 complete electoral divisions and parts of 58 electoral divisions and were only to be found in Donegal, Galway, Mayo, Kerry, Cork and Waterford (Walsh 2012: 181). Little has changed since except for the designation of Ráth Chairn and Baile Ghib in Co. Meath in 1967 as official Gaeltacht areas and small extensions to established Gaeltacht areas.

In outlining Gaeltacht areas, the government also hoped to tackle some of the socio-economic issues caused by emigration and unemployment. Numerous different state bodies were established to help address these issues, most notably Údarás na Gaeltachta (ÚnaG), which replaced the decentralised Gaeltarra Éireann in 1979. ÚnaG was established to help counteract emigration from Gaeltacht areas by creating employment within these communities. The organisation describes itself as “the regional authority responsible for the economic, social and cultural development of the Gaeltacht” and whose overall objective is to fund and create jobs and enterprise development within the areas while ensuring that Irish remains the main communal language (Údarás na Gaeltachta: 2021). Roinn na Gaeltachta, the department of state responsible for the Gaeltacht, was founded in 1956 to provide employment opportunities to stem emigration, provide essential amenities and improve living conditions, especially housing (Kearns 1974: 88). The department aimed to achieve this goal through grants for home improvements and education. As less than 20% of Gaeltacht households had a piped water supply and only around 70% had electricity in

1961, the improvement of housing was a priority (Kearns 1974: 102). These improvements were necessary in order to help the social and economic advancement of the Gaeltacht areas. Roinn na Gaeltachta continued funding Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (the 'Irish-Speaking Scheme'), introduced by the Department of Education in the 1930s, until it was discontinued in 2011 (Ó Broithe 2012). The scheme involved a small annual grant to Gaeltacht parents who raised their children through Irish to reach a certain proficiency, which was assessed by a *cigire* (inspector) on annual school visits. The department's name and function has repeatedly changed since its establishment with the department's scope of responsibilities continuously growing.¹ Such modifications have resulted in the Gaeltacht receiving less priority and having a lower status.

The Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, in an attempt to redefine the Gaeltacht based on linguistic criteria instead of geographical location, redefined the Gaeltacht into 26 Language Planning Areas (LPA) under the Gaeltacht Act 2012. The government tasked each LPA to produce a language plan for approval by the department in order to retain their Gaeltacht status. This act could have led to a redrawing of the Gaeltacht boundaries to more accurately reflect the language situation within traditional Irish-speaking areas, but the production of a language plan was the sole requirement to retain Gaeltacht status. Even if a complete language shift had already happened within an area, the provision of a plan, or a plan in progress, was sufficient to retain Gaeltacht status. Ó Ceallaigh (2019: 91) describes the frustrations experienced by an ÚnaG employee in working with such language planning committees whose members lack the linguistic proficiency to conduct the

¹ Department of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht (1993-1997); Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Island (1997-2002); Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (2002-2010); Department of Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs (2010-2011); Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (2011-2016); Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (2016-2020); and Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sport and Media (2020 – to date).

language planning process through Irish. Nonetheless, according to the ÚnaG website, 24 language plans were written and approved, as of December 2021.

2.3 The Irish language and the Gaeltacht today

On initial review of the Irish language's status from 2016 Census data (CSO 2017), the situation appears positive as 39.8% of the Irish population over the age of three (1,761,420 people) stated that they could speak Irish. County Galway had the highest percentage of individuals reporting that they could speak Irish, at 49% of the county's population, followed by Clare at 45.9%, Cork at 44.9% and Mayo at 43.9%. Galway city and its suburbs also had the highest percentage of any urban area of speakers who indicated that they could speak Irish (41.4%), while Dublin city and its suburbs had the lowest percentage (32.8%). However, on closer examination and considering frequency of speaking, of the 1.7 million people who indicated that they could speak Irish, 418,420 never speak it; 558,608 only use it within the education system; 586,535 use it less often than weekly; 111,473 use it weekly; and only 73,803 use it daily outside of the education system.

Today, Gaeltacht areas comprise 90 complete electoral divisions and parts of 66, with the majority located in Donegal and Galway, with 49 and 41 electoral divisions respectively (Walsh 2012: 183). The 2016 census concludes that the highest percentage of daily speakers outside of education in a Gaeltacht area is 74.6%, with only 2 areas surpassing 70% and some Gaeltacht areas reporting as little as 2.9%. The overall percentage of daily Irish-speakers who live within the Gaeltacht boundaries is reported as 21.4% (CSO 2017). It is also critical to highlight the small amount of people these percentages represent: only 2% of the country's population live within the Gaeltacht. According to the 2016 census data, the population of the Gaeltacht areas combined was 96,090 people and of this, 63,664 (66.3%) indicated they could speak Irish. Only 20,586 (21.4%), however, indicated they spoke Irish daily outside of the education system: a reduction of 11.2% from 2011. The census report states that over half of people (57.8%) living within Gaeltacht areas

speak Irish less than on a weekly basis, never spoke it, or only spoke it within the education system. The fact that the figure of daily speakers within the Gaeltacht represents only 27.9% of all daily speakers in the country is critical as it highlights a shift in the Irish-speaker dynamic which has resulted in an increase of interest and research into “new speakers” of Irish and has initiated debates over “authenticity” and “language ownership” (see O’Rourke & Walsh 2020; O’Rourke & Walsh 2015).

Of the 26 LPAs, Toraigh, an island off the north-west coast of county Donegal, recorded the highest proportion of daily Irish speakers in 2016 at 74.6% of its 147 person population over the age of 3. Ceantar na nOileán, an archipelago off the west Connemara coast, reported the second largest at 71.7% of its 2,057 person population over the age of 3. An Cheathrú Rua, a small village 40km west of Galway city, with a population of 2,392 over the age of 3, reported the third highest proportion at 65.1%. Daily Irish speaker data for eleven LPAs, including all areas located in Mayo and Galway city and its suburbs, recorded daily Irish speaker proportions of less than 15%, with the lowest at 2.6%.

In their 2007 study, Ó Giollagáin et al predicted that Irish would only remain a home or community language in Gaeltacht areas for another twenty years unless the government implemented major language policy changes. Statistics suggest that their assessment is the linguistic reality for over half of the LPAs. Since 2011, the proportion of the population who speak Irish daily has increased in only 4 areas (Toraigh +1.8%, Ceantar na nOileán +6.2%, Na Déise +0.1%, Árainn Mhór +0.7%). All other areas, including former Gaeltacht strongholds, continue to report a decrease in daily Irish speakers. The largest reductions between 2011 and 2016 census data occurred in Cois Fharráige (-5.9%), Ciarraí Thiar (-6.7%), An Ghaeltacht Láir (-7.1%) and Oileán Chléire (-8.8%). While Cois Fharráige, Cléire, Na Déise and areas in cities or on city

outskirts reported slight increases in population since 2011, all of the other more rural areas reported decreases in population.

2016 census findings also show that unemployment continues to be an issue, particularly in the most rural Gaeltacht areas. In 2017, *Tuairisc*, an online Irish language newspaper, reported that weaker Gaeltacht areas located in Galway city or its suburbs had the lowest levels of unemployment while some of the strongest Gaeltacht areas reported unemployment rates of 17-24% above the national average; they are, therefore, considered disadvantaged or greatly disadvantaged. Of the thirteen strongest Irish-speaking areas in Galway, they reported that seven are considered to be disadvantaged and five are considered to be slightly disadvantaged. Donegal and Mayo Gaeltacht areas reported similar findings, while only three areas in Kerry and Cork are considered to be slightly disadvantaged, and all areas in Waterford are slightly above the national average.

Unemployment has been an issue in the Gaeltacht since the earliest days of the Free State and has resulted in high-rates of emigration, particularly in the 1950s and 60s (Ó Riagáin 1997: 217, Ó hÉallaithe 2004: 174). Based on this long-established pattern of emigration for employment, the latest recession of 2008 resulted in further emigration from Gaeltacht areas. Participants in Ó Ceallaigh's (2023: 146) study from Gaeltacht areas in Galway and Donegal spoke of the detrimental effects that these high rates of emigration have on the vibrancy of their communities and as a result, the vibrancy of the language. While the search for employment is still a common reason for employment, Ó Ceallaigh (2023) also highlights the out-migration from the Gaeltacht that happens as a result of young people furthering their education. Other factors which impact language use within the community include the in-migration of non-Irish speakers. People re-locate there either for work or as a lifestyle choice due to the perceived beauty of the areas (Ó Ceallaigh 2023, Smith-

Christmas 2014). This second motivation often causes tension within the community as it often increases the price of housing, which can then price local community members out of the housing market (Ó Ceallaigh 2023: 153-154)

With decreasing populations and high unemployment rates continuing to be an issue in the strongest Irish-speaking areas, the future of the language even within these Irish speaking strongholds is at risk, according to some authors (Ó Giollagáin et al.: 2007). While the number of speakers is a cause for concern, the variety of Irish spoken today within the Gaeltacht is also scrutinised. For various reasons, Irish as spoken by younger generations today differs from the local traditional varieties often ascribed to Gaeltacht areas (Ó Curnáin 2012). Ó Curnáin (2007) refers to this variety as post-traditional and features he associates with it include increased amounts of codeswitching, decreased use of gender markers and irregular use of the genitive case (see §2.8 for further discussion). Ó hIfearnáin (2008: 126) highlights major social changes which have occurred primarily since the mid-20th century and which have played a role in some of these linguistic changes:

With some rare exceptions, younger Irish speakers do not have a deep knowledge of the regional variety because the bilingual society in which they live is now dominated by English and the opportunities to obtain the profound passive knowledge that older members of the community had are no longer available due to social changes such as the fragmentation of extended families, the concentration of shops and social venues outside the local communities, and the diversification of professions from farming and trades that kept people close to their homes.

These changes indicate that access to the traditional model today has greatly reduced, and current levels of interaction with traditional speakers are not enough to preserve it, even among children from Irish speaking households. The traditional variety is largely associated with the variety of Irish spoken by generations born prior to the 1960s and although the younger generations may have some access to this model, they are exposed to a much wider variety of

language models through their education, their peer-group, and the media. This results in wider variation within these speech communities. While it is acknowledged that the traditional model is no longer attainable by most young speakers, their language ability continues to be measured against it (Petervary et al. 2014).

The Gaeltacht may still be viewed as an Irish speaking area and the heartland of the language, but the reality is more complicated than this. The Gaeltacht is an area in which monolingual English speakers and bilingual Irish and English speakers live. Ó hIfearnáin (2008) argues that this has long been the reality of the Gaeltacht and that the ideological views which drive policies on Irish within these areas have both been unrealistic and undemocratic as they do not consider the linguistic reality and the actual needs of Gaeltacht residents. A primary factor that drives these unrealistic policies can be explained in Ó Murchadha & Flynn's (2018: 294) terms, who state that: "The restoration of language and society to pre-shift conditions is among the hallmarks of language revitalisation".

2.4 Irish within the education system

Following the establishment of the national education system in 1831, Irish was excluded from the curriculum for over four decades. Ó hUallacháin (1994: 25) chronicles how "from the outset, the officially accepted means in the national schools (1831) was to ban all use of Irish among school children and to punish infringement of the ban". Corporal punishment was a common punishment for children who spoke Irish in school, while teachers were also penalised if they attempted to teach through the medium of Irish (Ó Ceallaigh & Ní Dhonnabháin 2015: 181). As a result of the continued pressure from SPIL, CnaG and other organisations, Irish was included as an extra subject in 1878, permission for the implementation of bilingual programmes in Irish-speaking

areas was granted by 1904 and competency in written Irish became compulsory for matriculation to National University of Ireland colleges in 1913 (Ó Buachalla 1984; Ó Ceallaigh & Ní Dhonnabháin 2015; Ó Murchú 2016). With the Free State's establishment in 1922, Irish experienced a new and preferential status as a subject and medium of instruction throughout the 26 county state. Irish-medium education within the Gaeltacht has continued since but a dramatic decline in the number of schools teaching through the medium of Irish outside the Gaeltacht occurred between the 1940s and the 1970s (Walsh 2022). In response to concerns about the standard of Irish in English-medium schools following this decline, parents began pressurising the government, which led to the establishment of *naíonraí* (Irish-medium playgroups) and *Gaelscoileanna* (Irish-medium schools) outside of the Gaeltacht (Ó Ceallaigh & Ní Dhonnabháin 2015; Ó Duibhir & Ní Thuairisg 2019). The demand for Irish-medium immersion education has continued to grow since the 1970s in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In 2019, there were 160 *naíonraí*, 185 primary level *Gaelscoileanna* and 53 post-primary level *Gaelcholáistí* outside of the Gaeltacht (Gaeloideachas 2021).

While there are *Gaelscoileanna* located within Gaeltacht boundaries, the reality of most Gaeltacht schools in rural parts of the country is that they must cater to the entire community's needs. Ní Shéaghdha (2010: 16) found that in Category A Gaeltacht communities, categorised as the strongest Gaeltacht areas, the percentage of pupils who speak Irish as their L1 ranged from 30% to 60%. Therefore, the Gaeltacht education system which teaches through the medium of Irish is charged with supporting the maintenance and heritage language needs of L1 speakers while simultaneously supporting the acquisition of Irish by the pupils for whom Irish is not their first language. While *Gaelscoileanna* can focus their resources and policies on catering for students for whom Irish is not their L1, the education context in the Gaeltacht classroom is a lot more complex. Gaeltacht schools are tasked with developing the Irish

language skills of those who have acquired Irish as an L1 in the home, those who have acquired Irish as an L2 in the home or within the community and occasionally some pupils who may not speak any Irish. The outcome of this situation includes: Teachers needing to adapt resources to suit all learner needs; L1 speakers needing to adapt and simplify the way they speak for the benefit of L2 speakers; and English becoming the language of communication between the L1 and L2 speakers of Irish, all of which negatively impact the Irish language development of L1 Irish speakers. The teachers tasked with these challenges receive some specialised additional training in adapting to such pedagogical situations. Assistance to help address these difficulties is also provided through *Scéim na gCúntóirí Teanga* ('Language Assistant Scheme') which aims to help both L2 speakers to acquire the language and help L1 speakers to develop and 'enrich' their language skills (Flynn et al. 2021: 161).

The lack of resources and training provided to Gaeltacht schools to preserve and promote local dialects (see §2.7 for further discussion on the dialects of Irish) in the classroom is a further issue. Further empirical research is required to establish if the curriculum promotes and values dialects or whether it discourages dialect use in favour of Standardised Irish (see §2.5). However, scholars, parents and teachers have found that support resources to preserve dialects are limited and that the language in most textbooks (in use throughout the state) is too difficult and based on the standard or a direct translation from English. In contrast, the language used in reading books is often too easy, as it is focused on those learning Irish solely through the school system (Ó Giollagáin & Mac Donnacha 2008; Ní Chonchúir 2012; Nic Cionnaith 2012).

Nic Cionnaith's (2012: 153) research in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht revealed parents' opinions that children's Irish did not develop as a result of primary school and parents from Cúil Aodha in Ó hIfeárnáin's (2008) study

expressed doubts about the school system's ability to teach "native-like Irish". While the influence of L2 peers was provided as one cause, the lack of time the curriculum allotted to language development in the curriculum was also noted. Developments to address this issue in more recent years include the introduction of language resources such as *Mar a Déarfá* and *Séidean Sí* which provide material in all three main dialects of Irish and *Scéim na gCúntóirí Teanga* which provides additional language enrichment support to Gaeltacht schools, as previously mentioned.

While these interventions have been a positive and welcomed addition, the remaining texts for other subjects, which comprise the majority of the school day, remain written in Standard Irish, or often poorly translated from the English original (Ní Chonchúir 2012; Ní Chionnaith 2012). Some teenage participants from Ní Chonchúir's (2012) study argue that localisation of material is necessary to both reinforce language development and also protect aspects of local cultural identity through the inclusion of local language forms and also local traditions (e.g., folklore). The burden to localise these resources falls on the Gaeltacht teachers and is not always possible considering their workload, particularly in smaller schools where one teacher oversees multiple classes.

Ní Chonchúir (2012: 142) recommends further examination of the needs of the Gaeltacht native speaker to create new resources and instructional programmes and the development of specific teaching methodologies and strategies for this unique education context. In response to these concerns and needs, the Gaeltacht Education Policy for 2017-2022 was published in October 2016. The policy states that it offers targeted support for the benefit of Irish-language speakers in Gaeltacht communities and its overarching goal is:

to ensure the availability of a high quality and relevant Irish-medium educational experience for all young people living in Gaeltacht areas

and in this way to support the use of Irish as the main language of families and of Gaeltacht communities.

(Department of Education and Skills 2016: 7)

A full review to establish the success of the policy is yet to be conducted.

The success of the *gaelscoil* movement is evident in the increased number of daily Irish speakers located outside the Gaeltacht. However, this section has highlighted that the language support required within Gaeltacht areas is unique to each area. Additionally, current strategies in assessing young people's linguistic abilities in academic research tend to focus on comparison with traditional models based on past local dialect norms (see §2.8); it is clear that the education system within the Gaeltacht is not wholly conducive to supporting the transmission of these traditional varieties. In summary, this section calls attention to Irish language instruction and the challenges it faces. It also illustrates the need to reassess Irish language benchmarks and the assessment strategies used in assessing language ability.

2.5 *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*: The official standard of Irish

Based on the dominance of standard Irish in domains of language input for children today, particularly within education as discussed in the previous section, it is important to have an understanding of its development. The revival movement of the late 19th century aimed to increase the use of the language in Irish society, to reintroduce Irish into the education system and to create modern literature in the vernacular (Mac Mathúna 2008; Ní Ghearáin 2012). Due to these modern communication needs, scholars recognised the need for a new standard language system in terms of orthography and grammar. With the establishment of the Free State in 1922 came an even stronger need for standardisation: the newly founded state's language policy included Irish in the education system, public administration and legislation, sectors in which Irish had not been used for hundreds of years (Ní Ghearáin 2012: 205). Although a previous standard system, known as Classical Irish, had existed, Ní Ghearáin (2012: 204-205) states that the language change and decline of classical learning and literature that occurred in Ireland was too great and therefore very few could still master Classical Irish. Consequently, she argues that it was important that the new standard reflected the current speech practices of native speakers if the language was to recover, as a standard based on Classical Irish would isolate many of those who spoke the language at the time.

Finally published in July 1945 by *Rannóg an Aistriúcháin* (the Irish government's translation service), *Litriú na Gaeilge: Lámhleabhar an Chaighdeáin Oifigiúil* only attempted to codify Irish orthography. A more thorough handbook, titled *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (The Grammar and Spelling of Irish: The Official Standard) (CO), which revised orthographical practices and attempted to codify Irish grammar was published in 1958 (Ó Cearúil 1999: 34). *Rannóg an Aistriúcháin*

declared that in preparing the publication, it had sought advice from relevant experts, teachers, native speakers and the general public to assist them in the process (Ní Ghearáin 2012: 11). The editors stated that they adhered to the following principles during the development process:

So far as possible not to accept any form or rule which does not have authority in the living language of An Ghaeltacht.

To make a choice from the forms which are most commonly in use in An Ghaeltacht.

To assign the importance due to the history and literature of Irish.

To seek regularity and simplicity.

(Mac Mathúna 2008: 81-82)

The standard was supported with more detail on Irish syntax set out in *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* ('The Christian Brothers' Irish grammar') in 1960, and revised in 1999 based on the publication of Niall Ó Dónaill's *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* ('The standard Irish-English dictionary'). It was reviewed and revised again in 2012 and yet again in 2017.

Ó Háinle (1994: 791) contends that the main goal of the CO was: "comhaontas a bhunú in áit easaontais" (to establish unity instead of disunity) and it serves the main function of language standardization which Ó hlfearnáin and Ó Murchadha (2011: 97) describe as the "function of providing a unified linguistic tool for practical purposes of state governance and education". Scholars, however, have critiqued the CO from linguistic, sociolinguistic and educational perspectives. On a linguistic level, the first principle, outlined in the introduction is ignored. Ó Béarra (2009: 270) argues that the language in the CO no longer reflects the language spoken by the people and that the CO has been out of touch with the language as spoken in Gaeltacht areas since its publication. Both Ó Béarra (2009: 270) and Ó Mianáin (cited in Ní Ghearáin 2012: 211) also fault attempts made by *Rannóg an Aistriúcháin* to codify and simplify Irish grammar, particularly noun plural forms and numbers. For example, Ó Béarra identifies a lack of pattern with pluralising Irish nouns which end in *-ach* e.g.

bealach (way) – *bealaí* (ways), *cladach* (shore) – *cladaigh* (shores), *cailleach* (hag/witch) – *cailleacha* (hags/witches), and nouns that end in *-asc* e.g. *nasc* (link) – *naisc* (links), *tasc* (task) – *tascanna* (tasks), *lasc* (lash) – *lasca* (lashes). It is also important to note that the standard plural forms of some of the above nouns do not correspond to the spoken language either. For example, in Conamara, the plural forms for *cailleach* and *nasc* are *cailleachaí* and *nascanna*, respectively. Ó Bearra (2009: 270) also posits from an educational perspective that although the CO aims to provide a guide for teaching Irish, these irregularities make it more difficult and less accessible for a learner and states that it is impossible to teach language that differs from what is heard in speech. It must be noted, however, that the standard does not attempt to address matters of phonology and pronunciation and that regional pronunciations remain acceptable (see §2.7 for a discussion on regional differences).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, standardisation of a language under pressure can result in a reduction of loyalty to regional dialects and forms not accepted in the dialects. On the conflicting outcomes of standardisation, Costa et al. (2018: 1) state that “promoting language standards is thus both a way for validating groups and for limiting group-internal diversity”. Although the CO never intended to replace the three main regional dialects, research shows that “the two have not existed in total harmony” (Ó hlfearnáin and Ó Murchadha 2011: 100) and that the promotion of the standard as a prestige form may be partially to blame for the decline of the spoken dialects (Ó hlfearnáin 2008). Ní Ghearáin (2012: 212) advances the argument that the superior status accorded to the standard version as the only accepted authoritative version of written Irish in state institutions not only marginalised and downgraded the regional dialects but its dominance in the public sphere has led to young Irish speakers speaking a combination of their native dialect

code and the standard code, with a mastery of neither code. Ó Murchadha echoes this point, stating that (2010: 233):

the creation of a standard variety for writing in Irish without adequate consideration for the power and ideological definition of standard language have led to a situation where prestige and standardness are ambiguous. The standard variety and traditional Gaeltacht varieties are in conflict and compete for prestige due to the propagation of the standard variety, especially through the education system.

Over-standardisation is also reported as an issue among translators and writers. Mac Lochlainn (2010) provides examples from workshops with professional writers who may have ties with a certain dialect, adopting the standard or another regional variation as they deem it to be more 'correct' or more 'standard' when in reality their own native variation may also be deemed an accepted standard form.

The CO successfully serves as a 'guidebook' for translators and educators and although it may claim to be based on the spoken language of the Gaeltacht, it is clear that instead of supporting their maintenance, it is, in fact, in competition with the traditional spoken dialects.

2.6 *Téarmaíocht na Gaeilge*: Irish terminology

In addition to the standardisation of Irish language, work on lexicography was also deemed necessary after the establishment of the Irish state. Official terminology committees for Irish have been established since 1927 and today, the responsibility lies with *An Coiste Téarmaíochta* (the Terminology Committee), which is run and funded by *Foras na Gaeilge*. The committee is organised primarily on a voluntary basis and Ní Ghearáin (2011: 307) argues that based on this:

the capacity of *An Coiste Téarmaíochta* to conduct in-depth terminology research, to disseminate and implant planned terms, and to anticipate future needs—that is, to engage in planning in the proper sense—has been severely constrained.

Given the prevalence of English in Irish society, Irish speakers often encounter the English term first and are more comfortable with using the English term and adopt it into their lexicon (Ó Domagáin 2013: 227).

The internet and the creation of the terminology database www.tearma.ie make searching for terminology accessible to most nowadays. Ní Ghearáin (2011), however, argues that the lack of a specific target community for terminology planning presents significant obstacles to the success of terminology planning. Terminology is another aspect of language planning in which a problematic relationship between institutionalised organisations and the Gaeltacht community has manifested. Ní Ghearáin's (2011: 305) research builds on anecdotal evidence of 'non-acceptance' of Irish terminology planning by Gaeltacht speakers and finds that their linguistic choices were influenced by societal norms and a degree of ambivalence towards new terminology and the planning structure.

A preference for certain English terms which then results in the English term being adopted into Irish and ultimately being considered a ‘well-established loanword’ has been extensively recorded in Irish CS research. In other cases, even when an Irish term is coined, as Greene (1966: 31) states: “there has been a tendency to form compounds on the English pattern² [...] but these have the weakness of sounding both clumsy and artificial to the Irish ear, and therefore no more attractive than the English words from which they are formed”. Discussing modern terminology and echoing Greene’s statement, Dónall Mac Amhlaigh, an Irish speaker in the 1950s (cited in Ó Catháin 2001: 128), remarked that CS was prevalent but added that he was not sure if the English terms being used were any worse than some of the “téarmaí gránna, místuama nua-aoiseach” (horrible, clumsy modern terms) being coined by committees in Ireland.

The above statements show that the rejection of neologisms is not a new phenomenon and has happened throughout the last century. Ní Ghearáin (2011) in more recent years confirms that this problem with acceptance of modern terminology in Irish among the Irish-speaking community continues and that they have a negative opinion of new terminology and official language planning. Based on this research, Darcy (2014) concludes that speakers, therefore, are strongly inclined to codeswitch when discussing new cultural ideas. The fact that many neologisms are rejected by the community encourages the continued use of CS; the use of Irish terminology is marked in some cases as they would seem overly formal or inappropriate in everyday conversation. However, although new terminology is not deemed necessary for effective daily communication in Gaeltacht areas, based on interviews with Irish Gaeltacht speakers who worked in Irish-speaking sectors, Ní Ghearáin

² Modern terminology often uses the structure ‘specific-general’ but ‘general-specific’ is more natural to native speakers (see Doyle 2015: 245-246). For example the Irish for restaurant is *bialann* (*bia* = food; *-lann* commonly used as an affix in new terminology to indicate ‘a place of’). In contrast, Scottish Gaelic often adheres to the more native ‘general-specific’ as can be seen in the Gaelic for restaurant *taigh-bìdh* (*taigh* = house; *bìdh* = food).

(2018: 48-49) found that the majority of them do recognise the importance of knowing Irish terminology for their work places, as it is deemed “more professional”.

2.7 Dialects of Irish

Much of the data concerning the dialects of different Gaeltacht areas was collected in the first half of the last century and focused on the speech of older and more conservative speakers of Irish, e.g., those least influenced by English (Mac Mathúna 2008: 84). It has been well-documented in research, however, that the Irish spoken in all Gaeltacht areas is continuously departing from these traditional dialectal norms and variation occurs in the speech of each new generation, as will be further discussed in the next section (§2.8). In his thorough work on the Irish spoken in Iorras Aithneach, for example, Ó Curnáin (2007) illustrates the decline in use of aspects of the traditional local dialect, particularly by Irish speakers born after 1960.

As noted in §, there are more than twice as many daily speakers of Irish residing outside of the officially designated Gaeltacht areas today (CSO 2017). As a result, varieties which differ from the traditional dialects have emerged outside of the Gaeltacht in these non-traditional Irish speaking areas where new speakers of Irish have learnt the language, often through schooling. In the past, these learners and speakers tended to covet the traditional speech norms of a particular Gaeltacht area and use them as a target with varying degrees of success (Ó hIfeárnáin & Ó Murchadha 2011: 100). Today, however, the traditional dialects are no longer as valorised and alternative models of language not based on traditional norms have appeared as a result of rapid expansion of speakers and a lack of contact and interaction with Gaeltacht models (O'Rourke & Walsh 2020). Ó Murchadha and Flynn (2018) have referred to this variety as post-Gaeltacht speech.

While it is clear that there is not a general agreement of what constitutes the dialectal divisions in Irish today, traditionally and for practical reasons the dialects of Irish are most often classified according to three major regions:

Connacht, Munster and Ulster. These correspond to three of the four Irish provinces. Although further variations exist within these regions, the Irish spoken in Gaeltacht areas in Conamara, on the Aran Islands and in Mayo is designated as Connacht Irish. The dialect spoken in the Meath Gaeltacht areas, Ráth Chairn and Baile Ghib, is also most often designated as Connacht Irish (Stenson & Ó Ciardha 2009). Ulster Irish is the dialect spoken in the Gaeltacht regions of Donegal, and Munster Irish refers to the Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht areas in Cork, Kerry and Waterford. These dialects differ in aspects of pronunciation, stress, intonation, grammar and vocabulary. A comprehensive overview of these dialects and their differences may be found in *Fuaimeanna na Gaeilge* (Ó Raghallaigh 2013) and also in the *An Teanga Bheo* series (Hickey 2011; Ó Buachalla 2003; Ó Murchú 1998; Ó Sé 1998; Ó Baoill 1996).

This thesis focuses on the Irish spoken by a group of speakers from a Gaeltacht area in Conamara. Distinct features of this dialect will be provided here, particularly those that are manifested in the corpus, and will be compared to traditional features of the other main dialects. The particular subdialect of those involved in the study will be referred to as a Conamara dialect, although it is also recognised that within Conamara variation exists even between neighbouring villages.

Lexical variation is an easily recognisable difference between the dialects. Ó Dochartaigh (1991: 31) states that “words which are specific to one dialect area and which are part of the active vocabulary there would not necessarily form part of even the passive vocabulary of other dialects”. Ó Dochartaigh’s claim was upheld for the most part in the present study’s corpus, where speakers of a Conamara dialect did not tend to adopt lexical variations from the other dialects. Examples of vocabulary specific to Conamara which were

present in the corpus and their traditional equivalents in the other dialects are provided in the table below.

Table 2.1: Traditional dialect vocabulary

English	Conamara	Munster	Ulster
<i>how?</i>	cén chaoi?	conas?	cad é?
<i>dog</i>	gadhar/madadh	madra	madadh
<i>watch</i>	breathnaigh ar	féach ar	amharc ar
<i>fast</i>	sciobtha	tapa	gasta
<i>sometimes</i>	scaití	uaireanta	in amanna
<i>after</i>	théis	tar éis	i ndiaidh
<i>some-</i>	éicint	éigin	éigin
<i>telling</i>	ag inseacht	ag insint	ag insint
<i>each/every</i>	chuile	gach	achan
<i>do (past tense)</i>	rinne	dhein	rinn

While this thesis does not focus on phonology, notable features of traditional Conamara pronunciation will be presented here and compared to the other main dialects for reference.

Unique to Conamara, in multisyllabic words which contain /a/ in the first syllable and is followed by /a:/ in the preceding syllable, the /a/ as pronounced in other dialects is pronounced as a /u/ or /o/. Examples of this include *scadán* /skudɑ:n/, *bradán* /brudɑ:n/ and *caisleán* /kuʃl'ɑ:n (de Bhaldraithe 1945: 87; Ó hUiginn 1994: 548).

Similar to Ulster, but unlike Munster, n is pronounced as /r/ when located between certain consonants and broad vowels, e.g. *cnoc* /kruk/ ('hill'), *mná* /mra:/ ('women'). An /r/ sound is also added before the first vowel in the word *buaigh* /bru:/ ('to win') and the /b/ in *buaigh* is sometimes pronounced as a /g/, i.e. /gru: /.

In Conamara, 'bh/mh' when followed by a broad vowel (a, o, u) at the beginning of words is pronounced as a /w/, while when followed by a slender vowel (i.e. e or i) it is pronounced as /v/. This is in contrast to the Munster pronunciation as a /v/ in both instances.

An /f/ is typically pronounced in the middle of the word *cluiche* /kluf'ə/ ('game') in Conamara.

The pronunciation of prepositional pronouns is particularly notable in the Conamara dialect. The g in the ag prepositional pronouns is silent, e.g. *agam* /'a:m/ ('at me'). A /b/ is often added to the third person plural of the prepositional pronouns with ar and le, e.g. *orthu* /'orhub/ ('on them') and *leo* /lo:b/. The second person plural of the prepositional pronoun with le is pronounced with a /b/ at the end also, e.g. *libh* /l'ib'/ (Ó hUiginn 1994: 601).

Grammatical differences also exist between the dialects. One of the most notable differences is the existence of synthetic forms of verbs in the first and second person singular in the past and future. An example of this is as follows (Hickey 2011: 276):

Chualas scéal nua inné 'I heard a new story yesterday' (Munster)

Chuala mé scéal nua inné 'I heard a new story yesterday'
(Connacht/Ulster).

The mutations triggered by prepositions which precede a noun and the singular form of the article vary between dialects. There is often a preference for lenition in the Ulster dialect and for nasalisation in the Munster and Connacht dialect. This variation between the dialects is shown in the triggered mutation shown in the following example. These mutations can be seen in bold

in the following examples: *ar an bhord* 'on the table' (Ulster); *ar an mbord* 'on the table' (Connacht).

This section has discussed aspects of the traditional dialects for context to the language and has focused on aspects of the Conamara dialect as relevant to the current study. As also mentioned, however, much research has been conducted into the changing language practices of younger generations which deviate from the traditional varieties, particularly since the 1960s and this research will be further discussed in the following section.

2.8 Gaeltacht youth speech (Post-traditional Irish)

In §2.1, the main historical stages of the Irish language were discussed. Within the current late modern age, Ó Curnáin (2009, 2012) has proposed three further junctures of language change which are referred to as: *An Ghaeilge Thraidisiúnta* ('Traditional Irish') – the Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht pre-1960; *An Ghaeilge Neamhthraidisiúnta* (Non-traditional Irish') – the Irish spoken by Gaeltacht speakers born between 1960-1990; and *An Ghaeilge Laghdaithe* ('Reduced Irish') – the Irish spoken by Gaeltacht speakers born after 1990. The umbrella term *An Ghaeilge Iarthraidisiúnta* ('Post-traditional Irish') is used to refer to the latter two phases.

Although no overarching work on post traditional Irish exists, Ó Curnáin (2007) extensively researched aspects of the language spoken in the Iorras Aithneach Gaeltacht in Conamara and Ó Baoill (1996), Ó Sé (1995) and Ó Murchú (1998) provide examples of speech from three Gaeltacht areas (*Uladh*, *Corca Dhuibhne* and *Conamara* respectively) in the *An Teanga Bheo* series. Current speakers of Irish within the Gaeltacht may incorporate both the traditional and post-traditional variety depending on their language background but it is assumed that there will be no traditional Irish speakers left by 2050 (Ó Curnáin 2007: 59). The substantial work conducted by Ó Curnáin on aspects of language including the vocabulary, morphology, phonology and syntax associated with the post-traditional variety is well-summarised and built upon in Lenoach (2012).

The main findings on post-traditional Irish conclude that the Irish spoken today in the Gaeltacht is rapidly shifting from the more traditional local dialectal norms, particularly by younger generations. Examples of these changes include: lenition and eclipsis often missing or misused (e.g. *fuinneog beag*; *an*

cathaoir; ar an bord),³ the verbal noun used as the verb stem in the future tense (e.g. *ráfaidh; fáilfidh*),⁴ pronunciation difference between slender and broad consonants weakening (e.g. *rothar /rohər/* versus *rothair /rohír'/*) and incorrect verbal noun object placement (e.g. *bhí muid in ann tóg deochanna; tá mé ag iarraidh cur caoi air*).⁵ Ó Curnáin (2009: 114) also states that in addition to being unable to speak the traditional form of the language, some younger speakers also have difficulty understanding certain aspects of traditional Irish. An increased use of CS, borrowing and calquing is also viewed as a vital difference between traditional Irish and post traditional Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht today. Ó Curnáin (2007: 1915) writes that “almost all non-every-day words” found in his corpus are in English.

Ó Curnáin (2009, 2012) associates the language change that has occurred within the Gaeltacht with the decline of traditional life in the Gaeltacht. Ó Riagáin (1997: 141) concurs, writing that:

interaction systems have shifted very considerably in the period since 1960, due to changes in demographic, occupational, educational, retailing and car ownership patterns [...] Formerly, in rural areas work, school, shop and church networks tended to coincide and operate within the same locality. Nowadays, people may only reside in rural areas, but work, attend school, and shop elsewhere.

As a result of this shift in interaction systems, access to traditional speaker models has become more limited (Ó hÍfearnáin 2008; Ó Curnáin 2009). While numbers of traditional speakers have decreased, engagement with English and non-local traditional varieties through digital and broadcast media and personal encounters have continued to increase (Ó Murchadha & Ó hÍfearnáin 2018). In the context of language shift from Irish to English, lack of input from

³ Traditional form: *fuinneog bheag* (small window); *an chathaoir* (the chair); *ar an mbord* (on the table).

⁴ Traditional form: *déarfaidh* (will say); *gheobhaidh* (will get).

⁵ Traditional form: *bhí muid in ann deochanna a thógáil* (we were able to take drinks); *tá mé ag iarraidh caoi a chur air* (I want to fix it)..

the traditional form is often cited as a concern for the acquisition of Irish and its future use (Lenoach 2012; Ó Curnáin 2012). Ó Giollagáin and Mac Donnacha (2008: 114) and Lenoach (2014) state that this limited social and communal reinforcement of the language leads to ‘incomplete acquisition’. This hypothesis will be further discussed in §3.1.2 and §0.

Terms such as reduced speaker and incomplete acquisition often present the use of post-traditional Irish as stigmatised and as a linguistic failure on the part of the speaker. In questioning the efficacy of traditional Irish as a valid speech model, Ó Murchadha & Ó hÍfearnáin (2018: 461) argue that as a result of revival and maintenance efforts which valorised the traditional variety and ideologised it as the target variety:

Post-traditional linguistic features of Gaeltacht youth speech ... are commonly perceived, in Niedzielski and Preston’s (2003: 22) terms, as performance deviations from competence and not as alternative competencies.

They instead view the post-traditional variety simply as a linguistic innovation which reflects the sociolinguistic environments of Gaeltacht speakers in the late modern age (2018: 461). Instead of measuring ability through comparison to the traditional variety, standard grammar or English language ability, Ó Murchadha (2020: 57) encourages recognition of the way speakers use language to convey meaning and express themselves and also recognises the importance of supporting ways to help speakers broaden their repertoires and linguistic knowledge throughout time. He seeks to dismantle the prescriptive notion of pre-determined rules for how language should be spoken and he does this as he acknowledges the negative effect which delegitimization of a language practice can have on speakers of a language and the community of practice.

As will be further established in §, CS is a common characteristic of language contact, in Ireland and in many other countries around the world. This section highlights, however, that CS and other aspects of the linguistic variety associated with Gaeltacht youth speech are stigmatised. The focus is often on prescriptivism and conforming to an outdated model and the sociolinguistic factors and reality that are active within the community are not fully considered.

2.9 The area of study

Due to the variation between Gaeltacht areas and the relative geographical distance between them, it is important to contextualise the area of study to help gain a better understanding of the factors and issues at play within it.

The area is located in the South-Conamara Gaeltacht located to the west of Galway city on the western seaboard. In order to protect participants' anonymity, the area's exact location and the names of the schools visited will not be provided but to contextualise the discussion and analysis of the thesis, this section provides an overview of key background information. Some references (e.g. local language plan, local organisation resources) or page numbers have not been provided as a necessary step to further protect participants' anonymity. This work is applauded and appreciated and greatly helped in the writing of this section. The topics covered are area demographics, reported language use, employment, services and infrastructure, education, and culture, sport and entertainment. This section highlights the strength of the Irish language within the area and the potential reasons for this in comparison to the dwindling numbers of Irish speakers in other Gaeltacht areas. Issues and concerns regarding language maintenance as expressed by community members will also be discussed.

2.9.1 Demographics

The population of the Gaeltacht as a whole declined by 50% compared to an 11% reduction for the State as a whole between 1891 and 1966. This area's population data mirrors this large Gaeltacht population decline. By 1891, the area was home to slightly more than 2000 people, a figure which represented just 58% of the population reported in 1891. Emigration is cited as the principal cause of this decline. In the 1980s, a community organisation reported that of

those born in the 1920s, over 65% lived in London, Huddersfield and Birmingham; and of those born in the 1940s, approximately 90% had left the area and the great majority lived in the UK and the USA. Despite a slight population decline in recent years, the precipitous decline has stabilised since the 1970s.

According to 2016 Census reports, the area has maintained a population of just over 2,000. The population increased by around 100 in 2011 compared to 2006, but it decreased again in 2016 by around 140 people. The ratio of men to women in the area was reported to be almost even in 2016, at 50.8% and 49.2% respectively. Age demographics are similar to national figures. Less than a quarter of the population (24%) are under the age of 18, 21.8% are between the ages of 19-39, 35.4% are between the ages of 40-65 and 18.7% are aged 65 or over. The largest age demographic is those aged 55-59 (8.3%) while the youngest age demographic, those aged 0-4, comprises 4% of the area's population and is the smallest age group of those aged 74 and under. In 2016, there were 113 children aged between 7 and 10, which approximately corresponds to the 10–13-year-old age group involved in this study in 2019 and they make up 5.3% of the area's population. Only 3.6% of the area's population in 2016 reported being non-Irish nationals.

2.9.2 Reported language use

Both historically and currently, this area is considered to be among the strongest Irish-speaking areas. Most Gaeltacht districts showed evidence of language shift towards English in 1926, while the area involved in this study documented a clear indication of language maintenance with over 98% of the population reported as Irish speakers (Ó Riagáin 1997). The 3-4 year old age group, however, was reported as only 89%, which suggests a slight reduction in intergenerational transmission. The area also recorded the highest

proportion of Irish monolinguals across IRELAND in 1926. Although the population continued to decline between 1961 and 1981, data collected on Irish speakers indicated a continuation of language maintenance during this period with 98% of the population reported as Irish speakers in 1961, 96.5% in 1971 and 98.5% in 1981 (Ó Riagáin 1997). The population increased to over 2000 again by 1991, of which 95.2% were reported as Irish speakers (CSO 1996). In 2016, over 90% of people aged 3 and over reported that they are able to speak Irish and over 70% of the population aged 3 and over reported that they speak Irish daily outside of the education system. The percentage of people reporting an ability to speak Irish has remained relatively stable since 2006 but the reported percentage of daily speakers has increased by almost 10%. Questions regarding Irish language use have varied throughout census data history which the above data is based on; therefore, the data from each census year is not directly comparable (Ó Riagáin 2018) but these figures provide a good indication of general Irish language use and strength within the area of the study. These figures provide some confidence in regard to the stability of Irish language in the area and is in contrast to the decreasing numbers of daily Irish language users in most other Gaeltacht areas.

The area's language plan published in 2019 confirmed that Irish is still the dominant household language. Nonetheless, the percentage of young speakers who reported using 'only Irish' in social and public settings was significantly lower than the percentage of adults who reported using only Irish in these settings. 67.07% of adults reported using 'only Irish' with friends and 65.75% at sporting and social events, while 26.92% of girls under eighteen reported using only Irish at their friends' homes and 25% at sporting and social events. 28.57% of boys under eighteen reported using Irish only at friends' homes and 40% at sporting and social events. 'Mostly Irish' was the most common choice reported by those under eighteen in these settings (42.86 –

66.6%). The reported rate of ‘only Irish’ use in the school yard by under eighteens was 50% of girls and 53.85% of boys, while 42.31% of girls reported using ‘mostly Irish’ and 38.46% of boys.

Table 2.2 Language Use by U18s according to LPA

	Only Irish		Mostly Irish	
	<i>Girls U18</i>	<i>Boys U18</i>	<i>Girls U18</i>	<i>Boys U18</i>
Sporting & social events	25%	40%	66.67%	44%
At friends’ homes	26.92%	28.57%	57.69%	42.86%
School yard	50%	53.85%	42.31%	38.46%

English language use is unavoidable within even the strongest Gaeltacht areas today; therefore, low percentages of ‘only Irish’ language use are unsurprising. When these figures are combined with the ‘mostly Irish’ responses, however, we see that Irish language usage is still reasonably stable amongst young speakers in the area.

Both young and adult respondents reported feeling positively towards Irish when asked if they felt it was important to the area with 98.2% recognising it as the language of the community and 96.59% recognising it as important to the next generation. Teenagers reported that Irish was still spoken but that it was weakening and even within the area of study there were smaller areas in which it was weaker than others. They reported that even the most competent Irish speakers who were born and raised with it were now choosing to speak English. The rapid growth of social media and technology was provided as one reason for this decline. Older generations also reported their concerns over the decline in Irish use by teenagers. Ó Giollagáin et al. (2007) have noted the dominance of English in Gaeltacht teenagers’ socialisation, even among those raised with only Irish at home. They attribute this to the dominance of English in youth culture and the effect of custom and practice over years of

social interaction with other children being through English. Evidence from other Gaeltacht areas in recent years has convincingly shown that English is the language of choice of most teenagers in online social settings (Ó hlfearnáin 2022: 126).

2.9.3 Employment

In the early 1980s, the region's average unemployment stood at approximately 60% (Brennan 1991). Although this has since improved, unemployment rates here continue to be considerably higher than the national average. In 2016, the unemployment rate was almost 30%. This is over twice the national average, and one of the highest rates of all Gaeltacht areas.

The Pobal HP Deprivation Index, based on demographic profiles, social class composition and labour market situation, is the state's main measurement of levels of affluence and disadvantage. This index categorised the entire area as a disadvantaged area as it scored more than 15 points below the national average (AIRO 2018). One electoral division within the area scored more than 20 points below the national average, which results in it being categorised as highly disadvantaged.

It is estimated that just 22.9% of those employed actually work within the area, while 31.9% commute to Galway rural, and Galway city and suburbs and 11.4% commute to other Gaeltacht areas close by. The location for the remaining 30.8% is either unknown or a mobile destination. For those who live and work in the area, the three main sources of employment fall within three sectors: Education, Human Health and Social Work (37.3%), Wholesale, Retail Trade, Transportation, Accommodation and Food (22.3%) and Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing (15%). These three sectors, in addition to Construction,

represent the main sources of employment for the entire workforce who work either within or outside of the area.

While the area is not a popular tourist destination, the local economy does depend on seasonal Irish college activity. The figures for this specific area are unknown but the colleges' economic impact can be understood from the estimate that Irish colleges attract around 27,000 students to Gaeltacht areas nationwide and are worth €50 million to the Gaeltacht economy (*The Irish Times* 2020). There are three colleges based within the area which offer day trips for primary schools, summer courses for secondary school students and placement courses for university students studying to become primary school teachers. The economic benefits of these colleges is shared by the entire community, from *mná tí* (hosts), local teachers, teenagers employed to work as *cúntóirí* (language assistants), bus drivers, local shopkeepers, local facilities, and even tradesmen employed to carry out the upkeep and repairs of college buildings and host homes.

2.9.4 Services & infrastructure

Due to its peripherality, the area has habitually suffered from poorer infrastructure and fewer services than the national average. In 1971, only 11% of all houses had an indoor public water supply; over 67% of households had no piped water supply; and only 41% of houses had an electricity supply. These factors, in addition to fewer health, education and transport services exacerbated the isolation of rural life at the time. Not only were schools overpopulated, but the limited health services made available were often delivered by visiting doctors and nurses who spoke only English. Today, the area hosts a health centre, although only operating with limited working hours. Other local facilities include a GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) club, a sports centre, two pubs, two shops, one post office, two churches, a heritage centre and

community centres which organise culture, language and educational courses, summer camps, sporting activities and provide other services. The area's language plan reported in 2019 that the churches, *naíonraí*, childcare and schools provided the highest percentage of services through Irish only (78.57% - 80.8%), while state-provided services –such as health centres, carers and social protection – provided the least number of services through Irish only (<12%).

Public transport to and from the area continues to be an issue with only very limited bus services available to travel to Galway city at what passengers consider to be a high cost. The state of the roads in the area also continues to be a point of contention. Action groups continually agitate for necessary improvements to ensure the safety of local residents and to increase the area's accessibility. In 2016, 70.7% of Irish households had broadband, while only 43.1% of households within the field of study reported having broadband. In October 2020, however, the Government published a 'National Broadband Plan' which promises to deliver high speed broadband services to all premises in Ireland, to ensure that "no-one in Ireland is left behind" (Irish Government 2020). The plan acknowledged the critical need for this service in ensuring that all citizens and businesses, no matter their location, can progress together. This facility is particularly important in the context of new 'work from home' legislation, which could potentially allow some who relocated elsewhere in the county for work to return to Gaeltacht areas (2021: i).

2.9.5 Education

There are two *naíonraí* (Irish-medium playschools) in the area which function under the stewardship of *Comhar Naíonraí na Gaeltachta*, the nationally recognised 'Early Years Service Provider' throughout the Gaeltacht. One group offers two sessions a day, morning and afternoon, while the other group

offers a morning session only. The area's recent language plan reported that the service is administered through Irish but in 'a considerate manner' in order to accommodate Irish learners. The director of one *naíonra* reported in an interview for the plan that although they have an Irish language policy, it is not always strongly enforced as they believe it can discourage Irish language use among the children. The main challenge cited by the director in promoting Irish language use among the children is parents who do not or cannot speak Irish at home.

A number of primary schools have closed in the last fifteen years due to decreasing enrolment numbers and government amalgamation policies. Today, five primary schools remain open with an average enrolment for the 2020/2021 school year of 37 pupils. The lowest reported enrolment was fifteen pupils, while the highest was seventy-nine. In the language plan for the LPT, the most common challenge reported by schools was the extra time and pressure associated with educating pupils with no Irish, especially those who join in the later school years. Principals reported themselves as happy with the online Irish language resources available to them but wished more Irish books were available, particularly for the older classes. Some of the challenges that principals listed included finding ways that help promote and encourage Irish language use without enforcing it and dealing with parents who were not able to speak or chose not to speak Irish as challenges. Proposals made in the plan include the development of a language scheme in schools to incorporate cultural and heritage aspects with language enrichment through lessons on folklore, place names, literature, biodiversity and history. It also proposed further development and funding of *Scéim na gCúntoirí Teanga*, the development of textbooks in the local dialect and inviting guest speakers and organisations who work with Irish to speak in the schools to showcase the advantages and opportunities associated with speaking Irish.

2.9.6 Culture, sport & entertainment

The local GAA club was established in 1964 and plays a role in the lives of most members of the community at some point. The club organises Gaelic football training from age six onwards from spring to autumn and camps for children during the summer. The Irish language has always played an important role in the club and it participates in *Comórtas Peile na Gaeltachta* (Gaeltacht Football Competition) which is held yearly in different Gaeltacht areas. A representative from the club cited in the local language plan that the club has a strong Irish language use policy and that great effort is made to encourage Irish use within the organisation but that at times younger players, especially teenagers, could be heard speaking English.

Gasóga Mara na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Sea Scouts) was established in 2016 and there were seventy children from the area and from neighbouring Gaeltacht areas involved in 2019. The organisation uses local halls and piers where they organise coastal walks and activities. Irish is the language of instruction when providing the children with knowledge about the sea and the shorelines of the area. However, exceptions are made by instructors and English is used with a few children who have moved to the area from England.

The Galway Hooker (traditional sailing boat) and hooker sailing still play a role in the community. Although the hookers are no longer depended on for the economic livelihood of the community, they are still sailed as a leisure and heritage activity. Ó Sabhain and McGrath (2020) have found that the Galway hooker represents “a domain of inseparability between language, culture and sailing” where the Irish language has been strongly preserved and remains naturally practiced. One of the younger interviewees that they spoke to reported that they have only ever heard Irish being used in the hookers they have sailed in and explained that while they might switch to English out of

politeness to a visitor on a football pitch, this was not the case with hooker-sailing. Another man who was a local schoolteacher reported that they had noticed a decline in the social use of Irish in the Gaeltacht amongst his pupils but noted “the power of hooker connection with language renewal” and that he witnessed this in a boy who would never speak Irish to him in the past but who now only speaks Irish with him after becoming more involved with the hookers.

Other recreational activities organised within the community include sean-nós (old tradition) dancing and singing which are run through Irish. Irish dancing classes are also held and are provided by an English speaking teacher. The local sports centre offer a range of sport activities run through both Irish and English, depending on the instructor.

2.9.7 Conclusion

This section has shown that Irish is still an integral part of life within the area of study and seems to be the dominant language choice in most domains, apart from some of the state-run services such as the health centre and home carers. Although stances on the language variety spoken by younger members of the community were not exposed within the research reviewed, there are clear concerns from community members about the amount of Irish used amongst young speakers. Although monolingual English speakers or those with limited Irish ability are in the minority, it is clear that their presence in schools and at sporting and social events has a strong influence on language choice within groups. It is clear that although most people have strong positive views towards Irish and most services claim to have strong Irish policies to support the language, speakers feel a pressure, whether consciously or subconsciously, to accommodate this minority. Overall, however, the vital role of the Irish language within the community is a positive finding.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Who is bilingual?

CS is considered a hallmark of bilingual language use but the question of who can be considered bilingual has been long debated in the literature and understandings of this concept have drastically changed throughout the last century. In 1933, Bloomfield characterised bilingualism as a rare occurrence that only happens when someone achieves native-like proficiency in a second language (L2) without any loss in their first language (L1), hence having 'native-like control of two languages' (Bloomfield 1933: 55). This definition proves problematic, however, as it raises the issue of what constitutes native-like proficiency; even monolingual speakers of a language do not use or speak their shared language in the same manner or with the same level of grammatical accuracy. Weinreich (1968: 1) echoed this maximalist approach, stating that 'the ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to the appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.), but not in unchanged speech situations, and certainly not within a single utterance'. More recent understandings and definitions seem to emphasise usage rather than fluency and correctness, with researchers such as Grosjean (2010: 4) proposing that bilinguals be defined as 'those who use two or more languages or dialects in their everyday lives'. Both Grosjean (2010) and Montrul (2008) disagree that speakers must have equal and perfect knowledge of their languages in order to be considered bilinguals, as others have suggested in the past. Montrul (2008: 18) asserts that:

The reality is that most bilinguals are linguistically unbalanced [...] Bilingual speakers typically possess a stronger and a weaker language. The stronger language is more native-like than the weaker language. However, the relative strength of the two languages fluctuates along the lifespan depending on a variety of factors, such as age and order of acquisition, as well as what language is most often used and preferred

in the community...and the contexts for use of each language (home, church, school, work, etc.).

Grosjean (2010: 29) notes that most bilinguals around the world acquire and rely on their languages on different bases, often used in different domains or with different people. His understanding of bilingualism agrees with Montrul's stance that the strength of a bilingual's language can depend on the context in which that language is used, which is evident in the case of many bilinguals whose lexical knowledge can vary depending on topic.

Although there is now an acceptance of various levels of fluency and prescriptive and descriptive accuracy within bilingualism, nonetheless, researchers draw distinctions between different types of bilingualism. Li Wei (2000: 4-5) provides a substantial list and descriptions of various dimensions of bilingualism. The list includes:

- *Additive bilingual*: Someone whose two languages combine in a complementary and enriching fashion.
- *Balanced bilingual*: Someone whose mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent.
- *Co-ordinate bilingual*: Someone whose two languages are learnt in distinctively separate contexts.
- *Dominant bilingual*: Someone with greater proficiency in one of their languages and who uses it significantly more than the other language(s).
- *Early bilingual*: Someone who has acquired two languages early in childhood.
- *Horizontal bilingual*: Someone who is bilingual in two distinct languages which have a similar or equal status.
- *Late bilingual*: Someone who has become a bilingual later than childhood.
- *Receptive bilingual*: Someone who understands a second language, in either its spoken or written form, or both, but does not necessarily speak or write it.
- *Semilingual*: Someone with insufficient knowledge of either language.
- *Simultaneous bilingual*: Someone whose two languages are present from the onset of speech.

- *Subordinate bilingual*: Someone who exhibits interference in his or her language usage by reducing the patterns of the second language to those of the first.
- *Subtractive bilingual*: Someone whose second language is acquired at the expense of the aptitudes already acquired in the first language.
- *Successive bilingual*: Someone whose second language is added at some stage after the first has begun to develop.

Similarly, Cummins (1979, 2017) differentiates between additive and subtractive bilingualism which refer to the context of bilingual language acquisition, and also sequential and simultaneous bilingualism which refer to the age of acquisition. Additive bilingualism is defined as the process of learning a second language at no cost to the first language, which continues to develop and be valued with the addition of the second language. In contrast, subtractive bilingualism is defined as the situation that obtains when a second language is added at the expense of the first language, which diminishes as a consequence. Simultaneous bilingualism denotes when two languages are acquired and developed simultaneously as first languages, which often happens when both parents use different languages within the home with their child or when their primary caretaker uses a language different from the home language (Grosjean 2010: 178). In contrast, successive bilingualism, noted as the most common form of bilingualism, relates to the process of an additional language being acquired after the individual has acquired a basic command of their first language (Grosjean 2010: 184).

The general term bilingual will be most often adopted to describe this study's participants, no matter their perceived linguistic ability, but more descriptive terms will be used throughout the thesis when referring to other research. Differentiation, however, will be made between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals. As it is most relevant to this thesis due to the conditions brought about by the area of study, simultaneous bilingualism will be further examined in the following sections.

3.1.1 Bilingual first language acquisition

Children's development is the result of a complex interplay between their own developing neurological and physical abilities (their maturation) and the way their caretakers interact with them. Children's language learning is an integral part of their overall development and takes place at the intersection of interaction, socialization and maturation (De Houwer 2009: 20)

Approaches to the study of child language acquisition vary and the area has been researched from widely differing theoretical perspectives, including linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and developmental psychology. Referring to child language acquisition, Bloomfield (1933) once stated that language acquisition "is doubtless the greatest intellectual feat any of us is ever required to perform", yet most children make it look easy. Researchers for the most part agree on the patterns of development in child language acquisition. The mechanisms responsible for that development, however, remain far from apparent and various competing theories exist (see Bialystok 2001: 32-49). While it is difficult to fully understand how children acquire one language, the factors involved in acquiring two languages seem more complex, and this has developed into its own field of research. Bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) refers to the simultaneous development of two languages in young children (De Houwer 2009: 2) and is distinguished from second language acquisition, which refers to the sequential acquisition of a second language in both children and adults. Montrul (2008) states that simultaneous bilingualism applies to those who are exposed to and acquire two languages before the age of 3. De Houwer (2009) adds that babies overhearing a second language at first and not being directly addressed in the language qualifies as BFLA.

Although some research suggests that genetic factors may partially account for differences in language acquisition, this advantage is considerably

outweighed by environmental factors (O'Toole 2009: 170). It is widely agreed that language exposure, language use and environmental factors all play key roles in bilingual language acquisition and in an individual's output (Bialystok 2001; De Houwer 2009; De Houwer 2011; Krashen 1985; Thordadottir 2011; Hoff & Core 2013). Infants start producing and playing with sounds in the form of babbling from about 6 months, begin to produce single words in the second year of life and towards the end of the second year and by toddler age begin to produce short two- or three-word utterances. The most profound development occurs in the third year of life with children producing multi-word utterances which rapidly increase in length and depth of vocabulary from then on (Patterson 1998; De Houwer 2009).

Bialystok (2001: 66) posits that "the patterns of vocabulary acquisition for the two languages, although idiosyncratic, develop systematically in response to language exposure in the environment". In simple terms, the more input and exposure a child receives in a language, the more they will acquire (Pearson et al. 1997; De Houwer 2007; De Houwer 2009; Thordardottir 2011). Rothman (2007: 361) states that "the only external variable necessary to guarantee linguistic acquisition is sufficient exposure to input". Paradis (2004) posits a theoretical framework entitled 'The Activation Threshold Hypothesis' which draws correlations between activation and frequency of use of language items and assumes that the more frequently used or encountered a language item, the more easily accessible in the speaker's memory it is. Language items which are not used or encountered may ultimately be forgotten and language disuse may ultimately lead to language attrition. Language attrition is understood as the process of the changes which occur to a person's first language as a result of declining use due to a change in their linguistic environment or their language habits, e.g., the introduction of an L2 (see Schmid 2011). The framework also states that productive knowledge is more likely to be forgotten than receptive knowledge as production requires a higher

level of language activation and as a result, speakers will more often fail to retrieve words for productive purposes but will less often fail to understand the meaning of words they hear. Clearly, the amount and quality of input is of great importance in lexical development (Hoff 2006). When considering input and exposure, De Houwer (2009: 96) suggests posing the following questions:

1. What are the roles of those providing the input in the children's lives?
2. How many languages do those providing the input speak?
3. Do those providing the input differ a lot in their language use patterns?
4. Is input only speech directly addressed to children or does it also include overheard speech?
5. What are the other ways that languages are presented to children (e.g. radio and television)?

Considering the different aspects of language input and exposure is essential in order to have a broader understanding of bilingual children's language development. The different aspects of actual language input and exposure can vary greatly between children and may ultimately result in quite large differences in their spoken language. De Houwer (2009: 96) refers to "the totality of the spoken language use that children encounter" as their personal "linguistic soundscape". Children's social networks vary which means that their linguistic soundscapes will also greatly vary. Some children may spend a lot of time with the same few people while other children may spend less individual time with people, but may be exposed to much larger groups and hence more diverse ways of speaking. Both contexts exert their own particular effect on children's language development (De Houwer 2009: 101). When changes in input and exposure patterns occur, bilingual children's language use can be greatly affected. One major change to a child's linguistic soundscape occurs once they attend school. The school language, often also the societal language, may differ from the home language and begins to gain importance. The school's ethos and policies, the opportunities for learning to read and write in both (or more) languages, and their peers' attitudes and practices can impact the child's language use.

In her study of the French-English bilingual context in Montreal, Thordardottir (2011: 436-437) reported that at least 40% of relative exposure in a language was required in order to be comparable to the input monolingual children receive in a language. Her study controlled for factors such as minority/majority language status, non-verbal cognition and socio-economic status, but allowed for varying levels of language exposure. She concluded that:

the results clearly confirm that monolingual norms cannot be applied wholesale to bilingual children, as is widely accepted. However, they also clearly show that bilingual children cannot all be represented by a single bilingual norm, but that, instead, the expectation as to normal vocabulary development needs to take into account their language history (2011: 441).

Bialystok (2001: 58) supports the belief that we should not expect bilingual children's language acquisition to reflect the same patterns as monolingual children; linguistic representation for bilinguals is notably different. As briefly discussed in establishing 'who is bilingual', the levels of knowledge and skills that BFLA children have in their languages can greatly differ and they may not develop each of their languages at equal pace. Researchers suspect that this uneven development is the norm for BFLA children rather than the exception (De Houwer 2009; Grosjean 1982, 2010). Exposure, input, use, the power of the societal language, parental attitudes, strategies and beliefs, and peer pressure have a combined effect on BFLA children and their relative linguistic development (De Houwer 2007, 2009)

Bilingual children's language choice is not random. From an early age, bilingual children use the language that is expected and switch easily between unilingual utterances in their languages and mixed utterances based on sociolinguistic factors such as their interlocutors, location and topic (De Houwer 2009; Deuchar & Quay 2000; Genesee et al. 1996). De Houwer (2009: 46) argues that their ability to easily switch based on these factors resembles bilingual adults' language use from the onset of speech.

While comparison can be made between the language learning experiences of all simultaneous bilinguals, acquiring a minority language simultaneously with a majority language raises unique difficulties and certain factors need more consideration. This will be further explored in the following section.

3.1.2 BFLA in the minority language context

Clearly, input greatly impacts language acquisition, which raises issues for those acquiring a minority language as an L1. Studies show that simultaneous bilinguals acquire a majority language relatively easily, but the acquisition of a minority language is more challenging, even if it is the home language (Gathercole & Thomas 2009; Paradis 2011; O'Toole & Hickey 2016; Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey 2019).

Gathercole and Thomas's (2005, 2009) research in the Welsh-English context found that in bilingual communities where a majority language is acquired alongside a minority language, the majority language will be acquired by all to equivalent levels regardless of the home language. The minority language, however, can only be fully acquired under certain conditions. If only a small percentage of a population speak a language and only use the language in certain domains, the levels of input in and exposure to the minority language will be more limited than for the majority language. As a result, they also found that the delayed acquisition of the majority language and high input levels in the minority language correlated strongly with long-term acquisition and stronger language abilities in the minority language, while long-term acquisition and abilities in the majority language appeared to be universal. Their findings simply suggest that the majority language, English in this case, is acquired equally across all home language backgrounds. Rodina and Westergaard (2017) found that the timing of acquisition, in other words how

early minority language acquisition begins before the majority language is introduced, does not compensate for reduced levels of input in the minority language. The one-parent-one-language approach (Barron-Hauwaert 2004) is often advised as the best language strategy for bilingual families. Gathercole and Thomas (2009: 233), however, argue that in a minority language context, speaking only the minority language in the home with both parents (or other guardians) and with close contacts is necessary to achieve balanced or equal bilingualism.

In the Gaelic context in Scotland, Nance (2019) found that any phonological 'advantage' that children from Gaelic-speaking homes may have over those not previously exposed to Gaelic when they first attend Gaelic-medium school education levels out by pre-adolescence. She argues that the amount of input and exposure to a language is more important than age of onset for language production, especially in the minority language context, and the implications of this study is that the levels of input received in the Gaelic-speaking homes was too low to offer any acquisition 'advantage' in acquiring phonology. Other studies conducted in minority language immersion school contexts have found that when L1 and L2 children are mixed, L1 children tend to adopt the errors of the L2 learners (Jones 1998; Hickey 2005).

According to Gathercole and Thomas (2009) what makes the dominant language dominant may also be relevant in understanding the bilingual relationship of the competing languages. In the context of their research, English was the language of power for centuries while Welsh was suppressed and in decline. As a result, English is still largely considered as the language of opportunity by many, especially for higher education and employment, which greatly contributes to English's dominance. In the case of children and teenagers:

bilingual children who speak a minority language at home become aware very early in life of the political and social status of the languages they speak when they start to socialize beyond the home through childcare, friends and other social interactions. Even when children are encouraged to use the minority language at home, preference for the majority language is very strong. (Montrul 2008: 101)

As noted in the Gaeltacht, Ó Giollagáin et al. (2007) found that English is the dominant language of teenagers' socialisation, even among those raised in Irish-speaking households, due to the dominance of English in youth culture. With the continued rise and success of social media applications aimed at younger generations (Instagram, Snapchat, TikTok, etc.) since this observation, it can be confidently assumed that this dominance has only continued and strengthened.

Montrul (2008) posited a theory of 'Incomplete Acquisition' based on studies of heritage language learners, those acquiring a minority language in a majority language context. The model is situated in the context of immigrant families who speak a minority language in the home, in competition with the majority language of the community, which is a different reality to the Gaeltacht A area involved in the study where Irish remains the language of the community. Direct comparisons cannot be made between both settings. Nevertheless, English dominates many of the domains outside of the home in which participants from Irish-speaking homes interact and the theory has been applied by researchers in the Gaeltacht context (see §3.1.3.4); therefore, reviewing the theory is relevant. In summary, the theory predicts that a bilingual's linguistic ability in their L1 minority language will be reduced as a result of the pressure exerted by the majority language and that they will therefore incompletely acquire the L1 (Montrul 2008). Montrul (2008: 23) states that the extent of incomplete acquisition of vocabulary and grammatical systems is especially dependent on the age of acquisition of the majority language and that the effects are likely to be more severe in simultaneous

bilinguals than in sequential bilinguals who acquire the majority language later, as they receive less input in their family language. The family language in the context of her proposed theory is understood to be the minority language, as is typical for children of first-generation immigrants. In reference to longitudinal studies conducted, she deduces that they show that:

pre-school bilingual children who speak a minority language run the risk of developing incomplete proficiency in the minority language as a result of intense contact with the majority language and reduced exposure and use of the minority language. Very often, minority language-speaking children do not reach age-appropriate levels of morphological development.

(Montrul 2008: 117).

Additionally, those sequential bilingual children who acquire the majority language predominantly at school are also “subject to strong societal and peer influences toward a preference for the majority language” (Montrul 2008: 99). In 2008, Montrul (2008: 7) asserted that her theory does not seek to support a deficit model of bilingualism and that it should be understood as a descriptive model. However, she later recognised theoretical problems with her concept as it cannot be claimed that languages can be acquired completely (2016: 125). Previously, native-like competence and achieving optimal norms were set as the benchmark of assessing whether someone has achieved complete acquisition of a language. Understanding native-like competence is difficult, as not even typically developing monolinguals acquire their languages in the same way. Native-like competence is even more difficult to measure when discussing a minority language which has been in contact with a majority language for decades, as is the case in the Gaeltacht context.

Cabo and Rothman (2012) have challenged the term “incomplete acquisition” and argued that the monolingual and bilingual realities of language acquisition are distinctive due to environmental reasons and that heritage speakers’ language competence, therefore, cannot be considered as incomplete but

instead simply as different from the monolinguals'. They believe that the theory ignores the role of input, the central component of language acquisition, and emphasise that the input a heritage speaker receives cannot be compared to the input received by a monolingual. They conclude that what has been referred to as incomplete acquisition is imprecise, as heritage speakers are capable of mastering and acquiring all of the input that they receive, but this input may be influenced by the potential language attrition of their parents.

Additionally important to note in reviewing the theory of incomplete acquisition is the difficulty of establishing the difference between incomplete acquisition and language attrition. Such a differentiation is impossible in the absence of longitudinal data in order to establish what is known and then lost due to L2 exposure, and what is never acquired. A comparison between age groups does not provide this information especially in light of the fact that each bilingual's experience of language acquisition is unique and varied. When assessing minority language speaking children's performance, Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey (2019, 2021) urge that language change and its effects on acquisition outcomes, differences between home language exposure, and actual current language use among proficient speakers instead of idealised monolingual speakers of previous generations or formal standard varieties, should all be considered in order to achieve a more accurate understanding of abilities and also educational needs.

3.1.3 Bilingualism and BFLA in the Gaeltacht

The rapid language shift at the end of the 19th century, as discussed in §**Error! Reference source not found.**, resulted in monolingual Irish speakers becoming a rarity and today, none remain (Hickey 2009). Bilingualism is now the reality for all Irish speakers within and outwith the Gaeltacht. With almost 40% of the population over the age of 3 reporting an ability to speak Irish (CSO 2017) and the language being a compulsory subject at both primary and secondary level, based on the expansive definitions of bilinguals provided in this section, a large portion of the country's population can be considered bilinguals. Within the Gaeltacht, dimensions of bilingualism vary and there is space for further research on language development in this context. Findings from research to date will be presented here.

3.1.3.1 VOCABULARY DEVELOPMENT

O'Toole (2009) conducted a study of 21 Irish speaking children aged 18-40 months from the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht, a Gaeltacht area in county Kerry. Her study was motivated by the dearth of research on the development of Irish as an L1 and therefore a poor understanding of the nature, timing and rate of vocabulary and grammatical development of L1 speakers. She attempted to adapt an effective and efficient tool for assessing early language development for the Irish language. She considered the children in her study to be successive bilinguals as according to their parents, Irish was the dominant language in the home until about 3 years of age. Her findings on vocabulary development, however, clearly show that although Irish is the dominant language, they simultaneously acquire English during this period. Parents may choose to speak only Irish in the home when raising their children; however, due to the ever-increasing presence of English (e.g. within the community, via the media) children's exposure to English is inevitable from a very young age and this exposure will increase through various channels as the children grow

older. Similar studies in more recent years have also noted vocabulary development in both Irish and English in the earliest stages of language development and based on the data collected on participants aged 8 to 40 months, the studies have recognised that most children acquiring Irish at home in the Gaeltacht today are likely to be simultaneous bilinguals (O'Toole 2009; O'Toole & Hickey 2016).

3.1.3.2 GRAMMATICAL DEVELOPMENT

Recognising a lack of previous comparative studies between adults and children, Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey (2021) conducted a study among Gaeltacht speakers comparing adult and children's use of gender markers in an attempt to establish the impact of adult use on child language use. The grammatical gender marking examined included gender marking following the definite article, noun-adjective agreement and third-person possession. They found that only those aged 56 and over demonstrated standard accurate use of Irish grammatical gender. They conclude that even children from the most dominant Irish-speaking homes do not receive sufficient input to acquire grammatical gender marking in Irish, as their parents do not use it consistently enough in their output.

Muller et al. (2018) focused on accurate use of the initial mutation system with verbs, possessives, prepositions and also with the definite article for noun gender. They found that while the system is being maintained with verbs and possessives, although with varying degrees of accuracy, their data points towards a weakening of the system in the other contexts. Similar to Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey's (2021) findings, the children's use of initial mutations shows clear parallels with the parents' data, whose use of initial mutations differ from the standards of accuracy in traditional Irish.

These studies support criticisms of the theory of incomplete acquisition as it shows that the input available to children nowadays differs from the traditional norms being set as bars of assessment. The input available comes mainly from ‘post-traditional’ speakers (Ó Murchadha 2010). This signifies language change rather than incomplete language acquisition.

3.1.3.3 LANGUAGE INPUT

O’Toole & Hickey (2016) and Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey (2019) found that children with higher levels of Irish exposure, coming from households which ‘mainly’/‘usually’ or ‘always’ spoke Irish, were relatively more advanced regarding vocabulary and grammatical gender marking than their peers from bilingual or English-dominant homes. Young children from households which reported maternal input in Irish as ‘usually’ scored on par in vocabulary with those who were ‘rarely’ exposed to Irish (O’Toole & Hickey 2016: 155). Both studies interpreted this result as the strong effect which the overall household language has, even when the main caregiver speaks Irish to the child. This directly relates to previous discussions on the importance of input and exposure. Simply put, even if parent A (primary caregiver) speaks Irish to the child, and parent B speaks English, parent A and B will likely speak English to each other which results in the level of English input and exposure in the household to be higher. In such cases, it should be no surprise if the children’s English is better than their Irish; they hear less Irish than English. Regarding this issue, O’Toole & Hickey (2016: 156) state that:

The minority status of Irish limits the number of non-family speakers and domains in which children encounter the language, which in turn impacts on how much Irish only vocabulary is learned. The profile that emerges is of Irish acquisition being slowed, or plateauing off, when English influence kicks in at around age three, with the result that children’s vocabulary expansion is largely built of translational equivalents as they get older.

As the use of Irish in the home and in the community continues to drop within the Gaeltacht, the proportion of pupils attending school within the Gaeltacht with Irish as a second language increases. Ó Giollagáin et al. (2007: 11) found that “46% of school-going children in the core Gaeltacht areas start school with little to no Irish”. The increase of English-speaking children, or L2 Irish speaking, has negative repercussions on the L1 speakers of Irish in schools, and the mixture of both types of Irish speakers poses significant teaching challenges (see §2.4). Hickey (2001, 2007), in questioning “who is immersing whom”, found that as early as preschool (*naíonra*), the mixing of L2 and L1 speakers of Irish negatively affects those from Irish-speaking homes. Hickey (2007) noted that even when Irish L1 children are in the majority in the *naíonra* classroom, they switch to English to engage in parallel play with English-speaking children, which she believes indicates an early recognition of the role of English as the language of interaction with peers. Her work urges that a better balance needs to be achieved in addressing L2 learners’ needs and the equally urgent needs of L1 speakers. This is particularly important, as O’Toole and Hickey (2016: 156) argue that establishing well-developed L1 Irish skills at preschool level:

provides the bedrock for good proficiency in Irish without negative impact on children’s eventual outcomes in English, and that this foundation in Irish is critical for developing children’s literacy skills in Irish, which offer a vital route to continued Irish vocabulary and language enrichment.

While comparable studies have not been conducted in primary and secondary schools in the Gaeltacht, other studies show that Irish language use by L1 speakers becomes more vulnerable to the influence and social status of English as children progress to primary school and secondary school through continued and increased interaction with peers, the media (television, social media, internet) and the community (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007; Ó Giollagáin & Mac Donnacha 2008). A difficulty in obtaining teachers with a high standard of Irish to teach the wide range of subjects offered at secondary school level is

also cited as a challenge in the Gaeltacht and directly affects the level of continued Irish language input young people are exposed to (Ó Grádaigh 2015).

As previously discussed, Gathercole & Thomas (2009), recommend using only the minority language in the home for the most successful chance of minority language acquisition, as the acquisition of the majority language is unlikely to be threatened no matter the age of exposure. In the Irish context, O'Toole & Hickey (2016: 13) drew similar conclusions based on their study and found that "even homes claiming to offer input in the language 'usually' do not appear to offer sufficient input in Irish to offset the household use of English to ensure the expected progress in children's acquisition of Irish vocabulary". Ó hlfearnáin (2007) found that while some parents in the Múscaí Gaeltacht, in county Cork, were very aware of this and chose to speak only Irish at home on this basis, there were still some parents who chose to speak both languages in the home to ensure that their children 'be bilingual' in order to not be disadvantaged. Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey (2021) urge the importance of establishing appropriate ways to empower parents in developing a family language plan in order to improve intergenerational transmission of Irish, support and enrich successful acquisition of Irish and reap the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey (2019) also draw attention to the fact that both parents and teachers of L1 speakers of minority languages may tend to overestimate children's language proficiency which as a result underestimates their need for targeted support and enrichment in the minority language for optimal simultaneous bilingual acquisition.

In regard to other domains of input and exposure, De Houwer (2009) urges the importance of reading for lexical development as this increased input is vital for school-aged children when their lexical development quickly increases. In the Irish context, concerns have been expressed over the low frequency of

Irish reading by both learners and L1 speakers of Irish (Lenoach 2014; Hickey 2011; Hickey & Ó Cainín 2003; Hickey 2009; Harris et al 2006). Researchers cite issues with teaching methods, issues with appropriateness (e.g. standard vs. dialect, topic), the quality and range of books to choose from, lack of encouragement, and lack of support as some of the causes for this low frequency (Hickey & Ó Cainín 2003; Mac Cárthaigh 2006). While researchers cite different causes, the importance of reading and the need to further promote and encourage reading is unanimously agreed upon.

The role of screen-time in language development remains unclear and what constitutes screen-time and ways of accessing media continue to expand (traditional television, YouTube, streaming services, mobile devices, video gaming, etc.). Research suggests that appropriate, curriculum-based educational programmes may have beneficial effects on language production and vocabulary development, particularly shows where onscreen characters speak directly to the child and actively elicit participation (e.g., Dora the Explorer) (Linebarger & Walker 2005; Perry & Moses 2011). Research considering the direct impact of different aspects of screen use on language development needs to be conducted in the Irish context. What is clear, however, is that the huge increase in media and technology in the last fifteen to twenty years has increased the level of English which those being raised with Irish in the Gaeltacht are exposed to. While language-specific data is not provided, findings from the 'Growing Up in Ireland' study (Beatty & Egan 2018) show that 55% of 5-year-olds engage in 1 to 2 hours of daily screen time, 28.5% engage in 2 to 3 hours and 13.9% engage in over 3 hours of screen time per day. Only 2.6% of 5-year-olds do not engage in any screen time. When speaking of younger generations of Irish speakers, Ó Curnáin (2009: 120) states that "*is é an teilifís máthair teanga na ngasúr seo*" (television is these children's mother tongue). He acknowledges the importance of Irish-language media sources such as TG4, but points out that since its

establishment, Irish language use amongst young speakers has continued to reduce. Although children do not watch as much television as they did 15 years ago, the underlying idea of the effect of media remains valid. It is clear that minority language media cannot directly compete with the English media which consumes all of our devices, in Ireland and worldwide. TG4, however, has recently been applauded for their response to the challenges posed by Covid-19 through providing a high standard of engaging and interactive programmes which covered lesson objectives and outcomes in all core primary school subjects (*The Irish Times* 2020; TG4 2021).

The vulnerability of children's Irish due to the influence and social status of English when they begin mixing with peers has been discussed, and Nic Fhlannchadha & Hickey (2021: 18) advocate an increase in domains of meaningful use with peers through activities such as youth clubs and sport "thereby giving the language life, relevance, and value outside of the educational context".

Sequential input may be the desired dimension of bilingualism in the minority language context. Exposure and input from English, however, is inevitable from a very young age, even in the strongest Irish-speaking households, unless parents are willing to switch off all devices, avoid trips to the supermarket and avoid socialising with English-speaking friends and family. For those who wish to compensate for English's dominance in modern society, finding ways of increasing input in Irish is necessary. This can potentially be done through stricter family language plans, encouraging reading and encouraging participation in Irish led activities and hobbies.

3.1.3.4 DIMENSIONS OF BILINGUALISM

Subtractive bilingualism, when the L2 is acquired at the expense of the aptitudes already acquired in the L1, is often associated with bilingualism in minority language contexts worldwide, and researchers in Ireland have argued that the Gaeltacht context where children learn Irish as an L1 and English as an L2 (or a second L1) is no exception (Lenoach 2014). Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin (2012: 4) argue that “*an dátheangachas aontreoch comhuaineach*” (unidirectional simultaneous bilingualism) is the cause of decreasing numbers of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht. This dimension of bilingualism involves those learning Irish as an L1, learning English as an L2 simultaneously and ultimately functioning as primarily English speakers in practice and production. They also contend that for Gaeltacht Irish L1 speakers, bilingualism in Irish and English is compulsory, while bilingualism is optional for L1 English speakers.

Based on a study conducted with participants aged 4-16 from Irish only homes in the Conamara Gaeltacht, Péterváry et al. (2014) and Lenoach (2014) have argued that the majority of participants were actually English-dominant bilinguals. According to Péterváry et al.’s analysis, 38% were balanced bilinguals and the remainder were English dominant. While pupils had a greater fluency in Irish on average based on Irish dominance in indirect speech, tenses, word count fluency and hesitations, English had an advantage in pupils’ bilingual ability in vocabulary, functional codeswitching, grammatical accuracy, phonetic accuracy and semantic and pragmatic usage and disfluency pauses (e.g., hesitations). Their findings on CS specifically will be discussed in §.

Prior to Montrul’s (2016: 125) recognition of its problematic nature, Lenoach (2014) applied the theory of incomplete acquisition to the Irish context. His study concluded that young people incompletely acquire Irish as a first

language but completely acquire English as their second language, or a second first language. Although Irish is always the matrix language⁶ of discourse, the language which frames the discourse; speakers from all of the age groups investigated (ages 4-16) drew on their knowledge of English structures to fill gaps in their Irish (Lenoach 2014: i). This type of CS is noted as having a compensatory function due to a lack of knowledge or gaps in the children's lexicon. Lexical development was one of the main measures used to assess the theory of incomplete acquisition in the Irish context. Although data was only collected in a formal one-on-one setting, Lenoach (2014: 76-7) assumed that the Gaeltacht children investigated only had a command of one code or register of Irish. Register in this case is understood as the stylistic difference in language use in different domains, such as in a one-on-one interview or communication with peers or communication with teachers. The research assumes that no notable differences in the "quality" of Irish that young people speak would be noted between such domains. Quality in this instance is understood in relation to grammatical accuracy based on prescriptive norms and reduced use of CS. The study concludes that the linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis conducted shows that English has a subtractive effect on Irish L1 acquisition amongst young speakers of the Gaeltacht. Lenoach does not believe that the Gaeltacht community has the capacity at this stage to resist the omnipresence of the majority language and therefore believes that an incomplete code of Irish will continue to be transmitted to the next generations. Lenoach sees this 'interlanguage' of Irish as a step on the continuum towards language shift (2014: 5). Native-like competence and achieving optimal norms were used as the benchmark of assessing whether someone has achieved complete acquisition of a language. However, as previously discussed, establishing the meaning of 'native-like competence' is problematic.

⁶ The concept of matrix language is discussed in §3.3.1.1

3.1.4 Bilingualism within a community

Bilingualism is an inevitable phenomenon and a necessary communication strategy in language contact situations, resulting in both individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism (Appel & Muysken 1987: 1). Bilingual nations or societies can be understood as either *de jure* bi- or multilingual or *de facto* bi- or multilingual (Clyne 1997). The former refers to states or nations that accord official status or recognition to more than one language in the nation's constitution or other legal enactments. Examples of *de jure* bilingual countries include Canada (English and French), Ireland (Irish and English) and Belgium (Dutch, French and German). *De facto* bilingualism is a reality in most countries worldwide and refers to nations or societies in which additional languages, other than the official or national language(s), are spoken, but have not received official recognition, as is the case for indigenous Inuit and First Nations languages in Canada and numerous regional languages such as Breton, Basque and Occitan in France. Factors which contribute to languages in contact in these contexts, and more generally, include colonisation, natural disaster, voluntary and involuntary migration, resettlement, education and technology (Li Wei 2000: 2-3).

The two (or more) languages used within bilingual communities are often in competition, and while they can co-exist for generations, Fishman (1967) observes that for stable bilingualism to occur, the languages (or varieties of the same language) must be clearly used for different purposes, or within different domains. Typically, one language operates as the H (High) variety, generally used in education, religion, government and media, while the other language operates as the L (Low) variety, in contexts such as the home. Such situations in which two or more varieties are used within the same speech community, where a clear division of domains of usage exists, was originally coined as diglossia by Ferguson (1959). In his expansion on this concept to

cover not just different varieties of a language but also the use of completely different languages by the same speech community, Fishman (1967) provides four contexts showing the possible relationships between diglossia and bilingualism within communities:

1. Both diglossia and bilingualism.
2. Bilingualism without diglossia.
3. Diglossia without bilingualism.
4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism.

Context 1, 'both diglossia and bilingualism', predicts continued stable bilingual language use within a community but Fishman (1967: 34-36) argues that in communities where 'bilingualism without diglossia' exists – that is, where language choice is speaker-dependent and not domain-dependent – language shift is expected. Language shift can be defined as 'the process whereby a community (often a linguistic minority) gradually abandons its original language and, via a (sometimes lengthy) stage of bilingualism, shifts to another language' (Trudgill 2003: 77-78). Within unstable bilingual communities, Fishman (1965: 86) notes that language shift resulting in the L2 replacing the L1 in the home environment can happen over the course of three generations when there is a lack or an uncertainty of domain allocation, particularly in family and friendship domains. While Fishman acknowledges that intergenerational transmission alone cannot guarantee continued language use, it is of great importance for language maintenance (see also Edwards & Pritchard Newcombe 2008; Forrest 2016; Smith-Christmas 2016). Fishman's (1991: 442) straightforward statement that "without intergenerational mother tongue transmission [...] no language maintenance is possible. That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained" encapsulates this importance.

As discussed, societal bilingualism is a predictable and inevitable result of language contact and the relative stability of languages in bilingual communities can vary and change. Societal bilingualism forms the basis of

further linguistic and sociolinguistic outcomes. Most relevant to this thesis is how community bilingualism results in CS as a common language practice (see §3.2 and §3.4) and the borrowing of words between languages (see §3.2.1.3 and §3.4.2).

3.1.5 Bilingualism in the Gaeltacht

Although the Gaeltacht is often referred to as Irish-speaking areas, the reality is that both Irish and English have been in contact and spoken there for generations (see §2.1). For a period after the Anglo-Norman invasion in the 11th century, Ireland remained the dominant language in Ireland, but this usage declined. Despite periods of revitalisation, English became the dominant language by the end of the 18th century. This language contact situation has resulted in bilingualism becoming the linguistic reality in the traditional Irish-speaking areas of the Gaeltacht. The Gaeltacht must be viewed as a bilingual area rather than a solely Irish-speaking area to understand the dynamics and processes related to bilingualism in this environment.

In the Irish context, Ó Murchú (1988: 248) states that, historically, there have been periods of diglossia. Nonetheless, in 1988 he stated that diglossia no longer existed and both languages were spoken over the full range of social domains, though the use of Irish was minimal in many of them. In the *Gaeltacht*, however, he claims that the use of English has become increasingly appropriate in all settings and that the usage of the two languages is rapidly converging. In agreement with Ó Murchú, Walsh and McLeod (2008: 23) also state that the relationship between English and Irish in Ireland does not constitute a good example of diglossia given the small proportion of balanced bilinguals. Hickey (2009: 66) asserts that “neither stable bilingualism nor long-term diglossia” ever developed in Ireland and puts this down to the rapid language shift which occurred in the nineteenth century, expedited by the

Great Famine and its aftermath (see §2.1). He states that the “atmosphere [during the nineteenth century] was clearly not conducive to promoting the voluntary use [of] Irish in the home and thus establish the L-variety in an incipient diglossic situation which could have then established itself throughout the country” (Hickey 2009: 5). In questioning whether the concept of diglossia is applicable to the Irish language context, based on evidence from *An Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangeolaíoch ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht* (2017) and *Plean Teanga Chois Fharraige 2017–2023* (2017), Ní Neachtain (2019: 42-44) found that diglossia does exist within the *Gaeltacht* among teenage speakers whose patterns of communication tend to be as follows: Irish with older members of the community, Irish with fellow students at school and English for hobbies and entertainment, including with those who acquired Irish as a home language. It is not clear what entertainment entails, but it is understood as events such as social gatherings with peers. Ní Neachtain (2019: 42-45), however, acknowledges that classical cases of diglossia are weakening in bilingual contexts in Ireland, as can be noted from the evidence presented in local language plans (see §2.2). Ó Curnáin (2009: 19) highlights the near impossibility of establishing diglossia by providing examples from the Conamara Gaeltacht of numerous situations where groups of all ages speak Irish in social domains, but always switch to English, almost immediately, to accommodate non-Irish speakers, even when Irish speakers are in the majority. This is supported by Ó hlfearnáin’s (2013: 361) findings which showed that 23 (72%) of 32 respondents, who were first language Irish speakers in the *Múscraí* Gaeltacht, located in County Cork, shared the view that Irish should not be spoken in the presence of non-Irish speakers.

Establishing whether diglossia exists within varieties of Irish poses further questions. Ní Neachtain (2019: 44) states that diglossia exists between variations of Irish and that the H variety corresponds to the standard variety associated with the media, particularly audio media, and the L variety is associated with the local variety spoken among Irish speakers in which CS is

commonly used. Based on this interpretation, the non-native revivalist varieties which have been influenced by the written standard and levelled native language varieties would be considered as the H variety, as they are most often associated with broadcasting and media, and the local dialects of native speakers, therefore, would be considered the L variety (Smith-Christmas & O hlfearnáin 2015). Darcy (2014: 32), however, posits that both standard Irish and its dialects carry H and L varieties and that while CS is used less in the H varieties, Gaeltacht speakers' rejection of newly coined Irish language terminology results in the dialectal H variety containing a heavier use of CS.

Clearly, applying the concept of diglossia to the Irish language setting poses various challenges. While the concept continues to be applied in research today (Price 2021; Ní Neachtain 2019), the extent to which it is still a useful concept has been questioned. Researchers, including those who focus on translanguaging (see §3.2.1.1), view the concept as too static and as an oversimplification which obscures the linguistic reality of bilingual speakers who move fluidly between varieties and languages as one repertoire or language system rather than two separate systems (Jaspers 2020). The data from this corpus will not be framed within diglossia but data collected will give insight into language use within the domains of school, family, friends and hobbies by participants. This discussion, however, has highlighted that while domain of usage is important in conceptualising bilingualism, the reality of bilingualism at the community level is more complex.

3.2 A review of codeswitching research

Since linguists began to focus on the study of bilingualism in the early 20th century, instances of CS have been noted (Ronjat 1913; Leopold 1939). It was not, however, always viewed as a legitimate speech practice. Haugen (1950: 211) all but denied the existence of CS in stating that “except in abnormal cases speakers have not been observed to draw freely from two languages at once”. While other researchers, particularly in the 1950s, viewed switching from one language to another as a lack of bilingual proficiency and as a result of language interference (Weinreich 1953: 73). Speaking of CS as a form of linguistic inadequacy, Weinreich speaks to the existence of an “ideal bilingual speaker” who “switched from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutor, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence”. Although perceptions towards CS began to be less negative in the decades that followed, in the 1970s, CS was still viewed by some as unsystematic, haphazard and unpredictable. Labov (1971: 457) stated that “no one has been able to show that such rapid alteration is governed by any systematic rules or constraints”.

The work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982) signified a shift toward a more positive view of CS. Their pioneering work showed that CS is not random and that it is an organised discourse strategy. Other studies which followed such as Poplack (1979), Myers-Scotton (1993) and Auer (1984, 1988) have also illustrated the organised and sophisticated nature of CS as a linguistic phenomenon. Interest in the practice has continued to grow since and CS continues to be a dominant topic of interest within the field of bilingualism and language contact today.

With this interest, various competing terms, perspectives and approaches have emerged, as will be summarised in the following sections before the terms and approaches which will be adopted in this study are clearly outlined. An attempt to define the competing terms will be discussed first, followed by a brief overview of recent and past approaches to CS.

3.2.1 Defining codeswitching

As a result of the continued growth of interest in researching CS both within linguistics and adjoining disciplines, the employment of the term CS can vary greatly between studies, often dependent on the theoretical orientation of the researcher. Milroy and Muysken (1995: 12) point out that:

the field of CS research is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon. Sometimes the referential scope of a set of these terms overlaps and sometimes particular terms are used in different ways by different writers.

While there is little agreement on how to define CS, a crucial difference between approaches to CS involves adopting one of two major frameworks: a grammatical/structural approach or a sociolinguistic approach (Gafaranga 2007: 279). The grammatical approach to CS tends to focus on permissible CS structures and constraints that might exist (Poplack 1980; Myers-Scotton 1993) and the sociolinguistic approach focuses on the social and interactional motivations and functions of CS (Appel & Muysken 1987; Blom & Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993). As a common agreement on terminology within the field does not exist, the ways in which the following terms are used in research will be discussed: codeswitching, codemixing, borrowing, loan words, language alternation and translanguaging.

3.2.1.1 CODESWITCHING, CODEMIXING AND LANGUAGE ALTERNATION

A general definition of CS proposed by Gumperz (1982: 59) is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange or passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. Clyne (1987: 258) defines it as “the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences”. These broad definitions imply that CS may occur at several levels of communication; both across as well as within sentence boundaries. CS is used in these definitions as an umbrella term to account for multiple types of language contact phenomena. Muysken (1997) and Romaine (1995), however, use the term codemixing in the same sense. In the introduction to his work, Muysken (2000: 1) writes that he is “using the term **code-mixing** to refer to all cases where items and grammatical features from **two languages** appear in one sentence”.

Other researchers differentiate between the two terms by referring to shifts in language which occur within a sentence boundary as codemixing, while codeswitching is reserved for shifts between sentence boundaries (Bokamba 1989). Shifts within a sentence boundary are sometimes referred to as intrasentential shifts and those between sentences are referred to as intersentential shifts (Bokamba 1989, Myers-Scotton 2000). Although the two labels are commonly used in the literature, there are issues with how to classify shifts as either inter or intrasentential. The main issue arises from the unit of speech to base classifications on. “Intersentential” may be interpreted as either between clauses or between sentences. The interpretation of spoken data also poses difficulty as it is not always possible to easily divide it into sentences or clauses.

In addition to inter and intrasentential CS, researchers have also used the terms “tag” or “extra-sentential” CS to classify a third type in which elements have no syntactic relation to the sentence or clause (Poplack et al. 1989,

Romaine 1995). Examples of such switches include discourse markers (e.g. you know, so, like).

Myers-Scotton (2000: 132) states that 'mixing' is often used strictly when referring to intrasentential shifts as it is believed to be a development beyond switching as it requires more integration. Bokamba (1989: 278) states that codemixing is "the embedding of various linguistics units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical (sub-) systems within the same sentence and speech event."

An issue also arises with the term 'code' itself. Some researchers, particularly from a grammatical approach, view the terms 'code' and 'language' as interchangeable (Poplack 1980; Muysken 2000). Others, such as those adopting a Conversation Analysis (CA) approach, see the two notions as different (Auer 1998, Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo 2001). Although Auer (1998:1) proposes the definition of CS as "the alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode", he states that "the question of what counts as a code is not easily answered, for it must refer to participants', not to linguists' notion of 'code A' and 'code B'" (1998: 13). Language alternation is the preferred umbrella term within this approach and in order for an instance to be interpreted as CS, it must be decided whether the alternation is "perceived by *participants* as involving different 'codes'" (Auer 1998: 15).

Álvarez-Cáccamo (1998: 38) defines communicative codes as "mechanisms of transduction between intentions and utterances and then between utterances and interpretations". Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo (2002: 10) note that communicative codes can be both verbal and non-verbal. Language choice is only one code which speakers rely on in a conversation (Gafaranga

2000, 2007). Based on his study of Rwandans switching between Kinyarwanda and French, Gafaranga (2000) proposes that the code concerned with language choice be referred to as “the medium of a bilingual conversation”. He constitutes switching between Kinyarwanda and French as a ‘medium’. A medium does not correspond to a particular language and can be monolingual or bilingual. The term CS is then used from this viewpoint to refer to “any instance of deviance from the current medium which are not oriented to by participants themselves as requiring any repair” (Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo 2002: 18). Not all instances of bilingual speech are defined as examples of CS. That is to say that language alternation, the use of aspects of two languages, can be the medium and is not considered to be CS. Deviations away from this medium, however, are what would be considered CS. Gafaranga (2011) acknowledges that his definition of language alternation as a medium of interaction is similar to Myers-Scotton’s (1998) classification of ‘CS as the unmarked choice’ (see §3.3.2.2). Smith-Christmas (2012: 47) argues that, as a result of monolingual outlooks, past perspectives suggest that switching is a deviation from the norm, while these conversational analytic perspectives highlight the normative nature of language alternation.

3.2.1.2 TRANSLANGUAGING

A newer concept in the study of language use is that of ‘translanguaging’. The roots of translanguaging can be traced back to Wales. The term comes from the Welsh ‘trawsieithu’, as coined by Cen Williams (1994). Translanguaging emerged as a pedagogical concept or practice where students alternate between languages to strengthen and achieve pedagogical goals. Baker (2011: 228) defines translanguaging as “the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages”. Researchers who promote translanguaging as a pedagogical resource believe that instead of focusing on a prescribed set of lexical and structural features, education should focus on children’s ability “to

express complex thoughts effectively, to explain things, to persuade, to agree, to give directions, to recount events, etc” to fully grasp bilingual students’ capacity for learning and achieving (García & Yin 2017: 127). Since its inception, pedagogical advantages of using translanguaging in the classroom have been proposed. It is believed that it can promote a deeper and fuller understanding of a subject area, it can help develop the weaker language, allow fairer and more just assessments of bilingual children and make schools a more welcoming environment for multilingual children (Baker 2001; García & Lin 2016).

In more recent years, ‘translanguaging’ has become a theoretical concept which offers an alternative approach to bilingualism. García – a leading researcher on the concept of translanguaging – along with her colleague Vogel (2017) further define translanguaging as:

[...] a theoretical lens that offers a different view of bilingualism and multilingualism. The theory posits that rather than possessing two or more autonomous language systems, as has been traditionally thought, bilinguals, multilinguals, and indeed, all users of language, select and deploy particular features from a unitary linguistic repertoire to make meaning and to negotiate particular communicative contexts.

This definition suggests a key difference between CS and translanguaging which is that the former is understood as the processing of shifting between two languages, while the latter challenges the traditional definition of a language through positing that bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire (García & Li Wei 2014: 22). Blackledge and Creese (2010: 109) suggest that there are no clear boundaries in the speech of bilinguals through a translanguaging perspective.

The concept seeks to dispel any notions of languages having a hierarchical relationship and having constraints based on certain constructs, conventions and favoured communicative modes which are often state-endorsed (García & Vogel 2017; García & Lin 2016; García & Li Wei 2014). It aims to give ownership of a language back to speakers and away from political powers through seeking:

to challenge previous models of bi- and multilingualism, and in so doing, to elevate the status of individuals and peoples whose language practices have been traditionally minoritized and labelled as being ‘non-standard’.

(Garcia & Vogel 2017: 3)

Rather than approaching the study of bilingual speech as involving two separate entities, it focuses on individual linguistic use (Garcia & Lin 2016: 121). Relinquishing any notion of subtractive or additive bilingualism, translanguaging instead views bilinguals as dynamic – moving between “so-called” languages, varieties, styles, registers, and writing systems based on what they have learnt in specific social contexts – and sees linguistic repertoires as unique to each speaker (Li Wei 2018). MacSwan (2017: 171) states that translanguaging “promotes a positive view of bilingualism” as it is situated within Grosjean’s (1982) ‘holistic bilingualism’, which observes bilinguals as linguistically unique language users whose language use reflects their experience with each language, instead of comparing their language use to “monolingual norms”.

Translanguaging researchers acknowledge that perspectives on CS which view it as a linguistic mastery exist. What differentiates CS from translanguaging is the movement from a monoglossic view that bilinguals have two separate linguistic systems to a heteroglossic view that bilinguals have one integrated linguistic system (García & Lin 2016: 120). In defence of CS

research, MacSwan (2017: 190) argues that translanguaging research has unjustly ascribed false beliefs, such as a two separate linguistic systems, upon CS researchers. He also believes that not differentiating languages based on social constructs contradicts any talk of “(idealized) named languages and other identifiable speech communities”. Recognising this discord, Li Wei (2018), who previously worked within a CS framework, states that:

Translanguaging has never intended to replace code-switching or any other term, although it challenges the code view of language. It does not deny the existence of named languages, but stresses that languages are historically, politically, and ideologically defined entities. It defines the multilingual as someone who is aware of the existence of the political entities of named languages and has an ability to make use of the structural features of some of them that they have acquired. It is a research perspective that challenges conventional approaches to

What must be considered is that translanguaging as a theoretical concept has been primarily based on major global languages in contact. Language contact situations involving a major language in contact with a minority language are more vulnerable and the minority language requires more protection. Potential problems can occur due to the imbalance in status and power between the languages. In their review of the potential impact of translanguaging in the Basque context, Cenoz & Gorter (2017: 910) recognise this dilemma and state that although it is necessary to soften the boundaries between languages in bilingual and multilingual schools involving regional minority languages, “this has to be done in a sustainable way”. They promote the application of sustainable translanguaging but also highlight the difficulty in achieving this without causing harm to the minority language.

In this thesis, a clear distinction is made between the two languages spoken in the area of study, i.e., Irish and English. However, what can be agreed on

between the concepts is that using both languages simultaneously is not necessarily a sign of imperfect or incomplete acquisition, a deficiency or a deviation from the norm. While this study will continue to use the term CS to refer to the simultaneous use of two languages in speech, it supports the ideological views of translanguaging that reject the subtractive view of bilingualism and hierarchy between languages, accepts the co-existence of two languages in the same space and endorses the language experience of the bilingual child over socially constructed rules.

3.2.1.3 BORROWING

Distinguishing what constitutes CS and how to define it continues to be unresolved. There is more agreement, however, on how to define borrowing. According to Muysken (1995: 1990), what constitutes borrowing, also known as lexical borrowing or loan borrowing, is vocabulary from other languages integrated in the “phonological, morphological and syntactic nativization rules of the recipient language”. Haspelmath (2009: 36) explains a loanword or a lexical borrowing as a word that entered a language from another language at some point during its history. The language from which the word is borrowed is commonly referred to as the donor language, while the language which receives the word is commonly referred to as the recipient language. In discussing the borrowing process, Haspelmath (2009: 38) states that a borrowing refers to “a completed language change, a diachronic process that once started as an individual innovation but has been propagated throughout the speech community”. Examples of borrowings can be found in languages worldwide. English, for example, is noted as having one of the most loan-enriched vocabularies and is described by Crystal (2010: 267) as an “insatiable borrower”. Words from Arabic, Latin, French, Greek, Celtic languages, and dozens more have been adopted by English throughout history and are still found in the contemporary vocabulary of English. Historic borrowings include the words; ‘alcohol’, ‘wine’, ‘government’, ‘pepper’, ‘clan’ and ‘banshee’ (Durkin

2014). Today English is a major donor language and is a source of borrowings for many languages worldwide, including Irish, as will be further discussed later.

Although it is difficult to explain exactly why languages borrow words, two common reasons or types are cultural borrowings and core borrowings. The former are associated with borrowings to fill lexical gaps, often associated with new concepts or objects in the recipient language's culture. Examples of cultural borrowings include the incorporation of the Spanish word *paella*, the Italian word *opera* or the Inuit word *igloo* by many languages or the use of English terminology related to computer and computing adopted by languages worldwide (Gardner-Chloros 2008: 61; Haspelmath 2009: 47). In what Dako (2002: 53) refers to as Ghanaian-English, cultural borrowings dominate and he believes this is due to it being "more practical and economical to use existing local vocabulary than to innovate or to use circuitous expressions to cover a concept that is already well-expressed in local usage". Resistance to cultural loanwords, on the other hand, is often an aspect of language purism (Haspelmath 2009: 47).

Regarding the second type, core borrowings are associated with lexical items which already have an equivalent in the recipient language and this type is almost inevitable in situations of language contact and widespread bilingualism due to cultural pressure or the prestige associated with the donor language (Haspelmath 2009: 48; Myers-Scotton 2006: 215). Myers-Scotton (2002) suggests that frequent use of a foreign word can result in its integration into the recipient language. Discourse markers are common core borrowings; examples include the anglicisms 'okay', 'sure' and 'well' which have been adopted by languages worldwide (Andersen 2014).

In a monolingual community, what is deemed a loanword or a borrowing is clear. However, in a bilingual community, especially one where CS is the norm, distinguishing between a single-word switch and a borrowing is far more complex. Researchers have attempted to distinguish between borrowing and CS but many contradictions exist and no clear distinction can be drawn. Some researchers consider most single-word switches not to be true CS, but instead to be a type of loan or borrowing (Sankoff et al. 1990; Poplack and Meechan 1995). They draw a distinction between two types of borrowings, referring to them as either established loanwords or nonce borrowings. The former are words which are syntactically, morphologically and often phonologically integrated into the recipient language and which are also in widespread use in the speech community and would be recognised by monolinguals of the recipient language (Poplack and Sankoff 1984). In contrast, the latter are words which are also linguistically integrated but are not in widespread use, sometimes occurring only once by a single speaker (Poplack and Sankoff 1984). Therefore, although they may not be recognised by a monolingual of the recipient language, they may one day gain status as an established loanword with continued use. However, Haspelmath (2009: 40) does not agree with this terminology as he believes the term 'established loanword' to be redundant as the term borrowing in itself refers to a completed process of language change and is therefore established by definition. He states that CS refers to "the use of an element from another language in speech; for the nonce", therefore, nonce borrowings should simply be referred to as codeswitches (2009: 41). Myers-Scotton (1992: 181-182) also rejects the term 'nonce borrowings', as she suggests that introducing this category provides no additional benefit and further obfuscates the distinction between CS and borrowing. In CS contexts, borrowing and CS can be seen as a continuum where words can be gradually introduced into the lexicon as a codeswitch and then after extended periods of CS, the word may become a borrowing (or loanword) (Haspelmath 2009; Romaine 1989; Myers Scotton 1992). Haugen (1950: 212) echoed this:

it is clear that every loan now current must at some time have appeared as an innovation. Only by isolating this initial leap of the pattern from one language to another can we clarify the process of borrowing.

Due to this gradual process, Haspelmath (2009: 41) acknowledges that there will be situations where words used could fall somewhere in between a loanword and a codeswitch on this continuum and suggests these should be discussed and referred to as “regular switches” instead of “nonce borrowings”.

The main difference between a borrowing or a loanword and CS is that borrowing can occur in the speech of monolinguals in situations where CS does not occur, while CS occurs in bilingual speech and it is almost impossible for CS to occur independently of borrowing. CS can be seen as a kind of “contact induced speech behaviour” while a borrowing is a kind of “contact-induced language change” (Haspelmath 2009: 40). Therefore, if a word is part of the mental lexicon of a language then it can be considered a borrowing, but if not then it is considered a switch. Muysken (1995: 189) echoes this understanding and states that CS differs from borrowing because borrowing “involves the incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language”. However, it is not possible for us to look into a speaker’s mental lexicon and therefore other distinguishing features must be established. An ongoing debate exists in CS and language contact research as to whether the level of integration into the recipient language or the frequency in which the word is used should be what distinguishes a borrowing from a codeswitch. Certain researchers have argued that single lexical items can be considered loanwords when they are adapted phonologically, morphologically and syntactically into the recipient language (Sankoff et al. 1990; Poplack and Meechan 1998). In contrast, a word that is syntactically and morphologically integrated, but not necessarily phonologically integrated would be considered a nonce borrowing. Grosjean’s (1982: 129) definition of

a borrowing also echoes this notion of necessary integration by stating that a borrowing is a word from a foreign language which is “integrated phonologically and morphologically into the base language”. This criterion can be difficult to apply and other researchers have rejected this basis for distinguishing between CS and borrowing and instead believe that identifying loanwords should be approached in terms of social content, and not structure and degree of integration (Gafaranga 2007; Myers-Scotton 2000: 133). In rejecting integration as a basis for distinguishing between CS and borrowing, Dako (2002: 50-51) states that morphological integration is not an absolute. He believes that both CS and borrowing can show morphological integration and both may also show phonological integration but that this is more predicted in borrowing than CS. Frequency of use is another method used to gauge whether a word is a codeswitch or a borrowing (Myers-Scotton 1992; Poplack 1980). Eze (1997: 19-20) rejects Myers-Scotton’s criterion of counting words which appear three times or more in a corpus as widespread and therefore considered a loanword. She does so on the basis that most corpora would not be large enough to establish widespread diffusion of a word. Neither level of integration nor frequency can exclusively distinguish between CS and borrowing and due to the similarities between these two phenomena it may be impossible to systematically and accurately categorise each single lexical item encountered as either CS or borrowing. However, these criteria are useful and worth considering when attempting to make this distinction and discussing words which fall on the CS and borrowing continuum.

An important distinction made by Deuchar (2006: 1988) is that “loanwords do not count as coming from a different language from the language into which they are borrowed”. This is to say that all speakers of the recipient language would recognise the word as part of the lexicon of that language. This is directly related to the idea that monolinguals of the recipient language would have no issues in understanding a borrowing or a loanword, whereas they would not

be likely to understand a codeswitch from a foreign language. However, as Deuchar (2006: 1988) states, this criterion of knowledge cannot be applied to the Welsh context due to the non-existence of monolingual Welsh speakers, which is similar to the Irish context. Deuchar approaches distinguishing between CS and loanwords in her research in terms of predictability and also by using Muysken's (2007: 71) criterion related to "listedness", or "the degree to which a particular element or structure is part of a memorized list". This approach involved only classifying elements of English origin which can be found in the dictionary as loans; examples of this include 'ffitio' (fit) and 'cwpwrdd' (cupboard). However, Deuchar et al (2007: 311) acknowledge that even comprehensive dictionaries may not include all loans. This method is highly dependent on the comprehensiveness and up-to-dateness of resources and the ideological stances of those compiling them and may inflate the number of single-word switches counted, of which some should be considered loanwords. Darcy (2014: 41) points out that in the case of minority languages, a comprehensive dictionary does not always exist and the researcher's own judgement and discretion, therefore, play a role in distinguishing between CS and borrowing, assuming they are proficient and familiar with the language norms of the language being researched. Corpora can also be used to attest vernacular forms. However, although a wide ranging corpus of colloquial conversation exists for Welsh,⁷ corpus material in the Irish context is more scarce. These issues further highlight the difficulty of distinguishing between CS and borrowing.

⁷ National Corpus of Contemporary Welsh: <https://corcenc.org/>

3.3 Approaches to codeswitching

Codeswitching can generally be investigated from three different perspectives: structural or grammatical, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic. Researchers who adopt a grammatical approach tend to be focused on the permissible grammatical rules that allow speakers to switch between two or more languages. This perspective looks at how CS occurs and demonstrates how at the level of grammar, CS is orderly. Researchers from a sociolinguistic perspective investigate the social and/or interactional motivations for CS. This perspective is focused on looking at why CS occurs. Finally, psycholinguistic focus on the cognitive aspects of CS.

For the present study, both the grammatical and sociolinguistic approaches are highly relevant and will be further discussed in the following sections.

3.3.1 Grammatical approaches

Grammatical approaches to CS developed as a result of interest in how the structures of the mixed languages in bilingual communication interacted and whether there were any constraints on patterns of CS or if CS is subject to its own set of grammatical rules (Poplack 1980, Sankoff and Poplack 1981, Muysken 2000, Myers-Scotton 1993). A common aim of this approach initially was to show that CS was orderly and rule governed and not a haphazard phenomenon, as previously considered.

Poplack (1980), a pioneer of this approach, investigated Spanish-English CS by Puerto Ricans in New York. Focusing on structural constraints, she proposed the 'equivalence constraint', which suggests that intrasentential CS can only occur "at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language" (1980: 585). The

'free morpheme constraint', which suggests that CS is not possible "between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme", was also proposed (1980: 586). Poplack's (1980) seminal work remains an important observation and has motivated further research based on outlining constraints of CS. Studies from this constraints tradition which seek to develop on Poplack's pioneering work have been conducted in a variety of settings with varied language combinations (Sankoff and Poplack 1981, Belazi et al 1994, Myers-Scotton 1993). Myers-Scotton's (1993) proposed Matrix Language Framework has been of particular influence in the literature and will be discussed in more depth in the next section.

3.3.1.1 MATRIX LANGUAGE FRAMEWORK

A common understanding of bilingual talk is that there is a main language and a language which is embedded or inserted. The dominant language in a mixed syntactic unit (e.g. a sentence or a clause) is known as the matrix language (ML) and the language items inserted come from the language known as the embedded language (EL) (Auer & Muhamedova 2005). One language (i.e. ML) is said to maintain the grammatical structure with elements of another (i.e. EL) inserted into it without affecting the grammatical integrity of the ML (Sridhar & Sridhar 1980).

The most influential model designed to determine the ML or EL in bilingual speech was presented by Myers-Scotton (1993) and is known as the Matrix Language Framework (MLF). This model has been continually developed and revised (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1998, 2002). Her work has focused on Swahili/English CS in Nairobi. She states that the "MLF is specifically designed to explain the structural configuration found in code-switching" (1993, 10). The model proposes that the ML provides an abstract grammatical frame in which

elements of the EL are inserted, as will be explained in further detail throughout this section.

Although the model focuses on intrasentential CS, Myers-Scotton employs the Projection of Complementizer (CP) as the unit of analysis and not sentences, explaining that “even within a sentence, the grammars may not be in contact” (2002: 55). Although accepted as meaning a clause in the most general sense, the CP is defined as:

the syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause, plus any additional structures needed to encode discourse-relevant structure and the logical form of that clause (Myers-Scotton 2002: 54).

The model recognises three types of constituents, referred to as islands, which can be found within a bilingual CP (Myers-Scotton 2002: 34). The first is a ML island which consists entirely of ML morphemes. The second is an EL island which consists entirely of EL morphemes. Finally, mixed ML and EL islands which consist of either singly occurring EL lexemes inserted into any number of ML lexemes, or an EL island inserted into a larger ML morphosyntactic frame

When the MLF was first proposed, it was implied that the language which provided the most morphemes could be interpreted as the ML. However, in revising the model, Myers-Scotton (2002: 61) acknowledged that this interpretation was problematic; although it is likely, it is not always the case. Instead, we must rely on analysing the overall structure of the CP and distinguishing between the system and content morphemes of the clause in order to identify the ML. The distinction between content and system morphemes is a crucial element in identifying the ML. The ML is associated with *system morphemes*, which consist of function words and inflections, while

the EL is associated with *content morphemes*, which consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives and some prepositions. System morphemes are essential in constructing the grammatical frame of a CP, while content morphemes are essential in conveying messages or information. In bilingual talk, system morphemes are employed only from the ML but content morphemes may be employed from either the ML or EL. Based on this morpheme distinction, Myers-Scotton (1993: 83) proposes two principles to determine the ML:

The system morpheme principle which states that “in ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML”.

The morpheme-order principle which states that “in ML+EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order will be that of ML”.

In 2000, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000: 100) introduced the 4-M (four morpheme) model which categorised system-morphemes into three subgroups as follows, with examples in English: early system morphemes (e.g. determiners, plural-s, some prepositions), bridge late system morphemes (e.g. possessive marker “of” and “s”) and outside late system morphemes (e.g. 3rd person present singular -s).

Myers-Scotton (2001: 23) classifies two kinds of CS. If a speaker maintains grammatical structure in the ML, it is considered classical CS. In such cases, it is always possible to identify the ML. However, “when speakers do not have full access to the grammatical frame of the intended ML, part of the abstract structure comes from one variety and part from another”, this is considered composite CS (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000: 2). Classical CS implies that speakers have sufficient grammatical knowledge of both languages in order to codeswitch competently, but they do not need to be equally proficient in both languages. Myers-Scotton (2002: 105) argues that composite CS may occur as a result of language attrition or shift and is often found in immigrant

communities. Data which supports 'classic CS' strongly supports a rehabilitation of CS effort as it shows that CS is rule-governed and not random and disorderly as often suggested.

Clyne (2003:81) describes the MLF as "the most comprehensive and influential current framework" in the field of language contact. However, researchers have voiced concern about the model's appropriateness (Auer and Muhamedova 2005, Gafaranga 2007, MacSwan 2005). Auer and Muhamedova's (2005: 52) concerns somewhat relate to previous discussions on what constitutes 'code' as they state that the "neat separation between matrix and embedded language is impossible" because bilingual speech cannot be analysed as a mixture of two monolingual codes. Gafaranga (2007: 62) states that one of the weaknesses of the Matrix Language Frame Model is that:

...drawing on the assumption that the sentence is the highest unit of grammar these models fail to capture regularities across data sets. It was also suggested that the notion of Matrix Language might not be as useful a concept as it is said to be, since each CP must be examined indifferently in order to determine exactly what its Matrix is.

Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) argue that distinguishing between content and system morphemes poses problems as they may vary in different languages. For example, Irish grammar involves prepositional pronouns and the copula, grammatical categories which are not often included in lists of content and system morphemes.

While these arguments are indeed sound and provide important food for thought before attempting to apply the MLF to data, researchers have successfully applied the MLF. Such studies include Deuchar (2006) and Deuchar and Davies (2009) application of the model in the Welsh/English context. They attempted to determine whether or not the linguistic conditions

favouring language shift or death could be found in the Welsh-English corpus that they analysed. From their analysis, they conclude that it was a clear case of 'classic CS' as Welsh was the identifiable matrix language in 86.5% of bilingual clauses. 2.45% of clauses showed English as a matrix language and the matrix language of the remaining clauses were either unidentifiable or could have been both languages. They argue that the findings indicate stable bilingualism in the Welsh context and suggest that CS is not a cause for pessimism about the future of Welsh. Findings are further discussed in section §3.4.9. Darcy (2014) successfully applied the MLF in the Irish/English context, as will be further discussed in §3.4.4, and also concluded with positive news regarding CS and the future of Irish.

3.3.2 Sociolinguistic approaches

Sociolinguistic approaches are concerned with examining social and interactional motivations for CS. From this perspective, CS is viewed as a social language behaviour that reflects the sociocultural and linguistic norms of the speech community. The speech community is understood as a group of people who share a common language or dialect (Gumperz 1982).

Sociolinguistic approaches tend to focus on speakers' language choices in relation to speakers' consideration of their interlocutors and the social conditions where bilinguals choose to employ code-switching (Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

3.3.2.1 SITUATIONAL AND METAPHORICAL CODESWITCHING

A pioneering study in the field of CS was research undertaken by Blom and Gumperz (1972) who investigated the social motivations behind CS. This landmark study focused on CS between dialects in Norway (e.g. standard and local) and it showed that switching between dialects occurred in different contexts depending on the functions of the interaction. Based on this finding, they divided functions into two broad categories: situational CS and metaphorical CS.

Situational CS is described as “a simple, almost one-to-one relationship between language use and social context” and is said to occur when there is a change in topic, participant or setting (Gumperz 1982, 61), while metaphorical CS occurs when social factors remain undisturbed and an alternation is used as a strategy to carry social or symbolic meaning (Gumperz 1982). Blom and Gumperz (1972: 408) state that “metaphorical switching enriches a situation by allowing for allusion in more than one social relationship within the situation”. In simple terms, the main motivations for CS involve external factors such as setting and topic but metaphorical CS occurs as a result of conscious decisions made by the speakers themselves. An example provided of situational CS included the use of the standard dialect during a church sermon but the local dialect during a conversation between friends. An example of social or symbolic meaning carried by metaphorical CS is the use of language to index solidarity with a speech community or on the other hand, participation with an outside group (Blom and Gumperz 1972). Gumperz (1977, 1982) further develops this idea with his distinction between a ‘we’ code and a ‘they’ code. He states that in a bilingual community:

The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the ‘we code’ and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the ‘they code’ associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (1982: 66)

The 'we' code refers to the community language, while the 'they' code refers to the majority language use outside the 'in-group' (Gumperz 1982: 66).

3.3.2.2 MARKEDNESS MODEL

A later developed framework of social motivations of CS is Myers-Scotton's (1993) influential Markedness Model, which is based primarily on data collected on language use in East Africa. This model seeks to account for CS on the basis that there is a direct relationship between speakers' language choice and specific social meanings. She introduces the terms 'marked' and 'unmarked' within this framework and proposes that speakers have a socially-conditioned sense of 'markedness'. A marked code choice can be generally understood as an unexpected code being used in a situation, while unmarked implies the expected code choice. This model assumes that there are certain rights and obligations (R&O) regarding code choices between speakers and by obeying them, the speaker makes an unmarked choice. However, speakers can choose to disobey these R&O and go against what would be considered normative interaction by making a marked choice. Our understanding of the R&O balance is based on the most salient situational factors of an interaction – factors such as the topic of conversation, speaker status and relationship (Myers-Scotton 2000: 18). The model is premised on the 'negotiation principle', which assumes that we have an innate ability as humans to capitalise on these choices in order to negotiate our social position in an interaction and how we present ourselves to others (2000: 127). The model also assumes that speakers are 'rational', with Myers-Scotton (1993) arguing that we are at some level conscious of our decisions to achieve these social goals. Our understanding of what is considered marked and unmarked is dynamic, interaction-specific and multidimensional, with markedness operating along a continuum, with degrees of markedness rather than categorical distinctions. As part of our innate competence and linguistic capacity, we have a

markedness evaluator which allows us to perceive what is more or less unmarked or marked (2000: 130). How we learn to develop this ability of judging levels of markedness is through experiencing languages in use within our communities.

Myers-Scotton (1998: 26) provides maxims, which are essentially principles, to account for the different social motivations of CS. These include: the unmarked choice maxim; the marked choice maxim; and the exploratory choice maxim. She also provides the deference maxim and virtuosity maxim as sub-maxims of the unmarked choice maxim. The unmarked choice maxim is the foundation of this model and refers to when speakers follow the unmarked R&O during an interaction. Unmarked choices are the most common in conventionalised exchanges, often occurring sequentially, and such choices imply that the speaker is negotiating a normative position, conforming to social norms. Amongst bilingual peers, constant CS throughout the same conventional exchange can be the unmarked choice. Examples of bilingual communities where overall CS is the unmarked choice include a Spanish-English speaking community in New York researched by Poplack (1988), a Swahili-English speaking community in Kenya researched by Myers-Scotton (1982) and a French-Arabic speaking community researched by Bentahila and Davies (1992). Myers-Scotton (2000: 137) states that “this type of CS is analogous to using a single code which is the unmarked choice for an exchange, the only difference being that using two codes in a switching pattern happens to be what is unmarked”. Although further empirical support is needed, she suggests that overall or constant CS as the unmarked choice can result in a “fused variety” of the language where more alterations at the bound morpheme level can occur. Overall CS does not happen in all bilingual communities; for instance, it is unlikely to occur in narrow diglossic communities where two varieties or languages are strictly separated, or in

communities with strong psychological or political competition between the two codes (Myers-Scotton 2000: 138-139).

In contrast to the unmarked choice maxim, the marked choice maxim is an intentional violation of the R&O of a conventionalised exchange. Although seen as disruptive and a violation of the R&O balance, a marked choice is not always negative and can be chosen to narrow social distance between speaker and addressee, not create and widen the distance. Some of the reasons one might make a marked choice include CS for humour or emphasis, or to encode authority and educational status (Myers Scotton 2000: 139-142). Examples of these reasons are expected to be found in this corpus and will be discussed in the analysis.

As mentioned, the markedness model assumes an innate ability of markedness evaluation which is expected in all conventionalised exchanges which are frequent and almost routinised (e.g., a job interview, a doctor-patient visit); and the appropriate code choice is, therefore, predictable. However, when an unmarked choice is not apparent, for example during an interaction with a stranger, speakers may adopt the exploratory choice maxim at the outset in order to show their multiple identities and linguistic abilities. This allows the speakers the opportunity to establish the unmarked choice between them for the rest of the exchange. The deference maxim refers to CS as a result of expressing deference to others in circumstances when a certain respect is required, or the speaker has a desire or need for something. Finally, the virtuosity maxim relates to situations when a speaker switches due to the linguistic ability of the speaker or addressee.

In discussing the Markedness Model, Gafaranga (2017: 29-30) addresses some issues associated with. The first is related to the notion of the social

indexicality of language choices. By providing examples where CS serves alternative purposes such as reiteration for emphasis and repair, Gafaranga shows that language choice is not always indexical of society.

3.3.2.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS OF CS

In response to criticisms of Blom and Gumperz's classifications of situational and metaphorical CS and influenced by Conversation Analysis (see §3.3.2.4) as developed by Sacks et al. (1974), Gumperz (1982) modified his approach and adopted the term 'conversational codeswitching' in place of 'metaphorical codeswitching' to refer to CS that does not happen as a result of a change in domain. He poses the notion of contextualisation cues within conversational codeswitching which he defines as "any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions" (1982: 131). That is to say that they are employed by speakers to signal various meanings. The interlocutor's correct interpretation of them is contingent upon their tacit awareness of their meaningfulness and shared knowledge by all participants of the interactive process. If participants understand and notice the relevant cues then interpretive processes are taken for granted, but if a listener misses a cue, then misunderstandings may occur (Gumperz 1982: 131). These misunderstandings may result in the speaker presenting themselves as rude, unfriendly or uncooperative and are regarded as a social faux pas. Cues are present at all levels of speech and may be syntactic, lexical, stylistic or prosodic. Examples of such cues include a change in intonation or pitch, formulaic expressions and conversational openings or closings (Gumperz 1982: 131). Gumperz (1982: 98) argues that CS itself can function as a contextualisation cue in stating that: "Code-switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactical or lexical processes."

In his research on conversational CS, Gumperz (1982) sought to show how speakers and listeners subconsciously use internalised and grammatical knowledge in interpreting bilingual conversations. This was in direct support of rehabilitating CS and showing that it is not solely motivated by a speaker's inability to find a word or express themselves in a particular code. He outlines and elaborates upon a preliminary list of six key functions of conversational CS, as listed below (1982: 75-84). The conversations studied in establishing these functions were recorded for the most part by participants themselves and interpretations of meanings were checked with participants and with others of similar social and linguistic background. The first setting in which these conversations occurred included an Austrian-Former Yugoslavian border village of farmers and laborers where Slovenian and German was spoken. The second setting involved Indian college students from urban Delhi who spoke both Hindi and English and the third involved Chicano college students who were born in the United States who spoke both Spanish and English. He also advises conducting the analysis on illustrative brief exchanges which are long enough "to provide a basis for context bound interpretation" (Gumperz 1982: 75) and highlights that this list is by no means exhaustive. The functions of conversational CS that he proposes are as follows:

1. *Quotation*: This may be the most clearly identifiable as it involves switching in order to directly quote or report something that was said or heard in another language.
2. *Addressee specification*: This function is noted when the speaker switches to accommodate several possible hearers or a specific person. It can also be used to exclude someone by switching to a language that a particular interlocutor does not understand (Romaine 1995: 163).
3. *Interjection*: This function involves switches used as interjections or sentence fillers in the discourse. It is similar to Poplack's (1980) *tag-switching*, which often involves discourse markers and other common expressions that are more often used in the other language or are more easily available to the speaker.

4. *Reiteration*: This occurs when something said in one language is repeated in the other often serving either for self-repair or to clarify or emphasise what was said.
5. *Message qualification*: This serves to emphasise or clarify certain parts of speech. This function involves adding extra detail to what was said in another language in order to emphasise or provide clarification via linguistic contrast.
6. *Personalization versus objectivization*: This is a more difficult function to define and identify but it is related to the degree of speaker involvement and whether a statement involves personal opinion or knowledge, or whether it refers to facts or specific instances. For example, a speaker may use one language to describe a situation or an event that happened but then use another language to describe their own personal experience of the situation.

The use of discourse functions to account for instances of CS has since been explored by multiple researchers since (Appel & Muysken 1987, Romaine 1989, Zentella 1990). Based on her own research in the Panjabi community in England, Romaine (1989: 161-162) proposes the following functions: sentence fillers, to clarify and emphasise a point, to shift to a new topic, to mark the type of discourse and specify the social arena. Appel & Muysken's taxonomy can be seen as an extension of Gumperz's work and some similarities can be drawn between their functions, as mentioned below. Appel & Muysken (1987: 118-120) give the following six functions of CS:

1. *Referential*: This function is related to switches which occur due to a lack of knowledge of one language or a lack of facility in a language on a certain subject. One language may be more appropriate depending on the subject or even a one-word concept; therefore, the introduction of a new topic may result in a switch. Appel & Muysken state that this function is the one that bilingual speakers are most aware of and report doing when they do not know the word in the language, or because they think the word in another language is more suitable.
2. *Directive*: Comparable to Gumperz's *addressee* function, the *directive* function is participant-related, and it specifically involves the hearer and the language choices the speaker makes on the basis of either excluding or including the hearer.
3. *Expressive*: In referencing the work of Poplack (1980) on Spanish-English CS by Puerto Ricans in New York, Appel & Muysken describe

this function of CS as a method of expressing the speakers' two identities by using their two languages in the same discourse.

4. *Phatic*: Similar to Blom & Gumperz's (1972) *metaphorical switching*, Appel & Muysken state that the *phatic* function expresses a change in the tone of a conversation. Examples of this function include providing meta-commentary in the other language for comic relief or for emphasis.
5. *Metalinguistic*: The *metalinguistic* function of CS involves switching when commenting indirectly or directly on the languages involved in the discourse. This function can be noted when speakers attempt to impress the hearers with their linguistic skills and can be seen in public domains by performers and market salespeople.
6. *Poetic*: This function involves switching in order to deliver jokes or puns from the other language in discourse.

CS use by Spanish-English bilingual children growing up in the United States is often viewed negatively (Toribio 2002). Concerned with the impact that negative evaluations of the linguistic and/or intellectual abilities of those who codeswitch, Zentella (1990: 84) sought to research the communicative functions of CS as employed by Spanish-English speaking children from a Puerto Rican community in New York City. She collected data from ethnographic observations and over 100 hours of conversations between 5 to 12 year olds through placing tape recorders in their backpacks. She concluded that the speakers involved in her study are competent codeswitchers who are able to codeswitch to serve various discourse functions. She found that speakers adapted their speech based on setting and interlocutors and she notes three primary functions as: 'crutching', 'footing' and 'emphasis and appeal'. Potentially of relevance to the present study is the 'crutching' category. Although it can correspond to CS to provide temporary support for an unknown vocabulary item or structure, it also relates to a switch when arriving at an adequate translation involves a special effort, to avoid circumlocutions or when a word or concept is more apt in one language than in the other. 'Footing' is related to a speaker wanting to re-align a conversation between them and the interlocutor. Based on her research, she found that

footing can range from using CS to indicate topic change, for rhetorical questions and answers, tag questions to changing roles (e.g., from actor to narrator). Zentella found that the speakers in her study used CS for 'emphasis and appeal' in the aggravation and mitigation of requests, for repetition and to translate.

The use of function taxonomies in CS analysis has been criticised due to its apparent vagueness in diagnosing and explaining the phenomenon. Appel & Muysken's taxonomy received harsh criticism from Myers-Scotton (1993) as she believes the labelled functions are too vague and therefore fail to sufficiently answer questions regarding the function of CS. Those who primarily study CS from a grammatical approach have also criticised approaches to CS which focus on it as a socially motivated speech act, as it fails to account for any of the structural constraints involved in CS (Poplack 1980). Viewing this approach from a conversation analysis perspective, Auer's (1995: 120) main concern is that these taxonomies focus too much on codeswitches being treated as isolated utterances. He points out that "frequently, we get lists of conversational loci for code alternation and examples, but no sequential analysis is carried out to demonstrate what exactly is meant, for example by 'change of activity type', or by 'reiteration'". He believes that this approach:

fails to adequately consider the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, i.e. the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of their turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers.

(Auer 1984: 5)

Bailey (2002: 77) adds that:

the ease with which such categories can be created – and discrepancies between the codeswitching taxonomies at which

researchers have arrived – hint at the epistemological problems of such taxonomies”.

3.3.2.4 CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

Conversation analysis (CA) is an approach to studying social interaction, pioneered by the collaborative work of Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974). This application of this approach to CS is largely credited to the work of Auer who expanded on the previous work of Gumperz (1982). Auer (1998: 3) writes that:

macro-sociolinguistic investigations of code-switching restrict themselves to analysing the social meaning of the occurrence or non-occurrence of code-switching in an interaction at large, but they fail to account for [...] local processes [...] either because they dismiss the question itself as uninteresting, or because they do not believe that such an account is possible.

Departing from previous research, Auer sought to define a procedure which was more concerned with micro-sociolinguistic explanations of CS (Auer 1998). CA is the study of talk organisation, therefore it looks at CS in regards to how it relates to talk organisation. Gafaranga (2017: 36) posits that the positive news that Auer’s (1988) perspective on CS provides is that “CS is not random because participants use it as a ‘means of coping with problems in conversation’, notably those ‘related to the organization of conversation in general’”.

The CA perspective on CS looks at how CS is used to achieve different discourse functions but it does not seek to assign a specific discourse function to instances of CS. Auer, therefore, disregards the use of lists and instead focuses on the processes involved in CS. One of Auer’s (1984, 1988) contributions to the field of CA are the two broad categories of CS which he proposes which focus on the conversation loci of CS: ‘discourse-related

codeswitching' and 'participant-related codeswitching'. The first relates to "the use of code-switching to organise the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance" and can be noted through the use of CS to mark topic changes; repetition; reported speech; quasi-translation (e.g., reiteration) (Auer 1998: 4). On the other hand, 'participant-related switching' is motivated by the speaker or interlocutor's language attitude, preference or abilities.

As CA is set out as a procedure of analysis and not a categorical approach, there is no complete theory associated with CA. It is instead described as a particular mentality, or as an attitude or as a style of work for analysing talk-in-interaction (Gafaranga 2009: 114-115). Hypotheses are typically not formulated and tested, researchers proceed inductively from an unfocused observation of data to attempt to reveal rules of interaction that are demonstrably relevant to speakers (Edwards 2006). The basic understandings of this approach are that talk should be viewed as social action and that talk is an orderly activity in which conversational participants' actions occur sequentially. This 'sequentiality', the notion that talk is organised on a step-by-step basis, is central to CA. Utterances cannot be interpreted in a vacuum, they must be analysed in relation to the preceding context.

More specifically in relation to CS, researchers from a CA perspective view CS as a tool to frame, control or direct interaction. CA adopts an emic perspective on CS, assuming that language is a resource that speakers can draw on due to the normative nature of conversational resources (Gafaranga 2009: 126). Gafaranga (2009: 126) also states that this emic perspective is only possible by sequentially analysing CS, by viewing each unit relative to the immediately preceding and following units and not as a single event. Researchers who advocate for this approach believe that attention to the turn-by-turn organisation of interaction can give insight into the sociolinguistic factors of the

interaction. Therefore, when applied to CS, CA can help interpret the sociolinguistic factors and motivations for the alternate use of languages (Steensig 2003: 801)

In order to successfully analyse a corpus from a CA perspective, certain measures and considerations need to be taken into account. This approach pays particular attention to the context in which conversation takes place and the minutiae of spoken language. This attention to detail is included in the transcription process, with transcriptions noting length of pauses, changes in tone of voice, distinctive pronunciation features and any other details which might help our understanding of CS and the negotiation of roles and relations (Steensig 2004: 798). Steensig (2004: 814) also believes that due to the heavy reliance in CA on an “intuitive feeling for what is going on, a feeling which should not be an unanalysed resource, but which must enter into analysis in order for the analyst to get at the participants’ interpretations”, the analyst should either belong to the community being analysed or have a profound relationship with members of the community. Members of the community may be able to deduce more from certain aspects of the interaction being analysed than those who are ‘non-members’ of the community due to what Steensig refers to as “member’s intuition”.

A critique of CA is that although it is effective in capturing details of conversation and can provide a detailed overview of conversational turn-taking, it makes little attempt to explain the speakers’ motivations for their language choice (Myers-Scotton 1999; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001). However, Li Wei (2002) argues that it is more than just a descriptive technique and his list of advantages of CA includes that it gives priority and insight into the effect of a speaker’s language choice on subsequent language choices during an interaction and that it limits the analyst’s interpretational leeway and premature theorization or predictions due to its focus on the sequential

development of naturally occurring interaction. The detailed nature of analysis and transcription of CA can help to qualify and enrich our descriptions and understanding of the environment in which CS occurs and it, therefore, has much to offer to the study of bilingual interaction (Steensig 2004: 806).

3.4 Research on codeswitching in the Irish-English context

As discussed in the introductory and background chapters, the primary languages in contact in Ireland, and more specifically in the Gaeltacht, are Irish and English. Sections [2.1](#) and [2.3](#) has provided a thorough overview of the history of the Irish language and the Irish language as spoken today. While the alternate use of Irish and English in communication is referred to in research, few studies have explicitly focused on the study of CS in the Irish context. The topic of Irish-English CS, therefore, remains a relatively underdeveloped research area. It must also be stated that much of the research which has been both explicitly and implicitly conducted in this area has analysed CS with focus on language shift, as will be discussed. While a shift in research perspective can be seen as will be communicated here, O'Malley-Madec noted in 2001 (261) that most scholarly research on Irish until then overly focused on the possible extinction of the language with little microanalysis of actual language use and linguistic phenomena associated with language contact (e.g. CS). The aim of this chapter is to provide a summary of previous research conducted on CS in the Irish-English context and further highlight the relevance of this thesis' contribution.

3.4.1 Definitions of CS in the Irish context

Similar to the international context, terminology used to refer to this linguistic phenomenon in the Irish context varies throughout the literature and terms are interchangeable at times. Research in this field has been presented in both Irish and English and common terms employed include the English terms those aforementioned in [§3.2.1](#) and the Irish terms *códmheascadh*

(codemixing), *códmhalartú* (codeswitching), *iasachtaíocht* (borrowing) and *códaistriú* (code alternation).⁸

Ní Laoire (2009, 2012) who has primarily analysed CS from a sociolinguistic perspective, provides the most detailed description of the terms she employed:

Códmheascadh: Malartú idir leaganacha nó teangacha taobh istigh de chlásal nó de fhrása i.e. sliocht an-ghearr nó focal (nó cuid d'fhocal) aonair sa dara teanga á mheascadh isteach leis an mbunteanga agus á úsáid taobh istigh de shruth focal sa bhunteanga. Códmhalartú: Sa chiall is cúinge, malartú idir leaganacha nó teangacha thartheorainneacha an chlásail nó na habairte i.e. an sliocht sa dara teanga a bheith níos faide ná clásail nó abairt. Úsáidtear an téarma chomh maith mar olltéarma a chlúdaíonn códmhalartú agus códmheascadh araon.

[Codemixing: Switching between variations or languages within a clause or a phrase, e.g., mixing a short excerpt or a single word (or part of a word) into the base language and using it within a string of words in the base language. Codeswitching: In the narrowest sense, a switch between variations or languages outwith the boundaries of a clause or a sentence, e.g., an excerpt from the second language would be longer than a clause or a sentence. This term is also used as an umbrella term for both codeswitching and codemixing.]

Similar to Ní Laoire, Darcy (2014), the first to apply the MLF in the Irish context, states that she uses the term code-mixing to define the presence of English in an Irish language utterance and CS to define a full switch to English. Her chosen terms echo Muysken's (2000) definition of code-mixing which states that it happens within a speech utterance (e.g. intrasentential) and CS indicates a new clause or sentence.

One of the first researchers to analyse CS in the Irish-English context, Stenson (1990: 170) states that:

⁸ Translations are the researcher's own

switching tends to be intrasentential and can involve anything from a single English word to a whole phrase within a sentence, which is nonetheless perceived as an Irish sentence.

In his research on language contact and language shift in a Donegal Gaeltacht, Ó Domagáin (2009) examined the CS practices of the participants involved in his study. He refers to a definition from Grosjean (1982: 145) and employs the term *cód-aistriú* (code alternation) in discussing the phenomenon. He states that code alternation is the departure from one language, dialect or register during a discourse between people who speak two or more languages (2009: 43).

3.4.2 Borrowing versus codeswitching

The history of Irish and the languages it has been in contact with is discussed in §2.1. As discussed, Irish has borrowed from multiple languages, including Latin, Norse and Norman French, throughout the years. English is the most common donor language in the Irish context today due to the continued increase in contact with the language since the 12th century. This history of languages in contact results in difficulty distinguishing between what constitutes a borrowing and CS in the Irish context. This section aims to address this issue and provide further clarification.

Stenson (1991) provides examples of historic loanwords dating back to the earliest Anglo-Norman contact in Ireland. They have undergone extensive phonological reinterpretation and would likely not be recognised as being of foreign origin by most speakers today. Examples include *seirbhís* (service), *balla* (wall) and *bagún* (bacon). These historic, long-standing loanwords have been integrated on a phonological, morphological and syntactic level in Irish and co-exist with more recent borrowings since the mid-twentieth century, referred to by de Bhaldraithe (1953) as *nua-iasachtaí*. Although these *nua-*

iasachtaí have been used for generations, they do not show the same level of phonological, morphological and syntactic integration and therefore make it more difficult to distinguish them from CS (Stenson 1993). Based on her findings, she argues that phonological and morphological integration are insufficient as criteria to unambiguously distinguish between CS and borrowing in the Irish-English context (1991: 574). What makes this language contact situation particularly problematic when attempting to establish phonological integration is the long history of language contact where the donor language has historically been strongly influenced by Irish. Stenson (1991: 562) elaborates on this issue stating that there has been:

extensive contact over many centuries between Irish and English, and extensive mutual influence as well. Thus, not only has Irish been heavily influenced by English through extensive borrowing, increasingly in recent years, but the Hiberno-English which is the source of this borrowing is itself the result in part of influence from Irish during the period when the country was undergoing the initial societal shift from Irish to English.

3.4.2.1 DISCOURSE MARKERS

In high contact situations such as the Shona-English context in Zimbabwe (Myers-Scotton 2006: 245) and the Shaba Swahili-French context in Congo (Rooij 2000), researchers have concluded that discourse markers from the donor language often become well established as borrowings in the recipient language. This is indisputable in the case of the Irish-English context where discourse markers make up a large percentage of English words in corpus data (Hickey 2009; Ó Duibhir 2009; O'Malley Madec 2001; O'Malley Madec 2007).

Discourse markers frequently used include but not exclusively: *bhuel*, 'like', 'but', 'just', 'so', 'you know', 'alright', 'I'd say', 'okay' and 'sure' (O'Malley Madec 2001, 2007). Of these examples 'bhuel' (well) is the only one that satisfies Deuchar's (2006) criterion of listedness to be considered a borrowing, as it is

the only example included in an Irish-English dictionary. O'Malley Madec (2001) concludes that the discourse marker 'just' has been adopted by most speakers in place of more complex periphrastic equivalents in Irish with very few, if any, instances of native equivalents recorded in her data set. This can be understood to be the case for many of the English discourse markers widely adopted by Irish speakers. She supports their status as borrowings due to the fact that they have been "acquired by younger speakers from older speakers (that is by virtue of living in this particular speech community) and are not the immediate product of the contact of these two speakers with English".

'No' and 'Yes' and versions of these such as 'yeah', are also recurrent and widespread in the data collected for the studies on discourse markers previously mentioned and are therefore considered by many researchers as established borrowings. Instances of their use included stand-alone examples and also in parallel with the Irish forms in order to emphasise a negative or positive response. Although they would still be recognised as English insertions, Ní Laoire (2018) states that these discourse markers are part of the lexicon of the majority of Irish speakers and are relatively integrated and unmarked in speaker judgements.

3.4.2.2 CULTURAL BORROWING

Cultural borrowing is a common occurrence in the Irish context due to the pace at which the world in which the language lives in has evolved and the difficulty in coining new terminology to keep up with this pace. Examples include *carr* (car), *fón* (phone) and many more. Although terminology committees have been established to address this, it has been met with a degree of reluctance or a rejection among Irish-speaking Gaeltacht communities to adopt all newly coined terms (see §2.6). Speaking about this situation, Darcy (2014: 84) states that:

[...] historic loanwords are indicative of sociocultural changes in Ireland that placed pressure on the language to adapt accordingly. This pressure is still a current issue for Irish, and there is a constant demand for new terminology in order for the language to maintain momentum along with English. This demand is met by the terminology committee but creates the scenario whereby an Irish term is in existence and used by specific Irish-speakers while the English word, functioning as a loan, is practiced by another group of Irish-speakers.

While discussing English's influence on contemporary Scottish Gaelic at the time, Gillies (1980: 4) noted a similar phenomenon in the Gaelic context, stating that:

The fact that everyone knows English permits the operation of a principle of linguistic economy which says that only one language is needed for the technicalities of modern living, and choose English, as already having the vocabulary... (washing machines, lifts, deposit accounts, and so on).

The rejection of new terms due to them seeming inauthentic or because the English term was encountered first before an Irish term was coined are common reasons for cultural borrowing. In 1993, however, de Bhaldraithe (in Hickey 2009: 2) noted a "detrimental change" in spoken Irish with new loans replacing existing native words. The continued increase in contact between Irish and English has led these changes to persist and is a cause of concern for many language purists, resistant to change from what they deem to be 'authentic' Irish or "*an tSeanGhaeilge*" (the old Irish) as one language purist activist referred to the desired variety (as noted in Dorian 1994 and Ní Dhúda 2017). It seems that speakers are aware of the negative connotation some hold against extensive use of borrowings in speech, as O'Malley Madec (2001) reports a decrease in the use of borrowings by native speakers in more formal settings such as a radio interview. Lamb (2008: 194) has reported similar findings in the Gaelic context and writes that in radio interviews "a greater self-consciousness arising from its public nature is probably responsible for the lower level of English borrowing evinced than in conversation". One speaker

in Ní Ghearáin's (2011: 320) study referred to the Irish of learners as "correct Irish" compared to the variety of Irish spoken by Gaeltacht speakers who are inclined to use more English.

3.4.2.3 CONCLUSION

It is clear that there are more similarities than differences between CS and borrowing. However, distinguishing between CS and borrowing is important when analysing CS, particular in structural analysis of CS. Sociolinguistic analysis of CS provide more opportunity to discuss instances of words which fall on the CS versus borrowing continuum. Although it may be impossible to categorise instances of both completely accurately, establishing a thorough method to differentiate between them is necessary.

3.4.3 Sociolinguistic studies

Studies which focus solely on CS are sparse in the Irish-English context. However, of the studies which exist, CS has been analysed primarily from a sociolinguistic perspective. Ní Laoire (2009, 2012, 2016, 2019) has had the most impact in the field from this perspective. The influence of variables such as formality and informality on the use of CS has been investigated (see §3.4.3.1), the discourse functions which CS serve has been explored (see §3.4.3.2) and the influence that social networks have on CS has also been explored (see §3.4.3.3). The following sections will present findings from these studies.

3.4.3.1 THE EFFECT OF FORMALITY ON CODESWITCHING

As mentioned, Ní Laoire (2009, 2012, 2016, 2019) has primarily analysed CS from a sociolinguistic perspective. She has employed various methods to investigate communicative, social and stylistic functions, motivations and meanings in CS behaviour. In her research on markedness in the Irish-English context, Ní Laoire (2016) states that overall CS is the unmarked choice amongst most fluent speakers in spontaneous spoken language and that an avoidance of CS in informal domains is strongly marked as demonstrating learner or novice speaker norms. CS by fluent speakers, however, is expected to reduce in certain settings where overall CS might be more marked; these settings include radio and television interviews, public meetings and written language (Ní Laoire 2016: 86). CS, therefore, functions as a marker on a formality-informality spectrum. Her findings are in line with predictions made by international researchers (Myers-Scotton 1993) who predict a less codeswitched variety in more formal settings such as radio or television interviews or public meetings.

O'Malley-Madec (2001, 2007) has reported similar findings based on her corpus gathered from speech in the An Cheathrú Rua Gaeltacht in county Galway. O'Malley-Madec (2001: 270) gives the example of an elderly man from the Conamara Gaeltacht who in the first conversation with an unfamiliar researcher, which was more like an interview, used very few English words (approximately three in the excerpt). In the second conversation which was more like a spontaneous conversation, with more turn taking and in the comfort of his own home, there was a significant increase in CS. English discourse markers represented the highest percentage of English words in O'Malley-Madec's (2001: 269) data of spontaneous Irish conversation. However, she found that fewer discourse markers were used in a live radio interview than in an interview with her by the same speaker. According to O'Malley-Madec

(2001: 272), native Irish speakers can be said to speak two codes of Irish, one for formal settings where using English would be prohibited or unacceptable, and a second code for informal settings where CS is the unmarked choice. This shows that native speakers can style shift, an ability that she characterises as “an important indicator of language vitality”, observing that “a healthy and stable language will have a wide range of social domains in which it is functional; any diminution of these domains puts the language under threat” (O’ Malley-Madec 2001: 272).

Although her study did not focus on CS as a communication strategy, Darcy’s (2014: 228) findings showed that CS is a trait of both formal and informal speech amongst teenagers in Corca Dhuibhne, with CS present in semi-formal speech samples. She states that a domain in which an unmixed variety of Irish is used is rare for the participants of her study and this lack of monolingual domains increases the use of CS in both informal and formal domains and states that this may even contribute to a compromised ability in Irish for weaker speakers.

3.4.3.2 FUNCTIONS OF CODESWITCHING

Ó Domagáin (2013) investigated the language situation in Gort an Choirce, a Gaeltacht area in Donegal. Although his initial study primarily focused on grammatical aspects of language use, he also conducted a brief analysis on the discourse functions of CS based on Appel & Muysken’s (1987) framework. His corpus was compiled using sociolinguistic interviews, one-on-one interviews and ethnographic note taking and observation. Speakers from his data ranged from children to elderly people. The exact method used in arriving at his interpretation of these functions is not known.

In analysing his corpus from a Donegal Gaeltacht with CS strategies set out by Gumperz (1982) and Appel and Muysken (1987) as a framework, Ó Domagáin (2013: 226-227) states that a *referential* function was the most frequently employed CS function by his adult participants. He states that his findings suggest that CS was most frequently used to fill a vocabulary gap and provides the following as examples of this function:

Cad é atá sa footage mar nach bhfuil cuid ar bith den footage sin feicthe agam

[what's in the footage because I haven't seen any part of that footage]

Tá tumour ina chloigeann istigh agus tá sé á spré i rith an ama. Tá siad a'déanamh go bhfuil sé malignant, níl a fhios acu an dtig operation nó radiotherapy nó a dhath a dhéanamh

[There's a tumour inside his head and it's spreading all the time. They're making out that it's malignant, they don't know if an operation or radiotherapy or anything can be done]

In regard to the referential function, he states that the use of English terms in these instances is often as a result of Irish lacking new terminology or that Irish speakers encounter the English equivalent first and then adopt that into their lexicon as a result.

Other functions noted include a directive function, which he states participants employed to ensure they were intelligible to others who they perceived to have a lesser ability in Irish. Examples of this function provided include (Ó Domagáin 2013: 228):

Gur cúrsa antroplaíocht a bhí ann, anthropology

[that it was an anthropology course, anthropology]

Ar an bhulaíocht nó an bullying seo

[on bullying or on this bullying]

An expressive function was also employed by participants which Ó Domagáin (2013: 229) states speakers employed to showcase the multiculturalism they

possess as a result of speaking two languages. This function was shown with the following examples (229):

Tuairim ar closáilte go maith go cúig nó sé bliana
[Around close enough to five or six years]

Top of the range. Tá sé actually galánta
[Top of the range. It's actually lovely]

He addresses the difficulty in interpreting this function without the full context but asserts that he saw speakers actively trying to show that they had the Irish terminology and that they were from the culture associated with that language.

A phatic function, which served a stylistic and metaphorical purpose to change the tone of the conversation, was also noted. Mac Mathúna (2007) traces the use of CS for humour in literature back as far as 1608. It remains a common strategy employed in media and literature today (Ní Laoire 2016, Kelly-Holmes & Atkinson 2007). Switching from one language to another is an easy way of changing the tone of a conversation for a comedic purpose, for attention or to shock other participants; however, Ó Domagáin (2013: 230) states that it is no longer as effective in the Irish context as such a switch is now not as striking due to the increase in CS overall. Examples of this function which he provided included:

Bím ag obair achan lá, is é, seven days a week
[I work every day, that's seven days a week]

Luadh in sa pháipéar 'the look on the young men'
[It was mentioned in the paper 'the look on the young men']

Examples were also provided of CS to serve a metalinguistic function, which refers to instances when the other language in conversation is directly referred to either to indicate that the speaker intends to switch codes or to quote

somebody. This function was assigned to the following examples (Ó Domagain 2013: 231):

Mar a deir siad i mBéarla 'only time will tell', ní bhíonn a fhios ag éinne cad é atá i ndán dó

[As they say in English 'only time will tell', no one knows what's in store for them]

So nuair a bhí mé a'tabhairt a bhrisfidh dó dúirt sé liomsa 'you must have a computerised mind'

[So when I was giving him his change he said to me 'you must have a computerised mind']

In providing a sociolinguistic perspective on CS, Ní Laoire (2016) provides examples of CS as a stylistic/narrative device in informal spontaneous speech. Her data is primarily based on recorded speech examples, primarily from the Conamara Gaeltacht. Similar to serving a phatic function, Ní Laoire (2016: 91) speaks of CS serving as a stylistic and functional tool in defusing tension, changing atmosphere or introducing humour. This first example she provides shows English serving as a tool to introduce humour. The context for the following examples is not always provided.

Tá mise ag cur orm mo birthday suit! 'I'm putting on my birthday suit!'
[I'm putting on my birthday suit! 'I'm putting on my birthday suit!']

Similar to the metalinguistic function mentioned above, Ní Laoire (2016: 91) states that quotative CS where a verbatim quote is inserted into a discourse string is often employed by speakers in a bilingual setting to add to the narration. She provides the following example to illustrate this function.

'Enter', a deir sé 'Exit', anois. 'Tab', i dtosach. {Group of women gathered round a computer screen in a training session}
['Enter', it says 'Exit', now. 'Tab', first.]

Other stylistic and interactions functions of CS which Ní Laoire (2016: 91) notes include CS in repetition and paraphrasing to add emphasis during an interaction and also as an echoing device in a narrative setting.

Ó tá sin go hálainn, tá sé beautiful.
[Oh, that's beautiful, it is beautiful.]

Although her research did not focus on the discourse functions of CS, O'Malley-Madec (2001: 271) (see §3.4.2.1) found that the heavy presence of discourse markers such as 'just', 'like' and 'so' in her corpus suggests that Appel and Muysken's (1987) *insertion* is the most common CS function.

The research provided in this section provides an insight into the potential discourse functions which CS serves in the Irish-English context. The fact that an analysis of discourse functions was not the focus of either study highlights the need for such a study to be conducted. Such a study can support the rehabilitation of CS by further highlighting the diverse functions of CS as touched on here.

3.4.3.3 EFFECT OF SOCIAL NETWORK ON CS

Hickey (2005) conducted a study in 10 *naíonraí* (Irish medium pre-school) in the major Gaeltacht areas in the west of Ireland, where the children were aged between 3 and 5 years. Although these institutions are considered to be Irish medium, children from Irish-only homes, Irish-English homes and English-only homes are mixed together in small group sessions. Due to this, the exposure to English increases for L1 Irish-speaking children. Meisel (in Hickey 2005: 1300) states that CS in young children can be triggered just by another person's presence in the room due to the sensitivity of the developing language decision system. The implications of this can be seen in the *naíonra* setting where minority and majority language children are mixed. The results

of Hickey's study show that children from Irish-only homes spoke only Irish in about 50% of their utterances as a direct result of their language networks (2005: 1302). Utterances were understood as continuous pieces of speech which end when the speaker stops speaking or is interrupted by another speaker.

Hickey states that her data supports the theory that speakers of a minority language will shift to the majority language to gain peer approval, even when the minority language is the official target language of the group (2005: 1301). Other findings regarding CS from this study show that intersentential codeswitching made up only 5.4% of utterances by children from Irish-only homes and the majority of sentences (about 75%) were Irish sentences with English words, a finding which is in line with results found among adults (Hickey 2005: 1307- 1308).

The analysis also showed that children are able to codeswitch appropriately based on their interlocutors, e.g. when speaking to other children versus when speaking to leaders (2005: 1306). Ten percent of the leaders' total utterances contained English on average, with discourse markers providing most of the English words (2005: 1307). From this overall low percentage of CS by leaders and the fact that most of the interaction happens between the children and not with the leaders, it is clear that children significantly influence each other's language habits is significant. Hickey's (2005) insightful work helps to give us an understanding of how CS habits change and progress throughout the early years of language development and some of the motivations and reasons for this.

Similar findings are reported by Ó Domagáin (2013) in his research in a Donegal Gaeltacht. In regards to rates of CS, Ó Domagáin (2013: 235) claims

that age was the most important variable to the consolidation and the amount of CS, with younger participants codeswitching more than older participants. He suggests that this finding is a direct result of the social networks of the younger generations, with them having more contact with English than older generations.

3.4.4 Grammatical studies

Noting the absence of grammatical analysis of CS in the Irish context, Darcy (2014) opted to conduct research in this area. She conducted her research in the Corca-Dhuibhne Gaeltacht where she compiled a spoken language corpus from semi-structured interviews in secondary schools with young adults (16-18 years old). She applied the Matrix Language Framework (1993, 1998, 2002) to the corpus to determine the stability of Irish-English language use and establish whether CS shows a convergence towards English. She conducted this research in response to negative or purist views towards the use of CS in the Irish context.

As discussed in §[3.3.1.1](#), system morphemes construct the grammatical frame of a clause and are therefore associated with the matrix language, while content morphemes convey messages or information and are associated with the embedded language. In her analysis of an Irish-English corpus, Darcy (2014: 51) identified the content and system morphemes in this context as follows:

Content: nouns, adjectives, verbs, discourse markers, established loanwords

System: prepositions, quantifiers, prepositions, possessive suffixes, auxiliaries, tense markers, articles, prepositional pronouns, particles, copula.

Darcy's research was gathered and analysed by seven datasets associated with levels of Irish as a home language. Datasets were divided based on home

language and ranged from ‘L1 with Irish only’ to ‘L2 with English only’ and also included speaker pairs with mixed home languages. She found that CS is not a characteristic of a particular speaker profile as it was present in the corpus from all data sets.

Through her adaptation of the MLF to suit the Irish-English context and the application of said framework, her study showed that the Irish-English CS observed among participants was a ‘classic’ case of CS for the vast majority of instances. The table below shows the percentage of clauses which indicated Irish as the ML by each data set. Each data set involved either 2 or 3 speakers and the total number of bilingual clauses across the data sets was 1,360. The missing percentage from the total is the share of clauses in which the matrix language was ambiguous or not possible to decided based on the clause being incomplete.

Table 3.1: Percentage of clauses indicating Irish as the matrix language in Darcy’s (2014) study

	Data set	Irish as the ML	English as the ML
1)	Irish as the dominant home language	87%	4%
2)	Bilingual home language	92%	-
3)	Mostly English as a home language	80%	-
4)	English only as the home language	59%	-
5)	English and German as a home language	68%	9%
6)	Varied levels of bilingualism	83%	-
7)	Irish only as a home language and English only as a home language	74%	3%

The findings entail that the theoretical framework was upheld and that Irish was the dominant matrix language. Darcy (2014: 228) concludes that the language use of teenagers involved in her study indicated stable language patterns and not a compromised variety of Irish, despite the presence of CS. Her study, however, suggests that CS is more stable in certain data sets than others. For example, data sets 1 and 2 show a much higher use of Irish as the

ML than 4 and 5. The home languages associated with these data groups suggest that speakers from data sets 1 and 2 may be more proficient in Irish.

Darcy (2014) believes that her findings are contrary to concerns and beliefs that Irish speakers, particularly young Irish speakers, are creating a mixed form which compromises the language and that the current situation does not signify linguistic conditions suggesting language shift or language death. She, however, acknowledges that some examples of potential convergence were found in the speech of 'weaker' speakers (e.g., L2 speakers of Irish). These convergences included the presence of loan translations instead of the use of the Irish copula and incorrect verbal responses that contradict the echoic verbal system of the Irish language. She also acknowledges the value of further in-depth investigation of CS, borrowing and CS across varieties and styles and the potential of comparing data across the Irish language communities.

3.4.5 Locations of codeswitching

O'Toole's (2009: 140) study, as discussed in §3.1.3, has shown that CS occurs from as young as 18 months and that children's use of English increases across age ranges as their exposure to English through various channels grows. The study showed that children being raised with Irish were most likely to know common nouns in English and were not yet learning English grammatical items such as verbs and closed class items (e.g. pronouns, determiners, conjunctions, prepositions) (2009: 205). This is not surprising due to the language contact situation and confirms the theory that nouns are most susceptible to borrowing from the majority language (Stenson 1993). Examples of the most common words most likely to be used in English rather than Irish are given and include *chips*, *tractor*, *pyjamas*, *ham*, *jigsaw*, *sweets* and *slide*, while the words equally likely to be used in Irish or English include

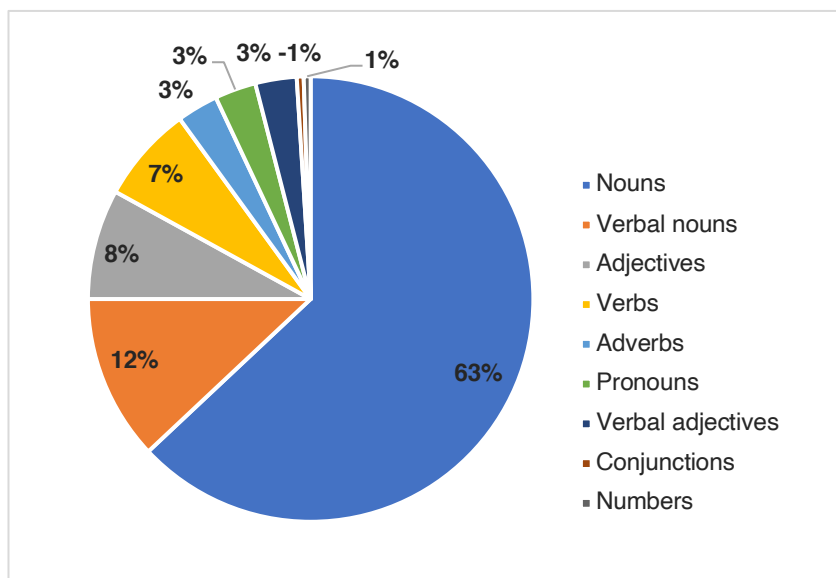
dolly, toast, bye and *shower* (O'Toole 2009: 243-244). This study was in line with Hickey's (2005) findings that the nouns that are more or as likely to occur in English are associated with the categories 'vehicle', 'food' and 'small household'. Vocabulary associated with traditional rural life of the Gaeltacht setting remained unaffected and were stated in Irish only amongst the age group of this study (O'Toole 2009: 244). Exact examples of nouns associated with rural life are not provided but traditional rural life is described as "nature, daily life, emotional life, etc".

Similar findings have been reported as far back as 1928 when Sjoestedt noted based on her research in a Kerry Gaeltacht that most instances of CS could be categorised as proper nouns, new household appliances, food, cooking, urban occupations and trade, and clothes. Ó Domagáin (2013: 223) states that most examples of CS in his corpus were not consistent and permanent and that variation could be found even in a single speaker, who might opt to use both an Irish and English term for the same word within the same conversation. However, he gives examples of nouns being used today in a Donegal Gaeltacht area which correspond to Sjoestedt's (1928) word categories and suggests the addition of hobbies, technology, and modern life as categories where CS would be expected and accepted, based on the following examples found in his corpus: "Shetlands", "fridge", "balcony", "stock market", "cash machine" and "email" (2013: 218). He sees the increase of CS as a result of the increased contact between Irish and English and as a sign of the English mainstream culture dominating over traditional Gaeltacht or Gaelic culture today.

In their study of bilingual competence, Péterváry et al. (2014) conducted individual and pair interviews in both English and Irish in schools located in a Category A Gaeltacht in Conamara. While their focus was on children's (aged 7-11) comparative ability in both languages, a quantitative analysis on the English words used in the Irish interviews gives some insight into expected locations of CS. They found that English words made up 21.5% of the total

word count in the Irish interviews. The overwhelming majority of the English words used consisted of nouns (63%), with verbal nouns representing the second most frequent English word type (12%). Figure 3.1 provides further information on the relative amount of each English word type.

Figure 3.1: English word types in the data collected by Péterváry et al. (2014)



Their analysis also showed that 19.6% of English words showed morphological integration into Irish. For example, the suffix *-áil* was added to English verbs (e.g., *backáil*). Eighty four percent of verbal nouns showed a degree of integration, 73% of verbs and 59% of verbal adjectives. Only 5% of nouns showed a level of integration (e.g., *tyres – tyreannaí*).

3.4.6 Codeswitching presented as a sign of language shift

As previously discussed, researchers' stances on CS have drastically changed over the course of the last century, from the view that it was an ungoverned practice caused by speakers' language deficits to now considering it a sophisticated form of communication, which showcases bilingual abilities and involves high communicative skills. However, Cantone (2007: 53) claims that "codeswitching in a bilingual community with a minority language has been

widely stigmatized” and this can be seen in literature regarding the Irish-English situation.

As discussed in §2.8, post-traditional Irish, e.g., the name given to the variety of Irish spoken today, particularly by younger speakers, is viewed negatively and is often cited as a step towards language shift or language death. CS is seen as a key aspect of this variety and researchers from this perspective have concluded that there is a complete dependency on English and CS for communication purposes in order for speakers to express themselves effectively (Péterváry et al. 2014; Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007; Ó Domagáin 2013). Arguments for CS as a sign of language shift or death are most often made in broader linguistic studies and not studies which focus specifically on CS. Many of these studies have been conducted in the Conamara Gaeltacht and with children in schools specifically. Some findings from these studies in relation to CS have been discussed throughout the thesis (Péterváry et al. 2014, Lenoach 2014, Ó Curnáin 2007).

The terminology adopted by these studies can be seen as destructive and further stigmatise the use of CS. They fault young-speakers language use and their use of CS. Lenoach (2014) speaks of incomplete language acquisition in his study and presents his participants as ‘incomplete’ speakers of Irish and argues that the use of CS signifies lexical gaps in the speech of younger Irish speakers in the Conamara Gaeltacht. Ó Curnáin (2007) uses the terms ‘reduced’ and ‘semilingual’ to refer to the young speakers in his study who use CS. Petérvary et al. (2014) talks of the common use of ‘divergent’ and ‘inappropriate’ or ‘improper’ forms in relation to the use of non-standard terms or the use of CS by the young speakers involved in their study. While the study of divergences from norms is relevant and important; however, further care

and sensitivity should be allocated to the diction used when discussing issues related to minoritised languages and groups (Flores et al. 1991).

Another issue recognised with the above studies is that because they do not focus on CS, not enough time is given to fully understanding the intricacies of this linguistic practice. Conclusions and arguments regarding CS as a sign of language shift are primarily based on quantitative analysis with counts of instances of CS and English words. This quantitative approach does not allow consideration for the actual communicative event itself. For example, in Lenoach's (2014) study some of his findings on English word use were based on photos of objects being shown and asking for the word for this item. While this is a useful way of collecting data, it does not indicate language ability. Children may interpret that the goal of such a task is to provide an answer as soon as quickly as possible. Therefore, in the case of a bilingual, they have an extended lexicon of two languages to draw from to achieve this goal. The fact that an English word may be used instead of an Irish word does not indicate that the Irish is unknown, it simply shows that the English may have been more active in that present moment. No consideration or mention of alternative interpretations of language use are discussed in the study, lack of Irish use and the use of English instead is directly correlated with inability.

While an analysis of CS was not the main aim of the studies discussed in this section, as research on CS in the Irish-English context is sparse, the findings of such research can have great impact in the field. It is, therefore, necessary to conduct research which specifically focuses on CS specifically. Further research can help to analyse the true 'how' and 'why' of how speakers use both of their languages at once and can support the normalisation of CS effort in the Irish-English context.

3.4.7 Codeswitching in Conamara

While CS is present in the speech of almost all Irish speakers, no matter where they are from or how and when they learnt the language, CS has often been associated with language use in Conamara (Ó Murchú 1998).

While the following examples could be expected in other Gaeltacht areas or other locations where Irish is spoken, Ó Murchú (1998) provides insight into some of the most common locations of CS among Conamara Gaeltacht speakers based on examples from spoken language. The nouns which he lists are associated with more modern things and include: ‘ambulance’, ‘bicycle’, ‘factory’ and ‘fridge’. Based on my own examples as overheard in the speech community, it is noted that these words are often morphologically integrated into Irish with initial mutations added to them, as shown below:

An bhfaca tú mo **bh**bicycle? (girl, 7, at home)
[Did you see my bicycle]

Tá sé istigh sa **bh**fridge. (middle-aged woman, at home)
[It's in the fridge]

‘Tá mé ag obair sa **bh**factory.’ (teenager, football game)
[I'm working in the factory]

Ó Murchú also demonstrates that there is a frequent tendency in Conamara to add the affix *-áil* to the end of English verbs to create an Irish verb or verbal noun (e.g., *missáil*, *jumpáil*, *startáil*) and also to add the affix *-áilte* to create verbal adjectives (e.g. *hireáilte*) or normal adjectives (e.g., *stubbornáilte*). These tendencies can be noted in an Irish poem by Michael Davitt which shows both evidence of the creation of a hybrid verbal adjective and English noun morphological integration:

Tá mé **barráilte** as a' **gClub**, a Mhamaí, - tá mé **barráilte** as a' **gClub**...
[I'm barred from the Club, Mammy – I'm barred from the Club]

Gaelú or morphological integration of English swear words to Irish has also been noted in the Conamara Gaeltacht and numerous examples can be found in the Conamara playwright Joe Steve Ó Neachtain's (2006) work. Some examples from his play *Ní maith liom do thrioblóid* are noted below:

bitseannaí [bitches]

foc [fuck]

a **bhastaird** [you bastard]

Ó Murchú (1998) states that many of these words are so historically embedded in people's speech that they are now considered to be part of the spoken dialect now, although they are not accepted in the written language. A number of these types of CS are now established loanwords or borrowings, with some having gone through a process of spelling change to become more morphologically integrated into Irish; these words include *craiceáilte* (cracked/crazy), *féaráilte* (fair), *siúráilte* (sure) and *péinteáilte* (painted). Ó Domhnalláin and Ó Baoill (cited in Ó Domagáin 2013) assumed that this process often happens due to the shortage of verbs in Irish compared to English; English is richer in verbs. Irish equivalents tend to be based on more complex phrasal verbs. We can see the creation of *soundáil* as an example of this purpose, as a direct verb equivalent for 'to sound' does not exist in the Irish language. This further highlights the difficulty in classifying words as borrowings or instances of CS in a context where both languages have been in contact for centuries and continue to be in contact. Further discussion on distinguishing between borrowing and CS can be found in [§3.2.1.3](#) and [3.4.2.1](#).

As stated above, although CS is often associated with Conamara, these examples are not unique to the area. Ó Catháin (2001: 134), based on his research with adult Irish speakers on the Aran islands, and Ó Domagáin

(2013), based on research in the Donegal Gaeltacht area, found similar patterns of CS in their corpora. Ó Domagán (2013: 212) notes that the addition of the verbal ending *-áil* to English verbs has been happening for decades and provides examples from the area of his study dating back as far as 1839 (e.g., *ringáil*, *soundáil*).

3.4.8 Codeswitching in Ireland outside of the Gaeltacht

Ó Duibhir (2009) looked at CS practices primarily in *Gaelscoileanna*, Irish immersion schools, outside the Gaeltacht. He also included two Gaeltacht schools located in Gaeltacht A areas. The Gaeltacht schools were included to compare the linguistic output of their pupils with immersion school pupils, of the same age and stage of development. His study found that CS was the norm for both groups but that two out of seven immersion schools refrained from CS entirely. Pupils from both groups tended to use single English words and to codeswitch intrasententially. Pupils from the immersion schools used just under 50% more English words than their Gaeltacht school peers. Of all words used by pupils from *gaelscoileanna*, 10.03% were counted as English compared to 6.65% in the Gaeltacht schools.

Discourse markers and ‘yes’ and ‘no’ were the most common English words used by both groups. He states that:

The relatively high percentage usage of the aff./neg. particles ‘yeah’ and ‘no’ may be determined by the fact that there are no simple words in Irish for ‘yes’ and ‘no’. For agreement/disagreement conversationally in Irish it is normal to echo the positive or negative form of the verb or to use the copula. (115)

However, Ó Duibhir (2009) noted that pupils from the Gaeltacht schools prefaced their answers in Irish with the affirmative or negative particles ‘yeah’

and ‘no’, in line with the example Ó hUiginn (1994: 68) provides: ‘*Beidh tú ag goil ann?* No, *ní bheidh* [You will be going there? No, I won’t].

Interestingly, system morphemes such as ‘and’, ‘you’, ‘it’ and ‘the’ were employed by non-Gaeltacht pupils but were not present in the corpus collected from Gaeltacht pupils. Ó Duibhir (2009) hypothesises that a pattern involving the insertion of Irish words in what appears to be an English sentence or English sentence structure was not apparent in examples of CS by Gaeltacht pupils. He also noted that in no instance did a Gaeltacht school pupil use the substantive verb *bí* inappropriately in place of the copula but that this was the most common grammatical error among non-Gaeltacht pupils. This has also been noted by Ó Catháin (2001) in the speech of speakers outside the Gaeltacht and by Nig Uidhir (2021) in the speech of primary school pupils in immersion schools. Both groups, however, had difficulty with syntax in verbal noun clauses, particularly with the verb *caith* [to have to].

In her analysis of Irish used by pupils at the end of primary school in immersion settings outside the Gaeltacht, Nig Uidhir (2021) noted the use of CS, particularly when her participants were discussing technology. She listed the following examples: *textann sé* [he texts]; *sendfidh mé* text [I’ll send a text]; laptop; cyber (172). These differ from the pattern seen in examples provided previously from Gaeltacht speakers in Conamara (see §3.4.7), where there is a tendency to add ‘-áil’ and the appropriate tense affixes to verbs e.g., *textáileann sé* [he texts].

3.4.9 Codeswitching in the Gaelic and Welsh context

As Irish and Scottish Gaelic are such typologically related languages, it was of interest to explore research on CS in the Scottish Gaelic context. Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic are referred to as distinct languages today, they had a

common ancestor (McLeod 2020: 6-7). Gaelic shares a similar history to Irish in that it has been in contact with English for centuries, has incurred a sharp fall in speakers and remains as a community language in the more rural areas located in the northern and western areas of Scotland (McLeod 2014). Examples of English borrowings in literature can be found from at least the seventeenth century (Gillies 1993). According to the 2011 census (National Records of Scotland 2013), 87,056 people over three years old in Scotland stated they had some Gaelic language ability (1.7 per cent of the total population of Scotland), of whom 57,375 (1.1 per cent) claimed to be able to speak it. All Gaelic speakers today are bilingual in English, with no monoglot speakers in existence since the last quarter of the twentieth century (McLeod 2020: 17-26). Children learn English before even entering education and although some older speakers are considered to be Gaelic dominant, younger speakers are perceived to be English dominant (Lamb 2008: 44-46).

Few studies focusing on CS in the Gaelic context exist. MacAulay (1982) was a pioneer in the field and in more recent years, Smith-Christmas (2012, 2016) has been the primary researcher in this field. Her 2012 PhD research used a microinteractional approach to analyse language alternation between Gaelic and English by members from three generations of a family. She concludes that “although speakers vary in terms of both ability and use of the minority language, code-switching is nonetheless a powerful communicative tool within this family” (2012: 3). It was found that speakers use CS to modulate their stance, understood as the means by which speakers position themselves in terms of the discourse and the interlocutor(s) and she states that this shows how speakers use CS as a tool to facilitate meaning and understanding in interaction. It was also found that speakers used CS to clarify or emphasise messages. Her study also gives a quantitative overview of CS, e.g., how many turns involved instances of CS. At least 60% of the first generation’s turns, except for one person, were coded as Gaelic-only turns. Ten to 20% of turns

were coded as English-only and approximately 5-10% were coded as mixed, e.g., both Gaelic and English present. This was in contrast with the second and third generations for which English-only turns comprised at least 75% and 81% of all turns, respectively.

Similar to Irish speakers, English discourse markers are commonly employed by Gaelic speakers. As mentioned previously, the discourse marker 'well' has been borrowed by Irish and can be found in dictionaries spelled as *bhuel*, which shows phonological adaptation to Irish. In the Gaelic context, evidence of it spelled as *uill* and *uell* can be found in literature (Smith-Christmas 2016). In her 2012 study, Smith-Christmas noted a high degree of integration of English lexical items into Gaelic morphosyntax amongst the oldest generation of the family but this was not the case for the younger generations. This shows how different generations use CS differently, either for different functions or because of different abilities.

Reflecting O'Malley-Madec (2001, 2007) and Ní Laoire's (2016) findings in the Irish context, in his study of Gaelic register variation, Lamb (2008) found that the use of English borrowing is most characteristic of a spontaneous spoken register as opposed to more formal registers. Based on a comparison between radio interviews and spontaneous conversations, Lamb (2008: 194) writes that in radio interviews, 'a greater self-consciousness arising from its public nature is probably responsible for the lower level of English borrowing evinced than in conversation.' Such findings suggest that speakers have an ability to use CS to style shift and indicates that CS serves different purposes in different settings.

Language purism is also present in the Gaelic context, where conservative attitudes towards loanwords and changes in grammar persist and older-native

speaker models are idealised (McLeod 2004). In discussing CS specifically, the Gaelic scholar W.J. Watson wrote (1927 324): “I incline to think that a good deal of this mixture of languages is due to a lazy habit of speech rather than to a real lack of Gaelic terms.” While this negative sentiment towards CS was in line with the worldwide view of CS at the time, views towards CS have drastically shifted since and it has been normalised as a speech practice. However, a statement by Gaelic scholar Nancy Dorian (2010: 240) in more recent years based on her examination of a Gaelic speaking community shows that negative attitudes towards CS persist in the research on the Gaelic context:

A few individuals had a habit of codeswitching and by this local courtesy rule they imposed code-switching behavior on their conversation partners, too, willy-nilly.

Welsh is also a typologically similar language to Irish. Like other Celtic languages, Welsh is also a VSO language and it is today spoken in a society where English is the dominant language and speakers generally become bilingual in both Welsh and English from an early age. According to the census in 2011, 19% of the population of Wales reported being able to speak Welsh (Deuchar et al 2016: 209). This makes Welsh the strongest Celtic language in regards to percentage of population who speak the language.

Due to the prominent work of Deuchar (2005, 2006), most CS studies on Welsh have focused on structural or grammatical constraints. Based on the work of Muysken (2000), Deuchar (2005) analysed spoken data from an informal social gathering and found that insertion was the dominant pattern in Welsh-English CS. That is to say that one language determines the overall structure into which constituents from the other language are inserted. This pattern is assumed by the MLF which refers to this main language as the ‘matrix’ language and the language of the inserted constituents as the ‘embedded’ language. This mirrors Stenson’s (1990) findings from similar data

in the Irish context, as she found the same pattern to be the most dominant. In later studies Deuchar (2006) and Deuchar and Davies (2009) applied the MLF to Welsh-English CS data and they found that Welsh was the matrix language and English was the embedded language. Out of a total of 163 bilingual clauses, Welsh was found to be the ML in 86.5% and English was the ML in 2.45%. The ML in the rest of the clauses was either ambiguous or unidentifiable. They argue that this represents a classic case of CS in Myers-Scotton's (1998b) terms and indicates stable bilingualism. Carter et al. (2011) conducted a comparative study between CS patterns in Wales (Welsh-English), Miami (Spanish-English) and Patagonia (Welsh-Spanish). They suggest based on their findings that ML uniformity is more likely in contexts where the language pairs have contrasting word orders, as in Welsh-English or Welsh-Spanish (VSO-SVO), but that diversity is more likely when language pairs share word order, as in Spanish-English (SVO-SVO). In these structurally diverse language pairs which showed ML uniformity, they found that extra-linguistic factors such as proficiency, identity and social network is what decided the ML.

Factors which may shape how speakers codeswitch were analysed by Lloyd (in Deuchar et al 2016) using a corpus previously compiled by Deuchar (*Bangor Siarad* corpus) and corresponding questionnaire data. In analysing the relationship between CS and age, gender and level of linguistic input, she found that older speakers used a smaller percentage of English words on average than younger speakers. Deuchar et al (2016) also reported similar findings from the same corpus. Another notable finding was that participants who had gone to either bilingual or English only schools codeswitched less than those who had attended Welsh medium schools. Prys (2016: 161) suggests that this may be as a result of the distinction between formal language acquisition in the classroom and naturalistic acquisition in the community, where CS is the norm. In investigating how patterns of bilingual

acquisition affect the quantity of Welsh–English code switching by speaker, Deuchar et al (2016) found that speakers who had acquired both Welsh and English from birth were significantly more likely to produce intraclausal CS. It was found that they were more likely than all other categories of speaker, including those who had acquired their second language as young as age four. The overall percentage of bilingual clauses was 10%: however, bilingual clauses made up 15% of clauses by speakers who were simultaneous bilinguals. This percentage was reported as 6% for those who acquired their second language as adults. Similar to the research that has been mentioned above in both the Irish and Gaelic context, Prys (2016) also found that the amount of CS employed in the Welsh context strongly correlates with level of formality. Comparable to the use of the Irish suffix *-áil* in the Irish context to switch an English verb to Irish, morphological integration of English verbs and the Welsh suffix *-io* was noted in multiple examples in Deuchar's (2005) data. These examples included *exercisio* and *squeekio*.

Although the Gaelic and Welsh contexts are not directly comparable to Irish, similarities between findings in CS research can be noted and much can be learnt from the typologically similar language contexts. Research in all three contexts shows the complexity involved in CS and also shows that CS is not simply a step towards language shift. It must be highlighted, however, that although these languages are similar in terms of their linguistic structure and histories, the sociolinguistic environments in which they exist are not directly comparable. They have been in contact with English but the linguistic power dynamics between settings can vary greatly.

3.4.10 *Béarlachas* (Calquing)

Calquing is an aspect of language transfer which is common and expected in all language contact situations, especially in high-level contact situations. Meyerhoff (2009: 298) provides the following description:

a calque is usually used to refer to the direct translation, morpheme by morpheme, or word for word, of concepts and syntactic structures that originated in one language and can be shown to be (or be argued to have been) a historical introduction into another.

The tendency to calque is also a common translation technique and is understood as a literal word-for-word translation from the foreign language to the target language. Although it can sometimes work, when unsuccessful it can parse unnaturally, mistranslate nuances and sometimes might not even be understood by the target audience.

Irish sentences constructed based on English structure and grammar are often referred to as *Béarlachas* (Anglicism) in Irish research and by speakers. *Béarlachas* is understood to be calquing. In spoken Irish, researchers have encountered numerous instances of calques by both native speakers and learners of the language. However, they report that they are more common among young speakers and language learners (Mac Fhlannchadha 1999; Mac Mathúna 2006). Ní Ghallchobhair (2014: 135) states that the Irish-speaking community are often more familiar with or more likely to hear a term or expression first in English, and this often results in calqued phrases.

Rotter's (2000) research involves studying the impact of English phrasal verbs on other languages in contact such as Welsh and Louisiana French. He found that traditional verb + adverb patterns in Welsh have come to show effects of contact with English and provides examples of calquing of idiomatic phrasal verbs. He also provides similar examples in the Irish context based on data

collected by Stenson (1993), including *ól suas é* (drink it up) and *thug siad over* (they took over). Mac Mathúna (2006) provides a comic example of calquing with the sentence *leanfaidh muid culaith* (we will follow suit). The humour in this comes from the word suit which in the English idiom has the meaning of a suit of cards but in the Irish, *culaith* translates as a suit of clothes. Examples of calquing in the reverse direction with Irish as the donor language and Hiberno-English as the recipient language can also be noted, including the use of the 'after perfect tense' in Hiberno-English which has been calqued from Irish sentence structure formation (e.g. *tá mé tar éis é a dhéanamh* 'I'm after doing it') (O Corráin 2010).

Numerous calques make up spoken and written language today which many speakers would not realise are actually examples of *Béarlachas* and would therefore be unmarked and accepted. Examples of accepted or common calques include *tá mé ag staidéar* ('I'm studying') instead of *tá mé ag déanamh staidéir* ('I am doing study') and *an bpiocfaidh tú suas mé?* ('will you pick me up?') instead of *an mbaileoidh tú mé?* ('will you collect me?'). Stenson (1993: 111) discusses calques based on the use of English structures involving the verb 'get' (*fáil*) to construct non-native Irish phrases. Calques of this type include *fuair sí tinn* ('she got sick'), *tá mé ag fáil* jealous ('I'm getting jealous'), *tá mé ag fáil sean* ('I'm getting old') and *fuair sí pósta/geallta* ('she got married/engaged'). Mac Mathúna (2006: 124) provides the interesting example *Chommiteáil sé suicide* ('he committed suicide') which is a clear example of both CS and a calque from the English phrase 'he committed suicide'. This example shows both CS and calquing employed to use a direct verb rather than a phrase, as the traditional Irish form being *chuir sé lámh ina bhás féin* ('he put a hand in his own death').

Although some calques are common in everyday Irish of speakers, the presence of certain calques, such as irregular use of the copula would not be

as expected. Darcy (2014: 67, 195, 200) provides examples found in her research data of the misuse or lack of use of the copula and she states that it is viewed as a convergence or attrition which indicates a shift towards English. The journalist Breandán M. Mac Gearailt (2015) illustrated his dissatisfaction with sport commentators on the Irish television channel TG4 due to the lack of effort in protecting the high standard of language historically associated with Irish sports commentary from well-known commentators such as Micheál Ó Muircheartaigh and Seán Bán Breathnach. He provides an exhaustive list of examples of *Béarlachas* that he has heard on TG4 sports shows, most of which are directly translated idioms. Calques listed include *baiste tine* (baptism by fire), *drochcheirnín* (a bad record) which is problematic as *ceirnín* only refers to a music record, *thar an ngealach* (over the moon) and *creidmheas a thabhairt* (to give credit) which is problematic as *creidmheas* is only used in terms of financial credit. Ó Conchubhair (2016: 334) recognises the pressure these commentators are under due to the strains of live television and the need to keep terms concise but also entertaining, and Mac Gearailt (2015) recognises the difficulties that the station have in always finding native speakers who are also experts in the sport. Mac Gearailt, however, also argues that it should still be the station's responsibility and policy to protect and maintain the richness of the language.

Although *Béarlachas* has a negative connotation and it is noted as an aspect of convergence or attrition indicating a shift towards English, Ní Ghallchobhair (2014: 177) makes the important point that:

Cibé cén seans a bhí ag cainteoirí agus scríbhneoirí teacht slán ón mBéarlachas caoga bliain ó shin, is deacra go mór an dúshlán inniu d'fhoghlaimoirí a bhíonn ag machnamh trí mheán an Bhéarla, do chainteoirí Gaeltachta a bhfuil inmheánú déanta acu ar an mBéarla, agus d'aistritheoirí a fhéachann le haistriúcháin chruinne a dhéanamh ar théacsanna Béarla.

(Whatever chance speakers and writers had to avoid *Béarlachas* fifty years ago, this challenge is much greater for learners today who think

through the medium of English, for Irish speakers who have internalised English, and for translators who seek to accurately translate English texts).

It is clear that the avoidance of calquing is impossible in the high-contact language situation of Irish and English and it was predicted that many examples of calques would be found in the corpus of this study. Mac Fhlannchadha (1999: 55), however, believes that the heavy presence of calques in the Irish of the young speakers he studied is a temporary state of language acquisition and that instances of calquing are likely to reduce as the speakers age. The examples found will be highlighted and discussed with the aim of contributing to research on aspects of Irish-English language contact.

4 Methodology

Gafaranga (2017) speaks of the continued need to deliver positive news in CS research now that CS as a linguistic practice has been rehabilitated, e.g., no longer viewed as simply showing lack of competence in one or more of the languages involved. He states that much research on CS to date has been geared towards delivering critical news ('things are not as they appear') and we should be moving towards delivering more positive news ('X is organised this way'). This is particularly true in the Irish context where most studies have analysed CS from the perspective of its role in language shift or as a sign of incompetence in participants' Irish language abilities (X, Y, Z). This study seeks to deliver positive news concerning CS and provide an overview of how CS is organised in language and shed light on the various functions of CS.

The current study investigates the language use of young people in a Conamara Gaeltacht area, with particular focus on their use of CS as a communicative tool. The primary goal of this study is to establish the motivations and functions of CS to show that CS is not solely a tool to fill lexical gaps nor a sign of linguistic incompetence, as previously reported (see §3.4.6). My choice of studying the linguistic practices of young people was deliberate based on the particularly negative conclusions often made about the Irish spoken by younger speakers today (see §2.8). Venturing into the field to obtain linguistic data is a fundamental part of conducting sociolinguistic research; therefore, it was necessary to recruit a representative sample of speakers and record their speech in order to compile a corpus of spoken data. Choosing an area within the Conamara Gaeltacht as the field of study was based on my own background, as will be further discussed.

This study is based on the hypothesis that the young participants involved in the study codeswitch in order to achieve certain social goals or for creative purposes. These goals and purposes, however, have not been preformulated. As discussed in section §3.4.3.1, CS in the Irish context is indexical of an informal speech register and is expected in contexts where speakers are familiar with each other (O'Malley-Madec 2001, 2007; Ní Laoire 2016). The school setting where groups of young people interact on a daily basis, therefore, seemed a logical location to conduct the research. A review of sociolinguistic methods to collect data and the chosen method is given in §4.3.1. A further rationale for choosing the school as the fieldwork location will be discussed in §4.3.2.

Once the fieldwork had concluded, transcribing the data was a vital step in the research. The process and conventions followed will be discussed. A quantitative method was first applied to the collected data with an aim to provide an overall view of language choice and use among participants. The process of coding the corpus to achieve this and the ontological issues which arose when coding for 'language' and the unit of analysis will be discussed in §4.6.1. This analysis was then complemented by a qualitative approach to the data, as discussed in detail in §4.6.3.

4.1 Terminology

Considering the wide range of terminology used within the field as discussed in §3.2.1, it is necessary to clarify working definitions of the terms used in the current study. The term code in this study is viewed as interchangeable with language and the two codes expected to be involved in the study are English and Irish. Other languages or codes are not expected.

The term codeswitching (CS) is viewed as a type of umbrella term for aspects of two languages being used within the same passage of speech. Clyne's (1987: 740) definition best expresses CS for the purpose of this study as "the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences". Instances of CS which occur within or outside a sentence boundary will be differentiated at times as intrasentential CS (within) and intersentential CS (outside).

Although Irish and English are distinct languages, the long period of language contact between them has resulted in both languages borrowing vocabulary and grammatical structures. While this has occurred in both directions, English's influence on Irish has been stronger. For the present study, however, a distinction between codeswitching and borrowing will be primarily made based on Deuchar's (2006) criterion of listedness. This approach implies that elements of English origin which cannot be found in an Irish dictionary will be classified as loans or established borrowings. Due to the unreliability of dictionaries always being up-to-date as acknowledged by Deuchar et al (2007: 311), other measures to be considered when establishing a borrowing from a CS will be their presence in previous literature and their presence in other online corpora.⁹ The base language of communication in the study will be

⁹ Corpus of Contemporary Irish: <https://www.gaois.ie/ga/corpora/monolingual/>

referred to as the 'matrix language' and the language inserted into the base language will be referred to as the 'embedded language'. Distinguishing what constitutes the matrix or embedded language will be judged according to the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002) (see [§3.3.1.1](#)).

Bilingual is adopted to refer to anyone who is capable of communicating in more than one language, no matter their ability in either language.

4.2 Researcher positionality

Outlining the researcher's positionality is necessary as it influences how research is conducted and its outcomes (Rowe 2014). The existence of the researcher involved in the study cannot be evaded and we must consider our own role in the research process. The researcher's biases in terms of ethnic identity, gender, social status and language choice can all influence participants' behaviour during data collection and also the researcher's analysis of the data (Darwin Holmes 2020).

The area of study was chosen based on the strength of the Irish language in the region and also the researcher's familiarity with the area and its people. As someone from the area who shares the same language and dialect as the participants, it is important to acknowledge my position as more of an insider rather than an outsider. Positive and negative traits may be attributed to both positions, however, as Cormier (2018: 331-332) writes:

what seems to be more important for research is not whether researchers are insiders or outsiders, a combination of both or somewhere in between but rather if they are aware of their positionalities.

Blackledge and Creese (2010) state that an insider has more intimate knowledge of the context and of the participants they are studying, which allows them to pick up on cues, both linguistic and contextual, that other researchers may not notice. It is also argued that insider researchers can make participants feel more at ease during research interviews because they can evoke 'a sense of belonging' (Mc Ness, Arthur and Crossley 2015). This is particularly true in language studies where the researcher shares the same language and dialect as the participants (Cormier 2018). Importantly also, particularly in minority or vulnerable communities, it is believed that insider researchers can better empathise with participants and are likely to cause less

harm during the research process (Perryman 2011). An argument often used against insider research, however, is that insiders are less able to take a critical stance when studying the group which they are from (Cormier 2018).

While I see myself as an insider from my research perspective, it must also be noted that I have not lived in the area for a number of years. I agree that it is critical for an insider researcher to create some distance between them, the project, and the participants, and to remain aware of the influence their position can have on the results and how they are interpreted (Hewett-Taylor 2002). Living and studying in a different country for a number of years has helped me create some of this necessary distance and based on a suggestion by Hoffman (2013: 32), I made use of an extended social network by choosing participants who were from a younger generation to help overcome challenges regarding objectivity. Although I peripherally knew some of the participants through their older siblings and/or parents, I did not know them personally; however, many of the participants were able to quickly establish who I was through my younger siblings, which in turn made it clear to them that I was a member of the community. This suggestion of using an extended social network also helps to avoid any awkwardness during the interviews, as knowing the participants well can make it more difficult to ask questions from an interview schedule which may already be common knowledge for both interviewer and interviewee.

While problems of objectivity may not be completely avoided, it is not of large concern for this study as it does not aim to take a critical stance on the linguistic practices of the participants; the goal is to provide an overview of actual language use.

4.3 Research methods

4.3.1 A review of sociolinguistic research methods

This section offers a brief description of common research methods used in sociolinguistics, particularly in CS studies, and includes a discussion on the use of written texts, audio recording, interviews and questionnaires.

4.3.1.1 WRITTEN TEXTS

Written texts in which CS may be found is context-dependent but can include television scripts or radio programs, social media posts and newspaper articles. Callahan (2004) has analysed Spanish/English CS in a written corpus, compiled from literature, from both a sociolinguistic and grammatical perspective. She argues that her successful application of the MLF to her corpus which resulted in instances of CS being considered as ‘classic’ cases of CS proves that written discourse does not equate to inauthentic examples of language use.

In the Irish context, Ní Laoire (2016) examined CS as a sociolinguistic variable in identity construction and role negotiation in an Irish language radio drama. She built a corpus for her analysis based on eight episodes of the show. In regard to such a corpus, she acknowledges that “as pre-scripted drama, these data are a representation of, rather than actual, spontaneous speech” but that it is “sourced in a speech community which parallels that which is represented in the drama” (2016, 94). She supports her use of the corpus as a reflection of a spontaneous and naturalistic linguistic context by stating that all except one of the actors are L1 speakers of Irish who were known to frequently improvise and have creative input in the scripts (2016: 104). Ó Mathúna (2007) used historical Irish literature from 1600-1900 for his analysis on CS to show how CS was used by writers during this period and how these examples relate to

the changing sociolinguistic landscape of the country (e.g., language change/shift). Lynn and Scannell (2019) built a corpus based on the annotation of 1496 tweets in Irish which contained CS from English. They used this corpus to conduct further research on how both Irish and English interact online through categorising the types of CS present in Irish tweets (e.g., inter or intrasentential) and a quantitative analysis of the relative frequency and use of English within Irish tweets.

These examples show that CS can occur in any domain of language, even written language. While there is space for further research on CS in written sources and successful arguments have been made that written language does not necessarily constitute 'inauthentic' language and can reflect spontaneous language use, the collection of spoken language is preferred for the present study. This method of data collection is also not relevant to the study due to the specificity of the target participants

4.3.1.2 AUDIO RECORDING

Audio recordings of speech have served as a common source of data for CS studies (Gumperz 1982; Darcy 2014; Smith-Christmas 2012). The goal of this type of data collection is most often to obtain data which replicates naturalistic speech. Naturalistic speech can be understood as the way people use languages in real, everyday life situations. Achieving this goal, however, is not an easy task.

Denzin and Lincoln (2004: 353) found in their survey of qualitative research methods in sociolinguistics that "the interview is the favourite methodological tool of the qualitative researcher". Labov (1962) originally developed the sociolinguistic interview to try to overcome what is referred to as the

'observer's paradox'. Rather than view it as an interview, Labov (1984: 32) refers to this type of data collection as 'a well-developed strategy'. The observer's paradox is summarised by Labov as: "To obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed" (1972: 113). Although some sort of systematic observation is never completely avoidable, there are steps that can be taken to mitigate the Observer's Paradox and divert attention away from the observation. To lessen the effects, Labov's (1968, 1972) method often involves recording peers in groups and to choosing topics of conversation which are of specific interest to that group. Although the influence of the observer is not completely diminished, the interaction within the group itself greatly lessens the influence. Participants are never informed about the goal of the interview, and it is simply expected (or hoped) that the forms of the language under research will be produced without prompt. Poplack (1983) has successfully employed interviews to collect data on French and English language use in Ottawa and Hull, Canada. She examined the functions which CS served and the differences in language use between both locations. The interviews were conducted in French by local francophones and multiple examples of English loanwords or CS were present in the compiled corpus and differences in language use between both locations was noted.

Some researchers, particularly those coming from an interactional perspective, however, argue that interviews as a method of data collection produces 'unnatural' data since the interviewer influences the participants' linguistic production (e.g., through questions, interruptions, silences) and offers "ad hoc interpretations through the use of etic (i.e., non-participant generated) and not emic categories of analysis" (De Fina and Perrino 2011: 5). Researchers from this perspective prefer to collect data from a setting which would occur even if the researcher were not present (Speer 2002). This results in researchers recording or using data from situations such as patient-

doctor interactions (e.g., Gafaranga 2012), families at dinner (e.g., Smith-Christmas 2012, Li Wei 1994) and board meetings (e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998).

Arguments for and against the use of interviews in CS research raise the question of what constitutes 'natural' data. In discussing this debate on the ontological distinction between what is 'natural' data and what is not, Speer (2002: 516) points out that:

One problem with this, of course, is that all data must be recorded, and in order to do this (or use tapes recorded by others), one must first obtain the 'informed consent' of participants. This ethical requirement, along with the very presence of a tape-recorder, makes it hard to see how any data could be collected had the researcher 'not been born', and without the express knowledge of the participants. From this perspective, then, all data are researcher-prompted and thus contrived.

In some instances of data collection in 'natural' settings, the researcher opts to be present during the data collection as either participant (e.g., Smith-Christmas 2012) or observer, which further shows that the researcher's role in data collection cannot be completely eliminated.

Nikander (2012) argues in defence of interviews, through providing examples of discourse studies, that through the analysis of interviews as types of interaction in their own right, notions of bias and contamination can be quashed. The relative power of the interviewer and the roles of the other participants should be considered. Although the interviewer generally poses questions to promote speakers to 'talk on topic', interviewers can also participate in the conversation itself and provide their own response or comment on others' responses. The questions posed and the interviewer's active involvement are a central part of the data and as such should not be hidden away from (Nikander 2012: 403; Speer 2002). Therefore, when

analysing interviews as interactions in their own right, it is important to focus on the interviewer's turns alongside those of the participants.

4.3.1.3 QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaires have a well-grounded role in the study of language in society (Chilling: 2013). They are a way of eliciting information from participants. Some studies have used a questionnaire to collect information on how and when different languages are used in particular countries and settings (e.g., Fishman 1965), to collect information on language attitudes and ideologies (e.g., Darmody and Daly 2015) and to collect information on language ability (e.g., Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007). Questionnaires can also be used to collect background information on participants which could be relevant to the study. Such questionnaires are often used as support to other research methods (e.g., audio recordings).

The design of the questionnaire is critical in its success and sufficient time and effort should be spent by the researcher when compiling the questions to be asked. It is important to be clear about exactly what information you want to find out, what types of questions are most appropriate (e.g., closed or open) and how you structure it. The questionnaire should be intelligible and easy to read and fill in to avoid causing any difficulties for the participants, difficulties which could result in invalid answers or misinformation.

4.3.2 Overview of research methods used

Data collection was central to this study, especially gathering an appropriate corpus of linguistic material, and therefore needed to be carefully planned. A mixed-methods approach was applied with both quantitative and qualitative data collected, analysed and integrated to help provide a more accurate and

adequate response to the research questions. Sociolinguistic research often combines both approaches as it is rarely exclusively quantitative or exclusively qualitative; the researcher always aims to interpret the data in either numbers or words to answer 'how' and 'why' certain things occur in language (Johnstone 2000: 36-37). When designing research involving mixed- methods, O'Hanlon (2019: 117-118) identifies three dimensions that are important to consider: timing, priority, and stage or stages of integration. In regard to timing, the methods were applied sequentially with the quantitative data gathered first. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were given equal priority as they were being used to complement each other, and integrated at the analysis and discussion stages. The steps followed are described in further detail throughout this section. The data collection methods comprised audio recordings and a questionnaire.

4.3.2.1 AUDIO RECORDING

It was decided for the audio recording that a sociolinguistic interview would be the basis for data collection. The epistemological issues associated with this method in interactional approaches were considered; however, conducting group interviews was deemed the most efficient and economical way to collect the required data. Group interviews can elicit talk on particular topics in which participants can give their own perspective, can describe events experienced and witnessed by them, give personal opinions and express past and current feelings within a limited time period (Nikander 2012: 400). To overcome some of the issues, the group interview will be treated as a type of interaction in itself and the questions posed and the interviewer's involvement will form the data and not be hidden away from. However, it must be stated that this study's aim is not to analyse CS in a specific type of interaction (e.g., doctor talk, teacher-pupil talk). The study's primary aim is to rehabilitate the overall use of CS by the participants involved. The goal for data collection, therefore, was to compile a corpus rich in examples of CS. Based on knowledge of the context

as discussed in Chapter 2, the use of CS by participants would be expected; therefore, if CS was present and not avoided then the data collection method would be deemed successful.

To achieve this and steer attention away from the language being used and the interviewer, the following steps were followed based on advice by Schilling (2013: 94):

1. Prepare questions and group them into modules based on topics that would be of universal interest, and of special interest to the community of study.
2. Choose topics and questions conducive to interviewees producing animated narratives as these are a prime site of natural or vernacular speech.
3. Re-arrange questions as necessary as the interview progresses in order to maintain a natural flow of conversation.
4. Encourage interviewees to talk freely on any topic of interest to them without interrupting, allowing them to tell stories or narratives and go off on tangents.

Another important aspect of the interview is that they were conducted in group settings, as casual speech is predicted more in this setting rather than in one-on-one settings (Schilling 2013: 102). This prediction has been noted and confirmed since the pioneering work of Gumperz (1964) and Labov (1968, 1972). Labov (1968: 58) states that the most important data found was the language of pre-adolescent or adolescent speakers in spontaneous interaction with each other, while Gumperz (1964: 137) found that a more standard form of language was noted in individual conversations under conditions of relative formality. Other steps that were taken to mitigate the effects included discussing with teachers beforehand which students would work best together in a group dynamic and establishing the friendship groups amongst the children before assigning them into groups. Being known as a member of the community and speaking the same dialect of Irish also helped in reducing some of the effects.

The following table highlights the key properties of the interview.

Table 4.1: Key properties of the group interviews

<i>Observer / Interviewer:</i>	Researcher
<i>Number of participants:</i>	Groups of 4 or 5
<i>Setting:</i>	Classroom or other available room
<i>Duration:</i>	45 – 55 minutes (flexible depending on participant engagement)
<i>Topics of conversation:</i>	Hobbies and interests, family, social media, move to secondary school, favourite subjects,
<i>Games:</i>	Two truths and one lie, word association, word categories
<i>Set up:</i>	Group sat in a circle (with or without tables) with audio recorder in the middle
<i>Atmosphere:</i>	Playful, informal, participant-led

Four schools were involved as will be further discussed in the next section. The names of the schools were anonymised and are italicised in this paragraph. In *Scoil Mhuire*, children were split into two groups based on their classes: six students from fifth class and five students from sixth class. The students also seemed to enjoy and engaged with the chosen games and activities, including the introduction game ‘Two Truths, One Lie’, which encouraged a lot of speech and competitiveness amongst the participants. On numerous occasions the children went off on tangents, told personal narratives, had discussions and arguments amongst each other and even seemed to forget that the interview was being recorded at times. In *Scoil Íosaf*, the students were split into two groups of mixed genders and were selected for the groups based on recommendations from the teacher about who would work best together as a group based on their relationships with each other. The students were aware of the audio recorder and even played with it at times but it did not seem to have too much of an effect on their behaviour as they seemed very relaxed and were very talkative for the most part. It was also evident, however, that their teacher or parents had informed them that Irish was the target language of the setting as some students kept reminding other students to speak Irish. Even so, codeswitching between Irish and English was

a common occurrence. Participants from the groups in *Scoil Mhuire* agus *Scoil Íosaf* were the most talkative and engaged of all the participants involved in the study. There was only one group interview per school conducted in *Scoil Mhíchíl* and *Scoil Íde* as the number of pupils and, therefore, participants were very small in these schools.

4.3.2.2 PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The main goal of the questionnaire was to collect data to help create a sociolinguistic profile for each participant. The questionnaire (Appendices A & B) was shared with the participants' parents or guardians. It was established that all participants lived with at least one biological parent. The questionnaire included 24 questions which were posed under five subheadings: 'General Information about your child', 'Information about others in the home', 'Language Use in the home', 'Your Child's Language Use', and 'Language Attitudes'. The questionnaire included a mix of demographic questions, multiple choice questions, rating questions, close-ended questions and open-ended questions. There was also a space provided at the end to add any extra information that the parent would like to share regarding their child's language use, language use in the home, or any noticeable changes in their child's speaking habits throughout the years. However, only six questionnaires were returned with this additional information section completed.

An English version and an Irish version of the questionnaire were provided to each parent as it was expected that not all those completing them would be speakers of Irish or literate in Irish. The overall questionnaire response rate was 65%, with 19 out of 30 questionnaires returned. Of the 19 that were returned, 10 were completed in English and 9 in Irish. The response rate for all of the questions was high, with very few parents or guardians choosing not to answer particular questions. In some circumstances, the requested

information that was not provided by the parents or guardians was compensated by information provided by the child during the interview stages.

4.3.2.3 PILOT STUDY

It was decided that a pilot study would be beneficial to the overall study. Although a pilot study does not always guarantee success in the main study, testing the proposed research methods can increase the likelihood and provide valuable insight for the researcher (van Teijlingen and Hundley 2001: 1). The aim of the pilot study was to:

1. Test the proposed methods of the study in order to be able to modify them and improve them if necessary.
2. Assess the likely success of the proposed methods in addressing the research questions and/or develop the research questions based on this assessment.
3. Become accustomed with the recording device as the researcher had had very little previous experience with recording interviews.
4. Identify other potential practical or logistical problems.
5. Assess the feasibility of the proposed study.

Scoil Mhuire was the school chosen for the pilot study to be conducted in. As mentioned above, the students responded well to the interview arrangements and engaged in multiple discussions, arguments and personal narratives which resulted in a rich corpus of language use. Response to questionnaires was also positive. No changes to researchers methods were deemed necessary following the pilot study.

After the success of the pilot study and the invaluable speech data that was collected, it was decided in agreement with my supervisors that the data from the pilot study would also be analysed for the purpose of the overall study. This procedure is generally accepted in qualitative research when the methodological tools used are established and validated methods (van Teijlingen & Hundley 2005).

4.4 Setting and participants

Although it is not possible to share the exact geographical location involved in the study, it can be stated that it is located within the Conamara Gaeltacht and is classified as a Category A Gaeltacht (e.g., a strong Irish speaking area based on census data). It was decided early on that the fieldwork would be undertaken in school settings within this area. This decision was based on both methodological and pragmatic reasons. All of the primary schools in the area were contacted to be involved in the study in order to include the highest amount of participants. It was also helpful when making initial contact that I had previously worked in the schools during my undergraduate studies.

As discussed in §2.4, while schools in the Gaeltacht may have implicit rules and preferences regarding language use, explicit policies on language use as would be found in language immersion schools are not in place, as these community schools must cater for the entire community. These schools are not selected based on their policies and academic record; pupils attend these schools as they are most often the only viable option. Levels of formality often associated with the school setting (e.g., assembly, students grouped by ability) are not applicable to these schools. The reality of these schools due to the small communities in which they are located is that multiple classes are grouped together under one teacher, siblings and extended family are in the same classrooms, teachers are sometimes addressed by their first name by pupils and those associated with the school often informally know one another outside of the school setting.

Logistical constraints meant that the fieldwork had to be conducted during a specific time period. Therefore, in order to collect enough data to compile a corpus, it was necessary to conduct the study in a setting in which multiple participants could be easily accessed in groups at once. The use of individual

microphones attached to participants at break times without the presence of the researcher was considered but due to lack of access to such equipment and the further ethical issues which would arise from this (e.g., permission needed from the entire school as all pupils congregate together), it was not an option. The majority of research on CS in the Gaeltacht among young people to date has been conducted in schools (Péterváry et al. 2014, Darcy 2014, Hickey 2009), therefore, this also played a decisive role in choosing the setting for comparative reasons. It must also be noted that two of these studies involved semi-structured interviews (Péterváry et al. 2014 & Darcy 2014).

As mentioned above, researching the speech of young people was of most interest based on the perceived need to rehabilitate their use of CS. Although further study is needed on Irish language acquisition stages, the typical speech timetable for English-speaking children states that by age 10, children can produce mature speech patterns (Aitchison 1997: 43). Based on this, it was decided to conduct this study amongst children aged 10 to 13 (e.g. upper-class primary school children).

4.4.1 Initial communication with schools

Once ethical approval had been granted, permission to visit the five proposed schools was sought from the school principals by means of an email which outlined the purpose of the study and the steps involved. The emails were then followed up with a phone call to further discuss any questions or reservations that the principals might have had and confirm dates for the visit. It was made clear that the schools were under no obligation to participate. Only one of the contacted schools did not respond after being prompted by email and a phone call. This meant that four schools in total were involved in the study and will be referred to as *Scoil Mhuire*, *Scoil Íosaf*, *Scoil Mhíchíl* agus *Scoil Íde*.

The parental information sheets and permission forms (Appendices C & D) were sent to the schools to be distributed to all students in 5th and 6th class to bring home. The information sheet and permission form were provided bilingually, in both English and Irish.

4.4.2 Overview of schools and participants

Scoil Mhuire was the biggest school and eleven children from both 5th and 6th class participated, 8 of whom identified as girls and 3 as boys. The table below outlines these participants' pseudonyms to be used in the study, the class in which they were in and their age at the time of the study.

Table 4.2: Participants from Scoil Mhuire

Pseudonym	Class	Age
<i>Síofra</i>	6 th	12
<i>Ailbhe</i>	6 th	12
<i>Clíona</i>	6 th	12
<i>Áine</i>	5 th	12
<i>Úna</i>	5 th	11
<i>Orla</i>	5 th	11
<i>Laoise</i>	5 th	11
<i>Ciara</i>	5 th	11
<i>Cian</i>	6 th	12
<i>Seán</i>	6 th	12
<i>Tomás</i>	6 th	12

Scoil Íosaf was the second biggest school and 9 students from this school participated in the study, 4 of whom identified as girls and 5 as boys. Due to a miscommunication between the principal and myself, permission forms were also sent to 4th class pupils from this school. All participants were 10 years old or older, which was the original target age; therefore, this did not have any negative impact. The table below outlines these participants' pseudonyms to be used in the study, the class in which they were in and their age at the time of the study.

Table 4.3: Participants from Scoil Íosaf

Pseudonym	Class	Age
<i>Sadhbh</i>	4 th	10
<i>Aisling</i>	4 th	10
<i>Sinéad</i>	4 th	10
<i>Caoimhe</i>	4 th	10
<i>Oisín</i>	5 th	11
<i>Colm</i>	5 th	11
<i>Aonghus</i>	5 th	11
<i>Ciarán</i>	5 th	11
<i>Daithí</i>	6 th	12

Five pupils from *Scoil Mhíchíl* participated in the study, 4 of whom identified as boys and 1 as a girl. The table below outlines their pseudonyms to be used in the study, the class in which they were in and their age at the time of the study.

Table 4.4: Participants from Scoil Mhíchíl

Pseudonym	Class	Age
<i>Sorcha</i>	5 th	11
<i>Aodán</i>	5 th	12
<i>Seosamh</i>	6 th	12
<i>Conall</i>	6 th	12
<i>Eoin</i>	6 th	12

Six pupils from *Scoil Íde* participated in the study, 5 of whom identified as boys and 1 as a girl. The table below outlines their pseudonyms to be used, the class in which they were in and their age at the time of the study.

Table 4.5: Participants from Scoil Íde

Pseudonym	Class	Age
<i>Síle</i>	5 th	11
<i>Pádraig</i>	5 th	12
<i>Caomhán</i>	5 th	12
<i>Fiachra</i>	6 th	12
<i>Liam</i>	6 th	12
<i>Tadhg</i>	6 th	13

More information about participants as revealed during the interviews and from the questionnaires will be discussed throughout the analysis.

4.5 Transcription

In order to perform my analysis, it was necessary to transcribe all of the spoken data that was collected. However, as Cameron (2001: 33) points out: “writing is not a direct representation of speech” but instead it is another model of language more generally, a model which “exerts a strong influence on our perceptions of what language is or ought to be like”. She states that it takes a real effort for the researcher to not hear spoken language in terms of the written model; therefore, it is important to represent more than just the words uttered in transcriptions (2001: 36). Taking time to consider the conventions that should be adopted in order to represent the spoken form faithfully while transcribing and avoiding editing out typical features of speech such as repetition and lack of sentence boundaries can help to overcome this issue regarding speech and writing differences (Cameron 2001: 36). A number of conventions based on Gumperz and Berenz’s (1993) transcription notations with some other self-identified notations were employed in the transcriptions of the interviews of this study, as listed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Transcription Conventions

..	Pause of less than 1 second	This represents very short pauses during the recordings.
<2>	Pause of more than 1 second	The number enclosed in the brackets indicates the number of seconds.
=	Overlapping of speech	This shows when an utterance or word overlaps another. The single equal sign is placed before and after the overlapped segments which will be placed beneath each other.
= =	Latching on to previous utterance	This shows when one speaker immediately follows the speaker before without any pause between the two speakers. The double equal signs will be placed at the beginning of the latched word.
()	Unclear word	This is used when the word or words said are unclear and completely unintelligible.
(focal)	Guess at unclear word	The word enclosed in the brackets indicates what the researcher guesses they have said but is unsure about.
[]	Non-lexical phenomena	This includes vocal and non-vocal instances which interrupts the lexical stretch e.g. [coughs], [laughs].

bold	English lexical items	This will help to quickly identify instances of codeswitching during the analysis.
<i>italic</i>	Non-standard Irish spelling	This will show when I have deviated from standard spelling of words to better represent the speakers' dialects.
' '	Reported speech	Single quotation marks will be used when speakers report the speech of others.
?	Final intonation	This will be used when a rising tone at an end of an utterance indicates uncertainty, a question or is eliciting feedback.
-	Truncation	This indicates when a speaker self interrupts with possible self repairs or for other reasons, or if a second speaker interrupts.
,	Slight rise	Indicates a slight rise in tone to indicate continuation, e.g. for a list or to show that there is more to come.
/	Slight fall	Indicates a slight fall in tone which indicates that more could be said.
:	Elongation	This will show when vowels and consonants are stressed and elongated and will be placed directly after the letter.
US	Unknown speaker	This indicates when it is not possible to identify who was speaking.

The recordings were transcribed using the transcription program ELAN (EuDiCo Linguistic Annotator) which was developed as part of the European Distributed Corpora Project at the Max Planck Institute in the Netherlands and can be downloaded for free. This program was chosen based on recommendations by other PhD students and researchers as it has various features which make the transcription process much easier and more efficient.

Other things that were taken into consideration while transcribing included how best to represent certain features of the spoken dialect as many words used do not comply with standard Irish forms and spelling. It was decided that words would be transcribed to represent the speakers' pronunciation of them when possible and would be checked with others to ensure intelligibility and shown as a non-standard spelling using italics in the transcriptions. Non-standard spellings were cross-checked with alternative spellings found in the online dictionary teanglann.ie. Non-standard grammar was expected, as discussed in §**Error! Reference source not found.**, and instances of non-standard

grammar were also transcribed as they were said during the interviews. The transcription aimed to be as close a reflection as possible to the spoken language. It was also important to ensure anonymity throughout the transcriptions and therefore all names were changed to pseudonyms, even the names of others not participating that might have been mentioned. Local place names mentioned that might affect the anonymity of the area of study were also given pseudonyms.

The recordings were listened to on multiple occasions throughout the research project, including during the pre-transcribing stage, during the transcribing stage and after the transcribing process to ensure a thorough and faithful representation of them. Once transcribed, the transcriptions were then cross checked to ensure accuracy. The most difficult part of the transcription process was identifying speakers accurately and dealing with multiple participants speaking at once.

4.6 Data analysis method

Once the data had been collected and transcribed, the data analysis was the next stage of the research. A quantitative analysis of the corpus was first conducted. The goal of this process was to provide an overall picture of language use by each speaker and investigate patterns of language use between speakers. Deuchar, Muysken and Wang (2007: 300) refer to this characterisation as the “absolute use of different languages” which they state is often absent in CS corpus studies. Smith-Christmas (2012: 79) argues that the reason for this is because researchers, particularly those from a linguistic approach to CS, often only transcribe isolated instances of CS and not the entire recording. As all of the recordings were transcribed, this quantitative analysis for the present study was possible.

Following the coding of the corpus, complimentary approaches from both a grammatical and sociofunctional perspective were then applied. Analysing the data from both perspectives will provide a deeper understanding and a fuller picture of the CS practices of the young Gaeltacht speakers. This section provides an overview of the steps and approaches adopted during the analysis stage of this study.

4.6.1 Coding the corpus

Following the transcription process, the coding stage of the project began. Approximately 7 hours of spoken data was transcribed, which resulted in a corpus of nearly 35,000 words, not including interviewer turns. The corpus was then coded using the program NVivo 12 for speaker, language (English and Irish), instances of intersentential CS and instances of intrasentential CS. English language words were also coded by the following word types: ‘nouns’, ‘verbs’, ‘discourse markers’, ‘pronouns’, ‘adverbs’ and ‘adjectives’.

The units of analysis were 'turns' and 'words'. The underlying principles of turn-taking were first described by Sacks, Schlegloff and Jefferson (1974) and their model continues to be applied in Conversation Analysis. While overlap is accepted and expected, a basic understanding of the model is that people take turns speaking in conversation and the point at which someone stops speaking or is interrupted constitutes a turn. Turns are variable in length and can consist of one word or long strings of speech; therefore, CS can occur more than once within the same turn but will only be counted as one instance. A traditional understanding of words may be a single unit, one morpheme uttered in isolation. Based on the work of Sinclair (1996), the classification of words in this analysis also includes compound nouns (e.g. railroad), multi-word prepositions (e.g. in order to) and phrasal verbs (e.g. to clean up).

The ontological issues with coding the corpus included the difficulty with assigning languages to certain words and, therefore, whether to consider certain instances as CS or not. For the most part, Deuchar's (2006) method of approaching it from a perspective of 'listedness' as discussed above helped with this classification issue. Although 'Yes' and 'No' (and similar variations such as 'yeah' and 'nah') do not appear in any dictionaries, they are ubiquitous in spoken Irish (O Malley-Madec 2001; Stenson 1991) and would not be considered by speakers themselves as using English. Such words were, therefore, not included in the count analysis as English words or as instances of CS. They were, however, coded within their own category due to their high presence in the corpus as it was felt that they would inflate the number of Irish words in comparison to English words coded for and turns coded as having no instances of CS due to turns consisting of solely 'yes' or 'no (or similar). While most discourse markers are accepted as established borrowings due to their widespread use in vernacular Irish, all were counted and coded as English

words, except for *bhuel* ('well') as it satisfies Deuchar's (2006) criterion of listedness (see §3.2.1.3).

4.6.2 Grammatical approach

In support of rehabilitating the use of CS by the participants involved in the study, it was decided to apply the Matrix-Language Framework (see §3.3.1.1) to the corpus. The rationale in adopting this microinteractional approach was that if it was proven that Irish was the overall base language of interaction by most, if not all, participants, it would show that the participants' bilingualism was stable and not indicating a language shift towards English as often suggested in research (see §3.4.6).

As discussed in §3.4.4, Darcy (2014) previously applied this framework to a corpus she collected in a different Gaeltacht area, Corca Dhuibhne, to investigate if Irish-English CS could be considered a 'classic' case of CS. Her study found that Irish was the overall matrix language in an overwhelming majority of interactions she recorded and that Irish-English CS can be considered a 'classic' case of CS. The application of the same approach to the present corpus will be complementary to her study to investigate whether the same would be true for younger speakers in a similar setting in a different Gaeltacht area.

A description of this approach has been provided in §3.3.1.1. This approach involves analysing intrasentential CS. Although some reference has been made to switching which occurs within a sentence boundary to describe this type of CS, this approach is concerned with switching which occurs within a 'clause'. The unit of analysis will be a bilingual clause; this is a clause

containing one or more morphemes from more than one language (Deuchar 2006). Examples of such clauses include the following:

tá trí **bhicycle** agam
[I have three bicycles]

ní maith liomsa aon **sauceannaí** ach **pizza sauce**
[I don't like any sauces except for pizza sauce]

do you know em roimh an obráid?
[do you know em before the operation?]

An issue considered after deciding on this approach was deciding what word categories, particular to the Irish language and not explicitly set out by Myers-Scotton (1993), should be assigned as either content or system morphemes. Establishing these morphemes was necessary in order to be able to apply the framework. In her analysis of an Irish-English corpus, Darcy (2014: 51) determined the content and system morphemes based on work by Deuchar (2006) in the Welsh context. Deuchar (2006: 1998) redefined the late system morphemes to suit the VSO order of the Welsh language which is the same order as the Irish language. They were determined by Darcy as follows:

Content: nouns, adjectives, verbs, discourse markers, established loanwords

System: prepositions, quantifiers, prepositions, possessive suffixes, auxiliaries, tense markers, articles, prepositional pronouns, particles, copula.

Based on the success of Darcy's study, it was decided to adopt the same content and system morphemes for the present study.

Gafaranga's (2007: 62) critique of the model, as discussed in §3.3.1.1, in which he problematises the analysis of each utterance in isolation has also been considered. While the contextual setting in which the clauses are uttered in is of little relevance to the analysis and findings, Deuchar et al (2007) state that

it is worthwhile reviewing the findings from the entire corpus to investigate any overall regularities or trends. This will be considered during the analysis of the present study. The analysis stage will also involve a sociofunctional approach which involves a sequential analysis of the corpus to compensate for Gafaranga's criticism. This will be discussed in the following section.

4.6.3 Sociolinguistic approach

The third stage of the analysis involves using an interpretive approach to analyse the corpus in terms of the functions that CS achieved in each instance. This stage was vital in order to rehabilitate CS as a linguistic practice by the participants by showing that CS does not solely serve to fill lexical gaps. An interpretive approach can be considered to be subjective; however, the combined use of recordings, questionnaire data and observation notes help to inform and validate the interpretive analysis of functions. The use of established theoretical concepts and categories of functions will also help to inform the interpretation of instances of CS.

An overview of functions as set out by Gumperz (1982), Romaine (1989), Zentella (1990) and Myers-Scotton (1993) was provided in §3.3.2.3. Gumperz's (1982) list of discourse functions will form the basis of this stage of analysis, however, to avoid a checklist approach and assigning instances of CS to a preformulated list of functions, multiple other functions as discussed in §3.3.2.3 were considered. Examples will be grouped together under a labelled function for the sake of presenting the data in a clear and convenient manner; however, it is acknowledged that not all examples found in the corpus can be grouped under the headings which will be provided in the analysis and some instances of CS can serve more than one function.

An inductive and flexible approach will be adopted during this phase which allows for categories to emerge during the analysis of the corpus. Creating these categories involves an interpretive process on the part of the researcher (Hill et al., 1997). The combination of the research conducted on the roles of the languages in the community, detailed transcriptions, ethnographic data collected during the interview and from the questionnaires, my position as a community member and the various stages involved in the corpus analysis, supports this analysis procedure and forms the basis for this interpretation. In instances where further evidential support was needed, I drew on family, friends and colleagues from the community to compare my interpretation with theirs. Although Gumperz (1982) research involved retrospective interviews, it was purposely decided not to ask the participants for their interpretations as this would draw direct attention to an already stigmatised feature of their language use. Identifying CS as a source of interest could be perceived negatively by the young participants and could perpetuate the stigmatisation associated with it, which would be in complete opposition with the aim of the study.

What is also important to arrive at an interpretation of CS, is to take into account the preceding and following sequences of the conversation. As discussed in §3.3.2.4, Auer (1984: 3) calls for a sequential analysis of CS to avoid “anecdotal descriptions of selected utterances” or a simple enumeration of functions. While this study does not claim to apply a CA approach in the analysis, it is agreed that “any theory of conversational code alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code alternation depends in essential ways on its sequential environment” (Auer, 1995: 116). This approach helps to counteract critiques of socially motivated approaches to CS which state that they may rely too much on the analysts’ own perceptions, as sequential analysis forces you to analyse the examples in context with focus on the local, turn-by-turn meaning (Auer 1984: 6).

Therefore, each turn which contains an example of CS will be analysed in relation to the preceding and following turns, aiming to interpret meanings through sequential analysis. In the examples of CS provided throughout the analysis chapter, the preceding and following turns may not always be provided due to limited space.

4.7 Ethical considerations

The University of Edinburgh's School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures places great importance on research ethics and integrity and has rigorous policies and procedures in place to ensure a high level of ethical review, integrity and accountability. Due to the nature of the study, it was necessary to ensure that the School's policy and procedures were being complied with and to seek approval from the Research Ethics Committee before collecting any data. The School's ethical review form, research proposal, parental information sheet (Appendix B) and parental permission form (Appendix C) were submitted to the committee for review in advance of the study. A more detailed ethical assessment was required due to the research involving children.

The intended approach as outlined in this chapter was approved with one recommendation regarding the one-to-one interviews by the School's Ethics Officer, who suggested that the children should have the option to be accompanied or to be interviewed in sight of teachers, parents, or even to be spoken to in pairs in order to safeguard both the researcher and the children. Based on this suggestion, an option was added to the consent form to allow parents to accompany their child during the one-on-one interview stage should they wish to do so. It was felt that this minor change to the approach would have the least impact on the study.

Part of the ethical assessment process also requires agreeing to abide by the General Data Protection Regulations and the Data Protection Act 2018 regarding how personal data is collected and stored. Fairness and transparency in addition to ensuring that consent is informed and voluntary are the key aspects of this agreement. These were ensured by providing a clear participant information sheet and a participant consent form (Appendix B & C).

The University's technical and organisational measures to ensure the safeguarding of data were put into place, and included the following:

- The minimisation principle: Use only the absolute minimum of personal data required for your purpose.
- Anonymise personal data if you can, or pseudonymise all personal data.
- Store the data securely.

(University of Edinburgh 2018)

These were followed by only requesting necessary information in the questionnaire and during the interviews. All participants were immediately given pseudonyms in the reported data and all data was stored on a personal computer.

In addition to the steps needed in order to secure ethical approval, other ethical considerations needed to be taken into account. Attention and care must be paid when conducting research on a stigmatised feature of language in a linguistic community, particularly one which speaks a minority language. The aim of the interviews was to collect a large sample of speech data and it was not expected to be difficult to collect examples of CS; therefore, the employment of tactics to encourage the use of a particular feature of speech was not necessary. Tactics employed during the interview were solely used to encourage speech in general. This was important as it allowed me to not draw direct attention to the participants' use of CS. I also avoided terms which would hint at the research topic when speaking to participants. Although participants did comment on their concurrent use of English and Irish when they speak, this was purposely not elicited by the researcher and no comments were made about their language use or ability in general. It was also made clear to teachers that if children voiced not wanting to participate, even with parental permission, that they would not have to.

4.8 Retrospective comments

Overall, based on the corpus compiled that was rich in personal narratives, communication between participants, arguments, humour and most importantly, I deemed the fieldwork to be successful. However, in hindsight there are aspects that could have been improved upon and other changes which occurred after the fieldwork was completed that should be addressed.

Certain shortcomings of the fieldwork can be attributed to my reluctance to impose myself too much on the school and remain as little of a disturbance as possible to the schools and the principals. It was important for me to be respectful and cause as little disturbance as possible to school time. I wanted to ensure that positive relationships were kept with the schools after the fieldwork. An example of this reluctance is not being more rigid regarding the types of rooms that were needed for the various stages. This issue with room type seemed to have the most effect on *Scoil Íde*, as the students were the most reserved group during the Interview A stage. Although the small office that we used was the only room available, had I had more flexibility with time and dates and been stricter about the interview properties we could have possibly re-scheduled to a day when a more appropriate room was available.

Another issue that arose during the fieldwork was questionnaires not being returned. The parents were provided a week to fill them in and return them, and those who did not return them within this time period had the option to return them to the school at a later date. School representatives offered to forward them to me, which two schools did but as mentioned previously, only 19 of 30 in total were returned. However, as it was expected that not all questionnaires would be returned, sociolinguistic information that was

revealed by participants during the interviews was noted to compensate for this.

Four schools were expected to participate during the main study, but one school did not respond to the request. This resulted in a lower number of participants than was desired for the main study. I tried to overcome this issue by reaching out again to the schools who had confirmed participation and asking for the permission forms to also be shared with their fourth-class students, who were deemed to be within the desired age bracket. However, only *Scoil Íosaf* acted upon this request. Due to the limited time scope and the limited number of schools in the area, inviting another school to participate was not an option. After some discussion with my supervisors and after the success of the pilot study and the invaluable speech data that was collected with only very minimal changes made to the fieldwork methodology, it was decided that the data from the pilot study would also be analysed for the purpose of the research project. This procedure is generally accepted in qualitative research and when the methodological tools used are established and validated methods (van Teijlingen & Hundley 2005).

5 Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to presenting findings from the analysis as set out in §4.6 in order to investigate CS as used by the young speakers involved in the study. The focus of this study lies in the rehabilitation of CS as a linguistic practice. That is, it aims to show that CS represents normative linguistic behaviour and is not solely a sign of language interference or a step towards language shift. This was achieved through the analysis presented in the following sections. Due to the difficulty of distinguishing between borrowing and CS, particularly in a language contact context, examples to showcase how this was dealt with during the analysis are provided in §5.2. Findings from the quantitative analysis of the corpus are presented and discussed in §5.3. The more thorough analysis of CS is then presented in the succeeded sections. Section 5.4 is concerned with presenting and discussing the findings of the grammatical approach to analysing the corpus, e.g., the application of the Matrix Language Framework, and the findings of the interpretive approach to data analysis which focuses on the functions of CS is presented in §5.6. A high number of instances of morphological integration at the word level, particularly for verb forms, was noted during the grammatical stage of analysis. Examples are presented in §5.5.

5.2 Borrowing versus codeswitching in the corpus

In situations of language contact, a number of linguistic phenomena involving the ‘mixing’ of languages occur concurrently (Muysken 2007: 289). CS is of course one of these, as is borrowing and calquing. The difficulties in differentiating between CS and borrowing have been discussed throughout the

do not appear in a dictionary and have Irish equivalents which also appeared in the corpus (e.g. *ag tiomáint, ag dornálaíocht, teilifís, cóisir, rothar*), they were considered as instances of CS. However, these are clear examples of words which fall somewhere on the continuum between a loanword and a codeswitch due to their common and regular usage by speakers of all ages within the area of study. As discussed in §3.4.7, Ó Murchú (1998) notes the common usage of ‘bicycle’ in the spoken Irish language of Conamara. Irish equivalent spellings for ‘telly’ and ‘party’ do not exist in dictionaries; however, they are sometimes spelled as *teilí* and *peartaí* in Irish texts and transcripts (*Tuairisc* 2015; Hakamada 2016: 247).

Two types of borrowings were discussed in §4.3, cultural borrowings and core borrowings. The former is considered to be associated with borrowings to fill lexical gaps; however, it would be best understood as borrowing to fill cultural gaps as it is often associated with new concepts or objects in the recipient language’s culture. Treffers-Daller (2010: 21) reserves the term ‘cultural borrowing’ to describe borrowing “for the importation of words for cultural novelties, such as *spaghetti* from Italian”. Examples of cultural borrowings in the corpus included words for modern technology and applications (e.g. Messenger, FaceTime, FaceTime*áil*, Houseparty), names of television shows (e.g. ‘Ax Men’, ‘Dancing with the Stars’), food items and branded food (e.g. ‘taco’, ‘nacho’, ‘Happy Meal’, ‘Ben and Jerry’s’) and shops and locations (e.g. Disneyland, Forever 21, Diesel). This type of borrowing is inevitable in a globalised world where the culture associated with the English language (American or British) dominates.

The latter type, core borrowings, are associated with borrowings which already have an equivalent in the recipient language. The most common core borrowings are discourse markers and multiple examples of English discourse

markers were found throughout the corpus. As discussed in §4.4, previous research in the Irish-English context shows that discourse markers make up a large percentage of English words in corpus data (Hickey 2009; O'Duibhir 2009; O'Malley Madec 2007; O'Malley Madec 2001). In the present study, English-origin discourse markers made up 13% of the English words used. O'Malley Madec (2001) argues that discourse markers should be considered borrowings and not codeswitches as they are now such part of the lexicon that they have been acquired by younger speakers from older speakers and are not the immediate product. However, of the examples found in this corpus *bhuel* ('well') is the only discourse marker which satisfies Deuchar's criterion of listedness. The discourse markers 'like' appeared 689 times in the corpus and 'just' appeared 478 times in the corpus. They were the two most frequent English language words used overall. The discourse markers recorded by O'Malley-Madec (2001) which appeared in this corpus included: 'you know', 'just', 'I mean', 'yes', 'yeah', 'okay', 'sure', 'right', 'cause' ('because'), 'so', 'no' and 'alright'. There were also instances of 'alright' used as an adjective. Other discourse markers not listed by O'Malley-Madec but which appeared a number of times in the corpus were exclamations of surprise or annoyance which related to religion. These included: 'oh God', 'oh my God', 'thank God', 'Jesus', 'Jeez' and 'Jesus Christ'. 'Anyway(s)', 'though' and 'really' also appeared in the corpus as discourse markers; however, there were multiple occasions of 'really' also used as an adverb. As Deuchar's criterion was decided as the primary guide for establishing borrowings from codeswitches in this study, as mentioned in previous sections, all discourse markers apart from *bhuel*, 'yes' and 'no' and similar equivalents (e.g. 'yeah', 'nah') were marked as instances of CS. It is recognised on reflection that cultural borrowings should have been excluded from the English word count. Although they do not satisfy the criterion of listedness, the concepts which they convey do not exist in the other language. However, their presence in the corpus was not particularly notable and it is assumed that their count will not skew the data.

5.3 A quantitative overview of language use

The purpose of this section is to provide an overall quantitative view of language use. The analysis is provided in two sections, one of which focuses on the data collected on codeswitched turns, intrasentential and intersentential, and the second of which focuses on the data collected on overall English and Irish word use and English word types.

5.3.1 Overall language use

The following table provides information on the turn types for each speaker. The table shows the total number of turns taken, Irish-only turns and the turns which constituted instances of intrasentential CS and intersentential CS. Total numbers by school and for the entire corpus are also provided. The data is represented in percentages in the figures following the table.

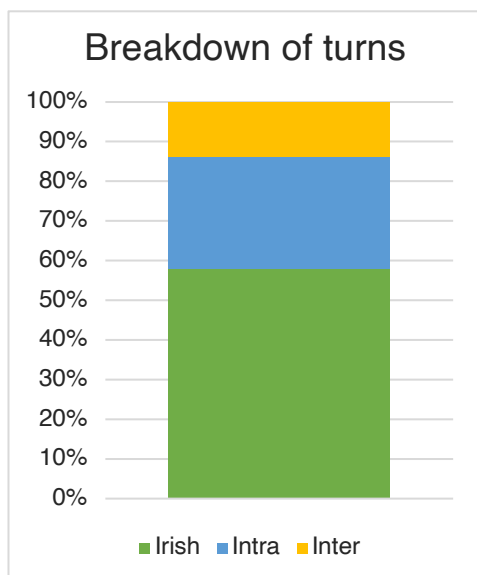
Table 5.1: Total intrasentential CS and intersentential CS turns by participant

	School	Irish	Intra CS	Inter CS	Total
Cian	Scoil Mhuire	107	50	25	182
Seán	Scoil Mhuire	106	103	20	229
Tomás	Scoil Mhuire	25	30	13	68
Síofra	Scoil Mhuire	81	48	21	150
Ailbhe	Scoil Mhuire	152	66	15	233
Clíona	Scoil Mhuire	122	49	20	191
Áine	Scoil Mhuire	51	64	21	136
Úna	Scoil Mhuire	45	16	50	111
Orla	Scoil Mhuire	60	62	7	129
Laoise	Scoil Mhuire	57	88	57	202
Ciara	Scoil Mhuire	93	68	7	168
		899	644	256	1799
Oisín	Scoil Íosaf	128	44	27	199
Colm	Scoil Íosaf	188	102	51	341
Daithí	Scoil Íosaf	131	74	35	240
Ciarán	Scoil Íosaf	154	48	47	249
Aonghus	Scoil Íosaf	161	118	29	308
Sadhbh	Scoil Íosaf	155	42	32	229
Aisling	Scoil Íosaf	162	52	57	271
Sinéad	Scoil Íosaf	175	95	52	322
Caoimhe	Scoil Íosaf	139	46	27	212
		1393	621	357	2371
Seosamh	Scoil Mhíchíl	101	48	26	175

Conall	Scoil Mhíchíl	111	73	24	208
Aodán	Scoil Mhíchíl	185	72	46	303
Eoin	Scoil Mhíchíl	173	61	48	282
Sorcha	Scoil Mhíchíl	67	15	13	95
		637	269	157	1063
Pádraig	Scoil Íde	193	57	14	264
Fiachra	Scoil Íde	147	21	16	184
Liam	Scoil Íde	196	85	14	295
Tadhg	Scoil Íde	184	73	7	264
Síle	Scoil Íde	129	15	13	157
		849	251	64	1164
Total		3778	1785	834	6397

From the table, it is clear that Irish-only turns were the most common turn type, followed by turns which involved intrasentential CS and finally, turns which involved intersentential CS. Variation between speakers and school groups can be noted, as will be further illustrated in this section. The following charts represent turn types overall, by school, and by individual speaker. The green colour represents the percentage of Irish only turns, the blue colour represents the percentage of intrasentential CS turns and the yellow represents intersentential CS turns. The first chart below shows the overall breakdown of turn types in the corpus.

Figure 5.1: Overall breakdown of turn types



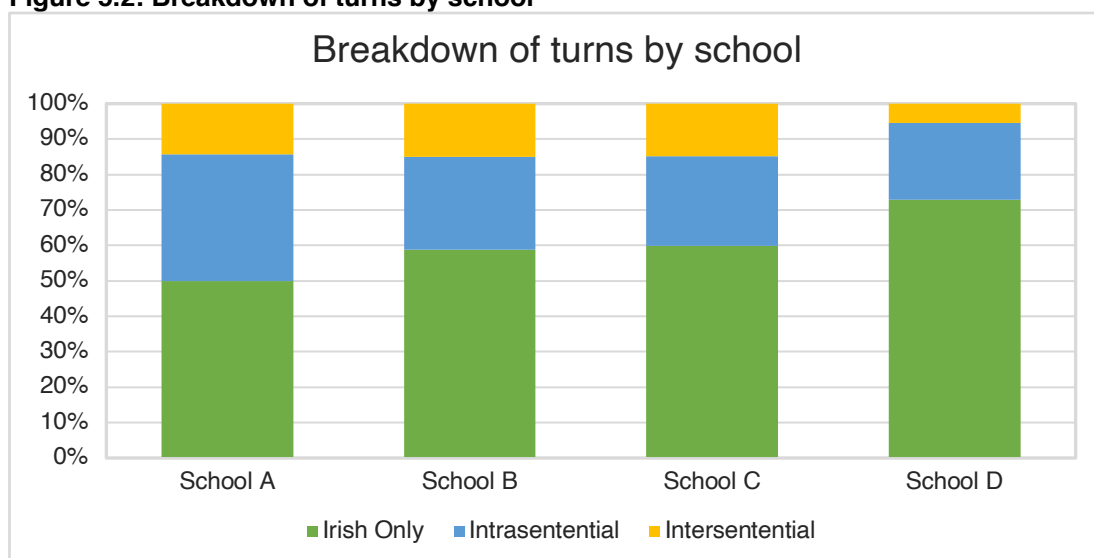
The mean percentage of Irish only turns, intrasentential CS turns and intersentential CS turns from the entire corpus is shown in figure 5.1. This

figure shows us that the average rate of Irish-only turns in the corpus was 58.13%. Intrasentential CS constituted 28.27% of all turns in the corpus and intersentential CS constituted 13.6% of all turns in the corpus.

5.3.2 Language use by school

As participants were interviewed within their school groups, it was of interest to illustrate the overall language use within these groups. When focusing on patterns of distribution across the schools, similar patterns can be noted between Scoil Íosaf and Scoil Mhíchíl with 1.1% or less in the difference in each turn type. In these schools, Irish-only turns constituted 58.8% and 59.9% of turns, respectively. Intrasentential CS turns constituted 26.2% and 25.3% and intersentential CS turns accounted for 15.1% and 14.8% of turns, respectively. Scoil Mhuire had the lowest percentage of Irish-only turns at 50% of all turns. The percentage of turns which involved intrasentential CS, however, was in line with Scoil Íosaf and Scoil Mhíchíl at 14%. This meant that intersentential CS turns made up 36% of all turns. Scoil Íde had the highest percentage of Irish-only turns at 72.9% of all turns. Intrasentential CS in this school made up 22% of all turns and intersentential CS turns made up 5%. This data is represented in the chart below.

Figure 5.2: Breakdown of turns by school

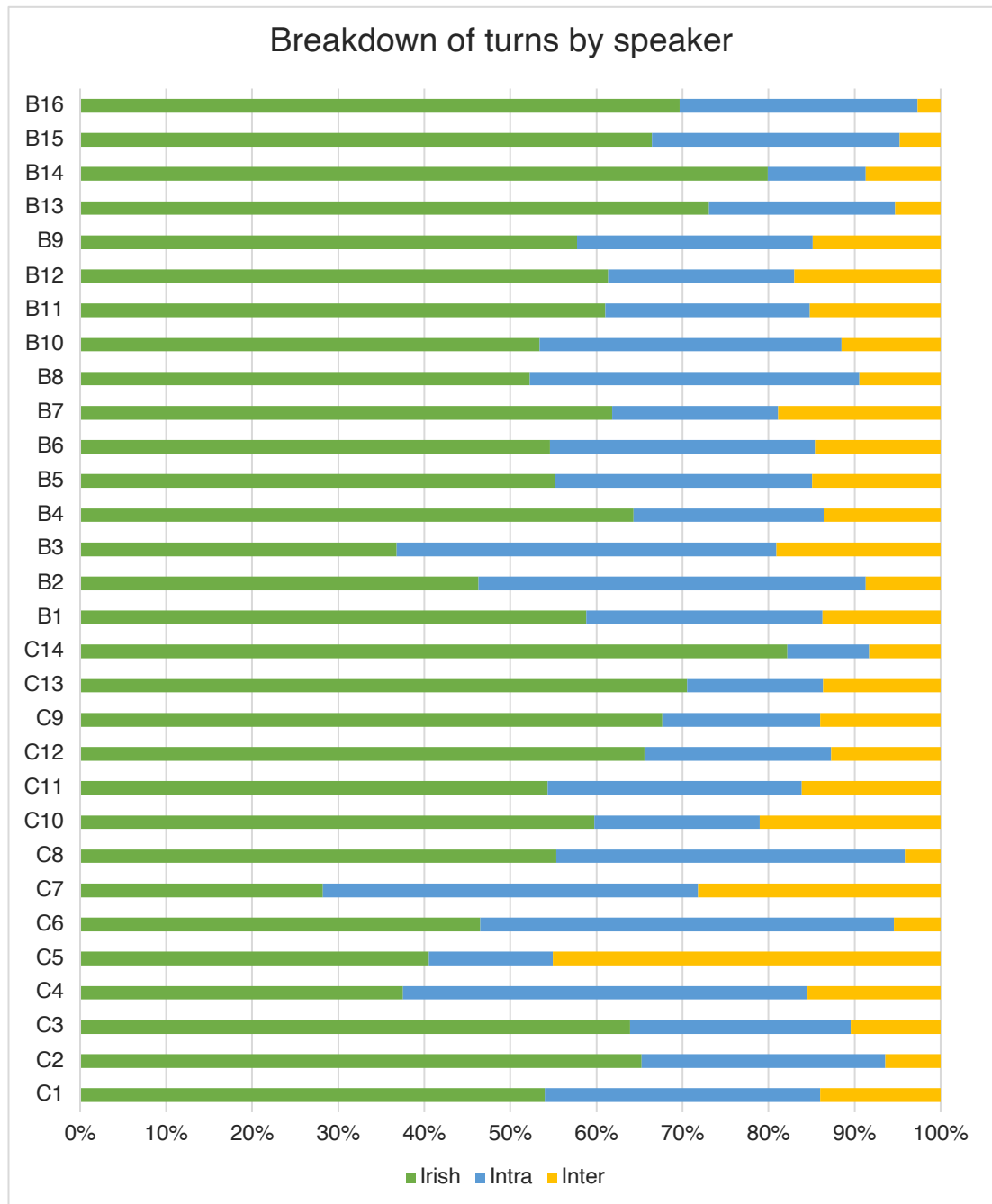


While overall language use was somewhat comparable between the schools, notable variation between speakers was noted in Table 5.1.

5.3.3 Language use by speaker

The following figure represents the distribution of turns by each speaker.

Figure 5.3: Breakdown of turns by speaker



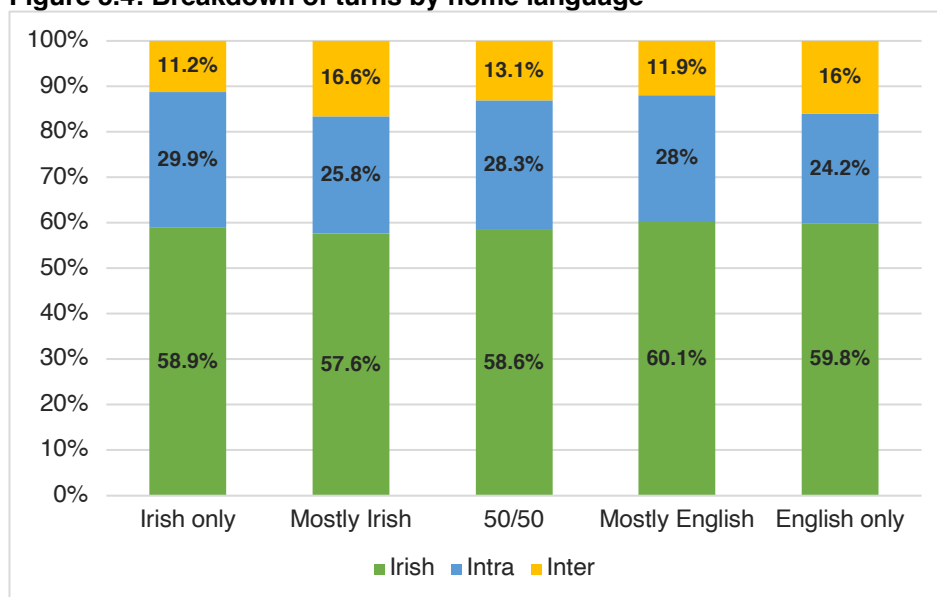
The chart above highlights the variation between speakers. This clearly shows that all the participants codeswitch but it is clear that some speakers use notably more English than others. The speakers with the lowest percentage of Irish only turns were Laoise (28%), Tomás (37%), Áine (38%), Seán (46%), Úna (47%) and Orla (47%). What is most striking in the speech distributions of these speakers is the high percentage of intersentential CS turns in Úna's speech, at 38%. The average for the entire corpus was 13.6%. Regarding the other speakers noted above, their use of intrasentential CS was very similar and notably higher than the average of 28.27% (Laoise = 44%; Tomás = 44%; Áine = 47%; Seán = 45%; Orla = 48%). This analysis shows that these participants are the most active 'codeswitchers' of all the participants. In contrast, the quantitative analysis shows that Síle, Sorcha, Fiachra, Pádraig and Tadhg codeswitch the least. Irish only turns made up at least 70% of all turns by these speakers, with Síle speaking the most Irish only turns of all participants at 82%. Tadhg's use of intrasentential CS matched the group average at 28% of turns but his intersentential CS made up only 2% of his turns. Although these participants codeswitched less than the average (both intersentential and intrasentential), the data supports that CS occurs in the language use of all participants.

5.3.4 Language use based on home language

Sociolinguistic data that was captured by the questionnaires and during the interviews allowed for investigation into sociolinguistic factors on language use. Darcy (2014) found through analysing language use in relation to various levels of Irish as a home language that CS was not a characteristic of a particular speaker profile. She did, however, find that certain violations of the matrix language framework were only present in data from L2 speakers of Irish. It was of interest to investigate language use in the present corpus in relation to speaker home language in order to later compare and contrast findings.

Of the 30 participants, 9 were reported to speak only Irish at home, 2 were reported to speak mostly Irish, 9 were reported to equally speak both Irish and English, 6 were reported to speak mostly English and 4 were reported to speak only English. The figure below shows the share of Irish only turns, intrasentential CS turns and intersentential CS turns by each of these data sets.

Figure 5.4: Breakdown of turns by home language



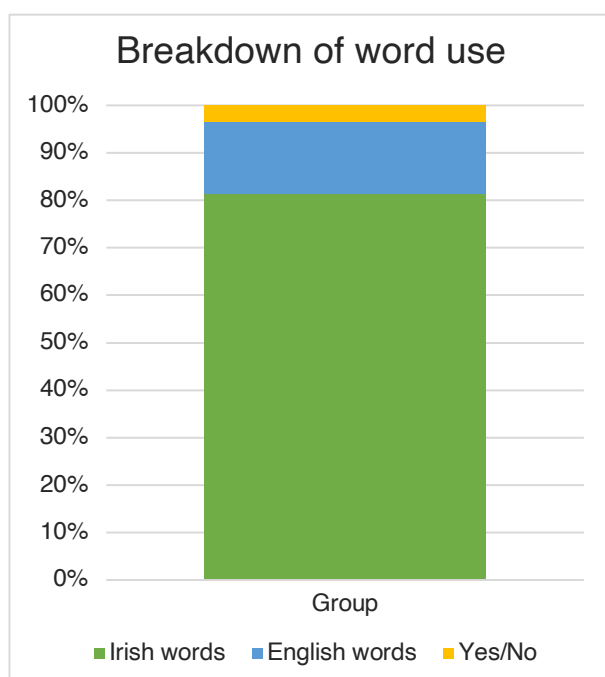
CS did not seem to vary greatly between the datasets. Irish only turns ranged between 57.6% and 60.1% of all turns. The most notable difference between the data sets is that although overall CS was similar between the datasets, those from Irish only speaking homes codeswitched more intrasententially and less intersententially than the other datasets. They codeswitched more intrasententially by 5.7% than those from English only speaking homes. Intrasentential turns for both groupings made up 29.9% and 24.2% of turns, respectively. Those from English only speaking homes, therefore, codeswitched intersententially 4.8% more than those from Irish speaking homes. Intersentential turns made up 16% of all turns for the former group and 11.2% for the latter.

5.3.5 Language use at the word level

An analysis of CS can give a beneficial overview and insight into language use in bilingual communities; however, analysis at the turn level cannot capture the full amount of CS that occurs intra or interturn. Multiple instances of CS can occur within a single turn. In order to achieve a more in-depth understanding of the relative use of both languages by each speaker, it was also decided to conduct a quantitative analysis at the word level. Words were coded as either Irish, English or Yes/No, as discussed in §4.6.1. Similar to the previous section which focused on patterns of CS, this section provides an overview of word use overall and by each individual, along with an overview of English word types used overall and most common English tokens.

Figure 5.5 illustrates the overall language use at the word level. It is immediately evident that participants used more Irish words than English. The quantitative analysis shows that 81.2% of words were classified as Irish and 15.5% as English. Instances of ‘Yes’, ‘No’, and similar (e.g. ‘yeah’, ‘nah’) made up 3.3% of the corpus.

Figure 5.5: Overall language use at the word level



As the previous section highlighted, speakers' use of CS greatly varied. It was, therefore, important to analyse word use at the individual level too. The following table lists the total number of words counted and a breakdown of the total number of words by language for each speaker. In addition to further illustrating the language use of speakers, it also highlights the contribution towards the corpus of each speaker. For example, Sorcha and Síle spoke notably less than the other speakers by contributing 276 and 383 words respectively to the corpus. In contrast, Aonghus, Liam and Tadhg spoke notably more and contributed 2266, 2308 and 2317 words respectively to the corpus.

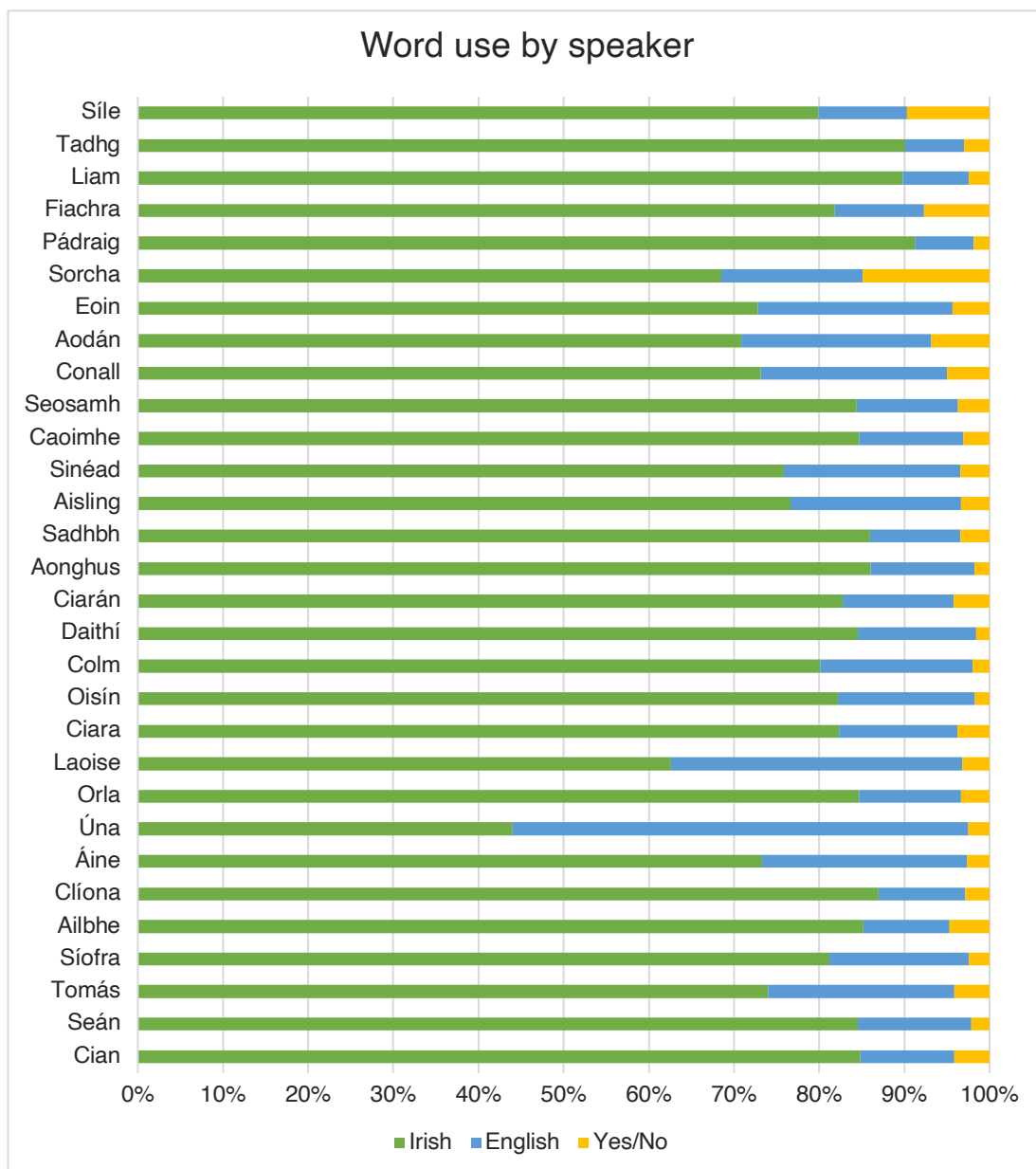
Table 5.6: Total word use by participant

	School	Irish	English	Yes/No	Total
Cian	Scoil Mhuire	868	113	42	1023
Seán	Scoil Mhuire	1302	205	33	1540
Tomás	Scoil Mhuire	305	90	17	412
Síofra	Scoil Mhuire	677	137	20	834
Ailbhe	Scoil Mhuire	1140	135	63	1338
Clíona	Scoil Mhuire	863	101	28	992
Áine	Scoil Mhuire	704	232	25	961
Úna	Scoil Mhuire	248	302	14	564
Orla	Scoil Mhuire	892	126	35	1053
Laoise	Scoil Mhuire	951	520	49	1520
Ciara	Scoil Mhuire	866	146	40	1052
		8816	2107	366	11289
Oisín	Scoil Íosaf	765	150	16	931
Colm	Scoil Íosaf	1585	354	39	1978
Daithí	Scoil Íosaf	814	134	15	963
Ciarán	Scoil Íosaf	1138	179	58	1375
Aonghus	Scoil Íosaf	1949	276	41	2266
Sadhbh	Scoil Íosaf	802	99	32	933
Aisling	Scoil Íosaf	818	213	36	1067
Sinéad	Scoil Íosaf	1123	306	51	1480
Caoimhe	Scoil Íosaf	726	105	26	857
		9720	1816	314	11850
Seosamh	Scoil Mhíchíl	756	107	33	896
Conall	Scoil Mhíchíl	850	254	58	1162
Aodán	Scoil Mhíchíl	786	247	76	1109
Eoin	Scoil Mhíchíl	922	290	55	1267
Sorcha	Scoil Mhíchíl	189	46	41	276
		3503	944	263	4710

Pádraig	Scoil Íde	1433	109	29	1571
Fiachra	Scoil Íde	414	53	39	506
Liam	Scoil Íde	2073	179	56	2308
Tadhg	Scoil Íde	2088	160	69	2317
Síle	Scoil Íde	306	40	37	383
		6314	541	230	7085
Total		28353	5408	1173	34934

Although figure 5.5 showed that Irish was the dominant language in the corpus. The data from the table above clearly shows the variation between individual speakers' language use. Most notable is Úna's word use as she was the only speaker who used more English (302 words) than Irish (248 words). The following chart further illustrates the distribution of words by each speaker.

Figure 5.7: Language use at the word level by speaker

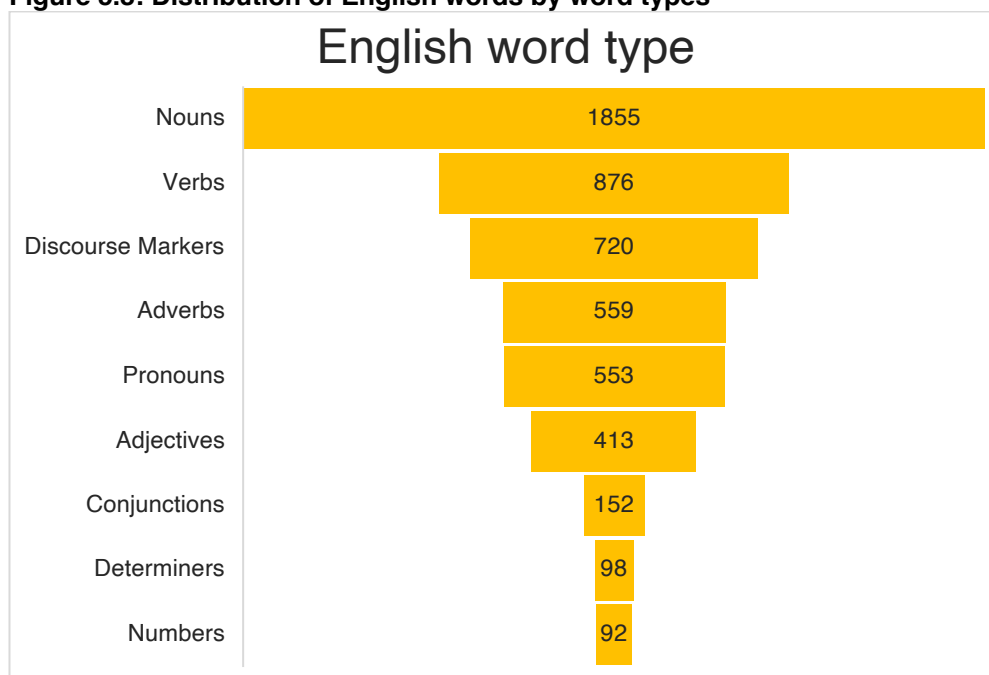


Irish words made up 80% or more of two-thirds of speakers' word use. Of the other third of speakers, only three speakers' Irish word use was below 70%. These three speakers were Úna, Laoise and Sorcha. Both Úna and Laoise attended Scoil Mhuire and were in the same group interview. Sorcha attended Scoil Mhíchíl. As noted from the table, Úna was the only speaker whose English word use was higher than her Irish word use. In percentage terms, English words made up 53.6% of her contribution to the corpus and Irish made up 44%. English words made up 34.2% of the words used by Laoise and Irish

made up 62.6% of them. Irish words made up a similar amount of Sorcha's contribution to the corpus (68.5%). However, 'yes/no' made up 14.8% of words used by her, leaving English words at just 16.7% which is comparable to the overall average. It must also be reminded that her overall contribution was low at just 276 words. Úna's contribution was also relatively low at 564 total words, while Laoise's was almost three times higher at 1520 total words. In contrast, the speakers whose Irish worduse made up the largest portion of their overall word use was Tadhg and Pádraig. Irish made up over 90% of both speakers' word use, at 90.1% and 91.2% respectively. Both participants attended Scoil Íde and were in the same group interview.

As word type is an important aspect of the Matrix Language Framework in relation to content and system morphemes (see §3.3.1.1), it was of interest to analyse what types of words made up the English words used in the corpus. Of the words classified as English, nouns (e.g., bicycle, sauce, Portugal) accounted for the largest portion at 34% of the total. Verbs (e.g., think, love, *bombáil*) and discourse markers (e.g., like, just, so) formed the second and third largest word groups, at 16% and 13% respectively. Both verbs which were bare English verbs and English verbs with Irish inflections were counted. English adverbs (e.g., really, load), pronouns (e.g., I, she) and adjectives (e.g., spicy, nice) were used a similar amount, at 11%, 10% and 8% respectively. English conjunctions (e.g., because, and), determiners (e.g., the) and numbers (e.g., twenty, five) were used the least at 3%, 2% and 2% respectively. The figure below represents the distribution of English word types in both settings.

Figure 5.8: Distribution of English words by word types



5.3.6 Conclusion

Based on the historical background of the area of study as presented in Chapter 2 and on knowledge of language practices in the area of study as presented in §3.4, corpus patterns are congruent with the expectations outlined in these sections. The aim of this section was not to present new or surprising information but to confirm the applicability of the speakers as bilinguals who employ CS in their communication with each other and to give an overall picture of language use. This section also forms a basis for the following stages of analysis and the discussion of language use in the following sections.

A quantitative analysis of CS as presented here provides a good indication of how often CS is used in conversation and further analysis at the word level as presented provides a deeper understanding of the relative frequency of actual language use. The data provided and discussed in this chapter has given a

general understanding of rates of CS and the relative amount of English language use overall and by each individual speaker in both settings. Findings show that CS, particularly intrasentential CS, occurred in the speech of all participants. The data shows us that Irish-only turns comprised 58.1% of total turns but actual Irish word use was much higher at 81.2% of total words.

These findings on levels of language use and also the word types of English words used suggest that Irish was the overall or most common matrix language in bilingual turns. This assumption is made based on the fact that Irish was the language which provided the most words to the corpus and the majority of English words used were system morphemes (e.g., nouns, verbs, discourse markers, adjectives). The matrix language framework has been formally applied to the corpus and the findings are discussed in the following section.

5.4 Application of the Matrix Language Framework

CS can be rehabilitated at the grammatical level as it can show that the young people's speech is not random and disorderly and that it is a rule-governed practice. This was achieved through applying the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) to the data. This framework can establish whether the examples of CS found in the data can be considered 'classic codemixing (CM)' as defined by Myers-Scotton (2002). CM is understood as CS in the present study. Classic CM is expected in stable bilingual contexts between speakers who have sufficient proficiency in at least one language in order to use it as the base language of the conversation, in which insertions are made from another language. The alternative to classic CS is composite or covert and these indicate a form of convergence between the two languages and indicates instability.

As previously discussed in §3.3.1.1, when the MLF was first proposed, it was implied that the language which provided the most morphemes could be interpreted as the ML. Subsequent revisions of the model, however, suggest that although this is likely, it is not always the case. An analysis of the morphosyntactic structure of clauses and the types of morphemes within them is necessary to establish the ML and EL. The unit of analysis is a bilingual clause and can be understood as a clause which contains one or more morphemes from more than one language. Bilingual clauses in the corpus were analysed based on two criteria from the MLF to help identify the ML in bilingual clauses: (i) morpheme order; and (ii) the source of system morphemes.

This first criterion is what Myers-Scotton calls the "Morpheme Order Principle". She describes it as follows:

In this example we can see that the speaker follows the head-modifier order in the NP **'bicycle Michael'** [Michael's bicycle]. As the rest of the clause also follows Irish word order, Irish can be easily identified as the matrix language according to the morpheme-order principle. Based on the same principle, Irish would also be considered the ML in the following example, even though only 2 of the 5 morphemes are Irish.

Conall: tá **band Irish** thuas **Dublin**
 be HEAD-MOD
 [there's an Irish band up Dublin]

The matrix language cannot be unambiguously identified in the following example according to this principle.

Aodán: ah tá **really good talent** agamsa
 be MOD-HEAD
 [ah I have a really good talent]

In this example the modifier 'good' precedes the head noun 'talent' and violates expected Irish NP order. The rest of the clause follows Irish word order with the verb at the beginning of the sentence. Applying the morpheme-order principle to this sentence does not help to classify either Irish or English as the ML in this example.

Deuchar (2006) found NPs such as 'silk handkerchief' embedded into an otherwise Welsh in the Welsh corpus she analysed. Similar NPs were common in the present corpus as shown in the example below:

Tomás: tá muid in ann dul go dtí **mainland China** le haghaidh lá amháin
 [we are able to go to mainland China for one day]

Myers-Scotton argues that NPs like 'silk handkerchief' or 'mainland China' are considered an 'Embedded Language Island' and defines these islands as "full constituents consisting only of Embedded Language morphemes occurring in a bilingual CP that is otherwise framed by the Matrix Language" (Myers-

Scotton 2002: 139). Based on this, Irish can be easily identified as the ML in the above excerpt by Aonghus.

As shown above, the ML cannot always be easily identified using the morpheme-order principle which is why the data was also analysed from the perspective of Myers-Scotton's 'system morpheme principle' (Myers-Scotton 1993). As previously discussed (see §3.3.1.1), the ML is associated with *system morphemes*, while the EL is associated with *content morphemes*. System morphemes are essential in constructing the grammatical frame of a clause phrase (CP), while content morphemes are essential in conveying messages or information. Darcy (2014: 51) identified the content and system morphemes as follows:

Content: nouns, adjectives, verbs, discourse markers, established loanwords

System: prepositions, quantifiers, prepositions, possessive suffixes, auxiliaries, tense markers, articles, prepositional pronouns, particles, copula.

Darcy's morpheme categories were adopted in the present study. Reviewing the example from Aodán with the system morpheme principle helps to establish the ML which we previously were unable to establish with the morpheme-order principle alone. Although the NP (e.g., 'good talent') follows an English based modifier-head order, the morphemes in the NP are content morphemes and the content morphemes are Irish. This analysis can, therefore, support Irish as the ML. Further examples of the application of the system morpheme principle will be shown and discussed in the following sections.

In some cases, even with the application and consideration of both principles, it will not be possible to unequivocally identify either Irish or English as the ML. Some of these instances will be later provided and discussed.

5.4.1 Analysis procedure

In this section, it is necessary to provide detail on steps that were followed prior to the analysis and during the analysis. These steps were as follows:

- Clauses which were incomplete, often as a result of a speaker being interrupted were not included in the analysis.
- Clauses in which discourse markers or yes/no (or similar) were the only morphemes from another language were not included in the analysis.
- The approach of listedness, as discussed in §3.2.1.3, was followed to differentiate between instances of CS and the use of loanwords.
- Bilingual clauses within the corpus were coded as either ‘Irish’ (i), ‘English’ (ii) or ‘Undecided’ (iii).
 - i. Clauses labelled as ‘Irish’ were clauses in which Irish was identified as the ML based on the principles detailed above.
 - ii. Clauses labelled as ‘English’ signified those in which English was the ML.
 - iii. Clauses labelled as ‘Undecided’ signified those in which the ML could not be easily or unequivocally identified and would therefore need further analysis or discussion.

5.4.2 Quantitative analysis

This goal of this section is to contextualise the examples which will be later provided and discussed in relation to the ML identified within them.

Section 5.2 provides an in-depth quantitative overview of the present corpus and while word counts alone cannot provide an accurate representation of the ML, they can help to predict the expected ML and EL. Irish words made up 89% of the corpus, while English words made up 7.6%. The rest were made up of instances of yes or no and similar equivalents. The MLF is only relevant to speech turns involving intrasentential CS which made up 22% of all turns.

Within these turns, a total of 964 bilingual clauses was counted. Of these 964 clauses, Irish was established as the ML in 886 (92%), English was established as the ML in 37 clauses (4%) and 41 clauses (4%) were labelled as undecided. This distribution was relatively consistent between the schools, except for *Scoil Mhíchíl*, where the percentage of clauses in which English was identified as the ML was 8% and 17% were labelled as undecided because the ML was not easily identified. The 37 clauses in which English was the ML were found in the speech of 10 participants, which represents a third of all participants. One of these 10 participants was from *Scoil Mhuire*, 5 were from *Scoil Íosaf*, 4 were from *Scoil Mhíchíl* and none were from *Scoil Íde*.

5.4.3 Irish as the matrix language

As previously mentioned, Irish was found to be the ML in 886 clauses or 92% of all bilingual clauses counted. It is not possible to provide a comprehensive list of all bilingual clauses in which Irish was the ML. This section, however, will provide examples based on the most common location and type of codeswitch within these clauses.

Clauses which contained English nouns within an otherwise Irish clause were particularly common and the ML was easily identifiable in these. In Irish, nouns are inflected according to gender, case and number and in multiple instances, English nouns were inflected within these clauses. These instances provided further support for Irish to be identified as the ML. The following examples illustrate this type of clause. Examples 1 and 2 show English nouns being inflected as a result of a preposition preceding them, also known as the dative case, while example 3 is inflected as a result of a number preceding the noun. 'Girlfriend' in example 4 is inflected as it is preceded by a possessive adjective.

1. Conall rith agus scipeáil agus dul ar an **mbag** agus speáráil agus gach rud
[running and skipping and going on the bag and sparring and everything]
2. Cian tá mo dheartháir i **mband**
[my brother is in a band]
3. Pádraig tá trí **bhicycle** agam
[I have three bicycles]
4. Tadhg beidh do **ghirlfriend** in ann tíocht suas leat
[you're girlfriend will be able to come up with you]
5. Liam tá **population** an-ard ann
[there's a very high population there]
6. Oisín: 's maith liom an **zipline** beag
[I like the small zipline]
7. Síofra bhí ocht déag **puppy** ann?
[there were eighteen puppies?]

Irish inflections added to English nouns shows a degree of morphological and phonological integration of the word into the recipient language, Irish, which suggests its position as a loanword based on Sankoff et al. (1990) and Poplack and Meechan's (1995) classifications (see §3.2.1.3). However, on review of the corpus, both 'bag' and the Irish equivalent *mála* are used by participants; 'band' and the Irish equivalent *banna* were present; and although 'bicycle' has long been in use in the community, the Irish equivalent *rothar* was also present in the corpus. Interestingly, it appears that 'bag' is used only when talking about a boxing punch bag and *mála* is used for other kinds of bags.

Examples of noun phrases within clauses which contained either an English noun or modifier were found in the corpus. Those which followed the head-

modifier order and were within clauses which followed Irish word order indicated that Irish was the ML of the clause. These instances are illustrated by the following examples:

8. Pádraig agus tá em **labrador** dubh ag mo **aunt**
[and my aunt has a black labrador]
9. Tadhg tá **Chinese** mór ann
[there's a big Chinese (restaurant) there]
10. Ciara ní **birthday party** Patrick a bhí ann, Siobhán
[it wasn't Patrick's birthday party, Siobhán]

Instances where noun phrases did not follow the head-modifier order but which could be considered embedded language islands were also common. When these embedded language islands were within a clause which otherwise followed Irish word order, Irish was interpreted as the ML.

11. Clíona déanann mise **Irish dancing**
[I do Irish dancing]
12. Tomás **buryáil** muid sa **front garden** é
[we buried it in the front garden]
13. Colm ní maith liomsa aon **sauceannaí** ach **pizza sauce**
[I don't like any sauces except for pizza sauce]
14. Tadhg bhí sé ag breathnú ar an **World Cup**
[he was watching the World Cup]

English verbs were also a common source of CS; however, in almost all instances of an English verb being adopted, tense markers were in Irish and Irish word order was followed. The affix *-áil* added to English verbs has been previously noted as a common practice within the area of study (see §3.4.7) and this was supported by the data collected. The following examples illustrate

clauses which were deemed to be Irish but which had English verbs with Irish markers within them.

15. Aisling **I think** gur **just spray**áil sí uirthi agus **then just wipe**áil sí é
[I think that she just sprayed it on herself and then she just wiped it]
16. Ailbhe níl sé **vicious, just jump**áileann sé ort ar nós Sandy
[he's not vicious, he just jumps on you like Sandy]
17. Liam eh: bhíodh mé é a dhéanamh ach stop mé mar bhí sé ag **clash**áil le **football**
[eh: I used to do it but I stopped because it was clashing with football]
18. Sinéad caithfidh duine éicint thú a **phush**áil
[someone has to push you]
19. Seán an **gcount**áileann plandaí?
[do plants count?]
20. Clíona **bomb**áileadh é sin
[that was bombed]
21. Ciarán: ...tá sí **miss**áil **out-** tá sí **miss**áil- **miss**áil amach ar go leor rudaí **fun**
[... she's missing out- she's missing- missing out on a lot of fun things]

The final examples show an effort made to ensure that the structure of the clause supports Irish as the ML. Here we see Ciarán self-correcting himself. In his correction, we see that he deems the blended verbal noun 'missáil' to be an acceptable CS; however, he corrects his use of the preposition 'out' for the Irish equivalent *amach* in this phrasal verb. Prepositions are classified as system morphemes and therefore this suggests implicit knowledge by this participant of what structures are acceptable within 'classic CS'.

'fox' and 'spider', when the plural would be more logical. This is illustrated in the translations provided.

25. Laoise oh yay **I like** caint
[oh yay I like talking]
26. Oisín **I hate** é
[I hate it]
27. Ciarán **graffiti I love** é
[graffiti I love it]
28. Sinéad **I hate** cait
[I hate cats]
29. Caoimhe **I love** sionnach
[I love fox]
30. Caoimhe **I love** iad
[I love them]
31. Eoin **I don't mind** damhan alla
[I don't mind spider]

Another common codeswitch which indicated English as the ML within bilingual clauses was with the phrase 'I think' or 'I don't think' at the beginning of clauses. Similar to the previous examples, the presence of the subject at the beginning of the clauses and the English pronoun 'I' strongly indicate that English is the ML in the examples below.

32. Tomás **I think** sa **summer holidays** am éicint
[I think in the summer holidays some time]
33. Clíona **I think** chéad cheann
[I think first one]
34. Clíona **I think** an dara ceann atá bréagach
[I think the second one that is false]

Other examples of 'I think' and 'I don't think' were found in bilingual turns within the corpus but as they made up their own clause and preceded a secondary

clause, they were not counted in the clause analysis for the application of the MLF. Although ‘I think’ or ‘I don’t think’ are not included in O’Malley-Madec’s (2001) list of common discourse markers (§3.4.2.1), its presence in this corpus suggests that it has been adopted by almost all participants as a discourse marker at the beginning of a sentence or clause to express uncertainty. The Irish equivalent *ceapaim* was also present in the corpus but ‘I think’ was more commonly used. Examples of these instances which were not counted include the following:

35. Liam **I think** gurb shin é
 [I think that that’s it]
36. Fiachra **I think** gur haon an bréagach
 [I think that one is the false]
37. Síofra **I don’t think** go bhfuil aon *mada* eile agat
 [I don’t think that you have any other dog]

Similar to the two groupings above was the use of the English ‘do you know’ at the beginning of a clause. Such examples were found in the speech of two participants

38. Seosamh **do you know** em roimh an obráid?
 [do you know em before the operation?]
39. Seosamh **do you know** na rudaí a **connectáileann** suas
 [do you know the things that connect up?]
40. Conall **do you know** an eochair an **shed**
 [do you know the key of the shed?]
41. Conall **you know** san oíche?
 [you know in the night?]

More examples of the English verb ‘to know’ in the present tense were found in the corpus with English subject pronouns and interrogative markers but similar to ‘I think’ above, they were excluded from the MLF analysis as they

preceded a secondary clause. In these instances, the verb functioned primarily as an exclamation or discourse marker

e.g., 42. Áine **I know** ach tá a fhios agat
[I know but you know]

Most of the other examples of bilingual clauses with English as the ML consisted of clauses with majority English words and English word order with one Irish noun. These instances primarily occurred after a series of English only clauses and speakers repeated an Irish word used by another speaker.

43. Oisín **that's the** cailíní
[that's the girls]

44. Aisling **can we just get on with** rud Aoife?
[can we just get on with Aoife's thing?]

45. Sinéad **but some of it is good** siúcra
[but some of it is good sugar]

46. Sinéad **that's the shape of a** contae
[that's the shape of a county]

Example 44 is the only one for which some argument could be made for Irish as the ML. Although the majority of the sentence is in English, the NP at the end which includes the only Irish word (*rud*) and a name follows the Irish head-modifier order. The use of an Irish noun triggers this NP order in an otherwise English clause. However, it was decided that English was the clear overall ML in this clause based on the initial English order at the beginning of the clause and the fact that the system morphemes within the clause are English.

5.4.5 Undecided Matrix Language

Clauses were labelled 'Undecided' when the application of both MLF principles did not suffice in establishing the ML or when clauses required further analysis

and discussion. Forty-one clauses in total were labelled 'Undecided', which represents 4% of all bilingual clauses.

A clause type which was marked as undecided seven times involved the phrase 'to be only' [e.g., I'm only joking]. The reason these clauses were coded as undecided is that although the clauses began with verbs and the system morphemes were Irish, the clauses showed a clear leaning towards English syntax. The Irish equivalent for this phrase follows the order 'negative-be + but' [e.g., *Níl mé ach ag magadh* / I'm not but joking]. The examples selected below to illustrate this clause type include the verb 'be' in Irish in the positive and followed by the English adverb 'only'. The expected Irish word order for these clauses is provided in italics.

47. Laoise *tá mé **only** messáil*
 níl mé ach ag méiseáil
 [I am only messing]
48. Caoimhe *tá Siobhán **only** i rang a trí léithe féin*
 níl Siobhán ach i rang a trí léithe féin
 [Siobhán is only in third class by herself]
49. Conall *tá **only** cead **like toast** nó rud éicint sa lá*
 níl cead ach toast nó rud éicint sa lá
 [Only toast or something is allowed a day]

Arguments can be made that the above phrases indicate Irish as the ML as they follow general Irish word order, and the system morphemes are in Irish. However, the phrase specific structure is not followed which makes the identification of the ML ambiguous.

A secondary clause type which was labelled as 'undecided' involved clauses which followed Irish word order with the verb 'be' at the beginning but in which the copula should have been used. Eight clauses like this were labelled and of this eight, four were found in the speech of Conall. The examples below, which

illustrate this clause type initially indicate Irish as the ML as the majority of system morphemes are in Irish and the clauses are verb-fronting. However, on further analysis and considering that the copula is identified as a system morpheme, these examples, which omit it and use the present tense of the verb ‘to be’ instead, indicate English as the ML. The expected Irish word order for these clauses is provided in italics.

50. Colm **I guess** tá Henry agus na sicíní sin **good friends**
I guess gur¹⁰ cairde maithe iad Henry agus na sicíní sin
 [I guess that Henry and those chickens are good friends]
51. Sinéad bhí an **theme family**
ba é an teaghlach an téama
 [the theme was family]
52. Conall bhí sé ó mo **confirmation money**
ba ó m’airgead cóineartaíthe é
 [it was from my confirmation money]
53. Aodán tá sé mise **out anyways**
(is) sin mise amuigh ar aon chaoi
 [that’s me out anyways]
54. Conall ah tá Aaron **goody two shoes**
is ‘goody two shoes’ é Aaron
 [ah Aaron is a goody two shoes]
55. Sorcha **like** tá siad em **caramel sweets**
is milseáin caramal iad
 [like they’re caramel sweets]

It was not possible to assign a clear ML to bilingual clauses with verbs in the imperative on the basis of morpheme order. The word order in such clauses is often not uniquely Irish or English. The use of the imperative in the singular in both English and Irish does not involve any tense markers or pronouns and

¹⁰ Conjunction + present tense copula ‘/s’

follows a verb-fronting clause order. The example below illustrates a bilingual clause with the imperative of the verb 'imagine' (*samhlaigh*).

56. Colm **imagine** dul ag meánscoil mar sin
 [imagine going to a secondary school like that]

Based on the source of the system morphemes in the clause, an argument can be made that Irish is the ML. However, on the absence of a finite verb or a subject clitic, and the word order compatible with both Irish and English, the ML is somewhat ambiguous.

5.4.6 Conclusion

This section sought to establish whether this corpus and the participants' use of CS can be considered a 'classic' case of CS, in order to rehabilitate the use of CS by the participants. As previously discussed, 'classic CS' and a consistent base language are indicative of a stable bilingual community. The findings from this analysis suggest that Irish-English CS in this context is a classic case of CS. The corpus supported the application of the MLF model, in that a ML could be clearly identified in bilingual clauses. The analysis found that Irish was the ML in a large majority of bilingual clauses. Some examples were found of English as the ML and structures indicating a convergence towards English as the ML. However, these examples were not common and tended to be confined to the speech of a small number of participants.

5.5 Morphological integration of Irish and English words

During the grammatical analysis of the corpus, the common use of morphological integration from both languages to create new and innovative word forms was noted. It was particularly noted in verb forms. However, it was also present in nouns and adjectives. The pattern of integration satisfied the system morpheme principle of the MLF in the majority of instances as it involved bare forms of English nouns, verbs or adjectives integrated to Irish through the addition of an Irish affix. Although minimal, a few examples of morphologically integrated words showing convergence were found. Examples of this type of codeswitching at the word level will be provided and discussed here.

5.5.1 Verbs

As discussed in §3.4.7, Ó Domagáin (2013) and Ó Murchú (2018), in line with other analyses of CS in the Irish context, found that *-(e)áil* is a common affix added to English verbs to create new verbs. Examples of blended verbs with these affixes were found throughout the corpus in both the data collected from the one-on-one settings and the group settings. Regarding this widely used method of blending both languages, Stenson (1993: 115-116) notes that in the case of verbs that begin with a vowel or *f* which would usually be preceded with *d'* or inflected with lenition in the past tense (e.g. *d'fhoghlaim* 'learned'), this does not occur in the blended form (e.g. *feedáil*). This was consistent in the examples found in the corpus. Examples of verbs which began with other letters or were in other tenses were lenited or eclipsed when possible. At least one example of a blended verb or verbal adjective was found in the speech of almost all participants, although the rate of use of such words varied between just one instance and as many as thirteen instances between participants. Two

participants did not employ this strategy. Some examples are deemed more or less acceptable in the spoken language, as will be further discussed below. The overwhelming majority of these examples were English verbs with the affix *-(e)áil*. While most examples were made up of an English verb and the affix *-(e)áil* to create a blended verbal noun or a past tense verb, there were some examples of negative and interrogative forms and verbs inflected and with added Irish tense markers to indicate other tenses (e.g. *ní mhoveálfaidh* – negative future tense of move, *an gcountáileann?* – interrogative present tense of count, *explaináilfeá* – second person conditional tense of explain, *flipálfadh* – conditional tense of flip). The table below provides a list of all recorded instances, with further elaboration and context for some of these occurrences provided below.

Table 5.3: Morphologically integrated verb forms

Participant	Verb forms
Cian	<i>driveáil, messáil, recordáil</i>
Seán	<i>an gcountáileann?, answeráil, cycleáil, DJáil, feeláil, flingáil, flusháil, meanáil, sneakáil, rappáil, recordáil, ringáil, switcháileann, timeáil</i>
Tomás	<i>buryáil, flusháil, guessáil, handleáil, revealáil</i>
Oisín	<i>beatáil, dieáil, mhissáil, pusháil, rockáil, turnáil</i>
Colm	<i>beatáil, flyáil, followáil, ní mhoveálfaidh, wasteáil</i>
Daithí	<i>dhriveáil, drownáileann, flipáil, flyáil, jumpáil, spinnáil</i>
Ciarán	<i>driveáil, flingáil, floatáil, flyáil, jumpáil, lyáil, phusháil</i>
Aonghus	<i>bladderáil, buildáil, dhriveáil, driveáil, experimentáil, explodeáileann, flipálfadh, fracturáil, jumpáil, messáil, phokeáil, rolláil, threatenáil,</i>
Seosamh	<i>fittáil</i>
Conall	<i>bounceáil, boxáil, messáil, talkáil</i>
Aodán	<i>blameáil</i>
Eoin	<i>connectáileann, diveáileann, feedáil, jumpálfadh, knockálfadh, messáil</i>
Pádraig	<i>meetáil, mixáil, practiceáil, recordálann, signáil</i>
Fiachra	-
Liam	<i>chaseáil, chokeáil, clasháil, FaceTimeáil, flippáil, jumpáil, moveáil, orderáil, wriggláil, saveáil, screamáil, screenshotáil, swingáil, textáil, toppáil, traveláil</i>
Tadhg	<i>meetáil</i>
Síofra	<i>cycleáil, jumpáil, mixáileann, moveáil, searcháil, shootáil, sneakáil, swingáil</i>

Ailbhe	deliveráil, feedáil, flyáil, jumpáileann, messáil,
Clíona	bombálfadh, ringáil
Áine	feeláil, guessáil, mhissáil, missáileann, moveáil, passáil, stalkáil, reacháil
Úna	jumpáil
Orla	missáil, treatálann, useálfaidh
Laoise	boxáil, breatháil, messáil, missáil, moveáil, phrankáil, screamáil, shoutáil,
Ciara	crackáil, jumpáil
Sadhbh	phusháil, giveáil, threateneáil, pusháil, driveáil, drownáil, jumpáil
Aisling	answeráil, beatáil, blinkáil, practiceáil, sprayáil, wipeáil
Sinéad	phusháil, practiceáil, missáil
Caoimhe	copyáil, tasteáil, treatáil
Sorcha	-
Síle	saveáil

The following excerpts contextualise some of these examples as they appeared in the corpus.

1. Seán oh tá sí ag **recordáil**
 [oh she's recording]

This blended form in example 1 appeared 6 times as a verbal noun by 6 different participants and was used in relation to the interviewer recording the interviews. Appropriate Irish equivalents would be *ag taifeadadh* or the phrasal verb *ag déanamh taifid* (doing/making a recording).

2. Daithí agus tá rudaí **deadly** ann a sheasanns tú air agus gabhann tú **flyáil** agus buaileann tú do chloigeann faoin urlár
 [and there are deadly things there that you stand on and you go flying and hit your head on the floor]

The affix *-áil* is used again in example 2 to create a blended verbal noun with the verb 'to fly'. The Irish equivalent (*ag eitilt*) was used by the interviewer in the same interview in which this example appeared and no issues in comprehension were evident. This blended form can also be found in other

sources, a literary source and an online newspaper article (Ó Searcaigh 2011: 49; Ó Súilleabháin 2019).

3. Ciarán yeah bhí mise- bhí mise **just lyáil** air agus tháinig sí sin,
phusháil sí mé
[yeah I was- I was just lying on it and she there came, she pushed me]
4. Áine **because** dúirt Cáitín léithe gur **mhissáil** sí an iomarca lá-laethantaí **so** níl sí in ann imeacht
[because Cáitín told her that she missed too many d- days so she can't leave]

Both examples 3 and 4 show inflections (e.g. *h*) on blended verbs to indicate the past tense. In example 7 by Ciarán, there are two blended forms: the first of which would be *ag luí* in Irish, similarly pronounced as the English verb 'lie'. This first example would not be considered common usage based on the researcher's knowledge of the dialect and its absence from other corpora. Ciarán's home language was reported as both Irish and English equally, but data provided on language patterns between household members indicates that English is more often spoken. His father was reported to be a native Irish speaker and his mother was reported as an Irish learner. He was also reported to have had been to a speech and language therapist when he was younger but that it was no longer needed. In contrast, both '*phusháil*' and '*mhissáil*' appear in other sources, which suggests their presence and acceptance in the spoken language (Ó Conghaola, Ó hEaghra & Ní Chonaola 2007: 80; *Tuairisc* 2018).

5. Aisling **I think** gur **just sprayáil** sí uirthi agus **then just wipeáil** sí é .. agus bhí sé ar éadan léithe freisin
[I think that she sprayed on her and then she just wiped it.. and it was on her face too]
6. Caoimhe tá muid ag gabháil sibh a **copyáil**
[we're going to copy you]

5.5.2 Nouns

Examples of English nouns pluralised by adding the Irish suffix *-(e)anna*, often pronounced as *-(e)annaí* in the dialect of the area of study, were found in the corpus in both settings by multiple participants. Stenson (1993: 115) states that such blended forms only tend to occur with established loans which is largely supported by the present study. The first examples were found in the data from the one-on-one interviews.

7. Cian bhuel.. b'fhéidir go mbeadh mé mar **vet** nó.. ag obair ar **siteannaí** nó rud *éicint*
[well.. maybe I would be a vet or.. working on sites or something]
8. Seán **no** ní bhíonn muid riamh ag piocadh ar a chéile, tá **groupannaí** ann.. bíonn muid a rá le chéile cén chaoi **like** má tá muid **stuck** ar cheist ar [laughs] an *obairbaile*, cuirfidh muid ar an.. grúpa é
[no we never pick on each other, there are groups.. we say to each other how to like if we're stuck on a question on the homework, we put it on the group]
9. Ailbhe just **Snapchat** agus **gameannaí**
[just Snapchat and games]

Of the three examples above, 'siteannaí' is the only noun in plural form which was found in other sources, a book written by a well-known writer from Conamara (Ó Neachtain 2014: 137). 'Gameannaí' was not found in other corpora; however, the noun 'game' appeared 42 times in the corpus which suggests its common usage in the spoken language of the participants and the noun in its singular form was also found in other Irish-language sources discussing codeswitching (Ní Laoire 2012: 55; De Mórdha 2016) which suggests its common usage in the spoken language in general. The example of 'groupannaí' also could be considered a local plural variant of the noun *grúpa*.

Although the standard plural is *grúpaí*, as discussed in §2.5, different areas have different plural forms for some nouns.

The following examples of English nouns pluralised with Irish endings were found in the group interview data.

10. Colm ní maith liomsa aon **sauceannaí** ach **pizza sauce**
[I don't like any sauces except pizza sauce]
11. IV cén cineál oibre a dhéanann sibh?
[what kind of work do you do]
- Daithí **blockannaí**
[blocks]
12. Pádraig tá mo mhama ag iarraidh dul go dtí na **Gran Canaria islands** ach ní 's maith liomsa dul ar **planeannaí**
[my mom wants to go to the Gran Canaria islands but I don't like to go on planes]
13. Aonghus bhíodh **quad** ag mo- bíonn mé **driveáil quadannaí**
m'uncaíl
[my- had a quad- I drive my uncle's quads]

Similar to 'gameannaí', the plural blended forms mentioned above [sauceannaí, blockannaí, planeannaí, quadannaí] were not found in any other sources; however, the singular nouns 'sauce', 'block' and 'plane' were found in other Irish language texts and corpora, indicating their common usage in the spoken language (Beo! 2008; Ó Neachtain 2014: 44; Ní Ghearáin 2018). A participant in Ní Ghearáin's study stated that the use of the correct Irish term *eitleán* instead of plane would be seen as inappropriate in certain contexts as it is overly formal (2018: 53).

5.5.3 Adjectives

Similar to findings on morphologically integrated verbs, O Domagáin (2013) and Ó Murchú (1998) noted the common usage of *-(e)áilte* as a common affix added to English adjectives to create verbal adjectives. Although not as common as the verb forms, examples of blended words with the suffix *-áilte* were also found in the corpus. The following two are examples from the one-on-one setting.

14. Aonghus eh tá na gadhair **useáilte** do na.. do na cait
 [eh the dogs are used to the.. to the cats]

In this example (14), the English verb ‘use’ is employed with the affix ‘*-áilte*’ to form a blended verbal adjective to directly translate the English structure ‘used to’ meaning ‘accustomed to’, instead of the more complex Irish structure ‘*cleachtadh a bheith agat ar*’ (to have practice of). This is also an example of a calque, as discussed in §3.4.10, and will be further discussed below with additional examples from the corpus.

15. Aodán eh: tá na daoine seo ag siúl sa farraige.. le dul ag snámh
 <1.09> agus **then** níl tú **supposáilte** beidh isteach ann
 [eh: these people are walking in the sea.. to go
 swimming <1.09> and then you’re not supposed to be in
 there]

Here (15) we see the affix ‘*-áilte*’ added to the English verb ‘suppose’ to create a blended equivalent of the verbal adjective ‘supposed to be’ [be expected to] instead of using the Irish equivalent ‘*ceaptha*’ or ‘*in ainm*’. This example is also noted in multiple other corpora and transcriptions of native Irish speakers of older generations (Mannion 2018; Ní Chuaig 2016: 395; O Catháin 2001: 129).

Further examples of the *-(e)áilte* structure were found in the group settings.

16. Aonghus tá: 's dóigh níos sciobtha freisin nuair atá sí **modifyáilte**
 agat
 [yes probably quicker too when you have modified it]

17. Sinéad **oh yeah** bhí traenáil ceapaithe bheith againne inné **but no** tá sé **moveáilte** go dtí Dé hAoine mar tá TG4 ann
 [oh yeah we were supposed to have training yesterday but no it's moved to Friday because TG4 are there]
18. Eoin an raibh eh .. an raibh tú **like** istigh sa teach nó? <1.06>
 taobh amuigh don teach **lockáilte** amuigh?
 [were eh.. were you like inside in the house or? <1.06> outside of the house locked out?]
19. Seosamh níl sé **bookáilte** againn fós [we haven't booked it yet]

Example 17 was found in its verbal noun form (*moveáil*) and adjective form in an interview transcription with an older Irish speaker as part of an ethnographic study conducted in Conamara (Ní Chearbhaill 2013). *Lockáilte* such as in example 18 has often been heard by the researcher in the speech of both older and younger speakers of Irish. Similar to previous examples, example 19 suggests a simplification of the language with a blended form used instead of the Irish phrasal verb *curtha in áirithe* (put into confirmation). This blended form can be found in sources dating back to the 1980s (Mac Annaidh 1986: 25).

5.5.4 Other

The examples above provide an overview of the most common blended word forms which were found in the corpus. Two unusual examples were found which did not follow expected patterns based on previous research and group norms. These were as follows:

20. Oisín mar tá sé.. tá sé níos em Eirinn**ish** agus 's maith liom é a labhairt mar.. **like** /
[because it is.. it's more Irish and I like speaking it because like]

Other examples showed an Irish affix added to English words; (20) is an example of an opposite approach to blended words with an English suffix added to an Irish word. The suffix '-ish' is a common adjective suffix in adjectives indicating a nationality or an ethnic group (e.g. Finnish, Irish, Spanish). While discussing the importance of the Irish language, this participant applied the suffix '-ish' to the Irish word *Éirinn* (Ireland) to indicate that something was 'more Irish'. The correct Irish translation for this would be *níos Eireannaí*.

21. Ciarán tá dréimire gar do teach mo chol ceathrar i Nua-Shéalainn**d** agus tá **pool** aige
[there's a ladder next to my cousin's house in New Zealand and he has a pool]

This final example (21) seems to be a combination of the Irish *Nua-Shéalainn* and the English 'New Zealand'. This, however, seems to be a one-off error in pronunciation as the same participant used the correct Irish word and expected pronunciation for *Nua-Shéalainn* on a number of other occasions. It must be noted that Ciarán's Irish language input was reported as relatively low at home and he had needed to see a speech and language therapist when he was younger.

5.6 Sociolinguistic approach

This section is devoted to the analysis of CS used by young Gaeltacht speakers in terms of how it is employed to achieve specific social functions. By showing the various functions that CS serves, it can be highlighted that it is much more than a tool to fill lexical gaps.

As discussed in §3.3.2.1, Blom and Gumperz (1972) classified the functions of CS under two broad categories; situational and metaphorical code-switching. Situational code-switching is motivated by external factors such as participant, setting or topic. The second category, metaphorical code-switching, also known as conversational code-switching, is related to speakers' intentions and how they present themselves in relation to these external factors. Gumperz's (1982) developments on metaphorical code-switching resulted in a typology which shows that it performs both social and textual functions, e.g. quotation; addressee specification; interjection; reiteration; message qualification; personalization vs. objectivization. This typology has been further extended by Myers-Scotton (1993a) and Appel and Muysken (1987) (see §3.3.2.3). This research forms the basis of the current study to investigate the ways in which the young speakers involved in the present study used CS to achieve various social goals.

Auer (1984) is critical of what he refers to as 'classificational' analysis of CS, where meaning is realised through analysing CS as fulfilling specific discourse functions. He also argues that these taxonomies focus too much on CS being treated as isolated utterances and emphasises the importance of a sequential turn-by-turn analysis in order to arrive at a meaningful interpretation. Although functions of CS have been listed above and in §3.3.2.3, these serve solely as an illustration of potential ways speakers may use CS and an exact list of functions was not presumed prior to the analysis. Functions were assigned as

they were brought about during a sequential analysis of the corpus. That is that each turn was analysed in relation to the preceding turns. It is also important to consider the context in which the interaction takes place and non-verbal elements of spoken language which were included in the transcription process (e.g., length of pauses, changes in tone of voice, distinctive pronunciation features and other non-lexical details such as laughing) to help our understanding of CS and the negotiation of roles and relations (Steensig 2004: 798). In analysing the conversational context as a whole and not just isolated instances of CS, more meaningful interpretations of how speakers use CS can be achieved.

Sebba and Wootton (1998) and Zentella (1997) emphasize that it is not possible to assign one unambiguous meaning to each instance of CS. Linguistic choices can often have several different interpretations and are often influenced by more than just linguistic factors; for example, external factors, both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic, may play a part and do not appear in the transcription (e.g. setting, tone of voice, physical gestures, addressees) (de Bot, Broersma, & Isurin 2009: 87). While great efforts were made through the methods listed above to account for these factors, it is ultimately impossible to determine a single conclusive function for each and every case of CS and the most plausible reason was interpreted, as will be shown in some of the examples provided below. This section aims to provide examples of the functions CS served during communication and to help strengthen our understanding of the participants' motivations for CS. The examples provided in this section are not an exhaustive list but were carefully selected to encapsulate the overall findings.

5.6.1 Codeswitching as a narrative tool

Gumperz (1982) noted interjection as a common function of CS among bilinguals or multilinguals. This function is when CS is employed to fill gaps in sentences, connect clauses or to add aside comments and is similar to what Poplack (1980) refers to as tag-switching. It often involves discourse markers and other common expressions or idioms that are more often used in the other language or are more easily available to the speaker. It was noted that this function was employed throughout the corpus as a narrative tool to frame the communication or as a stylistic device through the use of expressions and idioms.

The use of English discourse markers in Irish has been well researched (see §3.4.2.1) and findings from this corpus further support and exemplify their common usage in Irish. The most common discourse markers found in the corpus were ‘like’, ‘just’, ‘so’ and ‘alright’. ‘Alright’ was counted over fifty times in the corpus. Although it was used as an adjective or an adverb at times (e.g., *tá sé alright / it’s alright*), it was most often used as a discourse marker, as shown in the example below. This instance occurred when participants were not focusing on a game they were playing and Daithí used ‘alright’ to interject at the beginning of his turn to draw attention to what he is about to say to try to get the others to focus on the game again. The other excerpts show the use of both ‘just’ and ‘so’ and how they function similarly as fillers or as a hedge during communication as they would in English.

- 1) Daithí **alright** tá gadhar agam [alright I have a dog]
- 2) Aonghus **just** má thagann aon gharda tá muid i dtrioblóid
[just if any guards (police) come we’re in trouble]
- 3) Aodán eh **just**.. níl a fhios agam **just** bhí Daidí *leanacht*
Liverpool freisin **so** /

[eh just.. I don't know just Daddy followed Liverpool too so /]

The following excerpt is a conversation between Orla, Laoise, Ciara and Áine about Orla being sick and her absences from school. The matrix language in all the clauses within this excerpt is Irish but it shows a heavy use of English discourse markers, conjunctions and emphatics to frame the conversation. It also shows the use of the English phrase 'to be honest' in a codeswitched turn. While the group are happy to defend Orla's absences from school as being legitimate, Orla fronts her admittance that she thinks she has missed too many days with 'to be honest', as she knows that they might not want to hear the truth. The Irish equivalents for the conjunctions 'because' and 'but' were more commonly used in the corpus but this excerpt shows that this function of CS is particularly salient when speakers are highly engaged and emotive during a conversation.

- 4) Orla bhí mé **actually** tinn
 [I was actually sick]
- Laoise =no chaith sí amach **like**=
 [no she threw up like]
- Ciara =no bhí sí **actually** tinn.. ar chaith tú amach?=
 [no she was actually sick.. did you throw up?]
- Áine **because** dúirt Máirín léithe gur **missáil** sí in iomarca lá-
 laethantaí **so** níl sí in ann imeacht
 [because Máirín told her that she missed too many days
 so she isn't able to leave]
- Orla **but to be honest missáil**
 [but to be honest (I) have missed]
- Áine **yeah but missáileann** *chuile* duine *laethantaí*
 [yeah but everyone misses days]
- Laoise **only missáil** mise dhá lá
 [I only missed two days]

- Orla **no but missáil** mise **like** céad
[no but I missed like a hundred]
- Ciara **yeah then** deireann siad má tá tú tinn ná tar ar scoil **but then like** má nach bhfuil /
[yeah then they say if you are sick don't come to school but then like if you're not /]

The English exclamation 'oh my God' appeared more than fifty times in the corpus to express feelings such as disbelief, frustration or excitement. Similar exclamations that were also used by participants included 'thank God', 'Jesus' and 'oh God'. Excerpt 5 illustrates Áine using 'oh my God' to express her excitement that she knew the correct answer during the two truths and one lie game. Similarly, excerpt 6 which contains 'oh my God', illustrates Laoise's excitement and surprise at realising the identity of the interviewer. While excerpt 7 which shows the use of 'Jesus' illustrates Aonghus's disbelief at Sadhbh not knowing whether her hip-hop classes are held in the city or a nearby town. Although these examples are motivated by slightly different feelings, they serve the same function of expressing a feeling with an exclamation at the beginning of a turn.

- 5) Áine **oh my God** tá a fhios agam, tá a fhios agam
[oh my God I know, I know]
- 6) Laoise **oh my God** bhí a fhios agam go raibh a fhios agam as áit éicint thú
[oh my God I knew that I knew you from somewhere]
- 7) Aonghus ah **Jesus** níl a fhios aici sin cá bhfuil sí dul níos mó
[ah Jesus she doesn't know where she's going anymore]

At the beginning of a new turn, participants often adopted the English verbs 'think', 'know' and 'say' to frame their thoughts. This was a very common

location of CS. The Irish equivalents of these verbs appeared in the corpus, but English was the language of choice for all participants when using these verbs as a sentence framing tool. The first excerpt below (8) best illustrates this finding as it shows the verb ‘to know’ in English used to frame the sentence and then a switch back to Irish, which was the language of choice in the preceding turns, for the content of the sentence.

- 8) Conall is **like do you know** .. ah **actually** níl a fhios agam an ainm
 [it's like do you know .. ah actually I don't know the name]
- 9) Tomás **I would say** an chéad cheann
 [I would say the first one]
- 10) Clíona **I think** an dara ceann atá bréagach
 [I think the second one is false]

Multiple instances of participants switching by inserting English idioms were found in the corpus. The excerpt below (11) involves Seán arguing that the girls should play the category game first as he fears that the boys playing first would give the girls an unfair advantage. He intentionally uses the English idiom ‘ladies first’ in arguing his case as it is well-known as a phrase which is perceived as polite gentlemanliness.

- 11) IV tarlaíonn sé sin scaití, mar sin buachaillí mar sin ar dtús
 [that happens sometimes, so boys then first]
- Clíona yeah
- Ailbhe yeah
- Cian ach tá na cailíní in ann a bheith ag éisteacht linn
 [but the girls can be listening to us]
- Ailbhe **yes yes stop stop no**
 [yes yes stop stop no]

- Seán **no ladies first**
- IV ach tabharfaidh mé dhá chatagóir difriúil dhaoibh mar sin
cén dochar
[but I'll give you two different categories so what harm]
- Seán **ladies first.. ach ladies first** atá ann
[ladies first.. but it's ladies first]

After winning the category game in his group, Aonghus provides the exclamation below in addressing his opponents. The English idiom ‘in your face’ is intentionally mocking and provocative. However, switching the word ‘face’ to the Irish equivalent *éadan* involves a type of humorous playfulness which lessens the aggressive tone of it. This is confirmed by participants from the other team laughing following this interjection.

- 12) Aonghus *ghruaigh muid*.. **in your** éadan
[we won.. in your face]

5.6.2 Codeswitching for quotation and reported speech

This function of CS is relatively easy to identify. It refers to instances of CS which occur when a speaker conveys a message “in the code in which it is said” (Gumperz 1982: 82). Sebba & Wootton (1998: 274) state that for quotations, CS can be used as a “narrative device used to offset the quotation from the matrix in which it is embedded”. In reported speech, a level of hypothesising is involved with the speaker making language choices based on their perception of the person whose words they are voicing (Halmari 1997). Gumperz (1982: 65) argues that CS to quote or report another’s speech allows the speaker to construct two identities, ‘us’ and ‘them’.

The excerpt below shows Seán quoting something that Ailbhe may or may not have said in the past while they were at a social event.

- 13) Seán bhí Cailín² ag gabhail thimpeall ag rá '**oh my God, oh my God, oh my God** tá **puppies** ag *mada* Cailín³'
 [Cailín² was just going around saying 'oh my God, oh my God, oh my God Síofra's dog has puppies']
- Clíona **yeah** bhí sí **flat out** ag **ringáil**
 [yeah she was flat out ringing]
- Síofra cailleadh trí cinn
 [three of them died]
- Ailbhe **no** ní raibh mise.. no ní raibh
 [no I wasn't.. no wasn't]
- (0.22)

Seán provides the context for the quotation in Irish but the quotation itself involves intrasentential CS. This shift confirms that CS as the overall unmarked choice is the norm within this group. Had it been a full switch to English, this would suggest that English was the unmarked choice among the group in the absence of the interviewer or in an alternative setting. Seán's attempt at mimicking Ailbhe's voice also conveys a symbolic representation of gendered speech. This is also known as 'double-voicing' and indicates an attempt to portray a recognised stereotypical social identity, different from one's own (Bakhtin 1984: 105). There is a chance, based on Ailbhe's denial of the event, that this example is not actually a direct quote and may involve a level of dramatisation of what was actually said. The discourse marker 'oh my God' is stereotypically tied to Valley Girl speech and is, therefore, an emblem of

feminine speech (Labotka 2009). Seán's multiple use of 'oh my God' may have been performative to provide contrast between his own identity and a stereotyped version of Ailbhe's identity. CS is important in telling this anecdote as it serves a practical function of reporting something that was said and also serves as a narrative tool to add dramatisation.

The following excerpt (14) occurred in the narration of a story about a time when Aisling visited Portugal with her family. Unlike the first example, in this instance, Aisling switches from Irish-English CS to English only to quote something that her brother said. During the group interview, 271 turns of Aisling speaking were counted, of which 52 (19%) involved intrasentential CS and 57 (21%) were English-only turns. These 57 turns on average contained just two words. These findings and the example of quotation below suggest that although Irish or Irish-English CS may be the unmarked code choice by Aisling within the group interview setting, English may be the unmarked code at home between Aisling and her brother. This interpretation is further supported by the questionnaire data in which Aisling's mother reported English as the home language.

14) Aisling tá **like** drain beag bídeach ann agus tá sé **like kinda deep**, tá sé **like** chomh **deep** sin agus deir- dúirt Ciarán ... **huge drains for water they get- they only get this much water a year**

[there is like a tiny drain there and it's like kinda deep, it's like that deep and says- Ciarán said ...]

This final example (15) occurred after the interviewer asked how old everyone was. Aisling attempted to provide everyone's age while pointing at them and used the interjection 'don't know' when she did not know another participant's age. This resulted in Colm interjecting with 'wait what?' in a tone that indicated confusion. He explained when reporting back to her what he thought she said

(i.e., devil devil). While CS occurs throughout this excerpt, CS within the final turn clearly serves the function of reporting speech, or in this case reporting misheard speech.

- 15) Aisling deich.. **don't know, don't know**
 [ten]
- Colm haon ndéag, haon ndéag.. **wait what?** céard a ghlaigh
 tú orm?
 [eleven, eleven.. wait what? what did you call me?]
- Caoimhe **don't know, don't know**
- Colm oh cheap mé gur dúirt tú **devil devil**
 [oh I thought you said devil devil]

This section shows that speakers use CS to report or directly quote something that another speaker has said. This serves a practical function of allowing speakers to report with accuracy what was said and also a creative and narrative function as it allows them to create contrast between their own identities and the identity of the person they are mimicking.

5.6.3 Codeswitching for reiteration

This function can be assigned when something said in one language is repeated in another. Auer (1995: 120) defines reiterations as 'quasi-translations' into the other language. It is a relatively broad category as the reasons a speaker might repeat or reiterate something can vary and include but are not limited to self-correction, message qualification, emphasis and use of idiomatic expressions (Gumperz 1982, Auer 1995). These will be further discussed and contextualised with examples found in the corpus.

This excerpt below (16) relates to a scenario which occurred at the beginning of the group interview while playing the ‘two truths and one lie’ game. Orla revealed the order of her true statements and her lie, resulting in Laoise asking her to start again.

16) Orla **because** bhí mé dul a rá bréag théis é sheo.. em ok **so**
dhá fíor
[because I was going to say a lie after this.. em ok so two
truths]

IV =agus measc suas anois iad agus tú á rá=
[and mix them up as you say them]

Áine =**no** tá an bréag ag an tús=
[no the lie is at the beginning]

Laoise **yeah** tosaigh ón tús, **just start from scratch**
[yeah start from the beginning, just start from scratch]

This example of reiteration clearly shows the use of an English idiomatic phrase being used ‘to start from scratch’ to qualify or emphasise the initial request that was in Irish. Based on the increase in volume of her speech when Laoise said ‘just start from scratch’, it was clear that she wanted attention and to be heard. This strategy of reiteration illustrates the sociolinguistic background of the speaker and clearly presents the speaker’s position as a bilingual.

While discussing Aisling’s recent move from Scoil Íde to Scoil Íosaf, the interviewer asked her why she moved and Sinéad and Colm responded on her behalf (excerpt 17). They jokingly claimed it was because Scoil Íosaf was much better. Although this could be interpreted out of context as an attempt to self-correct, based on the preceding Irish-only turns in the conversation and the emphasis on the word ‘way’, it is clear that reiteration in this example served to emphasise the speaker’s argument.

- 17) Sinéad mar tá Scoil Íosaf i bhfad níos fearr
 [because Scoil Íosaf is way better]
- Colm **yeah** Scoil Íosaf **way: better-** i bhfad níos fearr Scoil
 Íosaf [Scoil Íosaf way better- way better Scoil Íosaf]

Instances of self-correction or self-repair are easily recognised. However, analysing why speakers correct their language choice is the more challenging step. Commenting on what Zentella (1982) refers to as ‘false start repairs’ as illustrated by the example “you could – tú puede hacer eso ...”, Auer (1995: 121) proposed that this repair could mean that the speaker is accommodating to the recipient’s language preference, complying with community norms for language choice or distancing themselves from the recipient or community norms. He argues that in order to come to an interpretation of a repair episode “we need to know about the ‘episode-external’ preferences of speakers for one language or the other, or about the community norms for that particular kind of interaction” and that a careful sequential analysis should be conducted (Auer 1995: 121). With this in mind, the following three examples of reiteration to self-repair were analysed.

Excerpt 18 involves a conversation that occurred in Scoil Íosaf about Oisín’s football team, An Caisleán Buí, playing at Croke Park (the national Gaelic

games stadium). When asked by the interviewer why they were in Croke Park, Oisín responds with ‘*spraoi*’ and is immediately questioned, corrected and mocked by Colm for using this term. In Irish, *spraoi* is used when talking about playing games or children playing and the verb *imir* is used when talking about playing a sport. Oisín’s pronunciation of *Baile Átha Cliath* is subsequently corrected by Sinéad. An example of self-repair by Oisín is then noted in the last turn of this excerpt. The only repair that occurs is the definite article ‘the’ in the first instance repeated as *na*, the Irish equivalent, in the second instance. Based on the preceding turns in which other participants mocked or corrected Oisín’s language use, this repair indicates an attempt to conform to the group norms to avoid further mocking or correction.

- 18) Colm oh **yeah** chuaigh siad seo go **Croke Park** [oh yeah they went to Croke Park]
- IV céard le haghaidh? [what for]
- Oisín spraoi [playing]
- Colm spraoi? [playing?]
- Oisín **yeah**
- Sinéad **game**
- Colm imirt **not** spraoi [playing (a sport) not playing (a game)]
- Oisín imirt [playing]
- Sinéad spraoi: [playing]
- Colm tá muid dul spraoi **hide and seek** le an **team** eile [we’re going to play hide and seek with the other team]
- Oisín **no** bhí muid ag imirt in aghaidh Baile Átha Cliath [no we were playing against Dublin]
- IV oh
- Sinéad Bl'Átha Cliath [Dublin]

- Aisling bhí muid in aghaidh Caisleán Buí **not so long ago** agus bhruaigh muid **by like sé goal**
[we were against *Caisleán Buí* not that long ago and we won by like six goals]
- IV go maith, cén aois grúpa a bhfuil tusa ag imirt leo?
[good, what age group do you play with?]
- Oisín **that's the** cailíní.. **that's** na cailíní
[that's the girls, that's the girls]

During a group interview conducted in Scoil Íde, two examples of self-repair were noted in Tadhg's speech. Throughout the interview, Tadhg seemed to make careful language choices to potentially conform to the code he deemed was expected of him by the interviewer. Words which he used which did not conform to the group norms included *cluiche* (game) and *cairde* (friends), for both of which the English was used by the other participants. In the first example, Tadhg is talking about the Gaelic football age groups he plays for and corrects his use of 'under thirteens' and 'under fourteens' to the Irish equivalents. It was noted in the corpus that the English terms were commonly used by participants when discussing the same topic. In the second example, he corrects his use of the English term 'holidays' when discussing a holiday he took to Poland. Examples of both 'holidays' and the Irish equivalent *laethanta saoire* were found in the corpus, showing the concurrent use and acceptance of both terms within the speech community. Based on this analysis of the corpus, the context and the preceding turns, the self-repair in both instances below (excerpt 19) were interpreted as intentional switches in an effort to reduce English language use.

- 19) Tadhg eh bíonn- bhuel bíonn mé ag imirt do na **under thirteens** agus **na under fourteens**- faoi trí déag agus faoi ceathair déag
[eh I play- well I play for the under thirteens and the under fourteens- under thirteens and under fourteens]

Tadhg bhí mé ar **holidays** sa Pholainn .. laethanta saoire sa Pholainn
[I was on holidays in Poland.. holidays in Poland]

5.6.4 CS for clarification

Another type of reiteration that occurs is for message qualification. This serves to emphasise or clarify certain parts of speech by adding extra detail to what was said in another language in order to emphasise or provide clarification via linguistic contrast (Gumperz 1982: 79). The use of this function is illustrated in the excerpt below (20) involving Sadhbh and the interviewer. For context, the sport referenced is a native Irish sport often referred to as ‘football’ (*peil*) in Ireland; however, it is also referred to as ‘Gaelic football’ in other contexts to differentiate it from international sports. ‘Gaelic’ is also adopted by some as a term to refer to the sport.

20) Sadhbh peil agus ()
 [football and ()]

IV bíonn tú ag imirt peil agus sacar?
 [you play football and soccer?]

Sadbh **no** ní bhíonn mé spraoi sacar, **just Gaelic**
 [no I don’t play soccer, just Gaelic]

Based on a misapprehension of what Sadhbh said about the sports she played, the interviewer poses a statement question to confirm if what they

heard is right. Sadhbh corrects her but instead of repeating *peil*, she opts to use the English term Gaelic instead. This switch to English clarifies the initial message and avoids any further misunderstandings.

The excerpt below (21) shows CS used by other speakers for message qualification. This example involved Aonghus and Daithí and resulted from Aonghus' annoyance at Daithí due to a derogatory comment that he had made.

- 21) Aonghus tá tú an-**judgmental**, an bhfuil a fhios agat é sin
 [you're very judgmental, do you know that?]
- Daithí céard é sin? [what's that?]
- Aonghus **you jump to conclusions before you meet them**
- Daithí céard é **conclusions**?
 [what is conclusions?]
- Aonghus ah dún do chlab maith fear
 [ah shut up good man]

Here, we see a one-word codeswitch in the first turn with Aonghus telling Daithí that he is very judgmental. When Daithí asks him what that means, Aonghus switches to English and provides a dictionary like definition for him to clarify his original statement. However, in the next turn after Daithí continues to claim to not understand him, he opts to ignore his question and switches back to Irish to express his continued annoyance at him. Although it is possible that

Daithí is being intentionally obtuse to further agitate Aonghus, this excerpt may provide some insight into Daithí's potential English competence.

5.6.5 Codeswitching to express humour

Both the poetic and phatic functions as provided by Appel & Muysken (1987) describe the use of CS to serve a comedic effect. The phatic function expresses a change in the tone of a conversation and is similar to Blom & Gumperz's (1972) *metaphorical switching*. An example of this function includes providing meta-commentary in the other language for comic relief or for emphasis. The poetic function is more specifically related to humour as it involves switching in order to deliver jokes or puns from the other language in discourse. Multiple examples of CS to express humour were found throughout the corpus.

Both excerpts below (22 & 23) are from the same conversation which occurred in Scoil Mhuire and involves the participants talking about their class only having girls in it and about a boy who was briefly in their class. In the first excerpt, Laoise's statement is clearly a sarcastic response to a question about the lack of boys in her class. Her sarcasm and goal to be comedic about the topic continues in the second excerpt in which she disregards Áine's logical response for why the boy left the school and gives a comedic reasoning for why he left instead. She draws on the English idiom 'girl power' and is self-deprecating by referring to herself as a 'stalker'. Laoise effectively uses CS to convey sarcasm and for comic relief throughout this conversation. This interpretation is further supported by the performative changes in tone which occurred when Laoise switched languages during this conversation.

22) Ciara agus níl **even** aon buachaillí istigh in ár rang

- [and there aren't even any boys in our class]
- IV ar chor ar bith? [at all?]
- Laoise **no it's very sad**
- 23) Áine **yeah** bhí sé- bhí muid ag gabháil isteach i naoináin mhóra agus eh d'imigh sé **because** bhí sé eh **moveáil** teach nó rud éicint
[yeah he was- we were going into senior infants and eh he left because he was moving house or something]
- Laoise **yeah** d'imigh sé **because he got overpowered by girls**
[yeah he left]
- Ciara ní maith leis muid [he doesn't like us]
- Laoise **girl power .. no** níor **moveáil** sé teach, tá sé fós ina cónaí thiar i Caorán .. **yes I am a stalker I do know where he lives**
[girl power .. no he didn't move house, he's still living back in Caorán]

In the following example (excerpt 24) from the second group interview in Scoil Mhuire, Síofra reveals that she is supposed to travel to Los Angeles and her cousin Seán expresses surprise at this statement. His response involves an excessive use of English interrogative words. This exaggerated response and the change in tone of his voice clearly shows that he wanted to convey his surprise in a comical way and CS functioned as a tool to achieve this.

- 24) Síofra tá mé ceapaithe dhul go **Los Angeles** ag mo: <1.29> col ceathrar mo dhaideo ach ní dheachaigh mé ann
[I'm supposed to go to Los Angeles to my grandad's cousin but I didn't go]
- IV tá sé fada ó bhaile [it's far from home]
- Seán hah **what? who, what, where, when, what?**

CS as a function to express humour was used effectively by participants in Scoil Íosaf. The following examples were chosen to demonstrate a more phatic function, as described by Appel & Muysken (1987). In the first example (excerpt 25), while discussing the upcoming sports day, Sinéad quietly says that another school will win it, a statement she knows might antagonise others in the group. To mitigate any potential arguments, she switches to English and asks, 'who said that?', pretending not to know who made the potentially controversial statement. CS in this instance allows her to create a contrast between her and the imaginary participant she is implying.

25) Sinéad tá Scoil Mhuire gabháil a bhruachaint .. **who said that?**
[Scoil Mhuire are going to win it.. who said that?]

At the end of the session, participants wanted to stay longer and the interviewer agreed to stay longer if they had something interesting to add and Colm responded with the following example. Here we also see an example (excerpt 26) of reiteration, where Colm repeats that he has a fun fact to share in order to get everyone's attention. He then changes his tone of voice and accent to imitate a stereotypical television narrator and says the fact in English. His use of CS allowed him to create and embody an alternative character.

26) Colm **I have a fun fact-** tá fun fact agamsa '**did you know that ham has sugar in it**' [I have a fun fact]

Colm codeswitched for comedic purposes more than any other participant in the study. Below is another example (excerpt 27) of him switching to English while attempting to imitate an Australian accent. Prior to this instance, Colm had commented on the recorder and picked it up and spoken directly into it. His awareness of the recorder indicates that his performative nature was as a direct result of the setting, potentially wanting to disrupt the interview or draw attention to himself. Throughout the interview, when using CS for comedic purposes, he also attempted to switch between different English accents. In

this excerpt he moves from attempting to imitate an Australian accent in the first two turns to then attempting to imitate an American accent in the subsequent turns. CS functioned as a performative tool for him to create different characters. In the same excerpt, Sinéad switches to French while trying to participate in Colm's comedic display.

- 27) Colm **Australian .. I can do an Australian accent**
- Caoimhe oh Colm- oh Colm breathnaigh cé méid atá déanta againn
[oh Colm- oh Colm look how much we have done]
- Colm **I can do an Australian accent**
- Sinéad **je m'appelle** Sinéad
[my name is Sinéad <in French>]
- Colm **that's a lot of minutes man**
- IV cé méid nóimead? [how many minutes?]
- Colm **that's a lot of minutes**

Excerpt 28 is from another group interview in Scoil Íosaf and is a conversation in which the participants discuss their favourite things to do in class. Irish was the clear matrix language in this discussion. Other participants stated throwing biro's and paper as their favourite things to do in class and Aonghus added elastic bands as another object to throw. The final turn shows a shift to an entirely English clause. This has been interpreted as Aonghus using CS to provide comedic meta-commentary to what he has just said. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Aonghus also switched his tone and voice to sound more serious, like a commentator, and switches back to Irish or intrasentential CS in the subsequent turns.

- 28) Aonghus **no mo favourite** ábhar ná breathnú ar an gclog **instead**
a bheith ag obair

	[no my favourite subject is looking at the clock instead of working]
Daithí	caitheamh biros [throwing biros]
Sadhbh	caitheamh paper nó biros nó iad sin [throwing paper or biros or those]
Aonghus	nó elastic bands .. these are the in things now [or]

The examples in this section show that CS can function as a tool to express humour. These participants did not assign a particular language to making jokes or for comedic purposes but instead used CS to provide meta-commentary, deliver punchlines, mock others, convey sarcasm and create characters and identities.

5.6.6 Codeswitching to accommodate and signal language preference

Gumperz (1982) lists addressee specification as a function of CS. This function is participant-related and involves a speaker switching to accommodate the interlocutor(s) by switching to the language they know or prefer in order to build rapport and create an in-group association with them. Addressee specification can also be used to exclude someone by switching into a language that only a particular interlocutor understands (Romaine 1995: 163). This function is comparable to Appel & Musken's (1987) directive function. Expanding on the work of Gumperz, Auer (1988: 192-93) proposes two broad categories: 'discourse-related codeswitching' and 'participant-related codeswitching', of which the latter is somewhat related to the addressee specification function. Participant-related codeswitching is also motivated by the language competence or language preference of either the speaker(s) or interlocutor(s).

For the present study, preference was found to be a factor in speakers' use of CS.

From quantitative analysis alone, a preference for speaking English by Úna and Laoise can be noted. Of all the participants, they spoke the most English-only turns (45% and 28% respectively). Their language preference was corroborated by the sequential analysis of the corpus. They speak Irish with ease and fluency and with well-formed sentences. Their speech did not show signs of weaker confidence or skill relative to the other children; therefore, their reluctance to speak Irish does not seem to emerge from a lack of proficiency. Instead, their switching to English throughout the corpus indicated that their preferred language (in this context) is English. Although they spoke Irish or employed intrasentential CS throughout the corpus, almost each episode of interaction would involve a switch to English, no matter who else was involved in the conversation. When speaking directly to the interviewer or answering a question posed by the interviewer, Laoise tended to accommodate and use the language she thought the interviewer wanted to hear. Úna, however, did not and spoke in English directly to the interviewer. Although the interviewer only spoke Irish, participants are aware that everyone who speaks Irish can also speak and understand English. As this was her first time meeting the interviewer, there were no established norms between them yet and she therefore chose to speak her preferred language.

This first excerpt (29) is a conversation that originates from the interviewer asking how many brothers and sisters everyone has. Úna answers directly in English, while Laoise answers in mostly Irish. As the conversation continues we see that Laoise switches to English in direct response to a statement made by Ciara and then back to mostly Irish in the following turn when addressing the entire group, including the interviewer. However, Úna continues to speak English throughout the conversation when addressing the other participants

and the interviewer. Although Úna's clear preference is English, other speakers do not accommodate for this and continue using their preferred language (in this context). This illustrates the normative nature within this group of what Smith-Christmas (2012) refers to as 'dual-lingual conversations', when one participant speaks in one language and the interlocutor replies in another. This was common throughout this interview.

- 29) IV céard faoi an chuid eile agaibh mar sin, cé méid deartháir agus deirfiúr atá agaibhse?
[what about the rest of you then, how many brothers and sisters do you have?]
- Ciara tá deirf- tá deartháir amháin agam
[I have one sis- brother]
- Úna **I have one annoying sister and one annoying brother**
- Laoise tá mo phéire **adopted**
[my two are adopted]
- Ciara oh oh tá- tá **baby** dul a bheith ag em **girlfriend** mo uncail
[oh oh my uncle's girlfriend is going to be having a baby]
- Úna who?
- Ciara **June** nó **July**..
[or]
- Laoise **oh better not be in July, July is my birthday**
- Úna oh **yeah**
- Ciara **June** nó **July**
[or]
- Laoise tá an iomarca daoine **birthday** acu i **July**
[there are too many people that have a birthday in July]
- Orla tá deirfiúr amháin agam Megan an t-ainm atá uirthi
[I have one sister Megan's her name]
- Úna **does she know what it is yet?**

- Orla tá deartháir eile agam Adam an t-ainm atá air, tá deartháir eile agam Shawn an t-ainm ata air
[I have another brother Adam's his name, I have another brother Shawn's his name]
- Ciara hah?
- Úna **does she know /**
- Ciara níl siad ag iarraidh fáil amach fós
[they don't want to find out yet]
- IV agus an bhfuil tusa- cá bhfuil tusa sa gclann? an tú is óige nó is sine?
[and are you- where are you in the family? are you the youngest or the oldest?]
- Úna **I'm the middle child**

This second excerpt (30) is taken from a longer conversation towards the end of the interview which originated from a question from the interviewer about how many hours of sleep participants got per night. Laoise's response shows that she used mostly Irish when responding to this question and continues to use mostly Irish when addressing the group. After Laoise tells the group that she has 0.7kg to lose (because of a boxing weigh-in), Ciara undermines this statement by saying what she eats, to which Laoise repeats the same thing in Irish again. However, when Ciara questions it a second time, Laoise's tone of voice shows irritation and she responds in English. In her initial responses, Úna uses some Irish which shows an attempt to accommodate to the interviewer's language preference but by the end of the conversation, she reverts back to English, her preferred language.

- 30) Laoise bíonn mise ar **Snapchat** go dtí like an naoi, bhuel leathuair théis a naoi, **then** tagann mo **dad**- mo athair abhaile **and then** tá orm breathnú ar sacar leis **and then I annoy mom in the kitchen and then eventually** téim a chodladh

[I'm always on Snapchat until like nine, well half nine, then my dad comes- my dad comes home and then I have to watch soccer with him and then I annoy my mom in the kitchen and then I eventually go to sleep]

- Ciara tá sé sin **just** go dona
[that's just bad]
- Áine gabhann mise léamh ach nuair a tosaíonn mise léamh /
[I go reading but when I start reading]
- Úna **so I come home do whatever after school activities I need to do then** em gheobhann mé like dinnéar nó rud éicint, **dad comes home**
[I get like dinner or something]
- Laoise ==ní itheann mise dinnéar mar tá **point three** le cailleadh agam
[I don't eat dinner because I have to lose point three]
- Úna ==déanann muid **pads** le **boxáil** or gabhann mé cleachtadh damhsa le Córa
[we do pads for boxing or I go practice dancing with Córa]
- Ciara itheann mise **like** () [I eat like ()]
- Úna **then**
- Laoise ní mise in ann tá **point three** le cailleadh agam
[I can't I have point three to lose]
- Úna **then I just watch** RTE nó rud éicint le **like** dhá uair an chloig
[then I just watch RTÉ or something for like two hours]
- Ciara =níl sé sin ceart.. ní bheadh mise in ann cailleadh like / =
[that's not right.. I wouldn't be able to lose like]
- Úna **=and then I eventually fall asleep on the couch= and then dad lifts me back**
- Laoise ==**you have nothing to lose**
- Úna **and then I wake up**

Instances of dual-lingual conversations were common throughout this interview, with the other participants responding in Irish or mostly Irish to Úna and Laoise's English turns. However, Laoise's cousin Áine tended to accommodate to Úna and Laoise's language choice and would accommodate whatever language they used within an episode. This is shown in an excerpt below (31) in which the participants discuss a recent boxing match that Laoise had. Áine did not tend to switch entirely to English during the interview; however, when speaking directly to Laoise, as shown below, she accommodates to Laoise's language choice and preference.

- 31) Laoise **oh yeah and I am the county champion in boxing**
- Ciara **yeah** bhí sí ag caint faoi an oiread nuair a bhí muid ag an scoil
 [yeah she was talking about it so much when we were at school]
- Áine Laoise **because you weren't against anyone**
- Laoise **so**
- Áine **you weren't- she wasn't against anyone that's why because there was no one her weight**
- Úna **she got a walk over .. she got a walk over**
- Áine **you'll be- Laoise you'll soon be the same size as Tony and wont even have to fight**
- Laoise **who cares**
- Áine **you know** Tony
- Laoise **I don't want to be the same size as Tony**
- Orla **but** beidh tú ag- i trí seachtain eile tá **match** aici
 [but you'll be at- in another three weeks she has a match]
- Áine **no you'll soon .. no you'll soon be as famous as him**

In an interview conducted in Scoil Íosaf, there were instances when Sinéad switched to English when speaking directly to Oisín, even if Oisín had just spoken in Irish. This is shown in excerpt 32, which is taken from a conversation which occurred during a word association game which the participants had suggested playing. In this example, you can see that Sinéad's immediate response to Oisín's arrogance about his attractiveness is in English. Although Oisín's statement was in Irish, this switch may have occurred due to English being the preferred language in their interactions in a different context (i.e., not in the presence of other participants or the interviewer). This interpretation is based on this occurring on a number of occasions between these participants specifically and based on Sinéad's preceding and succeeding turns when addressing the group or other participants being either in Irish or involving intrasentential CS.

- 32) Oisín **no:** bhí rud *éicint* pleanáilte agamsa go **hot.. myself**
 [no I had something planned for hot.. myself]
- Colm eh:
- Sinéad **oh my God you're the opposite**
- Aisling **yeah right**
- Colm rud éicint- rud éicint **related** le te
 [something- something related to hot]
- IV fuar
 [cold]
- Colm rud éicint **related** le fuar oh **right** sneachta
 [something related to cold oh right snow]
- Sinéad **yeah** níl sé in ann a bheith /
 [yeah it can't be]

Although it was not a common function found in the corpus, an example of CS being used to accommodate the language competence of another participant can be seen in the example below (excerpt 33). The interviewer said in Irish that she lived in Scotland, to which Sadhbh responded by asking where that was. In order to overcome this communication issue, Daithí repeated the name of the country in English. This use of CS allowed for the conversation to then continue.

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 33) IV | tá mise i mo chónaí thall in Albain
[I live over in Scotland] |
| Ciarán | no tá tú in ann.. tá tú in ann dul go dtí Ryanair le haghaidh/
[no you can.. you can go to Ryanair for] |
| Sadhbh | cá bhfuil Albain? [where's Scotland] |
| Daithí | Scotland |
| Sadhbh | tá tú i do chónaí ann? [you live there?] |

This section showed both a practical and metaphorical function which CS serves. On the practical side, CS is a useful tool to overcome communication issues as shown in the final example. On the more metaphorical side, CS can be used by a speaker to either index their own language preference or to accommodate to an interlocutor's preference.

5.6.7 Topic-related codeswitching

Appel & Muysken's (1987) referential function encompasses two major motivations for switching. The first is related to switches which occur due to a lack of knowledge of one language or a lack of facility in a language on a

certain subject. The second is associated with “topic-related switching” when one language may be more appropriate depending on the subject or even a one-word concept (Appel & Muysken 2005: 118). This function is the one that bilingual speakers are most aware of and report doing when they do not know the word in the language, or because they think the word in another language is more suitable. Speakers may be aware of a word in both languages but often use the version which they first encounter. This is particularly common in the Irish context with modern words and terminology, which speakers are more likely to encounter in English first (Gillies 1980: 4; Ní Ghearáin 2014: 84). Fishman (2000) remarks that some topics are better handled in one language than another, either because the bilingual has learned to deal with a topic in a particular language, lacks specialised terms for a topic, or because it would be considered strange or inappropriate to discuss a topic in that language. The topic of conversation affects the type and frequency of CS and this was noted during the sequential analysis of the corpus.

Conclusively establishing if the use of a lexical item from another language is due to a lack of knowledge is difficult. While interpretations can be made based on pauses, hesitations or attempts to self-correct, the fact that the term comes to the speaker in the other language first, does not necessarily index a lack of knowledge. The second motivation which is associated with CS based on which language is most appropriate is also difficult; however, interpretations can be supported with reference to previous research on CS, cross-checking with other examples throughout the corpus and other online Irish corpora and through member’s intuition of knowing what is expected language use within the community.

Based on his own research and the work of Ó Curnáin (2007), Ó Domagáin (2013) noted a tendency by speakers to employ the English numeric system and calendar, a finding which is supported by this corpus, as shown in the examples below. It can be confidently assumed based on the participants' schooling and where they live that they have acquired numbers and calendar months in Irish. Examples of both these lexical items in Irish (e.g., *tá fiche col ceathrar agam* / I have twenty cousins; *Iúil* / July) are found elsewhere in the corpus, which further supports that their use of numbers and months in English does not indicate a lack of knowledge. The examples below, therefore, illustrate that English is sometimes deemed the more appropriate language. Excerpt 34 below shows English numbers being used to discuss weight, excerpts 35 and 36 show English numbers being used to give an exaggerated amount of something, excerpt 37 shows English numbers used to refer to a specific type of lottery and excerpt 38 shows English numbers used to discuss age groups in sport. The final example which shows English months used occurred when Ciara was referring to a due date for the birth of her future cousin.

- 34) Laoise níl mise in ann tá **point three** le cailleadh agam
[I'm not able I have point three to lose]
- 35) Cian tá **twenty footballs** agat
[you have twenty footballs]
- Síofra tá **million footballs** aige more like
[he has a million footballs more like]
- 36) Tadhg bhuel lató club cheapfainn
[well club lotto I would think]
- Pádraig yeah **fifty-fifty**
- 37) Eoin **under thirteens** agus **under fourteens** [and]
- 38) Ciara **June** nó **July** [or]

The following excerpts (39-46) support Sjoestedt's (1928) finding of a tendency to use English nouns when discussing hobbies. CS when discussing hobbies was consistent throughout the corpus. Although the terms *dornálaíocht* ('boxing'), *cispheil* ('basketball'), *peil* ('football') and *rothar* ('bicycle') were also used and known by participants, there was a clear preference for the English equivalents. Greene (1966: 29) noted that the Irish word *rothar* for 'bicycle' was only partially accepted by Gaeltacht speakers when it was coined; therefore, the English 'bicycle' continues to be widely used and accepted by Gaeltacht speakers. It is assumed again based on their background and the presence of some Irish equivalents in the corpus that the Irish terms are available to the participants; however, the English is more appropriate to use in this context.

- 39) Úna déanann muid **pads** le **boxáil** **or** gabhann mé
cleachtadh damhsa le Córa
[we do pads for boxing or I go practising dancing with
Córa]
- 40) Sinéad **no** tá **under tens** cailíní- tá siad **really** go dona.. bhí an
duine sa **goal just** ag suí síos
[no the under ten girls are- they're really bad.. the person
in the goal was just sitting down]
- 41) Aonghus oh **yeah** 's maith liom a bheith ag **buildáil shedannaí**..
nó ag cur caoi ar **bhicycles**
[oh yeah I like to be building sheds.. or fixing bicycles]
- 42) Cian tá **bicycle** agat
[you have a bicycle]
- 43) Ciarán agus: bíonn mé déanamh *ruidín* beag **basketball** sa
mbaile
[and I do a little bit of basketball at home]
- 44) Conall oh beidh mé **boxáil** sa samhradh
[I'll be boxing in the summer]
- 45) Seosamh bhruaigh sí **Con- Connaught final**.. ar Dé Domhn- Dé
Domhnaigh seo caite.. **so** <1.47> gabháil ar aghaidh go
All-Ireland semi-final atá siad

[she won a Connaught final.. last Sunday.. so <1.47>
they are going on to the All-Ireland semi-final]

- 46) Liam eh: bhíodh mé é a dhéanamh ach stop mé mar bhí sé ag
clasháil le football .. bíonn mé déanamh **football**,
boxáil agus rugbaí
[eh: I was doing it but I stopped because it was clashing
with football .. I do football, boxing and rugby]

Terminology related to more modern concepts and technology has been well-documented as a location of CS in the Irish context (Ó Domagáin 2013). Often, such terms are coined in English and are already in the lexicon before an Irish equivalent is coined. The first excerpt below (47) involves discussing how to keep images received on Snapchat and the second (48) and third (49) involve English terms for technological equipment. Although Irish terms exist for laptop and computer, the English terms are often preferred. The use of the Irish equivalents can be deemed formal and marked in informal contexts.

- 47) Liam **yeah** é a **saveáil** nó **screenshotáil**
[yeah save or screenshot it]
- 48) Oisín an bhfuil **laptop** agatsa?
[do you have a laptop?]
- 49) Síofra chuir tú **toothpaste** ar do **computer**
[you put toothpaste on your computer]

Other examples as shown in the excerpts below (50-54) can be easily identified as instances of CS due to topic as some of the concepts may have been conceptualised in the English-speaking world, e.g. 'all you can eat' and 'German shepherd'. The example 'cruise' (excerpt 53) could also be classified as a hobby as it corresponds to Sjoestedt's (1928) example in this category of 'a package holiday'. Although an Irish equivalent has been coined for some of the examples below (e.g., *sípeir Gearmánach* / German shepherd), their use in this context would be marked.

- 50) Orla tá- tá- tá **German shepherd** chomh cute aige, tá mé ag iarraidh é
[he has such a cute German shepherd, I want it]
- 51) Caoimhe **yeah** .. chuaigh muid ar eh **trick or treatáil** ann
[we went on eh trick or treating there]
- 52) Tadhg tá **Chinese** mór ann agus **all you can eat** é
[there's a big Chinese <restaurant> and it's all you can eat]
- 53) Fiachra bhí mé ar **cruise** [I was on a cruise]
- 54) Daithí an raibh ceann dona **left wheel drives** sin agat?
[did you have one of those left wheel drives?]

Finally, two other categories of nouns identified as common sites of CS are nouns associated with occupations and places or countries (Ó Domagáin 2006, Sjoestedt 1928). This was supported during the word association game that was played with most of the groups. The aim of this game was to say as many nouns associated with a particular noun category (e.g., jobs, countries, counties). The corpus shows that participants arrived at the English first most of the time; however, Irish equivalents are present in the corpus. Again, based on their background, it can be assumed that the participants will have acquired these words in Irish, especially Irish counties and job titles. Excerpt 55 shows participants listing jobs, excerpt 56 shows a participant listing countries and excerpt 57 illustrates the same participant listing Irish counties. A secondary practical function of CS is also illustrated in these examples as speakers use CS to draw on their active knowledge in both languages to list things as quickly as possible for the purpose of winning a game.

- 55) Seán **hairdressers**, feirmeoir, **washer**, eh: [farmer]
- Cian pláis / [plast /]
- Tomás **I.T.**
- Síofra *pláistéara* [plasterer]

Seán	I.T. , pláistéarach, eh: [plastering]
Cian	eh construction worker
Seán	engineer
Cian	block layer .. pluiméara [plumber]
Seán	electrician
Tomás	train driver
Cian	eh .. <i>siúinéara</i> [carpenter]
Seán	<i>píolóta</i> [pilot]
Tomás	astronaut
Cian	fear a bhíonn ag driveáil bád [a man that drives a boat]
Tomás	scientist
Seán	delivery duine <1.95> eh múinteoir [eh teacher]
Tomás	postman
Seán	múinteoir ceol [music teacher]
56) Ciarán	Brazil, Madagascar , Éirinn, Sasana, Brazil, China, Japan [Ireland, England] ... oh tá ceann agam- Greece [oh I have one- Greece]
57) Ciarán	Gaillimh, Maigh Eo, Armagh , eh Antrim, Donegal, Carlow, Wicklow, Tipperary , eh: Kerry, Cork [Galway, Mayo]

A superficial analysis of the examples provided in this section might conclude that CS functioned as a tool to fill lexical gaps in these instances. However, a more thorough analysis and knowledge of the communicative conventions of the community shows that these examples illustrate that CS is topic-related and that speakers adopt the English terms based on their shared understanding of what language is and is not marked when discussing these

topics. The examples of CS found and discussed here are typical of the language norms of the community.

5.6.8 Codeswitching to express love

This current section is an extension of the previous one which discusses ‘topic-related switching’. It has been found in other contexts that speakers codeswitch for the purpose of expressing feelings of love (Muthusamy 2010, Alhourani 2018). This may be as a result of discomfort with the topic in a particular language or because speakers believe that they English words have a greater impact or express their feelings better. This was noted in the present study, as speech related to love or romantic relationships involved switching to English in every instance.

As discussed in §5.4.4, the English verb phrase ‘I love’ was often used in intrasentential switches. While similar expressions to ‘I love’ exist in Irish, equivalents were not found in the corpus. Examples of *is maith*, the Irish equivalent for ‘I like’, were numerous and preferred but speakers used ‘I love’ at the beginning of sentences to express stronger feelings towards something, as shown in the example below (excerpt 58).

58) Ciarán graifití **I love** é, tá **load** graifití ann
 [graffiti I love it, there’s loads of graffiti there]

The following excerpt (59) is a conversation about participants’ favourite musicians. It illustrates the observation that *is maith* (I like) was used throughout the corpus but when stronger feelings such as ‘love’ were discussed, participants switched to English.

59) Seán	's maith le Cian John Beag [Young John (local Irish musician)]
Síofra	's maith le Cian Nicki Minaj [Cian likes Nicki Minaj]
Cian	's maith liomsa Cardi B [I like Card B]
Seán	tá sé in love le Nicki Minaj [he's in love with Nicki Minaj]
Ailbhe	oh yeah tá tusa in love le Nicki Minaj [oh yeah he's in love with Nicki Minaj]
Cian	ní fhaca mé riamh í [I've never seen her]
Ailbhe	tá sé in love léithe [he's in love with her]

When discussing romantic relationships, the English terms 'girlfriend' and 'boyfriend' are consistently used throughout the corpus and their Irish equivalents were not present. Both examples below (excerpts 60 & 61) show participants referring to other people's romantic relationships.

60) Síofra tá sí i **San Francisco**, tá sí bailithe ann lena **boyfriend**

61) Tadhg **yeah** tá **girlfriend** ag Fiachra nach bhfuil Fiachra?
[yeah Fiachra has a girlfriend, don't you Fiachra?]

It is difficult to interpret exactly why speakers tend to switch to English when discussing love and romantic relationships. It may be because they feel English expresses the feeling better or due to a level of discomfort with the topic and CS can function as a tool to distance themselves for it. What can be

undoubtedly interpreted, however, is that English is clearly the preferred language when discussing this topic among the participants.

5.6.9 Conclusion

This section has presented an analysis of the corpus with excerpts from the data which illustrate social and interactional functions which CS by the young Gaeltacht speakers achieved in the context of the present study. Contrary to assumptions that CS evidences a linguistic deficit or a lack of knowledge in bilingual speakers, this analysis has shown that CS is an additional resource which bilinguals can employ to achieve particular conversational goals in interactions with other bilinguals.

The use of CS was expected based on the historical contact between Irish and English and also knowledge of the communicative norms and practices of the community. The analysis shows that CS is frequent among the participants. The current study shows that the main functions of CS are to frame and enrich narration, to quote or report on others' speech, to clarify, to self-repair, to express humour, to accommodate to others and to indicate language preference. The analysis also showed that within the community there is a preferred language to discuss particular topics.

Gumperz (1982) states that code-switching is not a uniform phenomenon; rather, it varies from group to group and individual to individual within a speech community. This was exemplified within the current study with the varied ways in which participants employed CS. This may have been exaggerated by the presence of the interviewer as some participants indicated more self-awareness about how they were speaking in the semi-structured context than

others. Speakers may have codeswitched more or less or used different conversational strategies in this context than they would have in the absence of the interviewer. However, the main goal was to collect speech data which exemplified multiple motivations of CS, in order to find evidence that supports the rehabilitation of CS. The findings presented in this section shows that this was achieved.

It is not argued that the participants linguistic knowledge in both languages is equal and that no instances of CS to fill lexical gaps occurred. However, what has been clearly illustrated throughout this section, is that CS serves multiple functions.

6 Discussion

6.1 Types of codeswitching

The first hypothesis that the study verified is that CS is an integral part of young speakers' discourse strategies. The use of CS was present in the speech of each young person and was not reserved to a particular type or group of speaker. The study found that intrasentential CS was the most common type of CS present in the corpus, making up 28.27% of total turns and was employed more than twice as often as intersentential CS, which made up 13.6% of total turns. Poplack (1980) poses that of these types of CS, intrasentential switches require the most fluency as it requires speakers to have sufficient knowledge of the grammars of both languages. In her study of Spanish-English speakers in a Puerto Rican community in New York City, she found that only the most balanced bilinguals used this type of CS, while less proficient bilinguals opted to avoid it and were more likely to use intersentential CS or tag-switching. The following examples from the corpus illustrate the differences between these two types of CS:

Intrasentential

Seán	cuimhneach liom an lá bhí muid ag breathnú ar an game Tí Liam agus ansin bhí ortsa dul abhaile mar bhí puppies ag an mada [I remember the day we were watching the game in Tí Liam (the pub) and then you had to go home because your dog had puppies]
------	---

Intersentential

Laoise	bhuel déanfaidh mise ceann ... my life is boring, everyone knows my life [well I'll do one]
--------	---

The example of intrasentential CS shows a level of integration of the two languages at the sentence boundary, while the example of intersentential CS shows a clear separation of the languages at the sentence boundary. It is the skill involved in integrating the languages that leads scholars to believe that intrasentential is a hallmark of the speech of fluent bilinguals and tends to be avoided by those who do not have sufficient skills in both languages (Poplack 1980, Lipski 1985).

Intrasentential CS was the most common type of CS in the speech of almost all participants. Úna and Aisling from Scoil Mhuire were the only two participants who codeswitched more intersententially. Úna's intersentential CS turns made up 38% of her total turn contribution to the corpus compared to intrasentential CS constituting 15%. Aisling's turn contribution consisted of 21% intrasentential CS turns and 19% intersentential CS turns. While no assumptions were made regarding speakers' language abilities, the data showed that home language had a slight impact on the type of CS employed. Those from Irish only speaking homes were slightly more likely to employ intrasentential CS than others. The home language indicated for both Úna and Aisling was English only. In contrast, Pádraig, who codeswitched intersententially the least (2% of turns), Irish only was noted as his home language. While these are only preliminary findings and there is room for further exploration into the correlation between sociolinguistic factors and CS use, this somewhat supports the notion that intrasentential CS is typically employed by skilled bilinguals.

The quantitative analysis has also shown that although there is a parallel between rates of CS and rates of English language use, high levels of CS do not always indicate high levels of English language use. For example, although

Úna and Laoise's higher rates of CS corresponded to their higher use of English words than the average, this was not the case for all speakers. Síle, Tadhg and Liam codeswitched more than the average; however, their use of English words was lower than the average. These findings suggest that except in the cases where the use of CS is considerably higher than the average, CS does not suggest more English language use overall and strengthens the argument that CS is not a sign of lack of fluency. Ó Catháin (2016: 57) writes that "the Irish language community of the official Irish-speaking areas is in the process of mutating into one of English speakers". However, a quantitative account of CS has shown that Irish only turns made up the majority of turns in the corpus, at 58.13% of total turns. This finding supports the rehabilitation of CS in the Irish context as it shows that these young speakers are not 'dependent' on English/CS to communicate in Irish, as research has suggested (Lenoach 2014, Péterváry et al. 2014). Such studies are limited by a blinkered approach to CS which focuses on it solely as a 'divergence' from perceived prescriptive norms and as a sign of language shift or death. The data shows that speakers can speak without using CS at times, which indicates that it is not simply a sign of a deficit. This further highlights the need for closer analysis of CS in studies to explore the various functions that CS serves.

The English word categories which were most present in the corpus are somewhat in line with findings from other linguistic studies in the Irish context and specifically in Conamara. Nouns were the most common word type and made up 63% of English used in Péterváry et al.'s (2014) study with children in a Conamara Gaeltacht school. Although the studies are not directly comparable, nouns were also the most common word type in the present study but made up only 34% of total English words used. Two possibilities for the difference in share is that Péterváry et al.'s study employed strategies to elicit specific speech from participants, while the present study focused on creating a communicative setting with no attempt at eliciting specific linguistic elements.

Another notable difference between the word counts is that the present study counted instances of discourse markers while the 2014 study did not. Discourse markers made up 13% of the total word count. What was also similar between the studies' findings is that English numbers and conjunctions were used very infrequently (1-2% of total words). Studies have concluded that nouns are the most common word type employed in CS as they are primarily used to fill lexical gaps (Péterváry et al. 2014; Ó Domagáin 2013). While nouns were the most common English word type in the present corpus, the wider range in proportions of word use suggest that CS is more diverse than this suggested pattern. As this section has showed and as will be further discussed below, a closer analysis of the corpus verified that CS is much more nuanced than this conclusion.

6.2 The grammar of codeswitching

The presence of CS, particularly intrasentential CS, indicated that the corpus would be suitable for the application of the MLF. Through applying this framework, the hypothesis that Irish is the base language in CS interaction was confirmed. Two principles of the MLF were applied: the morpheme-order principle and the system morpheme principle. The application of both principles showed considerable uniformity in the ML distribution found in the corpus. Irish was overwhelmingly the most frequent ML in bilingual clauses, at 92% of bilingual clauses. This finding suggests that the use of CS by the young speakers involved in the study can be considered a ‘classic case’ of codeswitching. The languages involved in the present study are diverse in terms of word order as Irish is a VSO language and English is an SVO language. Carter et al. (2011) suggested that ML uniformity is more likely in contexts where the language pairs have contrasting word orders, e.g., VSO versus SVO. This has been supported by the present corpus where Irish was the predominant ML in bilingual clauses. What motivated speakers to use Irish as the base language cannot be established through a grammatical approach, which is why a complementary sociolinguistic approach to analysis was also conducted.

Research in the Irish context has often presented the frequent use of CS as a compromised variety of Irish which shows high signs of convergence to English (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007, Lenoach 2012, Ó Curnáin 2012). However, the findings of this stage of the analysis did not support Irish-English CS as ‘convergent CS’. The data overwhelmingly supported the Irish-English context as ‘classic CS’. Myers-Scotton (2002: 31) states that “speakers who engage in classic codeswitching are able to produce well-formed utterances in both of the participating varieties” and that full proficiency in the language that forms

the ML is needed in order to form classic CS. If this is the case, then this study has shown that the young speakers have a high level of proficiency in both Irish and English. Myers-Scotton (2002) also states that although a high level of proficiency in both languages is necessary in classic CS contexts, it does not imply that speakers must be equally proficient in both languages, nor does it mean that they must speak the standard varieties of both languages. This is particularly important to understand in regard to the context of the present study where young speakers' Irish is often directly compared to their abilities in English or traditional (e.g., how Irish was spoken pre-1960) or standard Irish (Péterváry et al. 2014; Ó Curnáin 2012; Lenoach 2012, 2014). Although these speakers may not meet the standard set by these measures, the analysis conducted here indicates stable bilingualism.

The findings reflect that of Darcy's (2014) study on 16–19-year-old speakers in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht, where she also found that her corpus supported Irish as the primary ML; therefore, indicating a context of classic codeswitching. It also reflects the findings of Deuchar (2006) and Deuchar and Davies (2009) in the Welsh context, where Welsh was established as the ML. There were some similarities between the types of bilingual clauses which indicated either English as the ML or in which the ML was ambiguous or unidentifiable which were found in Darcy's (2014) corpus and the present one. The primary similarity was clauses in which the Irish verb 'to be' was used instead of the copula. Another asymmetry between these instances is that they were found primarily in the speech of participants whose home language was mostly English or English only. This is in line with Ó Duibhir's (2009) findings in Irish schools. His findings suggested that this was a tendency more likely in the speech of learners of the language than those raised with Irish.

The percentage of bilingual clauses which indicated Irish or Welsh as the ML and English as the ML was most comparable between the present study, which

showed Irish as the ML in 92% of bilingual clauses, and Deuchar's (2006) study which showed Welsh as the ML 86.5% of bilingual clauses. English as the ML was indicated in 4% of bilingual clauses in the present corpus and 2.45% of bilingual clauses in Deuchar's study. The percentage of clauses for which Irish was the ML varied across data sets in Darcy's (2014) study from 59% in the data set with speakers from English only as the home language and 92% in the data set with speakers from bilingual Irish-English homes. This further supports the notion that a consistent ML is indicative of more proficient bilinguals. The average across the data sets was 77%. Findings from the present study corresponded closest to the data sets which had the highest share of bilingual clauses indicating Irish as the ML. These data sets were the previously mentioned with speakers from bilingual Irish-English homes and the data set with speakers whose dominant home language was Irish. Irish was the matrix language in 92% of bilingual clauses in the former and 87% percent in the latter. I would argue that this strengthens the argument that the young speakers involved in the present study are highly skilled bilinguals who exhibit a sound knowledge of grammar in how they codeswitch.

6.3 Morphological integration

The addition of the suffix *-áil* to English verbs to compose a blended verb form is not a new phenomenon in the Gaeltacht (Stenson 1991: 267; Stenson 1993: 115-116; Ó Curnáin 2007: 1226). Although some examples of blended nouns and adjectives were found in the present corpus, the majority of blended word forms were verbs, which followed the aforementioned pattern. Verbs were the second most used in the group setting. In intrasentential CS turns, apart from thinking, feeling and perceiving verbs (e.g. 'I think', 'I suppose', 'I love', 'I know', 'I'd say'), English verbs used were part of a morphologically integrated verb form. The most commonly used blended verb forms (e.g., 'drive*áil*', 'mess*áil*', 'jump*áil*', 'box*áil*' and 'miss*áil*') indicate a universal acceptance of these forms and common usage within the community, which would suggest that they are learnt lexical items from adults within the community. Infrequent examples such as 'tinker*áil*', 'scream*áil*' and 'donate*áil*' indicate more innovation on the part of the speaker, who can compose new verbs as required using this well-established method. It cannot be proven based on the corpus alone that the Irish verb equivalents for more infrequent examples are not known by speakers, but it is clear that some blended verb forms are more accepted and are part of the local variety. For example, in the case of 'drive*áil*', 'jump*áil*' and 'box*áil*', their Irish equivalents were also present in the corpus, but the blended verb form was more commonly used. This indicates knowledge of both forms but a preference for one more than the other. This is likely dependent on situational or social factors, as discussed in §3.4.3.1.

While the large presence of blended verb forms indicates a potential extension of this pattern of word blending to meet communicative needs, the other categories of blended word forms examined did not suggest this. Nouns were the most common English word type used in both settings. Stenson (1993: 115) states that the addition of the Irish suffix *-(e)anna* to pluralise English nouns tends only to occur with more established loans. This study found the

same to be true for the examples found in the corpus. All of the nouns in the blended forms were found to be present in the speech of others from the community through examples found in literature and other corpora. Although it was not frequent, Darcy (2014: 221) found examples of her teenage participants in Corca Dhuibhne pluralising Irish nouns by adding the English system marker ‘-s’ (e.g., *tacsaís* – *taxis*). Stenson (1993: 115) also reported on a similar phenomenon occurring almost thirty years ago. Péterváry et al. (2014: 35) noted the same tendency in the speech of young speakers of similar age in the Conamara Gaeltacht involved in their study. However, apart from the noun ‘lads’ which can also be interpreted as the Irish *leaid* with the addition of ‘-s’, based on similar pronunciation, this pattern of word blending did not appear in the present study. Blended adjective forms rarely occurred in the corpus, which shows no noticeable extension of the pattern of blending an English adjective with the Irish affix *-(e)áilte*. All aspects of morphologically integrated adjectives were found elsewhere in literature or other corpora, supporting their presence in the community at large.

6.4 Codeswitching as a communicative strategy

The current study's findings lend support to the initial hypothesis that the young bilingual speakers involved in the study employ CS as a strategy to achieve various social functions. While not all functions that CS achieved in the corpus could be interpreted, the functions which were noted show a rich use of CS by the speakers to express themselves. This study is based on and related to previous sociolinguistic research on CS (e.g., Gumperz 1982; Appel & Muysken 1987; Romaine 1985; Zentella 1990; Auer 1998). Much research on CS has been conducted worldwide from this perspective. For instance, Zentella (1990) researched the use of CS by young Spanish-English bilinguals in New York City, Gumperz (1982) researched the use of Slovenian and German in an Austrian-Former Yugoslavian border village. However, few studies involving close analysis of CS from this perspective have been conducted in the Irish context. The findings demonstrate that situational factors had an impact on speakers' language choices as it was noted that the addressee influenced language choice. Speakers were noted switching to accommodate others' language preferences or abilities. A metaphorical use of CS was more present and served to fulfil functions such as narration, quotation, reporting of speech, reiteration, clarification, humour and express love. It was also clear that CS is an individualistic speech practice as not each function was present in the speech of each speaker.

Discourse markers were often used as a narrative tool by the speakers. Discourse markers in monolingual and bilingual speech can serve as boundary markers framing items such as different verbal activities, shifts in contexts, new components in a narrative (Torres 2002: 68). Ó Curnáin (2007: 1927) suggested that female speakers were particularly "given to sprinkling conversation with English discourse markers". However, in the present study,

gender did not seem to play a role in the amount of English discourse markers used by participants, or the amount of English used overall. English discourse markers are part of all Irish speakers' vocabularies and are used for emphasis, hedging, pause filling and structuring conversation. They are seamlessly inserted into conversation and show little impact or influence on Irish sentence structure. Furthermore, they do not seem to trigger further English language use in a sentence. However, further research would be needed to verify this last claim.

In 1991, Stenson (1991: 573) stated that: "Irish-English codeswitching is ... generally quite smooth, produced without noticeable hesitations between elements of one language and those of another". However, the common rhetoric in more recent years is that this is no longer the case, especially in regard to CS use by younger speakers. Lenoach (2012: 53) argues that the CS as used by young speakers today is not smooth and instead indicates a sign of disfluency. He notes instances of false-starts or self-repair as a sign of this disfluency. This study has found that instances of self-repair can serve to indicate much more than this. Self-repair ultimately is the repeating of a term or phrase in another language directly afterwards. This study has shown that when CS is used in this way, it can be to emphasise, qualify or clarify what was said. Sometimes it may even be to provide a translation of something on behalf of the interlocutor if the speaker is concerned that they might not understand. It can, therefore, be seen as a supplementary resource and not a resource that solves a deficit.

In regard to the expression of humour through CS, Colm showed great awareness of how the alternate use of languages or dialects can be used for comedic purposes. He showed awareness of the audio recorder at times and

on occasion picked it up and spoke English directly into it. When speaking, he was often giving meta-commentary in a performative voice, e.g., to mimic a radio presenter or imitating an Australian accent. He clearly enjoyed receiving the approval of the group for his sense of humour and it may also have been his strategy of dealing with feeling uncomfortable about being ‘listened to’ or ‘monitored’.

Language preference plays an important role in language choice (Auer 1984; Gafaranga 2001). Auer (1998) refers to CS as a reflection of language preference, either the speaker or auditor’s preference, as participant-related switching. Deuchar (2020), however, highlights the influence that community norms have on CS, that is that speakers adapt and codeswitch to meet the norms set by the community or group. Based on questionnaire data and opinions disclosed during the interviews, over half of participants indicated that Irish is their preferred language. For the speakers who indicated English as their preferred language, this did not necessarily dictate their language choice. It was clear that they adapted their language use to the situation in which they were in. Their language use somewhat reflected the norms set by the other speech participants. For example, Tomás spoke negatively of Irish and stated that he thinks Irish is “useless” and “pointless”. His rate of CS and relative English language use did not differ greatly from the group averages. On the other hand, Úna’s language preference clearly dictated her language choice. Although she would frequently begin a turn or a conversational episode in Irish, she would almost always switch to English. She was also only one of two participants who spoke directly to the interviewer in English. Her language choices show a clear divergence from the group norms and her desire to speak English throughout the interview was clear. A strategy employed by other speakers who did not want to abandon their language choice during the same conversation was to engage in ‘dual-lingual conversations’ (Smith-Christmas

2012). The ease at which this occurred (e.g., without hesitation or comment) highlights the normative nature of this communicative strategy.

Previous studies have suggested that the primary reason for CS is to serve a referential function. This implies that speakers CS to fill a lexical gap (Ó Domagáin 2013; Lenoach 2012, 2014; Ó Curnáin 2012). Bilingual speakers themselves also sometimes believe that this is why they codeswitch (Romaine 1995: 143). This function was avoided in the present study due to the problematic nature of interpreting a codeswitch as referential. Proving what is and is not known in a speaker's lexicon is a difficult task. Studies have applied vocabulary tests in an attempt to assess vocabulary knowledge (Lenoach 2014). However, just because something is said in English or is not instantly known in Irish, does not mean that it is not part of the bilingual's lexicon. An understanding of the concept of bilingualism tells us that a bilingual's languages are not always equally active (Grosjean 1997); therefore, in a testing situation, speakers may draw on both languages and provide the first word that comes to them. This is supported by Romaine (1995: 143) who states that:

Although it is popularly believed by bilingual speakers themselves that they mix or borrow because they do not know the term in one language or another, it is often the case that switching occurs most often for items which people know and use in both languages. The bilingual just has a wider choice – at least when he or she is speaking with bilingual speakers. In effect, the entire second language system is at the disposal of the code-switcher.

Instances reported as serving a referential function can be interpreted in multiple ways, particularly in contexts where CS is the community norm. There is often a deeper meaning. Speakers may simply be more comfortable with certain terminology in one language as they may have encountered it first, the English might be more appropriate or unmarked in the setting or in relation to

the topic. For example, words that were said in English were later said in Irish within the same corpus by the same speaker (e.g., bicycle – *rothar*; boxing – *dornálaíocht*). This clearly discredits CS to fill a deficit in these instances and highlights the need for further close analysis, as conducted as part of the present study. It is not denied that CS does not at times serve a momentary loss of words during a conversation. What is emphatically denied, however, is that this is the primary reason for these young speakers employing CS. CS is a resource employed not merely to fill gaps in the speakers' languages but to maximise their expressive power.

An interesting conversational episode which occurred in the corpus highlighted the speakers' innate competence of choosing the appropriate code in a conversation. The ability to choose the appropriate code for a setting is a vital communicative strategy in bilingual contexts and is related to what Myers-Scotton (1998) refers to as making a marked or an unmarked language choice. The conversation involved Oisín and Colm recounting a time when they were speaking to each other and used an English word. An Irish language student (*Gaeilgeoir*) overheard their conversation and challenged them on their use of CS. Their re-enactment of the scenario and their parodying of the student's use and pronunciation of the word *cairde* to correct their use of the English equivalent 'friends' clearly indicates that it is the Irish student that misinterpreted the linguistic norms of the setting. The conversational episode is presented below.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Colm | uair amháin bhí mise agus Oisín ag caint agus ansin dúirt muid focal Béarla agus ansin tháinig an leaid seo le spéaclóirí suas againn agus ansin chuaigh sé 'Béarla: [one time me and Oisín were talking and then we said an English word and then this lad with glasses came up to us and he then went "English"] |
| Oisín | 'Béarla' [English] |

- Colm **really yeah like literally** bhí siad muid a **followáil** agus bhí siad mar seo **like-** siod **literally-** **yeah** sin **literally** iad
[really yeah like literally they were following us and they were like this like- this is literally- yeah that's literally them]
- Sinéad sin céard a dhéananns **like** /
[that's like what the _ do]
- Aisling 'Béarla' ['English']
- Sinéad **no** sin céard a dhéananns na naoináin, sin **literally** na naíonáin
[no that's what the infants do, that's literally the infants]
- IV cár tharla sé seo? [where did this happen?]
- Colm ag an scoil, ag an scoil anseo **like** tháinig scoileannaí eile agus ansin chuaigh sé ar nós 'Béarla'
[at the school, at the school here like other schools came and then he went like 'English']
- Sinéad sin **literally** na naoináin 'Béarla, Béarla'
[that's literally the infants 'English, English']
- IV cén scoil a bhí ann? [what school was it?]
- Colm **I don't know**, bhí siad mór, bhí siad níos mó ná muide agus bhí siad nós 'Béarla'
[I don't know, they were big, they were bigger than us and they were like "Béarla"]
- Caoimhe sin eh oh Gaeilgeoirí
[that's eh oh Irish language students?]
- Oisín Gaeilgeoirí ab ea? [Gaeilgeoirí is it?]
- Colm agus ansin dúirt siad le Páraic, mo **friend** sa seomra eile, 'cad a rinne tú le mo cairde' (mocking accent)
[and then they said to Páraic, my friend in the other room 'what did you do to my friends']
- Sinéad oh 's dóigh.. cairde (mocking accent)
[oh probably.. friends]

Colm	yeah sin a dúirt sé [yeah that's what he said]
IV	's dóigh gur Gaeilgeoirí a bhí ann mar sin [it probably was Gaeilgeoirí that were there then]
Oisín	bhí em- bhí siad sin em- dúirt em- dúirt siad sin focal Béarla agus chuaigh load againn ó rang a cúig agus sé agus just abair 'Béarla' [were em- them there were em- said em- they said an English word and loads of us from fifth and sixth class went and just say 'English']
Aisling	'Béarla' ['English']
Colm	'Béarla' ['English']
Sinéad	'Béarla' ['English']

This episode also highlights that what might be marked or appropriate in one speech community may not be marked in another. This is reflected in Ó Duibhir's (2009) study, which showed that speakers raised with Irish were more likely or as likely to codeswitch when compared to those who are learning Irish a school.

In summary, the study provides a unique insight into the functions of CS in an Irish-English setting and how it is employed by young speakers. The frequent use of English in Irish is a cause of concern for many researchers (Ó Giollagáin 2012, Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007, Lenoach 2012). Through a closer interactional analysis of the linguistic practice, we can see that it is much more complex and sophisticated than is often reported. Sometimes it is due to lack of lexical equivalence, that one language expresses a thought or a feeling better, one language is deemed more appropriate in the context than the other and to express their personalities to name but a few.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Summary of findings and final remarks

This thesis has examined the language use of young speakers aged 10-13 years from a Conamara Gaeltacht area and has focused on their use of CS from both a grammatical and sociolinguistic perspective. The research questions set out in the first chapter indicate that the study aimed to examine how CS is presented in the speech of these young speakers and what functions CS achieved in their interactions. As a result of the stigmatisation of CS in the speech of the group involved, the overarching aim was to show how these findings can support the rehabilitation of CS (Gafaranga 2007) in the Irish-English context.

The quantitative analysis of the corpus has highlighted that CS is the norm for the group and that CS was present in the speech of all participants. Intrasentential CS was the preferred choice for the group and instances of intersentential CS were relatively low. Irish only turns made up the majority of the corpus, which indicates that speakers are capable of speaking in a monolingual mode but choose to CS for various purposes, as was further explored in the thesis. Analysing the corpus from a grammatical perspective through applying the MLF has shown that Irish is the base or matrix language of the overwhelming majority of bilingual clauses and English is the language that is embedded in to these clauses. It also illustrates that CS, as used by the speakers in the study, is bound by particular rules which are uniformly followed by the group. The use of English in bilingual clauses, for the most part, does not impede Irish grammar. Finally, through approaching the analysis from a socio-functional perspective, the corpus has also supported the hypothesis that the young speakers employ CS to achieve various social functions. These

functions included topic-shift, narration, addressee specific, quotation or reported speech, reiteration and the expression of humour and love.

Chapter 2 clearly sets out the challenges that face the Irish language today. From the pressures that globalisation exerts on a minority language to the issues faced within the education system and the social issues faced within the Gaeltacht community. It cannot be denied that the English language has had and will continue to have influence on the Irish language. Continued support to the language maintenance and language revitalisation agenda is encouraged and supported. However, the sweeping generalisations of CS as solely a sign of language shift or language death cannot be substantiated by the findings of the present study. This view of CS does not give these young speakers' bilingual language use enough credit and detracts from the creativity and skill involved in employing CS to serve various functions. CS is a historically embedded practice in the speech community and is a skill learnt as part of the speakers' language acquisition. The majority of the speakers in the present study indicated they were highly proficient bilinguals who were able to switch between their languages without impeding grammatical or social norms.

This study has shown that all participants can communicate through Irish, and that Irish is the language of choice and preferred language for many of them; however, research on the Irish language spoken by younger generations has not been as positive. This thesis does not argue against the Irish language being viewed as vulnerable in Gaeltacht communities, even the strongest areas, such as the one involved in the study. However, scholars and language activists could be more conscientious of the effects of the negative rhetoric that they adopt regarding Irish speakers themselves. The variety of Irish spoken by young speakers today has been described as "incomplete" (Lenoach 2012;

Lenoach 2014; Péterváry et al. 2014), “reduced” (Ó Curnáin 2007) and “semilingual” (Ó Curnáin 2007). Ó Murchadha (2020: 46-47) provides a more detailed overview of the deficit terminology used and states (2020: 55):

Ainneoin go bhfuil i gceist lámh chúnta á tabhairt dóibh, is buille do na cainteoirí céanna a mhaíomh go bhfuil a dteanga imithe ón teanga cheart.

[Although the intent is to give them a helping hand, declaring that their language has departed from the correct variety is a blow to these same speakers.]

Negative rhetoric delegitimises the language practices of communities in which Irish is still a widely spoken language. It seems that with so much focus on the language and its future, the Irish speakers themselves and how best to address them, are forgotten. Deficit models can have a destructive impact on speakers’ self-confidence and their own views on their language use, which can ultimately result in speakers abandoning the language. This is an even greater risk in already fragile communities (Ó Murchadha 2020: 55).

Ó Murchadha (2020) raises another issue regarding the assessment of language ability: the inappropriate methods used. Younger speakers’ language use is often either compared to traditional Irish speakers (those born before 1960), standard grammar, which has never mirrored spoken language (see §2.5), or their language ability in English. Such targets are unrealistic even in monolingual contexts, where language use constantly evolves. They are much less realistic in bilingual contexts, where lexicons are comprised of two living languages. Lack of access to traditional speakers is noted as causing the ‘erosion’ of the Irish language (Ó Curnáin 2007, 2009) and the reality is that this access will continue to reduce. While traditional Irish as a target is no longer realistic, the present study has shown that the speakers indicate high levels of ability in both of their languages despite the presence of CS.

7.2 Areas of further research

This study has offered insight into CS from both a grammatical and sociolinguistic perspective in a specific setting. The findings highlight that the Irish-English context is a unique and interesting context for further research due to the normative usage of CS and the amount of borrowing that occurs between the language pairs.

As the study was conducted in one domain of language use – the school – there is scope for research on speaker networks outside this setting. The way children interact in a family environment, online or during recreational activities might be of interest. It would be useful to assess whether and how patterns and functions of bilingual language use change between domains. Based on reports from participants and one parent, who said that older siblings had started speaking more English at home since progressing to secondary, a longitudinal study on the impact of the transition from primary to secondary school on language choice could also be of particular interest. Similar studies have been conducted in the Gaelic and Welsh context (O’Hanlon 2012). Although ethnographic information on participants was collected and it was considered throughout the analysis of the thesis, there is scope for further research on the correlation between CS and sociolinguistic factors (e.g., home language, age of acquisition, parental language). This would provide a more individualistic understanding of CS use.

As there have been limited studies which focus specifically on CS in the Irish context, there is scope for similar studies to be conducted with other Irish-English speech communities. For example, a similar study could be conducted with older or younger speakers from the same area, the same age in a different Gaeltacht area or Irish language learners who have learnt either as children or adults. The thesis both complements previous research and can be somewhat compared to the findings of previous research (Darcy 2014; Ní Laoire 2012,

206; Ó Domagáin 2013); however, further complementary and comparative research could be conducted to strengthen our understanding of CS use in the Irish-English context.

Other areas of related research outside the scope of this study, but which have been highlighted as important include continued research on intergenerational transmission and family language policy, CS in the education setting and language acquisition.

7.3 Contribution to the field

Gafaranga (2017: 11) argues that “for studies of CS to continue to be interesting and relevant, bilingualism must be understood as consisting of diverse interactional practices”. This study sought to explore some of these diverse practices. The research was conducted through the lens of bilingual language use as a sign of high competence in both languages involved, rather than a sign of lack of competence or a negative outcome of language contact. It is hoped that this study will provide a more nuanced and deeper understanding of CS in the Irish-English context as a result. Young Gaeltacht Irish speakers are often censured for their language use (O Murchú 1971: 43; O Curnáin 2012: 284); however, this study celebrates the diverse bilingual language practices of its young participants.

Similar to Darcy’s (2014) findings in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht, this study has shown the stability of Irish and bilingualism in the area study, a Gaeltacht area located in Conamara. It has also shown that CS achieves much more than just a referential function to fill lexical gaps. The speakers employ CS in practical and creative ways to express themselves.

Decisions regarding Irish and the Gaeltacht can only be made based on the current reality of the Gaeltacht and the Irish speakers who live there. This thesis has provided a comprehensive overview of aspects of current language use focusing on CS. It could, therefore, be used potentially as a stimulus for policy makers within language planning and education. The prescriptive speech norms most often promoted have been further shown to be outdated and not in line with actual language use. It is argued, therefore, that there should be more flexibility in the ‘idealised’ language forms and targets

promoted through education and media. Ó Curnáin (2009: 5) stated that Irish is often in the control of individuals and intellectuals from outside the Gaeltacht to promote and manage. However, as Ó hIfearnáin (2013: 363) states, based on his work on language planning and family language policy:

Language awareness in the community rather than authority-led coercion appears to be the most effective way to develop Irish-only family policies which would actually favour bilingualism.

The present thesis has illustrated that language use, practices and norms between speech communities can vary. As a result, the needs of speech communities are best identified at the local level. The rise in local language planning in recent years is commended and their continuation is supported.

The data collected and the analysis could also provide a basis for further and more thorough analyses from various sociolinguistic, linguistic, and psycholinguistic perspectives. Finally, the corpus is a substantial and significant addition to the data collected on Irish spoken language. It is an important snapshot of language use in a Gaeltacht school in Conamara in the second decade of the 21st century and can provide a foundation for further research in years to come.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Parental questionnaire (Irish version)



OILTHIGH DHÙN ÈIDEANN

Ceistneoir do Thuismitheoirí

Úsáid na teanga sa mbaile agus lasmuigh

Níor cheart go dtógfaidh an ceistneoir seo níos faide ná 10-15 nóimead le líonadh. Mura bhfuil an t-eolas atá fiafraithe ar eolas, scríobh 'ní fios' sa spás cúí, le do thoil. Coinneofar aon ainmneacha agus eolas pearsanta a luaitear faoi rún. Ná bíodh aon drogall ort dul i dteagmháil liom má tá aon cheist nó imní ort faoin gceistneoir.

Ainm an té atá ag líonadh na foirme: _____

Gaol leis an bpáiste: _____

Dáta: _____

Eolas ginearálta faoi do ghasúr

1. Ainm an ghasúir: _____

2. Gnéas: _____

3. Dáta Breithe: _____

4. Áit Bhreithe: _____

5. Áit Chónaithe

a) Seoladh (baile fearainn agus ceantar, e.g. Teach Mór, Leitir Mealláin):

b) An raibh cónaí ar do ghasúr in aon áit eile riamh? Bhí Ní raibh

c) Má bhí, cén áit agus cén uair? (*Fág folamh mura mbaineann sé leat*)

6. Oideachas

a) Scoil: _____

b) Rang: _____

c) Ar fhreastail do ghasúr ar aon scoil eile riamh?

D'fhreastail Níor fhreastail

d) Má fhreastail, cén scoil agus cén rang(anna)?

(Fág folamh mura mbaineann sé leat)

Scoil: _____

Rang(anna): _____

7. Roimh freastal ar scoil, cén cúram leanaí a bhí ag do ghasúr?

(Cuir tic leis na roghanna cuí & tabhair beagán eolais, is féidir níos mó ná ceann a roghnú)

Naíonra Ainm an naíonra: _____

Crèche Ainm an crèche: _____

Sa mbaile le tuismitheoir Cén tuismitheoir? _____

Sa mbaile le seanthuismitheoir Cén seanthuismitheoir? _____

Eile Tabhair níos mó eolais: _____

8. An bhfuil aon fhadhb labhartha nó foghlama diagnóisithe ag do ghasúr?

Tá Níl

Má tá, tabhair beagán eolais le do thoil:

Eolas faoina daoine eile sa mbaile

9. Cé atá ina gcónaí sa mbaile leis an ngasúr?

Ainm	Gaol leis an ngasúr (<i>máthair, dearthair, seanathair srl.</i>)	Aois	Áit Bhreithe	Léibheal oideachais (<i>Rang nó bliain ina bhfuil siad ann, Teastas Sóisearach/Ardteist bainte amach, bunchéim, iarchéim, dioplóma, srl.</i>)

10. An raibh cónaí ar na daoine luaite thuas in aon áit eile riamh nó an as áit éigin eile iad ó dhúchas?

Tabhair eolas ar cén áit, cén uair a bhog siad agus cén fhad a chaith siad ann (m.sh. rugadh sa gceantar iad ach chaith sé/sí 10 mbliana ag obair i Sasana sna 90idí, rugadh é/i i Londain agus bhog siad go dtí an ceantar 5 bliana ó shin, srl.).

Fág folamh mura mbaineann sé leat.

Ainm	Breis Eolais

Appendix B: Parental questionnaire (English version)



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Parental Questionnaire

Language use in the home and outside the home

This questionnaire should take no longer than 10-15 minutes to complete. If the information required is not known, please write 'don't know' in the relevant space. All the information shared will be kept anonymous. Please don't hesitate to get in touch if you have any questions or concerns about the questionnaire.

Name of person filling out form: _____

Relation to the child: _____

Date: _____

General information about your child

1. Child's name: _____

2. Gender: _____

3. Date of birth: _____

4. Place of birth: _____

5. Place of residence

a) Address (townland and area, e.g. Teach Mór, Leitir Mealláin):

b) Has your child ever lived elsewhere? Yes No

c) If so, where did they live previously and when? *(Leave blank if not applicable)*

6. Education

a) School: _____

b) Current class: _____

c) Has your child ever attended another school? Yes No

d) If so, what school did they previously attend and during which class(es)?
(Leave blank if not applicable)

School: _____

Class(es): _____

7. Prior to attending school, what was your child's form of childcare?
(Tick the relevant options & give some further detail, you can choose more than one)

Naíonra Name of naíonra: _____

Crèche Name of creche: _____

At home with parent Which parent? _____

At home with grandparent Which grandparent? _____

Other Give some detail: _____

8. Does your child have any diagnosed speech or learning difficulties?

Yes No

If so, please give brief detail:

Information about other people in the home

9. Who lives at home with the child?

Name	Relation to the child (e.g. mother, brother, grandfather, etc.)	Age	Place of Birth	Level of education (e.g. class/year currently in, Junior/Leaving certificate completed, undergraduate degree, diploma, etc.)

10. Have those mentioned above ever lived elsewhere or are they from elsewhere?

Please give detail on where, when and for how long (e.g. born in the area but spent a period working abroad, born in Dublin and moved to the area 10 years ago, etc). *Leave blank if not applicable.*

Name	Further detail

Language use in the home

11. How would you describe the language status of those you listed as living in the home?

Choose from the following examples or provide an alternative if none of the options are suitable:

1 - native Irish speaker; **2** - fluent Irish speaker (but not native); **3** - monolingual English speaker (no Irish or limited Irish); **4** - Irish learner; other (please give further detail).

Name	Language status

12. What is the main language spoken in the home?

- Only Irish
- Mostly Irish
- 50% Irish/50% English
- Mostly English
- Only English

Other: _____

13. If Irish is the main language in the home, when and how do you think your child begin to hear English often? (e.g. television, other family or friends, school or crèche, etc.)

Only answer if 'only Irish' or 'mostly Irish' was selected above.

14. What language do the following speak to each other (most of the time)?

Keep in mind that although we may speak one language to someone, they may choose to reply in a different language.

Write *n/a* for those that are not applicable to your home situation.

	People	Language (Irish, English, or other)
a)	Father to mother	
b)	Mother to father	
c)	Mother to participating child	
d)	Father to participating child	
e)	Participating child to mother	
f)	Participating child to father	
g)	Other adults in the home to child (e.g. aunt, grandmother)	
h)	Participating child to other adults in the home	
i)	Older siblings to participating child	
j)	Younger siblings to participating child	
k)	Participating child to younger siblings	
l)	Participating child to older siblings	

Your child's language use

15. What would you consider to be your child's first language?

Irish English Irish & English Other: _____

16. What language does your child communicate in with other family members whom they often see?

- Only Irish
- Mostly Irish
- 50% Irish/50% English
- Mostly English
- Only English

Other: _____

17. What language does your child communicate with their friends in?

- Only Irish
- Mostly Irish
- 50% Irish/50% English
- Mostly English
- Only English

Other: _____

18. What would you consider to be your child's preferred language to use overall?

- English
- Irish

Other: _____

19. Which language would you rate your child's language skills to be stronger in?
Tick the appropriate boxes.

	Stronger in English	Stronger in Irish	Equal
Speaking			
Listening/Understanding			
Reading			
Writing			

20. Estimate, in terms of hours per day, how often your child watches TV, online videos, or listens to the radio:

In English: _____ (hrs)

In Irish: _____ (hrs)

21. Estimate, in terms of hours per day, how often your child reads newspapers, magazines, books, and other general reading materials (including online and not for school related activities):

In English: _____ (hrs)

In Irish: _____ (hrs)

22. Hobbies:

- a) Is your child involved in any out of school activities?
 Please give details (e.g. football, karate, music, etc.).

- b) What language are these activities conducted in?

Language Attitudes

23. Here are some statements about language use. Please tick the box which shows how much you agree or disagree with these statements.

At home...	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
the child(ren) are made to speak Irish					
the child(ren) are encouraged but not made to speak Irish					
speaking Irish is an important aspect of our family culture					
speaking Irish is not important to our daily lives					
English is the dominant language in our home					
Irish is the dominant language in our home					
speaking Irish occurs naturally and is not a conscious decision					

And finally...

24. If there is anything else that you feel is of any interest or importance about your child's language use or language use in the home, or if you have noticed any changes in their speaking habits over the years, please comment below.
(e.g. once a child began attending school or joined a sports team, they began speaking more/less Irish)

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Appendix C: Parental information sheet (Irish version)



OILTHIGH DHÙN ÈIDEANN

BILEOG EOLAIS DO THUISMITHEOIRÍ/CHAOMHNÓIRÍ

Staidéar chun anailís a dhéanamh ar chleachtais chódmheascadh chainteoirí óga dhúchasacha Gaeilge as an gceantar Gaeltachta, [REDACTED]

Mar pháirt den staidéar seo, beidh cuairt á thabhairt ar bhunscoileanna [REDACTED] chun agallaimh agus scrúdú gearr a dhéanamh le daltaí rang 4, 5 agus 6. Tá sé i gceist agam cuairt a thabhairt ar [REDACTED] ag deireadh mhí na Bealtaine mar pháirt den phríomh taighde. Táim ag scríobh chugat inniu ag iarraidh cead uait le go mbeidh do pháiste in ann a bheith páirteach sa dtaighde.

Céard í aidhm an staidéir?

Tá an staidéar seo á dhéanamh mar pháirt de thaighde dochtúireachta (PhD) a bheas ag déanamh anailíse ar chleachtais chódmheascadh chainteoirí óga dhúchasacha Gaeilge as an gceantar Gaeltachta, [REDACTED]. 'Séard atá i gceist le códmheascadh ná an cleachtadh a bheith ag úsáid níos mó ná teanga amháin le linn comhrá amháin, cleachtadh atá fíor choitianta i measc cainteoirí Ghaeilge ar fud na hÉireann. Tá suim faoi leith agam fiosrú má thagann athrú ar chleachtais chódmheascadh na rannpháirtithe i suíomhanna cumarsáide éagsúla agus anailís a dhéanamh ar na cúinsí go dtarlaíonn nó nach dtarlaíonn sé seo.

Céard a bheas i gceist?

Is staidéar comparáideach é seo a úsáideann modhanna taighde measctha, mar sin beidh cúpla céim i gceist. Beidh gach céim eagraithe trí mheán na Gaeilge.

Céim 1: Má tá tú sásta do pháiste a bheith páirteach, bheinn buíoch dá mbeifeá in ann ceistneoir gairid maidir le heolas ginearálta faoi do pháiste a chomhlíonadh (m.sh. aois, gnéas, seoladh baile, teanga a labhraítear sa mbaile). Dáileofar é seo tar éis don fhoirm cheada a bheith tugtha ar ais don scoil.

Céim 2: Agallamh i ngrúpa de cheathrar nó de chúigear daltaí a dhéanfar taifead fuaimne air. Is í aidhm an agallamh seo ná eolas a bhailiú bunaithe ar an gcaoi a labhraíonn na páistí le chéile de ghnáth. Beidh an comhrá bunaithe ar ghnáth thoipicí ar nós caitheamh aimsire, an scoil, cairdeas, na rudaí is fear leo, agus beidh cúpla ceist ag an deireadh maidir lena gcuid tuairimí ar úsáid na Gaeilge agus an Bhéarla. Ceaptar go dtógfaidh an agallamh seo thart ar 45 nóiméad (am le haghaidh réamhchluichí agus sólaistí san áireamh).

Céim 3: Mar gheall go bhfuil suim agam eolas contrárthacht a bhailiú, eagrófar agallamh eile ar lá difriúil ar bhunús duine ar dhuine. Beidh an comhrá bunaithe ar na toipicí céanna leis an gcéad agallamh ach beidh an suíomh níos foirmeálta. Ceaptar go dtógfaidh an agallamh seo thart ar 15 nóiméad. Tá sé mar rogha agatsa suigh isteach ar an agallamh seo más mian leat.

Céim 4: Dáileofar scrúdú scríofa gairid (nach dtógfaidh níos faide ná 20 nóiméad) ar na páistí tar éis na hagallaimh. Cuirfear ceist orthu focail agus abairtí choitianta i mBéarla a úsáideann siad a aistriú go Gaeilge.

Cé atá ag eagrú, ag maoiniú agus ag déanamh léirmheas ar an taighde?

Is mise Niamh Nic Leoid, as [REDACTED] ó dhúchas agus is mac léinn dochtúireachta ag Ollscoil Dhún Éideann mé. Tá mo chuid taighde urraithe ag an Roinn Cultúir, Oidhreacht agus Gaeltachta, faoi stiúir an tOllamh Wilson McLeod agus an Dochtúir William Lamb ó Roinn an Léann Ceilteach agus Albanach ag Ollscoil Dhún Éideann. Rinne Coiste Eitice Scoil na dTeangacha, na Litríochtaí agus na gCultúr na hollscoile léirmheas ar an taighde agus tá cead eiticiúil tugtha acu.

Rúndacht agus gnéithe eile a bhaineann le rannpháirtíocht

Coinneofar ainmneacha na rannpháirtithe agus na scoileanna páirteacha go hiomlán faoi rún agus is féidir tarraingt amach as an staidéar ag pointe ama ar bith. Ba mhaith liom freisin a shoiléiriú gur ar son taighde amháin atá na hagallaimh agus scrúdaithe seo á dhéanamh agus ní ar son measúnú, mar sin ní gá le haon ullmhúchán. Má tá tú sásta go mbeidh do pháiste páirteach sa dtaighde, tá foirm ceadúnais faoi iamh leis an mbileog eolais seo agus é le síniú. Is féidir é a thabhairt ar ais do mhúinteoir ranga do pháiste [roimh an Aoine 17ú Bealtaine](#).

An bhfuil aon cheist agat?

Ná bíodh aon drogall ort dul i dteagmháil liom má tá aon cheist agat faoin dtaighde. Tá mé sásta glacadh le haon cheist i nGaeilge nó i mBéarla, cibé teanga a fheileann duit.

Seoladh: School of Literatures, Languages & Cultures, Celtic & Scottish Studies, The University of Edinburgh, 50 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LH

Ríomhphost:

Fón: +447467427836

Go raibh maith agat as ucht an t-am a ghlacadh chun an t-eolas seo a léamh agus do mhachnamh a dhéanamh ar rannpháirtíocht do pháiste.

An Fhoirm Cheada

Teideal an staidéir:

Anailís ar chleachtais chódmheascadh chainteoirí óga dhúchasacha Gaeilge as an gceantar Gaeltachta, [redacted].

Ainm an rannpháirtí (an pháiste): _____

Ainm an tuismitheora/chaomhnóra: _____

Iniseal anseo

1. Deimhním go bhfuil an bhileog eolais faoin staidéar léite agam agus go bhfuil mé sásta go dtuigim é.
2. Bhí mo dhóthain ama agam le smaoineamh faoin eolas, ceisteanna a chur agus freagra sásúil a fháil orthu.
3. Tuigim go nglacann mo pháiste páirt sa tionscnamh seo go deonach agus gur féidir leo tarraingt amach ag pointe ar bith gan fáth agus ní bheidh aon tionchar aige ar mo chuid chearta.
4. Tuigim go stórálfar na sonraí go hanaithnid ar feadh ar a laghad 5 bliana agus go bhféadfaí é a úsáid arís i dtaighde eile a bheadh ceadaithe go heiticiúil.
5. Tugaim cead do mo pháiste a bheith páirteach sa staidéar seo.
6. Tá mé sásta ceistneoir a líonadh sula mbeidh mo pháiste páirteach sa staidéar.

Mar a luadh sa mbileog eolais, tá an rogha agat suigh isteach ar an 2ú agallamh (agallamh duine ar dhuine) a bheas eagraithe i scoil do pháiste. Cuir tic sa bhosca cúf thíos, le do thoil.

Ba mhaith liom a bheith in éineacht le mo pháiste le linn an agallamh duine ar dhuine:

Ba mhaith

Níor mhaith

Síniú (Tuismitheoir nó caomhnóir):

Dáta:

Appendix D: Parental information sheet (English version)



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PARENTAL/GUARDIAN INFORMATION SHEET

A study to analyse the codeswitching practices of young native Irish speakers from the Gaeltacht area of [REDACTED]

This study involves visiting three primary schools in [REDACTED] in order to conduct interviews and a short test with 4th, 5th and 6th class pupils. I intend to visit [REDACTED] at the end of May and am writing to request your permission that your child be involved in the research.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study is part of a PhD project which aims to analyse the codeswitching practices of young native speakers of Irish in the Gaeltacht area of [REDACTED]. Codeswitching is the use of more than one language in the course of a single conversation, and is a common practice amongst Irish speakers throughout Ireland. I am particularly interested in investigating the extent to which codeswitching practices may or may not change in different communication contexts and analysing the factors which influence these changes.

What does participating in the study involve?

My study is a comparative one and uses a mixed-methods approach, and therefore involves a few different stages, all of which will be conducted through Irish.

Stage 1: If you are happy that your child be involved, I would like to ask you to complete a short questionnaire prior to the study to collect some general information about your child e.g. age, gender, address, language use at home.

Stage 2: An audio recorded group interview with between four and five pupils at a time. The goal of this interview is to collect data based on how the children would normally interact with each other. Topics of conversation will include everyday things such as hobbies, school, friends and favourite subjects, with some questions at the end about their opinions of using both Irish and English. This interview stage is expected to take approximately 45 minutes (including warm up games and refreshments).

Stage 3: As I am interested in collecting contrasting data, a second interview will be conducted on a different day on a one-to-one basis and will involve similar conversation topics but in a more formal setting. This interview is expected to take approximately 15 minutes.

Stage 4: A short written test (no longer than 20 minutes) to be distributed to the children after the interview stages. The children will be asked to translate common words and phrases that they often use in English to Irish.

Who is organising, funding and reviewing the research?

My name is Niamh Nic Leoid and I am a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh and originally from [REDACTED]. My research is funded by the Irish Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, and is supervised by Professor Wilson McLeod and Dr William Lamb of the department of Celtic and Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. The research has been reviewed and approved by the university's School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures Research and Research Ethics Committee.

Confidentiality and other factors regarding participation

Participants and the schools involved will be kept anonymous in the research findings and all participants can withdraw from the study at any time. I would also like to make clear that the interviews and tests are being conducted for research purposes only and not for assessment purposes, so that no preparation is necessary. If you are happy for your child to take part in this research, I have attached a consent form along with this information sheet. The consent form can be returned to your child's class teacher before Friday the 17th of May.

Any further questions?

Please feel free to contact me directly with any questions you might have about the research. I am happy to answer questions in Irish or English, whichever language is preferred.

Address: School of Literatures, Languages & Cultures, Celtic & Scottish Studies, The University of Edinburgh, 50 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LH

Email:

Phone: +447467427836

**Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet
and considering your child's participation.**

Parental Consent Form

Study Title:

An analysis of the codeswitching practices of young native Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht area of

██████████.

Participant (Child's) name: _____

Parent or Guardian's name: _____

Please initial box

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Parental Information Sheet for the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have been given the opportunity to consider the information provided, ask questions and have had these questions answered to my satisfaction. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that they can ask to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without any rights being affected. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I understand that the anonymised data will be stored for a minimum of 5 years and may be used in future ethically approved research. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I agree to allow my child to take part in this study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I'm happy to complete a parental questionnaire prior to my child's participation in the study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

As mentioned in the information sheet, you have the option to sit in on the second interview stage (one-on-one interview) which will be held at your child's school. Please tick the appropriate box below.

I would like to accompany my child during the one-on-one interview stage:

Yes No

Signature (Parent or Guardian):

Date:
