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CODE-SWITCHING AMONG GREEK SPEAKERS IN IRELAND WITH

EMPHASIS ON POLITENESS

A Thesis submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College for the degree of Doctor of

Philosophy

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SUMMARY

Code-switching (also referred to as CS) is defined by Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 239) as 'the use of two language varieties in the same conversation'. According to Muysken (2000, p. 1), it is 'the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event'. CS occurs in most, if not all, bi/multilinguals' daily conversations and is a well-researched area of sociolinguistics. Speakers choose to switch codes for various reasons, and this study aims to present what these reasons are for the Greek speakers of Ireland. Therefore, the reader of this study will be presented with Greek - Irish English and Irish English - Greek CS examples grouped in five categories; CS for not remembering a word/phrase in the main language of conversation; CS for the use of fixed phrases; CS for a non-corresponding word/phrase; CS for the use of original language quotation; and CS for politeness purposes; with an emphasis on the last category - politeness - so to outline a possible link between the notions of CS and politeness.

In order to find out what the main reasons leading this research participants to switch codes are, and to see if CS and politeness can be linked, the present study will start with an introduction where the reasons for undertaking such research will be explained. Since this study discusses two big areas of sociolinguistics, it is considered important to provide the reader with a chapter on CS as well as on politeness. Therefore, Chapter 2 will provide literature review on the notion of CS and discuss various matters such as terminology, aspects of Greek and English CS, different approaches to CS, conversational CS and factors affecting speakers' choice of codes such as age and gender. Chapter 3 on the other hand, will focus on the politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), which I intend to follow taking into account the theory's weak points. This chapter's main intention will be to provide the reader with literature review on politeness in Greek as well as in Irish English, so that when discussing the politeness-related examples in Chapter 6, they are familiar with patterns usually followed in both, Irish English and Greek politeness. Since this study includes audio recordings

of Greek speakers' everyday speech, Chapter 4 will present an overview of the methodology used for data collection, providing some methodology-related information, such as the Ethics Committee's approval procedure, the Consent Form and the two Participant Information Leaflets distributed to the potential participants, the recording process, my involvement in the recordings, etc., something that will give the reader of this study a clear idea regarding the data gathering process. The aim of Chapter 5 is to present the CS related data found in the recordings, and see what the main reasons that lead Greek speakers of Ireland to switch codes are. Moreover, in order to find out if there is a link between CS and politeness, all CS examples that were found in the recordings and are considered to be related to politeness, will be presented and analysed in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 of this study will provide the reader with some concluding remarks on main findings of this research, and its contribution to the field of CS.

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Abbreviations and Transcript Conventions

CS   : Code-switching

PP   : Positive Politeness

NP   : Negative Politeness

CGD   : Cypriot Greek Dialect

MLF   : Matrix Language Frame

ML   : Matrix Language

MP   : Model Person

EL   : Embedded Language

L1   : First Language

L2   : Second Language

B   : Borrowing

?   : A question mark indicates an appeal which is achieved by a marked high rise in pitch at the end of the intonation unit.

00000 : In some cases, this symbol is used to indicate an inaudible gap in the conversation

(.)   : Single period in the brackets indicates a short pause.

(..)   : Two periods in brackets indicate a medium pause.

(...)   : Three periods in brackets are used to indicate a long pause.

[: Square bracket is used to indicate overlap.

mmm   : Hesitation sounds

eee   : Hesitation sounds

aaa   : Hesitation sounds

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Research questions

Code-Switching (also referred to as CS) refers to varied combinations of two or more linguistic varieties and occurs in almost all bilingual/multilingual societies. Therefore, it is a fundamental part of speakers' communication who switch codes for several reasons across languages. Scholars have conducted interesting research studies on these reasons, studying this phenomenon from various aspects. However, Greek speakers living in Ireland and their use of CS from Geek to Irish English and vice versa has not been studied till now. Moreover, there are very few attempts of linking CS with the notion of politeness which is also something this study intends to do. The concept of politeness, has been a part of linguistic studies since the 1970s, but it was the publication of Brown and Levinson's famous book *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* in 1987 that established this issue as one of the main areas of pragmatic theory and put an emphasis on this concept's important role in human interaction.

When going through literature review in both CS and politeness, one can find hardly any information on the link between these two areas. Both are major parts of the analysis of bi/multilingual speakers' natural discourse; however, to the best of my knowledge, apart from some implications made in Brown and Levinson's (1987) work, only few scholars, namely Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) and Georgakopoulou (1997), have presented the reader with a possible link between CS and Politeness.

Chloros and Finnis (2004), seeking to investigate the link between gender, code-switching and politeness among female speakers of the Greek Cypriot dialect (also referred to as GCD) in London found out that these women often used CS as a softening device for certain direct speech acts with humorous comments and when showing solidarity to the Hearer. CS for the use of Greek diminutives for politeness purposes is also outlined in their study and some of the examples they present include speakers asking a question in one language and when not

getting a reply, repeating the same question in a different language. Moreover, Georgakopoulou (1997), when analysing Greek and English e-mail exchange between Greeks, concluded that Greek speakers often switched codes to make various humourous remarks and to reinforce solidarity with the addressee.

The main aim of my thesis is to see if, like other bilinguals, Greek speakers of Ireland will use CS, what will their main reasons for it are going to be, and to particularly concentrate one possible reason – politeness. This way, I aim to contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon of CS and to mainly investigate whether there is a relationship between code-switching and politeness in bilingual conversations using the data collected from these speakers' everyday casual dialogues.

Since Greek and Irish English follow different politeness patterns, with Greek speakers preferring positive politeness strategies and Irish English speakers, as well as speakers of other English varieties, often preferring negative politeness strategies (Sifianou, 1992), for Greeks living in Ireland this difference in politeness strategies could cause the need to switch from Greek to Irish English and vice versa, depending on the situation. Should this be the case, it will shed some light on our understanding of the relationship between the two languages, but mainly add to our knowledge of CS and politeness, since as was already mentioned, there are not many studies available so far on bilingual speakers of languages that express politeness in different ways.

Therefore, to find out if Greek speakers of Ireland would CS and if among other reasons, they would do so for politeness purposes, I have collected authentic recorded data from some Greek community members who have been living in Ireland for more than five years and analysed the instances of code-switching between Modern Greek and Irish English. The main place of approach of potential participants was the Hellenic Community of Ireland which is an association of Greeks living in Ireland, as well as the Greek Orthodox Church,

since it is the place of gathering for the majority of Greeks who live in Dublin as well as in the nearby Counties every Sunday.

In order to minimise the effects of the 'Observer's Paradox' as described in Labov (1972), I did not inform the participants of this study about the precise aims of my research before the end of the recordings, instead I let them know that I am interested in describing the communication patterns of the Greek speakers who have been living in Ireland for a number of years.

2. *Type and amount of data*

Based on the data available in the Hellenic Community of Ireland's official website, there are more than 700 Greek immigrants living in Ireland the majority living in Dublin, followed by other big cities of the country. Taking into account their close relationships with the Hellenic Community of Ireland, as well as with the Greek Orthodox Church, it was easy for me to collect data from Greek speakers who live in Ireland. As mentioned above, the data that I was interested in collecting was from these speakers' everyday spoken language so as to describe their linguistic behaviour as regards Greek-Irish English as well as Irish English-Greek CS. Thus, the participants of this study were recorded while talking to their family members and/or friends; which provided me with the opportunity to analyse their speech in circumstances where the speakers feel comfortable about the way they appear to their interlocutor.

3. *Discourse analysis*

Since this research includes analysis of spontaneous conversations, I consider it important to provide the reader with the definition of discourse analysis and what has been written about it by some well-known scholars in the field of sociolinguistics.

To begin with, Shin-Chieh Hsieh (2009) defines discourse as 'more than *just* language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice' (1992, p. 28). And similarly, Sherzer suggests that discourse is 'an elusive area, an imprecise and

constantly emerging and emergent interface between language and culture, created by actual instances of language in use and best defined specifically in terms of such instances' (1987, p. 296). As Shin-Chieh Hsieh supports,

'under these definitions, discourse appears to encompass both a macro level of knowledge (i.e. social norms) and a micro level of interpersonal meaning which is formed in interactions. In this view, language use is one of the elements which interconnects and is interrelated with other contextual elements; this then constitutes social practice. So, the analysis of discourse requires the embedded values and meaning in interactions to be unpacked. (2009, p. 108).

As it is supported in Gumperz and Roberts (1991), discourse analysis involves the understanding of the presuppositions underlying people's communication. According to them, cultural norms or ideological values manifest themselves in interactions (Gumperz and Roberts, 1991). And as Shin-Chieh Hsieh states, '[f]or this reason, it is essential for discourse analysis to take into account the embedded communicative elements which affect the interpretation of meaning of the context' (2009, p. 109). Moreover, Van Dijk (1997) defines discourse analysis as text in context which concerns with the dimension of action. This definition makes the focus of analysis in discourse analysis the act of communication' (2009, p. 109). Van Dijk (2000) states that:

Discourse analytical approaches systematically describe the various structures and strategies of text or talk and relate these to the social, political or political context. For instance, they may focus on overall topics, or more local meanings (such as coherence or implications) in a semantic analysis. But also the syntactic form of sentences or the overall organization of a news report may be examined in detail. (2000, p. 35)

Similarly Brown and Yule suggest that:

The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purpose of functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs. (1983, p. 1)

In addition, as seen in Shin-Chieh Hsieh (2009, p. 110), Hymes states that 'it is not linguistics, but ethnography – not language, but communication – which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described' (1969, p. 3) while, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz point out that the complexities of communication could be better presented through 'ethnographically informed in-depth analysis of what transpires in an encounter'(2007, p. 20). As Shin-Chieh Hsieh, 2009 correctly suggests, '[i]t is not difficult to see that Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz have centred their investigation on what happens around an encounter' (p. 110). Thus, based on this, the analysis of my research, which is not ethnographic, focuses on communicative events which have emerged among this study's participants and aims to research whether or not CS happens between Greeks living in Ireland and if yes, is politeness one of the factors causing switch in codes among these speakers.

4. About Chapter 2

After the information provided in this introductory chapter, in Chapter 2 of this study I will provide the reader with a literature review on code-switching, discussing its structural and sociolinguistic approaches.

In order to provide the reader with sufficient information regarding CS, I consider it necessary for this chapter to provide some background information on this linguistic phenomenon followed by a discussion of terminology, where I present different terms used besides CS by various scholars. Moreover, since CS between two different languages presupposes bilingualism, the reader will also be provided with a section related to literature review on what is considered bilingualism as well as with a section that deals with CS and language proficiency. I will also go through the available literature on Greek and English CS

and, after briefly mentioning various aspects of the structural approach of CS, I will present its sociolinguistic approaches.

5. *About Chapter 3*

Chapter 3 of this study will focus on politeness and present what has been written about it and what some major issues in the politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson in 1987 are. I attempt to discuss Brown and Levinson's theory in detail and provide the reader with literature review on politeness in Greek as well as in Irish English, so that when discussing the politeness-related examples in Chapter 6, the reader is familiar with politeness patterns followed by speakers of both Greek and Irish English.

After referring to the concepts of politeness in the beginning of Chapter 3, the third and the fourth sections of this chapter will cover principles of politeness focusing on the above-mentioned Brown and Levinson's theory's concept of face. Afterwards, I will present existing studies which make a cross-cultural comparison between English and Greek and I will also discuss the main weak points in Brown and Levinson's theory.

By doing so I aim to suggest that due to the fact that Greek speakers convey politeness in different linguistic ways in comparison to the ways politeness is expressed by the speakers of Irish English, when talking to their community members, the Greek speakers living in Ireland might feel the need to switch from Irish English to Greek or from Greek to Irish English apart from other reasons, for politeness purposes too.

6. *About Chapter 4*

The main purpose of this study is to examine if Greek speakers living in Ireland switch from Greek to Irish English and vice versa, to see what the main reasons for their CS are, and to focus on one of them - politeness - something that will allow me to link CS and politeness, two areas of sociolinguistics usually studied separately.

Chapter 4 of this study will present the reader with the information regarding the methodology of this research. Methodology-related information such as the Ethics Committee approval procedure, the Consent Form and the two Participant Information Leaflets distributed to the possible participants will be discussed. Moreover, since code-switching often takes place among migrant speakers and this study focuses on one such group, namely Greek migrants who live in Ireland, the reader will also be provided with brief descriptions of Greek and Irish English, with emphasis on their aspects that are of interest to this study. In the methodology chapter, I will also outline the information related to the participants of this study and my approach to them, the recording process, my personal involvement and the conversation settings. Finally, I also consider it important to mention the limitations of this research by focusing on Labov's 'Observer's Paradox' as well as by providing the reader with a description of the transcription process of the recorded dialogues and the use of fieldnotes that assisted me in providing information that many times does not appear in the examples of Chapters 5 and 6.

7. *About Chapter 5*

The aim of Chapter 5 is to present the reader with the findings of my research in an attempt to answer one of the two main questions regarding CS patterns among the Greek speakers of Ireland. In order to provide the reader with a clear picture of how common CS among these speakers is, I consider it important to provide a number of examples for each of the categories, which will include examples of CS when not remembering a word or a phrase in the main language of the conversation; examples related to CS for fixed phrases and expressions that cannot be translated in the main language of the conversation; CS examples in case of some phrases and expressions which do not exist in the main language of the conversation; and CS examples when speakers are quoting someone else's words. Because of the amount of the data that occurred from 18 hours of informal conversations, not all CS examples that fit in these four categories will be mentioned. Instead, I provide the reader with the most representative

examples of each category and in Chapter 6, I proceed to discuss all examples of CS found in the recordings which are related to politeness.

8. About chapter 6

Given the plurifunctionality of CS in conversation, as established by previous studies (Auer, 1998), it would be surprising if it was not implicated in the politeness strategies of bilinguals. And indeed in the 18 hour recordings, I was able to find 51 examples that I consider to be related to politeness which I aim to present and analyse in Chapter 6.

Brown and Levinson argue that speakers are rational actors who, at times, use certain structural strategies to mitigate potentially 'face-threatening acts' which they wish to perform. These strategies, of which CS is one, are means of making the face-threatening acts more acceptable. And the CS of Greeks living in English-speaking countries appears to be of particular interest for studying politeness, since speakers of these two languages conceptualise politeness in different ways (Sifianou 1992). Thus, this chapter will go through the 51 examples that appear to be related to politeness. In order to depict the extent to which CS occurred for politeness purposes and to classify the main politeness related intentions of CS, following suggested categories that can be found in Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) as well as Gardner-Chloros (2009), I have divided these examples into four groups which include two functional strategies and two formal ones: CS for humour, CS for bonding, CS for the use of diminutives and CS for repeated questions, and I will provide the reader with discussion on these four politeness related strategies after presenting them with relevant examples.

9. Conclusion

This research study aims to examine the possible motivations for using CS among Greek speakers of Ireland for five reasons, with focus on one such reason – politeness. This way, it

aims to shed some light on our understanding of CS and the possibility of linking CS and Politeness. Moreover, it aims to add to our knowledge of Greek speakers' linguistic behaviour in bilingual settings, and seeks to see if the description of reasons for code-switching that are well-researched among speakers of other countries, will also apply to Greek speakers of Ireland.

Thanks to the recordings of the spontaneous, informal speech of 27 participants, the code-switching examples which appeared during the 18 hours of the recordings will hopefully enrich our knowledge of CS, politeness and the linguistics behavior of Greek-Irish English bilingual speakers.

Since code-switching between different languages normally appears in bi/multilingual settings and since migrant communities are often bi/multilingual using CS in their daily communication, Greek migrants living in Ireland make suitable participants for this study. Of course, numerous other language group members living in Ireland could have been chosen for this study. However, apart from the knowledge of both Greek and English, that will enable me to analyse the instances of various types of CS in more depth, I believe that working on Greek-Irish English and Irish English-Greek CS will add to our understanding of the link between CS and politeness since, as already mentioned, speakers of these two language express politeness in different ways. Something that makes CS for politeness purposes very likely to take place among Greek-Irish English bilinguals.

CHAPTER 2: CODE-SWITCHING

[I]t is helpful to imagine that when bilinguals code-switch, they are in fact using a twelve-string guitar, rather than limiting themselves to two six-string instruments (Valdés, 1988, p. 126, cited in Toribio 2004, p. 133).

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of CS has attracted a great amount of research as it is a fundamental part of all multi/bilinguals' communication and interaction. As a consequence the literature on CS is rich, drawing insights from disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and anthropology. Sociologists focus on the social factors at the macro level, anthropologists focus on certain community and its life and culture, while linguists care to describe linguistic performance. Within the field of linguistics itself, there are various approaches towards code-switching from the perspective of a variety of sub-disciplines, e.g. sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, psycholinguistics and pragmatics. These studies focus both on face-to-face interactions and written language.

In order to provide the reader with sufficient information regarding CS, I consider it necessary to present some background information on this linguistic phenomenon followed by a terminology discussion. Moreover, since CS between two different languages presupposes bilingualism, the reader is provided with a brief literature review on the notion of bilingualism.

Section 5 of this chapter discusses the available literature on Greek and English CS, and section 6 aims to provide the reader with a detailed picture of approaches to CS. Section 7 will discuss conversational CS, and section 8 will go through the information regarding the CA approach to CS. Lastly, sections 9 and 10 discuss two social factors affecting CS; age and gender.

2. Background

Despite its being such a widespread phenomenon, CS continues to be a highly stigmatised practice. As Boztepe aptly mentions, '[I]t would be reinventing the wheel to argue here for the link between the pejorative attitudes toward CS and the traditions of prescriptivism and semilingualism which still persist today' (2005, p.2). Such beliefs are not only shared by the non-specialists, but are also supported by the 'fathers' of modern linguistics, namely Bloomfield and Weinreich (Boztepe, 2005). The following statement, which is a description of a Native American speaker's linguistic profile by Bloomfield (1927, cited in Boztepe 2005, p.2), proves this point:

> White Thunder, a man around 40, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small his inflections are often barbarous. He constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably.

It can be seen from the above passage, that according to Bloomfield, this person is not competent in either of the two languages. In a similar way, Weinreich (1968, cited in Boztepe, 2005, p. 2) also believes that the ideal bilingual is someone who 'switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence' (p. 73). Such or similar views doubting a bi/multilingual's competence in one or more varieties still exist, even among the speakers who CS themselves. This could be due to the fact that '[l]ay people and educators have traditionally shunned the use of two or more languages within the same interaction or utterance arguing that it stems from speakers' lack of competence in one or all the languages involved' (Migge, 2015, p. 185).

3. Matters of Definition

As is the case with other linguistic concepts, difference in the terminology exists when it comes to the notion of CS too. It is important to keep in mind that not all scholars who work in the field of sociolinguistics use the same terms for code-switching, and when reading about it, one comes across terms such as; code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, code alternation or code insertion. Therefore, I consider it necessary to present the reader with literature describing these terms.

3.1 Code

The first issue when it comes to the above mentioned terms according to Gafaranga (2007a) is the word 'code'. Wardaugh (2010) defines 'code' as the particular dialect or language used by a speaker. Moreover, as Gardner-Chloros (2009) notes, ideally it would be preferable if researches in this field agreed on a terminology and if the term used wasn't misleading. However, as she supports, both halves of the term appear to be misleading. The word 'code' originated from the field of communication technology, where code-switching refers to a 'mechanism for the ambiguous transduction of signals between systems' (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 11). Nowadays, it is usually used as an umbrella term to refer to languages, dialects, styles/registers etc. (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Some scholars seem to use the two notions, 'code' and 'language' interchangeably (e.g. Muysken, 2000), while others (Alvarez-Caccamo, 1998; Gafaranga and Torras, 2001) consider them to be different. For the purposes of this study, I will be using the terms code and language interchangeably.

3.2 Code-switching vs. code-mixing

Many definitions of CS have been given. The most widespread definition appears to be the one proposed by Gumperz, according to which, CS is 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (1982, p. 59). On the other hand, Myers-Scotton defines classic CS as a situation where

'elements of two or more language varieties are found in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morpho-syntactic frame for the clause' (2006, p. 241). The important point here is that, even though these two researchers view the phenomenon of CS from their own point of view, both see and use the term CS as an umbrella term to include all types of switch in language within the sentence boundary or beyond that.

In other cases, code-switching is distinguished from code-mixing. For instance, Auer (1999, p. 310) appears to use the term 'CS' for 'those cases in which the juxtaposition of two languages is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants', while he uses the term code-mixing (also referred to as CM) 'for those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful not in a local but only in a more global sense, that is, when is seen as a recurrent pattern'. According to Kachru (1983) and Singh (1985), the term code-switching is used for inter-sentential switches while they use the term code-mixing for intra-sentential switching. Moving away from a functional perspective, Bokamba distinguishes the two phenomena as well, locating CM at the intra-sentential level, and CS at the inter-sentential level. Thus, defining code-mixing as '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' (1989, p. 278).

Judging from the above, it is obvious that there is a lack of consensus in terminology. As Milroy and Muysken admit, the effort to settle the confusing situation prevailing in describing the phenomenon of CS by agreeing on the terminology was proven to be an unfeasible task (1995, p. 12). What makes the situation more confusing is the fact that there are so many perspectives from a variety of disciplines and frameworks, that it is difficult for uniformity to be accomplished. Every researcher finds their way to refer to the phenomenon either by producing a new model or by placing themselves within a framework (Milroy and

Muysken, 1995). In this study, since the majority of instances of switching in the collected data are intersentential, the term *code-switching* will be used as an umbrella term to refer to both, intra-sentential and inter-sentential language. For instance, in example A (example 9, Chapter 5) which is presented and analysed in Chapter 5, speaker 1's main language of conversation is Irish English, however, she switches to Greek in the middle of the sentences, something that makes it an intra-sentential CS:

A) 1: that's the only think is hate about spending my summer holidays there you know, I love the heat and my aunt makes amazing pies for me every time I'm there, but I don't know what the hell is going with the cockroaches em mm they are huge like

2: I know ee it's the heat, we have them too in Thessaloniki but Crete is a different story altogether

1: you know the big one they are eee **kafé   eee ce petáne   ci ólas**
                                              brown   eee and they fly   too
    'Do you know the big ones? They are brown and can fly'

2: ah I know I know can't stand them

On the other hand, example B (example 38, Chapter 5) includes inter-sentential CS:

B) 7: it's simply eee it's really fast and you just go on a straight road ee nothing to worry about really

8: I sometimes get confused but eee with Elena I will be fine eee she can help me with the GPS

7: exactly and eee it's really simple ee you just follow her directions

8:   **θa ftásume   norís ce   θa éxume   ce   xróno ja**

we will arrive early   and   we will have and   time   for

kafeðáci   léi

coffee.DIM   she says

'She said: we will arrive early and will even have time for coffee'

3.3 Code-switching vs. borrowing

Gingràs (1974) was among the first scholars to try to provide a distinction between B (borrowing) and CS. His main suggestion for the differentiation of these two was the use of single words in another language to be considered to be borrowing, while more than one words, according to him were instances of CS (Gingràs 1974). Bouamrane (1986) challenged this concept saying that this way different expressions, fixed phrases and proverbs were excluded from being considered borrowings. Today's scholars provide a more in-depth description of these two notions, with Myers-Scotton (2006 p. 209) referring to borrowing as 'the process when one language takes in words from another language'. Her previous work also provides two categories to better understand occurrences of this phenomenon; cultural and core borrowings. According to it 'cultural borrowings are words for objects and concepts new to the culture' (Myers-Scotton, 2002 p 40), while on the other hand, she refers to core borrowings as 'words that more or less duplicate already existing words in the L1' (Myers-Scotton, 2002 p. 41).

Gumperz (1982) supports that borrowings usually get incorporated in the language grammar. According to him, '[t]hey are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures' (Gumperz, 1982 p. 66). For other researchers, phonological integration plays an important role, for instance, Poplack (1980) considered it to be a determining factor in differentiating CS from B in research of Spanish and

English CS. However, Myers-Scotton (1992, p. 31) challenged Poplack's claims by presenting data showing that not all cases of borrowing showed phonological integration. Gardner-Chloros's (1987, p.131) research also sees the main way of distinction between these two terms as follows: '[I]f it is an innovation on the speaker's part, it is code-switching. . . . If it is frequently used in that community, then it is at least on its way to becoming a loan'. Gumperz (1992) seems to agree with this, stating that borrowed words such as *pasta* and *burrito* have become a part of a language's lexicon in English. Thomason and Kaufman (2001, p. 696) also state that it 'is impossible in principle and in practice to draw an absolute boundary between code-switching and borrowing'. While they agree that these two are separate phenomena, according to them they are linked by a continuum (Thomason and Kaufman 2001), and in the same spirit with Gardner-Chloros, Thomason and Kaufman (2001) also believe that code-switched words tend to become borrowings when used more and more frequently by a group of people. I agree with these three scholars and following their line of distinction between these two phenomena, examples presented in this study are instances of CS and not B. However, due to the fuzziness of the distinction between B and CS, the reader could argue that some cases of CS examples presented in Chapters 5 and 6 could also be considered instances of B. In order to avoid such ambiguity, when presenting these examples, on a case-by-case basis, I will try to highlight the reasoning behind considering them examples of CS and not B.

3.4 Code alternation and code insertion

It should be noted that certain scholars, such as Auer, frequently use the term code alternation to replace code-switching, however, this choice does not seem to be popular among many other scholars. As supported by Boztepe (2005, p. 4), 'the term alternation is, in fact, used to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other halfway through the sentence, and it is mainly associated with longer stretches of CS'. The term code insertion, in contrast, according

to Muysken (1995), mainly deals with single lexical items that are transferred from one language to another. Such instances will be referred to as CS in this study.

4. *Code-switching, bilingualism and the degree of bilingualism*

Code-switching between different languages presupposes the existence of bilingualism and therefore a bilingual person. This notion has preoccupied many researchers and again there are various views on this subject matter. According to Bloomfield (1933, p. 56), we should only consider someone with 'native-like control of two languages' to be a bilingual. Haugen (1969, p. 7) on the other hand, defines bilingual speakers as individuals who are fluent in one language but who can also 'produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language' leaving room for even early-stage L2 learners to be considered bilinguals. Such definitions put the degree of bilingualism in the centre of the effort to provide a concrete definition.

A common belief according to Matras (2009) is that the term 'bilingual' usually presupposes a high level of proficiency in the languages involved, such that equals that of a monolingual speaker. This high level of proficiency gives speaker the label of 'balanced bilingual' (Matras, 2009, p. 61). Appel and Muysken (1987, p. 3) do not take into consideration the degree of linguistic proficiency as it is too difficult to find 'a standard norm for measuring the degree of bilingualism'. Taking a broader view under a sociological perspective, they consider as bilingual someone who 'regularly uses two or more languages in alternation' and in addition, they believe bilingualism to be 'the practice of alternatively using two languages' (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 3). Edwards (2004, p. 62) states that 'everyone is bilingual in the sense that there is no one in the world (no adult anyway) who does not know at least a few words in languages other the maternal variety'; Myers-Scotton (2006) supports the demand for the minimal use of language (i.e. the ability to carry a limited conversation) without setting limits on the linguistic proficiency. And Butler and Hakuta (2004) claim that the ideal bilingual will find no match in reality.

It is also a difficult task to define the proficiency level of bilingual speaker's second language according to Myers-Scotton because as she claims, while most speakers have at least an average intelligence when it comes to their competence in syntax, phonology and morphology of their L1, this might not be the case with their L2 (2006). The idea that after a certain age, L2 cannot be learned as easily anymore and perhaps not all domains of it can be mastered by the learner (especially the pronunciation skills) is known as the critical period hypothesis. As Singleton & Lengyel (1995, p. 303) support, 'younger = better in the long run', however, they also highlight the fact that depending on each individual learner's motivation, reasons for learning L2 etc., there are exceptions to this norm with about five percent of adult bilinguals mastering a second language even though they began learning it long after the so-called critical period.

Despite the confusion in defining bilingualism and the bilingual person, there seems to be a consensus on the fact that bilingual speakers are not just two monolinguals in one (Grosjean 1989, De Houwer 1990, p. 339). Instead, it is believed that what bilingual speakers possess is another communicative resource (Matras, 2009; Bullock and Toribio, 2009). 26 out of 27 speakers of this study can be defined as late bilinguals according to Li Wei (2002) and Butler and Hakuta (2004); successive, sequential, secondary or functional bilinguals according to Li Wei (2000); or in some cases even elite bilinguals according to Butler and Hakuta (2004). The only exception of this could be speaker 26 (see Table 1, page 60) who is a five year old boy born in Ireland. Following Myers-Scotton's (2006) definition of bilingualism, all participants of this research are able to use both Greek and Irish English to sufficiently carry on a casual conversation and not just use few words from the second language.

5. *Greek- English CS*

Greek-English CS has been at the centre of interest for many Greek scholars to mention few, Karras (1995) in his short paper 'Greek-English Code-switching' examines a group of Greeks

in Calgary, Canada and classifies the functions of their CS according to Appel and Muysken's (1987) typology of functions. He observes that one of the most common types of switching is for referential purposes, especially when people who share linguistic backgrounds talk about a subject which requires sophisticated language skills, e.g. science (Karras, 1995).

In another study on computer mediated communication (CMC), Georgakopoulou (1997) examines self-presentation and alliances in e-mail discourse among a group of Greek friends, from an interactional sociolinguistic and ethnographic point of view. Even though the study concerns the area of CMC, is it of relevance as there are important parallels between the function of CS into English in face-to-face communication and its function in e-mail communication (Georgakopoulou, 1997). Her data showed that CS and style-shifting is employed in the construction of the participants' self-presentation and alignments with their addressees.

In a discourse-analytic study of Cypriot Greek-English CS Goutsos (2001) examines the discourse role of language alternation phenomena: the ways in which Greek Cypriot speakers alternate between English and Greek when engaging in informal conversation. A variety of patterns in the use of English was found in his data, which were used by Cypriot Greeks for various functions such as sequential (e.g. boundary markers), interpersonal (e.g. shift to direct speech, marking of quotations) and ideational (e.g. qualifying a message, reiteration).

Tsiplakou (2009), in her study of language alternation as performative construction of online identities, found out that Greek seems to be reserved for the transmission of factual/referential information, while English is used mostly for expressions of affection and evaluative comments. Another recent study comes from Paraskeva (2010) and it distinguishes, among others, the following functions of CS; self-repairs, dis-preference, coherence, requests of attention, all analysed with the theoretical apparatus of conversation analysis.

6. Aspects of Structural and Sociolinguistic aspects of CS

Approaches to CS have developed in two distinct but related directions: structural and sociolinguistic. The latter sees the notion of CS as a discourse phenomenon while structural approaches of CS focus mainly on various grammatical aspects. It is important to note here though that these two approaches are not incompatible, but are instead complementary to each other.

6.1 Structural dimensions of code-switching

When discussing the notion of CS and whether or not it is a rule-governed phenomenon, Labov (1971) supported that 'no one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints and we must therefore describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems' (p. 457). However, many scholars today would have a different view to this and the main issue among scholars working in this field appears to be on where CS normally appears within a single sentence. Therefore, I consider it necessary to provide the reader with the description of various grammatical models of code-switching before I provide a more in-depth review of its sociolinguistic approaches to.

6.2 Grammatical models of code-switching

'When sentences are built up with items drawn from two lexicons, we can see to what extent the sentence patterns derive from the interaction between these two lexicons' (Muysken, 1995, p. 178). Work done in this sub-field tries to outline the role grammar can play in our understanding of CS. However, as Gardner-Chloros (2009) mentions, various grammatical models have failed to provide us with a better understanding of this notion, since they do not take on board variations related to different sociolinguistic parameters affecting speakers.

As already mentioned, CS was initially considered to be a haphazard phenomenon and according to Cheng and Butler it was 'considered a sign of limited language proficiency in one

or both languages' (1989, p. 8). However, gradually such perceptions changed and lead scholars such as Jacobson (1998) to support that:

> [t]he alternation of codes in bilingual discourse is more than a random phenomenon occurring now in a language and then in the other but is rather a structured mechanism of selection of two or more languages in the construction of sentences. (p. 1)

Similarly, Lipski (1985) also supported that 'code switching is a rule-governed form of linguistic behavior, and not an unprincipled confusion' (p. 17). However, as was the case in other areas of linguistics, claims about the 'universality' of this notion also occurred, mainly by what is referred to as the variationist approaches with works of Timm (1975), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), in which numerous attempts were made to define grammars of universal constraints when it comes to CS taking place in a sentence. Jacobson however, provides us with these studies' shortcomings when it comes to many non-Indo-European languages suggesting that we do 'not yet have enough information on all language settings where code-switching occurs to make sweeping statements in terms of what is universally valid' (1988, p. 3).

6.3 The MLF model

Klavans (1985) and Joshi (1985) came up with the idea that there is some kind of *frame* or *matrix* involved in CS, and based on their ideas Myers-Scotton (1993b) introduced the Matrix Language Frame Model. The basic notion of this theory is that in CS there is one dominant, ML (Matrix Language) which appears to supply the system morphemes in a sentence and an EL (Embedded Language) that supplies the content morphemes.

When viewed from the structuralist point of view, code-switching is divided into inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS, examples of which are provided in the first section of this chapter. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), when an intra-sentential CS occurs, the distribution of two languages is asymmetrical. The more dominant language is the ML and the

other one is the EL. For instance, in the following example from Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) we can see Ellis who is playing a video game and doesn't want his brother's help CS from English (in this case ML) to Japanese (EL) to use the phrase 'by myself':

C)   No I want do this [jibun de]

                        myself by

   'No I want to do this by myself'

'Jibun de' as Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) support consists of a noun+postpositional case marker which are well-formed in EL (Japanese) grammar, although it doesn't fit the morpheme order of the ML grammar. The position of the whole phrase fits well as an adverbial phrase in the ML. Adverbial phrases are a major type of EL islands. (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 141).

A second, and this time reversed, Japanese to English CS example is also provided by the two scholars:

D)   Minna   *escape*   shi ta katta

        Everyone   do IP PAST

   'Everyone wanted to escape'

Moreover, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) classify two kinds of CS which depend of each speaker's proficiency level. As they support, if the speaker appears to be proficient enough to make a sufficient grammatical structure in the ML then, it is called classical CS (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000). 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' (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000, p. 2).

It should be mentioned here that there appear to be some issues with this theory, the most significant one being the fact that in many cases of CS, mainly between historically related languages, it is not always possible to make such divisions, as speakers do not appear to follow the above discussed rules of ML and EL.

6.4 Sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching

As Migge (2015) supports, structural research on CS 'has made highway in providing insights into the principles and rules that govern CS patterns, but accounts fall short of explaining the factors that promote CS in general and the occurrence of the two types of CS patterns that they posit' (p. 195). Thus, along with various structural aspects of this phenomenon, providing an in-depth description on various sociolinguistic dimensions of CS is considered necessary.

CS is not an exception but the norm in many places around the world, since a large number of people around the world are bi/mulitilinguals. In their groundbreaking research on CS between standard and non-standard dialects in a small town called Hemnesberget in Norway, Blom, Gumperz and Hymes (1972) concluded that CS among their research participants was predictable as the speakers appeared to follow certain CS patterns. This gave them the opportunity to identify different types of CS: situational and metaphorical. While metaphorical CS takes place with changes in topic, the situational one is flagged by differences in a social situation.

6.5 The Markedness model of CS

Myers-Scotton's (1991, 1993b and 1999) Markedness model explains the social motivations of code-switching and according to it individual's choice of language signals a specific social identity and/or belonging to a particular community. As Myers-Scotton (1991) supports, speakers engage in CS by changing languages or inserting code-switched elements into their speech, either when trying to communicate certain meanings or to flag group memberships. This way, the code-switched element becomes marked because of its contrast with the language context created by the rest of the utterance (Myers-Scotton 1991). And a marked element is generally recognized as communicating a specific intended meaning (Myers-Scotton 1991).

7. Conversational code-switching

In order for fundamental questions such as 'why do people code-switch?' and 'what are the functions of this code-switching phenomenon?' to be answered, researchers developed various theories from a variety of perspectives. Early studies which considered these questions from a social approach were the above mentioned Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study and later on Myers-Scotton's (1993a) markedness model, among others. As already stated, Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish between situational and metaphorical switching. The former occurs when participants find themselves in different situations, where a change in code is required but not necessarily a change in topic, while the latter happens when a change of topic requires a change in the language used.

Studies like those of Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Myers-Scotton (1993a) are considered to be on the macro-level as they link the use of CS with 'the group identities of speakers involved' (Myers-Scotton, 1996, p. 218) among other social motivations of CS. Other researchers study the function of CS using frameworks focusing on the micro-level, such as Auer (1984), meaning that they place emphasis on the structure and organization of code-switching in conversation. Therefore, it is evident that these groups of research that have been created are significantly different in the way they see CS, something that is expected to lead to disagreements in the field. The CA approach, which will be discussed below in more detail, argues that macro interpretations might rely too much on analysts' perceptions, while sequential analysis focuses on the turn-by-turn interpretation of CS meaning, which is 'brought about' as the conversation is evolving (Li Wei, 1998a, p. 170). On the other hand, CA has been criticised for the fact that overwhelming emphasis is placed on the sequencing and as a result social messages, as well as the identity of the participants is ignored upon interpretation of code-switching (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001). Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001, p. 4) also criticise CA for downgrading or even neglecting social motivations, even though they

'heartily agree that structural features of any conversation, especially the nature of certain adjacency pairs, can be considered devices that constrain speakers to view certain potential choices as preferred and others as not'. Myers-Scotton (1996a), points out that only a handful of scholars have conducted macro-level studies linking the use of CS with group identities. She claims that the reasons for this are the 'perceived difficulties in quantifying the use of CS in any meaningful way, plus a distrust of self-reports on CS use' (p. 218). According to her, another, even more important reason for this is that macro-level studies are often not a preferred choice among scholars interested in social motivations of CS as 'they do not see the quantified study of the social identity features of 'who uses what linguistic varieties where and when to whom' as explaining the motives for employing CS interpersonally' (Myers-Scotton 1996a p. 218).

These two groups have significant differences, however, it is interesting to note that there are some studies trying to incorporate both the micro and the macro aspect; such are Li Wei, Milroy and Ching (1992) and Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001). These studies are trying to incorporate each other's views in an attempt to provide a coherent model for code-switching. Li Wei, Milroy and Ching (1992) suggest that in order for an account of code-switching to be considered adequate, the examination of the social and situational context of CS is necessary, no matter what perspective the researcher is following. They claim that even though there is ample research in CS and a wealth of data analyses of CS behaviour from a variety of communities, a coherent framework that would be suitable to account for these data and analyses seems to be lacking. Li Wei, Milroy and Ching (1992) proposed a two-step approach to CS by using the CA framework and the Rational Choice (RC) model in an attempt to combine micro and macro factors. The first step is to use the social network framework to describe participants' linguistic choices in the community level, while as a second step, they proceed in a detailed conversational analysis. Li Wei, Milroy and Ching (1992) also claim that

while Gumperz (1982) has not made a micro/macro link in his approach either, those who wish to follow his procedures should endeavour to do so. This would enable data sets of interactional-level analyses from community to community to be compared successfully and correspondingly, instead of having ample research concerning various communities which cannot be compared usefully (Li Wei, Milroy and Ching, 1992).

Apart from these two approaches, there are accounts of the functions of CS, which cannot be assigned to the category of a micro/macro approach. Most of these studies enumerate the functions of CS, like a checklist. For example, Gumperz (1982) suggests six main functions of code-switching which are: *quotations*, *address specification*, *interjections*, *reiteration*, *message qualification* and *personalisation versus objectivisation* (Gumperz, 1982, p. 75-84). In a similar vein, Saville-Troike (1982) identifies eight functions of CS: softening or strengthening of a request or command, intensification or elimination of ambiguity, humorous effect, direct quotation and repetition, ideological statement, lexical need, exclusion of other people within hearing, avoidance strategy and repair strategy. In another effort to categorise the functions CS, Appel ans Muysken (1987, p. 29-30) refer to the six functions originally developed by Jakobson (1960): the *referential* function, the *directive* and *integrative* function, the *expressive* function, the *phatic* function, the *metalinguistic* function and *poetic* function.

These approaches have received quite a lot of criticism, Gumperz (1984) points out that the first problem is with the definition of 'function' itself: there are no clear definitions and on top of that, a single label cannot capture all the patterns of a function. Auer also points out this problem, adding 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'(1995, p. 120). Auer (1995) calls for a grounding of categories used and a more in-depth sequential study of the functions, as it would be revealed that one category can contain quite different conversational structures, something

that is attempted in Chapter 6 of this study. The second problem as pointed out by Gumperz (1984) and Auer (1995) is that these typologies of code-alternation often mix 'conversational structures, linguistic forms and functions of code-alternation' (Auer 1995, p. 120). Auer (1995) gives the example of the function of emphasis, which may be a function of CS, while 'reiteration' is a conversational structure; 'reiteration could or could not serve the function of giving emphasis to a stretch of talk; both categories are on quite different levels (p. 120). As regards to Appel and Muysken's (1987) taxonomy of functions, it is criticised by Myers-Scotton (1993a) in that it leaves many questions unanswered, claiming that functions labelled as 'expressive' and 'phatic' are so vague that they might become vacuous.

7.1 'New space'

In her 2013 article, Finnis makes an interesting point regarding a 'new space' or 'third space' when talking about CS among young Greek Cypriots of London. Based on scholars such as Weatherall (2002), Crawford (1995) and Bucholtz and Hall (2004 and 2005), she mentions that identity is not and should not be considered what the speaker is but rather what they do (p. 468). As she suggests, when dealing with young migrant groups such as Greek Cypriots of London, we can easily apply the concept of 'third space' to the analysis of their speech as they are 'neither here nor there' (Finnis, 2013, p. 471). She bases her assumption on the fact that when comparing themselves to the older members of their community, these youngsters seem to have a very different socio-cultural and linguistic behavior and simultaneously, they are also not integrated in the mainstream British society (Finnis, 2013).

Both Finnis (2013), and Georgakopoulou and Finnis (2009), agree that for this community members, CS is a way of expressing solidarity and showing membership and belonging to their groups. Interestingly enough, both articles refer to CS for the use of humourous comments among the young Greek Cypriots of London and they both agree on showing solidarity among these speakers being a major reason for CS when making various

humorous comments (Finnis, 2013; Georgakopoulou and Finnis, 2009) which seems to be the case with Greeks living in Ireland too and will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. Finally, as Finnis and Georgakopoulou's (2009) article concludes, in interactions among various ethnic minority members, identities are often complex and far from neat dichotomies between 'us' and 'them', something that creates the need for a 'new space' or a 'third space' (p. 485).

8. *The conversation analysis (CA) approach to code-switching*

According to Heritage and Atkinson, the main goal of a conversation analysis (CA) approach is 'the description and explication of the competences that speakers use and rely on in participation in intelligible, socially organized interaction' (1984, p. 1). The participants have the central role in conversation analysis, as they are seen as social actors, whose actions are subject to the co-participants' logical deductions and subsequent verbal actions (Paraskeva, 2010). According to Schegloff (1968, p. 1093), the speech of each participant cannot exist or be analysed on its own as in a conversation there is always a 'give and take' relationship among the participants.

Auer (1984 and 1995) was one of the first scholars to propose that CS can be accounted for by using conversation analysis. From an interactional point of view, he calls for a sequential analysis of CS, whose 'global function' (Auer, 1984, p. 2) is dependent upon its local function – that is, in the conversational context itself. Therefore, what the researcher should do in order to arrive at an interpretation of CS is take into account the preceding and following sequences; as Auer supports, 'our purpose is to analyse members' procedures to arrive at local interpretations of language alternation' (1984, p. 3). He continues claiming that this should be done in order to avoid 'anecdotal descriptions of selected utterances' (Auer, 1984, p. 2) or a simple enumeration of the functions, which as discussed earlier, is inadequate. In this study, it is attempted to follow Auer's suggestions and provide the reader with the conversational

context and brief description of the participants, the location of their conversations and when necessary some background information on their intentions etc.

9. *Age & CS*

There are numerous factors that make CS more or less frequent when dealing with different speakers. As regards to the factor of age, according to Muysken (2004) from the majority of research done in this area the most complex types of CS appear to be the one where adolescents and/or young adults are involved. Moreover, the style of speech is a very important factor as well because as it is expected, CS and especially the complex switching, mainly occurs between in-group informal conversations and not in a formal discourse (Muysken, 2004). In addition, it is worth mentioning that the most complex type of CS is expected to take place among second generation immigrants, probably because of their high levels of competence in both home and host languages (Muysken, 2004).

10. *Gender & CS*

In numerous sociolinguistic studies, gender is considered to be one of the most important categories and it is very rare to have any kind of sociolinguistic research without mentioning the role of gender. As far as gender in relation to CS is concerned, Gardner-Chloros (2009, p.82) claims that 'CS cannot be correlated in any direct way with gender, but intersects with a large number of intervening variables which are themselves connected with gender issues'. Most of the findings claiming that women use more standard language than men occurring from research studies by Labov (1972); Trudgill (1972); Chambers (2003); etc., refer to monolingual speakers. However, the results of the study of bilingual women that was carried by Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros (1998) and looked at two different immigrant groups living in UK; Greek Cypriots and Punjabis, did not show any significant difference in the frequency of CS between women and men in any of these two communities (Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros, 1998). However, there are similar studies conducted by Poplack (1980); Treffers-

Daller (1992); and Haust (1995), where the difference between men and women was significant and according to Haust (1995), whose research was conducted in Gambia, bilingual men switched codes twice as much as women.

Differences among cultures are logical to exist and after all, as mentioned by Gardner-Chloros, '[g]ender is not a fixed, stable and universal category whose meaning is shared within or across cultures' (2009, p. 83). As regards this study, even though the focus of my research is not on gender, attempts were made to keep a balance between the participants' genders, but for various reasons, perhaps my gender as a researcher being one of them, female speakers of Greek were easier to approach and, most importantly, the ones that agreed to participate. Thus, out of 27 participants, only 8 are male, which does not allow me to make strong claims in regard to CS and gender.

11. Conclusion

As can be seen from the information provided in this chapter, the field of code-switching has received ample research as well as many controversial views on the terminology itself. As Milroy and Muysken suggest, research on CS 'is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon' (1995, p. 92). Numerous scholars have done interesting research in different areas of CS and have examined this linguistic phenomenon from different angles. However, as already mentioned, a possible link between CS and politeness is not a well-researched area so far.

Interestingly enough, many scholars mentioned in this chapter provide examples which I consider to be related to politeness phenomena. However, the link between these two does not seem to be outlined when analysing these examples. One instance of this is a Cantonese-English CS example from a mother and son's dialogue which can be found in Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001, p. 20) which I here refer to as example E.

E)   A: Finished homework?

B: (2.0)

A: **Steven,   yiu mo   wan sue?**

      want NEG.PERF.   review book

'Do you want to do your homework?'

B: (1.5) I've finished.

When analysing the example, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) claim that the main aim of the mother here is to make her son pay attention to what she is saying, something that she does not seem to be able to achieve with her first attempt. And when her first attempt fails, the mother decides to satisfy her ultimate goal by CS to Cantonese. However, nothing is mentioned about Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the face threatening act of asking a question, and the mother's attempt to minimise her imposition by avoiding asking her son the same question in the same language twice. As it appears from the data gathered for the purposes of this study, CS for repeated questions is indeed a common practice among multi/bilinguals and will be discussed in more details in Chapter 6. When examining this example, Li Wei (1998b) supports that the use of pauses as well as the switch to English on speaker B's behalf, are due to his lack of enthusiasm when it comes to talking about his homework, which does seem to be a very likely reason. However, CS from speaker A, who is B's mother, after asking a question once and not receiving a reply, is left without attention and is not viewed as a politeness related strategy of minimising imposition by asking the same question twice in the same language.

On the other hand, in their previously mentioned 2004 article, in a similar dialogue where CS takes place so to repeat a question, Gardner-Chloros and Finnis do link it with politeness. In the following two dialogues from Gardner-Chloros and Finnis 2004, M1

indicates the first male speaker, F1 the first female speakers, F2 the second female speaker and '???' is used for inaudible speech.

F)   M1:   All right

    F1:   Stop, how many days is the conference?

    M1:   Guys, I wanna finish at seven o'clock

    F1:   I'm asking! How many days is the conference?

    M1:   ??? It's half past six.

    F1:   **círie meníko, póses iméres íne?**

    Mr Meniko, how many days is it?

    M1:   It will be around four days, I imagine.

    F1:   Ok, four days, good … and what time?

Similarly to the above described homework related example, here too we can see a question being asked in one language and after not receiving a reply the speaker decides to ask the same question in a different language. As Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 86) supports, in this case '[t]he potentially face-threatening act - an escalation of repeated questions which had been phrased pretty directly from the beginning - is carried off thanks to the switch to Greek, which not only allows greater directness but is also the 'we-code' and the language of humour'. Of course this dialogue is a part of an article which links CS, gender and politeness. Thus, the two authors make conclusions based on the gender of these speakers however, CS here taking place as F1's way to engage in a positive politeness strategy is outlined.

In the following example the reader can also see F2 switching from English to Greek for politeness purposes:

G)   F1:   Am I the only person that gets ??? by their parents already?

        M1:   What, about getting married?

        F1:   Yeah, she started today.

        F2:   ??? **mána sou?**

                your mother?

The switch from English to Greek is viewed by Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 86) as an act of positive politeness on behalf of F2, or as identification with F1 as a fellow female, Greek Cypriot who also lives in London. Moreover, Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) underline the link between CS and bonding in this situation as speaker F1 discusses a matter of arranged marriages which is considered a traditional aspect of Greek Cypriot culture. Speaker F2 decides to switch to Greek in order to reply to her in a language representing a culture where such tradition takes place and show solidarity to her interlocutor (Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

CS is a widely studied area of sociolinguistics and in this chapter, I considered it necessary to provide the reader with an overview of various contrasting terms used to describe what CS is, as well as what bilingualism is. Also, since this research deals with Greek speakers' CS, I considered it important to present the reader with different scholars' work, whose research is on Greek and English CS. This chapter also attempted to give the reader an overview regarding the structural and sociolinguistic approaches of CS as well as brief literature review of different factors affecting CS such as speakers' age and gender.

CHAPTER 3: POLITENESS

1. Introduction

Since studying the link between CS and politeness is a part of this thesis, Chapter 3 intends to provide the reader with a discussion on politeness, mainly focusing on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. The first part of this chapter will cover the literature review on politeness theory, and in the second section a cross-cultural comparison between Greek and English will be presented as regards the phenomenon of politeness.

My main attempt will be to show that due to the fact that Greek speakers tend to convey politeness in a different linguistic way in comparison to various English varieties' speakers, they are often considered to be less polite, or sometimes even impolite, compared to English speakers. The third section will refer to linguistic devices used in expressing politeness in Greek, as examined by scholars working on Greek language politeness, such as Sifianou, Kakava, Makri-Tsilipakou and others. This will provide the reader with information regarding the need of Greek speakers of Ireland to switch from Irish English to Greek or from Greek to Irish English for politeness purposes, since these two languages appear to follow different politeness patterns. In section four, the reader will be presented with the analysis of Brown and Levinson's theory's weak points. Lastly, section five of this chapter will cover the available literature on politeness in Irish English and section six will discuss politeness in Greek.

2. The concept of politeness

Politeness is a human need to avoid conflicts during conversations and maintain relationships (Kasper, 1990). As a concept studied in linguistics, it has been an important part of sociolinguistics since 1970s thanks to works of Leech and Lakoff, and was further developed into a theory of politeness by Brown and Levinsons' famous book *Politeness* which was published in 1987.

Brown and Levinson were the first scholars to provide us with a completed theory on politeness and their work consists of two parts. First, they discuss the theories concerning the nature of politeness and in the second part, they refer to various politeness theory strategies using three language sets as their points of reference, namely English, Tzeltal, and Tamil. As already mentioned, according to B&L's notion of face, all interlocutors try to maintain two types of face and participant is considered a Model Person (MP), who is 'a willful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties - rationality and face' (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 58). A MP has a positive face (the want to be liked by people) and a negative face (the want to maintain personal territory). In terms of rationality, each speaker is capable of reasoning and knowing what options or strategies best suit the face needs (both faces) of interlocutors. Utilising this notion of face, politeness is regarded as having a dual nature: positive politeness and negative politeness. Positive politeness is expressed by satisfying positive face in two ways: 1) by indicating similarities amongst interactants; or 2) by expressing an appreciation of the interlocutor's self-image. Negative politeness can also be expressed in two ways: 1) by saving the interlocutor's face (either negative or positive) by mitigating face threatening acts, such as advice-giving and disapproval; or 2) by satisfying 'negative face' by indicating respect for the addressee's right not to be imposed on.

In short, politeness is expressed not only to minimise FTAs, but also to satisfy the interactants' face regardless of whether an FTA occurs or not. According to B&L:

> **negative face**: the want of every competent adult member that his actions be unimpeded by others.
>
> **positive face**: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 58)

Positive politeness strategies include exaggerating interest, using in-group identity markers, avoiding disagreement, and asserting common ground. Negative politeness strategies include

being reluctant, apologizing for the impingement and using passive voice. It is important to keep in mind that both negative and positive face wants occur to some degree at the same time. These two wants create a paradox in which 'both aspects of face must be projected simultaneously in any communication' (Scollon and Scollon, 1995, p. 37). Speakers do not choose expression of absolute negative or positive politeness, but instead choose expressions which indicate different degrees of negative and positive politeness. B&L also refer to politeness as a 'redressive action' (1987, p. 25) since certain communicative acts (e.g. request, compliment, invitation, etc.) are considered to be intrinsically face-threatening acts (FTA). According to this, interaction is 'the expression of social relationships and is crucially built out of strategic language use' (1987 p. 56). The desire to avoid face damage acts as a constraint in language, seen in our avoidance of the simplest and the most straightforward option when we choose what we say. The assumption is that we are usually trying to avoid damaging face, by adjusting our choice of words in order to protect the interlocutors from unease (Ungureanu, 2004). Exactly how we adjust our language depends on our perception of the circumstances of the exchange and the role of the producer and recipient.

Social distance is defined in terms of similarity, frequency of interaction and intimacy (Brown and Levinson 1987). Ranking of imposition is defined by the degree to which the act interferes with face wants. All of these factors are relevant only to the point that the communicators believe that the assessment is shared.

Circumstances determining
choice of strategy:

Lesser

Estimation of risk of face loss

Do the FTA
— on record
— — 1. without redressive action, baldly
— — with redressive action
— — — 2. positive politeness
— — — 3. negative politeness
— 4. off record

5. Don't do the FTA

Greater
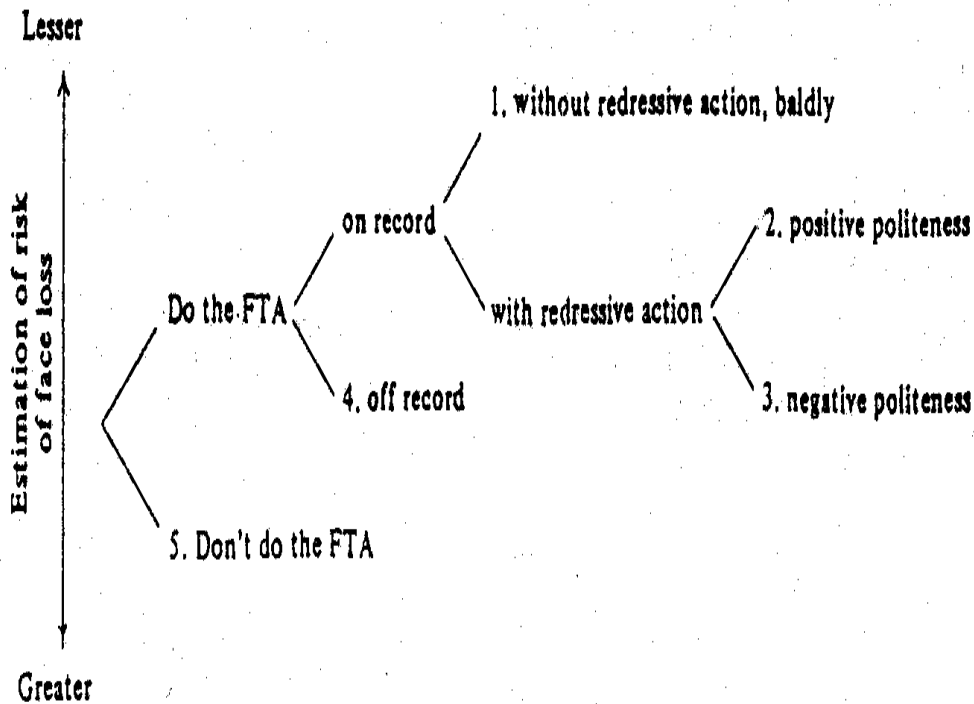
Figure 1: Brown and Levinson's politeness theory framework (1987, p.60)

As it can be seen from Figure 1, B&L identify 5 possible speech strategies. The Speaker can choose not to perform a FTA, they can choose to perform a FTA off-record by implicature, giving the Hearer the option of not acknowledging what kind of FTA is intended. Also, the Speaker can go baldly on record, which means they can perform a FTA without apology. And finally, the Speaker can choose a positive politeness strategy, if they want to make the Hearer feel approved, or a negative politeness strategy, if they don't want to interfere with the Hearer's freedom of action

As already mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, based on Brown and Levinson's theory, Sifianou (1992) claims that different cultures express politeness in different ways. And

as she correctly points out, 'despite popular stereotypes, no nation may be objectively verified as more or less polite than any other, but only polite in a different, culturally specific way' (Sifianou 1992, p. 54).

3. Brown and Levinson's theory's criticism

During the recent years, politeness studies have presented as a research topic of much concern and popularity among linguists specialised in sociolinguistics, pragmatics, psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics. Many of these scholars express strong criticism to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, especially when it comes to languages their theory does not apply to. The above mentioned theory's criticisms can be found in works of Kasper (1990), Thomas (1995), Meier (1995), Escandell-Vidal (1996), Watts et al. (1992a), etc. And I consider it necessary to provide the reader with the objections expressed by these and other scholars outlining Brown and Levinson's theory's weak points, starting with the concept of universality.

3.1 Universality

When basing theoretical assumptions on data from just three languages, to a certain point it is natural that Brown and Levinson's theory's claims for *universality* would be criticised. The main point of reference among post B&L scholars working on politeness theory has been the notions of *universality* versus *cultural relativity* with the term face and various strategies used by the Speaker to avoid or soften different FTAs being at the center of these scholars' criticism (Watts, 2003, p. 99-125). The main point of criticism towards Brown and Levinson's theory is that their model of politeness is ethnocentric and is coming 'directly from the high value based on individualism in Western culture' (Kasper, 1990, p.252-253). As Sifianou (1992) points out, for white, middle class speakers of numerous areas of Britain and America individualism is in fact a natural model of relating to others, however, this does not seem to be the case in many other areas of the world, including Greece, where the relation between the individual and the

group is much more important in terms of deciding on various politeness strategies. Thus, the use of the term *universal* appears to be problematic indeed.

Some other scholars appear to bring examples from their languages to the table too proving this point. For instance, Wierzbicka (1985, p. 154) claims that an explicit performative is a typical way to give advice in Polish, while a bare imperative is 'one of the softer options in issuing directives'. In addition, the Chinese appear to view as *polite* those imperatives which are used to make offers (Chen, 1996) and to invite the Hearer to dinners (Mao, 1992).

3.2 Interdependent self

As Kitayama and Markus (1994) point out, a cognitive and individualistic characterization of the interactants mentioned in the B&L's model when referring to Anglo-Saxon speakers, appears to be a very narrow one so to enable to accommodate the social needs of the 'interdependent self' that seems to be dominant in other societies. The pragmatic notion of 'politeness' by interactants in these other societies will be affected by personal and interpersonal needs as well as different social norms which might not agree with Brown and Levinson's model. When researching politeness in Chinese culture, Gu (1990) for instance finds that the model of 'Inderependent self' does not apply to the Chinese social interaction; and Chang and Holt (1994 p. 126) state that '[w]estern understanding of face work is very much influenced by the idea of impression management, reflecting the dominant individualistic characteristics of Western cultures. This can be contrasted with the Chinese conception of *mien-tze*, which places more emphasis on the nature of the relationship' (Chang and Holt, 1994).

3.3 Self-Image

As far as the 'Self-image' theory is concerned, Mao (1994) makes two interesting arguments. The first concerns the overall conceptualization of face as a *'self-image'*. According to him, such characterisation of the notion of face, which seems to work when we are talking about the

Western world, appears to be problematic in cultures like the Chinese culture, where self is not valued nearly as much (Mao, 1994).

Mao's (1994) second point of argument is also related to the expression of politeness in the Chinese culture and it supports that the Chinese concept of face does not seem to contain a component of negative face. According to him, in Chinese culture, an individual is expected to seek the respect of the community, however, this is not done in order for them to satisfy the desire for freedom as suggested by B&L (Mao, 1994).

Finally, as mentioned in Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou's (2017) recent work, the concept of face as presented by B&L is problematic in Greek and Chinese cultures where it appears to be difficult to differentiate from the concept of identity. The two scholars support the idea that, in the above mentioned cultures, face and identity co-constitute each other and are thus 'intrinsically related' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou's, 2017, p. 248)

4. Politeness in Irish English

When it comes to studying English politeness, it is very often British English or American English politeness that is researched, with other varieties of English usually not being the center of attention. However, scholars such as Kallen, Binchy and Martin have done interesting studies regarding different aspects of politeness in Irish English.

In overall, Irish English seems to follow most of the politeness related patterns of other English varieties, however, when referring to compliments, Kallen (2005a) supports that politeness in Ireland 'is done without being said' (p.130). He supports that compliments usually take place off the record and allow the listener to 'feel no threat to her need to go through life unimpeded' (Kallen, 2005a, p. 130). What makes politeness in Ireland different to many other English speaking countries is that while 'high value is placed on negative politeness, silent strategies of positive politeness are equally ingrained in Irish culture' which is made clear after discussing three main concepts: hospitality, reciprocity and silence. (Kallen, 2005a, p. 130-31).

However, since silence strategies are not in the focus of this study, these differences do not seem to play an important role in regard with the possible link between CS and politeness based on Greek speakers' recordings.

When it comes to discussing politeness in a family setting in Ireland, as Clancy's findings on his politeness discourse research study of a family in Limerick suggest, positive politeness strategies are frequently used in Irish English (2000). Brown and Levinson's (1987) study supports that deixis and ellipsis are positive politeness strategies, and as Clancy's study revealed, both of them were frequently used by the case study family members, in comparison to the less frequent use of hedges, which is a negative politeness strategy (2000). This should not be surprising since as Garfinkel (1967) supports, in family discourse informality is the most expected choice and even though directness is expected in such a setting, speakers normally combine it with strong positive politeness strategies. Garfinkel (1967), also claims that family discourse with high frequency of negative politeness strategies would give an image of family members who do not know each other well. Therefore, it is expected that the recordings of this study will include more positive politeness strategies, even in the conversations that are taking place in Irish English.

In his study about 'Politeness in Southern-Irish service encounters', Binchy (2005) compared two corpora and saw that the use of *please* in requests and price statements differ according to the relationship between the speakers. It appeared that when the speakers do not know each other, the use of *please* is common, while this does not seem to be the case when the speakers are acquainted (Binchy, 2005). However, this study showed that the use of politeness markers such as *please* is common for speakers who know each other after the customer asked for some clarification or the server restated the price (Binchy, 2005).

Moreover, when researching the Irish-English business negotiation, Martin (2005) concluded that there is an obvious preference for speakers in business negotiations to be

indirect. As supported by Ting-Toomey, 'concealment and implicit communication codes' as well as different 'ambiguous, indirect strategies' are frequently used in business negotiations mainly as an approach to conflict resolution (1985, p. 85), something that confirms Martin's findings. As Warnes (1979 p. 331) also mentions, in a buyer/seller situation, with frequent use of hedging, the buyers try to avoid self-revelation and signal their desire 'not to be *pinned down*'. And similar behavior which could also be found in his research, was assigned to the lack of a clear position by Martin (2005). According to Keating and Martin (2004), Flynn and Morley (2002) and O'Reilly (2003 and 2004), indirectness is a characteristic behavior in the Irish-English discourse, something that could be one of the effects of Ireland's post-colonial history as supported by Martin (2005).

5. *Politeness in Greek*

As Sifianou (1992, p. 13), points out, when described by speakers of other languages, Greek is often considered as impolite or 'less polite than English'. Greeks on the other hand, consider the English speakers as too formal and distant (Sifianou, 1992). When asking English speakers of their preferences as far as the notion of politeness is concerned, Sifianou (1992) found out that, a big part of them gave preference to formulaic expressions such as *sorry* and *please*. She also saw that English speakers consider it necessary to verbally express apologies and gratitude (Sifianou, 1992). This however, does not seem to be the case with Greek speakers who prefer to show consideration towards others and for whom notions such as friendly smile and warm look are more important than verbally expressed gratitude (Sifianou, 1992).

Moreover, the concept of face in Greek exhibits a great variety of metonymic and metaphorical extensions (Marmaridou, 2011). In Greek, rather than literal smallness, diminutives 'serve to encode the attitudes of the speaker toward the referent and/or the addressee' (Terkourafi, 1999, p.98), and since in this study CS for the use of diminutives is

considered to be a politeness related reason, in section 6.1, I provide the reader with a review of how diminution works in Modern Greek.

5.1 The case of diminutives

The grammatical function of diminutives across languages is to indicate smallness, however, in Greek these linguistic elements, along with the lexical item *liɣo* 'a bit' which appears in examples 64 and 66 in Chapter 6, are markers of intimacy and informal politeness (Sifianou, 2005). As it will be more analytically discussed in Chapter 6, diminutives are frequently used by the participants of this study in order to express solidarity and minimise threats to Hearer's face.

Greek is one of the languages where the production of diminutives is a frequent phenomenon as supported by Triandafillides (1978), thanks to the flexibility of multiple suffixation. And even though, in Greek as well as in many other languages, diminutives are often used when talking to children, it can be said that Greek diminutives are not restricted to encounters with children. Their use with and by adults show affection for imposing on the Hearer's freedom of action, as can be seen in the hypothetical example provided below:

Hypothetical example

H)   [a daughter to her mother at the dinner table]

mu   ðínis   alatáki   mamá

to me   you give   salt.DIM   mam

'Mam, can you pass me the salt?'

It is also common for the use of diminutives to take place when the Speaker tries to reduce their own achievement. As Sifianou (1989) states, some of the strongest examples of Greek diminutives exhibiting pragmatic force in polite interaction are present when someone is making requests. Because, as already mentioned, according to B&L's theory, requests are by nature face-threatening acts and therefore, require a minimisation of the imposition.

However, as Bousoulenga correctly mentions, 'it should be mentioned once again that the concept of imposition is not universal. In Greece, requests are culturally specific speech acts, not always perceived as FTA' (2001, p.8).

When discussing about diminutives and hedging in Greek, Terkourafi supports that B&L's model of politeness is inadequate when it comes to non-literal diminution (1999). She supports that while Brown and Levinson (1987) mark diminutives as a sign of positive politeness on page 109 of their book, the same book on pages 157, 177 recognises hedging functions of diminutives as a sign of negative politeness.

Requests are another major reason for the use of diminutives in Greek and as described by Sifianou (2005), they are used extensively by Modern Greek speakers to indicate affection or informality. For instance, one could witness a customer in a restaurant in Greece asking for *neráki* water.DIM, birítsa beer.DIM etc. for positive politeness purposes.

Sifianou (1991) correctly suggests that various food names when used with diminutives are often used for the purpose of offers too, once again for positive politeness purposes, since the Speaker shows concern towards the Hearer and their needs. The fact that in Greek diminutives can easily be formed, gives a perfect opportunity to the Speaker, when offering something to the Hearer, to diminish the offer they are making so to avoid or minimise their imposition on the Hearer.

Lastly, in Modern Greek, diminutives seem to be extensively used when complementing the Hearer. As Kasper (1990) supports, for Greek speakers, diminutives function as maximising devices for compliments. Indeed, with phrases like: *íse kuklítsa* 'you are a doll.DIM' or *su pái aftó to forematáki* 'this dress.DIM suits you' Speaker aims to express admiration towards the Hearer, attempting to make them feel good about themselves. Such examples appeared in the recorded data of this study too, and cases where speakers chose to

switch from Irish English to Greek, in order to be able to express themselves using such diminutives, will be presented and analysed in Chapter 6.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, which I intend to follow for the analysis of politeness related CS examples presented in Chapter 6. As it is mentioned by scholars studying Greek and English politeness, the linguistic ways in which Greek language conveys politeness seems to be different to various norms which exist in different English speaking countries, including Ireland. Greek seems to convey more politeness strategies that are regarded as positive while English speakers prefer negative politeness strategies. Without one form of politeness being more or less polite, but rather, as it is supported by Sifianou (1992), both language speakers being polite in culturally specific ways.

In order to provide the reader with a clear picture of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, this chapter referred to principles of politeness with main focus on the concept of face and positive/negative politeness. It is also worth mentioning that most of the scholars in this field seem to agree on the difficulties one faces when trying to come up with a theory that will not have weak points similar to the ones presented in section five of this chapter. As Janney and Arndt (1993, p. 70) suggest, it is unlikely that a truly culturally unbiased theoretical framework for comparative politeness will be developed. And in the same manner, Ide (1989, p. 97) claims that that the more descriptions we acquire about politeness, 'the more we realize how little in fact we know about the range of possible expressions of politeness in different cultures and languages'.

As was the case with CS's theoretical framework's analysis, when going through literature on politeness, one can find hardly any attempts of linking politeness with CS, regardless of the fact that so much work has been done in comparing politeness across languages. A potential link between these two fields of sociolinguistics is especially important

in case of languages like Greek and Irish English, since, as already stated, their speakers usually follow opposing politeness patterns.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

This research aims to study Greek-Irish English and Irish English-Greek CS among Greek speakers living in Ireland; present and analyse main reasons the participants of this study choose to CS for and see if politeness will be one of these reasons. Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p. 30) suggest that 'the researcher should pilot their observations in situations and with people as close to the realities of the actual study as possible'. Thus, trying to find answers to the above mentioned research questions, recording everyday conversations of Greek speakers living in Ireland was considered to be a good idea.

The aim of this chapter is to present the methodology used for this research study. In order to gather data on Greek-Irish English CS, I needed to contact and invite Greek community members of Ireland to participate in audio recordings. I will start by providing information regarding the Greek diaspora of Ireland, as well as various linguistic aspects about Greek and Irish English. The use of a qualitative approach for the data collection process will be outlined in section 4, with descriptions of both; qualitative and quantitative methodologies' strong and the weak points. Section 5 of this chapter will describe the Ethics Committee's approval procedure, the Participant Information Leaflet and the Consent Forms distributed to potential participants. Section 6 will provide the reader with information about approaching the potential research participants, and section 7 will provide a description of the speakers who were recorded for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, section 8 of this chapter will look into the description of the recording process, my personal involvement and the conversation settings, and in section 9 limitations of this research and the Observer's Paradox will be outlined, while sections 10 and 11 will discuss the transcription process and the use of fieldnotes respectively.

2. The Greek diaspora of Ireland

Since this study is about Greek migrants living in Ireland, I consider it necessary to provide the reader with a brief overview of Ireland's Greek diaspora. As already mentioned, according to the information found on the Hellenic Community of Ireland website (http://www.helleniccommunity.ie/el/), there are more than 700 Greeks living in Ireland. The fact that many young and educated Greeks are currently struggling to find a job in Greece because of the country's financial crisis, alongside the fact that a big part of the Greek society, especially the younger generation, has good knowledge of English, makes Ireland one of their choices when deciding which country to go to.

Most of the participants of my research however, have been living in Ireland before the Greek financial crisis with only one participant arriving in Ireland 6 years ago and five others leaving Greece to come to Ireland 7 years ago. Most of the speakers who took part in this research study, have been living in Ireland for over 10 years thus, it cannot be supported that their arrival to Ireland is linked to the current economic situation in Greece.

According to the information provided by the Hellenic Community of Ireland's website (http://www.helleniccommunity.ie/el/) the number of Greek speakers living in Ireland for more than 30 years is just 6. They appear to have arrived in Ireland in order to work in major institutions such as European Commission, United Nations or some Irish Universities including Trinity College Dublin. One of these speakers is a participant of this study and parts of his recordings were used in examples that appear in the data analysis Chapters 5 and 6.

3. Aspects of Greek and Irish English

As far as Modern Greek and Irish English are concerned, these two languages have a very different history and I consider it important to provide the reader with a brief overview of both, starting with the development of Modern Greek in the sub section that follows:

3.1 The development of the Greek language

Similar to Irish English, Greek is an Indo-European language with a recorded history of over three millennia. It is worth mentioning that the earliest evidence of Greek as a language goes as far as the syllabic script of the Linear B tablets that were found in Knossos, Crete in the beginning of the twentieth century. And it was not till 1952 when Linear B was linked to Greek. As Silk (2009 p. 9) supports, '[i]n a straightforward sense, of course, before the *koine* any talk of 'the' Greek language is problematic, or else refers only to hypothetical, early period'.

According to Moleas (2004), with the pass of time the structure of the Greek language has been changed with 'reductions and regularisations of its inflected forms together with the accompanying developments in syntax' (p. 1). She proceeds supporting that the majority of words in Modern Greek share roots with Ancient Greek words, however, the language has been enriched by the addition of numerous loan words from various languages (Moleas, 2004). And though the pronunciation has changed significantly, spelling went through less changes (Moleas, 2004).

Even though Greece underwent numerous political changes starting from its incorporation into the Roman Empire and to the Ottoman Rule up to the nineteenth century, the Greek language managed to survive and is now mother tongue to 10 - 11 000 000 million speakers living in Greece. It is also mother tongue of a part of the population of Cyprus who speak the Cypriot dialect of Greek, as well as of Greek migrants who are scattered across the world including a small number of Greek migrants in Ireland.

3.1.1   Greek language & Diglossia

This research is about CS in different languages however, since the language situation in Greece is described as diglossic, it was considered necessary to provide the reader with few details about the notion of diglossia. Diglossia is defined by Ferguson (1959, p. 336) as:

'a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversations'.

A phenomenon of diglossia has a long history in Greece. As mentioned in Arvaniti (1999), the linguistic situation in Greece has been one of diglossia from the middle of the 19th century till 1976. In fact, Ferguson (1959) refers to Greece as one of the four prototypical diglossic places together with Switzerland, Haiti and the Arabic speaking countries. In a diglossic situation, High and Low codes of the same language co-exist in speakers' speech. Also, for Ferguson to consider a speech community diglossic, it should be two, and not more than two, varieties of the same language and these two varieties' functional separation should be a socially acceptable phenomenon. Indeed, in Modern Greek, the two varieties, namely Katharévousa and Dhimotikí, satisfy both of the above conditions. Katharévousa was 'a purist, partly invented variety heavily influenced by Classical Greek', while Dhimotikí 'loosely describes the mother tongue of the Greeks' (Arvaniti, 1999, p. 167) As Kotzantonoglou (1995, p. 31) correctly mentions, if we follow Fergunson's theory, Katharévousa and Dhimotikí are not to be described as two different languages but instead, 'two different realisations' of the Greek language.

It's worth mentioning that in a diglossic community, normally there are no conflicts between the two varieties. Although, as far as Greek is concerned, Katharévousa and Dhimotikí are often presented as two competing varieties, because of strong beliefs among some speakers. Katharévousa had the national language status till 1976, and Dhimotikí was used for informal situations (Arvaniti, 1999 & Frangkoudaki 1992). However, from 1976 till today, Dhimotikí is

the official language of the Greek state (Arvaniti, 1999 & Frangkoudaki 1992). As expected, this study's speakers are talking in Dhimotikí for the parts of their conversation which takes place in Greek.

3.2 The development of Irish English

As far as the Irish English is concerned, as Hickey (2010) suggests, any treatment of the English language in Ireland should start by recognising various varieties across the country. While varieties of the east coast go back to the twelfth century, in the north of Ireland there was a significant Scots input during the seventeenth century; while in the south west and the west of the country there are varieties of English that show the effects of structural transfer from Irish during the period of the main language shift which took place between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (Hickey, 2010). According to Hickey's previous studies (1999a, 2004a) the different forms of English in Ireland can be seen from the languages' structural point of view as well as in terms of their distinguishing features which derive from the different historical roots.

English in Ireland can be divided in two periods with the first period starting during the late twelfth century, when the first English-speaking settlers arrived on the Island, and the second one starting in the beginning of the seventeenth century (Hickey, 2010). It was during the seventeenth century, when the banishment of Irish took place in the west part of the country and when new forms of English were brought to Ireland; namely Scots in the north, and West/North Midland varieties in the south (Hickey, 2010).

Unfortunately, as stated in Hickey (2010) no information can be found before 1851 on the number of speakers of Irish and English. In his attempt to produce a linguistics cartography of Ireland, Adams (1965) concluded that statements proving the beginning and ending of the shift from Irish to English cannot be found, but one can only make assumptions on what has happened. As claimed by Dowling (1968), in various rural areas of the Island, there was no

education for the native speakers of Irish to learn English thus, the only possible explanation would be that the native Irish speakers did so from other Irish speakers who already knew some English. And according to Hickey (2010), the fact that the majority of the population acquired English in such a way, played a role in its formation and the differences between Irish English and British English (p. 80). As Bliss (1977) also suggests, this could be the explanation of the unconventional word stress that is found in Irish English.

When it comes to describing today's situation with respect to the matter of Irish English in Ireland, as Kallen (2013) supports, it is in a contradictory position since its official status is the second national language with the Irish being the first national language. Moreover, according to him (2013, p.45) Irish English has no codified standard since various '[d]ialectal features of the language are widespread and socially accepted in a range of language domains, and some literary movements have celebrated these distinctive features'. And while in policy and ideological debates Irish English takes second place after Irish, when it comes to different practical matters, such as the number of native speakers and the role of English in various H and L domains, Irish English has undoubtedly the dominant position across the country (Kallen, 2013).

3.2.2. *Terminology*

As Hickey (2005) supports, there seem to be various terms used across the island of Ireland when referring to the English variety of Ireland. In the north of the country some of the terms used appear to carry historical connotations, e.g. Ulster Scots for the English stemming from the initial Lowland Scots settlers, or Mid-Ulster English for geographically central varieties which are largely of northern English provenance (Hickey, 2005, p. 20). According to Hickey (2005, p. 20), in the areas of the country where Irish is also spoken the term Contact English is commonly used. While in the south of Ireland, there appear to be three terms: Anglo-Irish, Hiberno-English and Irish English (Hickey, 2005, p. 20).

Kirwin (1993) supports that Anglo-Irish appears to be an established term in Literature when referring to works by authors born in Ireland who write in English. It also appears in politics when referring to the relations between Ireland and England, and the main problem with the use of this term is that it implies an English variety of Irish but not vice versa. (Kirwin, 1993).

The second term, Hiberno-English has derived from the Latin term Hibernia *'Ireland'*. And according to Hickey (2005, p. 20) it was commonly used in the 1970s and 1980s. However, this term is no longer used apart from few authors such as Dolan and Filppula.

As regards the term Irish English, which is the one I use in this study when referring to the English variety spoken in Ireland, it is described as the simplest and the most convenient term by Hickey (2005). He also states that this term is parallel to the designation for other varieties such as American English, Australian English etc. (Hickey 2005).

Finally, there appears to be a non-linguistic term *brogue* which according to Hickey (2005), means 'a clearly recognisable Irish accent, frequently of rural origin' (p. 21). As Bergin (1943) and Murphy (1943) support, the term either comes from the Irish word for 'shoe' or from an expression meaning something like 'a lump in one's tongue'. And as Walsh (1926) claims, this term is frequently used to refer to the Irish pronunciation of English and appears to be used outside Ireland too. However, for the interests of my study, I will be using the term Irish English throughout this research paper.

4. *Data collection methodology*

Since this study deals with bilingual speakers' communication and tries to investigate the link between CS and politeness among Greek speakers living in Ireland, I consider the qualitative approach to be more suitable because as suggested by Patton (2002, p. 3), unlike the quantitative approach, the qualitative one takes a more naturalistic route, and seeks to examine the 'real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon

of interest'. When undertaking a study similar to this one, one can never know the exact outcome, and it is logical to expect CS to take place for some reasons more often than for some others, based on the needs and the intentions of this research participants. Moreover, the main focus of my research is not to come up with a list of numbers such as when or how often CS takes place, but rather to do a more in-depth analysis of each CS category with focus on politeness.

5. *Ethics approval*

Since this study involves the analysis of people's speech, Research Ethics Application Form was completed and submitted to the School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences of Trinity College Dublin and the Ethics Committee's approval to conduct the audio recordings had been granted in August 2015. This way, it was made clear that the potential participants of this research would be treated with respect and humanity. Moreover, I undertook the responsibility to do everything possible to avoid causing stress, harm and anxiety to the potential participants.

5.1 Participant Information Leaflet

The potential adult participants who expressed their interest in participating in the audio recordings were handed the Participant Information Leaflet Form (see Appendix 1), which informed them about being invited to participate in a research project carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Jeffrey Kallen. This form, as well as the other two forms mentioned below, were written in English since the target group of speakers whose recordings I would be interested in would be able to read in English. After reading it, the potential participant would get a clear understanding of the fact that even if they initially agreed to be recorded, they would be able to withdraw at any time, during or after the recordings, without any consequences of any kind. Because of the nature of this research, the potential participants were not told the exact topic of my research since, this could have affected their usual CS habits. Instead, they

were explained that my study aims to describe different conversation and communication patterns among members of the Greek community of Ireland. The form also informed the potential participants that their involvement would include three audio recordings of 30 minutes, and if they would express interest, I would provide them with a copy of their recordings. However, they would not benefit from participating in the recording process in any other way. It was also clearly mentioned that any information or data which I obtain from them during this research would be treated with confidentiality and their real names would never be used. Lastly, they were informed that a number of sentences/phrases from their audio recordings could be transcribed and might appear in this study, as well as conferences, articles, etc.

5.2 Participant Information Leaflet for children under 16

A similar document with the Participant Information Leaflet was used for potential participants under the age of 16. The Participant Information Leaflet for children under 16 (see Appendix 2) was written in a simple language and contained information about the participants' right to refuse being recorded at any time, the possibility of using some phrases from their recordings in this study and future publications without mentioning their names. The form also included information such as the topic of my study, which was described as research aiming to study various conversation and communication patterns among Greek speakers of Ireland.

5.3 Consent Form

The potential participants were also handed a Consent Form (see Appendix 3), and were given one week to consider if they would be interested in being recorded. The form consisted of similar information with the Information Leaflet only this time, it required their signature to agree to participate in this research. Those who expressed their interest in participating in the recordings were given one week to think about it, and were asked to contact me through my email address to express their interest and set suitable date and time for the recordings. My

supervisor's email address was also included in this form in case some speakers would like to contact him.

   6. *Approaching potential participants*

Since my research deals with Greek-Irish English and Irish English-Greek code switching, and I want to see if and for what reasons CS among Greeks living in Ireland takes place, and to see if politeness will be one such reason, it is obvious that I had to approach some Greek speakers living in Ireland. It seems that a big part of Ireland's Greek community members live in Co Dublin or in nearby Counties thus, it was considered appropriate to approach the potential participants through the Hellenic Community of Ireland as well as through the Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation, both of which are located in Dublin.

6.1 Hellenic community of Ireland

As already mentioned, the Hellenic community of Ireland does not have a big number of registered members, though in the last few years the number of Greeks arriving in Ireland is noticeably increasing. Moreover, there is a strong presence of Greek exchange and postgraduate students in some of the leading Irish universities as well as a growing number of young professionals working for big companies like Google, Facebook, Microsoft, etc. that have their European Headquarters in Dublin.

   According to the Hellenic Community of Ireland's official website (http://www.helleniccommunity.ie/el/) Ireland's Greek community was officially 'founded in 1964 and today there are approximately 1000 members registered, including spouses and children, most of them in the Dublin area'. However, this figure is problematic for two reasons, first of them being the fact that it includes non-Greek speakers, and secondly, not all Greeks living in Ireland would be registered with the Hellenic community of Ireland since, the founding members of the community would also be the founding members of the Greek Orthodox Church, and from personal experience and discussions among Greek friends living

in Ireland, this community has been widely criticised for its intolerance towards non-religious Greeks. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that from being a member of various online groups of Greek speakers of Ireland, the number of the Greek migrants arriving in Ireland seems to be increasing quite rapidly.

6.2 The Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation

One of the major gathering places for the religious members of the Greek Community of Ireland is the Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation, which is located in central Dublin, in the Arbour Hill area and is adjacent to the Hellenic Weekend School. After living in Dublin for over 5 years, I considered the Greek Orthodox Church to be the most appropriate place to start looking for my research participants since, the Sunday Holy Liturgy, which takes place from 11am to 12pm each week, is the time of gathering for a big part of the Greek speakers. Many Greeks who live outside Co Dublin would also attend various significant religious celebrations during some of these Sundays as well as weekdays since this is the only Greek Church in Ireland.

7. Participant recruitment

After distributing the above described documents to the potential participants, I started collecting the signed Consent Forms and was able to figure out how many speakers would this study have. No participant who agreed to be recorded changed their mind during or after the recording process so, I was able to gather data from 27 speakers who participated in three sets of 12 recordings. These recordings took place among groups of speakers who are either related to each other or are friends.

After presenting examples with their dialogues that are of interest to this research study, I will provide the reader with some background information on their relationship, the place of the recording and other useful information I have included in my fieldnotes that can give the reader a clearer picture about the speakers and their linguistic choices. Since I promised these

speakers that their real names would not be used for the purposed of this study, in Chapters 5
and 6 where I am presenting some transcribed examples from their speech, I have changed the
speakers' real names to some common Greek names like Eléni, María and Cóstas. For those
examples where the recording includes diminutivised names, I also provide the reader with the
above mentioned common Greek names in their diminutivised forms.

Speakers	Gender	Age	Number of years in Ireland	Relationship between interlocutors	Profession	Place of the recordings
1	F	31	12	Speaker 2's sister	Baker	Her house
2	F	35	12	Speaker 1's sister	Nurse	S 1's house
3	M	43	6	Speaker 4's cousin	Car mechanic	1 recording in a restaurant and 2 recordings in his house
4	M	37	10	Speaker 3's cousin	Sales assistant	1 recording in a restaurant and 2 recordings in S 3's house
5	M	26	7	Speaker 6's son	Student	S 6's house
6	F	54	7	Speaker 5's mother	Designer	Her house
7	M	70	34	Friend of S 8	Pensioner/ peace commissioner	2 recordings in a café and 1 in S 8's house

8	M	58	7	Friend of S 7	Businessman	2 recordings in a café and in his house
9	F	57	7	S 10's mother	Shop owner	Her clothes shop
10	F	24	7	S 9's daughter	Pharmacist	Her mother's clothes shop
11	F	29	10	S 10's friend	Librarian	Her friend's mother's clothes shop
12	F	44	9	S 13's friend	Crèche Teacher	2 recordings in her house, 1 recording in S 13's house
13	F	38	12	S 12's friend	Painter	2 recordings in S 12's house, 1 recording in her house
14	F	34	8	S 15's friend	Researcher	2 recordings in a café and 1 recording in her house
15	M	35	10	S 14's friend	Researcher	2 recordings in a café and 1 recording in S 14's house
16	F	54	12	S 17's friend	HR manager	S 17's house
17	F	47	10	S 16's friend	Nail esthetician	Her house
18	F	37	12	S 19's friend	Receptionist	S 19's house
19	F	29	12	S 18's friend	Teacher	Her house

20	F	47	24	S 21 & 22's friend	Veterinary surgeon	S 21 & 22's house
21	F	40	14	S 20's friend, S 22's wife	Veterinary surgeon	Her house
22	M	54	14	S 20's friend, S 21's husband	Camera operator	His house
23	F	26	7	S 24's niece	Transport planner	S 24's cake shop
24	F	55	9	S 23's aunt	Cake shop owner	Her cake shop
25	F	36	12	S 26's mother	Secretary	Her house
26	M	5	5	S 25's son	Student	His house
27	F	51	14	S 8's sister & S 24's friend	Office administrator	1 recording at S 8's house & 1 recording at S 24's house

Table 1: Research participants

Table 1 provides the reader with some information on the 27 research participants of this study including their gender, age, number of years they are in Ireland for, their relationship with their interlocutor and their profession.

As we can see, all participants apart from the speaker 26 - a 5-year-old child born in Ireland - are adults born in Greece who have been living in Ireland from 6 to 34 years. Their recorded conversations mainly took place in environmenets the speakers are expected to feel comfortable in, i.e their houses, their friends'/relatives' houses, businesses they run etc. The majority of these speakers are working in Ireland for a number of years and have professions

that require good knowledge of English. The only exception is speaker 7, a 70-year-old man who was a peace commissioner who has retired for the last 6 years, and lives in Ireland for 34 years. In Chapters 5 and 6, the reader of this study can also find two other tables (Table 2, page 74 & Table 3, page 121) with information on the each chapter's examples that belong to these speakers. Moreover, a more detailed description of the speakers' relationship with their interlocutor and the place of the recordings which are mentioned in Table 1 is also provided after each transcribed example in Chapters 5 and 6, so to give the reader a clearer picture of the situation behind each dialogue.

When approaching potential research participants, I discussed about my research with an equal number of female and male Greek speakers. However, only 8 out of the 27 speakers who got back to me with the consent form and agreed to participate in the recordings were male; including a 5 year old boy who was born in Ireland. My initial aim was to have an equal number of male and female speakers however, since this was not possible and since my study does not focus on pointing out differences in female and male speakers' speech, I decided to start the recording process with an unequal female and male speaker numbers.

As it can be seen in the data analysis Chapters 5 and 6, most speakers switched from Greek to Irish English and from Irish English to Greek quite frequently. These instances could be grouped in 5 main categories: CS for not remembering a word/phrase in the main language of conversation; CS for the use of fixed phrases; CS for a non-corresponding word/phrase; CS for the use of original language quotation; and CS for politeness purposes. Also, it is worth mentioning that most of the speakers, regardless of the number of years they have been living in Ireland, frequently referred to Greece, their relatives and friends who live there as well as different news taking place in Greece, which again was something to be expected. All recorded dialogues appeared among family members or friends, therefore, the conversations are informal. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the research participants of this study are

originally from different parts of Greece including Northern Greece (Speakers 13, 18, 20, 21 and 22); Dodecanese (Speakers 1, 2, 8 and 27); Peloponnese (Speakers 3, 4, 9 and 10); Central Greece (Speakers 5, 6 and 14); thus, covering a wide range of local Greek dialects.

8. *Recordings*

All the above mentioned participants were recorded during their conversations with relatives and friends. Most of the recordings took place in the participants' houses, however, there were recordings in the public space too; such as a Greek restaurant and a café, as well as a bakery and a clothes shop that are owned by two of the participants of this study, since these were the most convenient places for the speakers.

The research participants were recorded three times during the period of 6 months. In the majority of cases, the conversations took place among two speakers. There are, however, some examples provided from recordings of 3 participants where the first recording took place among speakers 7 and 8, but in the second and third 30 minute recordings speaker 27 was also included. Also, while speakers 20, 21 and 22 have been recorded when talking to each other during 2 recordings, during the third recording only speakers 21 and 22 who were present.

The total amount of speech recorded from all three sets of 30 minute recordings is 18 hours, and as already mentioned includes many examples of CS for five main reasons. From these examples, I consider 51 to be related to politeness and all of these are discussed in detail in Chapter 6. However, before presenting these 51 examples, in Chapter 5, I provide the reader with representative examples of code-switching for the other four reasons apart from politeness that occurred in the recordings and are listed following the methodology used by Gardner-Chloros (2009).

8.1 *Conversation setting*

As someone interested in real speech, it was in my interest to accommodate the research participants by making sure the recordings took place in an environment where they were more

comfortable and relaxed. When asked where it would suit me to record the speakers, I always tried to make sure they would not be stressed about the presence of an audio recorder or uncertain about the location of a place where the recordings were to take place. Therefore, in the majority of cases, the audio recordings took place in participants' homes. As mentioned above, there were cases where the speakers themselves offered to be recorded in their workplace, or while meeting friends and relative in a restaurant. Since this option was more suitable for them, I happily visited them during these meetings at their suggested locations.

8.2 Personal involvement

Because of the nature of this study, I tried not to be involved in the conversations which took place during the recordings. Not wanting to be the reason to help or stop the participants from switching from one language to another, I avoided being in the room where the recording was taking place, whenever it was possible. During the recordings, which were taking place in the participants' houses, I would normally go through the family photo album, play with the children who were present, go to a different room to talk on my phone or talk with people who were not being recorded. In some cases, where the recordings took place in a shop, I kept myself busy looking around and was talking on the phone. Some recordings also took place in a gathering of friends at a restaurant, where again I tried not to be involved in the conversation with the speakers who were recorded. Instead, I occupied myself by talking to other people who were present in the restaurant.

9. Limitations

All data collection methods have their limitations, and even though they were chosen with great care for this research, some possible problems had to be thought about beforehand or during the collection stage when they arose. This section will point out some shortcomings of the chosen collection method, and how they were dealt with.

9.1 Observer's paradox

The 'observer's paradox', first described by William Labov in 1966, has become an integral part of linguistic studies that analyse speakers' speech. As Labov supports, it is mainly triggered by the presence of a researcher and eventually by a recording device, which regardless of how much she or he tries to minimise, will have some influence on the data-collection process. Also, as it is stated in De Fina and Perrino (2011) an outsider will always affect the naturalness of a communication by posing questions, silences, interruptions, and ad-hoc interpretations, and the research participants will unconsciously adapt their language to the social identity of the researcher.

In order to mitigate such side-effects, I did not leave the room or stop talking to the participants immediately after turning the recorder on. Instead, I would stay in the room and continue talking to the speakers for some time before leaving the room or getting myself occupied by talking to someone else or playing with children. Thus, the first few minutes of the recordings, where I could hear myself participating in a dialogue, were not included in the data analysis section. Instead, I started the transcribing process of the CS examples that took place when I was no longer in the room when they occurred, or alternatively, when I was not participating in the dialogues where CS occurred.

10. Transcription

As Ottenheimer (2012, p. 108) points out, the recorded data 'will always need to be transcribed with as much accuracy as the ear permits and the project requires'. In order to transcribe my data as accurately as possible, I considered it necessary to start transcribing the dialogues as soon as possible after each recording. This way, I had a better image of what the conversation might have been about, and what the relationship between the participants was, what kind of noises where making the conversation more difficult etc. I believe this knowledge gave me the ability to provide the reader with a better picture of the conversation when analysing the

examples and come up with some suggestions regarding different issues when describing what was said and what was meant.

10.1   Transcription Conventions

Transcribing a spoken text especially when using it for the data analysis is a challenging process and is very important to be done as accurately as possible, so as to provide the reader, who was not present during the recording process, with a better understanding of what was happening during the conversation. As Varenne, Hill and Byers (1992, p. 30) point out while transcribing, 'a dynamic phenomenon, speech, is trans-formed into a static artefact, the written text'. Moreover, Locher (2004) correctly supports that the transcriber has to compromise between the urge to be as precise as possible, and the realization that regardless of the amount of details included in the transcribing process, it will not manage to capture the richness of the speech.

The following transcription conventions provided by Du Bois et al. (1993) have been used in my examples:

?   : A question mark indicates an appeal which is achieved by a marked high rise in pitch ..at the end of the intonation unit.

0000   : In some cases, this symbol is used to indicate an inaudible gap in the conversation

(.)   : Single period in the brackets indicates a short pause.

(..)   : Two periods in brackets indicate a medium pause.

(...)   : Three periods in brackets are used to indicate a long pause.

[: Square bracket is used to indicate overlap.

mmm : Hesitation sounds

eee   : Hesitation sounds

aaa   : Hesitation sounds

If a monolingual speech transcription is challenging, when one deals with a bilingual speech transcription, the challenges increase. In order to provide the reader with a better understanding of each dialogue, switch from one language to another is marked by using bold script. The Greek parts of the dialogues are transcribed following the IPA transcription rules and English glosses, and English translations are provided. Also, in the Greek part of the transcription, the stress marks are used since Modern Greek is a language with 'dynamic' stress, and stressed syllables are distinguished by being longer or having higher amplitude than unstressed syllables (Arvaniti, 1994). A sample of 2 transcribed examples including Greek-Irish English CS is provided below:

I)   6:   peθéno   tis pínas

            I'm dying   of hunger

            '*I'm very hungry*'

    5:     éla manári   mu   na   su   stróso   éxo   káni   tósa

            come on dear mine   let   you   lay the table I have made so many

            práɣmata   (.)   ɟemistá   me   patátes ce   psaráki

            things   stuffed vegetables   with potatoes and   fish.DIM

            '*Com'on dear, let me prepare the table, I've made so many things: stuffed vegetables with potatoes and fish*'

    6:                                      [ax   den boró   na   periméno

                                             ah   I cannot   to   wait

'Ah, I can't wait'

5: kaló mu peðí póte ðen se peripiíθika?

good my child when not you look after?

'My dear child, when have I not looked after you?'

6: aaa ðen éxo parápono mm θa pas sto ooo (.)

aaa I don't have complaints mm will you go to ooo

restaurant with costí ce tus álus

Costis and the others

'I have no complaints. Will you head to the restaurant with Costis and others?'

5: [ne ne amé

yes yes of course

'Yes, of course'

J) 20: pézame me tis óres me tis parées

we were playing with hours with our friends

su léo den kséro pos antéçame tóses óres

I'm telling you I don't know how we lasted so many hours

káθe vráði

every evening

'We were playing hours with our friends, I'm telling you I have no idea how were we coping with it for so many hours every evening'

22: eɣó ee poté eména ðen   m arésane   aftá   m arési ee

I   ee never to me not   I liked   these   I like ee

aɣapó ti físi   kséris   ce   ólo   ékso   ímuna

I love the nature   you know   and always out   I was

'I never liked these, I love the nature you know and I was constantly out'

20: ékanes   ce   eee   hillwalking up in the mountains?

did you do   and   eee

'Did you do hillwalking up in the mountains?'

22: (laughing)   kalá   e   ípame óxi   ce   tóso   hardcore

well   e   we said not   and   that much

emís   ímastan   pço polí   tis θálasas   vre

we   were   more   of the sea   hey

'Haha, no, nothing that hardcore, we were mainly into sea'

11. Fieldnotes

In Agar's definition, 'fieldnotes are the record of an ethnographer's observations, conversations, interpretations, and suggestions for future information to be gathered' (1996, p. 161). The objective of fieldnote taking is to understand the situation during each dialogue; the relationship between the speakers; their mood during the day of the recording etc., so as to be

able to analyse the data as best as possible, and also to help the researcher stay neutral in the description of parts of the speech where arguments arose.

As advised by O'Reilly (2009, p. 71) I wrote some keywords, short comments, and memories of conversations into a notebook in-between the recordings which then helped me write a full account in the form of a fieldnote at the end of each day when recordings took place. My fieldnotes not only tried to capture as much detail about conversations and events as possible, but also information about the context and the participants of this study, in order to create as much *thickness* (Geertz 1973) as possible. So as to avoid disturbing the natural flow of conversation, I did not make any fieldnotes during the presence of the participants. Instead, I would only make some comments in my notebook when I would leave the participants houses or when going to a different room. On one occasion, fieldnotes were taken when I was working on my laptop few minutes after the recording was finished and before the dinner was served which I was asked to join. All fieldnotes were typed directly into a word document at the end of each day where a recording took place, and they were labelled and sorted in a chronological order.

Of course, as Emerson et al. point out, fieldwork is always subjective, selective, and biased, as not everything can be taken in and written down, and a researcher always picks some situations that he or she participates in, and writes from the perspective of these settings and situations (1995, p. 4). What we select for our records is also always coloured by our own socialisation and 'reflects researchers' deeper assumptions about social life and how to understand it' (Emerson et al. 1995, p. 10). Therefore, there is no single right way of describing one's observations and 'the task of the ethnographer is not to determine the one objective truth, but to reveal the multiple truths apparent in others' lives' (Emerson et al. 1995, p. 4). In other words, the notes are not taken as absolute in their truth, but only as one account of multiple realities. In this endeavour, I followed model of connecting observed events always with my

personal reaction to them developed by Emerson et al., (1995, p. 11) as well as Wax (1971), which avoids having fieldnotes get perceived as 'objective' facts at a later reading. Instead, it considers the filednotes as subjective observation notes that a researcher takes to assist her in describing the data in the best possible way. Two samples of translated fieldnotes from Greek which I used to assist me in providing a better picture of the events behind the recorded dialogue are provided below:

9th Fieldnote 17th of September

<u>Location: X and W's house</u>

Three speakers are present. X, W and Z. X and Z, two female speakers, 40 and 47 years old respectively, are good friends, and W is X's 54 year old husband. The couple lives in Ireland for 14 years and their friend, Z is here for 24 years. The two women are initially talking about Z's back problems and her visits to the physiotherapist and then the dialogue continues with some talks about Z's college degree which as I understand is in nursing. X appears to be angry at Z for not looking after herself and not taking her health issues more seriously. Z tries to ignore X's comments in the beginning and then gets angry at her. Me and W, who is X's husband are in the kitchen which communicates with the living room. I am talking with W and going through their family album. Since there are no doors between the kitchen and the living room, I can hear what is happening in the living room and so can W. Thus, when there is tension between the two women, W who is preparing breakfast leaves the kitchen and goes in the living room to get involved in the conversation.

13th Fieldnote 28th of September

<u>Location: Clothes shop</u>

The two female speakers, a 26 year-old X and her 55 year-old aunt W, are living and working in Ireland for 7 and 9 years respectively. X, a graphic designer, has visited her aunt W, who runs a clothes shop in Dublin. The main language of these speakers conversation seems to be

English, I am assuming because of it being a public space and the shop owner W not wanting to create any confusion or misunderstanding with her potential clients.

I am occupying myself by looking at clothes which are away from the two speakers so to leave them some space to talk without me being a part of their conversation. From what I see, they are quite relaxed and have time to talk since they are not disturbed by customers. Also, I am able to observe that the two speakers seem to switch codes quite frequently, and I am noticing W's extensive use of diminutives when switching to Greek. It is interesting that the two speakers do not hesitate to discuss some private matters too, which I assume is a positive sign and shows that they are relaxed and feeling at ease, regardless of the fact that the audio recorder is switched on and their dialogue is recorded.

12. Conclusion

In this chapter I attempted to outline the methodology related details of this research. I first provided the reader with the introduction reminding them about the research questions of this study, then went through some information on the Greek diaspora of Ireland, and aspects of Greek and Irish English. Afterwards, I discussed the Ethics Committee's approval procedure I had to undergo since my research involved human participants. I also discussed matters related to the locations of gathering for Greek speakers, and ways of approaching the possible participants, as well as the length and the amount of the audio recordings. I also talked about my involvement during the recordings since my choice of language could potentially have an effect on if and when these participants would switch from one language to another. Furthermore, I discussed some limitations researchers usually face in similar research processes concentrating on Labov's 'Observer's Paradox'. There were also discussions regarding the transcription of the speech where CS took place as well as my personal fieldnotes, and the way they were used to provide the reader with a better picture of the participants, as

well as the story behind every dialogue used in the 91 CS examples that can be found in this study.

CHAPTER 5: CS FOR FOUR MAIN REASONS APART FROM POLITENESS

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the reader with some CS examples from my recordings in an attempt to analyse the main reasons for CS from Greek to Irish English and from Irish English to Greek apart from politeness, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In order to present the collected data in the best possible way, following the methodology of Gardner-Chloros (2009), I consider it important to divide the examples where CS occurred during the audio recordings of the recorded speakers in categories. In order to provide a reader with a clear picture on how common the notion of CS among the Greek speakers of Ireland is, I consider it important to present a number of examples for each category. Thus, section 3 will go through the examples related to CS when not remembering a word or a phrase in the main language of conversation; section 4 will include examples related to CS for the use of fixed phrases and expressions; section 5 will go through CS examples for the use of some non-corresponding words and phrases in the main language of speakers' conversations, such as food names; and finally, section 6 will discuss the CS examples which take place when the speaker wants to present the objective side of a story they are narrating, which I will call CS for original language quotation.

Apart from the knowledge of the two languages, which undoubtedly has been helpful for me to analyse the CS examples of this chapter, certain features like hesitation have been taken into consideration in order to figure out why speakers decided to switch codes during their conversations. According to Brennan and Williams (1995, p. 396), hesitation pauses are indicative of how speakers search memory. In English, the most common hesitation pauses are *um* and *ah* as suggested by Hlavac (2011). In the same way, in Greek sounds like *ee* and *oo* which are frequently used in this chapter's examples are quite common. These hesitation sounds are referred to by some as *non-lexical intrusive sounds* (Blankenship and Kay, 1964, p.

360), *fillers* (Clark and Tree, 2002, p. 75) or as *punctors* (Vincent and Sankoff, 1992, p. 205) and they were easy for me to present in the examples depicted below since I could hear these hesitations when listening to the recorded material. Moreover, attempt is made to inform the reader about other paralinguistic markers such as laughter, nervous coughing, gestures, facial expressions etc., while analysing each example in order to try to see what urges a speaker to switch from Greek to Irish English and vice versa. Therefore, after presenting the reader with each example, I will try to communicate this information with them together with my reasoning for choosing these examples to be a part of a specific category.

It should also be mentioned that, because of the amount of the data, not all CS examples that belong to theses four categories will be presented and analysed. Instead, I provide the reader with the most representative examples of each category. However, all 51 examples which I consider to be related to politeness will be presented and discussed in Chapter 6. The 40 examples that are discussed in this chapter are from the recordings of 12 Greek speaking family/friend groups who have been living in Ireland from 5 to 34 years. Table 2 depicts all speakers of this study with the numbers of this chapter's examples taken from their recordings. When presenting the examples, the number of each speaker is used to indicate who the conversation belongs to, therefore, the reader can refer to this table for details about these 27 speakers such as their gender, age and years of residence in Ireland, as well as to Table 1 (p. 58) about information on the speakers relationships, their professions and the place of the recordings. Moreover, as already discussed in the Methodology Chapter 4, three recordings of each group took place with each of them lasting approximately 30 minutes and my involvement in these conversations was minimised to avoid influencing the language choice of the participants.

Speakers	Gender	Age	Number of years in Ireland	Example numbers
1	Female	31	12	Examples: 9, 27, 28, 29
2	Female	35	12	
3	Male	43	6	Examples: 8, 23, 32, 37
4	Male	37	10	
5	Male	26	7	Examples: 3
6	Female	54	7	
7	Male	70	34	Examples: 22, 26, 38, 39
8	Male	58	7	Examples: 22, 26, 38, 39
9	Female	57	7	Examples: 14, 33, 35
10	Female	24	7	Examples: 13, 14, 33, 35
11	Female	29	10	Examples: 13
12	Female	44	9	Examples: 1, 2, 16
13	Female	38	12	
14	Female	34	8	Examples: 15, 25
15	Male	35	10	
16	Female	54	12	Examples: 11, 12
17	Female	47	10	
18	Female	37	12	Examples: 7, 17, 31, 34, 36
19	Female	29	12	
20	Female	47	24	Examples: 4, 5, 10, 18, 20, 21, 30, 40
21	Female	40	14	Examples: 5, 21, 30
22	Male	54	14	Examples: 4, 5, 10, 18, 20, 21, 30, 40
23	Female	26	7	Examples: 6, 19, 24
24	Female	55	9	

25	Female	36	12	
26	Male	5	5	
27	Female	51	14	Example: 6

Table 2: CS examples for four main reasons apart from politeness

2. *Four main reasons for CS among this study's participants*

As mentioned in Chapter 2, CS has been defined in different ways among scholars working in this field. In general, it is agreed that CS refers to a combination of two or more linguistic varieties in a speech. Depending on the reasons of one's study and their attitude towards the notion of CS, scholars choose to approach its study either from a structural point of view, where their major concern is to explore different codes' grammatical constraints that allow or restrict switching from one code to another to happen, or study it from a sociolinguistic approach which intends to investigate various social motivations underlying CS as well as look at factors such as speakers' age, gender, social background, attitude etc. in regard to CS. My intention for recording speakers and concentrating on those parts of their speech where CS occurs has to do with investigating what the factors urging Greek-Irish English speakers to switch codes are.

There are numerous reasons that motivate a bi/multilingual speaker to switch codes in a conversation. They can be syntactic, pragmatic, sociological or psychological, since, as Myers-Scotton (2005) argues, through CS speakers are often able to express notions and connotations that would be difficult if not impossible to do so in the Matrix language. The participants of this research also switched codes for different reasons. Apart from reasons related to politeness, which will be discussed in Chapter 6, the main reasons for CS among the recorded speakers appeared to be their inability to quickly think of a word/phrase they needed in the main language of communication, their urge to use a fixed phrase in a different language that would better describe the situation, the need to use a word/phrase for a non-corresponding concept/notion in the main language of conversation, and lastly, for original language quotation

when narrating something that took place at work, etc. in the original language, so to give their story a more objective tone. Therefore, I consider it important to present this study's reader with some representative examples for each of these four CS related categories.

   3.   Switching codes because of not remembering a word/phrase

All participants of this research are fluent speakers of Greek and Irish English with 6 years being the least amount of time a participant has been living in Ireland for, apart from a 5-year-old child who was born in Ireland. Thus, I restrained myself from calling this section something like *CS because of the lack of competence* and instead following Gardner-Chloros (2009) I called it *switching codes because of not remembering a word/phrase,* since most of the times CS of this category could be assigned to the speakers' inability to quickly find the right word. It would be natural for this type of hesitations and delay to take place among monolinguals too in similar cases where they might not be able to think of a work or a phrase they want to use in order to communicate their message to the Hearer. But in case of bilinguals, apart from a hesitation and some delay in their speech, there is an option of switching from one language to another, which appeared to be a popular choice, since it saves them time and makes them communicate their message in a more smooth way and without losing their track of thought.

   I have divided all categories' examples in two groups, with the first one referring to examples of CS from Greek to Irish English, and the second one including CS examples from Irish English to Greek.

   3.1 Switching codes because of not remembering a word/phrase: Greek to Irish English CS

This section presents 7 examples where speakers switch from Greek to Irish English so to use words/phrases they are looking for in Greek but cannot seem to be able to think of at that time.

1)   12:   tu   kózmu   tis ðuʎiés   ékana   vre kalí   mu   óso   oo

of	world	works	I did	dear	mine	while	oo

'I did so much work my dear while…'

13:   [ma

                                                                     but

ðen	me	akús	s éleɣa	na mi ta	válisóla
not	me	you listen	I was telling you	not to	put all

em an	ómos	su	bi	káti	sto	mjaló	ee
em if	but	you	goes into	something	in	your head	ee

metá	íse	anipófori
after	you are	unbearable

'You never listen to me. I was telling you not to put all of it but when something gets into your hear, you become unbearable.'

12:
páli	kríoses	esí?
again	got flu	you

'Did you get sick again?'

13:
ðéfteri	forá	aftó	to	mína	eee	ti	na	po
second time	this	the	month	eee	what	to	say

'Second time this year, what can I say.'

12:
tsái	na	pínis	me	eee	(…)	**honey**
tea	to	drink	with	eee	(…)	**honey**

'You should drink tea with'

13:
méli	méli
honey	honey

'honey, honey'

12:
ðen	mas	voiθá	ci	o	cerós	tóra	kséris

| not | us | helping | and | the | weather | now | you know |

'the weather isn't helping us either now, you know'

In Example 1, two sisters, Speakers 12 and 13 talk predominantly in Greek however, Speaker 12 cannot remember the Greek corresponding word for *honey* thus, after trying to think of a corresponding word, which is clear from the use of eee and a long pause, she decides to switch to English, and use the word honey after which she gets B's translation of the word in Greek. After this, their conversation continues in Greek with some switches to Irish English for other reasons, some of which are considered to be politeness related and are thus presented in Chapter 6.

It could be argued that Speaker 12 is initially looking for the right word since the part of the dialogue includes some hesitations sounds transcribed here as eee as well as a long pause. As Paraskeva (2010, p. 113), correctly suggests, such instances of CS that are accompanied by 'textual and paralinguistic features' could be seen as an effort to maintain the conversation's cohesion among participants. As mentioned above, a monolingual speaker could also find themselves in a similar situation, where they are trying to think of a word. However, being bilingual provides this study's speakers with the ability to CS and use the word they cannot quickly think of in a different language, saving time and effort.

2) 13: | ke | ðilaðí | pos | ítan | tóso síɣuri | pos | ee θa ee | pári | ti |
        | and | how is it that | she was so sure | | | that | ee will ee | get | a |

proaɣojí?

promotion?

'And how was she so sure about getting promition?'

12: | (laughing) | em | mm | ti | nomízes | esí | ðikó tis | íne |
        | | em | mm | what | did think | you | her own | is it |

| to | maɣazáci | ecí péra |

the	shop.DIM	over there

'She does whategver she wants in that place sure'

13:
kséris	pósa práɣmata	éxo	na	taktopiíso	prin
you know	how much stuff	I have	to	put in order	before

vɣo	stin	áðia	íne	apístefto	to	pósi	ðuʎá	péfti
I go	to	leave	it's	unbelievable		how much work falls		

mazí
together

'Do you know how much I have to do before going on leave, It's unbelievable how much work has pilled up'

12:
em	étsi	ín avtá	leɲó	mu	ala	mi to skéftese
yep	so	are these	Lenio	mine	but	do not think

óla	ta kataférnis	esí	kopéla mu	áksia
everything	will manage	you	girl	mine	great

'You are right my dear Lenio, but please don't mind it, you are going to manage it all'

13:
i	liza	póte	pái	ámsterdam?	tí	mas	ípe	θimáse?
	Lisa	when	goes	Amsterdam?	what	us	told	remember?

'When is Lisa off to Amsterdam? Do you remember what she told us?'

12:
eee ax	ti	mas	íxe	pi	kale?	eee (.) **twenty third of March**
eee oh	what	us	had	told	dear?	eee

'Ah, what date did she tell us?'

13:
íkosi	tris	e?	ánte brávo	brávo	na ðúme	an	θa	tis
twenty third		e?	ok	good	good	let's see	if	will	to her

arési	ecí

	like	there

'On the twenty third right? Let's see if she's gonna like it there'

12:	jatí	na	min	tis	arési?	íne	ómorfi	póli
	why	to	not	her	like?	it's	beautiful	town

'Why shouldn't she like it there? It's a beautiful city'

Example 2 also takes place between the above mentioned Speakers 12 and 13. When talking about a common friend's upcoming trip, Speaker 12 seems to want to say the date of it but seems to be struggling to find the word in Greek. Thus, after some hesitation which is expressed by the sound eee and a short pause that follows, she switches to English and gives her interlocutor the required information. It could also be argued however that the switch to Irish English here takes place for original language quotation. However, judging from the recording and as shown in this chapter's section 6, when switching codes for original language quotation, these speakers' speeches didn't have pauses or hesitation sounds. Therefore, I believe including this example under the category *Switching codes because of not remembering a word/phrase* is more appropriate.

3)	6:	peθéno	tis	pínas
		I'm dying		of hunger

'I'm very hungry'

	5:	éla manári	mu	na	su	stróso	éxo	káni	tósa
		come on dear	mine	let	you	lay the table	I have	made	so many

	práɣmata	(.)	ɟemistá		me	patátes	ce	psaráki
	things		stuffed vegetables		with	potatoes	and	fish.DIM

'Com'on dear, let me prepare the table, I've made so many things: stuffed vegetables with potatoes and fish'

	6:				[ax	den boró	na	periméno

| | | | ah | I cannot | to | wait |

'Ah, I can't wait'

5:	kaló	mu	peðí	póte	ðen se	peripiíθika?
	good	my	child	when	not you	look after?

'My dear child, when have I not looked after you?'

6:	aaa	ðen	éxo	parápono	mm	θa	pas	sto	ooo (.)
	aaa	I don't have	complaints	mm	will	you go to	ooo

restaurant	**with**	costí	ce	tus	álus
		Costis	and	the	others

'I have no complaints. Will you head to the restaurant with Costis and others?'

5:				[ne	ne	amé
				yes	yes	of course

'Yes, of course'

Similarly to the previous two examples, Speakers 5 and 6 - mother and son - of this example appear to be code switching quite frequently during their recorded conversations. When not being able to think of the Greek word for *restaurant*, Speaker 6 decided to switch to English just for that one word and then continued the conversation in Greek. It could however, also be the case that the English word *restaurant* is used to index the fact that the restaurant is in Ireland however, features like hesitation sound ooo and a short delay before switching to Irish English leads me to include example 3 in this category.

4)	20:	pézame		me	tis óres	me	tis	parées
		we were playing		with	hours	with	our	friends
		su léo	den kséro		pos	antéçame	tóses	óres
		I'm telling you I don't know		how	we lasted	so many hours
		káθe	vráði

every   evening

'We were playing hours with our friends, I'm telling you I have no idea how were we coping with it for so many hours every evening'

22: eɣó ee poté   eména ðen   m arésane   aftá   m arési ee

I   ee never to me not   I liked   these I like ee

aɣapó ti físi   kséris   ce   ólo   ékso   ímuna

I love the nature   you know   and   always out   I was

'I never liked these, I love the nature you know and I was constantly out'

20: ékanes   ce   eee   **hillwalking up in the mountains?**

did you do   and   eee

'Did you do hillwalking up in the mountains?'

22: (laughing)   kalá   e   ípame óxi   ce   tóso   **hardcore**

well   e   we said not   and   that much

emís   ímastan   pço polí   tis θálasas   vre

we   were   more   of the sea   hey

'Haha, no, nothing that hardcore, we were mainly into sea'

Example 4 is also from a conversation taking place predominantly in Greek, where Speaker 20 who is visiting her friends, a couple - Speakers 21 and 22, during the recording which takes place in the couple's house. Speaker 20 wants to ask Speaker 22 if he did hillwalking. After the hesitation sound eee however, she seems unable to think of the word hillwalking in Greek, so she simply switches Irish English. It is also interesting to see her interlocutor in this dialogue, Speaker 22, using the English word *hardcore* which if used in Greek would be a very long and quite rarely used word *skliropirinikós* thus, using the English word seems to be saving him time. It is worth mentioning here that Speaker 22's CS to Irish English for the use of the word *hardcore* could be considered borrowing. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Myers-Scotton

(1993b) classifies borrowed words/phrases in two forms; *cultural* and *core* forms. The first refer to words/phrases that are new to the base language culture and usually they do not exist in this language, while the term *core* is usually used for items that already have an equivalent form. Therefore, one could argue that in Myers-Scotton's terms, this is a case of CS since there is an equivalent form in Greek.

5)   22:   san   to tsái tu vunú   mas   ðen   éxi   se   léo

like   the tea of mountain   our   not   is   to you   I'm telling

'I'm telling you, there is nothing like our mountain tea'

20:   apó   pu   to pérnete?   sas   ta stélnun   í aɣorázete   eðó?

from   where do you get it?   you   they send   or you buy   here?

'Where do you usually get it from? Do you buy it here or somebody sends it to you from Greece?'

21:   i mamá mu   ta mazévi   me   ta çérja tis

my mother   gathers   with   the hands her

'My mum collects it herself'

káθe   xróno pu   tin   episképtome   jirnáo píso

every year   when   her   I visit   I come back

me sakúla   tóso ða   eee   θa   su   féro   ce séna

with a bag   this big   eee   will   to you I bring and to you

'Each year I come back with a big bag, I will bring some to you too'

20:   aftó   tóra   ee   aftó   tóra   íne   to   (.) **green tea**

this   now   ee   this   now   is   the

pu   léme?

that   we say?

'Is this a green tea?'

22:	ne	ne	íne	fisikó	apó	ta vuná	mas
	yes	yes	it's	natural	from	mountains	our

'Yeah, it's natural from Greek moutains'

21:					[fisikótato
					very natural

'Natural indeed'

Example 5 takes place among the previous example's speakers. As we can see here, when offered mountain tea from Greece, Speaker 21 and 22's guest, Speaker 20 wants to find out if it is a green tea but seems to be unable to think of the phrase needed in Greek. So, after a very short pause, she CS from Greek to Irish English just to use the phrase needed and then goes back to Greek.

6)
27:	i karðjá	mu	ítan	étimi	na	vɣi	su	léo
	heart	mine	was	ready	to	come out	you	I'm telling

'I'm telling you, my heart was about to come out'

24:	em	eee	líɣo	íne	na	ta pái	tóso	kalá?	ee
	em	eee	little	it is	to	go	so	well?	ee

astéri	íne	to korítsi	mas
star	is	the girl	our

'Of course, it's not a small thing her doing so well. She's a star our girl'

27:	ax	me ékane	polí	xarúmeni
	ah	made me	very	happy

'Ah, she made me very happy'

24:	fotoɣrafíes	póte	tha éçis?		θélo	na	tin	kamaróso
	pictures	when	will you have?		I want	to	her	to admire

'When will you have the pictures? I want to see her'

27:	kséris	ti	fórese?	eee	θimáse	ta	mávra mu
	you know	what	she wore?	eee	remember	the	black my
	papútsia	me	tis	ble	ɣramés?		
	shoes	with	the	blue	lines?		

'Do you know what she wore? Do you remember my black shoes with blue stripes?'

24:	ax	ti	mu	les	tóra	aaa san	tin	eee	**goddess**
	as	what	me	you telling	now	aaa like		eee	

'Really? Like a goddess'

27:	(laughing)	**goddess with blue shoes**

Example 6 takes place when two women, Speakers 24 and 27 discuss about Speaker 27's daughter and her recent graduation. When describing the daughter's outfit, Speaker 27 mentions what she was wearing and her interlocutor describes her as goddess when being presented with the graduation picture. However, there is a hesitation in Speaker 24's speech when looking for a Greek word, and without losing too much time, after the hesitation sound eee, she decides to go for the corresponding word in Irish English in order to get Speaker 27's reply which is also in English. CS for the use of the word 'goddess' could also be indexing alignment.

7)	19:	me	ta	peðjá	tu	sxolíu íxame pái	na	ðúme
		with	the	children	of	school we had gone	to	see
		aftó						
		it						

'We went to see this with our students'

18:	ne?	ítan	kaló?
	yes?	was it good?	

'Really? Was it good?'

19:    kses   ti   m arési   se avtá ta   kenúrja   tis

you know   what   I like   in these the   new ones   of

dísnei? íne peðiká   men   ee alá éxun nóima   ce   o

disney? they childish   from one side ee but have meaning   and   the

meɣálos   katalavéni   ce   káti   parapáno

grown up   understands   and   something   more

'You know what I like about these new Disney films? They are made for children but an adult gets something more from them too'

18:    e   ne   étsi   íne   ce   íne   polí   kalá   afta   ta   eee

e   yes   so   it is   and   are   very   good   these   the   eee

educational

'That's right, and they are very good too, these educational ones'

19:    **exactly and they are so nicely done too, it was really enjoyable for us too not only the kids**

Similarly to example 6, Greek to Irish English CS also takes place in example 7 among two women; Speakers 18 and 19. When discussing about a film Speaker 19 watched with her students, Speaker 18's comments about the educational purpose of new Disney cartoons follows, however not being able to think of the word *educational* in Greek, she decides to switch to Irish English, something that results in the switch to Irish English for the rest of the dialogue.

3.2 Switching codes because of not remembering a word/phrase: Irish English to Greek CS
The following seven examples are cases of CS for the same reason with the above presented examples, however, this time CS takes place from Irish English to Greek.

8)   3:   next week mmm we should be able to cover it

4:             [no bother man

3:       Makis will be back too so we should be all ready and set to go

4:       great staff ee with banking how did it go?

3:       online baking right? ee not so straightforward but we ee we did it and the ee mm

           (.) **análipsi** bit should be okay now too

            withdrawal

4:       it's on track (.) 00000 on track

Example 8 is from a discussion among cousins who are with a group of friends in a restaurant. Some of the friends are not Greek speakers, however, since it's only these two speakers of the group who are this study's participants, they agreed to be recorded when talking to each other sitting away from the rest of the group. When discussing about the online payment they set up recently, Speaker 4 asks his cousin if everything went ok with setting up the payment details. When relying, Speaker 3 appears to struggle to think of the word withdrawal, so after some hesitation sounds and a small pause, he decides to switch to Greek and then goes back to Irish English.

9)   1:   that's the only think is hate about spending my summer holidays there you

           know, I love the heat and my aunt makes amazing pies for me every time I'm

           there, but I don't know what the hell is going with the cockroaches em mm

           they are huge like

    2:      I know ee it's the heat, we have them too in Thessaloniki but Crete is a different

           story altogether

    1:      you know the big one they are eee **kafé   eee ce petáne   ci ólas**

                           brown   eee and they fly   too

          'Do you know the big ones? They are brown and can fly'

    2:      ah I know I know can't stand them

When talking about summer in Crete, two sisters, Speakers 1 and 2 in example 9 start talking about insects one can find on Crete during the summer season, and when describing one of these insects, Speaker 1 wants to use the colour brown but seems to find it difficult to think of in Greek so, after some hesitation she switches to Irish English and uses the Greek word for colour brown and also continues her dialogue in Greek providing additional information describing this insect.

10) 20: last year we did this cruise around Spain and France (.) oh it was so beautiful especially Sardinia and Corsica

22: I've never been there mmm I remember seeing your pictures it looked amazing

20: you should go to Sardinia eee you know we tried this cheese with mmm

me   skulícja   pola áspra skulícja

with   maggots   lots of white   maggots

'You should go to Sardinia, You know we tried this cheese with lots of maggots in it'

22: what? oh my goodness did you try it? oh I could not do it

Example 10 also deals with the subject of insects, in this case it is about maggots and the type of an Italian cheese. When wanting to describe that the inside of a cheese is filled with maggots, Speaker 20 seems to have difficulty in thinking of the word in Irish English, thus, after the hesitation sound mmm she switches to Greek and Similarly to example 9, continues her phrase in the switched language. It is interested to note that these 2 examples, 9 and 10 are cases of intra-sentential CS however, as already mentioned in this study both, intra-sentential and inter-sentential examples are referred to as examples of CS.

11) 17: It's just how it is you know, you walk into the shop and half of it is covered in pink and the other half in blue mm even if you don't want to get a different

colour it's difficult ee all clothes are either pink or blue

16:    I know for Vasula I was always trying to buy orange tops and I remember how

many nice designs were there all pink but not much in other ones. Especially

the eee **ta**	**pastél**	**ta**	**xrómata**	**ee**	**íne ðisévreta**
the	pastel	the	colours	ee	are difficult to find

'Especially the pastel colours are difficult to find'

17:    **étsi**   **íne**   you are right

so   it is

'That's how it is, you are right'

Example 11, deals with CS caused for not remembering or not knowing that the word *pastel* is

the same with its Greek equivalent in Irish English. After talking about different colour clothes

for children, Speaker 16 wants to say how difficult it was for her to find pastel colour clothes.

Interestingly enough, the word to describe these colours is same in both Greek and English,

however, Speaker 16 appears to switch to Greek and continues her phrase in Greek to get a

reply from Speaker 17 who agrees with her in both Greek and Irish English.

12) 16:   the best way is to have a list near the fridge mm that's what I do coz I was

always I'm like ee I keep thinking what should I cook next and everybody gets

so upset when I ask'em

17:    (laughing) I know it's like so difficult to think of something new

16:    you know what I was thinking the (.) **perioðiká**   **pu**   **éxun**   **stíles**

magazines   that   have   columns

maʝirikís káθe vðomáða ee to just follow those and make what they tell you

of cooking each week

'You know what I was thinking? To just follow the magazines with the weekly

recipe columns and make what they tell you'

17:    (laughing) not only they make you cook but they get annoyed if you ask them

a question ee a simple question this or that

Example 12 is also similar to the previous examples of this section and takes place among Speakers 16 and 17, whose previous dialogue appears in example 11. One of the speakers, in this case Speaker 16, is unable to think of a Greek corresponding word for magazines and thus, decides to switch to Greek. In comparison to the previous examples, Speaker 16 does not seem to hesitate before switching to Greek.

13)   10:   it was so crowded but you know we expected it ee after all it's Elton John you

know, I was almost crying when he sang the circle of life ee it's it was the

same in London when I saw the play too

11:    do you know that song? it's mmm not old ee I think he was with

10:   [which one?

11:    ah can't remember now it's eee it's about eee **epistrofí   sta   peðiká**

                                                 return   to   childhood

xrónia

years

'Oh, I can't remember now. It's about the return to childhood'

10:    he has so many of them ee how many years is it now that he's on stage? It

should be from the seventies

In the example 13, when talking about a singer, Speaker 11 describes one of his songs, but seems to be unable to think of the word/phrase she needs, so once again CS to Greek takes place after a short hesitation sound ee however, Speaker 10 does not follow the switch and continues the conversation in Irish English.

14)   10:   Nikita was telling me that after work they are all planning to go out

for dinner and for pints after that

9:      he might be late then ee we can go and call him from Maria's

10:     I'm ready ee you know what can you give me your eee your ee

marɣaritaréɲo kolié ɣia to párti pu   páo   meθávrio?

pearl necklace   for the party that I'm going   after tomorrow?

'I'm ready. You know what, can you give me your pearl necklace for a party I'm attending the day after tomorrow?'

9:      **ke vévea   kalí   mu   kátse ee   kátse na   sto   féro**

and of course dear   mine sit   ee   sit   to   you   I bring

'Of course dear, let me go and get it'

(conversation continues in Greek)

Example 14 also shows CS from Irish English to Greek when Speaker 10 is unable to think of a corresponding phrase for a pearl necklace in Irish English thus, she switches to Greek and follows the explanation on what event she needs to borrow this item for in the switched language. Interestingly enough, this causes the switch in the language of their dialogue which continues in Greek. It could also be argued here that Speaker 10 attempts to mitigate a FTA of a request she is making by switching to Irish English. Clearer cases of such mitigations will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4. CS for fixed phrases

In this section I have included examples where CS takes place when speakers want to use a fixed phrase which either does not sound natural in the main language of their conversation, does not carry the connotations it does in the switched language or is a longer and a more complicated phrase in the main language of conversation. As was the case with section 3, this section is also divided in two groups, with Greek to Irish English CS examples being discussed in 4.1, and Irish English to Greek CS examples depicted in 4.2.

4.1 CS for fixed phrases: Greek to Irish English CS

The next five examples will present CS for the use of various fixed phrases where speakers

switch from Greek to Irish English.

15)   15:   na   su   po   eɣó   ti   pistévo?   ee   an   ðen

to   you   say   I   what   I believe?   ee   if   not

íne   na   páte   santoríni   eee   na   páte   ikaría

is   to   you go Santorini   eee   to   you go Ikaria

'I think you should go to Ikaria if you are to not go to Santorini'

14:    les   na   íne   kalítera   stin   ikaría?

you say to   it be   better   in   Ikaria?

'Do you think Ikaria is a better option?'

15:    **of course**   íne   ce   pjo   ómofro   ce   pjo   fθinó   se

it's   and   more   beautiful and   more   cheap   in

síŋgrisi   me   santoríni

comparison   with   Santorini

'Of course, it's more beautiful and cheaper in comparison to Santorini'

In example 15, which takes place among two friends, a female Speaker 14 and a male Speaker

15, who have been living in Greece for 8 and 10 years respectively, the conversation is mainly

happening in Greek and only one example of switch from Greek to Irish English occurs for the

use of a phrase *of course*. Despite having a similar phrase in Greek, Speaker 15 chooses to

switch from Greek to Irish English in the beginning of the utterance and without any hesitation

or pause continues his conversation in Greek, a phrase that might simply be his go-to phrase in

Irish English thus, he decides to CS to Irish English to use it.

16)   13:   kátse   na   tin fonákso   an   íne   ce   mas   to ðíxni

sit   to   call her   if   it is   and   to us   shows it

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mazí	eee	maría	mu	éla	líɣo	pu	se	θélume
together	eee	Maria	my	come	a bit	that	you	we want

'Let me call her and sha can help us. Maria my dear, can you come over for a minute?'

12:
den	pirázi		re	si	mípos	éçi	ðuʎés	to peðí
not	bothers		hey	you	maybe	she has	work	the child

'It's OK, perhaps she is busy'

13: **no worries**
	borí	na	tis	kánitis	ðuʎés		tis	ce	arɣótera
	she can	to		to do	the work		hers	and	later

'No worries, she can do whatever she has to later'

12: **she's very good with computers ee I remember her from school ee she was always trying to figure out how things work**

Example 16 also depicts CS for the use of an English fixed phrase. This time a 38 year old female Speaker 13, when talking to a 44 year old woman, decides to switch from Greek to Irish English to use a phrase *no worries*, similarly to Speaker 15 of the previous example. The conversation continues in Irish English which however might be caused by somebody entering the room where the recording is taking place.

17) 18:
páre	ce	ðós	to	ce	sta	peðjá	su
take it	and	give it		and	to	children	your

'Take it and give some to the kids too'

19:
na	se	kalá	maráci	mu
to	you	be good	Maria.DIM	my

'Thanks a lot my dear Maria'

18:
kses		ti	ee	boró	na	su féro		ce	líɣo	apó	to
you know		what	ee	I can	to	you bring		and	a bit	from	the

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ɣlikó	tu	kutaʎú	eee	éxo	ɣlikó	tu	kutaʎú	karpuzi
sweert	of	spoon	eee	I have	sweet	of	spoon	watermelon

ee	kséro	θa	tus	arési	mm	sta peðjá	pánda	arési	to
ee	I know	will	to them	like	mm	to kids	always	like	the

karpúzi

watermelon

'You know, I can get some jam too, I have some watermelon jam and I know kids usually like it'

19:
ise	síɣuri?	mm	den	θélo	na	sta steríso
you are	sure?	mm	I don't want	to		take it from you

'Are you sure now? I don't want to take it from you'

18:
				[éla	tóra	ti	les
				common	now	what	you saying

'Come on now, what are you saying'

19: **thanks a million**
	ee íse	ipéroçi
	ee you are	amazing

'Thanks a million, you are amazing'

18:
íme	síɣuri	θa	arési	ce	stus	ðío
I'm	sure	will	like	and	to	both

'I'm sure both of them are going to like it'

In example 17, the reader can see CS happening for a commonly used Irish English fixed phrase *thanks a million* when Speaker 19 is offered a homemade jam. The conversation is happening mainly in Greek, but this speaker chooses to CS to Irish English and express her gratitude to her friend by using a typical Irish English phrase. She could have used a similar phrase *hilia evharistó* 'one thousand thank you' that exists in Greek however, the latter is not as common

as the Irish English fixed phrase. Therefore, I assume she chose to CS to Irish English in order

to use the fixed phrase - *thanks a million* and switched back to Greek straight after.

18) 20: θa jirísun í θa kátsun ecí ci apópse kséris?

will they return or will they sit there and tonight you know?

'Do you know whether they are coming back or will they stay there

overnight?'

22: em pços kséri ti θa kánun teliká eee

em who knows what will they do finally eee

'Who knows what they are gonna do'

20: eee étsi íne ta ɲáta sabós ci emis ðen ímastan ólo

eee so are the youth as if and we not were always

ékso stin ilicía tus

out at age their

'That's how the youngsters are, we were also out all the time when we were

their age too'

22: ne vre alá aftí ólo ékso íne eee to spíti ðen

yes hey but they always out are eee the house not

tus vlépi pja

them sees anymore

'Yes but they are out all the time, the house never sees them'

20: ce ta ðiká mu étsi ítan kses eee **out and about (.)**

and mine so were you know eee

constantly out with friends (.) partying ee I'll never understand how did

they even manage to graduate

'My kids were the same too you know, out and about constantly out partying with friends. I'll never understand how they managed to graduate'

22:    étsi   étsi

        so   so

'that's right'

Example 18 depicts another case of Greek to Irish English CS for the use of a fixed phrase *out and about.* After discussing about their children, Speaker 20 wants to emphasise her children's habit of going out frequently and instead of explaining it in Greek she decides to do so using this frequently used Irish English fixed phrase, something that urges her to continue the conversation in Irish English.

19)   24:   káθe méra   aftó   káno   páo   apó   to stenó   na kópso

            every day   this   I do   I go   from   the narrow road to cut

            ðrómo   ce metá mólis   vɣo   ecí   sta cinézika   estiatória

            the road   and after once I get out there at the Chinese   restaurants

            páo   apénandi

            I go   opposite

            'I do this every day, I go from the narrow road to take a shortcut and once I reach the Chinese shops, I cross the road'

    23:    kalá   kánis   em   pos   afú   ee   íne   polí   **dodgy area**

          good   you do   em   how   since   ee   it's a   very

          'You are doing the right thing since it's a dodgy area'

    24:    **that's right and it's never a bad idea to be careful**

          (conversation continues in Irish English)

In example 19, where the Greek-Irish English CS causes the change in the main language of conversation, when wanting to describe a dangerous area of town, Speaker 23 chooses to switch

from Greek to Irish English and use a fixed phrase *dodgy area* which is also frequently used by speakers of Irish English.

4.2 CS for fixed phrases: Irish English to Greek CS

Similarly to the section 4.1, this section also presents examples of CS for fixed phrases. The following five examples however, are instances of Irish English to Greek CS.

20) 22: my dad used to be a very good singer (.) he was a great lira master

   20: I think it's wonderful growing up in a family of musicians ee

   22:         [this is really nice (.) what do you think?

   20: well (.) it's lovely but I'd go for size 16 instead

   22: no (..) **ðen** **pirázi** (.) it's more comfy if it's one size bigger

       no bother

    'No, it's fine, it's more comfy if it's one size bigger'

   20: I'm loving the colours on it too

   22: I know ee the one 00000 brighter and with flowers on it

   20: so pretty mmm

Example 20 depicts CS for the use of a simple fixed phrase which would translate in Irish English as *no bother* and is frequently used in Greek colloquial language. As was the case with most CS examples of this group, there is a small pause before the switch and an even smaller one after the phrase is uttered and before Speaker 22 continues talking in Irish English.

21) 20: I'll call you and tell you everything once I leave work coz there are still things

     happening and I'll know it all later on

   21: perfect and eee you just let me know so

   20: Mondays are not that busy at work you know with the weekend and all

   21:              [I know

   20: and I'm getting used to it too (laughing)

21: call me when you get a chance ee I'll wait for you

22: will you bring the food here or should we go in the kitchen? **m eçi kópsi i**

                                         me has cut   the

lórða

hunger

'Will you bring the food here or should we go in the kitchen? I'm so hungry'

21: I'm heating it and will bring it here relax relax my hungry boy

Example 21 is one more case of CS appearing when wanting to use a phrase that does not exist in Irish English and to emphasise how hungry he is, Speaker 22 switches to Greek to use a very commonly used Greek phrase that shows how hungry somebody might be. It could also be argued that this case of an indirect request is related to politeness which is discussed further in Chapter 6 where Irish English-Greek CS examples are presented for making requests. However, words in such requests usually appear to be diminutivised in order to reduce the Speaker's imposition. Therefore, I consider it more appropriate for example 21 to be included in this category.

22) 7: she's not strict with the little ones ee they have so much of everything and constantly asking for more toys more and more

8: I think this is happening to everybody I know now eee young parents feel guilty and try to get them as much stuff as possible 00000

7: ah it's very bad mmm I'm concerned ee you know **óla   ta   kalá tu**

                                         all   the   goodies of

kózmu   éxun   ce   páli   ðen tus ftáni

the world   they have   and   still   not them enough

'Ah it's very bad, I'm concerned you know, they have all they could dream of and still, it's not enough'

8:     the kids get very jealous of their friends too and then they go home and say

       such and such has this ee I want it to and what can the parents do?

7:     I know but still you should be able to control them as a parent you know

       emmm it's your responsibility as a parent mmm but I know it is not an easy

       thing to do

 8:   [don't be too harsh now

When discussing about his grandchildren, a 70-year-old Speaker 7 expresses how worried he
is they might end up being spoiled, and when wanting to describe how their parents buy them
many toys, he switches to Greek to use a phrase *ola ta kala tu kózmu* which translates into 'all
the goodies of the world' and is used to outline the amount of things, mainly material, one
owns, an expression that is evocative of the Speaker's Greek culture and identity.

23)   3:   It was such a day mm February is not that bad here actually ee

             you know sometimes Summers are always rainy eee that's what I don't like

      4:     ah can't wait till June really (.) it's gonna be great (..) Ikaria's sun and food

      3:     **em   san   tin xalkiðicí   ðen   éçi**

             em   like   Halkidiki   not   has

             'No place like Halkidiki'

      4:     **pes   to psémata**

             say   a lie

             'You are right'

      3:     do you remember that place we went to with Theodora and the kids

      4:   [the Tayto park?

      3:     yes mmm did we need to reserve it there?

      4:     no ee I don't think we did

In line with the previous examples of this section, example 23 also shows a switch happening from Irish English to Greek for the use of a fixed phrase among two balanced bilinguals. Since the phrase is related to a place in Greece and is only used in Greek it is a logical option for Speaker 4 to switch to Greek, since for him this carries connotations that would be difficult to express in a different language. As it can be seen, once the topic of the conversation shifts from the holiday destinations in Greece, the conversation continues in English.

24) 23: Anastasia's toys are all over place emm each time she's here like unbelievable and I keep picking things up it's crazy how do you guys do it emm it's just beyond me

24: it's toys and then computer games and then they are gone and you miss them eee and

23: [**pláka mu   kánis   e**? I don't think I'd miss them if
joke   me   you do e?
after twenty years of all this mess they left

'You are kidding me right? I don't think I'd miss them if after twenty years of all this mess they left'

24: you say that now dear eee just wait and see

23: [I really really don't know that now to be honest and most likely after their toys are gone its 00000 the grandchildren's

Finally, in this section's last example the reader can see a switch from Irish English to Greek where the speaker uses an everyday Greek expression *pláka mu kánis* which would be similar to the English 'are you kidding me'. After using this phrase, a 26-year-old Speaker 23, goes back to English without a hesitation sound or a pause.

5. *CS for non-corresponding words/phrases in the main language*

This section includes examples of CS occurring for some non-existing words in either Greek or Irish English. As is the case with all languages, there are concepts, food names etc. that are unique to a specific culture and thus, can be difficult or impossible to translate. From the data gathered, there appeared to be one such example of a Greek-Irish English CS among the speakers of my research and it is presented in section 5.1. In section 5.2 on the other hand, I have included six examples of Irish English to Greek CS taking place. As it can be seen from all these seven examples, words for different food names that are native to either Greece or Ireland, as well as different descriptions of a person's character, seem to be a common reason for these speakers to switch from Irish English to Greek and in one case vice versa.

5.1 CS for non-corresponding words/phrases in the main language: Greek to Irish English CS

Example 25 presented below is the only Greek to Irish English CS example for the use of non-corresponding words/phrases that occured from the recordings.

25) 15:

tis	apoðíksis	tis ðínune	tóra	i	páli	ópos	paʎá?
the	receipts	they give	now	or	again	like	before?

'Are they giving the receipts now or not?'

14:

óçi	kalé	pçes	apoðíksis	miláme	íne	xáʎa	i
no	dear	which	receipts	we are speaking	is	horrible	the

katástasi

situation

'Of course not, what are you even talking about? I'm telling you the situation there is awful'

15:

ti	na	po	nómiza	θa	ftjáksun	ta	práɣmata
what	to	say	I thought	will	fix	the	things

'What can I say, I was hoping that things will change'

14: baaa (.) **I made seafood chowder** eee θes na su válo?

naah eee you want to you I put?

'Nah, I made seafood chowder, will you have some?'

15: ax efxaristó eee fáɣame polí sto **lunch break** ómos

ah thank you eee we ate a lot at though

'Thanks, but we ate loads on the lunch break'

14: éna ap ta kalá tis ðuʎás ecí íne aftó jatí na

one of the good of work there is this because

kses ðen íne mikró práɣma pu sas éxun tóso

you should know not is little thing that you have such

kaló faJitó káθe méra

good food every day

'That's one of your job's advantages. You should know that it's not a small

thing that they provide you such great food every day'

15: to kséro to kséro eee ce se tóso lojikés timés

I know I know eee and in such reasonable prices

epísis

too

'I know it, and it's reasonably priced too'

Here we can see that, Speaker 14 chose to CS from Greek to Irish English in order to use a word for a concept that is non-existing in Greek culture. When talking about Speaker 14's recent trip to Greece and the Greek bureaucracy, and after hearing her sister's comments regarding the matter, Speaker 14 offers her interlocutor some seafood chowder which if offered in Greek would be confused with a different Greek dish. Thus, CS in this case appears to be the only easy choice that saves time from unnecessary explanations, and avoids a possible

confusion with another dish. Moreover, similarly to the word *hardcore* in example 4, here too it could be argued that the phrase *lunch break* is an example of borrowing rather than CS. However, following the same reasoning provided by Myers-Scotton (1993b), since the term exists is Greek, perhaps it's more appropriate to label it as a case of CS for the use of a fixed phrase.

5.2 CS for non-corresponding words/phrases in the main language: Irish English to Greek CS

The next five examples of this category present cases of CS from Irish English to Greek.

26)   7:   he's always been like that eee you know when we were in college eee he was

going through tough times but

8:                                   [yes that's true

7:   and he would never ask for help either mm always did what he could on his

own (.) he's a real fighter

8:   I did not even remember about it any more you know coz he mm he never

talks about it as if ee it's just not a big thing

7:                                   [I know it (.) yeah

8:   **filótimos   íne**   and kind too

proud   he is

'He has pride and is kind too'

7:   Kasia was talking about it too when we met aaa and it's nice to hear it

As it can be seen in example 26, when talking about someone both of these male Speakers know, Speaker 8 - a 58-year-old man, when wanting to describe someone uses a word *filótimos* which as defined by Triandis and Vassiliou (1972, p. 308) refers to someone who 'is polite, virtuous, reliable, proud, has a 'good soul', behaves correctly, meets his obligations, does his duty, is truthful, generous, self-sacrificing, tactful, respectful and grateful'. Since the word does

not exist in Irish English, Speaker 8 decides to switch to Greek in order to use it, and then goes back to Irish English, followed by a reply which also takes place in Irish English.

27) 1:   they are new yeah will try to walk them before the wedding eee I want to be

sure they are comfortable

2:   it's amazing **maria mu mmm tin taramosaláta   tin éftiakses esí?**

Maria my mmm the fish spread   made   you?

'It's amazing my dear Maria. Did you make the taramosalata yourself?

1:   **óçi** emm it's a Greek week in Lidl mm got it there (.) it's not too bad right?

no

'No, it's a Greek week in Lidl so I got it there. It's not too bad right?'

2:   noo it's lovely

Example 27 is another case of CS from Irish English to Greek for the use of a non-existing word in Irish English, and the conversation it was taken from is from a dinner table where a variety of food is presented. One of these is a typical Greek fish spread which is difficult to make thus, when being interested to find out whether the host made it or bought it, Speaker 2 asks Speaker 1 if it's homemade. In this case CS is also the only option to save time for both the Speaker and the Hearer, and allows their conversation to continue smoothly.

28) 1:   ah I never really eat salads here emm only when home in July and August

emm it's something missing here

2:   I liked the crab salad you made last week (.) how did you make it?

1:   ah it's really easy (.) you know who helped me mmm Lisa

2:   oh my god I can't believe it (.) I want to see her oh my god how old is she

now?

1:   she's three and a half now (laughing) you know she likes mayonnaise so much

emm but yeah I miss my **agurosaláta   me**

salad with tomatoes and cucumbers   with

féta   ce   eʎés   apo   tus θíus

feta cheese   and   olives from   uncle and aunt

'She's three and a half now. You know she likes mayonnaise so much but yeah,

I miss my tomato and cucumber salad with some feta cheese and olives from

my aunt and uncle's place'

    2:      it's waiting for you eee come Easter it will be summer without us

            realising it

Similarly to the above example, here we can also see a CS instance when discussing about a dish typically made in Greece, and as was the case with example 27, after Speaker 1 switches to Greek in order to name this Greek dish, the speakers CS back to Irish English and continue their conversation in it.

29)   2:   she is an amazing cook Maria em you won't believe it, she is one of those

            people that open the fridge and make something great from what's in there

            you know em not everybody is like that

    1:           [really?

    2:      she made us the most delicious **strapatsáða** I've ever had and that's nothing

                            Greek omelette

            for her emm so talented

            'She made us the most delicious Greek omelette I've ever had and that's

            nothing for her to make. She's so talented'

            (after 5 minutes)

    1:      where is she from?

    2:      she from Salonica mmm **makeðonítisa íne**

                      Macedonian   she is

'She's from Salonica, she's Macedonian'

Similarly to the previous example, example 29 also takes place among Speakers 1 and 2. This dialogue is from the same conversation and another Greek dish appears to be the reason for Speaker 2's CS. But in comparison to the previous two examples, after using the Greek name of this food *strapatsáða,* which could be translated as Greek omelette, Speaker 2 does not continue the phrase in Greek, but switches to Irish English straight after using the Greek name for the dish, something that could also be considered a case of borrowing. It is also worth noticing that few minutes after their conversation, which is mainly in English, Speaker 2 describes a woman the conversation is about as *makeðonítisa* 'macedonian'.

30)   20:   just a simple yes or no you know it's so hard mm is it so hard to just be clear?

mm I don't know mmm people never cease to surprise me

21:    oh it's Yiorgos eee c'mon in

22:    hey how's it going?

20:    **θée   mu   ti   palikári   éçis   ɟíni   esí?**

my   god   what   handsome man you have   become you?

'Look at you, what a handsome man have you become?'

21:    (laughing) how is it outside? I'm so cold the whole day

The last example of this section which is numbered 30 also refers to a case of CS appearing for a non-translatable Greek word *palikári* which is frequently used in Greek to describe a person who is brave and strong and would take more time for Speaker 20 to use in Irish English therefore, she decides to switch to Greek.

6.   CS for original language qoutation

As mentioned in Chapter 2, bi/multilingual speakers frequently tend to switch codes when quoting someone else's words and narrating a story in a language it took place in. As Gal (1979) claims, it is to be expected for CS to take place in such cases because of the Speaker's need to

use the original utterance. Alfonzetti (1998) appears to agree with this, supporting that CS is to be expected when someone reports someone else's words, or their own words from a previous conversation, as a way to imitate the original conversation This seems to be the case with the participants of this research too as it can be seen in the following examples. Similarly to previous sections of this chapter, examples are again divided in two groups with section 6.1 including CS examples of Greek to Irish English while 6.2 describing examples of Irish English to Greek CS.

6.1 CS for original language qoutation: Greek to Irish English CS

The following six examples depict cases of Greek to Irish English CS, starting with example 31 presented below.

31) 19: kátse re si tóra mi me trelénis ðilaðí esí an

sit hey you now don't me make crazy so you if

ísuna sti θési mu ti θa ékanes θa borúses na

were in my position what will you do will you be able to

to afísis étsi na su eee na kánun óti θélun?

leave so to you eee to do whatever they want?

'Wait a bit, don't make me crazy now. What would you do in my place? Could you just leave them do what they want?

18: ax ti na se po ðen kséro kúkla mu

ah what to you I tell I don't know doll my

'Ah, I don't know what to tell you my dear'

19: ce apó páno les ce ðen éftane pos árɣisan ce

and on top you say and not was enough that they were late and

i ðjo tus éprepe na káno eee eɣó ðilaðí éprepe na

both of them I had to do eee I so had to

káno ton   éleɣxo móni mu   ópos pánda   ee   ti   na

do   the   check   on my own   as always   ee   what   to

léme   tóra   ee

we say   now   ee

'And as if it's not enough, they were also late which means, once again I had to do the checks on my own. What more can I say really'

18:      [móni su   pánda íse?   ma jatí? ðen prépi na íste

         by yourself   always you are?   but why? not should to you be

tría   átoma?   eɣó   étsi   to   θimómuna

three   people?   I   so   it   remembered

'On you own? But how come? Should it not be three people? That's what I remember it should be'

19:      em   étsi   θa éprepe   alá éçe xári télos pándon   ki   apó

em   so   should have been   but have grace anyway   and   on

páno   mu léi i Ann-Marie   **you need to let us know if you are planning to**

top   me tells Ann-Marie

need extra ones coming this week eee mu leí   pos **they can't afford it**

         eee me tells that

anymore   katálaves?

you understand?

'Of course that's how it's supposed to be but anyway. And on top of that, Ann-Marie said: you need to let us know if you are planning to need extra ones coming this week. She says that they can't afford it'

18:      mípos na   milísis me   tin brídʒet léo eɣó

maybe to   talk   with   Bridget   say I

'Perhaps you need to talk to Bridget'

Example 31 is from a conversation between two friends - Speakers 18 and 19. Their dialogue is mainly in Greek, and Speaker 19 is narrating what happened at her workplace. When wanting to inform the hearer about the exact words she was told by her colleague, she decides to switch to Irish English, which I assume is the language her dialogue with her co-worker took place in. It is also very interesting to notice that in between her colleague's utterance, Speaker 19 switches back to Greek to make her comment *'she told me that'*.

32) 3:   pu   na   se   po   ce   metá apó   tin tenía   ti

        when   to   you   I say and   after   the movie   what

        mas ékane

        to us did

        'Wait till I tell you what he did after the movie'

    4:    ma   íne   énas   ipéroxos   ánθropos   praɣmatiká

        but   he is   one   great   person   really

        'He's a really amazing person'

    3:    mas   léi   **let's grab few drinks in here ee my friend works here today**

        us he tells

        léi   ce   bíkame mésa ce   íçe   pandú   balóɲa   ce

        he says and   we went in   and   had   everywhere   balloons   and

        túrta   ce   ðen simazévete

        a cake and   all these

        'He says: let's grab few drinks in here. My friend works here today. So we went into the shop and there were baloons everywhere, and a cake too'

    4:    kala   e   apístefto   kalé   pos   ta skéftice   óla?

        well   e   unbelievable dear   how   he thought   all?

brávo	tu	praɣmatiká	brávo	tu
well done	to him	really	well done	to him

'Wow, it's unbelievable. How did he think of all this? Fair play to him'

In the same manner with example 31, this example also includes Greek-Irish English CS in order to quote somebody's exact words. While the conversation is predominantly happening in Greek, when wanting to use the exact phrase uttered by the person this conversation concerns, Speaker 3 decides to switch codes and use Irish English so to present the Hearer with what he wants to present to be a more objective picture of what was said by the person who the quote belongs to.

33) 9:

tis	alícis	pánda	tis áresan	aftá	ta psilá	kses	eee
to	Aliki	always	liked	these	high heels	you know	eee

'Aliki always liked these high heel ones'

10:

íne	ce	i íðja	psilí	ce	me	psiló papútsi	íne	polí
is	and	herself	tall	and	with	high heel shoes	she is	very

ómorfi	mm
beautiful	mm

'She's a tall girl and on high heels, she's so pretty'

9:

mu	léi	tis proáles	**I wish I was a bit taller**	léi
me	she tells	the other day		she says

'The other day she told me: I wish I was a bit taller'

10:

(laughing) kalí	mu	ci	alo	θeli?
dear	my	and	more	she wants?

'My sweet girl, she wants to be taller?'

Example 33 is from a conversation between a mother and a daughter – Speakers 9 and 10. When narrating to her the story about her friend's child's wish to be taller, she quotes her words

in most probably a language these words were originally used - Irish English. Thus, presenting a vivid picture of the conversation between them.

34) 19: to   proí   pu   tus   íða   aftá   mu   ípan   metá aaa   ðen

in the morning when them   I saw   these   to me   they said after aaa I don't

kséro   ómos   an   prolávane   les   eee   na prólavan?

know   however if   they made it on time   you say eee they made it on time?

ísos   ðen bóresan

perhaps they didn't manage

'In the morning when I saw them, this is what they told me. So I don't know if they made it on time. What do you think? Perhaps they didn't manage'

18: mu   ípe   i álison pos   θa   prolávenan   ee **I have a short**

me   told   Alison that   they would make it   ee

day at work she said eee ce   pos   mólis   o pétros θa   éftane spíti

eee and that   once   Petros would arrive home

θa   éfevɣan

would they leave

'Alison told me that they would manage to make it on time. She said: I have a short break. And once Petros would arrive home, they would leave straight away.

19: makári   jatí   ðen θélo   na   min   iðoθún   ta peðjá ja

hopefully   because I don't want to   not   see each other the kids for

ðío   mínes   eee   ðen θa ne   kaló   kses

two   months eee   wouldn't be   good   you know

'I hope so, because I don't want them not to see each other for two months. It won't be good for them you know'

Example 34 is taken from a conversation regarding a couple's visit to their relatives and the two speakers seem to be anxious on whether this couple will manage to make it on time. After reassuring her interlocutor, Speaker 18 tries to be more convincing by using the exact words she was told. Since the person mentioned here does not speak Greek, switching to Irish English appears to be a very good way of providing Speaker 19 with a clear picture of her utterance.

35) 10: siɣá   siɣá   min   pnijís   eee   kátse   na   ðo   pços   íne

        slowly slowly don't   choke   eee   wait   let   me see who   is

        'Take it easy, don't choke yourself. Let me see who is it'

    9: ax   na se kalá   ce   me   ékanes   ce   jélasa

        oh   you be well   and   me   you made   and   I laughed

        'Oh thanks, you made me laugh'

    10: θa aníkso   ce   ta   paráθira   prin   epistrépsun   den

        I will open   and   the   windows   before   they come back   no

        pirázi

        bother

        'I will open the windows before they come back. Don't worry'

    9: a kséris   ti   mikrí   ti   mu léi   eee **granny smoking is**

        a you know   what   the little girl   what me tells   eee

        not good for your health

        'Do you know what the little one tells me? She says: granny smoking is not good for your health'

    10: ax   tin kalí mu   karðúla   mu   ómorfi

        ah   good girl my   my heart.DIM my   beautiful

        'My sweet and pretty little girl'

Similarly to the previous example, I can assume that the little girl example 35 concerns speaks mainly in Irish English. When her grandmother, Speaker 9, wants to use the exact words uttered by her grandchild, she switches to Irish English and this way achieves to give her daughter - Speaker 10 - a more authentic picture of her grandchild's reaction.

36)   18:   kalá   íne   alá   me to páso su   ðen   xriázete   na

      well   is   but   take your time   not   necessary   to

      vjázese   aplá   na kánis   óti   su   pun   ecíni ti

      hurry   simply to do   what   you   they say that the

      méra

      day

      'It's good but just take it easy. You don't need to hurry, just do what they ask you to do on the day'

      19:   étsi   mu   ípe   ce   o álos   eee   **it was fabulous you**

      so   me   told   and   the other guy eee

      should stock as many of them as you can but make sure they are in the

      same order   léi

                        he says

      'This is what he told me too. He said: it was fabulous you should stock as many of them as you can but make sure they are in the same order'

      18:   íne   kalós ánθropos   na kséris   ce   ðíkeos polí   eee   polí

      is   a good person   you should know and just   very   eee   very

      díkeos ánθropos

      just   person

      'You should know that he's a very good person and he's fair too'

Finally, the last example of this section, example 36, is also a proof of how frequently and how smoothly bilingual speakers of this research study switched from Greek to Irish English when needed to present their interlocutor with a more authentic picture of what was said by someone else. In this case, when talking about her new boss, who I assume does not speak Greek, speaker 19 uses her exact words to present her interlocutor with an authentic image of the conversation that took place at her work place.

6.2 CS for original language quotation: Irish English to Greek CS

The following four examples present the reader with cases of Irish English to Greek CS for original language qoutation.

37) 4:   it's really nice yeah (…) after the first couple of days we got used to the weather too and the food is simply amazing. What did Alex think? Ee did he like the place?

     3:     oh he was very happy too but aaa he didn't like the hotel he said it was a bit old ee the building was old and things were not working but they had fun eee

     emís   ólo   ékso   ímastan   he said
     we   all the time   out   were

     'Oh he was very happy too but he didn't like the hotel. He said the building was a bit old and things were not working but they had fun. He said: we were out all the time'

     4:     well that's the way to do it I guess eee I will try to convince Anna to go there eee maybe in April

As was the case with Greek to Irish English CS for examples, when talking in English, speakers of these recordings often appeared to switch to Greek if they were narrating a story where the conversation took place in Greek. In example 37, where the main language of conversation is Irish English, when talking about what their common friend told him about his recent holiday,

Speaker 3 chooses to switch to Greek to tell his cousin - Speaker 4 - the exact words quotted by this freind about spending most of the time outdoors.

38) 7: it's simply eee it's really fast and you just go on a straight road ee

nothing to worry about really

8: I sometimes get confused but eee with Elena I will be fine eee she can help me

with the GPS

7: exactly and eee it's really simple ee you just follow her directions

8: **θa ftásume   norís ce   θa éxume   ce   xróno ja**

we will arrive early   and   we will have   and   time   for

kafeðáci   léi

coffee.DIM   she says

'She said: we will arrive early and will even have time for coffee'

Example 38 is from a conversation about Speaker 8's trip and anxiousness about his driving skills. When wanting to present an example of a recent conversation he and his partner had, Speaker 8 switches to Irish English to use her exact words that I assume were uttered in Irish English about not only making it on time, but arriving earlier than they planned to.

39) 7: take all of it and just bring them back when you find what you need eee I have

so many of them and some of the old issues eee I brought the old ones in

school eee coz it's handy for the students when they work on projects

8: oh that's a brilliant thing you are doing ee well done it's better than having

them go through add on the internet and you know they will be inspired by

something good

7: yep Vangelis likes reading them too eee you know he came to me the other

day and was like omm   **ɲóθo   éksipnos   afú   ðȷaváso**

I feel   smart   after   I read

to téfxos	**tu**	National Geographic
one issue	of	

'Yep,Vangelis likes reading them too. You know he came to me the other

day and was like:I feel smart after reading one issue of the National

Geograpfic'

8:    so cute eee he is a smart child

Example 39, is from the same conversation the above mentioned friends - Speakers 7 and 8 - are having and is another example of CS for original language quotation. The two speakers are talking about a child who seems to be Speaker 7's relative. When wanting to emphasise how much the young person this conversation concerns enjoys reading magazines, Speaker 7 uses his exact words which were probably originally uttered in Greek and thus, achieves the purpose of appearing more authentic in describing the situation.

40)   22:   If you are living here for years like eee should you not get a say in it e?

   20:    I know but they probably don't want to go down that road and have to check
   who's been living where for how many years eee I don't know ee

   22:    I was thinking it will affect Dublin votes significantly ee all the
   international students and young professionals would probably support it you
   know and it would be different outcome maybe ee I don't know it's something
   I was thinking on my way here ee when I saw this big group of students

   20:    Yannis also told me that ee he said

stis	**pólis**	**kalá**	**θa pái**	**alá**
in	the cities	well	it will go	but

sta xorjá	**pu**	**íne**	**óli**	**me**	**tin eklisía**	eee	he
in the villages	where	are	all	with	the church		

said it might be taugh to get a yes vote

> *'Yannis also told me that in the cities it will go well but in the countryside where people are following what the church says, it might be taugh to get a yes vote'*

22:    he's right but I think it will still be a yes

In example 40 a reader can see a case of Irish English to Greek CS for an utterance by a person who is not present when the conversation takes place. Thus, like all previously mentioned examples of this category, when wanting to be objective in what this person who is not present has said, Speaker 22 decides to switch to Greek to quote their exact words.

7. Conclusion

Thanks to the above described examples which occurred from spontaneous speech recordings of 27 Greek speakers living in Ireland, it is clear how widespread the use of CS in these bilinguals' daily lives is. In a number of cases and for various reasons, which are grouped into four main categories, these speakers are one more proof of how frequently used this linguistic phenomenon is, and how much it adds to bi/multilinguals linguistic varieties. Thanks to CS, these specific speakers were able to communicate concepts and ideas that would require longer time and more effort to do so in a monolingual speech. In addition, some of the words and phrases CS was used for in these examples, would even be impossible to translate in order to communicate their ideas.

As it can be seen in section 3, there were few examples of CS for words or phrases that would be quite easy to use in the main language of conversation however, similarly to the gaps in a monolingual speaker's memory and hesitations when not remembering a word they want to use, these bilingual speakers had moments of pauses and hesitations. However, in comparison with monolingual speakers, when talking to someone bi/multilingual speakers share two or more common languages with, they have an option of switching codes and

continuing their conversation without much loss in time and effort to try to think of a word that seems to have escaped their memory.

In addition, most of the fixed phrases that were used in these speakers' recordings would be impossible to translate without losing some of their original meaning. Moreover, names of various dishes as well as adjectives describing someone's personality do not necessarily exist in Irish English or Greek. So, if needed to use these concepts, the speakers could either go through a time-consuming task of explaining the way these dishes are prepared and having to use several adjectives to describe a person they were talking about, or simply CS. And it is not surprising that, similarly to other multi/bilinguals, Greek-Irish English speakers also chose to switch codes in order to express themselves better in such cases.

Finally, when quoting parts of different dialogues that did not take place in the main language of their conversation, CS appeared to be a useful way for these bilingual speakers to signal the authenticity of the quote or the narration they wanted to provide the Hearer with. Similarly to some other research findings, the speakers of this study also seemed to be using CS for original language qoutation quite extensively, with both examples of Greek-Irish English CS and Irish English-Greek CS appearing in their recordings.

6. CS FOR POLITENESS

1. CS and Politeness

In this chapter 51 politeness related examples that were transcribed from the 18 hour recordings will be present and analysed. In order to depict the extent to which CS appeared for politeness purposes and to classify the main politeness related intentions of CS, I have divided this chapter in 6 sections. Thus, section 2 will present the reader with CS examples related to humour; section 3 will go through politeness related examples of CS for bonding style, section 4 will discuss CS for the use diminutives, and lastly, section 5 will provide the reader with the CS examples related to repeated questions as well as their analysis and link to politeness, followed by section 6 with some concluding remarks.

After transcribing all examples I considered to be related to politeness, there appeared to be a similar pattern thus, I consider it a good idea to divide these examples into four main strategies: humour, bonding style, diminutives and repeated questions. These four are a mix of formal and functional strategies and their names are inspired by a similar categorisation that can be seen in Gardner-Chloros and Finnis's (2004) article about CS, gender and politeness as well as Georgakopoulou's (1997) work on self-presentation and interactional alliances in e-mail discourse where attempts are made to relate CS for bonding and solidarity to politeness. Apart from these scholars' work, the main reason for choosing these four strategies is to better describe the end result achieved by this study's bilingual participants' use of CS for politeness purposes. The selection of these four strategies could of course be critisied since they are a mix of structural and functional categories, however I believe doing so assists me in an attempt to highlight how CS is used by these speakers as a way to practice politeness strategies based on examples of their dialogues transcribed from their recorded speech. For instance, when discussing CS for the use of diminutives, I group together in one structural strategy a number of different FTAs. There are numerous studies that examine aspects of the use of diminutives

separately for requests, offers, advice etc., especially for languages like Greek where diminutives are used so frequently. However, my interest here is to see if these bilingual speakers CS for politeness and I see CS for the use of diminutives by them as a means to an end to achieve politeness. Similarly to CS for the use of diminutives, CS for repeated questions is also a more structural strategy since the use of question marks makes it easy to group them as such. Humour and bonding style on the other hand are outcomes of applying certain strategies, they are end results and are grouping together ways of implementing overall strategies.

The name for the first category which will be discussed here - humour- can be found in works of both, Garner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) and Georgakopoulou (1997). The first two scholars refer to several examples in their data where CS occurs for humour and is the speakers' way to avoid arguments, something that appears to be the case with this research participants too. And Georgakopoulou (1997), when presenting some e-mail exchanges, makes a note of humorous CS devices being used when making certain requests with the aim of mitigating imposition.

As far as the second functional strategy - bonding style - is concerned, here too following these two works as well as Gardner-Chloros (2009), Greek-English bilingual speakers appear to engage in CS when wanting to show care and solidarity to their Greek interlocutors. For instance, various e-mail exchanges Georgakopoulou analyses show that CS is a way for Greek speakers writing in English to show 'intimacy and solidarity' and reaffirm their 'in-group membership' (1997, p. 157). Such linguistic behaviour 'invites them [the speakers] to search their repository of sociocultural assumptions shared with the addresser and prove their joint membership by accurately inferring what is being signaled' (Georgakopoulou, 1997, p.57). Gardner-Chloros and Finnis refer to this category bonding/solidarity and both of these terms could have been used to describe the relevant examples of this chapter.

The other two strategies – CS for the use of diminutives and CS for repeated questions are more formal and thus more obvious when presenting them to the reader. Garner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) when analyzing Cypriot Greek-English CS examples also refer to diminutives. Since, several examples in my data show speakers switching codes, mainly from Irish English to Greek, in order to make requests, offers, compliments etc. by using diminutives, I consider it a good idea to group these examples under the strategy - CS for the use of diminutives.

Lastly, CS for repeated questions is also used by this study's participants from what I could see when transcribing their recordings and it mainly took place when the Hearer did not hear or did not want to reply to the originally asked question. As Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 75) supports, in some cases CS for repeated questions may occur to avoid rudeness since 'switching languages for repetitions [allow] speakers to hold the floor and to create coherence between different parts of their utterance without the marked connotations of exact monolingual repetition, which can appear rude or condescending'. However, contrary to my choice of the label for this category, examples where a question is asked once in the main language of conversation and the Speaker does not receive a reply so they choose to ask the same question in a different language, in Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) are labelled as 'dampening directness'.

Because of the amount of examples it was considered necessary to provide the reader with the following table which, similarly to Table 2 (p.74), in addition to some of the information provided in Table 1 (p. 58), includes the politeness related example numbers which are extracted from the recordings of these speakers.

Speakers	Gender	Age	Number of years in Ireland	Example numbers
1	Female	31	12	Examples: 41, 56, 64, 80, 87
2	Female	35	12	

3	Male	43	6	Examples: 43, 50, 55, 59, 81, 86
4	Male	37	10	
5	Male	26	7	Examples: 42, 88
6	Female	54	7	
7	Male	70	34	Examples: 44, 79
8	Male	58	7	Examples: 44, 79, 77
9	Female	57	7	Examples: 45, 49, 58, 75, 76, 85
10	Female	24	7	Examples: 45, 49, 58, 75, 76, 85, 77
11	Female	29	10	Examples: 45, 49, 58
12	Female	44	9	Examples: 46, 48, 63, 68, 73, 74
13	Female	38	12	
14	Female	34	8	Examples: 47, 60
15	Male	35	10	
16	Female	54	12	Examples: 51, 54, 61, 72, 89, 91
17	Female	47	10	
18	Female	37	12	Examples: 52, 62, 78, 82
19	Female	29	12	
20	Female	47	24	Examples: 53, 83, 84, 90
21	Female	40	14	Examples: 53, 66, 83, 84
22	Male	54	14	Examples: 53, 66, 90
23	Female	26	7	Examples: 57, 67, 69, 70
24	Female	55	9	
25	Female	36	12	

| 26 | Male | 5 | 5 | Examples: 65, 71 |
| 27 | Female | 51 | 14 | Example: 79 |

Table 3: CS for politeness example numbers

As was the case in Chapter 5, where CS for four other reasons apart from politeness were described, the following politeness related examples are also divided in two subgroups with the first one including examples where CS happens from Irish English to Greek and the second subgroup including examples of CS from Greek to Irish English. In the 18 hour data gathered from the recordings, there appeared to be few examples where humour seems to be frequently used by Greek-Irish English bilinguals in order to avoid disagreements and after introducing the topic in section 2 and presenting all these examples in sections 2.1 and 2.2, I will provide some analysis attempting to link these humour related CS examples to the notion of politeness in section 2.3.

2. *CS for Humour*

Code-switching for making various humorous comments/remarks appears to be a very popular tactic used frequently by the participants of this research in order to prevent arguments and avoid awkward situations, and in case of the participants of this study, it seems to be done by making a reference to popular Greek films and actors, or referring to relatives and friends who live in Greece. 14 out of 51 politeness related examples that could be found in the recordings took place for humour and the majority of these examples belong to the first subgroup of CS from Irish English to Greek with only three examples fitting into the subgroup of CS from Greek to Irish English for humour.

2.1 CS for humour: Irish English to Greek

The following 11 examples have a very similar pattern of CS taking place in order to mention a shared image of a person, place or object from Greece so to avoid or stop an argument, or

express an opinion regarding something with an attempt to minimise a threat to the interlocutor's face. By using well known phrases associated to famous actors, quoting poems and using Greek words that carry humorous connotations, speakers of the following examples appear to successfully and effectively reach different goals of their conversations which would take more effort and perhaps luck in the effectiveness if done in a different language.

41)   1:   do you think it will suit me?

      2:   I don't know (..) I mean it's not bad eee

      1:   why?

      2:   well (..) I'm not sure about the colour you know (..)

           to   borðoroðokócino   pu   léi   ce   i tétça

           the   bordeaux-rose-red   that   says   and   that one

           (both laugh)

           'Well, I'm not sure about the colour you know. It's like that Bordeaux-rose-red that that woman is always talking about'

Example 41 takes place among sisters; a 31-year-old Speaker 1 and a 35-year-old Speaker 2. They are going through an online shop's website to select a dress for Speaker 1, who gets interested in a particular dress. Not being so impressed by her sister's choice, Speaker 2 is not very direct but rather suggests that the colour of the dress might not suit her sister. Once she makes the comment 'Well, I'm not sure about the colour' there is an awkward silence. In order to avoid disagreement and probably encourage her sister to continue searching for other dresses, Speaker 2 makes a humorous comment by using the colour *borðoroðokócino* 'Bordeaux-rose-red' which is a made-up colour by a Greek TV persona who sells carpets on

TV shows and is famous for the use of different colour combinations in order to better describe the carpets. The term *borðoroðokócino* 'bordeaux-rose-red' is a widely known and discussed term she came up with some years ago.

The minute Speaker 2 utters this colour combination, they both laugh and their conversation continues in Greek, smoothly and without any arguments with comments on other dresses of the website. This is a very interesting attempt by Speaker 2 to mitigate a FTA, show common ground and minimise imposition. As it can be seen, this is done in a very elaborate way through reference to their shared knowledge of this particular carpet seller and indexes humour. Since this example includes someone's quote, it could be argued that it is a case of CS for original language quotation, however, since the reason behind this is to deliberately make a humorous comment so to avoid an argument, I consider it to be related to CS for politeness purposes.

42)   6:   It's for today's shopping and that's all

    5:   okay I'll take care of it (.) gotta run now eee

    6:   **tréxa**   **végo**   **tréxa** (laughing)

       run   Vego   run

     'Run Vego, run'

    5:   (laughing)

Example 42 takes place among a 54-year-old mother, Speaker 6 and her 26-year-old son, Speaker 5, and the recording takes place in Speaker 6's house. The conversation in this part of the dialogue is mainly happening in English with frequent CS to Greek for various other reasons apart from politeness. Their conversation is about shopping and the mother provides her son with some money for him to do her grocery shopping. Speaker 6 hands the grocery

shopping money to her son and after he accepts it and is about to leave, to avoid the awkward situation and silence she uses the phrase *tréxa végo, tréxa* 'run Vegos, run' which brings back memories of a beloved Greek actor who became popular by acting in several films where he was always rushing from one place to another. In fact, the phrase *tréxo san ton végo* 'I am running like Vegos' is popular in Greek culture when someone wants to emphasise how busy they are. Switching codes in order to use this phrase allows the mother to shift her son's attention from money to a humorous image of a man running all over the town and causing in her and her son's laughter.

43)   4:   do you think it looks nice inside?

       3:    yeah (.) sure (.) it looks very nice

       4:    ok eee

       3:    what?

       4:    well (..) it's quite old (.) it's like that **sarávalo bárba jánis** had

                                        wreck   uncle Yiannis

       'Well, it's quite old. It's like that wreck that uncle Yannis had'

       (both laughing)

Example 43 takes place among two men 43 and 37-year-old cousins. Their conversation takes place at a dining table in a busy Greek tavern of Dublin, and they are part of a bigger group which includes people who do not speak Greek. Even though they are sitting further from the rest of the group and are having a private conversation, their dialogue takes place in English probably to avoid sounding rude and not giving the opportunity to non-Greek speakers to join their conversation. Their dialogue is about their common friend's second hand car which seems to be okay for Speaker 3 but Speaker 4 does not appear to be sharing his opinion. Even though initially Speaker 4 is resistant to express his negative view, after being encouraged by his

interlocutor, he uses the Greek word *saravalo* 'wreck' and compares it to an old boat their uncle has/used to have in Greece. This description causes laughter to both of them as it is associated with an object that is in bad condition and is falling apart. As was the case with example 1, when disagreement occurred, Speaker 4 opted for CS from English to Greek in order to make a humorous comment associated to a person and a shared image from Greece. This way, most probably for positive politeness reasons, he allowed himself and his relative to continue their conversation in a humorous tone and without any disagreements.

44)   7:   right so (.) what do u think about it?

      8:      if it's a permanent position it's not bad but (…) eee it's a big commitment you

              know

      7:      **pos   pái   ecíni   i parimía   kitúsan   to   áloɣo   sta**

              how   goes   that   saying   they were looking   the   horse   in

              ðóndʝa?

              teeth?

              'How does that saying go? They were looking at the horse's teeth?'

              (both laughing)

Example 44 is from a conversation among two friends, a 70-year-old male, Speaker 7 and a 58 year old male, Speaker 8. Their conversation concerns Speaker 7's daughter and her new job which requires travelling and is faced in a suspicious way by Speaker 8. To make his point clear and to probably defend his daughter's choice, Speaker 7 decides to switch to Greek to use a saying about ingratitude which makes them both laugh. This way, Speaker 7 manages to defend his daughter's choice without threatening his interlocutor's face who joins him in

laughter after hearing the Greek saying about horse's teeth. Moreover, as stated in Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, the use of proverbial wit is a politeness strategy which often (in this case too) is related to positive politeness.

45) 10:   you always do that (.) why do you always act like this? Just stop annoying me

   9:     Maria stop being a drama queen please (.) we are all trying to help here

   11:     **ðíte   me   kalé   ðen íme   san   tin   afroðíti**?

        look at me   hey   not I am   like   the   Venus?

        'Look at me ladies, don't I look like Venus?'

Example 45 takes place in a shop among a 57-year-old mother who is a shop owner, her 24-year-old daughter, and a 29-year-old daughter's friend. Mother and daughter, Speakers 9 and 10 respectively, start having an argument when daughter expresses her disapproval of her mother's comment regarding her behaviour. Not considering her mother supportive, Speaker 10 accuses her, a comment that is immediately met with a strong tone by Speaker 9 urging her to stop overreacting. Because the situation is getting intense, Speaker 11 - a guest - who probably felt uncomfortable and wants to help resolve the disagreement, having put on a wig from the shop's carnival accessories section, switches to Greek and in a humorous tone asks them to look at her and see how much she resembles Venus. This way she manages to make both Speakers 10 and 9 laugh and successfully resolve their disagreement.

46) 12:   it's gorgeous but I'm not really sure (.) look its

   13:   [why?

   12:     coz it's so tight on me (..) here on my tummy

   13:     no (.) it looks great mm unless you don't feel comfortable in it

12:    ah I don't eee and I thought I lost some weight

13:    ah get out of here (.) you are fine

12:    yeah right (.) look (.) I need to get serious about that you know

13:    (laughing)   **súzi   éfajes (..)   ce   tros   ce   psévðese**

Suzy   you ate (..)   and   you are eating and   you are lying

'Suzi you have eaten. You are eating and lying about it too'

(both laughing)

Example 46 takes place in Speaker 12's house who is a 44-year-old woman and her friend, Speaker 13, who is a 38-year-old woman. After trying on a new top, Speaker 12 does not seem to be happy about her appearance, even though Speaker 13 insists that she is looking great, she still talks about the need to lose weight and appears to be very bothered. In order to make her friend laugh, Speaker 13 uses a popular Greek phrase *Súzi éfayes, ke tros ke psévdese* **'**Suzy you ate, you are eating and you are lying' from a well-known old Greek movie where a seamstress tries to fit one of her customers who has promised to lose weight into a dress. This way once again for positive politeness purposes, Speaker 13 successfully manages to lift the tone of the conversation and make her friend laugh.

47)   14:   it's getting more and more difficult with this insecurity

15:    don't worry (.) you guys will manage

14:    ah I don't know and Costas had a look at this nice house in Meath but you

know it's in the middle of nowhere (.) cheap but I don't think I'll be able to

live there

15: where is it? mmm Meath has some nice little towns

14: I can't think of the name now but eee it will drive me crazy if we go there eee

ákra tou táfu siopí   (.)   nékra   i katástasi

absolute silence of the grave (.)   deadliness   the situation

'I can't think of the name now but it will drive me crazy if we go there.

Absolute silence of the grave. That place is dead'

(both speakers laughing)

15: **an típota   ðen éçi   ecí kondá   ceee   xorís   amáksi   θa**

 if nothing   does not have there near   aaand without a car   you will

trelaθís

go crazy

'If there's nothing nearby and if you will be without a car, you will go crazy'

Example 47 is from a conversation recorded in a coffee place among two friends, a 34-year-old woman, Speaker 14 and her friend, a 38-year-old man - Speaker 15. The topic of conversation is Speaker 14's goal to buy a house and her so far unsuccessful search. The conversation takes place mainly in English, with few instances of CS to Greek. When Speaker 14 mentions one house that her partner Costas saw in Co. Meath, in order to emphasise how quiet and empty the place surrounding it is, and how much she does not like Costas' description of its location, she switches to Greek and quotes one line from a Greek poem by Dionysios Solomos, *akra tou tafu siopi* 'absolute silence of the grave' which causes them both to laugh. This way Speaker 14 expresses her thoughts about the place, but in order to avoid sounding too

personal and to give a humorous tone to their so far serious conversation, she chooses to use this very dramatic quote from a popular Greek poem. It is also very interesting that after Speaker 14 brings this image of emptiness up, Speaker 15 continues the conversation in Greek to express his feelings and fears about her living in a rural place without a car, something that is very similar to the examples that can be found in the bonding style category where speakers appear to switch from English to Greek very frequently in order to use their shared Greek identity and show solidarity towards their interlocutors by simply switching from English to Greek.

48) 12: I know it's so early (.) I kept telling her but

13:                  [they might feel ready for it

12: ah I don't know they are children themselves and I don't know how it's going

to be now (.) I wanted her to be eee to be quite sure about it and but eee

na min káni san ce ména pu gastróθika   sta íkosi mu   ce

to not do   like and me   that I got knocked up   at the age of twenty   and

metá   úte   spuðés   úte   típota

then   neither studies   nor   nothing

'Ah I don't know, they are children themselves and I don't know how it's going to be now. I wanted her to be quite sure about it and to not get knocked up like me at the age of twenty and after that I had no chance neither for studies nor for something else'

(both laughing)

Example 48, which is from the second recording of speakers that participate in the dialogue of example 46, takes place in Speaker 12's house who is a 44-year-old woman and her friend, Speaker 13. As was the case with their previous example, this conversation is mainly happening in English and to bring a lighter tone to the conversation that seems to be making her very anxious, Speaker 12 decides to switch from English to Greek to use an informal verb *gastroθika* 'I got knocked up' which carries humorous connotations and thus, immediately switches the mood of the conversation and makes both women, who are concerned about Speaker 12's young daughter's pregnancy, laugh and carry on with their dialogue in a lighter tone. Once again through CS for humour, the mood of the interlocutors improves with the help of Speaker 12, using this very slangy verb to describe herself in the past.

49) 9:   she's very hard working and always ready but I can't understand her sister

            really

    11:     they are different

    10:     oh common (.) we are different too (..) what does that mean?

    9:      well (.) all I'm saying is that she's working and doing everything but Lilian

            does nothing (..) all day at home on facebook

    10:     **skilísça   zoí   ksápla   óli méra   pu   léme**

            dog's   life   lying down   the whole day   that   we say

            'Dog's life, not doing anything the whole day'

            (everyone laughing)

    11:     it's great to have some lazy days isn't it?

Example 49 includes the same participants with the example 45 and again takes place in a clothes shop of a 57-year-old mother, her 24-year-old daughter and a 29-year-old daughter's friend. This time the daughter, Speaker 10 is the one who switches to Greek to describe a common acquaintance and compare her laziness to a dog's life who does nothing the whole day by using a Greek fixed phrase *skilisia zoi* 'hard dog's life'. When witnessing a disagreement about this person from her mother and her friend, Speaker 10 steps in with a humorous comment and helps in releasing the tension and manages to switch the topic of the conversation.

50) 4: so much paperwork (.) I mean it's only few hours' work but it gets me every

time

3: I know eee but it won't take you long

4: you have no idea how many forms they wanted me to fill in

3: **san   to   aθánato   elinikó   ðimósio   e?**

like   the   immortal   Greek   public service right?

'Like the immortal Greek public service right?'

(both laughing)

Example 50 takes place among two cousins 37 and 43-year-old men part of whose previous conversation was included in example 43. The topic of their conversation is around Speaker 4's new job for which he was asked to complete many forms. When Speaker 3's initial argument 'I know eee but it won't take you long' is not accepted by his interlocutor, Speaker 3 decides to show support to his cousin by using a Greek phrase *to aθánato elinikó ðimósio* 'the immortal Greek public service' which is widely used in Greece whenever someone wants

to criticise the paperwork or the bureaucracy surrounding various Greek public services. This comment makes both participants laugh and allows the conversation to continue smoothly on a lighter tone.

51)   16:   she is a bit loud you know and always gets on my nerves

17:    c'mon now ee she's a very kind person

16:    ah loud people are 00000

17:    em you know she's very generous too and a good friend but what everyone

hates about her it's that thing she does (.) pushing (..) **san tin meneɣáci**

like   Menegaki

káni   (.) se   spóxni   me   óli   tis   ti ðínami

behaves   (.) you   pushes   with   all   her   power

ótan   ɉelái

when   she's laughing

'You know she's very generous too and a good friend. But what everyone hates about her it's that thing she does with pushing you like Menegaki with all her strength when she's laughing'

(both laughing)

Example 51 is from a conversation which takes place between two women, 54 and 47-year-olds who have been living in Ireland for 12 and 10 years respectively. After talking about a common acquaintance and her annoying habits, Speaker 17 initially tries to defend her but after not getting support from Speaker 16, she switches to Greek to compare her behaviour to that

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of a famous Greek TV persona and her habit of pushing people when laughing, and this way closes a gap between her own opinion about this person and her interlocutor's opinion. The laughter caused in both women can be seen as their way to face each-others' faces by agreeing to the comparison made by Speaker 17 and give their conversation a humorous tone.

2.2 Greek-Irish English CS for humour

There were only three cases of CS from Greek to Irish English for humour in the recordings which in comparison to the 11 examples described above shows a greater tendency of Greeks living in Ireland to consider the description of their shared images of people, objects and places in Greece to be a more effective way for making humorous comments. However, the following three examples prove that Greek-Irish English CS also appears for humour among these speakers, perhaps to a lesser extent, when they want to use a line from a song that is playing on the radio as can be seen in example 53, or when wanting to use some fixed phrases as it happens in example 54.

52)   18:   san   mikró peðáci íne   (.) málon   ðen to katalavéni

              like   little   child he is (.) probably he does not understand

              'He's like a small child, perhaps he doesn't understand'

      19:   min   to les aftó   eléni eee   na kses   íne   kalós

              don't say   this   Eleni eee   you should know   he is good

              'Don't say that Eleni. He's a good person'

      18:   éla   tóra mi   paristánis óti ðen   me   katalavénis

              come on   now don't pretend that not   me   you understand

              'Come on now, please don't be pretending you don't get what I'm saying'

      19:   ndáksi de léo   pos   íne   kakós **he's a bit thick you know**

              ok   I'm not saying that   he is bad

              'Ok, I'm not sayin he's bad, he's a bit thick you know'

(both laughing)

Example 52 is from a conversation among two females; speakers 18 and 19. The main language of conversation is Greek with few switches to English, one of which is depicted in this example. When Speaker 18 starts comparing their common friend to a little child, Speaker 19 appears to object to this description which results to her being challenged by Speaker 18. In order to avoid an argument and protect her face, Speaker 19 decides to find a middle ground with her interlocutor by switching to Irish English and using the phrase 'he's a bit thick' which causes both speakers to laugh and as a matter of fact changes the topic of conversation which might have been something Speaker 19 was aiming for. This example could also be seen from the 'double voicing' perspective introduced by Gardner-Cholors and Finnis (2004), with Speaker 19 stepping outside her voice to say something harsh in a different language where it sounds less confrontational.

53) 21: kalá   tóra   alíθça to les aftó?

         well   now   really you say this?

         'Are you really saying that now?'

     20: ti   akrivós   den katálaves   pes   mu   na sto po

         what   exactly   you don't understand tell   me   to tell you

         ksaná

         again

         'What is it that you don't get? Tell me and I'll explain again'

     21: e   ðen to perímena   aftó   apó   séna   re   eléni   mu

         ah   not   I expected   this   from   you   hey   Eleni   my

         'I really didn't expect this from you dear Eleni'

     22: **ladies (.) cheer up and let's put the volume up a bit ee these were the times**

         (everyone laughs)

Example 53 takes place among three participants a 54 and 40-year-old couple, and their 47-year-old family friend. The recording is happening in the couple's house, initially among the two female participants only. After they discuss a matter which unexpectedly becomes an issue of intense disagreement and the two women raise their voices, Speaker 22 gets involved in the conversation by switching to Irish English and urging the two women to 'cheer up' and put the volume up on the radio that is playing a disco song. Speaker 22's action and his playful tone appears to be very successful since it resolves in a laughter by all three participants and changes the topic of the conversation avoiding further disagreement.

54)   16:   éçi   ɣíni   xamós me cíno to krajón   pu mu éðoses

           has   happened   madness with that   the lipstick   that me you gave

           'Everyone is going crazy with that lipstick you gave me'

     17:   to kócino   íçes pári   e?

           the red   you had taken right?

           'You took the red one right?'

     16:   ne (..) alá   θélo   ce   to roz   tóra

           yes (..) but   I want and   the pink   now

           'Yes, but I want the pink one too now'

     17:   cíta   eee ðen íne   ce   tóso   apló na páro polá (..) kses

           look   eee not is   and   so   easy to take many (..)you know

           mas   eléɣxun   ce   metá béno mésa

            us   they check   and   after I go   in

           'Look, it's not that easy for me to take many of them. They usually check it

           and I might lose money'

     16:   ax   ðen to íksera aɣápi mu   eee   páre   se   parakaló

           oh   not   I knew love   my   eee   take   you   I beg

'Oh dear, I had no idea. Take some please'

(pointing at chocolate)

17:     **chocolate says I'm sorry so much better than words**

(both laughing)

Example 54 takes place among the same Speakers of example 51. Speaker 16 initially praises a nail polish she got from Speaker 17's workplace and afterwards asks for another one. After hearing this, Speaker 17 tells her that the products are not free and she cannot be taking many free samples from her work without being charged. Not knowing this, Speaker 16 appears to be very apologetic and in an effort to show her affection towards her friend, she offers her a recently bought box of chocolates. Speaker 17 replies to this gesture by switching to Irish English and says 'Chocolate says I'm sorry so much better than words' to save her interlocutor's face, make her laugh and leave the awkward conversation behind.

2.3 Reasons for using CS for humour

Humour is defined by Attardo (1994, p. 4) as 'an all-encompassing category, covering any event or object that elicits laughter, amuses or is felt to be funny'. According to Alfonzetti (1998), it has a mimetic purpose, and in these 13 examples humour appears to be a main strategy used by speakers in order to minimise their disagreements. Even though not all humorous comments made in the 18 hour data were done while switching from one language to another, these 13 examples are a proof of the use of CS in order to bring to the surface shared images either from Greece (example 42 with a popular phrase describing a Greek actor) or from the past (example 53 about the disco music), is these speakers' way to minimise conflicts and disagreements among each other.

As supported in studies of Kuchner, 1991, Zand et al., 1999, humour plays an important role in speakers' daily lives as it is a way of communication that makes us happy. There are a number of different ways in which CS can be used for humour (Woolard, 1988). As it can be

seen in Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004), Kaplan supports that 'in many cultures, there is a strong taboo against women telling jokes. If we think of jokes as the de-repressed symbolic discourse of common speech, we can see why jokes, particularly obscene ones, are rarely spoken from the perspective of femininity' (1998, p. 58).

Moreover, in the above mentioned article, Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) also make links between the gender role and humour in relation to politeness and CS. After studying London's Cypriot Greeks Gardenr-Chloros and Finnis conclude that in their interview results, both male and female speakers often mentioned that they used Greek to mark playful or non-serious discourse (2004). They also note that in this specific community it was mainly women who appeared to make more frequent use of CS as a softening device to carry out certain direct speech acts, which require negative and positive politeness strategies, so to attenuate their directness (2004). As was the case in their findings, in 10 out of 13 CS for humour examples of this data, humorous comments were also made by women. And as it can be seen in example 42, apart from avoiding disagreement, such comments appear to be an effective way to handle awkward silence that occurred in case of the mother giving shopping money to her son. Their switch to Greek in such cases adds humour or introduces an element of playfulness, for example by bringing in characters associated with the Greek culture.

It is also interesting to note that most of the times, the reason behind CS for a humorous comment seems to be speaker's intention to avoid disagreement. As one of the widely studied areas of linguistics, disagreement is generally seen as something confrontational and should therefore be avoided. As Waldron and Applegate (1994, quoted in Locher 2004, p. 94) support, disagreement should be seen as 'a form of conflict ... taxing communication events'. When it comes to Conversation analysis, disagreement is considered to be a *dispreferred* second (Sacks, 1974 and 1987; Pomerantz, 1984), and 'is largely destructive for social solidarity' (Heritage, 1984, p. 268). Brown and Levinson (1987) as well as Leech (1983) also view disagreement as

something resulting in FTA and should therefore be avoided in the interest of interlocutors' face.

Interestingly enough, studies in the area of disagreement in Greek language discourse by Tannen and Kakava (1992) as well as Kakava (1993b) suggest that disagreements are not always dispreferred acts among Greek speakers. On the contrary, these two studies support that among groups of friends and relatives, disagreement could be a way of expressing sociability. In her study of young Greeks' conversations, Georgakopoulou (2001), pointed out that in many cases, disagreements were products of contextual exigency and did not appear to threaten interlocutors' relationships. However as it can be seen in the previously mentioned example 41 as well as in examples 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52 and 53 participants of this research did try to avoid disagreement even though the setting of all conversations these examples occurred from were informal, and the interlocutors were each other's family members or close friends. However, it should also be noted that both, Tannen and Kakava (1992) and Kakava's (1993b) conclusions are based on analysing disagreement in Greek language discourse in case of speakers who are monolinguals. While the participants of this research are bilingual speakers of Greek and Irish English whose knowledge of these two languages, together with their accepted and unaccepted politeness patterns, is largely based on their experiences in both countries. The fact that these bilingual speakers are aware of acceptable and unacceptable linguistic behaviours in both settings, might be affecting them and causing a different attitude when trying to avoid possible disagreements to what they might have done have they been monolingual speakers living in Greece.

Furthermore, as it can be seen in example 47, humorous comment can enhance somebody's argument, but at the same time avoid making the conversation take a more serious or even pessimistic tone. Example 47 is also a very interesting case of a speaker minimising her imposition towards her interlocutor's daughter who the conversation concerns, by using a

colloquial term for getting pregnant in Greek when referring to herself, something that allows this speaker to avoid being characterised as judgmental. Moreover, example 53 is a great case of CS used to get in-between two people who might ended up having a serious argument and lighten up the atmosphere by shifting everybody's attention to music and their memories related to the time that particular song was popular. 54 is also a great example of CS for comment related to the change in the subject of the conversation that clearly puts one of the speakers in a difficult position, since she asked for a favour without realising the consequences it would have on the Hearer.

3. CS for bonding style

Georgakopoulou (1997, p.156) in her study of Greek-English CS in e-mail communication found that participants employed CS to reinforce solidarity with the addressee 'by sharing their shared assumptions as members of an in-group'. Since the participants of this study also share a common background as a small community of Greek speakers of Ireland, CS helps them build rapport amongst each other and functions as a marker of an in-group identity.

In fact, CS for bonding style was also quite extensively used by these speakers. As expected, the majority of their examples included switching from Irish English to Greek in conversations where the dominant language was English. In most of the following examples, CS for bonding style appears to be happening as the speakers' way of inviting their interlocutors to a dialogue regarding more personal matters or as a way of showing interest in what the other person has to say by claiming a common ground with them, something that is also mentioned in Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004).

3.1 CS for bonding style: Irish English-Greek

There are 8 examples of CS for bonding style in the data collected with most of them - 7 examples - belonging to the first subgroup of Irish English to Greek CS. These 7 examples appear to follow a similar pattern of CS to Greek when the conversation concerns a private

matter as is the case with examples 55, 56 and 59, or as a speaker's way to show their support towards the interlocutor, something that can be seen in example 57. Example 58 also shows an interesting act of apologising through switching codes from English to Greek. Also, in example 60 we can see CS in order to inform the interlocutor about a private matter while the Speaker 17 of example 61 switches from English to Greek before giving her opinion on how her interlocutor should act regarding a private matter.

55)   4:   trainings are normally short but you know this one will be attended by all

members and might go on forever

      3:      let's see (.) hope not (..) I keep getting these pains and want to be home early

enough

4:	**akómi**	**ðen**	**stamátisan**	**na se**	**ponáne**	**ta çérja**	**su?**
	yet	not	stopped	to you	hurt	the hands	your?

'Are your hands still hurting?'

3:	**ba**	**ce**	**ðen kséro**	**ti**	**θa**	**jíni**
	nah	and	not I know	what	will	happen

'No, and I don't know what's gonna happen'

The two participants of example 55 are the two men to whom the dialogues 43 and 50 belong to. As already mentioned, these two men are cousins and their conversation takes place at a dining table in a Greek restaurant where some people don't speak Greek. Even though they are sitting further from the rest of the group and are having a private conversation, their dialogue takes place mainly in English with various switches to Greek. The topic of their conversation

is an upcoming basketball training of a team they are both members of, and it is very interesting to see that the minute Speaker 3 mentions the fact that his hands are hurting him, Speaker 4 immediately switches to Greek to ask about the situation which causes his cousin to switch to Greek too. This way, Speaker 4 invites his interlocutor to talk to him about this issue and shows care towards him. Switching to Greek here can be perceived as an in-group tactic that puts an emphasis on their family bond, their shared culture and the Greek identity which differentiates them from the rest of the restaurant's customers.

56)   1:   gonna leave soon (..) eee traffic (.) want to avoid rush hour and all that

        2:                          [yeah of course

    1:    I'm also very tired and have a headache again eee probably because I don't get

        enough sleep these days

2:	**ti**	**éjine**	**karðjá**	**mu**	**ti**	**se**	**apasxolí?**
	what	happened	heart	my	what	you	is bothering?

'What happened dear? What is bothering you?'

(the conversation continues in Greek)

Example 56 is from a conversation among the Speakers of example 41, and the recording takes place at Speaker 1's house. The main language of conversations, as was the case with the example 41, is Irish English with several cases of CS for different reasons. In this case, when the visiting sister is about to leave to avoid the traffic, Speaker 2 replies to her in English. However, once Speaker 1 gives a more personal reason, which is tiredness, her sister immediately switches to Greek and asks if she is worried about something. As was the case with the previous example, in this example too Speaker 2's decision to switch to Greek puts

the emphasis on their relationship, their shared heritage and invites the Hearer to express herself more freely thus, lessens the social distance between them.

57) 23: well (.) it's all good and he's nice and all but (..) you know sometimes

24: what is it Maria?

23: you know (..) eee it's not easy like (..) too many fights

24: **kses   pos   íme   eðó   jia   séna   étsi?**

you know   that   I am   here   for   you   right?

óti   ki   an   xriastís   íme   eðó

whatever   and   if   you need   I am   here

'You know that I'm here for you right? I'm here for you for anything you need'

23: **to kséro ee   to kséro**

I know   ee   I know

'I know, I know'

Example 57 takes place between two women, a 26-year-old Speaker 23 and her 55-year-old aunt - Speaker 24. The main language of conversation is English with few switches to Greek, but once Speaker 23 mentions issues in her relationship with her partner, Speaker 24 immediately switches to Greek to reassure her in Greek that she is there for her to show support to her and lisen to her.

58) 10: (laughing) she was hilarious (.) so many things on her head (laughing) and you

should have seen the way she was dancing too (..) unforgettable

11:    he is something else that one (..) I'm telling you

10:   [aaa

11:    **íste   kalá? pós   éjine   aftó   tóra?**

       you are   well? how   happened   this   now?

       ðen   sas   évlepa   ci   ólas

       not   you   I saw   and   all

       'Are you OK? How did this happen now? I could not even see you'

9:     **ðen pirázi   kopéla mu   kalá   íme**

       not matters   girl   my   fine   I am

       'No worries dear, I'm fine'

Example 58 takes place between the participants of examples 45 and 49. The three Speakers; a 57-year-old mother, her 24-year-old daughter and a 29-year-old daughter's friend. The conversation is happening among two friends in Irish English when Speaker 11 steps on Speaker 9's foot by mistake and to apologise she immediately switches to Greek.

59)   3:   sure thing (.) give me a buzz and I'll get there

       4:     grand man (..) chat soon so

       3:     also (.) if you happen to see her

       4:     what?

3:    never mind

4:    **pes   to   re   ti   na   tis po?   ti θes   akómi?**

say   it   hey   what   to   her I say?   her you want still?

'Come on now, tell me, what shall I tell her? Do you still want her?'

(conversation continues in Greek)

Example 59 is from the second recording of the participants of examples 43, 50 and 55. As already mentioned, the two men are 43 and 37-year-old cousins. This conversation takes place at Speaker 4's house and his cousin 3 is getting ready to leave. Before leaving though, he decides to ask Speaker 4 for a favour related to their common acquaintance, but he quickly changes his mind. Wanting to show his support and encourage his relative to talk to him, Speaker 4 quickly switches to Greek and asks him if he still has feelings for this person, something that switches the conversation to Greek.

60)   15:   it's a scholarship type of thing (.) n you know it's not very hard to get so

maybe you could give it a go next year

14:    I was thinking about it too but you know (.) I (..) I'm (eee) **íme   éɲɟios**

I'm   pregnant

kséris

you know

'I was thinking about it too but you know, I'm pregnant'

15:    **aaaaa ti   fantastiká   néa   íne   aftá   siɣxaritíria**

aaaaa	what	phantastic	news	is	these	congratulations

'Such great news, congratulations'

Example 60, is from the recordings of same two friends as example 47. A 34-year-old female who has been in Ireland for 8 years and her 38-year-old male friend who lives Ireland for 10 years, are having a conversation in a café where they are mainly speaking in Irish English with few switches to Greek. In this case, Speaker 14 encourages his friend to apply for some sort of funding related to her further studies, to which Speaker 14 initially replies in English saying she was thinking of applying too, but when she decides to share her news regarding her pregnancy, she switches to Greek to which she also gets a reply in Greek.

61) 17: I want to give it a go (..) you know sometimes things don't really go the way you have planned them and it gets hard to fix certain things after time

16: I know you will manage mmm many times things look easier when you are calm and take some time to think

17: I know Maria (.) but how much longer shall I wait though? I'm exhausted you know

16:
me	**sinçorís**	**an**	**paremvéno**	**alá**	**na**	**kséris**
me	yu forgive	if	I am intruding	but	to	you know

se	**niázome**	**polú**
you	I care about	a lot

'Forgive me for intruding but please know that I care about you a lot'

Example 61 is from a conversation among the participants of examples 51 and 54, and is between two women; Speakers 16 and 17. These speakers are friends and the recording takes place in Speaker 17's house. The conversation is happening in Irish English and concerns a private matter. When Speaker 16 is asked a personal advice and after realising that her friend is getting emotional, she decides to switch to Greek before giving her advice, and states that she does not want to sound intruding, something that is very likely to be happening from the Speaker's side as a way to minimise her imposition since she is about to provide Speaker 17 with a private matter suggestion.

3.2 CS for bonding style: Greek-Irish English

From the recorded dialogues only 1 out of the 8 CS for bonding style examples belongs to the subgroup of Greek to English CS, which shows a clear tendency of the Greek speakers of Ireland to prefer to switch to Greek when the conversation deals with more private matters. As regards the following example, CS to Irish English appears when the speaker wants to use an Irish English phrase 'single ready to mingle' to help her interlocutor relax and stop worrying about her sister's future.

62)	18:	kalá	manári	mu	ti	se	pçáni	ke	aɣxónese	les	ce
		well	dear	my	what	you	gets	and	you get anxious	say	and

		tin	píran	ta xrónia?
		she	is taken	by years?

'What's wrong dear? Why are you getting stressed as if she is old or something?'

	19:	ðe boró	na	ti	vlépo	étsi	lipiméni	eee	mu
		not I can	to	her	I watch	so	sad	eee	to me

		sfíɟete	i	karðjá	kséris
		tightens	the	heart	you know

'I can't stand seeing her so sad, my heart is in pain'

18:	éla	éla	kséris		ti léme	eðó	e? **single and**
	come on	come on you know		what we say	here	right?

ready to mingle

'Come on now, you know the saying single and ready to mingle right?'

19:	ti	na	se	po	tóra	ee
	what	to	you	I say	now	ee

'What can I say now'

(both laughing)

Example 62 is from a recording among two women, Speakers 18 and 19. The main language of their conversation is Greek with few switches to English. In this case the conversation is about Speaker 19's sister who separated from her partner. Wanting to calm her friend down, Speaker 19 tells her to stop being anxious about it and when her friend expresses her feelings, wanting to show solidarity with her and make her laugh, she decides to switch to Irish English in order to use a phrase 'single and ready to mingle'. Since this dialogue includes a humorous comment it could also be included in the previous strategy with other examples of CS for humour. However, in this case, since Speaker 18's main reason for switching to Irish English to use this phrase seems to be to show solidarity to her friend and encourage her not to worry, I consider it to better suit the bonding style strategy. Moreover, the use of this playful fixed phrase is a proof of the fact that the participants of this study are part of the Irish, Anglophone culture and it can be claimed that in their case, common ground works in two directions.

3.3 Reasons for using CS for bonding style

As the examples of this subgroup depict, apart from humorous comments, CS is also used by Greek speakers of Ireland for showing solidarity towards their interlocutors and claiming

common ground with them, something that appeared to be the case in Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) study on London's Cypriot Greek women.

In some of these examples, for instance, in examples 59 and 60, the reason for switching from Irish English to Greek was to discuss a private matter that the two speakers might wanted to avoid non-Greek speakers to understand, especially in case of recordings that took place in public places like restaurants or shops. Moreover, as it depicted in example 55, when hearing that their interlocutor is not feeling well or has some health issues, it immediately was considered a better option to switch to Greek as a way of speakers' signal of closeness. Also, as example 57 shows, switch from Irish English to Greek also appeared when Speaker 24 felt that she is intruding by giving an opinion on a private matter, and since this type of behaviour would be more acceptable in cultures with positive politeness languages (Sifianou, 1992), it appeared to be a natural way to switch to Greek.

Perhaps, these examples of CS that show solidarity towards the interlocutor are the speakers' way to show that apart from many other common features they share, apart from the fact that they live in Ireland, they are friends or relatives, they belong to the same gender or age group, they also share one common feature with each other which is the knowledge of Greek, in case of Irish English to Greek CS, or the knowledge of Irish English, in case of Greek to Irish English CS.

4. *CS for the use of diminutives*

In comparison with CS for humour and bonding style, diminutives are a formal category. They are used in both; Irish English and Greek, however, they are more extensively used in Greek than in English. Because of the Greek language morphology nature, it is easier to form and use diminutives in Greek. And the fact that in the recordings of this study all politeness related instances of CS for the use of diminutives happened for Irish English to Greek, apart from one example of Greek to Irish English CS, is a clear proof of that.

4.1 CS for the use of diminutives: Irish English-Greek

15 out of 16 diminutive related CS examples gathered from the recordings have to do with CS from Irish English to Greek which shows a difference in how diminutives are used in these two languages. As is the case with the use of diminutives in monolingual speech, Greek speakers living in Ireland seem to be using them for numerous reasons in bilingual speech too. In regard to politeness, the majority of the examples below have to do with the speakers' attempts to minimise their impositions.

63)   12:   oh my god (.) look how beautiful it is (.) I'm so happy for you (.) I mean this is

                  fabulous

13:	**kalútsiko**	**íne (.) to spitáci**	**mas**	**ta kataférame**	**ce**	**to**
	good.DIM	it is (.) the house.DIM	our	we made it	and	it

	pírame	**epitélus**
	we got	finally

'Our little house is lovely, we finally managed to get it'

Example 63 takes place among two women whose previous dialogues were included in examples 46 and 48. Recording takes place in a house where a 38-year-old woman, Speaker 13, shows her 44-year-old friend - Speaker 12, some pictures of the house she recently bought. The conversation takes places mainly in Irish English and when Speaker 12 congratulates her interlocutor, the latter decides to switch to Greek to use two diminutives, *kalútsiko* 'good.DIM' and *spitáki* 'house.DIM' as a way of decreasing the value of the praise in an act of negative politeness as described in Brown and Levinson (1987).

64)   1:   the salad is lovely too (.) everything you've made is lovely (.) really as always

2:      thanks eee I made lasagna two weeks ago for Mirto too eee

éla   páre   líjes   patatúles   akómi

come on   take.IMP   few   potatoes.DIM   more

'Come on, have more potatoes'

Example 64 takes place among two sisters, Speakers 1 and 2, whose previous conversation recordings were used in examples 41 and 56. Speaker 1 is visiting her sister for lunch and congratulates her on the tastiness of the homemade food in English. The hostess's reply is initially in English too, but when she wants to offer her sister more potatoes, she decides to do so by switching to Greek and attaching the diminutive suffix to the noun potatoes. This way Speaker 2 minimises the imposition of her offer and does not force her interlocutor her will, something that is another case of negative politeness similarly to example 63 described above.

65)   26:   I'll go and play with Lisie now ok?

       25:    ok (.) just finish up first and go

       26:    but you said I can go when she gets here

       25:    **karðúlα   mu   ánikse   to stomatáki   su na fas   ti**

              heart.DIM   my   open.IMP   the mouth.DIM   your to   you eat   the

              makaronáða su

              pasta dish   your

              'Open your mouth love and eat your pasta'

       26:    **mamáka   mu se parakaló   áse   me**

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| mother.DIM | | my you I beg | | let | me |

'Mummy please, let me go'

Example 65 takes place in a house among a 36-year-old mother who has been living in Ireland for 12 years and her 5-year-old son who was born in Ireland. Their conversation happens in Irish English and Speaker 26 asks his mother's permission to leave the dinner table and go play with a friend. Not being happy with the amount of food her son ate, Speaker 25 asks him to eat a bit more. To make this request, she decides to switch to Greek and use diminutive forms for nouns heart *kardúlα* 'heart.DIM' and mouth *stomatáki* 'mouth.DIM' to lessen the distance. As described by Brown and Levinson (1987), the use of various terms of endearment, such as the above mentioned *karðúla* 'heart', are cases of practicing positive politeness. Moreover, it is interesting to see that Speaker 26's reply, who gets back to his mother in Greek, starts with a diminutive form for the word mother *mamáka* 'mother.DIM' in a request to let him get up.

66) 21: we can go right after you finish so ee finish up and let's go

22: we can go now (.) I'll eat again when we're back

21: you should eat first eee **éla   líɣo   ésto   éna   tostáki**

come on a bit   at least one   toast.DIM

22: **baaa**

nooo

'You should eat first, c'mon, at least eat a bit of toast'

21: **prépi na ðinamósis   aɣapúla   mu   eee se parakaló**

should to you get stronger   love.DIM   my   eee you I beg

'You need to get stronger dear, please eat it'

Example 66 takes place among the couple of example 53; a 54-year-old husband and his 40-year-old wife who are Speakers 22 and 21 respectively. The recording is happening in their house without their friend who was present in the previous two recordings. Speaker 22, is after getting better from flu and the couple is getting ready to go out. After Speaker 21 askes her husband to eat a bit more before leaving the house and he refuses, she switches to Greek to use the diminutive form of the word toast. Also, when the husband refuses again, Speaker 21 continues talking in Greek to use one more diminutive, this time *aɣapúla* 'love.DIM' to achieve her goal, but not sound too harsh and demanding.

67)   23:   you're a star (.) I really appreciate it eee you are always there for me.

      24:   oh my sweet girl (.) always sweet and kind (..) **éna   ɣlikáki   na**

                                                           one   dessert.DIM   to

      vɣálo?

      I take out?

      'Oh my sweet girl, you are always sweet and kind. Shall I get us a bit of dessert?'

Example 67 takes place among two women whose previous conversations are included in example 57. The recording takes place in a shop owned by Speaker 24 and the main language of conversation is English with few switches to Greek. In this case when wanting to offer her niece a dessert, Speaker 24 switches from English to Greek to use a diminutivised form of the word dessert *ɣlikáki* for same reasons with example 66.

68)   12:   it's getting bigger now (.) you know she can barely walk

      13:   my God I'm so happy for them (.) you know I was thinking how afraid she was

and now everything is fine eee **θeúli mu eee panajítsa**

god.DIM my eee Virgin Mary.DIM

mu káne to θávma su

my you do the miracle your

'My God, I'm so happy for them. You know I was thinking how afraid she was

and now everything is fine. God, please do a miracle'

Example 68, is from the same recordings of speakers that participate in the dialogues of examples 46, 48 and 63. As was the case with their previous examples, this conversation is also mainly happening in English, and when the topic switches to Speaker 12's pregnant daughter, who is having a difficult pregnancy, Speaker 13 switches to Greek to praise god and use the diminutive forms of some words such as *θeúlis* 'god.DIM' and *panayítsa* 'virgin Mary.DIM' to ask for a miracle and make sure everything goes well with the young girl's pregnancy.

69)   23:   right right it's all fine now eee we shouldn't be worrying (exhale)

    24:    **ɟatí anastenázis kuklítsa óla mia xará θa páne θa ðis**

         why you are sighing doll.DIM everything fine will go will you see

         'Why are you sighing dear? You will see, it will be fine'

70)   23:   we are both really happy (.) yeah (.) it's gonna be great

    24:    **ena taksiðáci θa sas káni kaló tóra**

         one trip.DIM will you do good now

'A short trip will be good for both of you now'

Examples 69 and 70 take place in a cake shop and are from the same recording with example 67, between a 26-year-old woman, Speaker 23 and a 55-year-old woman, Speaker 24. This conversation includes numerous cases of CS for different reasons, but both women appear to be switching from Irish English to Greek in order to use Greek diminutives. In example 69 Speaker 24, after seeing how her interlocutor exhales because of anxiety, wants to calm her down by switching to Greek in order to use the diminutive form for the word doll *kuklítsa* to relax her. This example could also fit into the bonding/solidarity category since this speaker seems to be switching to Greek to show that she cares about Speaker 23 and perhaps urges her to share her feelings in Greek which is not the language of other people in the shop, something that will allow Speaker 23 to express herself more freely.

Example 70 takes place few minutes after example 69 where the same Speaker 24 decides to switch to Greek and use the word *taxidáki* 'trip.DIM' to reassure her niece that everything will be okay between her and her partner, and their upcoming trip will help both of them relax.

71)   25:   fania got it for you and now you can use it all the time

        26:     it's lovely and eee (..) **ylikútsiko**

                                sweet.DIM

        'It's lovely and sweet'

Example 71 takes place in a house among a 36-year-old mother and her 5-year-old son who was born in Ireland. Their conversation happens in Irish English with switches to Greek. In this case when having a look at the new pillow that a 5-year-old got as a gift from his mother's friend, he first describes it in Irish English 'it's lovely' and then switches to Greek to use a

diminutive form of sweet *ɣlikútsiko* showing his appreciation for the gift as a sign of positive politeness as supported by B&L (1987).

72) 16: my loved one (..) he's the sweetest thing on Earth (.) he makes me so happy

17: oh (.) I see it (.) I know it (.) **i ɟiaɟiáka   tu   ise   (.)   étsi**

              the granny.DIM his   you are   (.)   so

se   fonázi

you   he calls

'Oh, I see it. I know it. You are his granny. That's how he calls you'

Example 72 is from the third recording of two women whose first conversation was used for example 51. When the conversation has to do with Speaker 16's little grandson, she talks about him in Irish English and tells her interlocutor how much she loves him. Speaker 17's reply also takes place in Irish English but when she wants to emphasize on how much the little boy loves his grandmother, Speaker 17 switches to Greek to use the word *yiayiáka* 'grandmother.DIM' which the little boy uses too show his affection towards his grandmother.

73) 12: it's fabulous news Maria (.) you are making us proud

13: thanks (.) **to   spitáci   mas   epitélus to   aɣorásame**

          the   house.DIM   our   finally   it   we bought

'Thanks, our little home, we finally bought it'

74) 12: it's so cold too and you know I always get sick around this time (.) every year

13: **fére   mu   líɣo   psomáki**

Bring.IMP   me   a bit   bread.DIM

'Bring me a bit of bread'

Examples 73 and 74, which are from the last recording of speakers that participate in dialogues of examples 46, 48, 63 and 68, takes place in Speaker 12's house who is a 44 year-old woman. In example 73, when she congratulates Speaker 13 for buying a house, the latter accepts it by switching to Greek and using a diminutive form of house *spitáci* as a negative politeness strategy when accepting a compliment, since making this achievement appear less significant, automatically reduces the debt of the speakers to their interlocutor according to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. While in example 74, which takes place while eating, it is the guest who switches to Greek in order to use a diminutive form of bread *psomáki* in order to minimise the imposition of her request to the host to bring some bread to the table.

75)   10:   you never encourage me you know (.) just don't say anything

       9:    I never said anything bad love (.) **kuklítsa   íse   (.) éçis   ta butákia**

                                        doll.DIM you are (.) you have the thighs.DIM

             su   (.) éçis   ta çilákia   su (.) éçis   ta oréa   ta

             your   (.) you have   the lips.DIM   your(.) you have   the nice   the

             maljá su

             hair   your

             I never said anything bad love. You are a doll with your lovely thighs, cute lips

             and beautiful hair'

76)   10:   coz he always does that and I keep telling him to stop but you know how they

are

9:      (laughing) oh don't expect miracles my dear (.) men are always like that

10:     tis so annoying (.) I don't know

9:      **koritsáki   mu   ómorfo   dos   tu   xróno**

        girl.DIM   my   beautiful   give.IMP   him   time

        'My pretty little girl, give him some time'

Examples 75 and 76 which are among two of the three speakers of example 45, take place in a clothes shop between a 57-year-old mother and her 24-year-old daughter. In example 75, after the daughter, Speaker 10, tries on some of the clothes from her mother's shop and when she does not get compliments, she starts complaining about it in Irish English. Her mother, Speaker 9, wanting to reassure her that she is beautiful, switches to Greek to use three diminutives in one phrase emphasizing her good looks. Thus, we have diminutive forms used for nouns *kuklítsa* 'doll.DIM', *butákia* 'thighs.DIM' and *hilákia* 'lips.DIM, which are all used to make her daughter feel better about herself.

    In example 76, the conversation switches to Speaker 10's personal life and she shares some of her doubts about her partner with her mother. The latter initially tries to calm her daughter down in Irish English and uses humour to make her feel more relaxed, but when she sees that Speaker 10 continues talking about her worries, her mother suggests giving the partner some time. However, in order to avoid sounding judgemental and minimise her imposition, Speaker 9 decides to switch to Greek and start the phrase with a diminutive form *koritsáki* 'girl.DIM' which in this case shows affection and care.

77)   8:   we are waiting common mmm you don't need to change (.) you look great

       10:     **babáka   mu   babakulíno   mu   pénde leptácia   ðoz   mu**

| | dad.DIM | my | dad.DIM | my | five minutes.DIM | give.IMP | me |

'Dad, daddy, give me five minutes'

Example 77 takes place among a 24-year-old daughter of the two previous examples and her 58-year-old father. The main language of conversation is Irish English, most likely because of the presence of non-Greek speakers, but when the father - Speaker 8 asks his daughter to hurry up, not being ready to leave, she switches to Greek to use two different diminutives for the noun father *babáka* and *babakulíno* in order to ask him wait for few more minutes. If we consider it as speaker 10's way of what Brown and Levinson (1987) call to 'give defence', this is an example of CS for the use of a negative politeness strategy.

4.2 CS for the use of diminutives: Greek-Irish English

Similarly to the strategy of bonding style, CS for Irish English to Greek for the use of diminutives does not appear to be a common practice for this research participants. The following example is the only one recorded that could fit into this category. It is a very interesting attempt of the Speaker 18 to rush her friend and make her drink coffee faster so that they are not late for their meeting.

78)	19:	kalé	ðen	se	rótisa	an	tu	apándises	teliká
		dear	not	you	I asked	if	him	you answered	finally

'I never asked you if you eventually got back to him'

	18:	ba	pu	na	prolávo	xamós	ɟinótan	símera
		nope	where	to	I anticipate	madness	was happening	today
		ecí	mésa
		there	inside

'No, I didn't get a chance. It was so busy there today'

| | 19: | ax | mi | nomísi típota tóra | eee | ti | na | kánume? na | ton |

ah	not	him think	now	eee	what	to	we do?	to	him
páro	eɣó	mípos	í	na páme tóra ecí		kalítera?			
call	me	perhaprs	or	to we go now there		better?			

'Oh, I hope he doesn't get upset. What shall we do now? Shall I call him or should we better go there now?'

18:   **hon (.) we still have a bit of time ee have your coffee and let's go (…)**
maybe he's still in his office

As mentioned above, example 78 is the only case of switch happening from Greek to Irish English for the use of a diminutive, and it is from the same recording with examples 52 and 62. The conversation is among 37 and 29-year-old women. The topic of their conversation is about informing their common friend regarding an unexpected change in their flights. After they exchange information about not having contacted their friend in Greek, Speaker 18 wanting to rush her interlocutor and make her finish her coffee faster, decides to switch to Irish English and uses the term of endearment 'hon' to address her, minimising her imposition in a similar way with the previously mentioned Irish English to Greek CS examples of this category.

4.3 Reasons for CS for the use of diminutives

Before mentioning the pragmatic functions of diminutives, it is worth pointing out that as discussed by Triandafillides (1978) Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) and Mackridge (1987) the production of diminutives is a derivational process that occurs frequently in Modern Greek. It should be mentioned that diminutives are not used in Greek language only but are a common feature of many other Indo European languages, including English. However, as discussed by Quirk et al. in their (1972) *Grammar of Contemporary English* book, English language uses relatively few diminutives since there are fewer diminutive suffixes available in comparison to languages such as Greek. In addition to this, a big variety of diminutive suffixes allows Greek speakers to use multiple diminutive versions for the same word, for instance, the

diminutives for the word *mamá* 'mother' that are frequently used are *mamáka, mamakúla* and *mamakulítsa.* In example 77 described above the reader can see similar multiple diminutive suffixation used for the word *babás* 'father'.

In both languages this research refers to, the primary function of diminutives is to express the idea of littleness and smallness in contrast to the non-diminutive forms. However as Sifianou suggests, diminutives in Greek are often used 'to express familiarity, informality and endearment' (1992, p. 157). It could be claimed that the flexibility with which diminutives are formed in Greek and the limited number of English words that accept diminutive suffixes is a major reason for their widespread use in Greek and their limited use in English. It is interesting to notice that while diminutivised words are included in English dictionaries as separate entries, this does not appear to be the case with them in various Greek language dictionaries.

Since the primary function of diminutives is to express littleness, it is logical to expect them being frequently used by and for children. However, the above presented examples are a proof that in both Greek and Irish English the role of diminutives is not restricted to the language used by children or for adults' communication with them. This spread of the use of diminutives to serve a wider variety of politeness needs is often linked to positive and negative politeness strategies as this study's examples show. As mentioned in chapter 3, Sifianou suggests that Greeks often tend to express politeness either by claiming common ground or by showing solidarity towards the Hearer or by showing affectionate concern for imposing on their freedom of action (1992). Therefore, it can be claimed that by such widespread use of diminutives, a feature associated with children, Greek speakers show affectionate concern towards the Hearer which provides a good explanation why we see positive politeness strategies being practiced in many of the diminutive group examples.

It is interesting to notice how when making a compliment, as it can be seen in example 75, the Speaker attempts to make the Hearer feel good about her appearance. As Kasper (1990) suggests, in Greek language diminutives function as maximising device with compliments enhancing the force of compliment and satisfying the addressee's positive face needs. In addition, Vassiliou, et al., (1972) support that Greek diminutives 'serve to express emotional involvement and solidarity with the addressee and his/her immediate world' (319). Apart from making a compliment, one of the above presented example, namely example 63, presents the reader with a diminutive being used when accepting a compliment. When hearing a complement regarding buying a house, Speaker B uses two diminutives *kalútsiko* 'good.DIM' and *spitáki* 'house.DIM' in an attempt to reduce the possibility of her utterance being interpreted as self-praise. Moreover, in examples 74, 76 and 77 we can see diminutives used by speakers when requesting something from their interlocutor. As Brown and Levinson (1987) mention, requests always involve some degree of imposition which require minimisation, something that can explain the use of diminutives in these three examples. However, when describing the use of diminutives in Greece, Sifianou (1992) suggests that in certain cases, requests in Greek culture do not necessarily involve imposition. She claims that when the Speaker has a specific rights and obligations to perform particular acts or when a request will in some way benefit both the Speaker and the Hearer, the use of diminutives do not involve imposition but rather is the Speaker's way to show solidarity and claim common ground with their interlocutor.

As it can be seen in some of the above presented examples, especially the ones related to dinner table, diminutives are frequently used in Greek when making offers. Examples 64 and 66 show Speakers' attempts to reduce their imposition with a diminutive while offering food to their guest as is the case in example 64 and to their partner, as we can see in example 66. As Brown and Levinson (1987) describe such patterns, offers are frequently used as

positive politeness strategies, since the Speaker indicates their concern towards the Hearer and their well-being. However, this offer sometimes puts pressure on the Hearer who either can decline it, something which would naturally be inconsiderable, or accept this offer, in which case they will put themselves in a potential debt to return the offer. This way, it can be claimed that in example 64, when the hostess was offering more food to her guest, diminutives were used not only to minimise her imposition but to also minimise the value of her offer, so that the Hearer does not feel obligated to pay back since what was offered was not of great importance.

It is also interesting to see that in some examples when making requests, these speakers chose to do so by using imperatives (i.e. examples 64 and 65) which would be less acceptable way of request making in English. As Lyons (1968, p. 307) mentions, direct imperatives in English are 'usually defined as constructions appropriate for commands and instructions'. Which of course makes them less appropriate or even unacceptable way of making requests. Similarly many other scholars show their agreement to Lyons statement namely Clark and Schunk (1980), Wardhaugh (1985) as well as Searle (1975) who mentions that 'ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences or explicit performatives and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends' (p. 64). Imperatives are also considered the least polite constructions by Lakoff (1997) and Leech (1983) with the latter mentioning that 'an imperative impositive is tactless in that it risks disobedience, which is fairly grave type of conflict situation (p.119). However, these views are not valid for all languages including Greek where as Triandafillides (1978) suggests, imperatives do not only express command but also desire and wish, something that makes them more acceptable form of making requests than it is the case of English varieties, including Irish English.

Moreover, as it can be seen in examples 66 and 74 for Irish English to Greek CS and example 78 for Greek to Irish English CS, apart from attaching a suffix to a noun to turn it into a diminutive, in both languages it is possible to make syntactic modification by the use of the word *líɣo* 'a bit' in Greek and *a bit* in Irish English. As Brown and Levinson mention, expressions such as '*a tiny bit* and *a little* are realisations of a negative politeness strategy with the aim of 'minimizing the imposition' (1987, p. 176). As regards to the Greek word *líɣo* 'a bit' as Sifianou (1992) mentions, it appears to soften the force of a request in a similar way the word *please* does in English.

All recordings for the purposes of this study took place among relatives and friends therefore, the style of speech in both languages was informal, which is the preferred style for the use of diminutives in both languages. It is not surprising that most cases of diminutives referred to everyday words and not abstract concepts. Daltas' (1985) findings about the decrease of diminutives numbers with the increase of the formality of his participants' speech enhances this argument. The same study interestingly notes that the number of women who use diminutives in their conversation in comparison to that of men was significantly high in his research findings (Daltas, 1985), something that could also be claimed to be the case in this research, since in all 16 examples of this subgroup, diminutives were used by women in both Greek and Irish English examples.

Finally as Wierzbicka (1985, p. 168) states, 'rich systems of diminutives seem to play a crucial role in cultures in which emotions in general and affection in particular is expected to be shown overtly'. It is clear that Greek language speakers are part of one of such cultures and based on what Vassiliou and Triandis (1972, p. 319) suggest, Greeks tend to express both 'their negative and positive feelings and emotions overtly', and as already mentioned, the fact that diminutives are formed in a relatively easy way in Greek helps in their extensive use. In contrast to this, since the Anglo-Saxon culture does not 'encourage unrestrained display of emotions'

(Wierzbicka 1985, p. 168) the use of diminutives is less widespread and probably not as necessary as it appears to be in the Greek culture.

5. *CS for repeated questions*

Interestingly enough this is the only category with the majority of examples in the second subgroup, that of Greek-Irish English CS, something that can be explained by the fact that Greek appears to be a dominant language during most participants' conversations. However, there are 3 examples where a question was initially asked in Irish English in the recordings where the conversation was happening in English and after not receiving an answer speakers decided to ask the same questions but this time they did so in a different language.

5.1 CS for repeated questions: Irish English-Greek

3 out of 13 examples related to repeated questions were examples of CS from Irish English to Greek, and the reasons behind repeating them were different in all 3 of them. In example 79, the initial question was most likely not heard, thus, was repeated in a different language; whereas, in example 80 the question was about somebody's personal life so the hearer preferred not to answer it initially; and finally, the initial question of example 81 was not answered because of shyness making the speaker ask it again, only this time in a different language for politeness purposes.

79) 27: did you enjoy the salad?

  8: what's up with you (..) why are you so quite?

  7: I'm just tired ee nothing else

  27: **kir θanási sas árese i saláta mu?**

  Mr Thanasi you liked the salad my?

  'Mr Thanasis, did you like the salad I made?'

8:	**ne**	**amé**	**ja**	**sta**	**çérja**	**su**
	yes	of course		health	to	hands	your

'Yes of course, you did a great job'

Example 79 takes place at a dinner table among two men, 70 and 58-year-old Speakers whose previous conversation was used for example 44, and a 51-year-old woman who participated in one of their 3 recordings. As the reader can see, this example is very similar to example F (p. 37-38) where as Gardgner-Chloros (2009, p. 86) supports, '[t]he potentially face-threatening act - an escalation of repeated questions which had been phrased pretty directly from the beginning - is carried off thanks to the switch to Greek, which not only allows greater directness but is also the 'we-code''.

In example 79, the conversation is happening between the host's sister, Speaker 27, and one of the guests, Speaker 8. Following the politeness rules according to the Greek customs, the host's sister wanting to make sure her guest enjoyed the food asks him if he liked the salad. However, Speaker 8 most likely did not get a chance to hear the question because of the noise in the room so, instead of replying to her, he addresses his friend -Speaker 7 and asks him why is he so quiet. Wanting to get an answer to her question, Speaker 27 asks the same question again, but this time she does so in a different language. Therefore, switching from Irish English to Greek is what finally gets her a reply to her question which is also in Greek.

80) 1: I run to her straight after work (..) I think it was yesterday during my lunch

break

2: did you find out what happened? Why did they break up?

1: and you know it didn't stop raining (..) raining the whole day and eee

2: **tí**   **páθane**   **ce**   **xorísane**   **émaθes?**

what	happened to them	and	they separated	you found out?

'What happened to them and they decided to break up? Did you find out?'

1:	**ba**	**de**	**milísame**	**ɟa**	**aftá**
	nah	not	we talked	about	these

'No, we didn't talk about it'

Example 80 takes place among 31 and 35-year-old sisters, who are Speakers 1 and 2. Once the conversation has to do with their common acquaintance, Speaker 2 asks her sister if she has news regarding this person's relationship, but instead of answering, the latter chooses to mention the weather on the day she met the person. Wanting to get an answer to her question, Speaker 2 immediately asks the question again, but this time does so in Greek and manages to get a reply. Asking a question related to someone's relationship status is a potential FTA and the switch to Greek in this example to ask the same question again could be seen as an attempt of 'dampening directness' according to Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004). However, Speaker 2 here could be CS to Greek and asking the same question in a more direct way in order to intensify her question and make sure this time she gets a reply.

81) 3: shall I introduce her to you?

   4: you know when you are around Trinity just give me a call mm (…) I'm

   always there especially now during the exam time I never leave till 8

3:	**θes**	**na**	**ti**	**ɣnorísis**	**i**	**oçi**	**re?**
	you want	to	her	meet	or	not	hey?

'Do you want to meet her or not?'

4:     **ɟatí   óçi**

       why   not

       'Why not'

3:     **télia   ee   θa   tis   milíso**

       perfect ee   will   her   I talk

       'Perfect, let me talk to her'

Example 81 is from the second recording of the two participants of examples 43, 50, 55 and 59. As already mentioned, the two men are cousins and their conversation takes place at Speaker 4's house. Before leaving, Speaker 3 decides to ask his cousin if he wants to meet the person they were talking about before. Instead of answering, Speaker 4 decides to change the topic, but his interlocutor repeats his question in Greek straight away and finally gets a reply.

5.2 CS for repeated questions: Greek-Irish English

There were 13 cases of CS occurring during the recordings for the purpose of repeating an unanswered question, and 10 out of these 13 were Greek-Irish English CS examples. As with the Irish English-Greek repeated questions' subgroup, the reasons behind repeating these questions were different. In most cases it appears to be a common tactic for the speaker who seeks information to repeat their question when not getting a reply. As it can be seen in the following examples, the reasons why Hearers decide not to reply to these questions are different with some of them not hearing the question the first time and others purposely avoiding to reply these questions. By asking the same question for the second time in a different language instead of repeating it in the same language, the Speaker achieves a purpose of minimising their imposition towards the Hearer, and thus, manages to save their face. Since asking a question in both monolingual and bilingual speech is a possible face threatening act, which requires the

Hearer to act, asking the question twice doubles these chances, so it can be argued that repeating it in a different language, which is an additional resource these bilingual speakers have, makes the act of asking the same question again a less face threatening act.

82) 19: kaló   mu   fére   to simiomatário   apó   to

      dear   my   bring.IMP   the diary   from   the

      komoðíno   mu ce méxri na   érθis   eɣó θa   káno   kafeðáci

      bedside table   my andbefore to   you come I   will   make   coffee

      'My dear, get the diary from my bedside table and while you are gone, I will make us coffee'

      18: ti   kaló   korítsi pu çis vre eléni   mu eee i ðicá mu   siɣá   mi

      what   good   girl   you have hey Eleni   my eee my own   slowly not

      se   akúsi

      to you listen

      'What a great daughter you have dear Eleni. Mine would never listen to me'

      19: i   zoí   mu   óli   íne   i maría ja   ména

      the   life   my   all   is   Maria for   me

      'Maria is my whole life'

      18: me cínon   ton jálo   ti   éjine   teliká   (..) xorísane?

      with that   French guy   what   happened   finally (..) they split?

      'What happened with that French guy/ Did they break up?'

      19: kalá   e   aftós o xalvás   íne   óniro   ee s efxaristó   polí

      well   right this   halvas   is   a dream ee you I thank   a lot

      'My goodness, this halvas is amazing. Thanks so much'

      (after 3 minutes)

      18: ke kalá   aaa   mmm **so did they break up?**

and well   aaa   mmm

'As if… So did they break up?

19:   I have no clue whatsoever ee it's not my business

Example 82 is from a conversation among two female friends; Speakers 18 and 19. As was the case with examples 52, 62 and 78, where parts of their conversations are presented, the main language of conversation is Greek with few switches to Irish English. In this example Speaker 18 asks Speaker 19 if her daughter broke up with her partner, choosing not to reply, Speaker 19 changes the topic of conversation and for few minutes they are talking about a different matter in Greek. However, Speaker 18 wanting to get the information, asks the same question, this time in Irish English, which is no longer ignored.

83) 21:   i mizérja   íne   aftó   pu   ðen to boró   kaθólu

the misery   is   it   that   not I can   at all

'The misery is something I can't stand'

20:    étsi   étsi   ee   étsi   ímaste emís   i patriɲés

so   so   eee   so   are   we are the Patran women

'Exactly, this is how we the Patran women are'

21:    to kalítero   mu   íne   na xo   na   káno   me   xarúmeno

the best   my   is   to have   to   do   with   happy

ánθropo

person

'The best thing for me is to have to deal with a happy person'

20:    o aðelfós   su   póte   érçete?

the brother   your   when   comes?

'When is your brother coming?'

21:    kséris   pios   íne   apístefta   kalókarðos ki efxáristos?

172

you know   who   is   unbelievably kind hearted and pleasant?

'Do you know who is unbelievably kind-hearted and pleasant?'

20: ton máci   les   e?

Makis   you say   right?

'You are talking about Makis right?'

21: kalé   ti peðí   íne   aftó eee aftó   pu léme kalókarðos   praɣmatiká

Dear   what child   is   he   eee that   we call   kind-hearted   really

'What a great person. He really is a kind-hearted person'

20: **when are you expecting ɟorɟos?**

21: **ah very soon (.) he'll be here on three days now aaa I can't wait to see him**

84)   21:   to fílo   ómos   pos   to petiçénis   tóso   traɣanó? (..) vázis

the pastry   but   how   do you succeed so   crispsy? (..) you put

vútiro   í láði?

butter   or oil?

'But how can you make the pastry so crispy? Do you use butter or olive?'

20:    íne   ci eména   i aɣapiméni   mu   píta   i spanakópita

is   and for me   the favourite   my   pie   the spinach pie

θimáme   ti ɟaɟáka   mu   pu mu tin éftiaxne   sixná

I remember   the grandmother.DIM my   who me she baked   often

'Spinach pie is my favourite pie too. I remember my granny making it for me often'

(the conversation continues in Greek for approximately 2 minutes)

21: **do you use butter to make it this crispy?**

20: **yes (…) I use only butter for my pies**

Examples 83 and 84 take place among two women; Speakers 20 and 21. As with the example 53, the recording is happening in Speaker 21's house and in example 83 it is Speaker 20 who asks Speaker 21 a question regarding her brother's arrival. Since their conversation is happening while Speaker 21 is using some kitchen equipment that produces lots of noise, it is very likely that she was not able to hear the question. Thus, her friend asks the same question again, but this time in English and finally manages to get a reply which is also uttered in English. While in example 84, it is Speaker 21 who asks a question about the process of making a pie, which might not have been heard by her interlocutor thus, after 2 minutes from the first time she asked the question, she decides to ask it again, this time changing the language, and as was the case with the previous examples manages to get a reply.

85)   9:   san   turtíisa   íse   kaló   mu   korítsi ómorfo

              like   cake.DIM   you are   dear my   girl   beautiful

              'You are like a little cake my beautiful girl'

     10:    ax   ðen kséro   ómos me   tis tsépes   eðó kápos den m arési

              ah   don't I know   though with   the pockets   here somehow not I like

              kápos   prizméni   ðen   me   ðíçni?

              somehow   swollen   not   me   it shows?

              'Oh, I don't know. Not sure I like it because of these pockets. Do you not think I look a bit swollen in it?

     9:    i alíci mazí su   ðen   ítan   ótan   to aɣórazes?

              Aliki   with   you   not   was   when it you were buying?

              'Was Aliki not with you when you were buying it?'

     10:   **yep she was but you didn't tell me eee does my tummy look big in it?**

     9:    **no love eee it really suits you mm you look amazing**

The conversation included in example 85 takes place between a mother and a daughter, participants of examples 45, 75 and 76. The mother is a 57-year-old woman - Speaker 9, and her 24-year-old daughter – Speaker 10. Their conversation is switching from Greek to Irish English and vice versa and in this occasion is initially in Greek where Speaker 10 asks her mother if the dress she is trying on suits her, initially without getting a reply. When she decides to ask again, she does it in English and manages to get a reply which is also in English.

86) 3: kalá   to ti fakeláki pézi   ekí   káto   ðen   léjete   e

          well   what envelopes is happening there   down   not   can be told   e

          'You can't imagine how much bribing takes place down there'

    4: pes mas káti   pu   den ksérume eee póte   θa vji

          tell us something   that   not we know eee when will go out

          i mamá   su   apo   to   nosokomío   kséris?

          the mother   your   from   the   hospital   you know?

          'Tell us something we don't know. Do you know when can your mother leave hospital?

    3: ce   to   astío   aaa astío sta isaɣojiká   vévea   íne pos

          and   the   funny thing aaa funny in brackets   of course is   that

          to nosokomío íne   ce   kalá   apó   ta   kalítera tus   apó ecí

          the hospital   is   and   as if   from   the   best   their   from there

          na katalávis   ti   jínete   ekí   káto

          to understand what   happens   there   down

          'And the thing is that this hospital is one of the best. So, you can imagine what's happening down there'

    4: **will she be back home this week or what are they telling you?**

    3: **they are not telling us anything yet eee we have to wait for couple of days**

to find out

Example 86 is from the first recording of the two participants of examples 43, 50, 55, 59 and 81. As already mentioned, these two men are recorded when speaking in a restaurant. Probably because of being in a public space with non-Greek speakers, their conversation is initially in Irish English with switches to Greek. However, in this part of their dialogue Greek is the main language of conversation. The switch to Irish English appears when Speaker 4 does not get a reply to his question regarding his interlocutor's mother, and he chooses to ask the question again, but this time does so in English, and the second attempt is indeed successful since his interlocutor replies.

87) 1: ðen to prólava to télos eee me píre tiléfono i

not it I caught the end eee me called the

lía ce ótan teʎósame íxe teʎósi ce i tenía

Lia and when we finished had finished and the film

'I didn't catch the end of the movie. Lia called me while I was watching it and when we finished talking, the movie was finished too'

2: prépi na tin éxo ði eee alá kses póso éfkola

should to it I have seen eee but you know how easily

ksexnáo xaxa típota den θimáme re si

I forget haha nothing not I remember hey you

'I've probably seen it. But you know how easily I forget things. I can't remember a thing'

1: aftí i ʝitónisa su i rumána íne akómi eðó?

this the neighbour your the Rumanian woman is still here?

'Does that Rumanian neighbour still lives here?'

2: ax prósexe peðí mu ti ékanes tóra aaa

	ah	be careful	child	my	what	you did	now	aaa

'Be careful dear, look what you did now'

(to her son)

1:	ap ap ap	kalé	des	ce	káto	ap to	trapézi
	oh oh oh	dear	look	and	under	from the	table

'Oh, look! There is some under the table too'

2:	peðí	íne	aftó	tóra	e?
	a child	is	this	now	e?

'What kind of child is she?'

1:	ðen pirázi	moré	afú	den	éspase	típota	to peðí	as ton
	not matter	hey	since	not	he broke	nothing	the child	leave him

'It's OK dear, the important thing is that he didn't break anything'

eee   is your neighbour still here or she has left?

2:     **have no clue mm I haven't seen her for a while now**

Example 87 takes place among two sisters; a 31-year-old Speaker 1 and a 35-year-old Speaker 2, whose previous conversation recordings were used in examples 41, 56, 64 and 80. Speaker 1 is visiting her sister whose little daughter is at home and their conversation in this instance is mainly in Greek. When Speaker 1 asks Speaker 2 a question regarding her neighbour, Speaker 2's daughter who is playing in the same room drops some object and appears to make a mess to which Speaker 2 immediately reacts and scolds her. This way Speaker 1's question regarding the Rumanian neighbour goes unnoticed, so after exchanging few phrases about the child and cleaning after the child, she decides to ask the same question again, but this time does so in a different language and finally gets a reply.

88)	6:	ci	o propápus	su	ítan	apó cína	ta	méri
		and	the great grandfather	your	was	from those	the	places

kséris?

you know?

'Do you know that your great grandfather was also from there?'

5:    ax   ti   éxun   perási i papúðes   mas to skéftome   kamjá

      ah   what have   passed the grandparents our I think   some

      forá   pos   na   ítan

      time   how to   was

'Oh, what have our ancestors been through. I keep thinking sometimes how

their lives were'

6:    ti   na   kánume ee étsi   ítan   tóte

      what to   we do ee so   it was then

'What can we do, this is how things were back then'

5:    étsi   étsi (…) den mu les   eee   ti θa kánis   me tin ána?

      right right (…)not me you tell   eee   what will you do with Anna?

'You are right, but tell me, what are you planning to do with Anna?'

6:    ax den kséro eee kséris   ti   θa íθela   ee na páme sinemá (…)

      ah not I know eee you know want   would I want ee to we go cinema (….)

      ti   les?

      what you say?

'Oh, I don't know. You know what I would love to do now? Shall we go to the

cinema?'

5:    **okay eee but what are you planning to do with her? Will you let her stay**

      with you for these two months?

6:    **I can't do otherwise now eee can I?**

Example 88 takes place among a mother and a son whose previous conversation was used for the example 42. Speaker 6 is a 54-year-old mother and Speaker 5 is her 26-year-old son, and their recording takes place in Speaker 6's house. When the son asks his mother if she is going to let her relative stay at her place, Speaker 6 initially does not give an answer, but rather says 'Ah I don't know' and switches the topic of the conversation and asks her son to go to the cinema one of the following days. Wanting to find out the answer to his question, Speaker 5 asks about his mother's plans again, but this time switches the language of the question and slightly changes it by making his question more specific and finally manages to get a reply.

89) 17: kalé   pça   ítan   ekíni   i ómorfi   kopéla mazí   tu?

dear   who   was   that   beautiful   girl   with   him?

'Who was that pretty girl with you?'

16: ax   póso   kurástika   símera eee   me   kurázi   polí

ah   how   tired I got   today   eee   me   gets tired   a lot

i ðuʎá   mu

the job my

'I'm so tired today. My job gets me really tired'

17: **c'mon tell me eee who is she? are they together?**

16: **Maria he doesn't like when I tell people about his life you know eee he gets so annoyed**

The conversation of the example 89 takes place between two women whose recorded speech was also included in examples 51, 54, 61 and 72, and in this recording they are talking about Speaker 16's son. When Speaker 17 asks a question regarding a girl she saw her interlocutor's son with, the latter changes the topic and talks about her work. Speaker 16 immediately repeats the question, this time in Irish English and in a slightly different way, and this way her question is no longer unnoticed.

90) 20:   moré   se   mas   ecí   kséris   ti   jínete?   xamós eee

     hey   to   us   there you know   what is happening? dissaster eee

     'You know it's a mess there'

22:   eséna tóra   káto   pçi   íne?   éçis   ti mána su

     to you now   down   who   is?   you have your mother

     móno e?

     only right?

     'Who do you have there now? Is it only your mother?'

20:   íða   xtes   aftó   pu   íçe anevási   o níkos   ce   se

     I saw   yesterday   it   that   had posted   Nicos   and   you

     léo   ékleɣa

     I tell I cried

     'I saw what Nikos posted yesterday and I'm telling you, I was crying'

22:   ax   áse   áse   ti   na kánume eee **is your mother alone**

     oh   leave it, leave it   what to we do   eee

     there now or you have other relatives too?

     'Oh, don't say. What can we do? Is your mother alone there now or do you

     have other relatives too?'

20:   **no oo she's not alone mm my aunt is helping her eee she is the youngest**

     one

Example 90 takes place between 2 of the three participants of example 53, a 54-year-old man and a 47-year-old woman who are friends. The main language of communication is Greek and the topic concerns different problems in Greece. When Speaker 22 decides to ask Speaker 20 regarding her mother, a question goes unnoticed so, Speaker 22 asks the question again, this time making it more specific and changing the language to Irish English.

91) 16:   cósta   fére.IMP   mu   to tapsí   an   éçi   aðjási

          Costa   bring   me   the tray   if   has   emptied

          'Costas, bring me that empty tray'

    17:   ti   ómorfos   pu   íne   maría eee ti kúklo   jo éçis

          what   good-looking   that   he is   Maria eee what handsome son you have

          kalí mu

          dear my

          'What a hansome boy my dear Maria, what a good-looking son you have dear'

    16:   ton patéra   mu   miázi   eee olóiðios   ine

          to dad   my   he resembles   eee identical   he is

          'He looks like my father, he looks exactly like him'

    17:   ðe   mu   les   eee   ton éftiakses ton fúrno?

          not   me   you say   eee   it you fixed   the oven?

          'Tell me, did you fix the oven?'

    16:   su   éxo ðíksi   fotoɣrafíes   tu   poté?   íxa   patéra kalí

          to you I have shown pictures   his   ever?   I had   father dear

          mu eee   kúklo

          my eee   a doll

          'Did I ever show you his pictures? I had a handsome dad dear'

    17:   **did you get the oven fixed? can we bake the pots today?**

    16:   **oh mmm he never came (..) I called him twice already mm I will call again**

          tomorrow and let you know

Example 91 takes place during the second recording between two women, a 54-year-old
Speaker 16 and a 47-year-old Speaker 17. Their previous conversations were used in examples
51, 54, 61, 72 and 89 and in this recording they are talking about the oven for pottery baking.

Speaker 17 who is visiting her friend is interested to find out if a pottery baking oven is working and asks about it initially in Greek. However, since the main topic of conversation was different, Speaker 16 does not follow her interlocutor in the topic change and continues talking about her father. Wanting to get a reply, Speaker 17 asks again but this time in English. It is also very interesting to notice that she decides to slightly change the question and offer an explanation regarding her reasons behind asking it 'can we bake the pots today?', something which together with the change of language is a way of minimising her imposition and making it clear that her reason for asking the question twice is not simple curiosity. On the contrary, it can be seen as her desire to help her friend finish with the pots she needs to have ready for a Christmas market as it is clear from the dialogue that follows.

5.3 Reasons for using CS for repeated questions

As mentioned in Bochorishvili, Eiswirth and Northeast (2015) researchers who discuss repetition in code-switching often approach this phenomenon in two different ways: monolingual or bilingual repetition. Monolingual repetition can occur in different situations within bilingual conversations. It sometimes consists of the same content of the utterance expressed in the same language, but it can also include different content expressed in the same language. This can be observed very often in insertional CS (Boumans 2002). According to Boumans, CS takes place as a delayed repetition. When a conversation is led by bilinguals in a dominant language (L1) and a L2 insertional switch occurs, this can be interpreted as a delayed repetition of an earlier utterance, phrase or grammatical structure. It can refer to something that was said during the conversation, but also to an expression that was heard before the conversation. It may also be a word that a bilingual speaker acquired in L2 contexts, which increases the probability that, during a conversation in their L1, they will switch to their L2 in order to use this word.

Koostra et al. (2012) discuss priming structure repetition; a tendency in languages to repeat the structure of the sentence, which also impacts CS behaviour. Among others, they describe the role of lexical repetition (cognates) on structural priming within bilingual speech. With reference to a study carried out by Bernolet, Hartsuiker and Pickering (2007) and to Clyne's (2006) notion of triggered switches, they note that 'the tendency to switch at the same sentence position as in a code-switched prime sentence is stronger when the sentence contains a cognate than when it does not contain a cognate' (Koostra et al., 2012, p 5-6).

Bilingual repetition, on the other hand, usually takes place when the same content is said in two different languages. The switch, in contrast to monolingual repetition, does not occur as an insertion of L2 in the dominant language L1. It rather means a language switch from the utterance in L1 to the same utterance repeated in the L2. This is what is meant by *bilingual repetition*. This may happen in various bilingual situations, such as informal conversations between friends, relatives, as well as more formal conversations in a bilingual classroom. The latter is most frequently discussed by researchers of this phenomenon. Gardner-Chloros (2009) refers to repetition and reiteration in CS as dual marking. Paraphrasing Tannen, she states that this phenomenon achieves a number of discourse functions within monolingual conversations. Repeating a message with a switched code stresses the emphasis which has already been achieved by the repetition itself. Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 75) notes that in some cases, switched repetition may occur to avoid rudeness since it appeared that 'switching languages for repetitions allowed speakers to hold the floor and to create coherence between different parts of their utterance without the marked connotations of exact monolingual repetition, which can appear rude or condescending'.

To conclude, in all 13 examples, regardless of interlocutors' relationships, their level of understanding, or their location, all speakers who repeated questions appeared to have chosen to do so to receive answers to their questions. I believe that by doing so in a different

language, instead of repeating a question in the same language, these speakers achieve the purpose of minimising their imposition towards the Hearer, and thus, manage to save their faces. Since asking a question in both monolingual and bilingual speech is a potential face threatening act, requiring the Hearer to act immediately; asking the question twice doubles these chances. Examples 79 to 91 demonstrate that speakers in bilingual interactions have an additional resource at their hands to reduce this imposition. When a question in a bilingual conversation is not answered, the speaker can pursue it with a minimal threat to the Hearer's face through changing the language of communication; proving this way that repeating a question in a switched code is one more politeness strategy available to bi/multilinguals and as presented in this section, widely used among the participants of this research.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I presented 51 politeness related examples of CS which could be found in the 18 hour recorded data. In order to present the reader with a clear picture of how frequent the use of CS for politeness appears to be among Greeks living in Ireland, I divided these 51 examples into four strategy groups and presented the reader with politeness related CS examples for humour, for bonding style, for the use of diminutives, as well as for repeated questions.

After providing examples in each of these four strategies, attempt was made to provide the reader with a more in-depth analysis of the reasons that make humorous comments such an effective way of avoiding arguments and Irish English-Greek CS such a common way of showing solidarity among these speakers. Moreover, several reasons for which Greek speakers of Ireland use diminutives, mainly in Greek, were discussed, as well as possible reasons behind speakers' attempts of repeating a question in a switched language after not getting a reply for it, something that also appeared to be a common reason of switching from Greek to Irish English and vice versa.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

1. Main aims of this study

The main aim of this thesis was to examine the reasons for code-switching among Ireland's Greek speakers. In order to research this topic, audio recordings of everyday informal speech of Greek speakers living in Ireland were conducted. Four main CS reasons apart from politeness among the participants of this study have been provided in Chapter 5. Moreover, four other CS strategies related to politeness were presented and analysed in Chapter 6.

Numerous other language groups could be used for this study however, as Sifianou (1992) points out Greek and English seem to follow different politeness patterns. Based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of positive and negative politeness findings, Sifianou supports that 'politeness is conceptualised differently and thus, manifested differently in the two societies' (Sifianou, 1992, p. 2). She also claims that Greek speakers tend to use more positive politeness devices than the English speakers, who prefer more negative politeness ones (Sifianou, 1992). Therefore, the fact that politeness is expressed in different ways by these two language speakers makes the Greek speakers living in Ireland more likely to feel the need to switch from one variety to another when talking to each other, among other reasons, for politeness purposes too.

The reader of this study was presented with literature review on CS and politeness in Chapters 2 and 3. The field of code-switching has received ample research as well as many controversial views on the terminology itself. As Milroy and Muysken (1995, p. 92) correctly claim, the field 'is replete with a confusing range of terms descriptive of various aspects of the phenomenon', therefore it was considered necessary to provide an overview of various contrasting terminology words used to describe this linguistic phenomenon. Moreover, since CS between two different languages presupposes bilingualism, the reader of this study was also provided with a section related to literature on what scholars consider as bilingualism. Since

this study dealt with two languages, namely Greek and Irish English, I considered it important to present the reader with the available material on CS in these two languages. In addition, a detailed picture of the distinction between the structural and the sociolinguistic CS was also provided with more focus on the latter. Finally, various factors affecting speakers' choice of codes such as age and gender were also outlined.

In Chapter 3 on the other hand, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory was explored with focus on the notion of face, introduced by these two scholars in 1987. As it is supported by scholars studying Greek and English politeness, the linguistic ways in which Greek language conveys politeness seems to be different to various norms which exist in English speaking countries. Greek language seems to convey more politeness strategies that are regarded as positive while English seems to prefer negative politeness strategies. Without one form of politeness being considered more polite than the other, but rather, as it is supported in Sifianou (1992), both language speakers considered to be polite in culturally specific ways. However, because of this difference in expressing politeness, my hypothesis was that the Greek speakers of Ireland would feel the need of switching codes for politeness purposes too amongst other reasons, something that appeared to be the case indeed based on the data analysis which was presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

In order to provide the reader with a clear picture of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, Chapter 3 referred to principles of politeness with main focus on the concept of face and positive/negative politeness. Moreover, the notion of politeness was discussed for both, Greek and Irish English, and a cross cultural comparison between politeness patterns of these languages was made, with references to Greek scholars working in the field.

Moreover, in Chapter 4, the methodology related details of this research were highlighted. I first provided the reader with the main questions of this study, and then discussed the Ethics Committee approval procedure I had to undergo since my research involved human

participants. Furthermore, I discussed about the main place of gathering for Greek speakers of Ireland, and various ways of approaching the possible participants, as well as the length and amount of the audio recordings. I also talked about my involvement during the recordings, since my choice of language could have an effect on the participants' choice of codes. I also discussed some limitations researchers face in similar research processes. There were also discussions regarding the transcription of the speech where CS took place, as well as my personal filed notes and the way they were used to provide the reader with a better picture about the speakers and the stories behind every dialogue used in the 91 examples of this study, 40 of which include CS for various reasons apart from politeness, and 51 of which are politeness related CS examples.

Chapters 5 and 6 included the analysis of CS and presented the reader with data gathered from a total of 18 hour recordings of 27 speakers. In order to present the collected data in the best possible way, the examples where divided in two chapters, with Chapter 5 presenting CS examples for reasons apart from politeness, and Chapter 6 including CS examples for politeness purposes. The four main CS reasons apart from politeness among this research participants appeared to be *CS for not remembering a word/phrase*, *CS for the use of fixed phrases*, *CS for non-corresponding phrases* and *CS for original langue quotation*. It should also be mentioned that because of the amount of the data, not all CS examples that belong to Chapter 5 were be included. Instead, I provided the reader with the most representative examples of each category.

In Chapter 6 on the other hand, all CS examples related to politeness were presented and divided into four strategy groups: *CS for humour, CS for bonding style, CS for the use of diminutives* and lastly *CS for repeated questions*. After providing examples belonging to each of these strategies, attempt was made to provide the reader with a more in-depth analysis of the reasons that make humorous comments such an effective way of avoiding arguments; CS from

Irish English to Greek such a common way of showing solidarity among these speakers; the reasons for Greek speakers code-switching for the use of diminutives; and finally the reasons behind speakers' attempts of repeating a question in a different language after not getting a reply to their originally asked questions.

2. *Concluding remarks*

The main aim of this study was to see if Greek speakers of Ireland would switch codes from Greek to Irish English and vice versa and to focus on one possible reason, namely politeness. After presenting the recorded data of this research participants' everyday conversations, it was concluded that these speakers used CS for several reasons, including politeness. Therefore, it can be said that there appears to be a link between the notions of CS and politeness, especially when it comes to languages that follow different politeness patterns, such as Greek and Irish English.

To the best of my knowledge there are very few similar attempts linking these two areas of sociolinguistics. Specifically, Gardner-Chloros and Finnis (2004) investigate the link between CS, politeness and gender. And based on their findings, Cypriot Greek women seem to engage in CS for the expression of politeness more often than men of their community, and some of their reasons, namely humorous language and the use of Greek diminutives for politeness purposes, seem to be similar to the findings of my study. As regards the role of gender in my study, as already mentioned, it was not intended to focus on one gender group over the other or make similar comparisons with the above mentioned article. Instead, I tried to present the reader with a CS picture of the Greek speakers of Ireland without variables such as gender or age being taken into account. I did however, try to keep a gender balance, but possible factors such as my gender as well as an unequal number

of potential participants I managed to find during the Greek community members' Sunday gatherings at the church, the number of male speakers in this study is 8 out of 27.

Despite not being able to make claims about the differences in the linguistic behaviour of female and male participants, based on the examples which were analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, I am able to make several concluding remarks on the reasons this research participants chose to switch codes, as well as the relationship between CS and politeness.

2.1 CS for four main reasons apart from politeness

The data that occurred from the recordings of these 27 Greek speakers living in Ireland, is one more proof of how widespread the use of CS in bilingual speakers' daily lives is. The main reasons for CS in their speech, excluding politeness, were grouped in four categories.

As it was presented in Chapter 5, there were few instances of CS when not remembering a word or a phrase in the main language of conversation. In comparison to monolingual speakers, when not being able to quickly think of a word they needed, these speakers had an option of switching codes and continuing their conversation without much loss in time and effort, and as it can be seen from the data analysis, they did make use of this option. In addition, most of the fixed phrases for which CS occurred in these speakers' recordings would be impossible to translate without losing some of their original meaning, therefore, this research participants chose to switch codes. Also, CS was often used by these speakers for the use of names of various dishes, as well as adjectives describing someone's personality that do not exist in one of their two languages. Lastly, when wanting to present their interlocutor with a clear picture of what happened in the story they are narrating, quoting parts of dialogues that did not take place in their conversation's main language in a switched code was a popular way of achieving their communication goals.

2.2   CS for politeness

Apart from the four main categories of CS for the above mentioned reasons, four politeness related CS strategy groups were also presented in Chapter 6, including CS for humour, for bonding style, for the use of diminutives and for repeated questions.

2.2.1   CS for humour

As outlined in Chapter 6, humour plays an important role in social contact because it brings individuals closer to each other (Kuchner, 1991; Zand, Spreen and Lavalle, 1999), it makes us feel happy, and it makes us avoid arguments. As described in Martin et al., (2003) humour is a positive characteristic that brings people together. The fact that humour can bring people together and help in maintaining social contact, is agreed among leading scholars of the field including Zand, Spreen, and Lavalle (1999).

Moreover, in the previously mentioned 2004 article on Cypriot Greek speakers of England, Gardner-Chloros and Finnis make links between the gender role and humour in relation to politeness and CS and conclude that in their interview results both male and female speakers often mentioned that they used Greek to mark playful or non-serious discourse. They also note that in these specific communities it was mainly women who appeared to make more frequent use of CS as a softening device to carry out certain direct speech acts, which require negative and positive politeness strategies so to attenuate their directness (2004).

Similarly to their findings, in 10 out of 13 CS for humour examples of this data, humorous comments were made by women. And apart from avoiding disagreement, which appears to be the most common reason for CS for humour, such comments appear to be an effective way to handle awkward silence that occurred in case of the mother giving shopping money to her son. Code-switching to Greek in similar cases adds humour or introduces an element of playfulness, for example, by bringing in characters associated with Greek culture. In total there were 13 examples of CS for humour and though not all humorous comments made

in the 18 hour data were done while switching from one language to another, these 13 examples are a proof of the use of CS for bringing to the surface shared images either from Greece (example 42 with the popular phrase describing a Greek actor) or from the past (example 53 about the disco music), is these speakers' way to minimise conflicts and disagreements among each other.

Disagreement is a widely studied area in conversation analysis and is mainly seen as confrontational act which should be mitigated and/or avoided. As already mentioned, in CA terms, it is typically understood as a *dispreferred* second (Sacks, 1974 and 1987; Pomerantz, 1984), which 'is largely destructive for social solidarity' (Heritage, 1984, p. 268). Brown and Levinson (1987) as well as Leech (1983) also view disagreement as something resulting in impoliteness and should therefore be avoided in the interest of interlocutors' *face*. Although, as mentioned in Chapter 6, this is not the case with all interactions in Greek and based on the studies by scholars such as Tanne and Kakava (1992), Kakava (1993b) and Geoakopoulou (2001). In the Greek discourse, disagreement is not always a dispreferred act but in conversations with family members or friends it is many times the speakers' way of expressing sociability.

Nine out of thirteen examples of CS for the use of humour appeared to be for avoiding disagreements thus, the findings of my study seem to come in contrast with the claims made regarding the acceptability of disagreements in the Greek culture on which all the above mentioned scholars working in the field of Greek politeness seem to agree. However, on the other hand, it should be noted that when the above mentioned scholars were describing the Greek speakers and their behaviour towards disagreement, they mainly concentrate on monolingual Greek speakers living in Greece, something that is not the case with the participants of this research. The fact that these bilingual speakers are aware of both acceptable and unacceptable linguistic behaviours in both settings might be affecting them and causing

this difference in clearly trying to avoid possible disagreements they might not have avoided should they been monolingual speakers living in Greece.

2.2.2 *CS for bonding style*

As regards CS for signalling bonding among the speakers, as the examples included in Chapter 6 depict, CS for this reason also appears to be frequently used. It is also worth mentioning that out of the 14 examples which I consider to be related to the speakers' attempt to signal bonding, 11 were examples of Irish English to Greek CS which shows a clear preference of this research participants' to show solidarity when talking in Greek. This perhaps is the speakers' way to show that apart from the fact that they are relatives or friends, belong to the same gender or age group, etc., they also share one common feature with each other which is the knowledge of the Greek language.

In many of the examples that were included in this strategy, CS appeared when the topic of the conversation was shifted to a discussion related to some private matter that the two speakers might wanted to avoid the non-Greek speakers who were present to understand, especially in case of recordings that took place in public places like restaurants or shops. However, such examples did not take place only in public spaces, but appeared in recordings where the speakers where in their homes and in the majority of such cases when hearing that their interlocutor is not feeling well or has some health issues, speakers would often consider it a better option to switch to Greek as a way of signalling their closeness to the person in need. Finally, as already mentioned in some instances, such type of CS appeared when a speaker felt that they are intruding by giving their opinion and since this type of behaviour would be more acceptable in cultures with positive politeness languages, it appeared to be a natural way of switching to Greek for conversations that were taking place in Irish English.

2.2.3 CS for diminutives

The primary function of diminutives is to express the idea of littleness, smallness and intimacy in contrast to the non-diminutive forms, however as Sifianou (1992, p. 157) suggests, diminutives in Greek are frequently used 'to express familiarity, informality and endearment'. It could be claimed that the flexibility with which diminutives are formed in Greek and the limited number of English words that accept diminutive suffixes is a major reason for their widespread use in Greek and their limited use in English varieties, including Irish English. As already mentioned Wierzbicka (1985, p. 168) claims that 'rich systems of diminutives seem to play a crucial role in cultures in which emotions in general and affection in particular is expected to be shown overtly' and based on the findings of various scholars working on Greek diminutives and judging from the data collected for this study, it is clear that Greek culture is one of these cultures. Perhaps, this explains why most of the examples of this research where CS occurred, it was Irish English to Greek CS. In contrast to her statement about cultures in which emotions are expected to be shown overtly according to Wiersbichka's claim on English speakers, the unrestrained display of emotions is not something that is normally encouraged (1985, p. 168), something that could serve as a possible explanation for a small amount of the Greek to Irish English CS examples for the use of diminutives in this study.

CS for the use of various Greek diminutives appears to be a common practice for the Greek community members of Ireland. Some of the purposes it served included making a compliments (see example 75) where the diminutive serves as a maximizing device which appears to be satisfying the addressee's positive face needs. Apart from making compliments, CS for the use of Greek diminutives appeared in one of the examples of this study (see example 63) when accepting a compliment as the Speaker's way of reducing the possibility of her utterance being interpreted as self-praise.

As it was depicted in Chapter 6, many of the examples of this group included switching codes for the use of diminutives when making a request (see examples 74, 76 and 77). As Brown and Levinson (1987) mention, requests always involve some degree of imposition which require minimisation, something that can explain the use of diminutives in these three examples. However, when describing the use of diminutives in Greek, Sifianou (1992) suggests that in certain cases, requests here do not necessarily involve imposition. She claims that when the Speaker has specific rights and obligations to perform particular acts or when a request will in some way benefit both interlocutors, the use of diminutives do not involve imposition, but rather is the Speaker's way to show solidarity and claim common ground with the Hearer.

Apart from requests, making offers was also one of the reasons for which the participants of this study chose to CS (see examples 64 and 66). By using diminutives in both cases, speakers managed to reduce their imposition. As Brown and Levinson (1987) describe such patterns, offers are frequently used as positive politeness strategies since the Speaker indicates their concern towards the Hearer and their well-being. However, this offer sometimes puts pressure on the Hearer who either can decline this offer, something which would naturally be inconsiderable, or accept this offer, in which case they will put themselves in a potential debt to return the offer. This way, it can be claimed that in example 64, when the hostess was offering more food to her guest, diminutives were used not only to minimise her imposition, but to also minimise the value of her offer so that the Hearer does not feel obliged to pay back since what was offered was not of great importance.

2.2.4   CS for repeated questions

As regards the fourth politeness related reason for code-switching - repeated questions, the reader of this study was presented with 13 examples where after not receiving an answer to their initially asked question, speakers chose to switch from Greek to Irish English or vice versa and ask the question again. By asking a question in a different language, instead of repeating it

in the same language, they achieved the purpose of minimising their imposition towards the Hearer, and thus, manage to save their face. Since asking a question in both monolingual and bilingual speeches is potentially a face threatening act, it requires the Hearer to act immediately, asking the question twice doubles these chances so, CS appears to be a tool that helps the speakers soften their imposition. When a question in a bilingual conversation is not answered, the speaker can pursue the question with a minimal threat to the Hearer's face through changing the language of communication. Proving this way that repeating a question in a switched code is one more politeness strategy available to bi/multilinguals, and as the recorded data showed, is widely used among the Greek-Irish English bilinguals who took part in this study.

3. Future research

I believe that the present study managed to shed some light to our better understanding of the notion of CS and the reasons for choosing to switch codes among Greek speakers of Ireland. Moreover, this study outlined a relationship between CS and politeness, and informed us about four politeness related strategies for which the above described participants chose to switch codes. Greek and Irish English being languages that express politeness in different ways has undoubtedly played a significant role in these speakers need to switch codes for politeness purposes.

Conducting such studies in other language groups in order to see if other speakers will CS for similar reasons with Greek-Irish English speakers would provide us with a bigger picture on reasons for CS. Moreover, it would be interesting to research CS in languages that express politeness in similar ways so to be able to make comparisons to language groups such as Greek and Irish English where we can see numerous differences in regard to politeness. Furthermore, conducting a bigger scale study in these two language groups could lend itself to a quantitative analysis of the data on reasons for CS, CS and politeness as well as variables

such as gender and age to add to our understanding of the linguistic behaviour of women and men of this community.

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Appendix 1

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

SCHOOL OF LINGUISTIC SPEECH AND COMMUNICATION SCIENCES

Participant Information Leaflet

Conversation and Communication among Greeks living in Ireland.

Irma Bochorishvili

PhD student in Linguistics

Supervisor: Prof Jeffrey Kallen

You are invited to participate in this research project which is being carried out by Trinity College, Dublin postgraduate student Irma Bochorishvili. Your participation is voluntary. Even if you agree to participate now, you can withdraw at any time, during or after the recordings, without any consequences of any kind.

The study is designed to describe the conversation and communication among the members of Greek society living in Ireland.

If you agree to participate, this will involve you to allow being recorded 2-3 times with each recording not exceeding half an hour while talking to your family members and/or friends at home. If you wish, you have the right to ask the researcher for a copy of your recordings. Apart from that, you will not benefit directly from participating in this research. However, my research may benefit the description of conversation and communication among Greeks living in Ireland.

Any information or data which I obtain from you during this research which can be identified with you will be treated confidentially. I will do this by using pseudonyms instead of your real names, if I need to refer to your recordings. Nobody will have access to the recordings apart from me and my supervisor and, I will make sure they are kept on a password protected file on my personal computer which is used only by me and is never left unattended.

It is expected that a number of sentences/phrases from these audio recordings will be transcribed and appear on my thesis. Also, it is likely for these phrases to be included in future conferences and/or publications.

If you have any questions about this research you can ask me e-mail: bochorii@tcd.ie, you are also free, to contact my supervisor, Prof Jeffrey Kallen e-mail: jkallen@tcd.ie

Appendix 2

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

SCHOOL OF LINGUISTIC SPEECH AND COMMUNICATION SCIENCES

Participant Information Leaflet for children under 16

Communication skills of Greek society members living in Ireland.

Irma Bochorishvili

PhD student in Linguistics

Supervisor: Prof Jeffrey Kallen

You are invited to participate in this research project which is being carried out by Irma Bochorishvili. Your participation is voluntary. Even if you agree to participate now, you are free to change your mind during or after the recoding and this will not affect our relationship.

The project is about the communication of Greek society members living in Ireland. If you agree to participate, this means that you will be recorded when talking to your family members and friends for 2-3 times and every recording will last for nearly half an hour.

You will not benefit directly from participating in this research. But my research may benefit the description of communication skills of members of Hellenic society living in Ireland.

Your name will not appear anywhere and together with my supervisor, we are the only people who will hear your recordings which will be kept in a secure place in the School.

When I finish my essay, I will destroy the recordings, but some written sentences from your recording may be included in the essay. Buy, I will make sure not to mention your name. Instead some other characteristics such as your age, gender and nationality might be mentioned.

Appendix 3

<div align="center">

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN
SCHOOL OF LINGUISTIC SPEECH AND COMMUNICATION SCIENCES
Consent Form
Conversation and Communication among Greeks living in Ireland.
Irma Bochorishvili
PhD student in Linguistics
Supervisor: Prof Jeffrey Kallen

</div>

I hereby certify that I have read and understood the Information Leaflet provided to me by Irma Bochorishvili.

I and my child/children are invited to participate in this research project which is being carried out by Trinity College, Dublin postgraduate student Irma Bochorishvili. Our participation is voluntary. Even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw my and/or my child's/children's participation at any time without any consequences of any kind.

The study is designed to investigate the communication between the members of Greek society living in Ireland. If I agree to participate, this will involve me and my child/children being recorded for 2-3 times, with each recording not exceeding half an hour, while talking with my family members and/or friends at home. I have the right to ask the researcher to provide me with the copy of the recordings and I am free to change my mind during or after the recordings are finished without feeling any pressure from the researcher.

I/we will not benefit directly from participating in this research. However, this research may benefit the description of conversation and communication among members of the Hellenic society of Ireland. Any information or data which is obtained from me/us during this research which can be identified with me/us will be treated confidentially.

If I have any questions about this research I can ask Irma Bochorishvili e-mail: bochorii@tcd.ie. I am also free, however, to contact her supervisor, Prof Jeffrey Kallen e-mail: jkallen@tcd.ie to seek further clarification and information.

I have been given a copy of the Participant Information Leaflet and a copy of this Consent Form to keep.

☐ I agree to participate
☐ I agree to my child/children being recorded, subject to their assent

--   ----------------
Signature of participant   Date

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

---   ----------------------
Signature of researcher   Date