

UC Berkeley
Dissertations, Department of Linguistics

Title

Irish on the Air: Media, Discourse, and Minority-Language Development

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1623s55p>

Author

Cotter, Colleen

Publication Date

1996

Irish on the Air: Media, Discourse, and Minority-Language Development

by

Colleen Marie Cotter

B.A. (St. Olaf College) 1980

M.A. (Sussex University) 1989

M.A. (University of California, Berkeley) 1994

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Leanne Hinton, Chair

Professor Robin Lakoff

Professor Sharon Inkelas

Professor William J. Drummond

Professor Deborah Schiffrin

1996

The dissertation of Colleen Marie Cotter is approved:

<u>Searge Hunter</u>	<u>Aug 16, 1996</u>
Chair	Date
<u>Wally Diller</u>	<u>Aug 12 1996</u>
	Date
<u>Deborah Schuffman</u>	<u>Aug 16, 1996</u>
	Date
<u>John D. Colloff</u>	<u>Aug 20, 1996</u>
	Date
<u>Siobhan Indelicato</u>	<u>Aug 20, 1996</u>
	Date

University of California, Berkeley

1996

Irish on the Air: Media, Discourse, and Minority-Language Development

© 1996

by

Colleen Marie Cotter

Irish on the Air: Media, Discourse, and Minority-language Development

Table of Contents

List of tables	v
Acknowledgments	vi
 Chapter 1 Introduction	
1.1 Introduction: can the media serve a language in flux?.....	1
1.2 About the data	12
1.3 Transcription conventions	13
 Chapter 2 The scope of news language research	
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Current media research	18
2.2.1 The scope of different approaches	23
2.2.2 What media language study can offer linguistics	30
2.2.3 Extending the scope of research	32
2.3 Media language features	34
2.3.1 Mass communication	34
2.3.2 The role of the audience	38
2.3.3 Discourse structures in the news	41
2.3.4 Intonation	45
2.3.5 Lexicon, dialect, and style	48
 Chapter 3 A sociolinguistic intersection: Media and minority languages	
3.1 Introduction	51
3.2 The dynamics of influence	52
3.3 The media and minority languages	57
3.4 The media as a social force	60
3.5 Conclusion	64
 Chapter 4 Linguistic solidarity through the media: Two approaches	
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 The Irish language in Ireland	68
4.3 Current use and attitudes	76
4.4 Raidió na Gaeltachta: "scheduled regionalism"	79
4.5 Raidió na Life: Gaeltacht of the Air	87
4.6 Goals of Irish-language radio	91
4.6.1 Unity of speech community	94
4.6.2 Contemporary relevance; television	97
4.6.3 Contesting dominant-language power structures	100
4.7 Conclusion	104
 Chapter 5 Language-production practices at Raidió na Life	
5.1 Introduction	106
5.2 Station philosophy	107
5.3 Language standards	112
5.4 Typology of speakers/varieties	114
5.5 Language-use strategies	118
5.5.1 Irish-language training for broadcasters	121
5.6 Features of language on Raidió na Life	133
5.6.1 Dublin Irish	136
5.7 Conclusion	138

Table of contents, continued

Chapter 6	Language use at the discourse level: English discourse markers in Irish	
6.1	Introduction	140
6.2	the requirements of media discourse	142
6.3	Discourse fluency and the bilingual arena	148
6.4	Discourse markers and their functions	150
6.5	The data	153
	WELL (BHUEL)	158
	(Ó) MAISE	165
	Y'KNOW	172
	OK, YEAH	178
	SO and other markers	183
6.6	DMs in the bilingual context (or, why English?).....	187
6.6.1	Markers and identity: unconscious production.....	195
6.7	Discourse markers in evolving talk.....	196
6.7.1	The presentation of news-interview data	196
6.7.2	<i>Um Thráthnóna</i> transcripts (Irish and English)	198
6.7.3	Accomplishing discourse-level tasks	210
6.7.4	A schematic examination of the interview exchange	213
6.8	Summary	216
Chapter 7	Conclusion and unifying principles	
7.1	Contextualization cues	218
7.2	Prosody and context	221
7.3	Concluding summary	224
References	226
Appendix A	– Map of Gaeltacht areas	236
Appendix B	– Tape and data log	237

List of tables and charts

	Page
Hypothetical structure of a news schema	22
Use of Irish	77
Provision for use of Irish	79
Provisional typology of speakers/varieties	116
Cúrsa Gaeilge contents summary	121
Table 1 - English discourse markers found in Irish	155
Table 2 - Irish-equivalent discourse markers	157
Table 3 - Breakdown of news interview by sequence	214

Acknowledgments

The completion of this work has been made possible by supportive interaction with numerous professors, colleagues, family, and friends, to whom I'm exceedingly grateful.

In particular, I wish to thank the members of the committee who, by their very diversity, have offered valuable perspectives and have influenced me considerably in very different ways. Robin Lakoff's pragmatics-based approach to language use was a catalyst for query in my first stage of life at Berkeley. Her incisive and thorough reading of earlier drafts of the dissertation and her comments on the synthesized approach taken here leave me indebted. Deborah Schiffrin's colloquium talk on the Berkeley campus several years ago tapped deep wells of enthusiasm for discourse analysis which has led down many fruitful paths. I look forward to continued collegial contact.

Sharon Inkelas instilled a respect and appreciation for the core tenets of linguistics and will remain an example of a careful, questioning scholar for whom intellectual integrity is paramount. Conversations with Bill Drummond on matters of journalism and language continued to reinforce a very early intuition that examining the media and linguistics together offers a powerful explanatory framework (not to mention good story leads). I value his many years' experience as a print reporter and radio producer, which differs in stimulating ways from my own journalism background. Last, and especially, I wish to thank Leanne Hinton, whose unflagging enthusiasm and support as my adviser has seen me through the duration. Her seminar on endangered languages was another turning point along the way, and her example of professional generosity is one to emulate.

The "Irish contingent" in my sphere cannot be thanked enough, although I'm beholden to try, starting with Joan Keefe – for her time, interest, and hospitality in Berkeley and Ballycotton; the staff at Raidió na Life, especially station manager Finuala MacAodha; the McGlintchy family in Gleann Fhinne, Co. Donegal; Máiréad Uí Sheoighe and Tomás MacEoin in An Cheathrú Rua, Co. Galway; Aisling Mythen, Bart Codd, and Breandán Mac Suibhne for a stimulating week in the Donegal Gaeltacht; Seán Ó Riain; Rónán Ó Dubhthaigh; Steve Coleman; and many, many others. The kindness and generosity of Dónaill Ó Baoill, who always promptly responds to email queries, even when he's leaving on summer holidays, and Éamonn Ó Dónaill, who told the story of Raidió na Life over supper in Glencolmcille and got the whole thing started, cannot be repaid.

Special recognition goes to Mary Bucholtz, Pam Morgan, Sara Trechter, and Anne Goldgar, never-ending sources of friendship, inspiration, humor, sympathy, and excellent references; the late Dwight Bolinger, the independent spirit; and Joe Grady, for our creative beginnings on the Berkeley campus, linguistic and otherwise (thanks for your abundant support).

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the staff (Todd, Andy, Heather, Katie, Neville, Eddie, etc.) of Cal State Chico's award-winning student newspaper, *The Orion*. My work with this enterprising and talented group of young, aspiring journalists over the past two years – not to mention the weekly, three-hour, starry nighttime commutes – has established a perpetual reminder to look upward and forge onward.

To my nieces

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Ach," arsa an Seandúine, ag cur lámh chreatha ar mo phearsa, é balbh freisin ag iearraidh bua na hurlabhra ar a chíceall, "ach fan! LABHAIR SE GAEILGE LIOM!"

Nuair a bhí an méid sin cloiste again tháinig amhras orm. Dar liom gur ag fiannaíocht a bhí an Seandúine nó ag rámhaille ó fhiabhras ólacháin. Tá nithe ann a théid thar chríocha na creidiúna. (na gCopaleen, p. 40)

But- said the Old-Fellow, laying a trembling hand upon my person, dumb also but making the utmost endeavour to regain his power of speech, but- wait! He spoke to me in Gaelic!

When I had heard all this, I became suspicious. I thought that the Old-Fellow was romancing or raving in a drunken delirium. There are things beyond the bounds of credibility. (O'Brien, p.48)

1.1 Introduction: can the media serve a language in flux?

A wedding procession of 50 loudly honking cars makes its way from the nearby church to a hotel less than a mile away, the Óstán Dóilín, interrupting my outdoor field interview in the tiny West Ireland town of An Cheathrú Rua. Most of the guests speak Irish, and depending on the social circumstances in their everyday lives, will use English as well. A young couple I'm acquainted with in the wedding party have a satellite dish, enjoy Randy Travis and Garth Brooks, and keep in touch with family members who have emigrated to England for work and unavoidably raise their children as English speakers. They also speak Irish to their friends and will no doubt be dancing the Connemara Set to Johnny Connolly's accordion at some point during the wedding reception.

Only in the Irish Gaeltacht today, the primary source of first-language Irish speakers, does one begin to appreciate the complicated linguistic situation in Ireland, a country playing host to a revered language that has been in decline since before the Famine. Instead of a

picture postcard scene with a language "set in amber," as one informant described a prevailing view, the Gaeltachts provide a valuable glimpse of a declining language still in everyday use, although in increasingly restricted domains. There are the easy-to-pinpoint changes: loss of certain grammatical forms, the replacement of Irish words with English ones, and rearranging Irish syntax to follow English grammatical rules. The more complicated factors - changing social structures, economic forces, the influence of the media - have been less studied, despite their importance in understanding the dynamics behind language obsolescence or language death, as it is called. The "social plane" is what Irish academic Seán De Fréine more than 30 years ago determined to be the coordinate upon which "language as a socially significant institution must be judged" (De Fréine 1978 (second printing): 75), and thus it is from a broadly macrosociolinguistic perspective that much of the discussion here will develop.

This is a crucial time for the study of endangered languages. The Linguistic Society of America has targeted this work as the most important task of linguists for the 21st century. Some 50-60 percent of the world's 6,000 languages are headed for extinction within the next hundred years, based on current estimates (cf. Hale et al. 1992). Some, like hundreds of Native American languages, have already "died," their linguistic vitality buried with the last speaker. Some are "endangered," meaning the number and age of speakers make it likely that the language will disappear in the foreseeable future. While languages have always changed, faltered and flourished over time, the acceleration of this process in recent history is the cause for alarm. As languages die, humankind loses particular knowledge and cultural perspectives that no

modern-day computer memory could hope to capture. Because of this, academic fields concerned with diversity of language, such as linguistics and anthropology, are currently renewing their commitments to the world's language pool by offering support to researchers working on dying languages.

Linguists have long pointed to the modern mass media as one of the main culprits in the worldwide erosion of minority languages and dialects. While the media get the blame for their role in the recent obsolescence of languages, **how** they play out this role has not in fact been explored. On the other hand, several minority-language speakers have used the mass media for their own ends – from resisting deterioration of their heritage language to contesting outright the power relations the majority-language speakers in the society impose. These counter-examples, of which Irish is one, have not yet entered mainstream discussion of the media's role in the death or preservation of language, which of itself has not been considered theoretically or empirically to any significant degree. These examples give a broader framework from which to examine the media's impact, positive or negative.

This discussion on the use of media in minority-language preservation efforts is intended to increase understanding of the media's role in language-death processes through the example of Ireland. Ireland is a mostly English-speaking country that nonetheless reveres its heritage language, meaning a language spoken by previous generations. In Ireland, as in many once-colonized bilingual societies throughout the world, the heritage language (in this case Irish) remains a symbol of national identity but has relatively few fluent speakers

(10,000-20,000 Irish citizens report fluency, according to recent surveys). While people in principle support strengthening the use of Irish in public and powerful contexts such as media and government, in practice no one wants to give up English. Because of this and historical factors, the language is in serious decline; some Irish citizens declare it already dead.

I will examine how Irish-language radio in Ireland is used for the preservation and development of the language. (Ireland's example is compatible with a policy of the European Union's European Bureau on Lesser-Used Languages, which endorses incorporating media in any language-preservation program.) I will compare the programming and language use of the two most prominent and influential Irish-language stations in Ireland, one of which attempts to conserve existing linguistic practices as they occur in everyday use in traditional Irish-speaking communities, or *Gaeltachts* (*Raidió na Gaeltachta*, which is based in the *Gaeltacht*) and the other of which promotes innovative use of language in an urban environment (the Dublin-based *Raidió na Life*).

The two Irish-language radio stations provide useful but differing evidence concerning the practices of a minority language producing language for a particular discourse domain and purpose. Thus *Raidió na Gaeltachta* (RG) will be used as a standard for comparison as it is an established radio station of 28 years' standing, with professional staff and native speakers. There is evidence that RG is a visible site of conservative linguistic practices in Ireland. But the primary focus will be on *Raidió na Life* (RL), the three-year-old Dublin radio station that uses fluent nonnative speakers and nonfluent learners on the air. Early judgments suggest that RL shows evidence of innovative linguistic

practices,¹ but in domains restricted by the requirements of media discourse. Further, the station's primary goal is to provide a language service to Irish speakers in Dublin, who do not have geographical proximity or familial connections to the faraway Gaeltachts to reinforce a sense of speech community.² By providing a focal point for Dublin's Irish speakers, they are in essence allowing creation of a new speech community, what I'd like to term a "Gaeltacht of the Air."

The radio-station examination combines a number of methodological practices, participant observation and informant field interviews chief among them, as well as discourse-level analysis primarily using interaction-based sociolinguistic frameworks and pragmatics. My own background as a former practicing print journalist gives me an insider knowledge into the structure of media texts and the communicative purposes of media practitioners, enabling me to evaluate any media data with an ethnographic understanding of the speech activities produced in the discourse community of journalists.

An aspect of the research has been a preliminary assessment of the attitudes about the Irish heard on the newer radio station. In the time I have spent in Dublin and the Gaeltachts, I have noticed a constant evaluation by listeners of language they hear on the radio. This plays

¹ These include scripting responses or compiling keyword lists for non-fluent speakers who are interviewed on the air, creating a workplace environment that encourages constant Irish-language use by the station workers themselves, and suspending prescriptive judgments about non-standard language use while at the same time encouraging awareness of the standard.

² By "speech community" I mean the network of speakers who share "knowledge of the communicative restraints and options governing a significant number of social situations" (Gumperz and Hymes 1972: 16). In the Irish case, the network boundaries have been reinforced for centuries by a shared geographical, social and economic position in relation to the larger society.

very nicely into research into attitudes toward language, a determinant of the status of a language and one very relevant to the Irish case – especially since RL hosts less-proficient speakers, a fact that does not go without frequent comment. An understanding of language attitudes, which provide the basis for variation in language use, is essential in interpreting Irish data. Interestingly, in Ireland the prestige targets are the Gaeltacht dialects³ – not the standard constructed for government and education use (which controverts a great deal of other research, e.g., Blom and Gumperz 1972). I have noted that age, level of education, and urban vs. rural affiliation are significant sociolinguistic indicators of language attitude in Ireland. And there is evidence that even these fairly predictable indicators might be in flux. For example, while a dearth of young speakers is a symptom of language death, in Dublin I discovered a renaissance of Irish as a second language among university-age students. "It's trendy," one young consultant said.

Irish-language radio is also influenced by English usage, from word choice to discourse structure to the sound of the broadcast itself. For example, in listening to Irish-language radio, particularly the more proficient RG broadcasters, it is easy to trace the manner of news delivery (its prosodic or intonational patterns) to British and American newscasts. I suggest that this incorporation of the Anglo-American broadcast format serves a legitimizing function in Irish bilingual society – an especially interesting proposition as Dublin's RL charts a different course through less traditional programming and in so doing redefines what is legitimate public discourse for a language in a

³ This idealization of the various Gaeltacht dialects will be explained in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

preservationist spotlight. English-language influence is also realized in the appearance of English discourse markers (such as *y'know, so, but, well*) at not-unexpected turns in the on-air Irish-language conversational exchange, a bilingual phenomenon which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been addressed to any great degree in the linguistic literature pertaining to discourse markers and codeswitching.

Also examined will be the language-use strategies in place at RL, conscious attempts by station staff to deal practically with the limitations of non-fluent interviewees and broadcasters in a discourse environment in which fluency is expected. For example, *Raidió na Life* (RL) personnel will prompt non-fluent interviewees on the air by compiling keyword lists in advance or even scripting responses. By accommodating a wider range of fluency and narrowing their focus to speakers of Dublin Irish (a low-prestige variety nonetheless spoken exclusively by the bilingual natives of the urban area), RL staffers essentially disregard received assumptions about preservation practice in Ireland and can be seen as introducing new strategies to the arsenal of language-development procedures.

Since this project details developments in Ireland, it will contribute to Irish scholarship and afford a basis of comparison for other work on social and political effects in bilingual cultures (which anthropologist Susan Gal (pers. comm.) has argued is essential to understanding issues of language change). It will also catalogue and document a variety of the language in its present state of change (socio-political factors have instigated shift in Irish for several centuries now). It will bring to the fore evidence that a wide ranging analysis of discourse structures and interactional patterns will more

fully inform our understanding of a language in a mode of obsolescence. More importantly, from the standpoint of the Irish people I have spoken with, this project will bring to wider attention the range of possible linguistic practices, such as the conscious use of media for language growth, that can be used to encourage regeneration of a dying language by "taking it out of amber" and extending it into modern contexts. Using the media as a vehicle, *Raidió na Life* in particular is engaged in building a social infrastructure in which use of language occurs as a consequence of the activity, rather than in an artificial environment (such as a classroom) that cannot sustain language growth. The Irish case provides additional models for endangered languages elsewhere and more fully explicates the potential positive role of media in minority-language development, which to date has not been systematically explored.

Neither has media language been thoroughly examined by linguists or other researchers, although this is beginning to change – with linguists Ulrike Meinhof and Kay Richardson, longtime media-language analysts in the U.K.; a new media-based Communication, Culture, and Technology program at Georgetown University in the U.S.; and the continued work of Allan Bell (New Zealand) and Teun van Dijk (Holland). For this reason, in **Chapter 2**, "The Scope of News Media Research," we will look at the extent of current media research, focusing on the nature of media discourse structures and their relation to language use, and the role of the audience in the shape and orientation of media texts and talk. Current approaches to media language do not include the ethnographic approach I advocate and utilize – the practitioner-prominent approach which I will describe more fully in the chapter – so

it is necessary to be aware of what the scope of existing research does indeed incorporate.

Chapter 3, "A sociolinguistic intersection: The media and minority language," will consider several aspects of media language in an effort to expand the domain of linguistic research to include media data in a focused context, that of endangered-language development and obsolescence. I will consider media from a sociolinguistic perspective, focusing in particular on its normative role for language use in monolingual and bilingual settings. We will also look at concerns generally addressed through sociolinguistics and examine how they play out in a media context. Notions of literacy, orality and diglossic domains, as well as the role of a prestige target or local norm will be evaluated in the context of media in the minority-language setting. The objective is three-fold: to begin to account for the media's role in language obsolescence, to consider the extent to which socially assigned power is a factor in this discourse domain (cf. Lakoff 1990), and to demonstrate how texts delimit community boundaries.

These two chapters are intended to set the stage theoretically for the description and analysis of Irish language on the radio. **Chapter 4**, "Linguistic solidarity through the media: two approaches," will describe the current state and practice of Irish-language media in Ireland and argue for using media as a "window" into a language as it is shifting. This chapter will describe the recent history of the Irish language; the recent history of preservation and planning efforts; and the post-modern language-growth ideology in which socioeconomic institutions aid in "normalizing" a language that has high cultural and nostalgia value. The objectives of language planners using the media, including that of the

European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages, and the role of the government will be discussed. I will also introduce the two stations that are the heart of this study, *Raidió na Gaeltachta* and *Raidió na Life*, and their overt goals: unity of speech community, expanding domains of use and relevance, contesting dominant-language power structures, and alleviating linguistic insecurity.

While the two stations' differences make for intriguing comparisons, especially as the linguistic impact of media structures and their discourse requirements have incisive implications for endangered language, the focus of **Chapter 5**, "Language production practices at *Raidió na Life*," will be on the newer, Dublin station. To this end, many factors will be explored: how is disfluency managed; what makes Irish "sound Irish;" what happens when a discourse community's communicative competence interferes with a speech community's notion of competence; how meaningful is the use of Dublin Irish, a disfavored variety; where do language ideology and shifts toward standardization come into play. In discussing the types of language used on the air and the varied proficiencies of speakers in public discourse domain, it is my intention to expand the category set used in research about endangered languages and second-language acquisition to include the "semi-proficient professional."

At this point, a question about the "effects" of the media on the Irish language would be an obvious one, but one but one with less-than-obvious answers, as other research into media influence (such as violence) has demonstrated. Sidestepping the question, it is nonetheless possible to consider the media's potential influence in a minority-language context, as Chapters 6 and 7 will indicate. Examining language

use at the level of discourse will carry the discussion into new areas, such as the relationship between discourse coherence and restricted fluency; the reinvention of cultural identity through language and language policy; and the place of discourse-based evidence in assessing language shift processes, especially when aspects of the co-existing language systems are mixed or interchangeable. Looking at the use by semi-fluent speakers (operating within a public language sphere) of discourse markers in **Chapter 6** is intended to offer previously unexplored research arenas from which to examine the effects of language contact. This examination of discourse data on the micro-level, as talk is constructed and participant interactions evolve, can be seen to also support existing research on discourse-level features and their acknowledged multifunctional communicative purpose, as well as to expand the functionality of what Gumperz (1982a) has called "contextualization cues" in discourse, which will be discussed in the final **Chapter 7**: "Conclusion and unifying principles." It also serves to bring endangered-language work into established socio-discourse analytic frameworks as a way to illuminate the complex of sociolinguistically motivated factors influencing language use and change.

The thread throughout this work concerns the power of the media message and the society's role in licensing it, as it pertains to the fortunes of minority languages. Addressed throughout will be: applications of the media to serve minority-language goals, discussion by Irish-language proponents actively using media for language-growth purposes, and the ability of the media to extend domains of language use for bilingual speakers. All are specific results of the technological age. Some of the issues raised in Chapter 3 will be revisited, but from

the standpoint of social dynamics and their role in the communicative frame. Considering the media as a socially constructed entity and mass communication as a socially oriented dynamic – a joint production of medium, message, initiators and recipients using language and other semiotic sources – allows us to begin to account for both the so-called positive and negative influences of media on language use; underscores the value of a linguistic analysis of media data; and points to directions where future media research can take the sociolinguist. While the question, "can the media serve a language in flux?", is a difficult one to fully answer, the work here is intended to begin to examine to what extent that the use of media can be applied in the minority-language arena.

1.2 About the data

The data and a great deal of background for this study come from about 20 hours of tape-recorded broadcasts from several Irish-language media sources and from an additional 15 or so interviews of Irish speakers and Irish-language radio and television workers in the Gaeltacht, Dublin, and at both radio stations. I spent several hours at the RG facility west of Galway in the Connemara Gaeltacht and three lengthy visits over a couple weeks at the RL offices in Dublin. These field visits were supplemented by a half-dozen interviews with other people involved in some way in the RG and RL enterprises.

The Irish-language media sources include:

- news broadcasts and current affairs programs on Raidió na Life
- news broadcasts on Raidió na Gaeltachta

- Gaeltacht interviews produced by Raidió Telefís Éireann (RTÉ) for their language-learning audiotape series, *Cógar*

Data solicited from these sources will be referred to in the text by their source (RG, RL, or RTE), year of production, and tape number. For example, data illustrating the discourse marker *so* that comes from the first side of the second tape of an RG broadcast from Summer 1995 will be referenced as "RG95:2A." The Tape Inventory in Appendix B includes a rundown of the tapes and their contents and how they are coded for reference.

Field interview information that is not on tape and information elicited in less formal contexts (as in a language-use discussion in a Gaeltacht pub) or that has been sent in response to email queries will be referred to by date (year) of interview. For example, comments on language use by young people expressed by Seosamh Ó Murchú in a field interview will be referenced in this way: "Ó Murchú, pers. com., 1995."

1.3 Transcription conventions

Whereas in English language discourse data lines of talk are generally divided according to intonation unit, this was often impossible to render in the extended Irish interview data (as intonation plays a different role in that language, which will be discussed in Chapter 7). Instead, the line breaks in the data here were organized roughly according to clause- or sentence-level boundaries when intonation or discourse-level "chunking" (such as a self-interruption) failed to provide a reasonable alternative. The syntactic criterion is sufficient for our purposes since the analysis does not refer directly to intonationally motivated discourse units.

The data under discussion is marked by numbered lines in the left margin and by additional boldfacing of discourse markers, conversational fillers or loan transations under consideration. In the lengthy interview transcript in section 6.2 of Chapter 6, English material inserted into the Irish that is not a discourse marker is underlined.

The following transcription conventions have been observed:

.	falling intonation to low-level followed by a short pause
,	falling intonation to mid-level followed by a short pause
?	rising intonation
[?]	unintelligible discourse
-	self-interruption
:	lengthened phoneme
[...]	omitted text
[__]	transcriber comment inserted
(.)	pause of a second or less
/	latching utterance (no gap between interlocutor turns)
	overlapping utterance (simultaneous speaking)
"__"	change in vocal quality (when English phrase is inserted)
[hhh]	laughter

Chapter 2

The scope of news language research

[B]hí sé ráite riamh go mbíonn cruinneas Gaeilge (maraon le naofacht anama) ag daoine de réir mar bhíd gan aon mhaoín shaolta agus ó tharla scoth an bhochtanaís agus na hanacra againne, níor thuigeamar cad chigue go raibh na scolaáirí ag tabhairt airde ar aon cham-Ghaeilge bhreac-chiotach a bhí le clois i gcríochaibh eile. Labhair an Seandúine Liath gaoín gceist seo le Gaeilgeoir uasal a casadh leis. (na gCópaleen, p. 41)

[I]t had always been said that accuracy of Gaelic (as well as holiness of spirit) grew in proportion to one's lack of worldly goods and since we had the choicest poverty and calamity, we did not understand why the scholars were interested in any half-awkward, perverse Gaelic which was audible in other parts. (O'Brien, p. 49)

2.1 Introduction

The average weekday *New York Times* contains more than 10,000 column inches of text and is seen worldwide by an estimated 3.37 million readers.¹ The news that the *Times* sees fit to print often finds its way into discussions by policy makers and politicians, meaning that it effectively sets (or follows) the national agenda for public discussion, as well as functions as a "paper of record" for society. On the other side of the country, the average *Corning (Calif.) Daily Observer* publishes some 1,000 column inches of copy and is read by a community of barely 10,000. Each word is an open invitation to comment and criticism by citizenry of varying enthusiasm who watch closely whether the paper strays too far as a player on the civic team. Meanwhile, television offers an array of up to some 50 channels for 24-hour consumption. By one estimate, by the time a child is 18, she will have ingested 10,000 hours of talk on the tube.

¹ 1995 figures from Paul Beissel, *Times* marketing researcher.

We play the radio when we drive to work, and hear it at the office. The television's steady stream of talk is often a counterpoint to social visits, household activities, and dinnertime conversation, not to mention its other position as social focal point, especially in the cocooning, home-focused years of the late century. The media's words intersect with our own (we can't believe we ate the whole thing, or we've fallen and we can't get up. Not!). And Nancy, Tonya, O.J., Lorena, Lyle and Erik – we discuss their transgressions as if they were members of our extended community.² The media sets a standard for language use, be it to enhance social position or to bond with others. Both "BBC English" in Britain and "network English" in the U.S. are considered targets for prestigious usage, while advertisements, sitcoms, music videos, rap songs and movies give us verbal riffs or catch-phrases that can be shared by like-minded members of our social circle. The technology available to most Americans ensures that this "franchised" media language, like McDonald's, is accessible, understood, and consumed across a wide geographical and ethnographic swath.

As the scope of the media is so far-reaching, it is not surprising that it is the subject of a great deal of intellectual scrutiny. Within academic areas such as cultural studies, media studies, critical theory, semiotics, rhetoric, film studies, and the like, the impacts, roles, and cultural reproductions of what is broadly termed "media" are dissected

² The retrofitting of community boundaries has been made possible by the media and its extensive claims on the identities that are conveyed through the entertainment industry, according to Schultze et al. (1991), who examine the impact of the media on youth, and by extension, community. "The rise of the entertainment industry, then, parallels the decline of local sources of authority and modes of communication...Adolescents often care far more about the content and style of media made thousands of miles away than about what takes place in their own neighborhoods and even in their own families" (p. 6).

and deconstructed. The language of the media is also addressed by academics, although not to a great extent by linguists.

In this chapter, "The scope of news language research," I will examine the existing literature on "news language" and what it says about how news functions as discourse and as a sociolinguistic bellwether, and include what I consider to be limitations of this research to date. I will also observe what media language can offer linguistic research, suggesting how existing linguistic insights can be applied in the news realm. News language to a degree offers a "third space" into which the discussion of traditional dichotomies such as spoken vs. written and public vs. private language can be extended. This will set the stage for the next chapter, "Linguistic solidarity through the media: two approaches," in which we will look at the use of Irish-language media in Ireland, and their function in language preservation efforts. In particular, I will compare two Irish-language radio stations, *Raidió na Gaeltachta* and *Raidió na Life*, two Irish-language radio stations, noting their linguistic and ideological differences and similarities within the overall preservation scheme and their relation to English-language broadcasts. Ultimately, I plan to examine more closely how the media works to influence language obsolescence and preservation, with reference to its capacity to contextualize language use and attitudes, and look at a broad range of examples in addition to Irish.

Unless I specify otherwise, I will use "media language" and "news language" interchangeably, in part because what is considered news comprises a great portion of what is transmitted through the media. One could divide the media into two main parts: news and advertising (cf.

Schudson 1978 and Bell 1991), or also add a third category, entertainment. Throughout this paper my references to news or media language will concern the broad range of stories, features, and genres that makes up "news," as opposed to advertising or entertainment, the language of which will be mentioned only in passing here.

I alternately will treat the plural "media" as a singular mass noun when I refer to the institution or its broad cultural influence (e.g., "the media has a far-reaching effect. . ."), and as a plural noun when I refer to a collection of specific entities (e.g., "the local media are the primary source of international news for. . .").

2.2 Current media research

Because news language encompasses so much, and is evinced through so many outlets, it is difficult to strictly say what constitutes the genre. Leitner (1981), for example, tries to sociolinguistically characterize what he terms "language on the radio (LOR)" and 1) its relation to speech varieties, 2) what sociopolitical dynamics influenced its nature, and 3) whether it is a speech variety in its own right. By comparing archived British and German radio broadcasts over a 30-year period in roughly the second quarter of the century, he gets closer to some essential constitutive parameters than non-comparative research would have. Ultimately, he finds that each country uses language on the radio in a different way, for different ends, primarily sociopolitical. "It is particularly important to bear in mind the primacy of the sociopolitical structure and its effects on, e.g., media goals," says Leitner (p. 97). He concludes that "the traditional assumption about the language on mass media is an oversimplification" (ibid.). By this he

means that, contrary to received wisdom, what is termed "language on the radio" is not homogeneous, nor does it refer to actual speech behavior on the air, which incorporates varieties other than the standard, stylistic variation, and reflects social contradictions to the point that it is "never entirely stable" (ibid.).

No comparable study of American "network English" and its sociolinguistic position has been undertaken, to my knowledge, although Conklin and Lurie (1983) throughout *A Host of Tongues* occasionally mention the impact of the media on regional variation in the U.S. They note, in keeping with Leitner's European LOR results of heterogeneity, that despite their standardized formal training, "media broadcasters ... do not sound identical throughout the country" (p. 125). Furthermore, they indicate that media language, despite its conventions and uniformity, has not instigated a nationwide dialect leveling, as some people predicted, primarily because local speech community affiliations are stronger:

Linguists have found that very few of us pattern our language on that of media personalities. Instead, we learn the dialect of our own reference group - those with whom we share ongoing and significant interaction. (Conklin and Lurie 1983:103).

This is not to say that the media does **not** influence language use, especially since it constitutes a prestige form of the language that is accessible to people on all levels of society. But the impetus to change is necessarily a social one. While some linguists might predict a leveling of dialect differences starting from the high classes, I would predict a countervailing force from "below." So while the media may have its influence, distinctions and differences would necessarily also continue to evolve alongside some homogenizing ones.

That the talk of media broadcasters presents this new model of a prestige form of the language automatically raises questions about its influence on language as a whole, and creates another environment for productive argument and examination. The quantitative work of Naro and Scherre (1996) on spoken Brazilian Portuguese, for instance, suggests a correlation between a media presence and linguistic variation, although the authors are careful to stipulate that the media itself does not cause a linguistic change. Instead, they believe that "a general orientation of attitude toward the surrounding society" is responsible (Naro and Scherre 1996:228). Another way to consider the influence of media on linguistic behavior comes from Lakoff (personal communication), who suggests that the place out of which the media originate becomes the site of the prestige form. For example, as Boston was the site of publishing in the 19th century, Boston English thus became the prestige form of Standard American English. In the late 20th century, California English – reproduced in television and movies – carries some of the prestigious forms in current usage (Lakoff, pers. comm.).

From Leitner's work, and that of others looking at radio language in the comparative domain (see, for example, Gonzalez's investigation into the formal and informal use of L2 English on Philippine radio, which I will discuss later), we can see the use of radio language, or media language in general, as locally situated practice, with global discourse and sociolinguistic constraints that condition local choices. At its essence, media language (not including the language of advertising or entertainment) must sound or read like news; it must convey authority or credibility; it must be accessible and comprehensible to its audience. These communicative constraints in the

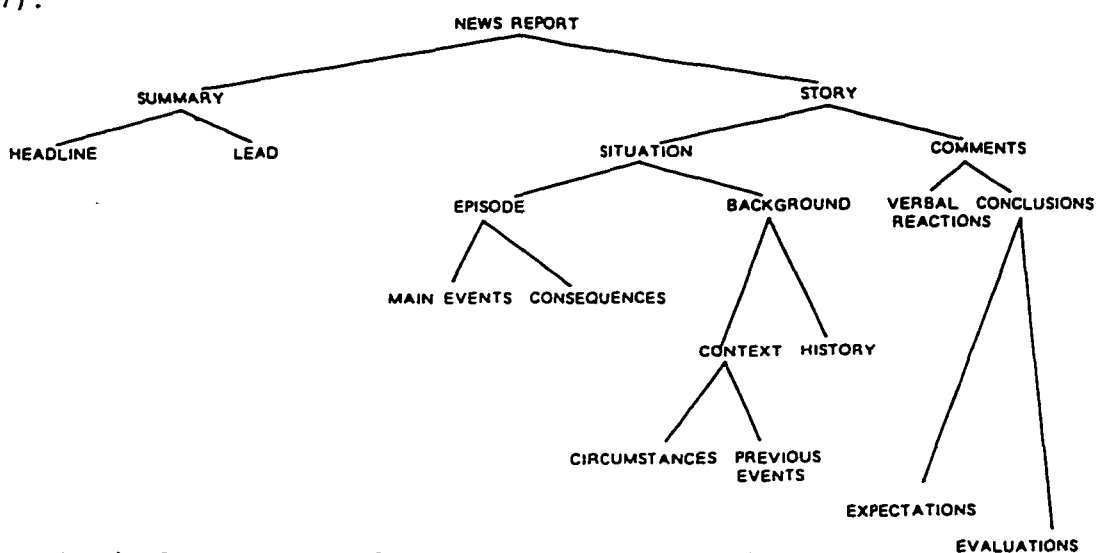
discourse and in the sociolinguistic relationship to an audience of recipients – hearers or readers – can account for structural similarities and divergences in news texts, which we will see later.

Other frameworks that have been successfully applied to other domains of talk, such as Labov's narrative framework, have also been applied to news discourse. (The components of a personal narrative, as articulated by Labov, include Abstract, or summary of the main point; Orientation, to set the scene; Complicating Action, the main event of the story; Evaluation, comments and elaboration on the action; Resolution, the conclusion of the story; and Coda, a concluding comment that returns interlocutors to the present time.) For example, Bell (1991) uses Labov's framework to examine the global narrative structure of news across local and national news boundaries, while van Dijk promotes and extends the fairly new "theory of discourse schemata," which includes the traditional Labovian "narrative schema" in its scope, to understand the "macrostructure" of news discourse.

"The overall meaning (macrostructure) of discourse has more than its own organizing principles. It also needs some kind of overall syntax, which defines the possible forms in which topics or themes can be inserted and ordered in the actual text. ... This global form of discourse can be defined in terms of rule-based schema. Such a schema consists of a series of hierarchically ordered categories, which may be specific for different discourse types and conventionalized and hence different in various societies or cultures." (van Dijk 1988: 49)

While van Dijk, to account for category and order in news discourse, devised a "news schema" (see below) which he considers to be hypothetical, he also believes that his empirical work supports its relevance. The order of categories (outlined in any discourse, but here referred to in the news realm) is by turns rule-governed and realized by

cognitive strategies which "make use of that schema to effectively express news information in a concrete news discourse" (van Dijk 1988: 57).



Hypothetical structure of a news schema (van Dijk 1988: 55)

Van Dijk's work on news discourse, because it captures linguistic generalizations based on empirical data,³ tends to be the basis for most linguistic discussion of news language to date. His work is important, too, because he explicitly recognizes news as a form of public discourse, and he uses the methods and assumptions of discourse analysis and cognitive studies (the latter in an effort to gauge comprehension, etc.) to promote a "theory of news." Very usefully and necessarily he works to bridge the gap between macro and micro research into the media and between texts and contexts. He explores what is autonomous and what is rooted in social meaning in the discursive activities of the news. Ultimately, he indicates, the structure of news is vitally important to understand because it conditions readers to adopt and reflect the values of the dominant society. (And seen in this way, television looks more

³ I do not intend to evaluate van Dijk's news schema in terms of other discourse theory or data that his schema may not account for, but include it as a useful yardstick.

and more like Krauss's "cultural nerve gas" (cf. Krauss 1992) in relation to language obsolescence, a point I will bring up again later.)

2.2.1 The scope of different approaches. Further exploration of the literature fails to reveal a single, comprehensive list of the constitutive features of news language, but rather, offers multiple characterizations of various segments of what in totality comprises much of news language (see Van Dijk (1988) for a discourse-based "theory of news" intended to encompass macro and micro research into the media; Bell (1991) for an exploration of audience influence on news structures; Goffman (1981) for an application of an interactional linguistics-based frame analysis to radio language; Bolinger (1980, 1982, 1989) for an assessment of intonation-conveyed semantics within the broadcast message; and Verschueren (1985) for the application of pragmatics to the reporting endeavor, as well as a critical indictment of the misuse of linguistics by some researchers interested in vilifying a particular media-wrought ideological stance). The features that are considered relevant to or constitutive of the particular genre of media language will be discussed later in this section.

News language has been studied from only a relatively few theoretical or methodological approaches. The most prominent of these involve discourse analysis of some sort (varying from linguistic to sociological, and often with an eye toward accounting for the reflection or reproduction of ideology in language)⁴ and the more suspect

⁴ The discourse analytic approaches that underlie some of this research appear to be hybrids of existing frameworks interlaced with sociological content analysis. The main discourse frameworks used by linguists as Schiffrin (1994) has outlined – pragmatics, speech act theory, conversation analysis, ethnography of communication, variation theory, and interactional sociolinguistics – have not been used to any great

ideologically based approaches, such as critical linguistics (cf. Fowler 1991) or social theory (see especially the works of the Glasgow University Media Group, 1986 and 1980; Davis and Walton 1983; Kress and Hodge 1979). Even the 1985 volume edited by van Dijk, with the promising title, *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*, contains articles largely rooted in social theory, and with little connection to linguistic theory, except for van Dijk's own article on news structures in the print media, which is treated more extensively in his 1988 book, *News as Discourse*. Additionally, there is some work on sociolinguistic variation or dialect features in news language (most notably by Bell), and the syntax of headlines (cf. Mardh, cited in Bell 1991), but not a great deal of it.

Dominant in the non-linguistic field of media research has been the work of the Glasgow University Media Group, collected in the books *Bad News* (1976) and *More Bad News* (1980). What Deborah Tannen has done for the public awareness of gendered language, with its attendant positive and negative consequences, the *Bad News* books have done for public awareness of media language, particularly outside of the U.S. (broad American correlates might be Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent*, or Lee and Solomon's *Unreliable Sources*, but these books do not appear to have the same academic impacts as the Glasgow University Media Group work). These *Bad News* books are very well known as canonical examples of extent in dissecting news language in any overarching way (Verschueren's pragmatic approach to international news reporting is a conspicuous exception). The potential is there. In one case, linguist Deborah Schiffrin (1994) characterizes the sociolinguistic interview as a particular type of genre in which various discourse features combine to define it as such. In preliminary research, applying the methods of conversational analysis, I have noted tendencies, particularly with respect to pause length and the adjacency and number of questions, that suggest that the non-televised information-seeking media interview might also be a specific interview subcategory.

the study of media language, despite well-reported flaws. The researchers in these early ideological analyses of the British press investigate the content of industrial reporting in the British broadcast media to determine that bias is present. Lexical choices, the positioning of information (somewhat similar to the Conversation Analysis notion of "adjacency"), and the use of quotations are evaluated through content analysis as evidence of unremitting bias in the press. But as Bell points out (and Verschueren echoes), the Glasgow researchers start from ideology first, and use evidence of language to support their position, rather than look at language first, and determine ideological biases from there.

It is important to mention here a significant new intellectual approach to analyzing media that is gaining currency in Britain. "Media studies" in the U.K. right now means something vastly different from the *Bad News* tradition and from standard American communications studies, whose heyday has long since passed. The emerging British tradition of media study (led by researchers at the University of Sussex and building on the established cultural studies work undertaken at the University of Birmingham) borrows from semiotics and other continental post-modern critical theory-oriented traditions. Good examples of this research can be found in Graddol and Boyd-Barrett's 1994 volume, *Media Texts: Authors and Readers* and in Roger Silverstone's 1994 book, *Television and Everyday Life*. One thing lacking in this new media studies approach is an attention to linguistic detail – linguistic evidence, theory, and methodological approach – although language is discussed at length. But even the more "linguistic" approaches to media language are by and large

problematic, as Verschueren strenuously argues, in part because the rationales behind news production and values are overlooked.

(Some work based on linguistics has been published within this media studies paradigm, however. For instance, in Graddol and Boyd-Barrett's book, Australian functional linguist M.A.K. Halliday contributes some research on oral and written texts; Stuart Hall establishes that audiences are familiar with the "negotiated code" of the dominant paradigm (p. 210); and linguist Ulrike Meinhof discusses the heteroglossic verbal and visual messages on TV, a semiotics in place that makes the medium's effects difficult to predict. She gives caution to educators who would seek to use television as a teaching tool in second-language learning, and suggests that comprehension strategies should also include the "conscious building up of metalinguistic and contextual knowledge" (p. 222).)

The literature as a body tends to get around sooner or later to the ideological implications of language in the media, which Verschueren and Bell, two linguists who very strictly attempt to apply linguistic methods and theory to media language, while still admitting that the work cannot "be approached sensibly from a purely linguistic point of view" (Verschueren 1985: 32), take issue with in different ways. Verschueren, for instance, finds that linguistic approaches "tend to show a lack of familiarity with the structural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process in a free press tradition" (p. vii), a complaint I agree with most heartily and will discuss in different ways throughout this section. He also observes that research tends to report again and again one result that has been blown out of proportion: that international news reports reflect the dominant world

views of its target audience. This fact, he says, is not a major research finding but "simply predictable on the basis of those structural and functional properties" (ibid.). Bell, for his part, critiques the more dominant approaches to media language analysis that I have already mentioned (content analysis, critical linguistics, and semiotics), which in his view suffer from a "lack of sound basic linguistic analysis" (p. 215). Critical linguistics, for instance, which examines how language embodies ideology, Bell finds lacking in both the sociological and linguistics areas:

"First, it [critical linguistics] presumes that there is a clearly definable relation between any given linguistic choice and a specific ideology . . . Secondly, the approach imputes to newswriters a far more deliberate ideological intervention in news than is supported by the research on news production . . ." (Bell 1991: 214).

He notes that the frequent focus on ideology (even in the seminal Glasgow University Media Group works of the '70s) obscures the potential contribution that a linguistic examination could bring to bear. His solution, compatible with van Dijk's theory of discourse schema, is to opt for a discourse analysis framework as the most informative and predictive in looking at news language. And both he and Verschueren recognize the importance of acknowledging news practice in any solid, meaningful examination of media language, which is something I also find essential.

There is no answer as to why ideology rises to the surface so frequently in studies of media language. Perhaps ideology (at the expense of less value-laden, more "scientific" research objectives) becomes so central in any examination of media language because the examples that are cited tend to come from either international news reports or stories which have national or global implications (cf. the

research examples in work by Verschueren, Glasgow University Media Group, Fowler, van Dijk, etc.). Research is rarely focused on the smaller, local paper,⁵ despite their pervasive function as main news sources for countless communities. Additionally, to meaningfully interpret locally produced stories in the speech community in which they are situated, such as those found in our *Corning Daily Observer* mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, the researcher would conceivably need to possess a fair amount of ethnographic information to do so.

This may not be a particularly rewarding task for several reasons; working on small papers is not valued as prestigious in the hierarchy of the industry, a fact that the general public appreciates to some extent, nor has research in this domain been extensive enough to demonstrate its usefulness to academicians.⁶ For someone looking at a small local newspaper, with a circulation of perhaps 8,500, which contains a ribbon-cutting ceremony as its lead news story of the day, the impacts of ideological language may not be so immediately apparent, or its consequences seem so dire as international news reporting. But a local paper effects results similar to the big metropolitan daily on the discourse or sociolinguistic level, using largely the same linguistic

⁵ In an effort to counteract the established temptation to use linguistics to serve ideological ends (as Verschueren and Bell describe as limitations in the body of research they independently consider), it seems reasonable to incorporate some sociolinguistic parameters to account for ideological judgments, as Bell has done in some of his research on the use of accent in New Zealand radio reporting and Leitner has done in his discussion of language on the radio (LOR).

⁶ I would like to mention in passing that hierarchical values are also attached to academic research. Even in linguistics, "core" work is often seen as more central and important – even the metaphor suggests it – with other work, such as sociolinguistics, seen as peripheral or supplementary.

currency and intending similar discourse goals but within a different sphere. (The number of papers overall in the U.S. is significant: 1,538 dailies and 7,176 weeklies in 1994.)⁷ As I mentioned earlier in relation to Leitner's comparative media research, the same **conditions** for language use in the media appear to apply across the board, whether urban or rural, big or small. Verschueren reminds us that "all reporting necessarily presupposes and defines a common ground – ideological and otherwise" (p. 31). While the conditions for the formulation of media language are similar since practitioners are bound by the strictures of their discourse community of media-makers, the results are realized differently in different local contexts. (A good example is the difference between news-oriented All Things Considered on National Public Radio and a news-oriented local station. Both producers follow the same rules – and indeed would find much in common at a cocktail party – but the outcome varies because the contexts of presentation vary.)

One aspect of the field that is not overtly discussed in the literature is that the scope of the most respected work on media language to date tends to encompass only European, British, and Australian representations of the news. There is very little discussion by linguistically oriented researchers of the "structural and functional properties" of American news-gathering traditions. Even New Zealander Bell's thorough and excellent book, *The Language of News Media*, does not capture key insights peculiar to American news language and practice alone (these will be discussed in detail later). This is somewhat

⁷ Information supplied by the Newspaper Association of America (dailies) and National Newspaper Association (weeklies).

ironic, considering the vast extent of American media exports to other lands. The lack of focus on American journalistic practice specifically, and on the communicative and linguistic outputs in the construction of news texts generally, has left gaps in a consideration of what news language entails. For example (and this is one I will return to later), American attribution practices in news stories are never mentioned in the limited existing literature on news structures and functions. Not only is this an essential component in the construction of American news texts, it has other linguistic implications, particularly with respect to how power and responsibility are encoded in language, or how discourse relations are assigned and interpreted.

2.2.2 What media language study can offer linguistics. The ubiquity of media language and its easy accessibility make it a natural data source for linguists interested in the components of language and for other researchers interested in assessing the effects of language on culture. Given that the media is such a widespread purveyor of talk about our world and our position in it, whether a person's main news source is print or broadcast, national or local in origin, it is a bit surprising that more linguists do not attempt to dissect its structural characteristics. Bell, the journalist and linguist from New Zealand, notes that media language has been underresearched by linguists. More comprehensively than any other researcher to date, he goes on to consider in his book what comprises media language from the linguistic perspective. He insists that media language can and should be defined as a genre; that the audience plays an important role in the construction of news texts; that news values are not neutral. His central questions

consider what media language tells us about language, and what it tells us about the nature of the news and the media.

Media language should be studied for several reasons, according to Bell. Not only is the use of language interesting in and of itself, but "media generate a lot of the language that is heard in society;" "language is an essential part of the content of what the media purvey to us" (p. 3); it is widely available, with the possibility of good-quality spoken language recording; and it gets past the "observer's paradox" since news data is not mediated by the observer's interaction with the data source.

To linguists, media language can provide data relevant to questions of theoretical importance. For instance, news stories are the common narratives of our time. Their discourse structure casts light on the way in which stories in general are told and structured. . . It illuminates the ways people compose and amend written discourse. . . The media can provide data for diachronic linguistics. . . The media carry many evidences of interaction between groups and the part language plays in this. They also carry explicit comment on language varieties and their acceptability in society. (Bell 1991: 6-7)

Newspapers are convenient repositories of large bodies of data. Suter (1993), aiming to expand the development of the study of text types, for which no universally accepted analytic model currently exists, goes to the newspapers to find a prototype text. The "wedding report" is the case study with which he develops his working model of text analysis. His data on the wedding report – an account of a wedding which includes time-place-date details as well as other wedding-related information – from a variety of British newspapers are used to analyze text structure, incorporating the frameworks of Biber, Bell, Halliday, and van Dijk. He aims to determine the *constitutive features* of the four areas of text type description: *situational context, function, content, and form*. He examines the *global structures* of the wedding report, which

happen to be exactly parallel to other stories found in the newspaper (this includes paragraph structure, use of headlines, etc.) and notes the *stylistic microlevel characteristics*, which account for differences in presentation over various newspaper sources, in other words, "adaptations to different situational contexts" (p. 197).

I have already mentioned the use of Labov's narrative framework in relation to news texts, and I have found Gricean pragmatics useful in an examination of the reasons behind newspaper credibility (which is fairly high, considering the criticisms levied on the media). In the course of other linguistic work, I have found that research that pertains to traditional discourse dichotomies is enriched by media data. In both print and broadcast data I have found features of *both* public and private discourse (using features laid out by Johns-Lewis 1986, Levin et al. 1982, etc.) and spoken and written channels (using the discourse parameters of Chafe 1982), suggesting that media language occupies a rather unique niche. The following work could contribute a great deal to an explication of media language, especially as it pertains to: issues of involvement and detachment (Beaman 1982, Chafe 1982), code elaboration in the written and spoken channels (Tannen 1982), the differences in speech and writing as outcomes of different processes of production (Chafe 1982, Nunberg 1990), the shift from a literacy-based model of communication standard to an oral-based one (Lakoff 1982), and the intersection of meaning, intonation boundaries, and grammatical junctures in talk (Ford and Thompson 1992).

2.2.3 Extending the scope of research. To return again to the scope of current media language research, it doesn't go far or broadly enough.

For a truly informed assessment of the language of the media, what is needed is an approach examining news practice, news values, and audience role. Ideally, there will be an ethnographic component. While there are limitations in the current body of literature that I will not discuss here (in terms of the media practices that are overlooked), one deficit that is relevant to the topic of minority-language media pertains to community journalism.

With the exception of some of Bell's New Zealand research, extensive study of community journalism (as opposed to metro or international reporting) is nonexistent in the literature – this despite the fact that community journalists, like their bigger counterparts, apply the profession's standard, which then mediates with local norms, affording the linguistic heterogeneity Leitner has observed. Much of minority-language media is modeled on community journalism⁸ practices, primarily because the population that is served by such media is often small and community boundaries are well-defined. In Ireland, Raidió na Life is deliberately a "community" station, according to its organizers. It's "community" status legally (upon which its broadcast license was issued) allows for a wider participation of its community of listeners in creating what actually goes on the air than on a commercial or state station. Not only do community members influence what goes on the air; they can go on the air themselves. The discourse community of journalists then intermixes with the speech community it serves. It is well to remember that "News media form a kind of speech community producing their own variety of language" (Bell 1991:7). These

⁸ Community journalism is also known as "participatory journalism" in Europe, particularly in Eastern Europe, where a correlation with communism is avoided (Ó Dubhthaigh, pers.comm., 1995).

journalistic speech communities vary according to the same dynamics as other speech communities, and, in the case of community journalism, interact with the audience they serve.

2.3 Media language features

2.3.1 Mass communication. Any discussion of the linguistic features of news language inevitably starts with a consideration of communication, particularly the distinguishing discourse factors of mass communication. Bell, for instance, says that mass communication is characterized by "multiple originators, a mass simultaneous audience, a fragmented audience, absence of feedback, and general accessibility to the public" (p. 2). The characteristic lack of immediate feedback in the communicative exchange is what Robin Lakoff terms "nonvisibility" (Lakoff 1979).

In general, Bell opts for the cyclical, rather than unidirectional, view of communication; in his view, the sender, hearer, and interleaving feedback between the two are interdependent, even in mass communication. He notes that Hymes' (1974) communicative role designations (*speaker, hearer*) alone are inadequate to account for the dynamics of media communication; that Goffman's (1981) distinctions (*principal, author, animator*) are more appropriate to news production (probably because it allows room for the impacts of an audience). Bell expands Goffman's categories to include *principal, author, editor, animator*. His labels are intended to serve double-duty by also identifying the language-operation function of the various categories of news practitioners.

As in any taxonomy, this is a somewhat artificial delineation. But this sort of identification of the various instigators in mass communication appears to be an obligatory inclusion in the literature, although no further research or theoretical musing tends to accompany it. Meinhof's work, however, is an exception here, as it is consciously predicated on her focus away from "text-internal readings, where readers are theorized as decoders of fixed meanings to more dynamic models, where meanings are negotiated by actively participating readers" (p. 212). Her own three-part taxonomy includes *actors, activities or events, and the affected, the effect, or outcome.*

Discourse analysis could extend the discussion of the possible parameters of mass communication, as Meinhof (1994) attempts to do in her cross-cultural analysis of television news and its visual and textual double-messages. On the simplest level, determining what linguistically characterizes the differences between public and private discourse could lead us to a greater store of features that function as indicators in explicating media texts. Johns-Lewis (1986), for instance, compares prosodic features of conversation, acting, and reading aloud — cues of each which I have found to be present in the prosody of radio broadcasts (Cotter 1993).

As new forms of communication are created for mass audiences, our tendency is to employ the rhetorical devices of the previously existing communication forms (sociologist Donald Hansen, personal communication).⁹ For example, early TV announcers read the news in the

⁹ Similarly, Robin Lakoff has talked about both the threat that new communications technology engenders (since the advent of the telephone, technological innovation has portended the demise of the written word) and the evolution of various politeness strategies as we confront each new technology (cf. Lakoff 1982, and pers. comm.); how we structured answering machine messages in their early days is one example. But

manner of radio announcers, not yet aware of the potential of the visual message (or the semiotic potential for confusion, Meinhof might add). A tape of one early television news broadcast from the 1950s shows a young Charles Kuralt presenting the news by sitting at a desk reading aloud the news script. As a nod to the visual mode of the new medium, he rises and walks to the front of the desk, and later flips through wire photos that are on hand (in this case, baby photos of Prince Charles). Whereas early radio announcers, accustomed to the lecture platform, often speaking without artificial voice amplification, made similar "mistakes" - until they caught on to the constraints and possibilities of the new medium of radio. Audiences, unaccustomed to the voice from the public space entering their private domains, their homes, through crystal and wire also needed to catch on to the new modality.¹⁰ Anne McKay talks about this negotiation in an essay about women's early struggles to claim public voice:¹¹

The intimacy of the medium perhaps proved startling to women and men alike ... The transition, from the necessarily exaggerated style of the platform to the one-on-one of radio, was not achieved

observe, too, the countervailing influence of email (cf. Hinton, pers. comm.)

¹⁰ The fortunes of politicians have waned and waxed, too, depending on how well they could manage the constraints of a new medium. Early in the television age, Richard Nixon lost to John F. Kennedy because he lacked a television savvy, whereas Ronald Reagan won hearts and minds because of his ability to successfully gauge the intimacy potential of the medium.

¹¹ Gender is another sociolinguistic category sure to prove fruitful in an examination of media language; see also Rae Moses' "Gendered dying: The obituaries of women and men." In her examination of *New York Times* obits, she finds that women who actually merit an obit, by succeeding in some manner in the public domain, are consistently praised for traditional female virtues, especially when they pertain to the home. Men's obits are constructed to unalterably position the deceased as important members of society and public life; home life or roles within the private sphere are rarely mentioned.

overnight. Men as well as women announcers were accused of monotony in pitch, of poor diction and grammar, and of being either too *chummy* and offensively cordial or too cold and distant. (McKay 1988: 198, citing critic and journalist Jennie Irene Mix in a 1924 issue of *Radio Broadcast* magazine)

McKay observes how discourse styles had to alter to fit the changing production mode in the early days of technology-assisted communication. Her focus on the role of gender in questions of authoritative voice indicates that our culturally projected views of women's "appropriate" place did not stop at the door of the recording studio. I believe this relates to the perseverance of culture over technological boundaries – which Laurel Sutton (1996) has examined on the Internet. This also dovetails with Leitner's "sociopolitical" conclusions about the differences between German and British radio, and Smolicz's application of the theory of core values and observed resistance to cultural change among minority-language speakers.

From another point of view, Quirk (1982) notes how speaking style on the radio, in his examples British broadcast style, has changed over time. He compares texts from the past decade with those earlier in the century when news readers were just that at first – readers, agents for conveying information, reading from a prepared text. Rhetorical devices, such as ad libbing or joking, to lessen the distance between broadcaster and listener, were not present as they are in abundance now. The identity of the broadcaster, and how he or she figures into the entire culture of the news "program," is now more relevant. These changes – in particular in relation to audience and in relation to medium – influence style, according to Quirk.

2.3.2 The role of the audience. Different linguists or theorists one consults in the matter of media language will offer different conceptualizations of the audience and its role in the construction of media realities. Goffman's frame analysis, which he applies to radio talk (in Goffman 1981), very usefully sets up the relationships between the different interlocutors to determine the nature of the speech event and the talk that is appropriate to it. In research of this nature, the audience is part of the discourse mechanism. Similarly, in Bell's view, the media audience takes on multiple roles: that of speaker, addressee, auditor, overhearer, and eavesdropper. We recognize audience roles and embedded points of view and are conscious when an interviewee departs from a prescribed position (Bell cites Carter's oft-quoted post-*Playboy* interview remarks, in which he admits to lusting "in his heart": Carter's words were appropriate for the immediate addressee, but not for the ultimate listening audience, especially coming from a candidate for president). Van Dijk and Kintsch (1993), in *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*, note the cognitive factors in the processing of information that influence comprehension of texts by readers. They use the Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) Processing Model and an article from *Newsweek* to establish that hierarchical relations exist among discourse strategies; that information comes from many sources within text and context; and that "forward" and "backward" interpretation strategies operate on the local level to specify the meaning and constrain interpretation. But in research of this nature, the audience and its range of innate psycholinguistic abilities is assumed and essentially backgrounded in the discussion of other issues.

The more technical approaches just mentioned are supplemented by the post-modern insights of critical theorists. For example, Graddol and Boyd-Barrett (1994) include a section on "The Role of the Audience" in their book, *Media Texts*. One of the contributors, Stuart Hall, in his essay, "Encoding/Decoding," says that the broadcast viewers' own background mediates with the media message, and that majority audiences are familiar with the "negotiated code" of the dominant paradigm (p. 210). Spurr (1993), in *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*, sees the audience as party to the construction of imperialism and capitalism through public discourse structures. In this light, no rhetorical act is innocent: at its most benign, "news establishes the consumer's relation to events" (p. 48). While media researchers like Manoff and Schudson (1986) foreground the fact that media institutions wield this discourse power over their audiences, they go no further than that. Spurr explores further, observing how these choices affect the larger social power structure: "The rhetorical economy of the media creates a demand for images of chaos in order that the principles of a governing ideology and the need for institutions of order may be affirmed" (p. 109).

In research such as this that looks at the power structures that have created our current dominant ideologies in relation to emerging multi-cultural social realities and global economic jockeying, the audience's role is credited with being both more active **and** more acted upon, a simultaneity that appears to be realistic to assume. This is in contrast with more standard assumptions about the media and the nearly invisible role that the audience is assigned: that newsmakers have no knowledge of their audience, or that they denigrate their audience

openly, or that they are only interested in reporting for their peers (from van Dijk, cited in Bell 1991), assumptions that just a small amount of ethnographic evidence would dispute.

While the different approaches give us different, valuable sides of the larger theoretical picture, what is lacking in nearly all of them is the role of the audience in relation to the media practitioner. Key questions must be raised: What is the role or position of the audience in the practitioner's mind and how does this influence creation of the news text? How does it affect discourse structure, or style choice, or syntax or phonology? Who is the practitioner writing for? Answering these questions is sure to give us "the rest of the story," to quote radio icon Paul Harvey. Here is where Bell, the journalist and linguist, steps in.

His productive *audience design* framework, intended to account for linguistic variation of different news media, brings the audience more fully into consideration. According to the framework, a media speaker's style can be either *responsive* or *initiative* to his or her audience. In the latter, the relationship to the audience is redefined and renegotiated, the speaker taking the initiative, directing the discourse. The former style, part of his "accommodation model," encompasses many strategies, including shifts toward national or local norms by news practitioners and audience accommodation. Depending on the requirements of the speech community, the application of "variable editing rules" (which Bell also enumerates) by copy editors shifts the style of the input text closer to a version in line with the intended audience's expectations. In other words, the text the reporter sends to City Desk is not, exactly, what the reader will see.

In Bell's framework, the news itself is mostly *audience designed*, but *referee design* elements also appear, mostly in advertisements. Referee design is more "initiative" in scope. Speakers in the short term "diverge away from the style appropriate to their addressee and towards that of a third party, a reference group or model" (p. 127). In-group referees appeal to identity or solidarity – he gives an example of German radio using local dialect forms. Outgroup referee design draws on the prestige of the outgroup – diglossia is the classic, institution-based case. Bell notes that media usage in this domain reflects a sense that the referee society is superior. In referee design, the absence of direct feedback can lead to performance problems (for example, management of a third-party reference group linguistic feature may be imperfect).

2.3.3 Discourse structures in the news. Journalists write stories, and consequently, research into story structure or narrative becomes relevant to account for their motivations. I have already mentioned van Dijk's discourse analysis of the news and what it can inform us of structurally: The thematic structure of the story corresponds with topics organized in a particular way and together they produce the story's semantic structure. Bell cites Rumelhart's (1975) story grammar as a more cognitive approach to understanding news story structure which looks to be compatible with van Dijk's research. I have already talked about how Bell himself compares news stories to personal narratives, using the standard Labovian narrative framework. I find that a key result of the application of Labov's paradigm is the fact that the narrative "evaluation" component is focused in the lead – that important

first paragraph – in a news story. Also, chronology per se is not important in a news story: "Perceived news value overturns temporal sequence and imposes an order completely at odds with the linear narrative point" (Bell 1991:153).

This point comes up again in the work of Manoff and Schudson (1988). Their collection of essays in *Reading the News* looks at the various elements that comprise the news, that comprise the process of journalism, namely, "The Five Ws and How": who, what, when, where, why, and how. These are the basic questions reporters answer, and the authors use these components as a way to organize their discussion of news practice. Ultimately, they are trying to determine what the placement of these elements means in the context of news structure and discourse organization. Their book is intended to further inform the critical reading public of the impacts of media, and of the tenets of journalism and the framework of journalistic practice that play into these impacts. For example, Manoff's "Writing the News (by Telling the 'Story')" uses real-life media examples to investigate how the "story" is actually constructed – largely in piecemeal, but ordered fashion – and how the "story" structure itself imposes requirements on journalists, especially when little of actual news value exists. He writes:

For we read the news our papers deliver each day believing that it is an index to the real, and, indeed, judgments about reality do give us the news. For this reason, judgments about the news are always to some extent judgments about reality. Any reading of the news must question the press concerning the truth claim that gives it its privileged status. (Manoff 1988:197).

The simplicity of the writing rules (which are standard across newswriting textbooks) and the complexity of their outputs has only begun to get the attention it deserves. Bell, for instance, notes the

common practice in news-story construction of embedding one speech event into another. For example, a quotation from an interview is surrounded by information from a press release, but on the surface it is realized as a seamless, coherent "story." He sees that the newsmaker's task is "to accommodate speech to both the embedded and outer audiences" (p. 55). He uses Goffman's concept of footing to explain different speaker relationships in the context of a single text.

Goffman's notions of alignment (how the speaker is positioned with respect to the nature of the speech event and the talk that is appropriate to it) are invaluable to the discussion of media language. Goffman's frame analysis work as applied to the media, set out in the "Radio Talk" chapter in his 1981 book, *Forms of Talk*, affords a vocabulary with which to talk about the common characteristics of radio discourse, especially in interview situations. As an application of this methodology, he notes that footing (the relation of speaker to interlocutor) changes frequently on the radio, and that the pragmatic and discursal characteristics of the speaker reflect those changes. As changes in footing occur as radio announcers vary who they talk to, the wider audience is always taken into account as well as the interviewee at hand.

CBS anchor Connie Chung in a notorious interview with Newt Gingrich's mother in early 1995 exploits this shared cultural awareness of what is expected in a speech frame; her whispered question about Hillary Clinton acted to cue the changes in footing (now we're just chums, I'm no longer journalist and you're no longer interviewee) and framing (this is now tête-a-tête, not a media interview) that enabled her to get Mrs. Gingrich to pass on damning information. Seen from a

frame analytic point of view, Kathleen Gingrich was an accomplice in the engineering of information elicitation. She, too, subverted the expectations of the speech frame to say what could not be said but outside the media frame: that her son thought the president's wife was a bitch.

There are other fascinating avenues for further research with respect to discourse features. There are questions that concern the linguistic and sociolinguistic judgments that go into a presentation of **reported speech** in a news story – what gets deleted, inserted, left alone, and why; are there syntactic characteristics? For instance, we know that the print media deletes, alters, doctors and changes quoted material – through often unconscious motivations that also bear examination. In conscious cases, an ellipsis or parentheses will usually signal changes. But what about the voices of interviewees on the radio? Not only are there the expected syntactically motivated deletions of repeated or irrelevant material, but overlong pauses are shortened (no gap, no overlap – ever) and certain phonemes ([p]) can be digitally altered (William Drummond, pers. comm.) to the extent that only the interviewer or anyone with direct face-to-face contact with the interviewee has access to the "real life" linguistic information that characterizes the speaker.

Another avenue is the use of quotes, which ties into issues of **evidentiality**. How do news practitioners attribute responsibility for the utterances they report or transmit, and what do particular linguistic acts signal?

What about the relative weight assigned to different portions of the discourse? The **lead**, for instance, is of such especial importance in

the crafting of a story that its characteristics bear greater scrutiny. Such decisions are made in the post-news-gathering **editing process**, an important and underexamined step in the transmission of news. Bell notes that linguistically, editing is essentially a process of matching congruency in meaning with congruency in form (Bell 1991:66). Besides the linguistic operations underway in editing, there are metalinguistic constraints – to cut, clarify, maximize news value, and to standardize language (ibid.: 76) – on the textual outcome.

2.3.4 Intonation. One of the distinguishing features of broadcast news is how it sounds. While prosody is key to defining the broadcast news register, there has not been a great deal of work isolating the distinctive prosodic variables, nor accounting for intonation contours as they appear in regularized, media-specific incarnations.

While many linguists, anthropologists and sociologists working in discourse analysis do acknowledge and consider the implications of the intonational message, there have been no serious attempts to connect the theoretical queries and assumptions of discourse analysis with the current instrumental or theoretical work on intonation in phonology, or even finding a common ground from which to explore possible intersections. This is detrimental to both camps (discourse analysts suffer for lack of productive generalizations and an abundance of speculative interpretation; phonologists suffer for lack of the rich store of locally meaningful variation that might cause a fertile rethinking of their overall approach).¹²

¹² Discourse-level assessments of the place of intonation by Bolinger, Chafe, and Thompson, for example, afford areas of exploration that are already richly outlined.

Given the paucity of work on intonation in the discourse domain, it is not surprising that very little has been done on prosody in the media.¹³ The conspicuous exception, on both pragmatic and broadcast grounds, is the work of Dwight Bolinger, the princely rescuer of his self-described "Cinderella of the communicative complex." His book, *Intonation and Its Parts* (1986), offers counter-example and counterpoint to the more dominant (instrumental, phonological, theory-dependent) models of intonation, offering instead a functional notion of speaker intention, meaning that sentence accent is not predictable by linguistic rule. His contours framework demonstrates the broader, conventional, or patterned aspects of intonation, the semantics and pragmatics of which nonetheless remain locally negotiable.

In a later book, *Intonation and Its Uses* (1989), Bolinger devotes a chapter to broadcast prosody. He notes how in everyday communication, normal word stress can be distorted by what he terms an "accent of power," reflecting the way the speaker feels about the meaning of the utterance. These "distortions" appear frequently in broadcast, not as meaningful alterations but as distortions of prosody (using pitch accent to focus attention on a word that has little semantic significance is one of the frequent infractions). Bolinger observes that this could be because the "guided speech" of broadcasters, who are reading from a prepared text, is decoupled from the conscious brain, and "a lot can go

¹³ Other work that can be applied to media language includes Levin et al. (1982), who characterize the prosodic difference between telling and reading a story, and Crystal and Davy (1969), who note the prosodic phenomena in conversation with similar results. Crystal and Davy observe that utterance stretches which are unstressed tend to sound rhythmically isochronous to the listener, that is, accents occur at what are perceived to be regular intervals. This may account for the "misplaced" accents in Bolinger's newscast critiques.

wrong" (p. 393). He lists a number of examples from his KQED Prosodic Log of "dubious prosody."

In this and a prior article 1982 article, "The Network Tone of Voice," in which he tells broadcasters why their "wild accents" (pitch prominences that do not fall on semantically salient parts of the utterance) and exaggerated pitch contours are distortions of the language, Bolinger is uncharacteristically prescriptive in tone. His is an account of how broadcast prosody sounds to the trained linguist, how the linguist looks at semantic meaning primarily, and for these reasons is valuable. However, Bolinger's examination does not take into account how prosodic patterns might be dictated by structures of news and the tasks of the news presenter (Cotter 1993).¹⁴ Because the news broadcast is a different genre, it can be expected to have different prosodic characteristics. "Regularized" or routinized intonation can be viewed as way to cue listener expectations in a particular discourse environment¹⁵ (the characteristic intonation patterns of flight attendants, cheerleaders, sportscasters, and others in particular jobs have been remarked on to some degree by various linguists).

From my own work (Cotter 1993), I note three significant and interconnected factors which influence the prosodic features of this discourse mode: 1) the structure of the news text, 2) the constraints of the medium, and 3) the "discourse relationship" between the broadcast announcer and an unseen interlocutor. The communicative requirements imposed by these factors – which are understood as requirements of the

¹⁴ In correspondence with Bolinger, in which we discuss broadcast prosody more fully, we both came to a better understanding of the other's point of view.

¹⁵ See Marek 1987 for a discussion of the role of context in the meaning of intonation contours.

job by broadcast professionals – cause the broadcast news register to combine features of discourse modes which are traditionally viewed as distinct: written vs. spoken, conversational vs. more public forms, and formal vs. casual style.

Intonation is particularly relevant for Irish radio. The Irish language does not use pitch prominence in the intonation contour in the way that English speakers do, but uses instead syntactic reordering through what could broadly be called clefting, and the so-called "emphatic suffixes." Thus, the intonation contours of news broadcasts differentiate talk on the radio from other Irish oral practices. The contextualization function of the intonation contour in discourse (cf. Marek 1987) becomes even more important when fluency is compromised, as it is when speakers have a possibly insufficient command of the full range of linguistic features for communication.

2.3.5 Lexicon, dialect, and style. Lexicon, dialect, and style are other areas of research that have not yet been fully investigated, especially in the context of the media of a bilingual society. Gonzalez's (1991) article on stylistic shifts in the English of the Philippine print media affords a good model, as does Leitner's (1981) article on characteristics of language on the radio in Britain and Germany, which I discussed more fully earlier. Both make a good argument for a comparative orientation (see also Jaffe (1994), Spitulnick (1994) and Brody (1995)).

Gonzalez cites existing recent work on Philippine English, in which he indicates differences between spoken and written varieties of English in the media. As is the case generally:

Newscasts were considered to be formal oral varieties ... and talk-shows to be informal oral varieties. Of the written varieties, news stories were considered to be formal varieties, whereas feature articles and columns were considered to be informal varieties. (Gonzalez 1991: 333)

In his study (and this could possibly relate to the Irish media cases), he noted the "stylistic underdifferentiation" of Philippine English in print media, attributed in part to the site of English acquisition: the school. Gonzalez examined a couple dozen weekly and daily papers over a monthlong period and ultimately determined five different style types in the Philippine English media (which he termed Formulaic, Formal 1, Formal 2, Friendly 1 and Friendly 2). Style shifting generally went from more friendly to more formal. Shifting occurred most frequently in features and columns, and, in print media, not all that commonly (which suggests a "security" in maintaining consistent style, according to Gonzalez). In his conclusions, he suggests that an underlying insecurity toward the colonizing language might be at the root of journalistic stylistic consistency and what he sees as an over-reliance on a Formal style at the expense of a Friendly style, among other rhetorical options. Ultimately, he predicts that various style-shift features will become a featural part of the "New English," in contrast with the existing "old" variety (p. 361).

Bell's audience design framework bears mention again, as reference group affiliation would also explain the circumstances in which the media does influence variation. Leitner's work, which includes an examination of the BBC's language management practices, is relevant here, as are cases that Bell cites: one study shows that determiner deletion in news texts correlates with the social class of the newspaper audience (readership profiles have been found to be stable over time (p.

109)). Other examples of status determinants have been found in French radio in Montreal and Hebrew dialects on Israeli radio (Bell 1991), not to mention minority-language radio broadcasts in Zambia (Spitulnik 1994) and Corsica (Jaffe 1994). Phonological variants, triggered by content, on radio determine status or solidarity. Social class is also a factor in the work by Roeh and Feldman (1984). They look at two Hebrew dailies and observe how numbers, particularly in headlines, simultaneously lend empirical weight and enhance the less-empirical news value of a story by their mere presence. In their study, they ascertained that the popular daily (pitched to a lower-class readership) used numbers for their rhetorical value more often than did the elite daily.

Once again, attention must be paid to the editing and production processes and underlying discourse standards of the speech community which license particular lexical choices, use of certain dialect features, and implementation of different stylistic devices. (Why, for example, does one hear "Drive careful" on the radio in Northern California when the weather is bad, but not so much as a caution – with or without well-formed adverb – when a dozen injury-producing accidents clog the San Francisco Bay Area freeways during morning rush hour?)

In conclusion, this chapter considered the extent of current research on media language, and offered further parameters for study, noting their usefulness in understanding the place of media in minority-language contexts. Additionally, the different features of media language were enumerated, from syntax and intonation to lexicon and style. Expanding the range of linguistic research to include media data in the context of endangered languages will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

A sociolinguistic intersection: Media and minority languages

Léim sé aníos agus shocraigh sé an meaisín éisteachta láimh sé an té a bhí ag stealladh amach na Gaeilge. Cheap an duine uasal go raibh ródheacracht sa Ghaeilge sin agus bhí ardlúcháir air go raibh an meaisín úd ag sú isteach. Thuig sé go mbíonn an dea-Ghaeilge deacair agus an Ghaeilge is fearr beagnach dothuigthe...

Níl aon tuairim agam féin cé acu Gaeilge nó Béarla nó canúint iasachta mhírialta a bhí sa tseanchaint sin a chruinnigh an duine uasal uainne anseo i gCorca Dhorcha ach is róchinnte gurb í an mhuc sheachráin sin againne a dúirt pé focail a bhí ráite an oíche sin. (na gCopaleen, pp. 36-37)

[The scholar] leaped up and set the [tape recorder] machine near the one who was spewing out Gaelic. It appeared that the gentleman thought the Gaelic extremely difficult and he was overjoyed that the machine was absorbing it; he understood that good Gaelic is difficult but that the best Gaelic of all is well-nigh unintelligible...

I do not know whether it was Gaelic or English or a strange irregular dialect which was in the old speech which the gentleman collected from among us here in Corkadoragha but it is certain that whatever word was uttered that night, came from our rambling pig. (O'Brien, pp. 44-45)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, several aspects of media language will be considered in an effort to demonstrate that the domain of linguistic research can be expanded to include media data in a focused context: that of endangered-language development and obsolescence. Media language can be considered from many sociolinguistic perspectives, although focusing in particular on its normative role for language use in monolingual and bilingual settings is one relevant way in which to begin to gauge its influence. Along with this, ideas about language use generally addressed through sociolinguistics can also be examined as they play out in a media context. Notions of literacy, orality and diglossic domains, as well as the role of a prestige target or local

norm, can be evaluated in the context of media in the minority-language setting.

Evaluating media language sociolinguistically has a three-fold benefit here: to better understand the media's role in language obsolescence, to consider the extent to which socially assigned power is a factor in this discourse domain (cf. Lakoff 1990), and to demonstrate how texts delimit community boundaries.

3.2 The dynamics of influence

One way in which media language reflects and influences the language of society is the part it plays in perpetuating what Milroy and Milroy (1991) term "standard language ideology," an idealized form of a language that becomes a linguistic referent for ratifying the hierarchical relations of the status quo. Media language reflects this in many ways. For instance, in New Zealand, the standard broadcast accent includes features of British Received Pronunciation, the high-status accent of the BBC, as well as those of New Zealand speech. For Allan Bell, this indicates "the fruit of a colonial past" (Bell 1991:145), in which the colonized still look toward the (former) colonizer for status referents and societal structures.

It is well to bear in mind the notion of a standard language ideology in accounts of media influence and how this influence is initiated and realized through language. While the media is popularly perceived as liberal – even radical – it is the normative function of the media that is attended to frequently in the research literature from a wide spectrum of disciplines (from Hermann and Chomsky 1988 to Sholle and Denski 1994 to van Dijk 1991 to Lee and Solomon 1991).

Even something as benign-seeming as a newspaper account of a wedding manages through the structures of the genre to reinforce the status quo. Suter (1993), in his textual exploration of the British "wedding report," delivers evidence that is relevant in the larger discussion of media and the community it serves, including minority-language communities. Some of his conclusions are useful to keep in mind with respect to the media's role in the minority-language context. They are: that "Family news types play an important role in local communities"; text type knowledge (our verbal encounters) is bound to play a part in our larger cultural awareness; "The 'verbal experiences' derived from the media are inherently biased and at the same time particularly influential"; the shape or identification of a (speech) frame will inherently bias the interpretation of the outcome; and personal experience, such as most addressees have with an event such as a wedding, will limit "the potential influence of the Wedding Report frame on its perception" (Suter 1993:256). In short, given the cultural parameters of the wedding event, the influence of the wedding text type will ultimately be stabilizing to the cultural frame (ibid.:257).

Research by linguist Rosina Lippi-Green underscores the point that the media is a vehicle for expressing to society at large what language varieties (and often what peoples) are acceptable. In her 1994 NWAV paper, "Standard language ideology in the news media: The propagation of negative linguistic stereotypes," Lippi-Green starts from the premise that there is an unmarked "broadcast journalism" pronunciation style, a factor of "standard language ideology" (cf. Milroy), an internalized and idealized form of the language that does not necessarily correspond to real-life evidence. It is been stated that standard language ideology is

part of overall power practice in society, and functions to keep the power base intact. When this extends to the broadcast media, as Lippi-Green found, the result is an affirmation of dominant linguistic practices and a diminution of linguistic attributes that are associated with non-standard varieties such as Hawaiian Creole, African-American Vernacular English, and English spoken in part of the South. She uses as data commercial broadcast news stories about non-standard varieties of English, which, while seeking to explain and illuminate, also tend to discredit the variety by implying that its deviation from the standard is because of its inferiority.¹

Television is also seen as a powerful normative tool (Sholle and Denski 1994). Silverstone (1994) argues that television is both benign technology – something that functions according to design and purpose – and something more that is constrained by the rules of the social world. TV becomes "more than one source of influence," he says; it's a social, cultural and psychological form as well as an economic and political one. He considers the agency of viewers, and believes that this agency (as opposed to the passivity many social commentators ascribe to the media audience), in tandem with notions of public and private spheres, domesticity, and modernity, is central to an understanding of the influence of media. (His notion of agency is one that dovetails with linguistic considerations of agency and accountability, such as Robin Lakoff (1990) discusses with respect to political language.)

¹ This dynamic, in which a dominant-variety speaker who is not a member of the disfavored speech community is being reported on, would appear to be different when the reporter is a member of the community, as in an August 1994 *Connacht Tribune's* bemused story about failed attempts to use Irish at a council meeting.

Sociologist Paul Willis (1990) is another proponent of the notion that the media represents a synthesis of many forms of symbolic creativity. The end result: common culture, the site for the synthesis of media messages and cultural values.

Some researchers argue that the particular ways culture is reproduced through the media should be questioned, especially as the media privileges some voices and silences others (Sholle and Denski 1994), and takes an active role – although one that is complex and difficult to articulate – in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk 1991). The use of media by minority-language speakers, especially when their goal is to counter the encroachment of the dominant language on their heritage language, can be seen as a contestation of the role the media plays in perpetuating the structures and values of dominant society, linguistic and otherwise.

That there is any question of struggle in this process indicates that what is at issue is a question of power. This becomes vividly illustrated when either the content of programming or money is at stake, as two examples from Britain portray. In the first instance, Husband and Chouhan (1985), who give a rundown of the status of minority-language broadcasting in Britain (an uphill battle), claim ideological factors have the most significance in determining the limited extent of minority-language programming. They conclude that, contrary to UNESCO recommendations, local radio – as opposed to national radio which would not be expected to break from the dominant paradigm – is failing to advance the human rights of ethnic minorities in Britain (p. 290). The underlying reason for this failure, they contend, is that linguistic diversity is seen as a threat; and thus the resulting impoverished

programming is really just a "continuation of shallow tokenism" (p. 291). In the second example, Mac Póilin and Andrews (1993) describe the dismal commitment of the BBC to the Irish language in Northern Ireland. Ostensibly the BBC has a commitment to support its listening community (which it does for Welsh and Scots Gaelic), but the authors say recent census data violates this commitment. In the 1991 census, 142,000 people in Northern Ireland indicated some proficiency in Irish (this was the first question on the Irish language since 1911!). For them, the BBC currently provides six hours of programming throughout the year (and this only after 40 years of lobbying and work).

From a different perspective, Schultze et al. (1991) look at the impact of the media in terms of broad community structures. They observe that the media have come to represent the authority that society's elders once claimed. The resulting lack of generational links keeps the ground fertile for more media authority. This notion helps to explain the demise of minority languages; in Ireland, the younger generations' severed links with older institutions such as the church, once a holdout for the Irish language, also severs links with language. This dynamic and its consequences also seem to be what Leanne Hinton (1994) and others are trying to counteract in the California Indian languages' master-apprentice program.

Other solutions are more theoretical in nature. Fowler (1991) believes in the application of "critical linguistics" to the practice of news coverage, which is informed and altered by various social and political machinations and in turn informs and alters our own beliefs. He operates from the standpoint that texts are heterogeneous, not simply categorizable.

Critical linguistics seeks, by studying the minute details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language." (Fowler 1991:67)

And Anderson et al. (1994) use the metaphor of conversation to refer to the dynamic between media and its constituents. Their utopian premise is that journalism should offer what they broadly term "meaning," as well as information. If readers can see that they are engaged in conversation – a meaningful exchange rooted in collective and community values – then the media can become a vital source for progress, change, and discussion in which all members can choose to take part.

3.3 The media and minority languages

The existing literature to date, which does consider what media language tells us about language, and what it tells us about the nature of the media, does not focus on how media language changes language use itself. This of course is something to consider with respect to minority languages, especially as television typically gets the blame for the encroachment of English on native languages (cf. Krauss 1992, Rouchdy 1989, Watson 1989, etc.).

A less obvious impact of media language is what happens to language use when the minority-language user has access to a media outlet. What do the sociolinguistic and discourse features of the minority-language media tell us? Increasingly, a growing number of researchers, linguistic anthropologists in particular, are addressing these issues, examining the implications of the media – linguistic and otherwise – in the context of minority language media use. At the 1994 meeting of the American Anthropological Association, several talks at an

invited session on "The Media and Minority Languages" revealed this as a fruitful area for investigation in several disciplines, linguistics being one of them.

For example, anthropologist Alexandra Jaffe, in "Media, Language and Identity on Corsica," looks at radio on Corsica, and notes that the locally managed use of dominant and minority languages reflects status and solidarity practices that exist in other levels of society. She finds that the use of the minority language is also an act of resistance against the dominant culture, something which can also be said of the Irish cases. Debra Spitulnik, in her talk, "Code-Mixing and Ideologies of Hybrid vs. 'Pure' Language Use in Zambian Radio Broadcasting," looks at speaker attitudes toward mixed and "pure" language on Zambian radio and how context conditions various judgments about their use. She finds that mixed-language tokens almost always occur during call-in shows, and are considered appropriate in that domain. But they are seldom found, and not considered appropriate, during news programs (a fact that incidentally underscores the prestige of the news genre, a conclusion that can be drawn from Gonzalez's Philippine radio data and the Irish research discussed here).

Similarly, Siobhan Ní Laoire, in a talk in June 1994 at the International Conference on Language in Ireland at the University of Ulster, looks at Irish-language code-switching and innovation in various programs on *Raidió na Gaeltachta* as informality indicators in the discourse. Certain discourse situations, such as interviews, allow for their presence. Linguist Jill Brody, in an LSA 1995 paper, "Orality, Radio, and Literacy in the Intertextual Gap," also looks at the use of radio in minority-language contexts. She notes that two radio stations

in Chiapas, Mexico, have started Mayan-language programming. Looking at the radio discourse structures of one of these languages, Tojolab'al, she observes the use of traditional speech genres simultaneously with the imitation of Spanish-language radio genres:

Successful use of traditional discourse features of repetition, parallelism and dialogue contrasts with innovated features of Spanish borrowing, translation errors, and cultural misunderstanding. The resulting intertextual gap is a locus for community struggles with issues of tradition and authority.
(Brody)

In *Talking Power* (1990), Robin Lakoff says that "Language is politics, politics assigns power, power governs how people talk and how they are understood" (Lakoff 1990:7). This is an underlying assumption of many of the researchers cited above, who look at the linguistic strategies of minority-language speakers and the development of positive or negative values for language use (and by extension, ethnic affiliation) in a multilingual culture. And in the obsolescence literature (e.g., Dorian 1981, 1989), we see a vivid illustration of Lakoff's epigram. Power does indeed govern how people talk; power in many cases restricts talk, limits competency in a language, and punishes speakers for making the "wrong" linguistic choice.

Perhaps the most radical effect of this nascent area of linguistic and anthropological research is to offer strong counter-examples to the received assumption among linguists that the influence of the media has been to exclusively to bring about language death in this century. While I do not discount the media's power and the partial validity of this interpretation (it is clear that the presence of media alters social relations and attitudes, to which language use is susceptible), it is nevertheless true that the use of the media by non-dominant speech

communities suggests that other communicative possibilities are being exploited. That is, that media can work in the direction of language promotion or preservation.

Many minority-language media users in Ireland and elsewhere are attempting to publicly legitimize their language and make it more visible by harnessing the power of the mass media. The extent to which the media can reverse the effects of centuries of linguistic domination, as in the cases mentioned here, is uncertain. A wider comparative and theoretical orientation will likely offer some answers; an examination of the media's role in social interaction may also afford clues.

3.4 The media as a social force

Many linguists take it for granted that the development of modern mass media in this century is responsible in part for the deterioration of languages, particularly minority languages in competition with English or some other dominant, usually colonial, language (see Watson 1989 for mention of Irish in Ireland and Haugen 1989 for mention of Norwegian in the U.S.; Krauss 1992:4 calls television a "cultural nerve gas"). But there has been little exploration of what this means or how it happens.

That question can be approached in several ways. First, we can examine the rather simplistic equation that the introduction of commercial mass media equals language death, or at least better understand the components that come into play, by 1) considering what happens when a new communications technology becomes widely available; 2) remembering other co-existing standardizing institutional influences on language such as education, and other contact-promoting changes in

this century such as improved travel and transportation; and 3) examining the growth of the phenomenon of mass media. These factors combine to create an overall changing lifestyle in which the significant elements are intertwined and transformative. Second, research must consider the media as a social force in its own right.

The printing press at one time was "new communications technology." It is easily forgotten that the printed word for centuries has served a leveling or standardizing function in terms of spelling, grammar, lexicon, and discourse organization. Conklin and Lourie (1983) say that broadcast media, by their oral, speech-centered nature, subvert that standardizing function, Network English notwithstanding. Despite their acknowledgement that the standardized English of broadcasters might influence dialect leveling, they cite other, compelling evidence which contradicts any far-reaching leveling tendency.

Since spoken language imposes its own demands and goals in communication, and renders some markers of writing-centered competence irrelevant, it is not insignificant that radio and television can work in the interest of minority-language preservation.² Mastery of the official "standard" is not as crucial for a minority-language speaker or listener in the broadcast medium as in a literate format. This is significant when one remembers that minority language speakers have often been excluded from mastering the standard in the first place, especially by limited access to education. Thus, the adaptable nature of radio itself becomes as important as minority-language access to a

² Lakoff (1982) sees a shift from a literacy-based model of communication as a cultural standard to an oral-based one. Loss of a writing-based literacy does not mean a loss of culture, but that we have other means of communicative survival at hand.

broadcast medium, as it allows speakers and hearers to successfully overcome "the divide between communicator and audience" (Bell 1991:85).

Perhaps because we are so culturally habituated to the written word and to the availability of print sources, we are unable to see that broadcast media such as radio and television, as the new communications technologies of the 20th century, bring with them their own possibilities and restrictions in terms of language use and change. Therefore, they may be influencing our use of language as profoundly as print media have done. They are certainly influencing our relationships with the world around us, as various researchers have demonstrated (cf. Schultze (1991) et al.'s look at electronic media and youth; Willis' (1990) justification of media-instigated codes of common culture; and Ewen and Ewen's (1992) discussion of the rise of consumer culture). Examining the relation between media and language death can be accomplished by using a different premise than is used in most existing discussions (for exceptions, see Dorian (1989) in which references to Egyptian Nubian and Welland French in media are situated in social context). Currently, linguistic criticisms of media usage are made by contrasting it to the print standard; but our judgments should be made in relation to the aural (and sometimes visible) nature of the broadcast modality and how that influences communication style. Broadcast technology is relatively new (radio began to dominate in the '20s, after World War I, and television's influence began in the '50s, after World War II), and the full extent of its impact is yet to be realized.

Also absent from the discussion is the fact that the mass literacy of the past 100 years, coupled with improvements in printing technology that made the printed word available to all levels of society (such as

the late 19th-century penny press), have aided the rise of the mass media (cf. Schudson 1978). As other new communications technologies evolved, so have their accessibility to large sectors of society. With this accessibility new ways of relating and communicating have developed. The control of access to these new media forms can be seen as the modern version of the old scholar-peasant division, (as evidenced by ongoing "information highway" debates). One media analyst has suggested that computer communication (the Internet and the mushrooming of chat rooms being the mass media form of the 21st century) will either turn out to be a status-quo-enforcing corporate tool, or an exciting opportunity for those without voice in mainstream outlets (George Thurlow, pers. comm.).

Returning briefly to the case of Irish and ignoring for a moment the other symptoms of likely language death (as outlined for East Sutherland Gaelic in Dorian 1981), one might consider, in the spirit of Ladefoged 1992, that there may be new cultural and linguistic forms arising, ones that we may not recognize, to offset the other losses. While Watson points to the disappearance of some traditional Irish verbal art forms, we are also seeing (though their value may be debatable) an appropriation of other contemporary discourse forms, such as Irish rap (especially by the Irish band House of Pain) and a highly touted but short-lived Irish-language soap opera that aired two years ago on national English-language television, as well as the more traditional inroads made by Irish cinema and music.

But the media has influence and range only when it plays a social function of some sort or alters a social structure of some kind in a linguistic community. Rickford (1987:33) looks at the importance of

interpersonal interaction, and not the mere fact of exposure, in the transmission of linguistic features. He quotes Labov and Harris (1986:20), whose extensive research led them to conclude that "'linguistic traits are not transmitted across group boundaries simply by exposure to other dialects in the mass media or in schools,' but through interpersonal interaction." If we consider the media as a social force, an influential component of society, then its impact becomes relevant to language death when its agency allows longstanding social patterns to change or when it plays or replaces a social function. Pádraig Ó Duibhir at Raidió na Gaeltachta says this about television's influence on Gaeltacht community structures: "TV has influence in local communities. You try to organize a meeting to develop environmental awareness ... you get the same dozen people. The rest are all inside [watching television]" (Ó Duibhir 1994).

3.5 Conclusion

Both Ó Duibhir and Éamonn Ó Donnail, an early founder of Raidió na Life, say there are other factors besides English-language media which influence the language prognosis in Ireland, including the presence of a sense of pride.

"Unless you have pride in the language, [the media] is just an excuse, a coat hanger on which to hang blame. We all felt the standing of the media [in relation to the Irish language]. The problem is the passivity of the population internally," Ó Duibhir said (ibid.)

Ó Donnail concurs, but goes on to add that the Irish-language media could wield influence of their own.

"The change has to come from within the Irish language," he said. "I think it's important for Raidió na Gaeltachta and the media to talk about contemporary issues ... so the language will evolve. A lot could be done from within" (Ó Dónaill, 1994).

Scores of researchers have observed the influence of media on social roles and expectations, political points of view, interpersonal behavior, and larger institutional structures. Broadcasting historian Eric Barnouw, for example, says, "The apparatus of commercial television ... sells products but also a way of life, a view of man himself, a vision of the future ... Where is it leading us? What outlook does it offer? (Barnouw 1978:151)."

We are better informed looking at the influence of media on minority languages when we start from the premise that the media is playing a social role, wielding social influence, mediating with traditional identities - in short, a role that society has assigned and one society has participated in constructing. It does not automatically follow that talk from a television set will mean that an existing dialect or language is doomed, just as a whole bookstore full of Berlitz tapes will not mean that Americans will become second-language learners. What's crucial is the value ascribed to the television's content, the power given to the message, and the role it's seen playing in our lives.

For example, Schultze et al. (1991) look at how the electronic media have replaced a community's "elders" as dispensers of information about the world and one's place in it - crucial information for the young members of a culture - and how the elders have participated in this role change. While the new electronic media may create a shared consciousness synchronically, it virtually eliminates inter-generational

information and worldview exchange. Schultze et al. point out that a generation gap is not an inherent characteristic of human social structure; in this case it is one that society has allowed the media to create. But it does foster a break in the passing on of traditions, as Watson has observed with Irish young people who prefer "modern cosmopolitan youth cults ... as purveyed through the omnipresent media of radio and television" (Watson 1989:49), that are being lost because there is no one available to hand them down to.

Media, or any new technology, is or becomes potent because it is wielded by individuals. It has a social, cultural and psychological reality (cf. Silverstone 1994). The electricity that ultimately led to the alteration of traditional Havasupai linguistic practices, which Hinton (1988) describes, altered first individual behavior in the Havasupai household and then social patterns overall. The electricity conditioned a response. Traditional types of talk were no longer built in to the new social activities that characterized the non-electric way of life. Thus, while the media can play a normative role, and function as a bellwether for society's attitudes toward linguistic standards, we have also seen that it is a social construct of and by people who use language to index relationships and roles and perform actions, as well as convey information. An evaluation of media language through a broad sociolinguistic framework will be one way to consider the influence of media in language obsolescence or regeneration. In the following chapter, some of the concepts just mentioned will be illustrated in a discussion of two Irish-language radio stations and how they are working to enhance the linguistic solidarity of their respective speech communities, and elevate the status of the language, via the media.

Chapter Four

Linguistic solidarity through the media: two approaches

Bhí sé riamh ráite agus scríofa go mbuailtear gach tachtán
Gaeilach ar an gcéad lá scoile dó toisc é a bheith Gaelach. (na
gCopaleen, p. 27)

*It was always said and written that every Gaelic youngster is hit
on his first school day because he doesn't understand English and the
foreign form of his name and that no one has any respect for him
because he's Gaelic to the marrow. (O'Brien, p.34)*

4.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have discussed first what features the various
research paradigms consider in evaluating media language (Chapter 2) and
then noted how several decades of sociolinguistic concepts can be
usefully applied to media language in the minority-language context
(Chapter 3); I have suggested the addition of a few tools to the media-
language researcher's conceptual toolchest and shown how some forms of
sociolinguistic methodology could be applied to other language work.

This chapter will discuss the use of Irish-language broadcast
media in Ireland, which serves to reinforce a sense of linguistic
solidarity among Irish speakers. This linguistic solidarity
reinforcement is achieved primarily through the media's capacity as a
"conduit" replacing the traditional speech communities that would have
performed that function under "normal" conditions. Centuries of language
loss mean that the "normal" processes of language retention are not
available to the majority of Irish speakers. Through its content and the
discourse structures of on-air talk, both monologic and dyadic, the
media serves as a codifying, referential link among the geographically
disparate Gaeltachts, as will be demonstrated by the first case I will

describe; and, in the second case, as a presentation outlet for Irish speakers and learners in the urban world who have no ready resource of linguistic authority besides the schools. In both cases, the media sources reflect, use, modify, and select from their target community of listeners and participants. Their efforts at community building can be seen also as pattern building (especially at the discourse level) and the promotion of shared knowledge and norms.¹ This chapter will underscore the current state and practice of Irish-language media in Ireland; describe an innovative language preservation strategy that underpins one Irish-language Dublin radio station; and make a case for considering the media as a "window" into a language as it is shifting, adjusting for features specific to news discourse.

4.2 The Irish language in Ireland

The Irish language has been in decline since before the Famine of the 1840s, with 10,000-20,000 speakers reporting fluency today, although, thanks to compulsory schooling, there is a significant degree of passive ability. Those who reside in the rural Gaeltachts, located on the northern and western fringes of the country far from Dublin, are primarily bilingual speakers. The Gaeltachts are the historical strongholds of the language and have long been the focus of preservationists. The modern preservation movement of the last 100 years, initiated in 1894 by the Conradh na Gaeilge, or Gaelic League, has concerned itself with these Irish-speaking rural areas, which are also the recipient of considerable government funding for language

¹ An interesting example of the radio being used to develop a community of shared religious belief where one did not exist geographically is the "airwaves of Zion" movement in rural Appalachia (cf. Dorgan 1993).

development. In terms of language attitudes, having the *teanga ó dúchais*, the native language as spoken in the Gaeltachts, is also seen as highly desirable, which has implications for Raidió na Life's Dublin speakers, as we shall see.

Before the causes and conditions of Irish usage today are explored, it is necessary to understand the status of Irish in relation to English. Even calling the language "Irish" requires certain clarification. In Ireland, the term for the language is "Irish" (or even "Modern Irish"). "Gaelic" has pejorative connotations (cf. Ó Murchú 1985), suggestive of its earlier history as peripheral to Irish life, as marginal to the powerful institutions that wielded influence over citizens. While Irish people themselves use "Irish," the Irish Tourism Board in some of its brochures uses "Gaelic" in reference to Modern Irish, possibly to enhance the picturesque, romantic stereotypes of Ireland that draw American tourists. People in Northern Ireland use "Gaelic," too, possibly for political reasons with respect to partition of the north and south or because of that country's geographical and linguistic proximity to Scotland and Scots Gaelic. Non-linguist Americans and American institutions, such as *The New York Times*, use "Gaelic," as do some Irish citizens applying to graduate school in the U.S. (William Drummond, pers. comm.) - a sort of terminological codeswitching keyed to audience expectations.

Irish was significantly influenced by contact with English and French as early as the late 12th century with the Anglo-Norman invasion. It held ground as the vernacular language, enjoying prestige in this domain, until the end of the 15th century (Ó Murchú 1985). Several centuries of British political and linguistic suppression in Ireland had

undermined the Irish language by the 17th century. English was the dominant language, and carried the prestige in diglossic communities, as its speakers were the only ones with social power and influence (Ó Murchú 1985; Ihde 1994). Political events by this time had eliminated the Irish learned classes and the domination of the British had reached a high point, extending to social and educational realms. Only 5 percent of the land was held by Catholics, in the main Irish-speaking. The Catholic Church, formerly a stronghold, stopped using Irish.

"English was clearly a desirable key – more and more the only key – to progress. If the church did not adapt itself to this situation, the incipient Catholic middle classes of the towns might be skimmed off, too, in due course, by the Established Church. It behoved the Catholic leadership to meet the demand for education appropriate to an English-Speaking world. The Relief Act of 1782, which permitted Catholics to teach, tolled the knell of the old traditional educational arrangements ... Henceforth, continental cultural influence in Ireland would wane" (DeFréine 1978: 71-72).

A period of transitional bilingualism during the 18th and 19th centuries resulted in a rapid decrease in the Irish language. Negative attitudes towards Irish, among its uneducated and rural native speakers as well as among both more economically advantaged Irish and English speakers, cemented this stratification (Ihde 1994: 33). The language was seen as defective (judgments Dorian 1981 reports for Scots Gaelic during the same period), with people forgetting, according to De Fréine, that "when people abandon their language, they do so not because it is deficient but because their society is" (De Fréine 1978: 67).

The penalties for speaking Irish were severe.

"Irish speakers commonly became the butt of ridicule and contempt. Parents who knew no English used violence to prevent their children from speaking the only language to which they had natural access ... **Children admitted to speaking Irish, as a sin, in the confessional** [boldface mine]. In many places they were

forced to wear the notorious tally stick ... so that they could be beaten later by their parents or teachers for every mark on the stick. ... When the shift did occur, it generally took no more than a generation to indoctrinate the children with such antipathy to the language that they in turn refused to speak it to their children" (De Fréine 1978: 73).

The combination of socially, physically and economically punitive factors resulted in a rapid shift away from Irish use and, as a consequence, a dialect of English known presently as Hiberno-English, the variety of English spoken by people in Ireland. Thomason and Kaufman 1988 attribute the current distinctive intonation patterns of Hiberno-English, as well as other linguistic features, to the rapidity of the socially motivated shift, to imperfect group learning of the target language. That Hiberno-English currently is a low-prestige class-linked dialect is one legacy of its origins.

Despite continued penalties for using it, the Irish language of the late 18th century and early 19th century gave indications of being revived, because of a population explosion in the isolated, poor, rural pockets where Irish was still spoken monolingually. But famine, emigration, and political powerlessness decimated these populations, and with them, the language. For example, Ó Murchú notes that "no more than 12.66 percent were Irish-speaking of those who were ten years or under in 1851" (Ó Murchú 1985: 28). "These Irish-speaking masses were without economic or political power, and had no means of determining their own destiny" (ibid.: 26). Dorian, in her seminal work on the demise of a particular dialect of Scottish Gaelic, refers to sociologist Michael Hechter's notion of "internal colonialism" (Dorian 1981:19), which afflicted all of Britain's "Celtic fringe." The concept, in which the power structures of a colonizer society dominate the lives of

inhabitants within or near its own boundaries, is applicable to the Irish situation.

De Fréine reads the census data a bit differently, and notes,

"The census of 1851 indicates a widespread denial of a knowledge of Irish...only three hundred thousand people in the country who knew no English...Instead, there were over half a million native Irish speakers in the country fifty years later. Obviously, many who claimed to know English in 1851 did not know enough to bring up their children as English speakers" (De Fréine 1978: 73).

Ó Murchú himself observes the complexities of census and other data in determining numbers of speakers as a way of gauging the progress of shift. Even today, it is difficult to get an exact numerical figure for the Irish-speaking population. Hindley, whose book on the purported death of Irish presents a careful, fine-grained analysis of census and deontas records, has problems accounting for the inconsistencies and overgeneralizations of the data, making it clear that the statistics belie the real language situation. He rectifies this limited statistical view by looking at small portions of the picture - notably single parishes or school districts - noting the extra-statistical circumstances that influenced language use in micro-segments of the Irish-speaking community. His rationale can also be a rationale for looking at radio data as a product of a discourse community, a media-centered micro-segment of the population which is nonetheless influential in society.

Negative attitudes toward the language and its rural, uneducated users following the Famine persisted into this century. The speakers' low social and economic status was linked to their use of a disfavored language, making it seem only "logical" to eliminate the language as a

first step to eliminating stigmas of other kinds. De Fréine cites Father Tomás Ó Ceallaigh in The Catholic Bulletin of April 1911:

"[T]hey taught their children not the old speech that was as honey on their lips, but the English which with so much pain they had acquired. They had been brought up in the belief that English was the top-notch of respectability, the key that opened Sesame, and they were determined that their children should not be left without a boon so precious" (De Fréine 1978: 74).

In some ways, the Irish situation over the past 150 years mirrors aspects of the decimation of American Indian languages, in that a level of usage necessary for maintaining fluency in the native language became nearly impossible to achieve. In both cases, there was government or political interference and a lack of overall educational resources; a devaluation of culturally identifiable discourse practices, especially in the oral tradition; educational practices that isolated children – physically and emotionally – from the community of native speakers; and speakers' internalization of a belief in the inferiority of their native language. (See Hinton 1994 and Crawford 1992 for compelling examples from American Indian history.)

While the undisputed economic advantage of knowing English has hastened the process of language loss in this century, at the same time Irish has managed to remain strong as a *symbol* of Irish nationhood. Irish was named the first official language when the Republic of Ireland was formed in 1922, linking linguistic pride with national pride, language with nationhood. The *de facto* use of a language does not always match its intended function, leading some researchers (such as Coulmas 1992) to claim that a language, no matter how lovingly and financially supported, will not persist unless there is an economic reason for doing so. Symbolic value is potent for other affiliations with language, such

as national identity, which De Fréine sees rather critically as a function of Irish in the '20s and '30s.

"...between the World Wars there was no apparent need for the language. It was confidently expected in the years after 1921 that the major problems of Irish life would evaporate in the warm air of freedom. Irish was regarded largely as a fitting badge of nationality. There was, in those emotionally-satisfying years, little need to regard it otherwise: **it performed much the same function as the word Éire on the postage stamps and the national flag over Dublin Castle**" [boldface mine] (De Fréine 1978: 116).

Language-attitude surveys conducted by the Irish Linguistics Institute as recently as 1993 indicate that this symbolic-nationalistic link remains strong in the national consciousness.

Despite its strong symbolic value, the Irish language in day-to-day use remains largely restricted to the rural coastal areas that once experienced the full consequences of the Famine. (The current urban exceptions in Dublin and Belfast, the latter described by Maguire 1986, have become relevant only very recently.) These small geographical pockets where today's mostly bilingual speakers are primarily located are known as Gaeltachts, or Irish-speaking areas. The map in **Appendix A** shows the Gaeltachtaí today and makes immediately evident their geographical separation from each other. The Gaeltachtaí are divided into three main areas: Ulster (the north), Connacht (the west), and Munster (the south). Of course with cars, roads, satellite dishes, television, VCRs, and employment-instigated emigration being a major part of late 20th-century Gaeltacht life, Gaeltacht residents are far from isolated from the rest of the world.²

² Geographical isolation from speakers of other dialects or languages is a key factor in preservation, as contact and its linguistic and cultural ramifications never even become an issue. Factors working against isolation, including broadcast media, which quite literally brings the outside world into the home, as well as improved roads and the privately

Nonetheless, the rural culture and its values prevail. Language is part of that. Generally, the farther from a city, the more Irish is spoken. The impact of the economy on language spread and decline, relevant to the Irish case, is considered by Edwards (1994) in his book *Multilingualism*. He cites the "paradox of the Gaeltacht": left alone, the area will shrink and no longer be viable; if something is done, "then the enclave becomes artificial and those within it can take on the appearance of fish in a bowl" (p. 109).

Revival efforts started 100 years ago have held the erosion at bay in many respects (cf. Kiberd 1996, De Fréine 1978, Hindley 1990, and others), but they have also uncovered other problems that affect preservation efforts. Ironically, the strong dialect group affiliations have created hurdles. None of the three main dialect regions - Ulster in the north, Connacht in the west, and Munster in the south - is considered the standard, and no dialect group has been willing to defer to another for the "honor." For that reason, a compromise standard that rather arbitrarily includes features from all the dialects, known as *An Caighdeán*, was instituted for education and government functions in the 1950s. The result of that is a variety of the language spoken primarily by native English speakers who do not live in a Gaeltacht, which brings its own influence to bear on the language, since this is the variety (known as "school Irish") that non-native Irish broadcast announcers will use. Interestingly, while School Irish is used and ratified by the

owned automobile, have been discussed in relation to lesser-used languages generally by Dorian 1991 and in relation to Irish by Hindley 1990. Taniguchi (1955), in the decade before significant economic improvement of the standard of living also changed Irish social structures (cf. Kiberd 1996), cited how the "influence of education, wireless, films, and travel all militate against the survival" of unique varieties of language, including Irish English (Taniguchi 1955: vi).

society's institutions, the prestige targets for speakers remain the various dialects of the Gaeltacht (which is contrary to many of the situations described in sociolinguistic literature, including Blom and Gumperz 1972, in which the language of institutions becomes a High language with prestige).

Irish "language workers" (to use a current term from linguistic anthropology) in the linguistic trenches see the evolution of the language from a different perspective. Pádraig Ó Duibhir, manager of broadcasting services for Raidió na Gaeltachta, focuses on how far the language has come in the late 20th century. In the '50s, Irish was a rural language, Ó Duibhir said. The language expanded to the cities in the '60s and '70s with internal migration and the development of the language there. This has forced the language to develop with respect to commerce, trade, and technology (Ó Duibhir, pers. comm., 1994).

The creation of the Irish department at University College Galway, the formation of Údaras na Gaeltachta (the government's Gaeltacht Authority), and increasing participation of Irish bilingual speakers in general social and economic development has "given the language a status" it did not have three or four decades ago, Ó Duibhir said.

4.3 Current use and attitudes

It is very difficult to pin down the number of speakers who use the Irish language, especially since Gaeltacht figures compare differently from the rest of the population. Recent census data indicate that one-third of the overall population described themselves as Irish speakers, according to Gaeltacht Authority spokesman Pádraig Ó hAoláin. Given that Irish is compulsory in school, this is hardly remarkable. And

it says nothing about the degree of proficiency or use. Census data typically does not attempt to ascertain different levels of competence (cf. Ó Murchú).

Focusing on the Gaeltacht areas, Ó Murchú says, "It is fairly reliably estimated that no more than 25,000 of the Gaeltacht population now use Irish consistently in day-to-day conversation" (Ó Murchú 1985:29). Ó Siadhail supports this figure with pessimism: "The population of the Gaeltacht may now be considerably less than 25,000 with hardly any monoglots remaining" (Ó Siadhail 1989:2). This contrasts with usage judgments overall: the Gaeltacht population in 1971 was 65,982, with 83.3 percent indicating that they were Irish speakers; the population in 1981 increased to 75,000 but usage claims declined to 77.4 percent. However, an early 1980s survey indicates actual use countrywide to be much lower in relation to these figures (from Ó Murchú 1985:32).

Note the high percentage of No. 5:

<i>Actual use</i>	<i>Percentage of users</i>
1. In conversation since leaving school	18 percent
2. In writing since leaving school	5 percent
3. Frequently or normally in home	5 percent
4. Sometimes in home	35 percent
5. [listening to] Programme in Irish on TV	72 percent

Additionally, Ó Murchú cites a separate pre-1985 survey that indicates that more Irish-speaking parents than previously are using only English with their children: English only 46.1 percent; English and Irish 33.7 percent; and Irish only 20.2 percent. Given these numbers, and the importance of speaking daily, it seems reasonable to give the 25,000-speaker assessment the most significance.

Of greater interest in Ireland in recent years were the results of a late-1993 survey undertaken by the Institúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann

(The Irish Linguistics Institute) that were published in March 1994 in the Irish press, creating a flurry of commentary and discussion. As in the survey listed above, speakers reported a largely passive knowledge of Irish. In contrast with the high percentage of respondents who would watch an Irish-language television program in the 1980s – for which only passive knowledge of the spoken language is needed – the 1993 survey indicates that only 16 percent of the respondents occasionally or frequently read Irish-language columns in daily newspapers (*The Irish Times*, March 22, 1994). (Nonetheless, the ability to read has improved in the past 10 years, *The Times* noted about the survey results.)

Additionally, the 1993 survey indicated that 4 percent of the respondents listened to Radió na Gaeltachta daily or frequently, and 11 percent listened to that Irish-language radio station occasionally. These are not trivially small numbers, as only 2 percent of the respondents indicated "native speaker ability" and 9 percent indicated an ability to understand and participate in "most conversations." Statistically, all speakers who have a fair to great degree of Irish proficiency – 11 percent – at some time listen to Raidió na Gaeltachta. (This survey was conducted before Raidió na Life started broadcasting.)

The value of the language symbolically exhibits no signs of erosion: 73 percent agreed that "no real Irish person can be against the revival of Irish." Furthermore, attitudes toward the value of the language have improved in the last 20 years.

For example, while 42 [percent] of the respondents in 1973 agreed with the statement, "Irish is a dead language", 31 per cent agreed with it in 1993. Last year, some 45 per cent agreed that Irish could still be revived as a common means of communications, compared with 39 percent in 1973.

(*The Irish Times*, March 22, 1994)

The symbolic value of the language, in contradiction with actual use, causes consternation. An *Irish Independent* editorial remarks:

On the basis of the Institute's findings, the extent of the goodwill shown to the Irish language should be reflected in the use of that language in everyday life. But that, unhappily, is not what emerges. We have that old paradox again, where we are shown to respect our language but not to use it.

(*Irish Independent*, March 22, 1994)

The Linguistics Institute survey found considerable favor for government-supported efforts, which mirror a 1980s survey reported by Ó Murchú (p. 32):

<i>Provision for Use of Irish</i>	<i>Respondents in favor</i>
on television	76 percent
in Civil Service	75 percent
in Dáil (Parliament)	66 percent
in public forms, notices	70 percent
in tests for public servants	71 percent

4.4 Raidió na Gaeltachta: "scheduled regionalism"

Irish-language broadcast media in Ireland is very limited in comparison to the English-language offerings, which also include the BBC and a few cable stations. According to schedules published in the *RTÉ [Raidió Telefís Éireann] Guide*, Ireland's equivalent to *TV Guide*, the Irish national stations offer five minutes of *nuacht* – news in Irish – daily on their English-language networks. (See Mac Póilin and Andrews' *BBC and the Irish Language* (1993) for an extended discussion of the BBC's dismal commitment to the Irish language in Northern Ireland, which they all but suggest is related to politics. This contrasts with the strong support of Welsh in Wales and Scots Gaelic in Scotland for which programming, money (1.5 million pounds in 1991), and institutional support are abundant.)

The most recent addition to the Irish media scene is *Raidió na Life*, a Dublin-based community radio station on the air since Fall 1993. Before RL came into being, the only broadcast outlet available to Irish speakers, especially ones from the Gaeltacht, was *Raidió na Gaeltachta*. The station got its start in the early 1970s, after now-historic protests by language activists in the Western Connemara Gaeltacht. Unhappy with the tokenism on these national radio and television stations, the activists started an unauthorized "pirate" Irish-language station in the Connemara, the most populous of the Gaeltachts. The government responded by officially establishing and funding an all-Irish radio station in 1972, the *Raidió na Gaeltachta* we hear today. Kiberd recounts the events leading to the formation of RG this way:

"In 1969, inspired by the Civil Rights movement for black emancipation in the United States, a group of activists in the Connemara Gaeltacht launched their own campaign to revitalize the Irish-speaking areas...The demand was for industrial development in the region, for proper schools and villages, for an autonomous local authority, and for a broadcasting service in the native language...the Cearta Sibhialta (Civil Rights) movement was in most respects remarkably successful. ...it managed to detach Irish from the purgatorial fires of the school classroom and to present it as part of a global countercultural movement constructed upon 'small is beautiful' principles" (Kiberd 1996: 567-8).

Indeed, as the only station in the world broadcasting to ethnic minorities at the time, RG was "*cannródaíochta*," a "trail-blazing service in '72," according to Pádraig Ó Duibhir, manager of broadcasting services at *Raidió na Gaeltachta*. Now, throughout the European Community, which is assisting the promotion of what are termed the "lesser-used" languages, there are some 30-40 radio stations broadcasting in the minority languages of Europe, he said.

Each Irish radio station's overt policy towards the Irish language represents a different point on the language preservation continuum:

conservation and linguistic purity in the case of RG and linguistic innovation in the case of RL. From the start, RG was intended as an Irish-language media service for people in the geographically far-flung Gaeltachts. While headquartered in the Connemara Gaeltacht (see map in Appendix A), the station in fact broadcasts daily from the country's three primary dialect regions and its signal can be heard anywhere in the country. The term used at RG offices to describe this conscious media juxtaposition of the separate Gaeltachts is "scheduled regionalism."

The station broadcasts for about 12 hours daily. RG programming includes regular news broadcasts from the three major dialect areas, national and international news, sports, traditional music, lengthy interviews, current affairs programming, community notices, obituaries and Sunday Mass.

Besides its impact on the language itself, including reported greater mutual intelligibility among the dialects (although no reported dialect leveling) and introduction of modern terms into the lexicon through reporting the news, the station also serves to reinforce traditional cultural practices. Their strict no-English policy extends to song lyrics. The station, with its professional mix of news and current affairs programming, has become the standard-bearer of the language and a model for quality Irish-language radio broadcast practice. Surveys indicate that listenership is highest among middle-aged and older speakers in areas farthest from cities, a relevant point in language contraction discussion.

RG is the only nationwide medium that broadcasts completely in Irish among all other media offerings in Ireland - 40 local radio

stations, three national, and two national television stations (plus BBC, CNN and Skye TV) – according to Ó Duibhir. The situation is considered even less auspicious in print: There is one Sunday Irish-language paper, *Anois*, while the *Irish Times* prints a half page in Irish once a week. In contrast, The World Wide Web is making its own impact currently with new Websites as *Gaeilge* under construction routinely.

"The job of evolving the language has fallen on us by default," Ó Duibhir said (in 1994, less than a year after RL started broadcasting). All work at the station is conducted through the medium of Irish, except for some technical contacts done through English where necessary, he said.

Explicitly, the station's mission is to provide radio service and to "support revival of the language." The station focuses on two aspects of the language: 1) conservation, particularly through its library of tape recordings of interviews, stories, traditional music, etc., and 2) development of the language, which means expanding the vocabulary to accommodate contemporary topics and concerns, particularly employing words that one would find in the everyday news (AIDS, computers, etc.).

"The emphasis is on language-user understanding of the term, rather than the technical excellence of the translation," Ó Duibhir said. He added that enhanced prestige of the language is one of the expected consequences of RG's preservation efforts. (This will be discussed further in a subsequent section.)

Importantly, the station both **differentiates** the dialect areas with its broadcasts from the three dialect regions and **unites** the dialect areas through the common language of Irish. (Despite affiliation with the specific dialect of upbringing, in the overall context speakers

identify with Irish as a single language (cf. Ó Siadhail 1989), of which the synthetic "standard" is a pale approximation.) If a "broadcast day" can be seen as a "day in the life" narrative – a composite representation of a typical day – then from the standpoint of discourse analysis the component parts bear an inherent relation to each other, much as conversation analysts have determined for the adjacent structures of talk. The adjacency of the various discourse units establishes the structure of a "broadcast day" and in surface form temporally connects the geographically separate Gaeltachts. Made up of pieces from each Gaeltacht, this broadcast day becomes a unified pan-Gaeltacht discourse structure. (The notion that news texts, and by extension, their macro structures, are constructed realities and not literal ones runs through a good deal of the recent media discourse literature. See, for example, Anderson et al. 1994, Bell 1991, Van Dijk 1988 and 1993, Manoff 1986, Meinhof 1994, Suter 1993, Sholle 1994, and Spurr 1993.)

A more literal result of RG's quarter-century tenure on the airwaves is that speakers report a higher incidence of mutual intelligibility across dialects (cf. Seosamh Ó Murchú, Michael Krauss, and Pádraig Ó Duibhir, pers. comm.). Despite their geographical separation, the dialects are considered by and large mutually intelligible. However, a generation ago certain phonological features made total comprehension difficult, especially by speakers from either end of the country (Michael Krauss, pers. comm.). RG's presence has effectively foreshortened the dialect continuum as it extends from the south to the north (and into Scotland). Whether the radio has leveled the dialects to any degree has not been discussed in the literature.

Given the strong affiliation and solidarity of speakers with the local dialects (reinforced by jokes told about other dialect speakers), it is likely that the radio's influence has been slight, except to make speakers aware of correspondences with other dialects.

The strong identification with one's own dialect dictates listening preferences. Early on, RG discovered that speakers would tune in for their own dialect broadcast, but turn off when another dialect aired (cf. Ó Duibhir, 1994 interview), something that is easily observed in Gaeltacht households. For this reason, the station even today mixes up the dialects within the broadcast day. The news from Donegal is never at the same time, for instance (although it is found within the time period allotted to the news, so listeners have necessary consistency). Sunday Mass, broadcast live from the Gaeltachts, is rotated each week by region. As previously mentioned, Ó Duibhir calls this deliberate mixing of the dialects within the stream of radio talk "scheduled regionalism."

While it is important to consider the strong affiliations speakers have with their dialects, it is also significant to keep in mind that the *Gaeilge na daoine* (Irish of the people, the local dialects) is considered one language, part of the country's unified linguistic heritage. This attitude (and the related superfluous position of Scots Gaelic in the Irish mind) is vividly illustrated in the general introduction to Ó Siadhail's *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation*.

It is hoped that by giving an overall picture of the system, this wide description will illustrate the variation between the dialects against the unified background of the language. In the end, despite all the variation, and given the fact that Scottish Gaelic must be regarded on sociological grounds as a separate language, one is inevitably left with the sense that Irish is a single language. (Ó Siadhail 1989: 11)

While listeners will crack the usual disparaging jokes about Munster speakers, or turn off the radio when their local Donegal broadcast ends, it is important to note that these are in-group judgments. Negative linguistic judgments are not made about the dialect one speaks, unless one mixes dialect features, according to informants I have talked with. All *Gaeilge na daoine* speakers are aware that they are in a minority position, even with respect to the synthetic standard *An Caighdeán*, and negative judgments arise only when the integrity of the language is threatened, such as when control of competence – expressed through the management of dialect features – is weak. Jokes or exercising listening preferences actually protect the integrity of the individual dialect groups. Whether these behaviors simultaneously preserve overall Irish-language identification remains to be established, but that consideration has never been primary for dialect speakers anyway. It has always been the underlying assumption and never questioned.

Inter-dialect unity is also achieved through the *content* of the local broadcasts by reinforcing knowledge of community patterns, practices and values, which are held in common across the dialects since they all share a similar socio-economic history. Local programming includes news, traditional music, obituaries, lengthy interviews, community notices, such as when and where an event will be held, and a community bulletin board, listing who has what for sale, and for how much; what apartments are for rent, etc. (Raidió na Life, the new Dublin station, on the other hand, schedules "drive time" programming, including traffic reports, relevant to its urban listening community.)

The result is a sense of the importance of one's own dialect, and of the language overall. The station is considered "an important feature

of Irish life," according to Pádraig Ó hAoláin of the Gaeltacht Authority (Údaras na Gaeltachta) in Galway.

Listenership figures seem to bear out the perceived relevance to Gaeltacht speakers. At least one linguistic survey (by Ó Riagáin 1992) of the 6,000 residents in the southwestern Dingle Peninsula has looked at television and radio listening patterns (see map in Appendix A). In the area where the language is most heavily used, the western end of the peninsula, 79 percent of the respondents said they listened to Raidió na Gaeltachta daily (compared with 33 percent in the only town in the region, and 59 percent in the eastern end of the peninsula). The ratios are similar to those respondents who watch Irish-language television programs when they are aired on national TV: 51 percent in the western end of the peninsula reported a High rate of watching, compared with High responses from 26 percent in the town and 40 percent in the eastern end (Ó Riagáin 1992:72).

RG itself reports high listenership - 39 percent - within the totality of the country's Gaeltachts, also indicating - and this is sociolinguistically relevant with respect to language endangerment - that "listenership is strongest in the over 35 age groups, in households where Irish is the main home language, in ... [the West,] and among the farming community" (Raidió na Gaeltachta 1989: 2). These average-listener characteristics have wider linguistic implications, one of which is to set the stage for the evolution of Raidió na Life, as we will see.

RG very strictly follows its all-Irish, no-English mandate, even in song lyrics. A program producer must get management permission in advance to use English lyrics, and then "only to establish a theme or

the atmosphere of the program," according to Ó Duibhir, RG's manager of broadcasting services. An example would be a verse or two from the song, "The Galway Races," to introduce a program, in Irish, about the annual Galway hooker (tall sailing ship) races. There have been one or two interviews in English in the history of the station, but those circumstances "have been exceptional," Ó Duibhir said. (A short interview in English with the first president of the European Economic Community, Lord Thompson, was deemed "of sufficient importance" to be aired, Ó Duibhir recalled.)

The Irish-only mandate does not reflect sociolinguistic reality in the world outside the broadcast studio. That stance was good-naturedly ridiculed as not reflecting "real life" a couple years ago in an Irish-language soap opera (*Ros na Rún*, or Headland of the Secrets) in which a Gaeltacht-reared radio reporter fed Irish lines to the new manager of a Gaeltacht light industry, a non-fluent Dublin-born learner, as she taped her interview with him. Her intention was to make his on-air Irish sound fluent. Subtextually, the joke was on both of them - and microcosmically reflective of a century's worth of language preservation work and education in Ireland.

4.5 Raidió na Life: Gaeltacht of the air

Raidió na Life programmers aim to fill the gap they perceive is left by RG, and pitch their programming to the urban dweller, especially targeting young Irish speakers who do not have the benefit of a Gaeltacht to promote the linguistic solidarity and exposure that RG achieves.

RL broadcasts out of Dublin from 5 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. daily. Whereas RG is transmitted countrywide, RL's community license signal extends only 18 miles into the greater Dublin area. Its programming includes news broadcasts, traffic and weather during commute hours, current affairs, business and tax advice, music and arts programs, community notices, and a continually updated entertainment listing of what's on in Dublin. Agricultural references, typical of Gaeltacht radio, are noticeably absent.

"The local service, the lost sheep, ram... is not interesting to Dublin. It's very parochial, and not listened to by people in the city," said Éamonn Ó Dónaill, one of the station's founders, in a July 1994 interview in the Donegal Gaeltacht.

As the only other all-Irish media outlet, RL has been much discussed, much criticized, and secretly listened to since its on-air debut in September 1993 – if anecdotal evidence is any indication.³ A national listenership survey conducted in late 1994 reported 14,000 listeners in the 15 to early-30s age group in the Dublin area. This figure includes the tiny Gaeltacht of Rath Cairn north of Dublin and areas to the west, where there are no mountains to obstruct the signal (S. Ó Murchú, pers. comm., 1995). The station has three primary goals, not dissimilar to RG's, but tailored to the urban environment:

1) to give people an outlet for the language they learned and a reason for learning the language well. In Dublin, there are few places

³ Noted Irish poet Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill observed (pers. comm.) that for some older speakers, listening to RL is something of a secret pleasure. She reports her own teen-age children tune in on the car radio on their way to school in the morning.

to use the language, but RL intends to provide an outlet for listeners as well as station workers;

2) to provide a service to Irish speakers, especially those in the Dublin-area all-Irish schools, who would otherwise be isolated from each other; and

3) to show people that the language, generally associated with traditional activities, can be adjusted to modern life, that a speaker can talk about anything in the medium of Irish.

The station is run by a steering committee of seven people; three full-time employees (station manager, ad manager, technician); and the rest are volunteers, mostly young. The station sees itself as an opportunity for language practice. "There's a confidence gained from working at the station...People who never thought they would speak Irish now speak Irish exclusively. We never turn anybody away," said Ó Dónaill, referring to the work philosophy that allows for a job of some sort for anyone who wants to participate.

It is too early to tell what other linguistic impact RL is achieving, although listenership surveys are in progress. Informally, Ó Dónaill reports that listenership tends to go up during exam time - Dublin-area students were using it for practice for their oral language Irish exams. He also noted that during its first year the station received about 30 calls per hour during giveaway contests. He added that when the caller was required to respond in Irish, that number went down to 5 an hour.

While 100 percent of the spoken word on RL is Irish, 80 percent of the music programming, drawn from all over the world, is in English. Ó Dónaill is critical of RG and what he sees as a staid approach that

believes its radical roots, noting that it's "the same songs, the same people listening and requesting the same songs 20 years later." It is RL's conscious station policy to capture as many listeners as possible of every age group, but especially young people in their teens and 20s. This they do through music, particularly through *ceolta na cruinne* – world music. Programming is fresh, contemporary and relevant to Irish culture.

"You'll hear (rock musician) Meatloaf followed by *sean-nós*," said Ó Dónaill, referring to the traditional, unaccompanied old-style (*sean-nós*) Irish song type.

RL's intentions are even reflected in a station ID slogan:

Labhairtear dhá teanga ar an aer – an Ghaeilge agus an ceol.
Two languages are spoken on the air – Irish and music.

By offering mainstream and world music, it is RL's intention to attract attention to the language via popular culture and discussion of contemporary concerns such as AIDS and sexual harassment. According to Ó Dónaill, Irish is associated in the young person's mind with tradition. RL aims to counter the strong current of what he terms "cultural protectionism" that until now has run through the preservation movement and is a mainstay of RG philosophy.

"The majority of young people think Irish is unsophisticated," he said, "and they have difficulty expressing ideas through Irish. About cutting turf they have no difficulty...but mass culture and TV particularly, they have great difficulty and they switch to English for that," Ó Dónaill said. It is RL's intention to change that.

"The change has to come from within the Irish language," Ó Donaill said. "I think it's important for Raidió na Gaeltachta and the media to

talk about contemporary issues...so the language will evolve. A lot could be done from within. A lot of people have a negative feeling toward using the language. My philosophy:...get young people interested first in more mainstream culture. Look where young people are at."

Since Gaeltacht speakers already have access to and identification with their own speech community, RL, using the urban arena and topics relevant to urban life in relation to its stated language-planning goals, could be seen as constructing a new sort of Irish-speaking community, a "Gaeltacht of the air," as I've termed it. It is reasonable to interpret the station's name itself (*Life*, the Irish spelling of Liffey, the river that flows through Dublin) and its possible bilingual pronunciations – [lɪfhə] in Irish and [laɪf] in English – as underscoring the cultural relevance of both the station and the language. This conscious knitting of language with vitality through a play on bilingual semantics is evident in another station ID that recurs throughout the day (the phonetic transcription is to indicate reinforcing rhyme):

Seo Raidió na Life. Céad 'sa dó. [pause] Beo. [k'e:d sa do:]
This is Radio na Life. 102. [pause] Alive. [b'o:]

4.6 Goals of Irish-language radio

Because their news readers are professional and their standards a bellwether for Irish-language media production, it is important to consider RG's goals in relation to the Irish language to better understand the activities of RL, which will be the primary focus in the rest of this dissertation. It is clear that RG serves an integrative function in the larger bilingual context, especially when one observes

the close association with Anglo-American broadcast discourse structure and intonation patterns, especially of the non-dialectal news readers. The clear model of the RG news broadcasts is the BBC. Even the discourse format, replicated below, follows the layout of other serious stations (the "pirate" stations vary in their modeling of this "target.")

Raidió na Gaeltachta (August 1994)

Tape 8

Start of broadcast day

- 08:00:00 1. Mouth harp music
- 08:00:40 Male announcer (in Irish):
2. Station ID
includes time, day and date
- 08:00:50 3. Semi-traditional Celtic music
as lead-in to news
- 08:01:10 Male announcer:
4. Welcomes listeners and introduces
upcoming program content, which he says
will start with national and international stories
- Music stops abruptly as female announcer begins (in Irish):
- 08:01:30 5. A) Flights will be going in and out of
Dublin Airport today following a strike
over the past week by Team Aer Lingus.
- 08:01:55 B) Irish Steel top management will
meet to take a vote today on a package that
workers have proposed and it is thought that
they will accept it.
- . . . continues. . .

The broadcast structures essentially serve to reinforce the dominant English-language status quo – to achieve credibility in a language with little historical status in the public or institutional sphere (cf. Kiberd 1996, Hindley 1990, and others). Whether this is the result of "universals" that can be claimed for broadcast language or a decision in response to the dominant language is difficult to say.

In societies which use print and broadcast media to communicate to its members, the language of news broadcasts is more conservative than that of other programs during the broadcast day. Not only does it more closely approximate a prestigious target, but listeners have come to expect a more formal register (cf. Quirk 1982, Manoff 1986, Gonzalez 1991, and others). One reason for this is that – as noted earlier – news language must convey authority and credibility, and be accessible and comprehensible to its audience.

Even in RL news broadcasts, in spite of the disfluencies of both speaking an unfamiliar language and reading a text aloud, newsreaders seem to aspire to professional standards of presentation, obviously modeling their delivery (prosodically) after RTÉ and BBC announcers. Whether the structural, propositional and prosodic similarities of news across cultures is related to the similarities of the discourse purpose of newsgathering and reporting or whether the similarities are a replicating echo of the dominant Anglo-American media structures is difficult to say. (Some scholarly observers have noted the Irish propensity to look toward English cultural models generally, cf. DeFréine 1978 and Tovey and Abramson 1989.)

What have the stations accomplished sociolinguistically? RG's stated goals are to establish Gaeltacht community links through language and to enhance the contemporary status of Irish. A logical third goal, which is not strictly part of RG's ideology, would be that of alleviating an historically ingrained linguistic insecurity, which RL and other Irish-language media more explicitly address. RL's goals are to evoke language change from within, in the words of Éamonn ó Dónaill, one of the station's founders. Specifically, RL intends to 1)

simultaneously give people an outlet for the language they learned in school, and a reason to learn the language; 2) provide a service to urban Irish speakers who would otherwise be isolated from each other, particularly the ones attending all-Irish schools; and 3) show people that the language can adjust to modern life, that one can talk about anything through the medium of Irish.

To what degree are these goals possible to achieve?

4.6.1 Unity of speech community. RG appears to have been successful in fulfilling its intentions to establish inter-Gaeltacht connections. As I've stated earlier, RG both differentiates the dialect areas with its explicit broadcasts from the three regions and unites the dialect areas through the common language and through the temporal and discourse structures of the medium. Unity among the Gaeltachts is also achieved through the content of the local broadcasts by reinforcing knowledge of community patterns, practices and values, including artistic ones, which are held in common across the dialects since they all share a similar socio-economic history. The result is a sense of the importance of one's own dialect, and its connection to the language overall. Additionally, there is the reported higher incidence of mutual intelligibility among speakers of different dialects.

Raidió na Gaeltachta also serves an integrative function in the larger bilingual social context, mirroring existing language policies in industry and education. Characteristics include the Anglo-American broadcast discourse structure and intonation patterns of its non-dialectal news readers, the admittedly cautious insertion of various loan borrowings into the Irish news texts, and occasional evidence of on-air code-switching, all which reflect what occurs in the language

overall, not just in the media. Overall, the tendencies are conservative and not innovative, a feature of most Irish genre styles.

News broadcasts are modeled on the BBC, and lack the features of American broadcast styles, including on-air quotes (actualities or sound bites) of the newsmaker of which the report concerns. One can interpret this in different ways: RG's linguistic ideology may merely reflect the conservative tendencies of all traditional Irish oral genre styles; or it may reflect an internalized sense of Anglo superiority and Irish inferiority which Tovey et al. (1989:22) discuss at length in terms of Irish identity. They cite research that demonstrates the more an Irish person sounds like a British RP speaker, the higher status he or she is accorded in Ireland.

The opposite values are in force at RL, where mixing features is not stigmatized and innovation is encouraged. Dublin Irish is the dominant variety on the air at RL. It has a "mishmash" quality, as one Dubliner calls it, probably because it borrows heavily from the official standard, *An Caighdeán*, which, as mentioned previously, was designed to include linguistic features from all the dialect areas. Since RL is more interested in affording young speakers an opportunity for practice than in meeting traditional standards of usage, the language on the air is marked by forms that accomplish a speaker's communicative goals at the expense of idiomatic Irish. Often, the sentence and intonation patterns resemble English more than Irish. The short broadcast segment transcript in Chapter 5 provides ready examples of loan translations of the English equivalents, e.g., *Cad tá difriúil* 'What is the difference' and *ar an aer* 'on the air.'

This attitude toward use brings together speakers for whom Irish would have remained an important but abstract relic of the school years, like some cherished but seldom opened yearbook. (Compulsory Irish in school has succeeded in making nearly every citizen familiar with the language, as Hindley 1990 describes in detail, but has not been able to expand domains for its use.) The needs of both audience and radio workers are considered in RL's approach, focused on building a speech community in the urban context, a context not historically sympathetic to the cultivation of an Irish-speaking speech community. The distinctive features of mass communication, the disjunction of place between community and audience, actually works in RL's favor. A non-traditional place – the airwaves – is used to create a non-traditional community. A comment by Bell (1991) is relevant here: "Radio is the most adaptable medium, and it is radio which has been most successful in overcoming the divide between communicator and audience" (p. 85). For speakers lacking access to and cultural affinity for the traditional rural strongholds of the language, RL creates its own place, in essence its own Gaeltacht.

There are few venues – none significant – in which to practice Irish-language journalism, according to Ó Dónaill and others involved in the growth of RL and of Irish-language television, soon to debut. They see RL as a place to foster this development. Should this plan succeed, it is easy to imagine Irish radio journalists bringing into modern times the Irish legacy of the oral tradition, with broadcasters functioning as experts or "elders" on the Gaeltacht of the Air.

4.6.2 Contemporary relevance; television. One of the factors that has stood in the way of a re-emergence of Irish is that it has been "deprived of contemporary status," according to the Gaeltacht Authority's Pádraig Ó hAoláin. His view is shared by both RG and RL personnel. That the language can hold its own in the contemporary marketplace of ideas, via the channels of mass media, is considered a triumph by many in Ireland. That a language which can easily handle topics such as turf-cutting or *poitín*-making can also report on the war in Chechnya and Ireland's complex economic connections to the European Community is seen, especially via the radio, as a sign of its viability in contemporary society.

Promoting the Irish language's contemporary status is part of both stations' overt linguistic philosophies, but their underlying procedures differ. RL goes further by including more of the icons of urban life.

To further this modern reputation, plans have been underway for some time to develop an Irish-language television station, *Telefís na Gaeilge* (TG), expected to go on air on Oct. 31, 1996. The slogan of the Gaeltacht Authority, which promotes the economic interests of the various Gaeltachts as well as the linguistic ones, is "normalise to popularise." If Irish citizens see and hear Irish being spoken on the radio and TV, its prestige rises, its former "rural" taint disappears. What's "normal" becomes popular, no longer stigmatized. The TV station, which was approved by the government for development in November 1993, is being built in the Connemara Gaeltacht and will start broadcasting initially for three hours a day. It's a "contemporary venue for the transmission of Irish," according to Brian Mac Aongusa (pers. comm.

1995). "It will bring to light aspects of Irish that are only available through Irish culture."

Besides providing a television outlet for people "who choose to speak Irish first in their homes," the station will encourage development of an Irish-language film and video industry, said Mac Aongusa, current chair of the council directing the start-up of TG. A longtime proponent of Irish-language broadcast media, Mac Aongusa, chief executive officer of Gael-Linn, a cultural and educational foundation based in Dublin that promotes all aspects of Irish-language use, was a controller for RG in the late '70s.

Mac Aongusa said that a third of TG's programs will be imported from abroad and then dubbed or revoiced in Irish; the national broadcast outlet, RTÉ, will be required to provide another third of the programming; and the remainder will be commissioned by independent film and TV producers. Mac Aongusa reports a high degree of enthusiasm for the proposed station from youths in Irish-language schools in non-Irish-speaking areas. It is his hope that speakers from non-traditional areas will help to formulate "a new type of TV, an alternative TV" that will further distinguish Irish as a language with contemporary applications.

"All the legal documentation and other documents will be in Irish. The whole thing will be in Irish. This means more people will have to learn Irish. People will see that this is for real," said Mac Aongusa. He expects an audience wider than the Irish-speaking communities or people who know Irish from school. The station's programming is also intended for "people who don't have Irish and who are attracted to the visual experience, but it happens to be Irish. People may choose to have

(learn) Irish because of the way they see it used on Telefís na Gaeilge," he said.

TG is coming at a time when a large number of young people have learned Irish but are disillusioned because they can't find jobs in Irish, Mac Aongusa said. "Telefís na Gaeilge will provide jobs for them - it will bring Irish into real use, in everyday life," he said.

Currently, because of compulsory Irish-language instruction in the schools, everyone has had contact with the language to some degree, so the mass media outlets, in addition to the bilingual roadsigns and notices, and weekly Irish-language pages in the national print media, work to reinforce awareness of the language. As mentioned earlier, 72 percent of the respondents of a 1993 language-use study report watching the Irish-language television programs that are aired on national (English-language) television. Adding to that figure the 2 percent of the same sample who claimed native-speaker ability, passive knowledge of Irish appears to be considerable.

The Gaeltacht Authority's Ó hAoláin has remarked that in Western Ireland more advertising is done bilingually or in Irish, and Irish is heard more on intercoms in supermarkets. More businesses are putting up Irish-language signs. He sees this as evidence of a change in attitude toward the language (30 years ago, one would have been hard pressed to find traditional music in a Galway pub, he said). Additionally, various businesses in Galway, the largest westernmost city and the closest city to the populous Connemara Gaeltacht, have started a new movement, "Gaillimhe Gaeilge," meaning "Irish Galway," with a goal of creating a

bilingual business and industrial environment in Galway City by 2010.⁴

(The word *Gaeilge* means Irish language; *go hÉireann* means Irish in a general adjectival sense, and *Éireannach* or *Gaelach* means Irish, as in person or native.)

4.6.3 Contesting dominant-language power structures. The overall approaches of the two stations point to larger issues in the relationship between dominant and minority languages, a relationship that numerous linguists have studied from many positions. Other research on minority-language radio, particularly Alexandra Jaffe's work on Corsican (1994) and Debra Spitulnik's work on Town Bemba broadcasts in Zambia (1994), demonstrates its use in contesting the power relations imposed by the politically and linguistically dominant society. Raidió na Gaeltachta has certainly tried to reverse some of the effects of the English-dominant society in which the Irish language has foundered the past several centuries, especially with its rules prohibiting English on the air. But RG also adopts the discourse structures, including the BBC-like intonation patterns, of the dominant English-language media. In this way, RG also serves an integrative function in the larger bilingual social context.

⁴ What is happening in practice may be a different story, and may underscore the rural/urban dichotomy that has divided the Irish language for centuries. In the rural areas of the Connemara Gaeltacht, business and services transactions were conducted mostly in Irish, but in the city of Galway, despite *Gaillimhe Gaeilge* efforts, the interactions were conducted in English. For example, the main post office in Galway treats its customers to bilingual displays on its electronic message board and makes it clear through signposting that "Irish is spoken here." One employee, however, reported that she never speaks Irish to the customers at her window, despite the fact that many of them undoubtedly possess the capacity to use Irish, given the proximity of the Gaeltacht and the presence of the Irish College at University College Galway.

The structures of the broadcast genre, borrowed as they are from the English-language broadcast milieu, reinforce the dominant English-language status quo. Much like speech writers or editorial writers "borrow" status and position by citing an expert, minority-language radio tends to borrow its status and position by sounding like the dominant-language media of the larger culture. This can be seen as a necessary maneuver for garnering credibility, particularly when the minority language has little inherent or historical status in the public or institutional sphere, as is the case with Irish. Simultaneously, the local content programming on RG reinforces a sense of Gaeltacht community. As previously mentioned, radio programs cover items of Gaeltacht interest, and promote traditional verbal and musical art forms (which Watson 1989 has credited the English-language media for eroding), as well as hybrid musical forms that rely on an interplay of traditional and contemporary resources.

The combination of Anglo discourse structure and Irish-interest content makes the language seem both **normal** - using familiar structures of the dominant language community, and **special** - using the referents of a once-stigmatized politically powerless community in the public, legitimizing sphere. The nature of this blend, that is to say, the negotiation of dominant ideology with the "core values" (cf. Smolicz 1992) or linguistic attributes of the minority-language community as expressed through the language of the media, could be a most revealing area for future research. The activities of the "intertextual gap" (cf. Brody 1994 and her Mayan radio data, which document the simultaneous use of traditional Mayan speech genres and target-Spanish-language radio genres) would appear to vary according to social and linguistic history,

offering evidence to support various theoretical positions about language change (e.g., Thomason and Kaufman 1988) or answer questions of social meaning posed by language-obsolescence researchers such as Woolard (1989).

In some ways the RG's language conservation goals exclude the possibility for spontaneous innovation or flexibility, which is where RL steps in. With two decades of RG paving the way, RL is able to take another direction, filling certain gaps, particularly with respect to repairing linguistic insecurity, rampant in speakers who are not from the Gaeltacht. On the local level – in the RL studio itself – Ó Dónaill reports that the volunteer staffers with only little school Irish are speaking Irish with confidence months later. Since the operation is volunteer-run, everyone is given a job and everyone made to feel that his or her contribution is important. This extends to the linguistic realm. In the small world of the RL studio, the community of speakers has managed to alleviate linguistic insecurity and make the use of Irish as a high-status endeavor.

While former RL station manager Rónan Ó Dubhthaigh emphasized that RL has not set out to compete with RG, or to define itself against the RG model, it is nonetheless easy to contrast the two on linguistic grounds. One of RL's station promos makes it explicit that RL presents itself oppositionally, subverting not only English-language dominance, but also what Ó Dónaill has called the "cultural protectionism" that characterizes many of the country's Irish-language organizations, including, he says, RG.

Stáisiún phobail isé Raidió na Life.
 Céad 'sa dó.
 Labhairtear [labhraítear] dhá theanga
 ar an aer – an Ghaeilge agus an ceol.

*It's the **people's** station. Radio na Life.
 102.
 Two languages are spoken
 on the air – Irish and music.*

Ó Dubhthaigh, one of the initiator's of the station slogan, said it was intended to counter criticism that RL is failing in its mission as an Irish-language radio station because it presents a great deal of English through song lyrics, unlike RG.

People would say there's more English on the station than Irish, if you took the lyrics into account. But people are going to listen to English music anyway. They're going to listen to music they like. That's something like a language policy – you can't tell people what they like. You give them what they like. You try to introduce them to more (other) things (in the process). (Ó Dubhthaigh, pers. comm., 1995)

The promo indicates that RL is a *stáisiún phobail*, the "people's station," another explicit goal of RL's founders. Further, the syntactic structure of that first sentence, which puts focus on the predicate NP, makes that emphasis unambiguous. The station, articulating that two languages are spoken on RL – Irish and music – alters existing linguistic power relations in a very clever manner. Without denying the importance of English in the bilingual Irish culture, or even in RL programming, the slogan makes a strong statement by subverting expectations of what a language can be. In this instance, it gives music the status of a second language. Irish and music are equally paired, striking a deep connection in Irish heritage, and the cultural shaping force of English is diminished in importance.⁵

⁵ In this section I've been making broad claims about the cultural echoes of the traditional past making impact on present genre forms. This is not some sweeping homage to art, but a conceptualization based

4.7 Conclusion

Despite the reported disagreement that exists between the two stations in terms of language policy, it is easy for an observer to see that each serves a vital, though different, purpose in enhancing the status of Irish. Their roles are complementary. RG adopts Anglo discourse forms to give Irish-language media authority, but maintains a strict policy of Irish-only content, preserving language as it is spoken in the Gaeltacht, the traditional repositories of the language. RL innovates with a hybrid form⁶ that challenges assumptions of the language's position in Irish life as well as the structural form of the language itself and meets the needs of urban speakers, creating a Gaeltacht of the Air. Both facilitate Irish-language competence among interlocutors in their respective speech communities. Together they have the potential to expand the base of Irish speakers.

on attitudes I've observed among Irish people. These attitudes are most vividly elucidated in a Jan. 8, 1994, essay in *The New York Times Book Review*, "Why I choose to write in Irish, the corpse that sits up and talks back," by Irish poet Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill. She talks about her decision to write poetry in Irish and what its implications are. The issue is her identity, and what she is capable of expressing in Irish. Since Irish cultural history includes stories of magic-and-human interaction, metaphysical permutations of being that are described in the old stories, she feels she can only speak of magic-human interaction in the modern world by using the vehicle of Irish. She would not—indeed she says could not—talk about these concepts in English, because they are not part of the English linguistic or cultural heritage. In an indirect way, she supports Hale's (1992) claim that loss of linguistic diversity means loss of a diverse way of conceptualizing the world.

⁶ Similarly, Gal 1989 observes that narrow-users of Hungarian in the Hungarian-German bilingual community of Oberwart are more innovative than broad-users in certain kinds of word formation. While narrow-users exhibit the greatest lexical loss, they compensate through innovation. Lack of fellow speakers contributes to lexical loss, but the solidarity contributes to innovation.

The larger question, the extent to which the media can alter the effects of centuries of linguistic domination, is an open-ended one, and a wider comparative orientation will likely offer some answers. Besides promoting language visibility, many minority-language media users, such as we find in Ireland and elsewhere, are attempting to publicly legitimize their language, by using the recognized power of the mass media. I propose that more linguists look at media in the same careful way they have observed the influence of religion and education on language change. Research of this nature can only present a fuller picture of the media's role in language obsolescence and preservation.

The following chapter will examine more closely the practices involved in producing language in an all-Irish environment, particularly when the participants are not native speakers and are in various stages of second-language learning.

Chapter 5

Language-production practices at Raidió na Life

Má táimid fíor-Ghaelach, n'foláir dúinn a bheith ag plé cheist na Gaeilge agus cheist an Ghaelachais le chéile i gcónaí. Ní haon mhaitheas Gaeilge a bheith againn má bhíonn ár gcomhrá sa teanga sin ar nithe neamh-Ghaelacha. An té a bhíonn ag caint Gaeilge, ach gan a bheith ag plé cheist na teanga, níl sé fíor-Ghaelach ina chroí...Níl aon ní ar an domhan chomh deas ná chomh Gaelach le fíor-Ghaeil fhíor-Ghaelacha a bhíonn ag caint fíor-Ghaeilge Gaelaí i dtaobh na Gaeilge fíor-Ghaelaí. (na gCopaleen, p. 47)

"If we're truly Gaelic, we must constantly discuss the question of the Gaelic revival and the question of Gaelicism. There is no use in having Gaelic, if we converse in it on non-Gaelic topics. He who speaks Gaelic but fails to discuss the language question is not truly Gaelic in his heart...There is nothing in this life so nice and so Gaelic as truly true Gaelic Gaels who speak in true Gaelic Gaelic about the truly Gaelic language." (O'Brien, p. 54)

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine some language-use strategies in place at Dublin's Raidió na Life. These strategies are conscious attempts by station staff to deal practically with the limitations of non-fluent speakers in a discourse environment in which fluency is expected, and to fulfill its primary goal, mentioned in Chapter 4: get the Irish language on the air. The station's utilization of speakers on the air whose Irish varies greatly in fluency, as well as those who speak a low-prestige variety nonetheless spoken extensively by the bilingual natives of the urban area, has two interesting results. First, the station staffers essentially disregard received assumptions about preservation practice in Ireland; and second, they can be seen as introducing new strategies to the language-development arsenal, as will be explained in this chapter.

5.2 Station philosophy

The linguistic goals of the station were considered very carefully by the original organizers. Their primary aims have been:

- to provide a language service to Irish speakers living in Dublin, who have no convenient contact with the language once they leave school

- to enhance the status of the language via a modern discourse channel – the media

- and to appeal to a younger audience by using contemporary music.

This last point – music as a vehicle for promoting the language – was considered a key factor by many people involved in the station, who saw that traditional music values and language values were inseparable (an attitude toward the language that RG consciously or inadvertently fosters with its programming goals). In its extreme form, that ideology leads to the conclusion that one cannot be a real Irish speaker unless The Cranberries, House of Pain or U2 were jettisoned from the CD library and only traditional music is listened to. According to Éamonn Ó Dónaill, a language consultant and native speaker who writes in a 1996 issue of the Irish-language journal *Oghma* (translated from Irish):

"...It is arrogant to say that young people ought to listen to the kind of music that interests us and that they are not properly Irish unless they do the same! This sort of thing puts people's minds against the language. Irish isn't a package deal – a person should be able to be interested in the language but ignore other aspects of the culture if he or she is inclined to do that" (Ó Dónáill 1996: NA)

In the process of developing the station's language-related goals, its organizers have managed to emphasize language production over prescriptive constraints on speaking the language, mitigating generations of internalized linguistic insecurity (referred to in Irish

as one element of the *coimpléasc ísleachta iarchoilíneach*, or "post-colonial inferiority complex"). And they have begun to build from the ground up a speech community over the airwaves in Dublin – a sort of Gaeltacht of the Air.

The station is also building an Irish-language-speaking community of its own, as Irish is the language used by the staff as it goes about its business of producing radio. As previously mentioned, the station, whose community broadcast signal covers the greater Dublin area and reaches an estimated 14,000 listeners, is staffed almost exclusively by volunteers, most of them in their early 20s, college-educated, and natives of Dublin with limited or no connection to the Gaeltachts. No matter the level of proficiency, everyone who works at the station, whether on air or not, is expected to use the language as they go about their daily business.

The station attracts volunteers who want experience either with media or with Irish in a workplace setting. The station sees itself as a training ground for careers at other media outlets in Ireland, both Irish and English. Several volunteers who were interviewed for this research indicated they planned to find English-language media jobs following their stint at RL. One steering committee member said that the best volunteers at the station were those with a strong commitment to journalism first.

Underlying both the philosophy of RL and its resultant language-use practices is a conscious focus on **growth** of the language, rather than the more traditional emphasis on **preservation**. In this view, growth comes from a focus on use and not from a focus on retaining all the characteristic features of a language they see slipping from

communicative importance anyway. Given the history of the preservation movement in Ireland, this is a radical departure from previous attitudes about "the language issue."

Ó Dónaill (pers. comm., 1996) indicates that at "R na L ... There is a desire to get away from the old worn-out rhetoric (e.g. 'It's part of what we are') and not make the fact that the station operates through Irish an issue. The station is striving to promote Irish in an indirect, non-didactic way. Most of the young people there aren't involved for ideological reasons - in fact they would find all this talk of cultural preservation extremely tedious!"

Several of the people associated with RL emphasized that their own personal perspective on language work, as well as RL's, is attuned to language growth and not language preservation. This means that mistakes, disfluencies, and English-dependent loan translations - which are of interest to linguists considering language loss processes - are tolerated in an effort to produce language outside of the classroom and in a workplace environment. Seosamh Ó Murchú, an editor at the publishing house An Gúm and RL consultant, remarked that one "can't put [a language] in a preservation container. Only in the last couple years have we moved to actively take the language out of the preservation jar and put it [out] so it will develop" (Ó Murchú, pers. comm., 1995).

Taking the language out of amber is not merely a sentimental exercise. It forces the language to expand its domains of use, the contraction of which is a characteristic of a dying language (cf. Dorian 1980, 1981, and Fishman 1972). Ó Dónaill (1996) writes (my translation from Irish):

"We must do our best at looking to bring the language into new domains...It's a shame that Raidió na Gaeltachta ... still see themselves as guardians of the Gaelic legacy for the most part, which doesn't leave any place for the young people and the sort of things they're interested in."¹

(Despite RG's tendency to emphasize traditional Irish community practices, linguistic and cultural, it must be pointed out that it has been attempting to gear some of its programming for younger, urban Irish speakers with very popular results (James McCloskey, pers. comm.).)

To further establish its position as a language of use in a workplace domain, RL puts journalism and its governing principles in the foreground. The result is that language-preservation issues – a favorite topic among activist users of the language (as the epigram to this chapter makes ironically clear) – are only ever discussed if they're newsworthy, according to former RL station manager Rónan Ó Dubhthaigh (pers. comm, 1995).² Instead of being discussed like a hospital patient, the language is being used. Performance is evaluated with reference to the norms expected of a media practitioner (can the presenter produce a story in a media genre, can a presenter work under deadline, can a presenter sound like she is speaking within a broadcast context, etc.). As such, managing the discourse features specific to radio broadcasting

¹ It is well to remember that RG's programming and language-use philosophies derive from their primary aim to serve speakers in the Gaeltachts, many of whom actually are interested in preservation of the language in the historic, cultural sense to which Ó Dónaill refers. In no way are these considered criticisms of RG meant to imply its lack of importance and relevance to the Irish language. It is meant to illustrate the complex nature of language obsolescence and preservation and the multiplicity of viewpoints that relate to the varied needs of different speech communities that exist under the larger linguistic umbrella.

² Ó Dubhthaigh was RL's first station manager and now heads the country's first Irish-language radio and television certificate course at University College Galway.

(which depends on a basic facility with the language) is a more reliable indicator of linguistic success at RL than the extent to which an announcer handles features at the level of the segment, although this is important, too. A "training tape" produced by RL for Irish-language broadcasters, which will be discussed shortly, is a good illustration of what is considered important for the elicitation of both professional radio discourse and Irish-language proficiency.

At RL, with news coming first, language is backgrounded as a communicative tool and not foregrounded as a symbol. The following excerpt from an extended discussion with Ó Dubhthaigh illustrates the station staff's focus on the necessary principles of journalism (such as finding a good story, getting scoops, and asserting themselves as a credible media source). It also demonstrates the collegial feel of a group of like-minded volunteers working to accomplish a professional task involving language:

The people help each other out...one of the programs is *Um Thráthnóna* which is a half-hour news program – very difficult to do in Irish...And that was a program everyone helped out with: "Oh! Story! Person! Phone number! Yes, have it here, boom, off you go!" ... We had some very, very good producers and some very, very good programs and some very, very good scoops.

For instance, when Cathal Goan was announced as the head of *Telefís na Gaeilge* his first interview was on *Raidió na Life*, even though he was working on RTÉ at the time. And that even gave him a kick. The Irish press that was still in existence at the time phoned us up and said, "you know, would you have the number for Cathal Goan?" "Well, actually we're going to be interviewing him at quarter past six." "Oh, are you! Will you get me a tape of that and send it over?"

So little things like that. We were getting there first. We were doing things that were a little bit towards the cutting edge. We were getting our scoops. Okay, we weren't getting scoops everyday, but when we got one, we made use of it!

It also helped assert us as a station that wasn't just following. We were creating something, as well. (Ó Dubhthaigh, pers. comm. 1995)

5.3 Language standards

The innovation of RL in getting Irish on the air, despite a lack of native fluency such as one hears on RG, can be appreciated by understanding the climate in which this approach occurs. The issue of language standards in the Irish-language educational domain is a touchy one, as years of compulsory schooling and general societal attitudes emphasizing prescriptive preservation over communication have created a timidity in many adults in speaking Irish (as repeatedly emphasized by RL producers, as well as by English-speaking Irish adults themselves in field interviews at summer language colleges in the Gaeltachts). Encouragement, rather than shame, is now recognized as a more productive means of eliciting more enthusiasm for speaking a language that most Irish citizens have a fairly thorough acquaintance with. Therefore, it becomes a balancing act to encourage Irish in the RL workplace with a no-sanctions attitude while striving to encourage improvement in non-fluent speakers. While RL steering committee members are committed to continued transmission of the language in more or less native-speaker target form, they also, according to Ó Dónaill, "realise that subtlety is what's required!" to foster productive change in the direction of the Gaeltacht target.

This care is evident throughout the station, where instead of directly correcting someone, a speaker will use the correct word in speech "and slowly but surely they [the less proficient] are hearing the words," said Ó Dubhthaigh, who also reports a certain self-selection among the volunteers. The ones who are less secure with their Irish will delay trying for an on-air presenter's job and instead be involved behind the scenes at the station and improve their Irish first.

Additionally, when the steering committee members determine there is a continuing language-related problem, while they cannot stop someone from going on the air, they do post memos (along the lines of, according to Ó Dubhthaigh, "in all locations, if an Irish form of a street name is available, you should use the Irish form. If possible, you should use the Irish name of the person").

Lists of terms for subjects likely to be covered in the news have been made available, as well as picture books with Irish words only depicting the terminology used in radio station work.

You try and implement those words – you try as much as possible to have little signs up over everything. Instead of having 'record deck,' you'd have 'seinnteoir'. So you'd try and key them as much as possible visually around the station, as well. (Ó Dubhthaigh 1995)

At RL, the goal initially was to get Irish on the air first, and consider its "quality" second. As Ó Dubhthaigh relates:

My version of broadcasting with the Irish language is: the more people to get on the air, to try it, the better. Get them on the air, get them using it (Irish), get them wanting to improve it, get them enjoying it. Give them the chance. (Ó Dubhthaigh 1995)

As the station prepared to enter its third year in 1995, certain elements of the language as it is used in the broadcast medium were receiving more attention in the newsroom. (This will be discussed in relation to the broadcast training tape in another section.) Ó Dubhthaigh, acknowledging that some people at the station's inception criticized the "quality of Irish," said that to balance that he tried to ensure "that the quality of presentation is always as high as possible" – again, attempting to promote the activity in which the language is used over a focus on the language itself, which is a hallmark of the RL approach.

This is not to say that language ability isn't on the minds of the announcers, as well as the listeners. In sociolinguistic interviews with nine of the approximately 16 volunteers at the station, it was apparent how aware many announcers are of their language limitations and the fact that they use Dublin Irish and not a prestige Gaeltacht variety. Also, paradoxically, there was a noticeable rejection of the perception that their variety was not fit for public discourse and a confidence in their ability to handle themselves using Irish in the media environment.³ In fact, from a discourse analyst's point of view, it is intriguing how several of the announcers amended and commented on an Irish news script they were reading to gather data about another linguistic matter entirely.

To summarize, providing a modern discourse context, expanding domains of use, delinking use of the language from traditional cultural practices that are not relevant in the urban area, engaging young and non-native speakers, using music as a way to foster interest in programming content, and allowing innovation in linguistic forms are part of the broad perspective that RL affords.

5.4 Typology of speakers/varieties

Not only would many of the station staff be considered to be speaking imperfect or "inadequate" Irish, but a good number of the people brought in to be interviewed live and on-air have even less facility in Irish. This of course is problematic in a discourse context

³ As Dorian (pers. comm.) points out, RL workers "may accept performances that show a wide variation in proficiency because they value participation and use of Irish above any single standard of correctness... But it doesn't mean [there is not] a norm in mind."

that prizes fluency, as discussed in Chapter 2, and in a public venue which by its nature showcases the language. But the variety of Irish spoken on RL also brings into question the manner in which linguists categorize speakers. It is tempting to refer to RL broadcasters as semi-speakers, loosely using the term Dorian first employed in 1973 to describe speakers with imperfect native mastery of the language. But Dorian's use of the term refers to "imperfect final speakers who produce forms recognized as deviations by fluent fellow-speakers of a particular local language" (Dorian, pers. comm.).

She proposes using the term "learners" for speakers who are not native or fully bilingual speakers.⁴ But while it is true that some announcers may fall into this category of learner, the fact that the announcers are using the language for a specific discourse purpose and following the parameters established by the discourse genre suggests that their proficiency should be evaluated on different terms. While they may be still learning the language in terms of its grammar, at least in one domain, that of media, they are producing reasonably well-formed discourse and would be considered legitimate members of the speech community of news practitioners. "English-dominant bilingual" might be a better designation, but this, too, is too variable in its meaning.

Also, the "learner" category does not cover the people outside the station who are interviewed for stories on-air, as it suggests a continued active relationship with the language. Many of these

⁴ Nor would Lise Menn's proposed term of "full speaker," to describe competent L2 speakers whose language use attracts no particular attention, adequately cover the range of proficiencies of RL announcers, since their competence may be restricted to the media discourse domain.

interviewee sources learned Irish in school and use it only to the extent they mastered it during their school days. While their Irish is functional enough to get along in the narrow context of the news interview, they most likely would not identify themselves as bilingual.

At this point, it is appropriate to discuss what types of speakers and what varieties of Irish are heard on RL. The following provisional typology, which compares RL to RG, gives an indication of the complexity of the language situation.

PROVISIONAL TYPOLOGY

	<i>R na G</i>	<i>R na L announcers</i>
<i>Types of speakers</i>		
Monolingual Irish		
Bilingual-balanced	x	x
English-dominant		x
Irish-dominant	x	x
Semispeakers (imperfect final spkrs)		x
Irish learners		x
<i>Varieties of Irish</i>		
Gaeltacht:		?
Ulster (north)	x	
Connaught (west)	x	
Munster (south)	x	
Not-Gaeltacht:		
Caíghdeán (synthetic standard)	x	x
?Dublin Irish		x

x = incidence on the air covering a roughly 20-hour period of taped broadcasts

The typology breaks down speakers according to traditional designations: monolingual, bilingual, and semi-speaker. Note that neither station

employs monolingual speakers⁵ as announcers, although it is conceivable that RG in its nearly 30-year tenure on the air has interviewed the rare monolingual speaker from time to time, especially in coverage from remote locations. Irish-dominant and balanced bilingual speakers are in evidence on both stations, although English-dominant speakers, by virtue of their tendency to produce loan translations and use the intonational focus strategies of the English system rather than the grammatical operations of the Irish system, would not be heard in an announcer's role on RG. Neither would a semi-speaker, although speakers who learned Dublin Irish natively can be heard on RL.

The varieties of Irish heard on the air further differentiate the stations, as the Provisional Typology outlines. RG is Gaeltacht-dominant, and voices from the three main dialect areas are heard alongside proficient speakers of the Caighdeán. RL at some time or another may use Gaeltacht-reared announcers in its volunteer pool, but generally the speakers produce School Irish (another name for the school-based version of the Caighdeán) or Dublin Irish, the variety of Irish spoken by speakers with Dublin affiliation (whose Irish would be Caighdeán-oriented and supplemented by summer school visits to Gaeltacht communities). This "variety," being as far from the Gaeltacht production target – linguistically, geographically, and socially – as it is, is not really considered a true variety of Irish. "Dublin Irish" is a catch-all

⁵ The Irish sometimes say that the only monolingual speakers left in Ireland are the very old and the very young. Hindley (1991) reports: "The central mainland section of south Connemara [the most robust Gaeltacht in Ireland] still had large numbers of near-monoglot Irish speakers 30 years ago and I had to abandon an attempted townland survey because so many people could not or would not risk an English conversation with a stranger. That was near Casla/Costelloe and the most impoverished place I have ever visited" (p. 95).

term by people in Ireland to characterize a low-status combination of urban speech styles, pronunciation, and grammar.⁶ (This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.)

The Provisional Typology makes it easy to see that RL uses the widest variety of speakers of Irish, and the least prestigious forms of the language, while RG uses proficient, fluent speakers and focuses on Gaeltacht varieties that are prestigious in the historic context of language preservation in Ireland. Both stations reflect the linguistic profiles of their target audiences, which is where journalism and sociolinguistics intersect. Together, RL and RG make a powerful statement about the social contexts of language use, their positions at either end of the preservation-growth spectrum affording a natural laboratory to consider sociolinguistic and discourse parameters that characterize language in flux.

5.5 Language-use strategies

Given the fact that RL's announcers and interviewees have less-than-native proficiency with the language, and their credibility as a news source rides on their ability to successfully produce language in a news genre, RL has addressed its unique situation in several ways. The station's strategies have linguistic, journalistic and minority-language implications, which will be discussed as they occur.

⁶ Native Dublin Irish speakers report that native speakers of the Gaeltacht are sometimes unwilling to consider that Dublin Irish speakers can be native speakers at all. "There is a dichotomy between [Gaeltacht speakers] and Dublin speakers ... Dublin Irish speakers don't really want to speak like these Gaeltacht speakers, but when they go to the rural places, they feel a bit inhibited. It is the opposite of the typical city person being a swinger and sophisticate in the country" (Conal MacAongusa, pers. comm., 1995).

The premise upon which these language-production practices rests is that language can be learned as it is used; language should not be a painful schoolroom exercise, but should be a practical, viable medium of communication. For this reason, disfluencies are tolerated on the air. Some two dozen volunteer staffers speaking Irish to 14,000 potential listeners is two dozen more language users than before RL went on the air. From the start, RL has been anticipating the problems that go along with this, according to Rónán Ó Dubhthaigh.

One of RL's most innovative practices includes live, on-air prompting of non-fluent interviewees. At its most extreme, the RL staffer will interview the newsmaker or respondent ahead of time and script a response in Irish that is read on-air by the interviewee, Ó Dubhthaigh said. Intermediate measures include helping the interviewee in advance with vocabulary and phrasing, having a script or notes available if the interviewee panics on-air, and compiling keyword lists based on the topics to be covered. If the interviewer observes the subject searching for a word, panicking or blanking out, the lists or notes are on the table to point to. Seldom is anything prerecorded, as part of station philosophy is to operate live. Operating live makes for more interesting journalism, a useful source of unelicited natural-language data, and underscores the "living" aspect of the language.

Since all interviewees have some facility with Irish, this "scripting" strategy also illustrates an instance in which the linguistic mission alters to some extent the journalistic one. Ó Dubhthaigh recalls faxing lists of terms to politicians as potential interview sources and the journalistic issues it raised.

That was one of the problems – you weren't being objective if you only used the politicians who had Irish.⁷ They had a distinct advantage. So you had to, again, find a strategy to involve the other people. You would ask them if they could provide somebody who could talk on their behalf, who they felt they could brief, and who would give their view of a situation ... You have [to make] some other way of making it as fair and objective as possible. (Ó Dubhthaigh, pers. comm., 1995)

Other ways the station is developing a pool of proficient speakers – to satisfy journalistic requirements as well as linguistic ones – is by compiling a database of hundreds of Irish speakers ranging from Irish-speaking contacts at the Dublin Lions Club to the Dáil (the parliament), and throughout the country and rest of the world to be called upon when quotes or interviews are needed. Using computer technology to an even greater extent, the station had just acquired digital editing software late in summer 1995 to "edit out the Englishy bits," according to studio manager Michael McCormick, in the special feature programs that are prerecorded.

Additionally, station organizers had just finished a training tape to standardize on-air talk by broadcasters, whose proficiency varies markedly, but had not yet distributed it to the staff. To my knowledge, this is the first educational aid to address matters of phonology, grammar and discourse for non-native Irish-language broadcasters. It has relevance to language standardization issues, especially in public discourse contexts (see Fasold 1994 for a discussion of the Associated Press Style Book and its influence on gendered terms in newspaper language). Its contents will be discussed in the following subsection.

⁷ On the topic of politicians and Irish-language media Ó Dubhthaigh remarks: "You'd be surprised the amount of people who actually improve their language when they see they're getting publicity – especially politicians, and you'd be surprised the politicians who have Irish."

5.5.1 Irish-language training for broadcasters. The tape, *Cúrsa Gaeilge* 'Irish-language course,' is broken down into subsections just like any language-learning tape, and bears some examination as it indicates what is considered important linguistically and what is typically overlooked by the non-native speaker (including many of the broadcasters in the data). Grammatical issues that are not included on the tape are significant also, as it suggests what features of the language are or are not valued for their "Irishness." The following chart lists the tape's primary topics:

***Cúrsa Gaeilge* contents summary**

- palatalized ("slender") and non-palatalized ("broad") consonants
 - initial consonant mutation: lenition and eclipsis

	lenited form	eclipsed form
p	-> f	-> b
b	-> v,w	-> m
t	-> h	-> d
m	-> w, v	-> NA
 - etc.
 - the genitive (e.g., *fear* 'man' -> *fir* 'man's', *bád* 'boat' -> *báid* 'boat's', *cainteoir* 'speaker' -> *cainteora* 'speaker's', *beithíoch* 'animal' -> *beithígh* 'animal's')
 - gender of nouns
 - translating English clichés and phrases
 - Irish forms for institution and agency names
 - use of the vocative case (in addressing an interviewee) }
 - question forms }
 - idiomatic expressions relating to time }
 - impersonal verb forms }also relevant
 - openings and closings }to discourse-
 - delivery style }level interaction
- Missing:
- long and short vowel distinctions
 - grammatical and morphological focus (or emphasis)
 - use of discourse-level language, such as connectives
-

On the level of grammar and phonology, the tape discusses palatalized consonants that are distinctive to Irish phonology but not English, initial mutation processes (a defining characteristic in Celtic

languages that is nonetheless disappearing), constructions using prepositions and the grammatical environments that condition lenition and eclipsis (or, aspiration and nasalization), the genitive case, and the gender of nouns and their influence on phonology.

The translation of English clichés and names of Irish institutions and agencies, and the use of the vocative case (for interviews), question forms, idiomatic expressions relating to time, and impersonal verb forms, are all relevant to the discourse structures of the news setting. Other sections of the tape concern discourse features particular to the well-formedness of news talk, such as beginning and ending interviews, beginning and ending programs, and manner of delivery ("be friendly except when you're reading a news story").

The *Cúrsa Gaeilge* presenters, speaking throughout in Irish (quotations here will be English translations), begin by establishing the fact that they will be talking about language issues relevant for broadcasters. Throughout the tape, broadcasters are advised to listen to announcers on RG or RTÉ (the Irish equivalent of the BBC) to model their broadcast style. (American broadcast trainees are also advised to listen to target announcers, as are heard on NPR, to develop a professional delivery style.)

It is of interest to the sociolinguist to know what grammatical, phonological, and discourse-level aspects of language production are being emphasized by the speakers who serve to publicly channel the language in particular directions, since the presence and absence of these elements presumably will be in evidence in talk on the air. For that reason, these lessons will be summarized to the extent that they are relevant to the current topic: the nature of language-use strategies

in a minority-language discourse domain. (As is typical of the language-use rules presented by media educators there is no explanation for why these rules should be followed – although a discerning linguist with an ear for pragmatics would undoubtedly come up with reasonable accounts.)

Lesson 1 – concerns pronunciation of Irish sounds that learners have difficulty with: broad and slender t, d, lenited k [*diffríocht* vs. *ceist*], and especially r [*saor* vs. *saoire*]. People also have difficulty with lenition and eclipsis, processes which change initial consonants. Eclipsis is an initial consonant mutation which sometimes includes voicing and nasalization, and lenition is a change which sometimes includes fricativization. For example:

clár	'schedule'	[k]	
sa chlár	'in the schedule'	[x]	[lenited]
ar an gclár	'on the schedule'	[g]	[eclipsed]

The language attitude or prescription backgrounded in Lesson 1: "Every broadcaster should know the sounds of Irish properly. It doesn't matter what dialect they have."

Lesson 2 – Prepositions and their many contexts which condition various mutations are listed, including many specific circumstances using phrases and terms likely to be found in the news (e.g., *tráthnóna* 'evening' in the prepositional phrase *um thráthnóna* 'at evening' or 'evening time' becomes lenited, realized orthographically by "h"). Two different verbs for 'to ask' (*fiafhraigh de* and *iarr ar*) take different prepositions, which in turn condition different mutation rules. "The distinction between *iarr* and *fiafhriagh* is very important."

The language-improvement advice of Lesson 2: "Check usages and rules regarding these prepositions by looking at notes in a grammar or English-Irish dictionary."

Lesson 3 – The different forms of questions are discussed, and illustrated by a couple dozen examples (e.g., *Cathain a tharla sé sin?* 'When did that happen?'). Some of the language-use rules pertaining to questions include:

- "Don't begin questions with the phrase *I do thuairim...* 'In your opinion...' Instead, for example, use, 'Why, in your opinion, did this happen?'"

- "Be very careful with the structure of questions of this type [Wh-questions in conjunction with the copula]."

- "It's worth the effort to use different question-structures."

The language prescription made explicit in Lesson 3: "It's very important that question-forms be used accurately by presenters."

Lesson 4 – discusses the gender of nouns and the various forms nouns take (listing nearly 50 examples). A particular broadcast case is highlighted: "There are special contexts where the nominative is used instead of the genitive. The most frequent context where this happens in the work of broadcasters is when a couple nouns go together. This happens especially when the name or title is being used." For example:

ceannaire an chumainn
leader the committee.GEN
 'committee leader'

However, in the sentence, "I spoke earlier with the leader of the farmer's committee...", where there are three nouns in sequence, the second is in the nominative and lenited, and the third one is in the genitive:

Labhair mé níos lú le ceannaire chumainn na bhfeirmeoirí
Speak.PAST I COMP early with leader committee.NOM the farmers.GEN
 'I spoke earlier with the leader of the farmer's committee...'

A final suggestion for the broadcaster in Lesson 4: "Be sure that the lenition is audible."

Lesson 5 – The impersonal verb in the past tense is discussed for its usefulness in the broadcast discourse context. "Much use is made of the impersonal verb in broadcasting, especially the impersonal verb in the past tense. It's used in news and it's very useful in interviewing" when presenters want to indicate the action of the sentence but do not want to bring the subject of the action into the story. For example:

Fuarathas an coirp i ngluaisteán...
Found.IMP the body in car
 The body was found in a car...

Lesson 6 – Proper usage for phrases for time periods and time references is stressed, with more than 50 examples listed, e.g., *le mí anuas* 'with month down' – 'for the past month.' Also [and this is significant with respect to both spoken and written style considerations as well as for its conscious reference to a Gaeltacht target], presenters are encouraged to not "use the word *todhchaí* ['future' (of events, prospects, etc.)] too much. Although it's very useful in writing, it's only heard rarely in the everyday speech of the Gaeltacht."

The language-use consideration made explicit in Lesson 6: "These points relate to matters of style. People have a tendency to use the learned vocabulary they learned in school in ways that would seem odd to native speakers of Irish."

Lesson 7 – The vocative case is used in broadcasting when a presenter is addressing someone on the air or interviewing them. The vocative includes the particle 'a' + the vocative form of the name

(usually a lenited form) e.g., 'a *Shéamais*' 'James.VOC' (as opposed to *Séamas* 'James.NOM'). With modern, non-Irish names like Jennifer, it's still proper to use the vocative particle 'a.'

Lesson 8 - Congruity of expression. In this lesson, the broadcaster is advised on many points related to the "congruity" of expression within the larger discourse frame. The main goal is to avoid *Béarlachas*, or Anglicisms, which may be hard to avoid when the news is translated from its English source:

"Be sure that proper Irish is part of what you say. People sometimes have difficulty translating the news using the right Irish expressions. And when you're in a hurry, that's when you fall into a tendency to use *Béarlachas*. Here are some recommendations: Consider the Irish forms of the verbs that are most important in the sentence you have to translate. What are the most important nouns? What is the point of the story?

"You must translate clichés and new English expressions into Irish, e.g., 'at the end of the day.' If there are words in the piece whose Irish equivalents you don't know, check in the Irish-English Dictionary to be sure you've chosen the right word from the English-Irish dictionary. If you're not sure about an expression, ask someone else. Read the sentence to other people to see if it's correct.

"It's well worth practicing reading before you do it on the air to be sure you're comfortable with the congruity of the sentences you've composed, and that you're able to pronounce every word correctly."

Broadcasters are also advised on cultivating a proper delivery style, and to avoid the "common mistake made on the air of using the

word *clann* 'people (family)' when *muintir* 'people (community)' is more correct." Forms for dates and other common phrases are also listed.

Note about Lesson 8: This lesson illustrates the serious attention paid to the "quality" of Irish on the air, despite the relaxed atmosphere concurrently fostered intended to encourage production by timid or non-proficient speakers.

Lesson 9 – addresses the beginning and ending of interviews, emphasizing that it is important to be very assured whether the interview is live in the studio or on tape. "Your interviewee's confidence in you as a speaker and interviewer depends on the first sentence they hear from you. Here are some recommendations: Let the introduction be clear and succinct; let the information you give be exact and precise; try to practice a variety of (opening) expressions; don't be afraid to adopt a conversational style sometimes, unless it's a news story under discussion."

The lesson includes different strategies for beginning an interview, e.g.:

"Together with me in the studio now is a woman who knows a great deal about this subject, a woman who has been composing poetry of late, and who is working now with the organization [___]. That is, Doctor Máiréad Ní Mheathair. Welcome to the program, Doctor."

The typical Irish greeting – *fáilte romhat*, 'welcome (to-you)' *fáilte romhat isteach* 'welcome (to-you in),' or *fáilte chuig an gclár* 'welcome to the program' – is not "always necessary on the air, especially when it's an interview on the phone, and especially when the show is fast-paced and there are a number of interviews on the phone. It is often better, especially on a program like *Um Thráthnóna* [current

affairs news show], to give the introduction, put the interviewee on the phone, and to ask the first question immediately. Leave it for the listener to welcome him or her."

Note about Lesson 9 – Developing communicative competence in the media-discourse frame is as important as proficiency on the level of the segment. This lesson also illustrates some of the characteristic metalinguistic goals of news practitioners: attention to audience, projecting confidence and authority, operating within the time and modality constraints of the medium, and focusing on information transmission.

Lesson 10 – addresses the beginning and ending of a program. Broadcasters are advised to have a script at hand to feel more comfortable and confident. The tape includes several sample first-sentences and some two dozen closing sentences that are useful in the broadcast context.

Lesson 11 – Names. Broadcasters should always use the Irish names of people, places and things. "Translate as much as possible, within reason."

The lessons on the tape make clear that within the specialized discourse context of radio production, the target variety toward which speakers are encouraged to strive appears to vary depending upon the task. On the linguistic level, the target is the prestige variety of the Gaeltacht (which Dublin Irish speakers can only hope to aspire to, since they were not born in the Gaeltacht)⁸. On the discourse level, the target (in terms of use of Irish journalistically and in terms of a

⁸ Several informants expressed a certain regret that while their Irish might improve, they would never have the language of the Gaeltacht, because they were physically not of the Gaeltacht.

general ability to create well-formed radio discourse) is the language heard on RG or RTÉ. As is the case with the reproduction of the values and practices of media discourse in an English-language setting – in which the discourse community establishes its parameters through use and example and not explicitly by rule – much of what constitutes pragmatic appropriateness becomes part of the underlying premise upon which the discourse activity of radio production is based.

The tape, by its selectivity, also indicates which grammatical and phonological features of Irish are required for a speaker to be considered a competent user of the language (see lessons 1, 2, 4, and 7). Some features of Irish are not included on the training tape, such as long and short vowel distinctions, which many speakers in the data fail to observe. Also missing is discussion of grammatical and morphological focus (which in English is accomplished largely intonationally), an aspect of the language which native informants say is widely ignored by non-native and non-fluent speakers (see also Maguire 1986 and MacEoin 1986).

The features selected for inclusion – all of them with phonological ramifications – also happen to be the ones that most differentiate English from Irish. Management of these features is what makes a speaker sound "more Irish." (The Irish differentiation of long and short vowel lengths is not as distinctive a feature as initial consonant mutation, and is thus not included in the tape.) That some of these higher-profile grammatical features have distinctive phonological correlates is in keeping with research in other bilingual communities. For instance, D'Anglejan and Tucker (1983), in their work in bilingual Quebec, determined that "people are less conscious of deviant

grammatical features in their speech" (p. 342) than they are of vocabulary (first) and pronunciation (second).

Incidentally, intonation ends up last on the researchers' scale of relative consciousness of "deviation" from a target norm. This may be why, in part, the particular contours of "broadcast prosody," with its terminal falls and pauses delineating sentence or "idea units," can be overlaid on a language such as Irish whose own characteristic intonation patterns differ markedly from that of a typical news broadcast. (For example, Irish intonation patterns often end with a mid-level tone for both questions and statements; nor are the discourse units of talk, as defined by Ford and Thompson 1992, as easily discernable by prosodic means.)

In fact, Lesson 8 instructs broadcasters in the ways in which to sound more officially "newscaster-like" by essentially advising them to incorporate Anglicized intonation patterns into their news talk. This they can do by "first breaking up the sentences into smaller chunks" - a writing rule initially based on English sentence forms (see Chapter 2) - to strive for a "smooth reading of the script." (The fact that this "chunking" is not idiomatic to Irish was made evident in the English transcriptions of Irish interviews; breaking the lines on the page according to intonation unit, as is customarily done with English texts, became nearly impossible because the intonation units extended over several grammatical units. In English, intonation units tend occur multiply within or for the duration of the length of a grammatical unit (cf. Ford and Thompson 1992).)

To assist in determining on which constituent to place vocal emphasis (generally through an upward movement of pitch, and sometimes

loudness), broadcasters are advised to collect news scripts and "make a glossary of sample phrases." Then they are advised to "Make a tape of yourself on the air and analyze it. Make tapes of broadcasters on RG and RTE and analyze the [vocal force] they use." This last strategy underscores the earlier point: that discourse-level tasks are keyed to the target production by the professional stations, RG and RTE.

Even in RL news broadcasts, in spite of the disfluencies entailed by speaking an unfamiliar language and reading a text aloud, the announcers aspire to standards of professionalism. This is made evident through their attempts (which vary according to the proficiency of the presenter) to control of the prosodic features characteristic of broadcasting (through delivery rate, pause, and pitch). Control of these features is a significant determinant of an announcer's level of professionalism and skill (Cotter 1993).

Evidence of an ability to write within the parameters of radio news (short, one-idea sentences), and to use prosody appropriately is demonstrated in the following example from a December 1994 news broadcast. (Boldface type indicates words emphasized through pitch accent.)

RL example 1

Tape 10

- 1 **Thug** an Eagras Pleanáil Clainne
Give.PAST the organization planning family -GEN
The Family Planning Organization
- 2 **rogha** do dhaoine **coiscíní** ar iompar
selection for people contraceptive-PL for pregnancy
gave(away) a selection of contraceptives
- 3 an Nollaig seo.
the Christmas this
(to people) this Christmas.

- 4 Déir an eagrais go mbíonn an éileamh
Says the organization that is the demand
The organization says that the demand
- 5 is mó ar frithghiniúint thart ar mí na Nollaig.
great.COMP for contraception round on month-of-Christmas
for contraception is greater in Decmber.
- 6 Agus go mbíonn an éileamh is mó
And that is-HABIT the demand greater
And the demand is (always) greater
- 7 ar comhairle iompar clainne
for advice carriage family (pregnancy)
for pregnancy advice
- 8 sna míosa tar éis na Nollag.
in.the month-PL after the Christmas.
in the months after Christmas.
- 9 Déir Ruth Rideach, an oifigeach oideachas
Says Ruth Riddick, the officer education
Ruth Rideach, the education officer
- 10 leis an eagrais, gur léir
with the organization, that great
with the organization, says that
- 11 nach bhfuil beann ar bith ag pobail
NEG.Vb.PART is concern at all at people
the people of this country have no concern whatsoever
- 12 na tíre seo,
the country-GEN this
- 13 ar an danséir maidir le SEIF
on the risk as regards AIDS
about the risks of AIDS
- 14 atá ag scaipeadh i measc tadhaill iar-gnéasaigh.
REL.is at spreading in the-midst-of contact after-sexual
spreading through sexual contact.

This broadcast sample indicates that pitch prominences fell on high-salience words – contraceptives, given away, demand, greater, pregnancy, contraception, risks – in keeping with the story-telling function of a news text in which the main points are emphasized with what Bolinger calls "accents of interest" (cf. Bolinger 1986). On the discourse-interactive level, the introduction of a new source, Ruth Riddick, also merited pitch accent prominence. Sentence-final intonation, unlike

American counterparts with its terminal fall, tended toward a falling mid-tone – a feature observed in RG, RTE and BBC broadcasts, as well.

5.6 Features of language on Raidió na Life. Besides the intonational features of RL broadcasts just mentioned, which are a result of the specific presentation of media discourse, there are other observable linguistic patterns. Six short RL news broadcasts were examined (including RL Example 1 above), along with the following station promotion that airs between the evening newscasts:

RL Example 2

Tape 10

- 1 > > Cad tá difriúil faoi Raidió na Life?
What's different about Radio na Life?
- 2 Stáisiún phobail isé Raidió na Life.
3 Céad 'sa dó.
*It's the **people's** station. Radio na Life. 102.*
- 4 Is ar bhonn deonach ar fad a chraolann na craoltóirí.
It is entirely on a voluntary basis that the broadcasters announce.
- 5 Labhairtear [labhraítear] dha theanga
6 > ar an aer– an Ghaeilge agus an ceol.
Two languages are spoken on the air– Irish and music.
- 7 Bigí linn gach lá. Raidió na Life. Céad 'sa dó. Beo
Be with us each day. Radio na Life. 102. Live.

In listening to the six news broadcasts, it was possible to observe the following elements of language use, which reflect either the linguistic goals as outlined on the training tape or the station's macrolinguistic goal of providing an outlet for a variety of speakers:

1) Announcers used Irish versions of their names, e.g., Máirín Ní Huilihean, Seán Ó Cadhain, Máire Ní hAoláin, etc.

2) Irish surnames were given Irish pronunciations where applicable, e.g., *Gallagher*: /g/→ /ɣ/. The voiced velar fricative replaced the Anglo velar on the third syllable.

3) Irish neologisms were used in preference to English terms, e.g., *SEIF* (RL Example 1, line 13) for AIDS. In the example of *SEIF*, because the word is not in any dictionary, one might assume an announcer might use "AIDS." (In fact, several informants at RL did not know the term when they came across it in a news text during field elicitations.) But this conclusion nonetheless would be based on a misunderstanding of the mission of RL.⁹

4) Fluency mistakes (broadcasting and Irish) and various levels of proficiency were in evidence. Although fluency mistakes were made routinely, the only meta-comment heard in the six broadcasts was a *go maith leithscéal* - 'excuse me' - after a mispronunciation of "Chechen."

5) Inconsistencies in initial consonant mutation, e.g., *banphrionsa* (woman.prince→ princess), characteristic of English-dominant individuals (including Americans learning Irish). Possibly because the second word in the compound is lenited [p → f], the news reader assumed, incorrectly, the first word should be also [b → w]. Thus, [banfrinsa] was realized as [wanfrinsa]. Incidentally, the news reader who overcorrected on this word also very clearly lenited the [p] (lenited as [f]).

⁹ In fact, in early stages of this research, primed for the less professionally "competent" productions of RL, I found myself making pre-judgments about usage that a closer analysis did not support. The data, for instance, does not indicate the English lexical borrowing, or even innovation, that one hears in casual speech in the Gaeltacht.

6) Substitution of palatalized dentals in high-frequency words *déir* [d'er] 'says' and *dúirt* [du:rt'] 'said' with English phonemes [dz] and [ts].

7) Failure to lengthen and stress the vowel in the intensifier prefix *án-*, as in *Beidh sé án-gaofar...* 'It will be **very** windy...'. One announcer pronounced the long (bimoraic) vowel natively; another reduced it.

8) Loan translations of the English equivalents, e.g., *Cad tá difriúil...* 'What's the difference' and *ar an aer* 'on the air' (RL Example 2, lines 1 and 6) An informant confirmed that this was not idiomatic Irish (or even "good Irish," which is considered one and the same).

9) Intonation and pitch-accent placement that follow English prosodic patterns. For example, the question (terminal rise) at the end of the *wh-* (*cad*) question in RL Example 1, line 1 is unidiomatic. For a fluent native speaker, the intonational distinction would have no semantic meaning.

In general, the announcers in the sample had intonation patterns as described above, generally resembling English more closely than Irish. One announcer, an older-sounding male whose speech approximated a native target more than the others, deviated from this somewhat. His pattern – high initial pitch and rapid declination to a mid-level pitch at the end of a contour – brought to mind the discourse style of an Irish-speaking priest saying mass. It's not a farfetched target for the speaker, as the church was one of the few, if only, public places in which Irish could be heard and disseminated, mass communicatively speaking.

The issue of intonation, or more particularly focus, in Irish is a fascinating one, given the general lack of phonological focus resources in the language (that job is done by morphology and syntax). Mac Eóin (1986) and Maguire (1986) have independently observed essentially "ungrammatical" sentences of Irish in which pitch accent is intended to encode focus or stress, as is common in English. Intonation and focus evidence in Irish could very well give more information about the current nature of the language than the more standard diagnostics (lexicon, loss of phonological distinctions).

Curiously, in recently published a romance novel (Nic Enri 1994) by a 26-year-old bilingual speaker (reportedly the third book published in Irish by a woman in this century), were sentence constructions that employed the appropriate emphatic suffix when the discourse demanded emphasis – *along with italics* (a typographical device Irish heretofore has not needed). Perhaps that "merger" of Gaelic grammar and an Anglo stylistic cue is illustrative of current preservation ideology (and practice) in Ireland now.

5.6.1 Dublin Irish. Another feature of the language on RL is the presence of the Dublin variety of Irish, which was discussed in relation to standard varieties in sections 5.3 and 5.4. As previously mentioned, the professional stations RG and RTE use Gaeltacht speakers or fluent users of the official standard, *An Caighdeán*, and do not – at least in the data here – air the speech of Dublin Irish for serious purposes.

There is no prestige norm within what is called Dublin Irish, nor is it even considered a dialect by many people outside of Dublin, although there are a number of native Dublin Irish speakers, one of whom

works regularly at RL. Ó Dónaill (pers. comm., 1996) says: "People generally laugh at it and it is given no recognition whatsoever by educational authorities, etc. - therefore it has a very low status." Nor does there appear to be research into this disfavored variety - incidentally reminiscent of the earlier state of African-American Vernacular English and other stigmatized varieties of English.

The two main features of the variety are interference from English phonology (to the point where RL announcers will hypercorrect the palatalized dentals [t'] and [d'] of Irish to affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ], as in *déir* 'says' and *dúirt* 'said') - in other words, retaining the same Dublin accent they have when speaking English - and direct word-for-word translations using English grammatical patterns. A good example is the phrase, "It's up to **you**", with emphasis on the pronoun, which in Dublin Irish bears little resemblance to the native Irish construction:

Tá sé suas duit féin (Dublin Irish)
Is it up to-you self.EMPH

Braitheann sé ort féin (Standard Irish)
Depends it on-you self.EMPH
It's up to **you**

Some RL announcers approximate the Gaeltacht-based standard more closely than others, and in fact, those are the people who have been hired away by RTE and RG. And while the standard is revered by many Dublin Irish speakers, and facility with a higher-prestige dialect is the key to upward mobility in the Irish-language news business, it is not a consideration for some people:

Many of the young people in Raidió na Life are aware of this prejudice but don't give a damn what people think, and continue to speak as they always have done...there are also a large number of Irish speakers in Dublin who have no desire to attain this standard.

and are in no way ashamed of speaking the Dublin variety (this despite its low status). (Ó Dónaill, pers. comm., 1996)

It's tempting to speculate that RL may contribute to a changing perception of Dublin Irish, although informants say this would be impossible.

5.7 Conclusion

Despite criticisms of Dublin Irish, RL has been an important factor in the changing linguistic climate of Ireland and the linguistic competence of individuals involved with the station. Many announcers at RL reported increased fluency and confidence as a result of their work there. Others have gotten jobs related to Irish language and media. They also report that it's "trendy" among college students to be studying and speaking Irish now (Finuala MacAodh, pers. comm., 1995). Politicians want Irish speakers on their staffs because they know if something happens, RL will cover it. The person with Irish gets the sound bite. The organizations in Dublin that hold adult Irish classes report their class numbers are up in part because of job opportunities arising in 1996 with the highly touted advent of a first-time Irish-language television station (Brían Mac Aongusa, pers. comm., 1995; and see section 4.6.2).

The higher prestige of Irish in relation to English, which some say is due to the country's increasing prosperity and visibility in the operations of the "new Europe," has resulted in greater volume of Irish-language advertisements in English-language media. And RL staffers enjoyed discussing the greater use of Irish set phrases with which everyone is familiar, and Irish forms of words, such as *Gaillimh* for

Galway, casually tossed off on English-language radio (Conal Mac Aongusa, Deirdre McMahon, pers. comm., 1995).

RL announcers simultaneously honor the prestige Gaeltacht standard, a standard many regret not being able to attain as they are not Gaeltacht-born, and reject its hundred-year hold on preservation practice and cultural values as expressed through the Irish language. Through the offices of the radio station, they are able to more actively engage with the language, themselves becoming a focal point for Dublin Irish speakers (and, as they continue to differentiate themselves from the rural communities, will likely reinforce the boundaries of the Gaeltacht that until later in this century encouraged a continued presence of the *Gaeilge na daoine* 'Irish of the people'.)

As an innovator in the Irish-language preservation/growth scene, RL taps a source of speakers that would be overlooked in a focus on more traditional speech communities; demonstrates that other language-development practices (such as use of media) are feasible; extends the use of Irish into modern contexts by reporting on current events and social issues using the media as a vehicle; and, most importantly, is engaged in building a social infrastructure in which use of the language occurs as a consequence of the activity, rather than in an artificial environment (such as a classroom) that cannot sustain language growth. Its approach is in keeping with priorities established by the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (Helen Ó Murchú, pers. comm., 1995). The station's multi-ranging linguistic practices provide additional models for endangered languages elsewhere and more fully explicate the potential positive role of media in minority-language development.

Chapter 6

Language use at the discourse level: English discourse markers in Irish

Bhí daoine uaisle le feiceáil anois go minic ar na bóithre, cuid acu óg is cuid acu aosta, ag cur Gaeilge ciotaí dothuigthe ar na Gaeil bhochta agus ag cur moille orthu agus iad ag dul faoin ngort. Bhí an Béarla gallda go líofa ó dhúchas ag na daoine uaisle ach ní chleachtaidís an teanga uasal sin i láthair na nGael...Bhíodar ag fánaíocht ar fud na dúiche le "neoit boc" bheaga dhubha go cionn i bhfad sular bhraith na daoine nach pílears a bhí iontu ach daoine uaisle ag iarraidh Gaeilge ár sean agus ár sinsear a fhoghlaim uainn. (na gCopaleen, pp. 40-41)

Oftentimes now there were gentlemen to be seen about the roads, some young and others aged, addressing the poor Gaels in awkward unintelligible Gaelic and delaying them on their way to the field. The gentlemen had fluent English from birth but they never practised this noble tongue in the presence of the Gaels...They rambled the countryside with little black notebooks for a long time before the people noticed that they were...endeavoring to learn the Gaelic of our ancestors and ancients. (O'Brien, pp. 48-49)

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, we saw that certain rules of discourse presentation (notably greetings, openings and closings, and "set phrases" that accompany certain topics like the weather) are included in a radio announcer's training at RL along with reminders of the rules for phonological processes like lenition and eclipsis. In that chapter, I also argued for the need to include a new category – semi-fluent professional – in a bilingual "Taxonomy of Proficiency." In this chapter, I will point to the necessity of considering discourse-level factors – and the strategies that are employed by non-native speakers of contracting languages – for a fuller account of language use, particularly in the research area of language endangerment. A key question from the discourse analytic perspective is: How do non-native speakers of a minority language negotiate the production of discourse in

that language? Within this process, how do non-native speakers with inevitable gaps in linguistic competence manage the interaction-building nature of talk as they also manage the structural requirements of well-formed discourse (a dual goal of the communicative exchange that is assumed by most approaches to discourse analysis)?

In the bilingual setting especially, these are not idle questions. In the media setting which I consider, in which on-air talk is constructed along somewhat different parameters than conversation, they are essential questions to consider. Taking as a point of departure the fact that there are special demands that the media context places on language production, I will temporarily suspend the more general discussion of how media is used in the development and dissemination of Irish and consider what may occur when second-language-production demands coincide (and in some cases collide) with a particular discourse context, in this case broadcast media. We saw in the previous chapter that Irish-language radio producers are very conscious of the language limitations of their on-air presenters as well as the occasional interviewee and have strategies in place to counter this (through education, scripting of responses, key-word lists, etc.). But what happens during the actual production of radio talk? How is the discourse managed on the micro-level, as it evolves?

In this chapter, I will discuss the presence of English discourse markers (words such as *y'know*, *well*, *so*, and *but*) in Irish interview talk on the radio, a codeswitching or borrowing phenomenon that has received scant attention in the literature¹ (and none within the field

¹ Lipski's 1,000-hour corpus of Spanish bilingual interviews, none of which to my knowledge are from the media, suggests that the widespread use of *so*-insertion (a phenomenon he has observed for 20 years) proliferates through networks of the speech community, and not

of Irish-language research). Their appearance – in an environment in which careful use of Irish is cultivated – appears to be the result of several factors relevant to the bilingual communicative context, which will be discussed. The presence of the markers points to discourse-level issues, such as the function of discourse markers as contextualization cues and their unique place in this particular discourse setting. I will describe what discourse markers (DMs) are, following the analytical premises of Schifffrin 1987; discuss their appearance in Irish media data; and consider aspects of their use in the bilingual context. There is also a functional parallel between the use of DMs -- and English DMs, in particular -- and media intonation contours, which will be the subject of the next chapter.²

6.2 The requirements of media discourse

All beginning journalism students, in the U.S. particularly, learn a few simple, aphoristic tricks-of-the-trade that become the building blocks for "good journalism," as their instructors and newsroom mentors would say, or "well-formed discourse constituted by and constituting the situated activity," as sociolinguistic researchers and discourse analysts would say. Chief among these standard-practice reminders are the "inverted pyramid" and "The 5 Ws." The inverted pyramid is the

necessarily by media models. His work points to the necessity of further, quantitative research to understand the full scope of English discourse marker insertion in Irish.

² One question raised by the data in this chapter is the extent to which the use of English DMs and intonation contours by media "role models" is likely to spread to learners who listen to the station. While interesting to ponder, this will not be something considered in the current study, especially since not enough time has passed for evidence to be available.

structural manner of presenting the most important information first in a story, subverting chronological order in most cases and Labovian narrative structure in many cases. The inverted pyramid – a reflex of both pre-computer-age printing press technology and a discourse-specific requirement to start immediately with the most "newsworthy" element in a story – allows for fast bottom-up cutting of a too-long story without sacrificing the primary material that supports its newsworthiness, which remains intact at the top.

The "5 Ws" are the questions that reporters learn to ask to make sure they got all the necessary information to write a well-formed story: who, what, when, where, why – and how or how much. By the time fledgling reporters are ready for their first jobs, they will have internalized these questions, asking them automatically, and will know the variants that involve them (for example, **who** speaks and **what** the speaker said that was important. characterize the information-order of a prototypical "speech story," with **where**, **when**, and often **why** taking the backseat).

Discourse-level factors – i.e., the inverted pyramid and The 5 Ws – are important to the understanding of Irish-language radio practice for several reasons. Managing discourse-level fluency in the professional setting of the newsroom assumes a practitioner knows the language of transmission competently enough to produce well-formed utterances of that language; and the practitioner also is expected to know what it takes to produce well-formed journalistic discourse to the extent that he or she can incorporate the demands of the discourse process specific to media in his or her stream of talk.

This competence is assumed when all parties in the production and reception process are fluent speakers of the language of transmission; when the parties are not fluent speakers or when the context is bilingual, the output affords an opportunity to look at the linguistic components that comprise the joint production of discourse, even in a media-specific domain. This will be done here, primarily by focusing on the somewhat unusual appearance of English discourse markers in Irish radio interviews, and considering their presence in relation to communicative interaction in the bilingual domain.

First it will be necessary to discuss generally the constraints or requirements that "doing media" imposes on texts and talk, many of which have been mentioned in earlier chapters, as these requirements identify talk in the media as a discourse type in its own right.

There are many factors which govern the use of language in the media (these do not happen to be the focus of the often-cited radio-talk work of Goffman 1981 or Bolinger 1982, 1989). Chief among them are the demands of **news values** (what is "news" is the starting point in information gathering); **organization of information**, with the "lead" serving as the informational focal point which dictates discourse structures locally and globally; and the **role of the audience** - I have said elsewhere (Cotter 1996) that while the audience does not have an immediately active role in the construction of media discourse as it does in conversation, the audience and its expectations are consciously taken into consideration, functioning as an "unseen interlocutor" in the media dyad. Lastly, the **technical limitations of a medium** itself - the visual-verbal modality of print, the aural modality of radio, or the visual-aural modality of television - impose their own constraints on

the story-telling structures of talk (see Chapter 2, as well as Lakoff 1982 for a related discussion of technology and genre development). These factors get less attention than they deserve in the media-language literature.

Besides factors influencing information content and structure, there are also **social factors** which constrain how practitioners will go about gathering information and presenting a story. The work of Leitner (1980), for instance, explains differences in "language on the radio" (LOR) by correlating language features with the unique macro-socio-ideological purpose endemic to a nation. Related to this larger cultural purpose is the specific purpose of a particular media outlet, which would influence what got covered and how it got covered. *The New York Times*, for instance, is a premier example of a "newspaper of record," while the cable channel ESPN focuses its efforts on comprehensive sports coverage, and Raidió na Life or even various Websites seek to serve a particular community within a larger media-serving framework. And then, individual differences among reporters and editors (such as those described in Lichter et al.'s (1990) *The Media Elite* and famously made reference to by former Vice President Dan Quayle) affect the interpretation of events and people and, consequently, how they are covered.

The characteristics of various news genres that are produced by, and in turn serve to identify, the media will not be discussed here. But there are some points that bear reiterating. For instance, news stories in print and broadcast generally employ a formal register and conservative forms of a language (see Gonzalez 1991 and Leitner 1980 for a depiction of this cross-culturally). Simple sentences, virtually free

of subordinate clauses, are the rule. Lexical choices are constrained by convention, local style rules (see Fasold et al. 1990 for one example), and conscious attention to ease of reader or listener comprehension. Story structure is mediated by discourse-specific needs for attribution, "balance" of sources, and being the first (over competitors) to get the story out to the public. While I have noted elsewhere (Cotter 1993, 1996) that media language incorporates pan-linguistic features of spoken and written discourse (in print and on the air) – a blend of features that most likely to reflect the paradoxical needs for authoritative distance and friendly proximity in the "media voice" – the "disfluencies" and grammatical lapses of conversation as well as some markers of informality never find their way into media language. These genre-defining characteristics are interpreted locally, resulting in the same composite of similarities and differences across users/practitioners as, for instance, would occur in narrative or some other genre.

The general reference in this section has been to news, and meaning the single-speaker presentation of news materials, such as one finds in the average news broadcast. But in the following examination of English discourse markers on Irish radio, evidence will be considered from a news context in which talk is jointly produced; this other point on the news-genre spectrum includes anything from current affairs programs in which news content is paramount down to talk shows in which entertainment of the audience is the goal. Here, the interactional consequences, whether for elevating and highlighting news content or for audience titillation, become relevant in evaluating the discourse. While many of the factors that govern the production of "straight news" are

still in place (be maximally informative,³ consider the audience, work within medium-specific technical constraints, etc.), in a news-talk environment the interactional requirements of "normal" (i.e., non-media) everyday conversation become a part of the interplay of communicative and discourse-making factors.

In circumstances where there is a multiple-speaker presentation of the news "goods," then the factors that are relevant during conversation also become relevant to the discussion of media language. The components that structure and perpetuate coherent dyadic discourse in chats across the backyard fence hold in the on-air world, as well. Some of these factors, which I will merely list and not explore, will be familiar to researchers versed in discourse analysis approaches. These include: the moves of turn-taking exchanges, the adjacency and order of different units of talk, the interactional and ideational dynamics between speaker and recipient, the joint or negotiated production of meaning, and the emergence of coherence.

Of course the media domain introduces its own requirements as to what comprises and characterizes the discourse, a fact that will be relevant when we consider the Irish data. For instance, back-channel responses - semantically restricted murmurs of response by listeners - are restricted in interviews on the air, in live as well as pre-recorded situations (they are generally edited out of the latter). Control of the discourse plane is negotiated differently in the media, too, as participants have other, media-induced objectives in their information-

³ Grice's conversational maxims provide an exceptionally apt short-course in newswriting. They also offer an explanation for the continued credibility of print and broadcast media sources - despite mistakes, distortions and inaccuracies (see Cotter 1989 for an extended discussion).

producing goals, including an awareness of the unseen listening audience. Speaker relations – which simultaneously influence discourse and are reflected in its patterns – become redefined through the channels of the situated media speech activity. (Here Lakoff (1990)'s notions of power and dominance in talk become germane, as the person in control of the information – the invited guest or expert – is not the person in control of the time or sometimes even the topic.)

Media-specific considerations aside, the primary linguistic difference between talk on the BBC or KQED and talk on Raidió na Life (especially) and Raidió na Gaeltachta is that the Irish stations function in a bilingual socio-political environment, and, importantly, the language of the medium is not the dominant language of use in society at large. This becomes pertinent from a linguistic standpoint when we consider the appearance of English discourse markers in Irish radio talk, which can be viewed as functioning as a way of anchoring the discourse in a publicly available bilingual context, as well as accomplishing the relational and textual goals of talk, as the following sections will demonstrate.

6.3 Discourse fluency and the bilingual arena

Discussions over several years with a number of informants and language workers in Ireland have revealed that, more than in other second-language learning situations, the transmission of the Irish language falters at the level of discourse (Éamonn Ó Dónaill and Seosamh Ó Murchú, pers. comm., 1995). By this is meant the idiomatic and conventionalized ways of communicating meaning and accomplishing actions through talk or written text, and the units, such as turn-taking, that

structure the talk or text. A stellar student of Irish may be able to dazzle with her command of lenition rules, vocabulary, grammar, and *blás* (beautiful accent), but she just may not be able to **talk**. A number of people in Ireland who work on behalf of Irish-language development listed some examples of communicative strategies that learners don't learn about in the schools and hence are lacking when it comes to conversation:

- Answering questions in a pragmatically appropriate fashion. The grammatically appropriate way to answer a yes-no question in Irish is to repeat the verb (with or without negation) of the question; there is no lexical response for "yes" or "no". In Irish-language teaching, students are taught to conflate the **answer** to a yes-no question, where the verb alone would be repeated to respond sufficiently, with the sentence structure of a longer **statement**, where the verb is followed by subject and object.

- Responding appropriately in a talk exchange, including the use of discourse markers, especially as they function pragmatically.

- Employing idiomatic intonation patterns.

- Initiating or closing discourse sequences.

(Some of these listed conversational strategies are assisted by the use of discourse markers, which may be a partial answer as to why DMs do appear in English.)

An absence of fluency on the discourse level becomes more of an issue when the talk is produced in a discourse environment – a public discourse environment, at that – in which the kind of fluency that a learner is not yet able to control is the norm. Even more is at stake when the talk that is produced has consequence and is non-dyadic,

without help from an interlocutor (Lakoff, pers. comm.). Looking at this issue from the perspective of language in the minority-language media, in which non-fluent speakers necessarily must be called on, allows us to put discourse-level linguistic behavior in the same range of scrutiny (by linguists concerned with language loss and change) as the more widely studied lapses in phonology or grammar.

While an examination of this kind has applications for second-language teaching and research, as well as other domains of linguistic theory, the discussion will be restricted to the data at hand and its characterizations in relation to the interactional sociolinguistics-oriented discourse marker framework established by Schiffrin (1987), which builds on earlier work by, for example, Lakoff 1973 (*well*) and Östman 1981 (*y'know*), suggesting implications for discourse analysis and for endangered-language research.

6.4 Discourse markers and their functions

Discourse markers – words such as *y'know*, *and*, *but*, *I mean*, *well*, *then*, etc. – work on to provide coherence in the discourse and to cue or index social relations of participants in the exchange. Schiffrin operationally defines them as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (p. 31) and then proceeds to consider in depth evidence of their use in talk.

Many people have studied DMs since Schiffrin's seminal work and have built on aspects of her analysis.

For instance, Brody 1989 discusses Mayan DMs and their different functions to expand the definitional range established by Schiffrin. Following Brody's lead, Solomon 1995 talks about markers *entonses* and

ká, the first borrowed from Spanish into Yucatec Mayan and the second a native DM, and their complementary role in narrative. My work complements Solomon's and Brody's in that it offers further evidence from a language other than English and expands the heretofore observed range of DM function and use. My work differs from theirs in that I look at the **insertion** into Irish of English discourse markers that are not borrowings (although a case will be discussed that is a borrowing). Nor does this insertion signal a codeswitch to English, a phenomenon described in the codeswitching literature.⁴ The data here also comes from question-and-answer exchanges and is not of the narrative genre.

I am using the term **discourse marker insertion** to describe the process (although **bilingual** discourse marker insertion would more aptly characterize the phenomenon).⁵ Poplack and Sankoff (1988) use the term "constituent insertion" to identify the insertion of non-native grammatical constituents such as noun phrases into utterances of bilinguals. Because grammatical constituents are essential parts of well-formed sentences while discourse markers are not grammatically essential – although of course they may serve essential pragmatic functions – I will forego Poplack and Sankoff's term and opt to add another item to the linguistic terminological storehouse. Additionally, as Schiffrin has demonstrated, discourse markers are units of talk that function on many, often simultaneous, communicative levels – propositionally, ideationally and relationally – while grammatical

⁴ Work on marker insertion by bilinguals in Spanish (by Lipski 1994) and Hebrew (by Maschler 1994) establishes the complexity of categorizing the phenomenon of bilingual-produced discourse marker insertion.

⁵ See Lipski (1994) for an extended discussion of the marker insertion process and its lack of correspondence to traditional definitions of codeswitching (and to a lesser extent, borrowing).

constituents, as they are usually described, operate on the syntactic level, abstracted from the fluctuating realizations of an evolving locally managed discourse.

Discourse marker insertion, as described through the Irish data, has not been discussed to my knowledge in the literature on discourse markers or codeswitching. However, John Lipski has observed the use of English *so* in Spanish-speaking bilinguals in the American Southwest (and cites similar *so*-insertion behavior in Louisiana French, Canadian French, Haitian-English and Japanese-English bilinguals, Lipski 1994:19). In his data, the inserted marker appears as an instance of what he terms a type of "momentary [intrasentential] code-switching" (ibid.:11), its position following predictable syntactic patterns and its function largely constrained by other usage factors. He writes:

So appears first either after a reflective pause, or just before one. Eventually, it becomes fully integrated as a connector. It is used in bilingual Spanish only in the sense of "therefore, in that case," and not in any of the other uses of English *so*. Spanish equivalents in this context would be *de modo que*, *asi que*, *de manera que*, or even *pues*, all of which are freely used in monolingual and bilingual discourse. Even people who use *so* use the Spanish equivalents, quite unconsciously. It even rubs off on Spanish-speaking immigrants after a couple of years in this country, and even when overall abilities in English are quite limited. (Lipski, pers. com.)

Lipski alludes to a common feature of discourse markers: their multiple meanings and multiple functions. Schiffrin, for instance, observes the place discourse markers hold within the structure and meaning of the discourse as well as the linguistic meaning inherent in the markers themselves. Markers can index propositional information, semantic or ideational meaning, and participant relationships – multiple functions that the Irish data will also point to. Their appearance and use becomes a factor in discourse coherence. As Schiffrin says, "markers allow speakers to construct and integrate multiple planes and dimensions

of an emergent reality: it is out of such processes that coherent discourse results" (Schiffrin 1987:330). I will argue that discourse markers' anchoring and integrative properties become all the more necessary in bilingual speech contexts, in the fluency-fragile Irish radio context particularly.

6.5 The data

The analysis that follows is based on selected excerpts from about 20 hours of tape-recorded data from several Irish-language media sources:

- news broadcasts and current affairs programs on Raidió na Life (1995)
- news broadcasts on Raidió na Gaeltachta (1995)
- Gaeltacht interviews produced by Raidió Telefís Éireann (RTÉ) for their language-learning audiotape series, *Cógar* (1989)
- in-office interviews with RL station personnel (1995)

Qualitative judgments of the data will be used to characterize the behavior of discourse markers in Irish and make some very tentative claims about their distribution. The excerpts were selected to illustrate the use of different markers; variations in usage patterns according to the English-dominance of the speaker; the influence of speaker role on use; and the realization of markers within the discourse as a whole. To further amplify the last two points, an extended interview which aired on RL will also be presented in Section 6.7.

The purposes of the short-excerpt data below are threefold: to 1) note the appearance of English discourse markers within their discourse environments, 2) analyze their function, and 3) make further

distinctions by noting what component of the discourse and which part of the discourse structure are emphasized through their use. This effort has been summarized in **Table 1**, which follows. The table lists the English discourse markers which appeared in the data in the first column, their functions as exemplified by the data in the second column, and the aspect of interactional, propositional or structural contributions to which the marker points in the third column. In anticipation of a later discussion in which I suggest that discourse markers and specific intonation patterns work as **contextualization cues** in the bilingual media framework, I have organized the functions of the markers in terms of the marker's role in establishing a frame of reference for interpreting the message of the discourse unit. For example, a marker such as **so** may cue an interlocutor to the logical relations inherent in the structure of information. The rationales behind the designations in Table 1 will be discussed as they become relevant to the data under consideration.

Whereas Table 1 is intended to catalogue the appearance of English discourse markers that present themselves in the Irish data and to summarize their behavior in discourse (which will be described in detail shortly), Table 2 is intended to provide a rough guide to the equivalent markers in Irish for easy reference throughout the rest of the chapter. The list is by no means exhaustive. The Irish markers **maise** and **ara** are included, although their English equivalents for the present time will remain absent from the table for reasons that will be explained.

=====

Table 1 - English DMs found in Irish

<u>MARKER</u>	<u>FUNCTION</u>	<u>HIGHLIGHTED COMPONENTS</u>
<i>well (bhuel)</i>	response cue	Question-Answer sequence/ structure of talk
<i>y'know</i>	spkr-focus cue	speaker needs in interaction/ structure of discourse relationship
<i>OK</i>	reception cue	completion of info-based objective/ structure of interlocutor relationship enacted thru discourse
<i>yeah</i>	reception cue	participant response/ structure of turn-negotiation
<i>so, but</i>	propositional cue	logical relations/ structure of information
<i>now, I mean</i>	orientation cue	speaker focus/ global structure of discourse

It is impossible to construct a perfect table of equivalents of this sort, since the meanings of an Irish form and its English "equivalent" can never match exactly. Even in cases where the referential meanings of two forms line up neatly, the pragmatic functions these forms serve never overlap entirely and these functions comprise the bulk of the "meaning" of the term, for our purposes. (Schiffrin 1987, van Dijk 1991, and Redeker 1990 have discussed the inseparability of referential and functional meanings in their analyses of pragmatic uses of connective words, and the same is certainly true of the discourse markers listed here.) The dictionary entries for these forms in both languages take up enormous amounts of space - comparable

to entries for copulas and prepositions, for instance – demonstrating the subtlety with which different usage functions can vary.

One common type of mismatch between the two languages is that a function expressed by a single-word marker in English must be expressed by a longer idiomatic phrase in Irish. The meaning differs depending on whether one considers the marker first through Irish or English. This point will be addressed again later.

=====

Table 2 - Irish-equivalent discourse markers

English DMs	--> Irish equivalents	word class	Irish dictionary definition of the Irish DMs
well	<i>bhuel</i> plus idiom	int	well
--?	<i>maise/muise</i>	int	Indeed! Well!
--?	<i>ara/arú</i>	int	Ah! so! indeed! no
oh	<i>ó</i>	int	Oh!
and	<i>agus</i>	conj	and (also concessive, conditional, comparative, restrictive, emphatic uses)
but	<i>ach</i>	conj	but (except, only, if, when, unless)
or	<i>nó</i>	conj	or (used affirmatively after neg. clauses)
because-->	<i>mar de bhrí go</i> plus idiom	conj conj	like, as, for, as if, because whereas, because
so	<i>mar sin dá bhrí sin amhlaidh chomh</i> plus idiom	conj conj adv adv	so so thus, so (that is the case) as, so
now	<i>anois sea anois</i>	adv int	now Well, now!
then	<i>ansin</i>	adv	then, there
indeed-->	<i>go dearfa go deimhin leoga ambaiste!</i>	adv adv int int	certainly, indeed indeed (certainty and proof) indeed Indeed! Really!
you know-->	<i>tá a fhios agat</i>		

The markers have the following functions:

- **WELL (BHUEL)**

Bhuel in the Irish orthographical system (in which "bh" is pronounced [w] or [hw]) was borrowed into Irish from English **well** as an interjection (or discourse marker, as we are classifying it here).

Well/Bhuel is also rendered as **bhel**, **bhal**, or **bhail**, according to Irish linguist Dónaill Ó Baoíll (pers. comm.). Attested uses of **bhuel** can readily be found in texts of this century, although Ó Baoíll suspects that the borrowing was earlier, citing a possible example from about 1614.

Because the phonological forms of **well** and **bhuel** are so similar as to be indistinguishable - [wEl] and [hwEl] appear to be in free variation in both languages - it is difficult to determine in the data whether an English-dominant bilingual speaker is using English **well** or Irish **bhuel**, especially given that other English discourse markers are in use. It could be that the presence of other contextual clues may encourage one interpretation or another.

While learners might view **bhuel** as the orthographic and functional equivalent of English **well**, a native or proficient bilingual speaker would consider **bhuel** to be Irish, according to Ó Baoíll, a native speaker from Co. Donegal in the north. "It is certainly a loan from English, but its range of meanings is so different from English now as to make it a real Irish word. I doubt very much that people would think of it as English except in some neutral context" (Ó Baoíll 1996, pers. com.). Besides "well," **bhuel** can also mean "yes," "maybe," or "indeed," among its many meanings, according to Ó Baoíll. It is also used as an evaluative response - **bhuel! bhuel!** - similar to the English equivalent.

(These meanings, however, are not in the Irish-English dictionary.) The full extent of *bhuel*'s range has not previously been documented, so this chapter represents a first attempt at a full characterization of the word as a "real Irish word" – as well as an examination of its function in discourse.

Since *well* will be considered in relation to the presence in media discourse, the idiomatic equivalents of *well* bear mentioning, as they illustrate the range of possibility available to the fluent speaker and their noticeable absence in media interviews. This could suggest either that interviewees lack full fluency or that the particular functions of radio discourse could partially explain their absence. De Bhaldráithe (1978:837) lists the following, with their functional designations:

to introduce a remark:

Well, as I was telling you ...
sea, *mar bhí mé ag rá* *leat* ...
COP.neuter-pro as was I at telling with-you

Well, who was it?
Agus cé bhí ann?
And who was there[~in existence]

expressing relief, etc.:

Well I never!
Diabhal *an féidir!*
devil[intens.] the possible

thar *a bhfaca tú riamh!*
happen.PAST REL saw you before

Well, it cannot be helped,
ar ndóigh níl neart air.
of-course NEG.be-it ~control on-it

Well, well!
(i) féach air sin anois!
look on-it that now

(ii) an ndeir tú sin liom!
INTER. say you that with-me

summarizing:

Well then, why worry?
agus mar sin de cén fáth a mbeadh imní ort?
 and so forth why REL is worry on-you

As a discourse marker, **well** has several well-documented discourse functions in English, some of which are relevant to the Irish data. It can be used to signal a dispreferred move, in which the speaker's response is at odds with the hearer's expectations (cf. Lakoff 1973), and to initiate and signal the closing moves at the conclusion of an exchange (cf. Schegloff and Sacks 1973). And when it appears earlier in the discourse, it functions to anchor the speaker as a participant in the exchange, particularly when "an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with prior coherence options. It is because this function displays a speaker in a particular participation status - respondent - that it functions in the participation framework" (Schiffrin 1987:103).

Following that line of thought, **well/bhuel** can be seen to function as a response cue in the radio-interview data. In the cases below, given its appearance in response-initial position following a question, **well/bhuel** can be seen as highlighting the Question-Answer sequence in the structure of talk. This sequence is a classic "adjacency pair" (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) in which the first - question - part of the pair establishes the conditions that a question entails, and simultaneously creates the slot for the second part - satisfactory response to the question. As such then, **well/bhuel** highlights the structure of talk through its alignment with participant roles.

In the data which follow, **bhuel** also appears to have a function relative to the structure of information: it precedes a list. List structures, according to Schiffrin (1994), tie together specific instances of a general topic, and a marker can be used by a speaker to

underscore this relationship.⁶ Lakoff's discussion of the pragmatic function of **well** cuing unspoken extenuating circumstances in a response is also supported by the list data. In her account, "the use of *well* here operates as a signal that the rest of the answer...is not to be taken as a complete reply giving all the information necessary" (Lakoff 1973: 459). When a respondent is required to list features as part of an appropriate answer, **well** can easily indicate that the listed items represent only a partial tally, or an arbitrary collection that is not meant to imply that it's exhaustive.

In examples (1a-c), **bhuel** highlights the respondent's role in the participation framework embodying a Q-A exchange, and marks the elements of a list which follows.

A NOTE ABOUT THE PRESENTATION OF DATA: The actual Irish interview is given first, followed by the broad English translation. Three asterisks separate the Irish and English versions. A line of asterisks separates the examples. The markers are boldfaced. In all cases, "P" is "Pádraig," the interviewer, a professional journalist with RTÉ. The interviewees are residents of the Connemara Gaeltacht in the west of Ireland and range considerably in age and occupation. To the best of my knowledge, they could all be considered native speakers.

⁶ The data suggest that the list-marking function of **bhuel** may be at least one characteristic of its position as a "real Irish word" (as Ó Baoill colloquially referred to it) in the Irish lexicon and not a "momentary" English code-switch, as Lipski (1994) describes it. This possibility is intriguing enough to encourage future work with additional data.

Example (1a)**Tape 3**

- P: Nuair a fhágfas tú an Cheathrú Rua ar maidin ag fiche tar éis a seacht, cén chéad áit eile a srosifidh tú.
- M: **Bhuel**, tiocfaidh tú aniar trí Doire an Fhéich, Cladhnach, Ros an Mhíl, tiocfaidh tú aniar trí an áit seo againn fhéin, An Tulaig, Indreabhán, déanfaidh tú an Spidéal, déanfaidh tú Forbacha, Bearna agus Bóthar na Trá agus isteach ag an stáisiún.

- P: When you leave Carraroe at 7:20 in the morning, what other places do you stop at.
- M: **Well**, you go through Doire an Fhéich, Cladhnach, Ros an Mhíl, you go through [...] you do Spideal, you do Forbacha, Bearna and Salthill and into the station.

Example (1b)**Tape 3**

- P: Cé mhéad seomra a bhíonn sa ngnáth-theach, ar an meán.
- B: **Bhuel**, an chuid is mó acu(b) eh:
ceithre sheomra codlata seomra suite seomra bia cistineach seomra folctha nó b'fhéidir péire, agus halla.

- P: How many rooms are in the ordinary house, on average.
- B: **Well**, the majority of them eh:
four bedrooms a living room a dining room a kitchen a bathroom or perhaps two, and a hall.

Example (1c)**Tape 3**

- P: Céard a cheapann tú féin atá sa bhfaisean faoi láthair.
- T: **Bhuel** tá jeans i gcónaí sa bhfaisean bhí siad ariamh ann, agus beidh siad ann.(.) um (.)
Geansaithe móra- agus (.) bróga móra millteanaca- agus stocáí le gach uile dath iontu- agus uh vests agus rudaí mar sin.

- P: What do you think about current fashion.
- T: **Well** jeans are always in fashion they were there before and they will be there. (.) um. (.)
Big sweaters- and (.) extremely big shoes- and socks of every color- and uh vests and things like that.

In the preceding examples, it is clear that **bhuel** precedes not only the answer to a question posed by the interviewer, but an answer

articulating a list – of bus stops along the Carraroe-Galway bus route in (1a), rooms one would find in the average western Ireland new home in (1b), and clothes that are currently in fashion in (1c). **Bhuel** does not precede an answer to every question in these excerpts here, which are taken from longer interviews. But in all cases in the RTÉ data in which naming list items is to comprise an answer, **bhuel** appears.

Given the asymmetrical role-structure of the produced media interview as it has been edited (it is impossible to determine to what extent the interviewer held different participant statuses in the actual talk exchange), the interviewer almost never fields a question and thus **well/bhuel** is a characteristic of the on-air talk of the interviewee.

One exception is the following (Example 1d): a question or request for clarification. The request for clarification is made of the interviewer by the interviewee. Not only is his use of the discourse marker in his response noteworthy, as interviewers tend to be sparing in their use, but it precedes an item that could also be considered part of a list. He specifies **good** qualities from the set of all kinds of possible qualities a person could possess:

Example (1d)

Tape 3

- P: *Cén tréith: uh: is mó a bhaineann le fir na hÉireann?*
 N: *Dea-thréith, ab ea?*
 P: **Bhuel** abair dea-thréith ar dtús.
 N: [hhhh]
 N: *Um- Tá an-chraic ag baint le fir na hÉireann...*

- P: What qualities, uh, are characteristic of Irish men?
 N: Good qualities, [tag question marker]?
 P: **Well**, say, good qualities to start.
 N: Um- Irish men are good fun...

It was mentioned earlier that **well** often signals a dispreferred move in a response, in which the answer is somehow at odds with the hearer's expectations. **Bhuel** is used in this manner in example (2a):

Example (2a)**Tape 3**

- C: Yeah. Cuirtear é sin in iúl go maith dúinn.
 Agus um: ts- um bríste, liath dosna buachaillí.
 Agus, níl **bhuel**, níl níl cead acu(b) um,
 bróga reatha a chaitheamh, but ní chuireann sé sin stop leo.
 C: | [hhhhh]
- ***
- C: Yeah. They've let us know that.
 And um: ts- um grey trousers, for the boys.
 And, they're not **well**, not- not allowed, um,
 to wear running shoes, but that doesn't stop them. [with laughter]

In the preceding utterance, Caitríona has been listing what makes up her school's uniforms - for boys and girls - including the fact that "slits," or a type of open shoe, are not allowed for girls. Pádraig, the interviewer, expresses surprise, which she confirms with:

Yeah. Cuirtear é sin in iúl go maith dúinn.
Yeah. They've let us know that.

She continues completing the list of apparel for the boys. In an informational move parallel to her revelation about "slits," she indicates that boys, for their part, are not allowed to wear running shoes. The **bhuel**, as well as self-interruptions in her presentation (through repetition of *níl* 'not' and *um*), precedes the more startling (and incriminating) information that the boys will wear the running shoes despite the rules against them. (The use of **yeah** and **but** will be discussed later.)

In summary, **well/bhuel** occurs as a response cue, highlighting the structure of talk through question-answer sequences. Pragmatically it points to something insufficient in the response. While it is difficult

to judge whether English **well** or borrowed Irish **bhuel** is intended in many of the cases, a larger corpus - coupled with sociolinguistic descriptions of the speakers - will no doubt enable further description of this marker's range of pragmatic meaning and discourse function.

• (Ó) **MAISE** ⁷

In attempting to trace the range of meaning of **bhuel** and its native equivalents, one immediately happens upon **maise**, an Irish discourse marker frequently heard in the conversations of native speakers of all ages and dialects.⁸ From my admittedly limited exposure to the marker, it appears that **maise** [m^wIʃa], in answer-initial position in the Q-A sequence, tends to encode an evaluative or emotional stance in relation to the information which follows the marker (as we see in all of the examples (3a-d) below). This seems especially the case when it is used in tandem with **ó** ('oh'), as in **Ó maise!**,⁹ and follows an intonational pattern that can be interpreted as conveying concern. Functional English equivalents may be 'oh, my!' or even, 'oh, geez.' (**Oh** is a marker of information management, according to Schifffrin, marking

⁷ A variant of **muise/maise** [m^wIʃa] is **mbhuise** [m --> w]. This variant was used by pre-modern-period English writers who wanted to evoke an Irish-English dialect in a character's speech, as in, "Wisha, Patrick! I hope an' you'll be bringin' me the Guinness!"

⁸ **Ara** (or **arú**) is another Irish discourse marker that bears further exploration. I mention it only in passing because it did not occur in the data I examined. In initial position, it means 'Ah!', as in **Arú, an t-amadán!** 'Ah, the fool!' or **Arú, ní fiú a bheith ag caint air** 'Ah, it is not worth mentioning.' In utterance-final position, it means 'So!' or 'Indeed!', as in **Agus tá sé ina dhochtúir, arú!**, which has been glossed as 'So he is a doctor, is he?' (Ó Dónaill 1977:62). It can also be used as a negative response marker, as in "**Tabhair dó é.**" "**Arú!**" "'Give it to him." "No!"' I have also noticed its use in early 20th-century Irish literature.

⁹ While **ó** is not obligatory with **maise**, it does show up in all the cases here (unlike **bhuel**, which does not occur at all with **ó**).

shifts in the speaker's orientation to the information he or she is presenting.)

The marker has many meanings in the Irish conversational context, according to Ó Baoíll, including 'I see' and 'huh-huh.' The 'oh, my' and 'oh, geez' interpretations are possible, he said, although it would depend on his viewing the data to be conclusive. **Maise** also conveys a range of meaning depending on intonation, he added. Like **bhuel**, **maise** is used extensively cross-generationally and cross-dialectally, "but there are slight differences or nuances of meaning from one dialect to the next," said Ó Baoíll (1996 pers. com.).

Perhaps because the range of meanings of **maise** is recoverable only from context and from familiarity with dialect norms of usage, it has not appeared in the speech of Raidió na Life interlocutors – for whom access to the speech community of dialect speakers is either limited, nonexistent, or not valued – whereas **well/bhuel** has. (This suggests that **bhuel** falls somewhere between a borrowing and a codeswitch, as Lipski 1994 describes for the marker **so** in the Spanish of bilinguals.) Also, as previously mentioned, the educational context in which most RL speakers would have learned their Irish – the schools – has apparently not addressed aspects of discourse competence such that discourse marker use would entail. In the absence of speech community input, the learner is left merely with the following: An Irish-English dictionary entry indicating that **maise!** is an interjection meaning 'Indeed!' (and **Maise!** **Maise!** meaning 'Well! Well!'), and the English-Irish dictionary nowhere mentioning **maise** as an option for **well** or **indeed**.

What **maise** indexes in sociolinguistic terms remains to be explored: is it a factor of fluency? of Irishness? of some attitude

toward the language? Although this, too, remains to be determined, **bhuel** could be shouldering some of the pragmatic load of **maise** in restricted acquisition environments, in which many Dublin Irish speakers may be finding themselves.

So, for sociolinguistic and pragmatic reasons, I'm including **maise** at this point in the discussion, broadly correlating its use with **well**. Like **well**, **maise** functions as a response cue – because of its initial position in a response – as well as previewing for the listener what the speaker's evaluative relationship to the propositional content of the response might be. Like **well**, it is also used to signal a dispreferred move, meaning the answer might encode negative value judgments (as in 3b-c). Using the right intonation, in translation **maise** could be replaced in nearly all instances in the data with **well**, with **well** in these cases cuing the listener to the participant's attitude toward the response and not the information per se, semantically or structurally.

Example (3a), in which the interviewer asks the Gaeltacht respondent about his seasonal preferences and dislikes, is a good illustration of the use of **maise**.

A NOTE ABOUT THE EXAMPLES IN THIS SECTION: The examples are extracted from interviews on a wide range of topics with a single Connemara Gaeltacht speaker, Tomás McEoin. As it happens, I am acquainted with Mr. McEoin, a native Irish speaker in his 60s from rural Co. Galway, who is bilingual in English. As such, he is a speaker whose discourse marker tokens can be evaluated as a standard against which non-fluent or second-language speakers can be matched. Other linguistic features in his speech support this position. McEoin is a well-known traditional singer and poet, whose participation in those activities

further grounds him to the Irish language and the genres of its oral traditions.)

Example (3a)

Tape 4

- P: Cén séasúr den bhliain is fearr leat?
 T: Ó an tEarrach, a Phádraig. Is é an tEarrach an t-am is fearr liom féin den bhliain.
 P: Cén fáth?
 T: Ó **maise**, tá gach uile sórt ag tosú as an nua. Dá bhféadfainn féin tosú as an nua mar a thosnaíonn- tá a fhios agat, na crainnte ag teacht faoi bhláth, is na héanachaí ag ceol, is na héanachaí ag obair, ag tosú ag déanamh neadrachaí, dhéanfadh sé duine óg de sheandúine. Déanann sé óg mise ar chuma ar bith.
 [...]
 P: Ní maith leat an Geimhreadh?
 T: Ní maith, dáiríre.
 P: Cén fáth?
 T: Ó **maise**, tá sé deacair a rá, tá a fhios agat, tá an aimsir go dona agus tá sé cosúil le deireadh an tsaoil, ag teacht chuig deireadh an tsaoil nuair a bhíonn tú ag déanamh ar an nGeimhreadh. Domsa. Sin an chaoi a mbreathnaimse air.

- P: What season of the year do you prefer?
 T: Oh, spring, Pádraig. Spring-EMPH is the time of the year I-EMPH like best.
 P: Why?
 T: Ó **maise**, every sort of thing is starting anew. If I myself could start anew as (spring) starts- you know, the trees are coming into flower, and the birds are singing, and the birds are working, starting to make nests, it makes an old person young again. It makes me-EMPH young at any rate.
 [...]
 P: You don't like Winter?
 T: I don't really.
 P: Why?
 T: Ó **maise**, that's hard to say, you know, the weather is bad and it's like the end of the world, the end of the world coming when you're coping with Winter. To me-EMPH. That's the way it appears to me-EMPH.

In (3a), we see Tomás's use of **maise** following a question in which his elaborated answer, of which his own opinion is central, is required. He first utters a general statement and then supports it, meeting the pragmatic conditions established by the asking of the question. In an additional extension of the marker's function, in (3b) and (c) which follow, **maise** marks responses which could be considered negative or

critical; in these examples the remarks which follow the marker are hardly praiseworthy of two general classes of people, politicians and Americans. The responses are also not fully responsive, requiring implicature (Lakoff, pers. comm.).

Example (3b)**Tape 4**

P: *Céard a cheapann tú de pholaiteóirí?*
 T: *Ó maise, is dócha go bhfuil obair le déanamh acu...*

P: What do you think of politicians?
 T: *Ó maise*, I suppose they work hard...

Example (3c)**Tape 3**

P: *Céard a cheapann tú mar shampla go na Sasanaigh.*
 T: *Bhíodh an-aithne agam orthu fadó*
 [...]
 P: *Céard faoi na Meiriceánaigh*
 T: *Ó maise-* cloiseann tú iad sin san áit nach bhfeiceann tú iad ach?-
 bíonn siad ceart go leor.

P: What do you think for example about the English.
 T: I used to know them well long ago
 [...]
 P: What about the Americans
 T: *Ó maise-* you hear them in a place before you see them but-
 they're OK.

The responses refer directly to shared cultural knowledge about politicians (they can't be counted on to work appropriately) and Americans (they are noisy and "ugly" when they travel abroad). Other markers (*is dócha* 'I suppose' and *ach* 'but') neutralize the negative force of the responses in both cases.

It is worth mentioning that Tomás's responses earlier in the (3c) exchange, eliciting his thoughts on foreign tourists, were favorable to the British and the Germans and were markerless. *Ó maise*, accompanied by

glottal stops framing the negative evaluation of American tourists – *cloiseann tú iad sin san áit nach bhfeiceann tú iad* 'you hear them in a place before you see them' – shows up then to signal a shift in the information state. The demarcation of the utterance allows the speaker to move into a negative proposition and then return to a more neutral position on the matter which is less apt to incriminate him. The **maise-**prompted setup, with the other cues, in effect establish the negative proposition as the auxiliary meaning, and the concessive approval portion of the utterance as the primary message we're left with. The Americans, as a consequence, don't fall too far short of the others, and the speaker comes across as reasonable and thus credible.

Example (3d) is interesting in that **bhuel** and **maise** are used in complementary distribution:

Example (3d)

Tape 3

- P: *An bhfuil Féile nó Pátrún sa taobh seo tíre a bhféadfá cur síos a dhéanamh dom air?*
- T: **Bhuel**, an ceann is túisce a thagann chun mo chuimhne ná Lá an Tobair, Tobar Cholmcille, tá sé sin thíos i Maoras, thoir i mBaile na hAbhann ansin. Bíonn an lá seo ar bun an 9ú lá de- mí Meithimh.
- P: *Cad a tharlaíonn?*
- T: **Ó maise**, ba lá mór fadó é réir na seandaoine ach ní an oiread sin a tharlaíonn i láthair na huaire. Téann daoine ann fós agus tugann siad turas agus bíonn Aifreann thíos ag an bhfarraige ann tráthnóna ma bhíonn an- ag brath ar an aimsir.

- P: Is there a festival or feast-day on this side of the country that you'd be able to describe?
- T: **Well**, one that first comes to mind is the Day of the Well, Colmcille's Well, that's down in Maoras, in the east there in Baile na hAbhann. This day happens on the 9th of May.
- P: What happens?
- T: **Ó maise**, it was a big day long ago according to the old people but not much is happening these days. People still go there and they take a pilgrimage and there's Mass down at the sea in the evening depending on the weather.

At least for this speaker, **bhuél** and **maise** index different pragmatic functions in the discourse exchange. Given the scarcity of **bhuél** in his speech and its appearance in relation to the avowed Irish marker, I would assume that **bhuél** as used by Tomás McEoin is the "real Irish word," and not a functional stand-in for English **well**. To further support this, the previously noted use of Irish **bhuél** as a marker preceding listlike material holds in this case, in which the interviewer asks whether there is a festival or feast-day in the western part of the country that Tomás could describe. His response -

T: **Bhuél**, an ceann is túsce a thagann chun mo chuimhne ná Lá an Well, one that first comes to mind is the Day of the Well,

- is a naming of the first of ostensibly several western Ireland feast-days that comprise the general category. (The grammatical structure of the sentence, in which the constituent phrase *an ceann is túsce* 'the first one' occupies initial position in the sentence for purposes of comparative emphasis, reinforces the interpretation that the speaker is selecting an option from a list of possibilities.)

In summary, **maise** encodes a speaker's evaluative or emotional position in a response. It is not used by speakers involved in media-language production, whereas **bhuél** (with its bilingual neutrality) is. Since **maise** does not mark a subsequent listing or preface some insufficiency of a response on the information level, this is perhaps why **bhuél** was borrowed into Irish. That **maise**'s current function in the lexicon is restricted sociolinguistically (for use either by Gaeltacht-affiliated speakers or by speakers who want to make fun of a Gaeltacht affiliation¹⁰) would reinforce the difference.

¹⁰ Seán Ó Riain, pers. comm.

• **Y'KNOW**

Section 6.7 will cover many examples of English **y'know** within Irish talk on the radio, but here the possibility that there is an Irish phrase equivalent to **y'know** and its potential usage will be discussed. Initial queries made of informants elicited the predictable response: the straightforward sentence *tá a fhios agat* ['it-is its knowledge at-you,' i.e., 'you have its knowledge' = you know] is what speakers would use in speech to fulfill the function of English **y'know**. (It is possible the informants responded with a literal view of **y'know**, and did not think of it consciously as a pragmatic particle or discourse marker.)

In English, **y'know** essentially "gains attention from the hearer to open an interactive focus on speaker-provided information" (Schiffrin 1987:267). This means the information the speaker is providing becomes highlighted in the conversational exchange through a locally inserted marker of direct appeal to the listener. As **y'know** also works to establish an emotional link between speaker and hearer, it tends to occur when a speaker feels ill at ease (Lakoff, pers. comm.). It is partly through this marker that fluctuations in the degree of shared knowledge and general knowledge can be managed by relevant participants.

There are a few aspects of Schiffrin's analysis of **y'know** that are pertinent to the cross-linguistic consideration of discourse markers in the media. First, Irish *tá a fhios agat* [tOsaɡ't] or [tOsa:d], in my corpus, is missing the intonational component that is frequently considered to be a dominant feature of English **y'know** use, in which an intonational rise reinforces the general appeal to the hearer. (This remains the case in the **y'know** data in 6.7, with one or two exceptions, which we will discuss later.)

Second, in Schifffrin's data, the marker precedes and conditions a nearly obligatory acknowledgment, through some minimal response, that the information has been received by the hearer. Here is where the constraints of radio collide with the underlying rules of "ordinary" talk. Radio talk is bounded by the technical limitations of the medium and by the injunctions of its discourse domain in which authority of the practitioners is supported by the manner in which text or talk is produced. Back-channel responses, with some exceptions, of course, are not allowed. While the asymmetry of the interviewer-interviewee roles is backgrounded - to allow production of the **appearance** of cooperative, symmetrically constructed talk - it is nonetheless a requisite component of the discourse structure. The one-way use of **y'know** could be tentatively considered a feature of broadcast discourse.

Third, the essential fact of **y'know**, in that it is a marking by the speaker of the shared knowledge of participants, is also the case in the Irish data. Schifffrin differentiates between **y'know** marking what is shared between the participants themselves and what is general knowledge probably known among all potential participants (the overhearers and targeted audience, as well, to follow Goffman's communication model).¹¹ The way the two will be contrasted, for ease of discussion, is to refer to the former as **narrow-marking** and the latter as **broad-marking** (which may also have general correlates with **you-know**, in which the pronoun is salient, vs. the phonologically reduced **y'know**, in which it is not).¹² Of course the categories are not mutually exclusive and can co-occur.

¹¹ A third primary use of **y'know** between participants occurs when a speaker hopes the hearer will understand her pragmatic intention without supplying additional new information (Lakoff, pers. comm.).

¹² The system of marking narrow and broad focus in Irish has some parallels. Narrow focus is realized by the addition of emphatic suffixes

Example (4a) could be seen as an example of narrow-marking, in that Tomás appeals to knowledge he can reasonably expect his interlocutor could easily recover and acknowledge – "consensual truths," as Schifffrin terms it:

4a)

Tape 3

- P: Cén séasúr den bhliain is fearr leat?
 T: Ó an tEarrach, a Phádraig. Is é an tEarrach an t-am is fearr liom féin den bhliain.
 P: Cén fáth?
 T: Ó maise, tá gach uile sórt ag tosú as an nua. Dá bhféadfainn féin tosú as an nua mar a thosnaíonn- **tá a fhios agat**, na crainnte ag teacht faoi bhláth, is na héanachaí ag ceol, is na héanachaí ag obair, ag tosú ag déanamh neadrachaí, dhéanfadh sé duine óg de sheandúine. Déanann sé óg mise ar chuma ar bith.
 [...]
 P: Ní maith leat an Geimhreadh?
 T: Ní maith, dáiríre.
 P: Cén fáth?
 T: Ó maise, tá sé deacair a rá, **tá a fhios agat**, tá an aimsir go dona agus tá sé cosúil le deireadh an tsaoil, ag teacht chuig deireadh an tsaoil nuair a bhíonn tú ag déanamh ar an nGeimhreadh. Domsa. Sin an chaoi a mbreathnaimse air.

- P: What season of the year do you prefer?
 T: Oh, spring, Pádraig. Spring-EMPH is the time of the year I-EMPH like best.
 P: Why?
 T: Ó maise, every sort of thing is starting anew. If I myself could start anew as (spring) starts- **you know**, the trees are coming into flower, and the birds are singing, and the birds are working, starting to make nests, it makes an old person young again. It makes me-EMPH young at any rate.
 [...]
 P: You don't like Winter?
 T: I don't really.
 P: Why?
 T: Ó maise, that's hard to say, **you know**, the weather is bad and it's like the end of the world, the end of the world coming when you're coping with Winter. To me-EMPH. That's the way it appears to me-EMPH.

Both responses in this example in which the marker appears are structured similarly and include the following components in this order:

that operate on the pronouns; broad focus involves rearranging the syntax to emphasize a more general component of the utterance.

- 1) general statement
- 2) **marker**
- 3) substantiation of the claim and shared-world information
- 4) return to speaker world

Tomás answers the question of why he prefers spring with a *general statement* – "every sort of thing is starting anew..." in spring. The *marker tá a fhios agat/you know* presages a transition in the information state (cf. Schiffrin) in which he invokes knowledge of which both he and his interlocutor would be cognizant. His transition to specific, corroborating details (about trees and birds), something his interlocutor would be familiar with, as well, simultaneously *supports his initial claim* (of personal opinion) and draws his interlocutor into its propositional logic. He *establishes alignments* with his interlocutor through the consensual truths he presents. Thus the marker functions both informationally and interactionally, as Schiffrin has observed for the English equivalent.

You know is an indicator that an interactional demand is being placed on the hearer, which may be part of the reason this marker is negatively evaluated (cf. Schiffrin 1989). Another reason for its negative implication is that it tends to be used by the less powerful person in a discourse interaction (Lakoff, pers. comm.). **You know** is also negatively viewed by English speakers as a marker of insecurity. While the interaction in (4a) hardly conveys a tacit request for reassurance, it does – for the duration of the discourse unit – put the interviewer in a position in which his cognitive understanding of the general supporting propositions of the speaker is solicited.

After this is accomplished, Tomás sets up for the coda, the return to the *speaker world*, by indicating that the corroborating details about spring that he's included in his statement lead to a logical conclusion:

dhéanfadh sé duine óg de sheandúine 'it would make an old person young again.' This general conclusion (which also tells the hearer that Tomás views himself as aging) is recast in specific, personal terms, and focuses interactional attention toward the speaker and his opinion again: *Déanann sé óg mise ar chuma ar bith* 'It makes me-EMPH young at any rate'. (Notice that this move is underscored by the emphatic suffix (-se) - *mise* - which serves to emphasize the interactional as well as the informational status of the exchange.) Thus we have in this exchange cued by the marker **tá a fhios agat/you know** an interesting interpolation: the speaker simultaneously takes responsibility for his viewpoint, which is a matter of opinion, while engaging his interlocutor, at least temporarily, in aligning with the logic - the empirical facts of the spring season - behind his rationale.

The same four-part sequence occurs in the second half of the exchange, in which the speaker describes his dislike of winter. 1) There is a general statement in which his negative opinion of the season is embedded. 2) Next follows the marker **tá a fhios agat**. 3) Following the marker, he indicates that the weather is bad, which substantiates the negative force of his claim and draws the speaker into informational agreement (bad weather in an Irish winter can hardly be disputed). And 4) he returns to the speaker world with a general statement that the end of the world appears to be coming when you're coping with winter, using *tú* 'you' as an indefinite general pronoun. He then refocuses the proposition in personal terms, using two emphatic suffixes which operate on the first-person pronouns (in the compound prepositional pronoun *domsa* 'to-me-EMPH' and the verb phrase *a mbreathnaimse* 'observe.I-EMPH').

The other function of **tá a fhios agat/you know**, as a marker of broad appeal to the proposition of the speaker, to which the marker induces the hearer to attend but not to respond, is illustrated in (4b).

Example (4b)**Tape 4**

- P: *An bhfuil fhios agat cé mhéad Teachta Dála atá sa Dáil?*
 X: *By Dad, an bhfuil [a] fhios agat nach bhfuil anois.
 Níl a fhios.*

- P: Do you know how many TDs [politicians] are in the Dáil?
 X: By Dad, d'y'know (I) don't (know) now.
 I don't.

In this case, the marker – in tandem with the English interjection *By Dad* (which would cue the listener to the speaker's general level of vehemence) – concurrently highlights the speaker's surprise that the question has baffled him along with the fact that he does not know the answer. A broad-marking **y'know** token such as this would not make the same sort of appeal to the hearer as we saw in Example (4a), but would allow a general focus on the various points the speaker is conveying, propositionally and interactionally. The reduced, elliptical composition of the response supports this.

This example manages to illustrate other operations of **y'know**. Besides its role in the informational and interactional states that are part of discourse structure and meaning, Schiffrin has also suggested that **y'know** helps to develop the exchange structure created by participants in the discourse, e.g. in question-answer pairs. Of this she writes:

"[M]any cases of **y'know** can be considered as reduced questions, and thus, ... even those cases of **y'know** which do not initiate questions lead a hearer to focus on particular information...More specifically,...**y'know** focuses on either upcoming or prior

information because it is a reduced form of a *do you know* question with either forward or backward discourse scope" (Schiffrin 1987:286-7).

The structure of the response in Example (4b) is clearly a *do you know* question such as Schiffrin describes. It is not meant to elicit information in the way the interviewer's *do you know* question does in the prior turn (for a convenient parallel illustration), but to "focus on particular information."

Unlike English question forms, Irish questions can never (grammatically) be conveyed with an intonational rise. Instead the form would be the interrogative particle *an* followed by the relative form of the verb, as we see in the example. Thus, the question form of *you know* in Irish, *do you know?*, is *an bhfuil a fhios agat?*, literally 'is its knowledge at you?', as we see in the full response from (4b) with its (typically) reduced *Níl a fhios* at the end:

an bhfuil [a] fhios agat nach bhfuil anois
 INTERR is [its] knowledge at-you NEG-REL is now
Is its knowledge at you it isn't now

Níl a fhios
 NEG.is its knowledge
Isn't its knowledge

or, in idiomatic English: D'y'know I don't (know) now. Don't know.

In summary, *y'know* functions as a cue to focus the interaction on the speaker, or the speaker's needs in an interaction. As such, it highlights the structure of the discourse relationship of the participants. This marker's pragmatic function operates similarly whether it is in English or realized in Irish, as it is in the data here.

• **OK, YEAH**

Two other English discourse markers appear in dyadic Irish discourse - generally in informal situations in which the exchange of

information between participants comprises the discourse frame. (As such, these markers are not generally found in formal news or news interview situations.) These markers are **OK** and **yeah**, which I have termed reception cues (see Table 1), as they mark receipt of conversational material.

In the data, which includes the informal talk between personnel at the radio station as well as the field interviews of RTÉ, **OK** tends to accompany utterances in which the speaker is indicating that the appropriate information has been received, that the information-based objective at the center of the talk exchange has been completed (as opposed to the hearer-based "OK?", meaning, "do you see what I mean?"). From the standpoint of the speakers, **OK** then works to globally structure the respective positions of the interlocutors as they participate on the information-structure level of the discourse. **OK** indicates that the information exchange has been sufficient and the way is clear for other possible interactions in the discourse.¹³

The casual but urgent (everyone's on deadline), in-office chatter of the RL personnel exemplifies this. For instance, the conclusion of a typical telephone exchange, necessarily one-sided, is: *OK, go raibh míle maith agat. Tá, tá. OK, slán. 'OK. Thanks very much. -It is, it is. OK. Bye.'* (The use of **OK** as a codified pre-closing device is exemplified in the data in 6.7.) Because other interactional goals are being negotiated and perceived by the interlocutors in the forthcoming RL data, I will

¹³ The Irish equivalent of **OK** is *ceart go leor* 'sure enough' or *ceart 'right.'* These phrases are also used by speakers in my sample, but on a more local level, in which the proposition of the preceding utterance requires ratification or acknowledgment by the hearer.

show an example from the RTÉ data instead to illustrate the function of **OK** more straightforwardly.

The example, (6a), comes from an exchange constructed to illustrate basic moves in a simple, single-purpose conversation (greetings, solicitations of well-being, purpose of call, result enacted by purpose, closings). **OK**'s position following a sequence of talk in which sufficient information is exchanged to make the intention of the speaker clear is similar to other, unconstructed data in tapes of station interactions at RL.

Example (6a)

Tape 2

J: Cé'n chaoi a bhfuil tú a Chaitríona.
 C: Go dona.
 J: Céard atá ort?
 C: Tá slaghdán trom orm. So ni bheidh mé istigh inniú.
 J: **OK** a Chaitríona. Tabhair aire duit féin. [...]

J: How are you, Caitríona?
 C: Horrible.
 J: What's wrong?
 C: I have a heavy cold. So I won't be coming in today.
 J: **OK**, Caitríona. Take care of yourself. [...]

OK indicates that Jim's reception of Caitríona's message has been successful, and her objective of calling in sick has been met. (The use of **so** will be addressed in the next section.) Whereas **OK** is scarcely heard on Irish-language radio in the manner in which it has been presented in (6a) (as a global marker of a completed information-seeking objective), **yeah** does appear in news interview interactions.

Yeah, for which there is no obvious Irish equivalent (repeating the verb in the appropriate person is the manner in which an affirmative reply is made to a question), appears in the data in restricted circumstances: at points in the discourse exchange in which the hearer's

successful reception of the speaker's intention is being established through multiple, correcting turns. **Yeah** does not appear in answer to full, information-seeking questions (except for implied requests for affirmation in contexts of rephrasing an utterance). Instead, the **yeah** response of the participant serves to indicate to the speaker that the clarification or correction or explanatory material has been received and ratified and it is now viable to continue the turn from there. **Yeah** by the respondent often overlaps with the other speaker's utterance. We will see in the data in Section 6.7 that **yeah** is used by both participants in the interaction exchange, possibly for different interactional purposes.

Example (6b) returns to the discussion of school uniforms. **Yeah** appears twice, both times when clarification of information is underway in the discourse sequence:

Example (6c)

Tape 3

- P: Inis dom cé na héadaí cén sort éadaí atá i gceist san éide a bhíonn ort a chaitheamh.
 C: San éide scoile-
 P: /Sea.
 C: /**Yeah**. Tá geansaí dúghorm le- V-muinéal, agus um blús bán dosna cailíní agus léine ghorm dosna buachaillí, agus um- sciorta uh dúghorm dosna cailíní. Agus níl aon chead slits.
 P: |Níl aon |chead slits
 C: |Is dócha-|
 C: **Yeah**. Cuirtear é sin in iúl go maith dúinn. Agus um: ts- um bríste, liath dosna buachaillí. Agus, níl bhuel, níl níl cead acu(b) um, bróga reatha a chaitheamh, but ní chuireann sé sin stop leo.

- P: Tell me the clothes- the kind of clothes that are in the uniform that you have to wear.
- C: The school uniform-
- P: /yes.
- C: /**Yeah**. Navy-blue sweaters with a- V-neck, and um a white blouse for the girls and a blue shirt for the boys, and um navy um skirts for the girls. And slits aren't allowed.
- P: |Slits aren't allowed?
- C: |I suppose-
- C: **Yeah**. They've let us know that. And um: ts- um grey trousers, for the boys. And, they're not well, not- not allowed, um, to wear running shoes, but that doesn't stop them. [with laughter]

In the first instance, Caitríona is clarifying that the clothes Pádraig wants her to describe are the parts of the uniform she wears for school: *San éide scoil*- 'The school uniform-'. The fluidity of the subsequent latching of P's response (*Sea 'yes'*) and C's reception marker (**yeah**) indicating that the clarification has been noted and she's ready for the business of meeting the terms of the initial request, along with the rapidity of the turns, suggest a mutual attempt to background the meta-structure of the exchange and continue with the dominant, information-seeking conditions of the interview frame.

In the second instance, **yeah** occurs again at a point of clarification in the turn sequence. Caitríona has said that girls were not allowed to wear a particular type of shoe. As she attempts to continue (*is dócha*- 'I suppose'), Pádraig overlaps with a repetition of her statement, implying a request for confirmation (possibly because what one cannot wear would not generally be included in a description of what one wears): *Níl aon chead slits* 'Slits aren't allowed.' Caitríona interrupts the next point she has begun to initiate to instead clarify - **yeah** - and further explain that *Cuirtear é sin in iúl go maith dúinn* 'They've let us know that.'

In summary, **yeah** in the Irish discourse context functions as a reception cue (there is no comparable lexical response in Irish), and also allows participants to negotiate the structure of turns, as exemplified in the data.

- **'SO' and other markers**

Other English discourse markers show up in the data, but with less frequency than the rest. For that reason, I will mention them here, but will not consider their use in great detail, although a larger corpus with a greater number of tokens would undoubtedly reveal additional interesting, predictive features about their presence.

The other markers that appear in the data are **so**, **but**, **now**, and **I mean** – in descending order of frequency. With the exception of **because** (and to a large extent **and**), examples of all the markers discussed by Schiffrin (1987) can be heard within a relatively few hours of taped media data. **Because** becomes a useful marker because one would surmise that there is something about its inherent properties that precludes its use in English in an Irish-language domain. Determining what property or properties constrain its use – especially as these characteristics appear to differ from those of other markers which are used in their English forms – would then afford some explanatory potential for English marker use overall. It is my premise that the English discourse markers inserted in Irish talk have to a great extent a pragmatic component to their use, particularly on the discourse level in the bilingual context, something which **because** – in English – does not inherently possess.

As with several of the other markers, there are a number of phrasal equivalents in Irish for what is generally, in the unmarked situation, realized in English with a single word. In Irish, **because** can

take the following forms: *de bhrí go, cionn is go, mar gheall ar go, as siocair go, toisc go, ar an ábhar go, and mar (go)*.

Nowhere in the data did English **because** substitute for any of these alternatives, whereas English **so** did with its respective Irish alternatives, which are just as various. This fact becomes interesting when we look at the role **because** and **so** play in the structure and meaning of an utterance. Schiffrin considers **because** and **so** together because they are both clause-marking complements that have grammatical and semantic properties which are clearly recoverable from the propositional level of the discourse. In other words, they are not used so much on behalf of the interactional purposes of the discourse, as we've seen with the other markers (**well, maise, y'know, OK, yeah**), but to aid in the processing of propositional information. They retain their linguistic properties as they function to structure and add coherence to the discourse (a feature of connectives like **and** and **but**).

A reasonable explanation, then, for the appearance of **so** (which marks result) but the absence of **because** (which marks cause) could be attributed to a pragmatic function at the level of the discourse itself. Schiffrin shows how **so** differs from **because** in that it additionally has a pragmatic use in the participation framework of discourse, whereas **because** has no such additional pragmatic use. The absence of a pragmatic function for **because** would then discount the possibility of its presence as an inserted marker in Irish.

In its discourse-pragmatic implementation, **so** functions to mark a potential transition in the participant "workload" of an interaction. A participation transition, such as **so** helps effect, "is one in which speaker shifts responsibility to hearer; [and] ... the shift from

speaker to hearer is centered around the accomplishment of a particular interactional task" (Schiffrin 1987: 217). Since *so* marks a potential shift, it simultaneously allows for a transition to another's turn and for a continuation of the existing turn (for which Schiffrin presents copious evidence). As such, it is what Schiffrin calls a "turn-transition device," and is often followed by other conversational invitations for the next speaker to take up a turn if *so* doesn't accomplish the task alone.

As with other markers which accomplish key grammatical and propositional tasks in structuring and lending meaning to utterances, *so*'s linguistic salience is never divorced from its pragmatic function, as in Example (6a) (seen previously), in which the English *so* in this telephone conversation marks a result (a bad cold means Caitriona will not come into work):

Example (6a)**Tape 2**

J: *Haló. Banc a hÉireann.*
 C: *Haigh. Jim?*
 J: *Sea. Jim ó Sé anseo.*
 C: *Jim, Caitriona Ní Dhonncha anseo.*
 J: *Cé an chaoi a bhfuil tú a Chaitriona.*
 C: *Go dona.*
 J: *Céard atá ort?*
 C: *Tá slaghdán trom orm. So ní bheidh mé istigh inniú.*
 J: *OK a Chaitriona. Tabhair aire duit féin. Slán.*
 C: *Slán Jim.*

J: *Hello. Bank Eireann.*
 C: *Hi. Jim?*
 J: *Yes. Jim O'Shea here.*
 C: *Jim, this is Caitriona Ní Dhonncha.*
 J: *How are you, Caitriona?*
 C: *Horrible.*
 J: *What's wrong?*
 C: *I have a heavy cold. So I won't be coming in today.*
 J: *OK, Caitriona. Take care of yourself. Bye.*
 C: *Bye, Jim.*

Besides marking the result, **so** also opens a slot for subsequent participation by the hearer in the framework that Caitríona has established. It directs Jim toward his interlocutorial responsibility for responding to Caitríona's disclosure, which he does by accepting her evaluation of the situation (she won't be coming in to work) and elaborating on her intended activity (by telling her to take care of herself).

We have seen so far that unlike the "interactional markers" (**well**, **yeah**, **y'know**, etc.) discussed at length earlier in this chapter, English discourse markers appear in the data to also aid in the processing of propositional information. For this reason **so**, along with **but**, are referred to as "propositional cues." **So**'s scope both locally and globally draws attention to the logical results inherent in the discourse, and **but** sets up contrasts between propositions (this semantic sense is always salient even when the connective is used pragmatically). That is, **so** and **but** are used to highlight the logical relations between and among successive statements. As such, they work to articulate the structure of information in the discourse exchange. When it appears in the discourse, **but** is used for pragmatic highlighting of some sort (as in (7b) below), or for intensification, and **so** is used for communicative clarity.

In the following example, which we've already seen in the prior discussion of **yeah** and **well**, English **but** highlights the school-age speaker's evaluation of her proposition (the accompanying laughter simultaneously supports her rueful admission that her peers openly defy school dress codes).

Example (7b)**Tape 2**

- C: Yeah. Cuirtear é sin in iúl go maith dúinn.
 Agus um: ts- um briste, liath dosna buachaillí.
 Agus, níl bhuel, níl níl cead acu(b) um,
 bróga reatha a chaitheamh, **but** ní chuireann sé sin stop leo.
- C: | [hhhhh]
- ***
- C: Yeah. They've let us know that.
 And um: ts- um grey trousers, for the boys.
 And, they're not well, not- not allowed, um,
 to wear running shoes, **but** that doesn't stop them. [with laughter]

6.6 Discourse markers in the bilingual context (or, Why English?)

Instead of asking about (7b), "why didn't she use Irish *ach*?", for which the speculation on her intentions could be infinite, it is preferable to ask, "why did she use English **but**?" in which the communicative potential of the marker can be examined in relation to the discourse itself. Since the speaker – a young but fluent Gaeltacht resident – had a choice between **ach** and **but**, her selection of **but** indicates that there was something she required of it for her communicative purpose beyond its propositional value. While her "communicative purpose" cannot be recovered any more than her intentions for its use, the functions that **but** can perform pragmatically – in relation to the content of her utterance – would seem to afford a rationale for its appearance. Thus, **but**, which sets up a contrastive relationship, helps in its English form to draw attention to a contrast in the boys' de facto behavior in light of the rules prohibiting otherwise. The pragmatic force of the marker is amplified.

In fact, the pragmatic functions of the markers – with their multifunctional range in a variety of discourse tasks – help explain some general issues raised by their appearance: 1) Why are some English discourse markers used over their Irish counterparts and not others? 2)

How does the language contact situation influence patterns of discourse, and what do discourse markers inform us of? 3) Why do discourse markers occur in this type of talk, that is, media talk, and how might that influence their frequency?

The broad answer to these questions is: the communicative needs of the talk exchange supersede other considerations, and English discourse markers 1) aid in making pragmatic or communicative intentions clear, 2) point to the bilingual framework – and its resulting sociolinguistic constraints and circumstances – which cannot be divorced from language production at any level, and 3) allow within the confines of media talk the projection of discourse coherence and local-identity management, paramount goals in this situated, medium-specific public discourse domain in which fluency is critical.

We have seen that when the markers occur they invoke a pragmatic interpretation of the communication exchange, and in so doing they also foreground the bilingual foundation upon which the interlocutors build their discourse. This pragmatic interpretation can function at the information level of the discourse (as with the use of *so* or *but*, which highlights the logical relationships of a speaker's utterance), and at the interactional level, as will be made clear in the continuing discussion of *so* below and Section 6.7's synopsis of marker use in an evolving talk exchange on the radio.

The point that English discourse markers occur in a bilingual context cannot be overemphasized. As speakers are able to use English and Irish with a fair-to-native degree of ability, they have access to the communication strategies, social meanings, and contextualization cues of both linguistic systems. Some components of the discourse, such

as prosody, marker use, and to a limited extent grammatical structures, are less accessible to conscious manipulation – and conscious evaluation – than others (cf. Lipski 1994, Blom and Gumperz 1972, D'Anglejan and Tucker 1983, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Heller 1982, and Mishra 1982). Their appearance is a result of the intersection of communicative intentions and bilingual ability, and is generally realized unconsciously, unlike segment-level features or propositional information.¹⁴ This can also be seen in the way the markers' function in the situation of a repair (brought on either by lapse of memory related to the topic or by a lack of Irish-language fluency), which will be mentioned below. The overarching principle that explains the appearance of English discourse markers (as well as Anglo intonation contours in news broadcasts) is that they serve as contextualization cues in the bilingual (and media-specific) domain.

Turning again to the analysis of *so* will afford additional examination of the bilingual discourse context in which English markers are generated – and as they also occur in media circumstances – and will help shed more light on the multiple reasons English discourse markers are used instead of Irish ones. Earlier in Example (6b), *so* was seen as helping to effect a transition between participants' exchange of talk. As the question is considered why this participant transition is not accomplished by the Irish discourse marker, it must be noted that

¹⁴ This of course is not to say that features of prosody, discourse and grammar are not used consciously by speakers for an intended effect. But linguistic evidence – including the replication of substrate prosody in situations of sudden language contact and abrupt, sociopolitically instigated change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), and a lack of reported awareness by speaker and hearer of the inserted discourse markers and grammatical patterns of the superstrate language – allows us to consider these features from another perspective.

Example (6a)¹⁵ is one of several constructed dialogues in the RTÉ tape corpus (which draws primarily on interviews with an RTÉ journalist and fluent speakers from various Irish-speaking areas of the country). It is meant to illustrate for language learners how simple it is to have a purposeful conversation in which an ordinary, everyday task is accomplished through Irish. This is not a rarefied classroom exercise, in which the topic may bear no association with the potential conversational concerns of the learner and in which the language is formalized and standardized to the extent that it would sound stilted or awkward to a fluent speaker. Instead, the dialogue, while simple, reflects how Irish is used by fluent speakers, which includes English discourse markers (it is widely known that anglicisms are tolerated and freely used in the speech of Gaeltacht speakers).¹⁶

The dialogue as presented also presupposes a prior relationship between the talk participants and invokes a register appropriate to that relationship. Thus, the dialogue reflects a simple fact about a talk exchange: talk is constituted to index the relationships of the participants. In this case, Jim and Caitríona have a prior relationship to which this dialogue indirectly refers and supports, marked by the informal (and anglicized) greetings (*halo* 'hello' and *haigh* 'hi'), as well as the English discourse markers (*so*, *OK*).

¹⁵ Example (6a) is of course included here as an example of the use of English *so* in Irish talk, but it is also intended to illustrate that *so* was found in all three of the media domains of my corpus: RTÉ, RG, and RL, with RL data showing the most tokens.

¹⁶ Non-Gaeltacht speakers with a certain mindset toward the language are reported to go out of their way to use Irish forms, even when their use sounds unnatural to the native speaker (see also Jones 1995 for the implications of this dichotomous usage pattern in Breton).

Their discourse relationship also derives from the bilingual context in which they produce language. The greetings, English discourse markers, and anglicized intonational rise on the question eliciting confirmation (*Jim?*) work together to constitute a bilingual discourse frame. Given the recent history of Irish language-use enforcement through compulsory education, which couldn't help but engender a sense of inferiority in anyone whose primary or dominant language was English (cf. numerous informants), the authorization of a non-native or non-monolingual standard of use would seem to reassure imperfect speakers that their efforts are worthy. This in some sense, as we have seen in the prior chapters' discussions of RL, is what RL is contributing to the current stage of the language-development process.

Within its pragmatic role, *so* is also used to clarify the topicality of a present turn in relation to the previous speaker's turn. This can be done locally, coordinating clauses, and globally, looking back on the entire discourse activity. This particular use of *so* is relevant in the media interview framework, in which much of the interactional work of the discourse occurs through the structure of question-answer adjacency pairs. In the RL interview data, which follows, *so* occurs the majority of the time when an interviewer is following up on statements by the interviewee. (It occasionally occurs in interviewee talk when that person makes a summary statement to collocate a string of previous, related utterances. We will see examples of both usages in Section 6.7.) As the "discourse coordinator" charged with responsibilities to uphold professional standards as well as to ensure viable discourse, the interviewer is always actively directing the flow of talk to meet these standards. Aimless wandering around and

away from a topic, such as might occur in private conversation, cannot occur in public talk and in fact would not be considered "good journalism" practice (whether it does in actuality is not the point – it is the target linguistic behavior to which an interviewer subscribes).

This particular pragmatic use of *so*, to establish a global topical continuity across many turn-transition points, is evidenced throughout the RG and RL data. For example, in an interview on RG, the interviewee, who is participating in an Irish-language summer school session for teachers, has just finished discussing her role as an Irish-language teacher of adults and is ready to relinquish her turn, as we see by her pause and the pragmatic marker *sea* '-yeah' in example (7a) (in translation):

Example (7a)**Tape 15**

Bernie: [...] Maybe they're learning from somebody else during the day and with me at night from 7 to 9.
 > (.)
 > Yeah
 RG: > *So*, the course you're on is for teachers of adults [...]
 Bernie: Yes. Maybe I'll be a better teacher now
 for grown people.
 /
 RG: Yeah you have more teaching | technique-
 Bernie: own family with Irish and now they speak it fluently [...] | I raised my

The interviewer's *so*-initiated followup here relates the information of the prior turn to the global (journalistic) purpose of the media interview, in this case a feature story about participants in a well-regarded summer school at Glencolmcille. At the same time, the interviewer's *so*-marker initiates a transition that directs the interviewee toward a participation slot that will enable her to continue her discussion on a related but different aspect of the overall topic.

It is interesting to compare the incidence of **so**-insertion in Irish talk with the marker's appearance in another bilingual context: among Spanish speakers in the southwestern United States. In his current, exploratory study, Lipski (1994) has observed **so**'s largely unintentional use by 77 speakers who cover the entire range of the bilingual spectrum (in other words, lack of Spanish fluency or nativity is not necessarily a factor in the use of English **so**). In all instances in his data, Lipski found that English **so**'s grammatical function in the talk of bilinguals is limited to only one of its several possible roles, that of coordinating conjunction. This parallels the Irish evidence, in which English **so** operates as a conjunction.

In his data, of which Lipski observes that **so**-insertion occurs more frequently in narratives than in short answers to questions, **so** appears the majority of the time phrase-medially (40.7 percent), inserted without an accompanying pause. The Irish media data, none of which could be considered prototypical narrative data resulting as it does from question-answer sequences, is contrary to this. In all cases in the data **so** appears phrase-initially, and in all cases in which the interviewer is talking in response, it appears turn-initially, as well. This distribution parallels another instance of pragmatic marker use in a media environment: connectives **and** and **but** are used pragmatically in newspaper stories to both structure written news texts and lessen the responsibility on the reader in decoding the media message. These pragmatic connectives are always in sentence-initial position (cf. Cotter 1996).

When **so** appears phrase-finally in Lipski's data (phrase-final **so** never occurs in Irish media data thus far), he reports that it is

followed by silence – rather than "an intervention of the interlocutor" – which suggests it is used as a floor-holding device much like phrase-final **y'know** in the RL data in 6.7. In the Irish data, to the extent that it has been examined, **so** remains clearly in the service of the information structure of the discourse, rather than expanding its range to the interactional realm as **so** appears to have done for bilingual Spanish speakers.

While Spanish fluency does not seem to influence the use of **so** in Lipski's bilingual speakers, in the Irish media data fluency with Irish does seem to be a factor at least some of the time when English markers occur. The last two markers which will be discussed briefly (**now** and **I mean**) occur too seldom (one token each in the data) to venture anything but the most tentative account for their presence. In both cases, however, they are used for discourse-level purposes that relate to the speakers' bilingual status because they occur in repair situations.

In effect, **now** and **I mean** are used to orient attention to the speaker's temporary struggle with producing meaningful talk in relation to the broader contexts of the underlying bilingual reality and the global production of discourse. Both markers position the speaker in relation to his or her utterance; in the data **now** functions in one of its roles as a "proximal deictic which locates an utterance in a ... space dominated by the producer, rather than the receiver (Schiffrin 1987: 245), and **I mean** "marks speaker orientation toward the meanings of [their] own talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 309). For that reason, these markers have been referred together as orientation cues – and they serve to orient the speakers dealing with the demands of a bilingual environment as well as the demands that the discourse activity creates.

Markers and identity: unconscious production

It has already been contended that English discourse markers may be used for different sociolinguistic and discourse-level reasons all related to the bilingual context, such as to mark the fluency or communicative intent of the speaker, or as a linguistic marker of bilingual identity. Marker insertion is a strategy employed by a wide range of speakers, from learners with low language skills to fluent bilinguals with highly competent and complex access to both languages. The evidence of discourse-marker insertion in the latter, fluent cases diminishes the argument that discourse-marker insertion correlates with an absence of competence in Irish (although these instances are certainly present). That English discourse-marker insertion does not appear to occur to a great extent in older speakers with perhaps more affiliation to Gaeltacht speech patterns (and thus who will use the Irish markers like *maise*) suggests that their use can also be interpreted as a more traditional sociolinguistic indicator of speech group affiliation or identity within the Irish culture, as well as a possible artifact of language change.

The data is suggestive of these possibilities, and a more penetrating study of the sociolinguistic parameters that condition discourse-marker insertion is needed (age and Gaeltacht affiliation may be productive variables to explore). At the level of discourse, however, which is the concern of this work, it is reasonable to explain English discourse-marker insertion on pragmatic grounds - particularly when the equivalent Irish form is easily compatible structurally and semantically, as in the case of *ach* 'but' (and even *bhuel/well*).

6.7 Discourse markers in evolving talk

Previous sections have demonstrated how English discourse markers function in Irish media interviews conducted and edited by RTÉ journalists. These interviews have been excerpted from longer field interviews by the reporter (and further excerpted for the purposes here) and while they show the interesting behavior of the discourse markers, they do not necessarily show the interesting behavior of the discourse itself. The data in this section is intended to illustrate that.

Since one of the claims here is that discourse markers appear as a result of the dynamic, evolving act of talk and also serve to constitute the structure and meaning of talk, a transcript of an extended news interview that aired in August 1995 on Raidió na Life will be presented in entirety. The goal is to show how discourse markers work alongside other functions of the talk exchange, play a part in the negotiation of turns, and position participants in relation to each other. Further, it demonstrates to a greater extent the bilingual participants' use of English markers in their Irish.

The presentation of news-interview data

What follows is a transcript of a live, on-air interview on Raidió na Life's regular half-hour current affairs program, *Um Thráthnóna* (translated as "evening time" or "this evening"). The interviewer, Anna DeBarra, is a 22-year-old Dublin native who plans a career in the broadcast media. She learned her Irish in school, graduating with a B.A. in Irish. She comes from a family of non-Irish speakers.

Her interviewee, Aedín Chosain, was interviewed over the telephone (which accounts for some distortion and unintelligibility on the tape). Informant judgments about her Irish indicate she is a fluent Dublin

Irish speaker with a great deal of prescriptively grammatical facility. The topic is the war in Bosnia.

To assist in following and interpreting the data, the interview was divided into seven "sequences" based on the interview's discourse boundaries – evidenced by question-answer exchanges and general structural characteristics (beginnings and closings). This division in and of itself offers a glimpse into the discourse-level goals and structures that govern conversational interaction.

As with the RTÉ examples in previous sections, the RL interview will be presented by sequence first in Irish in italics (with ellipses when the talk is not relevant to the analysis) and then in English (in Roman type). The English discourse markers, including a sampling of fillers such as **um** and **uh** (and variant **em** and the isolated **buh**), are boldfaced.

"UT" is the interviewer who hosts the program, *Um Thráthnóna*. "AC" is the respondent, Aedín Chosain.

The transcript is lengthy, representing just under 10 minutes of talk. Brackets will indicate unintelligible words or comments on manner of delivery. Brief stretches of content summary in English will occasionally appear in brackets in the Irish portions. Relevant lines are numbered in both the Irish and English versions for ease of comparison

Transcription conventions as specified in Chapter 1 (p. 14) will apply. Discussion will follow.

6.7.2 *Um Thráthnóna* transcripts (Irish and English)

Raidió na Life current affairs program

Tape 19

***** Sequence 1 *****
 Total time: 22 secs

UT: *Fáilte go Um Thráthnóna*
Mise Anna De Barra libh go dtí leathuair tar éis a sé,
Inniu, tá clár speisialta againn mar gheall ar an suíomh i
mBosnia atá ag dul in olcais in aghaidh an lae
Is scéal casta é seo agus anois ar an Aoine tá Aedín Chosain
chun cúlra stair na tíre seo
agus a dtrioblóidí go dtí seo a mhíniú,
 [change of vocal quality]
 1 UT: *Fáilte isteach a Aedín Cho|sain*
 2 AC: *|Go raibh maith agat.*

Sequence 1 - translation

UT: Welcome to Um Thráthnóna
 I'm Anna DeBarra with you until 6:30,
 Today, we have a special program about the situation in
 Bosnia which is getting worse every day.
 This is a complicated situation and now we have Aedín
 [aedi:n] Chosain
 to explain the historical background of that country
 and the troubles there up 'til now.
 [change of vocal quality]
 1 UT: Welcome, Aedín Cho|sain
 2 AC: |Thank you.

***** Sequence 2 *****
 Total time: 3 min., 42 secs

- UT: Ní thuigeann go leor daoine cén fáth ar thosaigh na trioblóidí san Iar-Iugoslav.
 An féidir é seo a mhíniú go simplí.
- AC: **Em** déanfaidh mé iarracht é sin a dhéanamh, Is **em**, mar a deir tú is scéal casta é **uh**:
 mar a tá fhios ag a lán daoine ba thír é an Iugoslav, is tír aontaithe a bhí ann, suas go dtí cúig nó sé bliain ó shin.
 1 Mar sin **em** b'fhéidir gur chuala daoine faoi Marshall Tito a bhí, **uh**, **y'know**, a rialaigh an tír sin ar feadh **uh** na blianta ó deireadh an dara cogadh domhanda i leith.
- 2 Agus i gcónaí bhí sa Iugoslav, **em**, sé náisiúin éagsúla - **uh** Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Montenegro, agus: **um**: **now**.
 ní féidir liom cuimhniú cad é an séú ceann [a couple of unintelligible syllables]
 [speaks rapidly, with raised pitch and with some embarrassed laughter]
- 3 Is sé náisiún éagsúla a bhí ann, agus: **uh**: **y'know** a dteangacha féin acu, a daonúlacht féin acu ach:
 4 bhí córas **mm y'know** maith acu **uh** a d'oibrigh go maith ag tabhairt **uh** méid áirithe féin rialtas do gach ceantar agus **um**: **em**:
em: "rotating **uh**: presidency" [?]
 agus an saghas sin rud. **um**: chomh maith agus **em**: nuair **uh** a thit nuair a fuair Tito bás do mhair sé seo ar feadh tamall eile ach:
 de réir a chéile bhí na difríochtaí **uh** ag éirí níos láidre
- 5 Agus **um**: theasaigh ó chuile ceantar, **y'know uh** a rialtas féin a bheith acu
 An chéad dream a bhris ar siúl b'iad Slovenia.
 Agus: ní raibh an iomarca troiblóid ansin
 6 mar is- **y'know**, **buh**: **uh**: formhór daonra an cheantar ba [?]
 7 **y'know**, Slóivéiní iad súid
 Ansin **um**: theastaigh ó Croatia
 bris ar siúl ach: **uh**: mar a tharla bhí a lán, **uh**, bhí mionlach tábhachtach de:
 Seirbigh laistigh de Croatia.
 Agus **em**, nuair **uh** a dúirt Croatia gur theastaigh uatha bheith neamhspleách níor: déanadh mórán plé ar chonas a chaithfí leis **em** an mionlach sin.
- Agus **em**: tugadh aitheantas go han-tapaidh go Croatia an [muttered] Ghearmáin go háirithe a bhí an-thapaidh ar fad chun aitheantas a thabhairt dóibh [breath] gan go dtabharfaí, **em**:, barrántas, nó "guarantees", **eh**, go mbeadh meas ar, ar an mionlach Seirbeach.
- Agus: ina dhiaidh sin do do:
 chuaigh na Seirbigh chun cogaidh i gcoinne Croatia.
Uh:, sin cúig nó sé bliain ó shin.
Uh: thart ar chúig bhliain ó shin.

Agus **uh** ba chogadh uafásach é sin, **uh**, do:,
is iad na Seirbigh a tháinig amach is láidre.
A:gus **em**:, bhuaíl siad Croatia.

- 8 Agus ina dhiaidh sin? **uh**: díreach in a dhiadh sin, **uh**:
i naoi déag nócha h-aon, d'fhógair Bosnia, Herzegovina,
gur theastaigh uatha siúd- **y'know**
an neamhspleáchas a bheith acu chomh maith
agus iad féin a ríalú
[breath intake] agus:, **um**:,
tharla an rud céanna
Tugadh aitheantas dóibh go han-tapaidh
Chuir rialtas na Gearmáine brú
ar an chuid eile den Eoraip sin a dhéanamh.
Agus **em**:? bhí: **uh** suíomh níos casta fós?
laistigh de Bosnia mar:
thart ar daichead fain gcéad den daonra is Muslimigh iad
[breath intake] **uh** thart ar triocha faoin gcéad- Croatians
agus triocha faoin gcéad **em** Seirbigh.
9 Agus, **em** b'fhéidir triocha trí faoin gcéad de Seirbigh,
y'know chun a bheith beacht.
[.]
Agus arís
10 cé go raibh rialtas Bosnia tar éis a fhógairt go mbeadh
siad, **um**: **y'know**, oscailte: le mionlaigh go mbeadh- **y'know**,
gur: **um**: nach mbeadh aon "discrimination" agus a lethéid:
agus go mbeadh rialtas
uh ann ag **uh** ina mbeadh chuile náisiún **uh**:
go mbeadh ionadaíocht acu?
Eh: do d'fhógair na Seirbigh nach nglacfaidh siad leis seo
agus láithreach chuaigh siad chun cogaidh,
em: agus an dream laistigh de- na Seirbigh
laistigh de Bosnia na Bosnian-Serbs,
is mó: **uh**:
a chuaigh chun cogaidh leis an cúis seo

Agus n- ó shin i leith:?
cé nach raibh iontu ach triocha faoin gcéad den daonra
tá siad tar éis seachtó faoin gcéad den,
de: **em**: thalamh Bosnia, **em**: a thógáil.
11 Agus tá fhios againn ar fad an- an scéal ó shin
i leith go bhfuil **y'know** na [unintell?] seo ar fad ann
go bhfuil siad ag iarradh gach **uh**:
píosa beag atá fágtha ag na Muslimigh a thógáil uatha?
go háirithe Sarajevo.

Sequence 2 - translation

UT: Many people don't understand how the troubles started in Yugoslavia.
Can you explain this simply?

AC: Em I'll try to do that, It's em,
as you say it's a complicated situation uh:
as many people know Yugoslavia
was a united country,
until five or six years ago.
So that em perhaps people have heard about Marshall Tito
1 who was, uh, y'know, ruling the country for uh
years since since the Second World War.

And still Yugoslavia was em six different nations-
2 uh Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Montenegro,
and: um: now.

I can't remember what the sixth one [unintell?]
[speaks rapidly, with raised pitch and with some embarrassed
laughter]

3 It was six different nations, and: uh: y'know
with their own languages and their own populations but:
4 They had mm y'know a good system uh which worked
fairly well getting uh a
certain amount of self-government to each region and um: em:
"rotating uh: presidentship" [??]
and that kind of thing um as well
and em: when uh [subj?] fell uh when Tito died
this lasted for a while more but:
gradually the differences were getting stronger

5 And uh: each region wanted y'know uh
to have their own government
The first group that broke away was Slovenia.
And: there wasn't too much trouble then
6 because- y'know, buh: uh: most of the population of the area
7 were y'know, Slovenians.
Then um: Croatia wanted
to break away but: uh: as it happened there was a lot uh
there was an important minority of:
Serbs within Croatia.
And em, when uh Croatia said they wanted
to be independent there wasn't: much discussion how
that minority would be treated.

And em: recognition was given very quickly to Croatia
Germany [?] especially was very fast
to give them recognition
[breath] without them giving barrántas, or "guarantees",
eh, that there would be respect for, for the Serbian
minority.

And: after that for for:
the Serbs went to war against Croatia.
Uh:, that's five or six years ago.
Uh: about five years ago.
And uh that was a terrible war, uh for:-

the Serbs came out of it stronger.
And: em: they beat Croatia.

8 And after that? uh: directly after that, uh:
in 1991, Bosnia, Herzegovina, announced
that they wanted to- y'know
have their independence as well
and rule themselves
[breath intake] and:, um:,

the same thing happened.
Recognition was given to them very quickly
The German government put pressure
on the rest of Europe to do that.
And em:? there was: uh an even more complicated?
situation with Bosnia because:
about 40 percent of the population are Muslims
[breath intake] uh about 30 percent Croatians
and 30 percent em Serbs.
And, em maybe 33 percent Serbs,
9 y'know to be exact.

[.]
And again
10 although the Bosnian government had announced they would
um: y'know, be open: to minorities there would be- y'know,
that: um: there wouldn't be any discrimination and the like:
and that there would be a government
uh there uh in which every nation uh:
that they would have representation?
Eh: the Serbs announced that they wouldn't accept this
and immediately they went to war,
em: and the group inside, the Serbs
inside Bosnia it was the Bosnian-Serbs,
mainly uh:
who went to war for this cause

And th- since then?:
Although they were only 30 percent of the population
they have em taken 70 percent of,
of: em: Bosnian land.
And we all know the- the story since then
11 that there's y'know the [unintell?] all there
that they are trying to take every uh:
small piece that the Muslims have left for them?
especially Sarajevo.

***** Sequence 3 *****
 Total time: 47 secs

- 1 UT: So, an talamh an rud tá siad ag iarraidh a bhaint amach=
/
- 2 AC: |Well, sin é=
 UT: |=an bhfuil siad ag iarraidh aon rud |eile=|
- 3 AC: =/yeah |yeah |
 UT: =a bhaint amach |seachas an talamh |
- 4 AC: |Well, is...is... |
 saghas tuairim atá acu ag na Serbigh go bhfuil sé de cheart acu. (.)
 um:..an: |talamh seo a bheith acu.|
 UT: |talamh seo a bheith acu |
 ??: /mm-hmm
 AC: Déir siad go raibh sé acu míle blian ó shin.
 Agus gur: Serbia ar fad a bhí i gcónaí ann agus nach bhfuil sé de cheart ar bith ag na Muslimigh seo bheith ann Agus dá bharr sin tá an: uh:
 facthas "ethnic cleansing" seo acu
 5 y'know go gcaithfidh siad na Muslimigh a glanadh amach.
 6 y'know? agus [dairíre] ba thír cuíosach measctha é Bosnia Is amhlaigh] go mbeadh: Muslim [?] b'fhéidir pósta le:
 7 Serbeach nó le Croatian agus uh: y'know do bhí rudáí
 8 réasúnta maith, (.) uh cé go raibh roinnt, y'know, sean-difríochtaí eatarthu a chuaigh siar ar feadh [sigh/laugh] na céadta bliana d'fhéadfá a rá,

Sequence 3 - translation

- 1 UT: So, the land is the thing they are trying to get=
/
- 2 AC: |Well, that's it=
 UT: |=are they trying for anything |else=|
- 3 AC: =/yeah |yeah |
 UT: =to get |apart from the land|
- 4 AC: |Well, it's...it's...|
 a sort of opinion which the Serbs have that they have the right (.)
 um:..to: |have this land|
 UT: |have this land|
 ??: /mm-hmm
 AC: They say they had it a thousand years ago.
 And that: it was always all Serbia
 and that these Muslims have no right at all to be there And because of that they have this uh:
 view of "ethnic cleansing"
 5 y'know that they have to clean the Muslims out.
 6 y'know? and [really] Bosnia was a fairly mixed country:
 Apparently a Muslim would be married to
 7 a Serb or to a Croatian and uh: y'know things were 8
 reasonably good, (.) uh even though there were some, y'know,
 old differences between them that went back for
 [sigh/laugh] hundreds of years you could say,

***** Sequence 4 *****
 Total: 49 secs

- 1 UT: Agus an dóigh leat- **uh** an bhfuil sé an-deacair
um réiteach a fháil ar an bhfadhb seo dá bharr sin.
- AC: Sílim go bhfuil sé: deacair mar: feicim go bhfuil
 na Seirbigh iontach daingean ar an tuairim seo
 Níl siad sásta, bogadh tá siad.
 uh:, lán chinnte go bhfuil sé de cheart acu.
 eh: seo a bhaint amach agus
 níl siad ag iarraidh:
 glacadh le aon rud níos lú ná an seachtó faoin gcéad
 atá acu de Bosnia.
 Em, níl siad ag iarraidh aon talamh a thabhairt ar ais
 Agus, measaim de bharr na huafáis ar fad atá tar éis tarlú,
 an méid fulaingt atá tar éis tarlú
- 2 Agus **uh: y'know** na daoine ar fad atá tar éis bheith **uh, uh,**
uh, [unintell?] anois.
 Tá sé deacair teacht ar réiteach mar:
 tá- mothúcaín iontach láidre déarfainn ar chuile thaobh,
- 3 Measaim, **uh y'know=**

Sequence 4 - translation

- 1 UT: And do you think- **uh** is it very difficult to find
um a solution to this problem because of that.
- AC: I think it: is difficult because I see that
 the Serbs are very fixed in this opinion.
 They are not willing, they
uh:, are full sure that they have the right.
eh: to attain this and
 they don't want:
 to accept anything less than the 70 percent
 which they have of Bosnia.
Em, they don't want to give any land back.
 And, I think because of all the atrocities which have
 happened, the amount of suffering which has happened
- 2 And **uh: y'know** all the people who have been **uh, uh**
uh [unintell?] now.
 It is difficult to come to a solution because:
 there are extremely strong feelings on all sides,
- 3 I think, **uh y'know-**

*****Sequence 5*****

Total: 1 min., 28 secs

- =measaim/ **uh y'know**-
- 1 UT: /Agus an bhfuil an lucht ar: thaobh amhain.
AC: **Well:**, tá: **um:** deir **um:** na dreamanna éagsúla
go bhfuil locht ar dhá thaobh
ach tá sé soiléir cé a thosnaigh.
Em, sa chás seo
Is siad na, na Seirbigh, **em**, na Bosnian Serbs
agus i dtosach bhí:
tacaíocht acu ó Serbia féin atá ina saghas ina thír éagsúl.
Em:, is iad siúd a thosnaigh an rud ar fad.
em:
- 2 UT: /Agus cén t-am a thosnaigh sé i
ndairíre. Thart ar?
AC: /**uh** thart /ar b'fhéidir nócha h-aon, **no**=
UT: /mm
- 3 AC: nócha dó. nócha dó. gabh mo leithscéal, **yeah?**
trí bliain ó shin anois.
uh isé ceathre bliana ina thosnaigh an cogadh idir Croatia
agus Serbia.
[breath intake] Agus **um:**
- 4 ó shin i leith tá siad, **uh y'know** níl siad ag ag-
ag stopadh go dtí go mbeidh sé ar fad acu?
de réir dealraimh.
Agus cé: tá: na Muslimigh ag iarraidh troid ar ais.
Ach tá: **uh embargo idirnáisúinta**,
i gcoinne airm a thabhairt,
don dá thaobh,
do na Serbí agus na Muslimí ach.
is cosúil go bhfuil na Serbí gur éirigh leo siúd,
em: em (.) airm a fháil ón Oirthear, seans maith ón Rúis?
agus cheana féin bhí airm i bhfad níos láidre acu
mar a bhí ag na: na Muslimigh
ag **uh** rialtas Bosnia d'fhéadfá a rá mar ní amhain Muslimí
atá ann? [breath] =
- 5 UT: [quick intake of breath]
AC: =**y'know** ? [reclaiming floor]
agus mar sin ní raibh na Muslimí abalta iad fhéin a chosaint
[breath]
UT: /[latching]

Sequence 5 - translation

- =I think/ uh y'know-
- UT: /And is the blame on one side.
- 1 AC: Well:, there's: um: the different groups say um: that there is blame on two sides but it is clear who started. em, in this case It is the, the Serbs, em, the Bosnian Serbs and originally they had support from Serbia itself which is sort of is a different country. Em:, it is they who started the whole thing em:
- UT: /And when did it really start. About?
- 2 AC: /uh about /maybe [Nineteen] ninety-one, no=
- UT: /mm
- 3 AC: ninety-two. ninety-two. sorry, yeah? three years ago now. uh it's four years ago that the war started between Croatia and Serbia. [breath intake] And um: since then they are, uh y'know they are not uh uh- uh stopping until they have it all? by the looks of it. And even:- the Muslims are trying to fight back. But there is: uh an "international embargo," against giving arms, to both sides, to the Serbs and to the Muslims but. it looks like the Serbs are, they were able, em: em (.) to get arms from the East, probably from Russia? and beforehand they had much stronger arms than the Muslims had? [breath]=
- UT: [quick intake of breath]
- 5 AC: =y'know? [reclaiming floor] and so the Muslims weren't able to defend themselves [breath]
- UT: /[[latching]

*****Sequence 6*****

Total time: 1 min., 33 secs

- UT: Agus cad/é an an rud ba mhaith leatsa a fheiceáil.
 AC: /mm-hmm/ [very softly]
- 1 AC: Well, is é an trua ná [sigh] bhí an ceart uh
 seasamh láidir a thógaint ón tús
 [discusses United Nations role briefly...]
- 2 Eh:, go raibh na Seirbigh ag bagairt, y'know ,
 nach, go mbeadh cogadh ann
 dá: mbeadh Bosnia ag iarraidh neamhspleáchas.
 [Intake of breath]
 Déanadh an botún ag an tús [unintell?]
 Agus nuair a thosaigh na Seirbigh an cogadh
 gan stop a chur leo láithreach le,
- 3 y'know, [unintell?] le rudáí ar nós "air strikes" a úsáid.
 [The UN had the right to do this...]
 Anois, is suíomh i bhfad i bhfad níos casta é, eh:
 níos deacra le: teacht ar réiteach.
 Ach sílim, gur chóir d'uibh bheith dairíre faoi (.)
- 4 cosaint a thabhairt, y'know,
 do na safe areas seo atá acu mar dhea.
 Ah: agus níor déanadh iarracht dá laghad
 cosaint a thabhairt do mhuintir Srebrenica le déanaí.
 [discusses lack of protection of safe area, incl em (1)...]
- 5 Sílim go gcaithfear, y'know, gan díreach bheith ag tabhairt,
 6 y'know ag deanamh bagairt ach ansin:
 gan gníomhaíocht ar bith a bheith ina dhiaidh,
 Sé an troiblóid ná gur léir nach bhfuil an toil ann,
uh:, ó thaobh tíortha an iarthar
 [intake of breath]

Sequence 6 - translation

- UT: And what is the the thing you would like to see.
- AC: |mm-hmm| [very softly]
- 1 AC: Well, the pity is [sigh] that a strong stand
should have been taken from the start
[discusses United Nations role briefly...]
- 2 Eh:, that the Serbs were threatening, y'know,
that, that there would be a war
if: Bosnia wanted independence.
[Intake of breath]
The mistake was made at the beginning [unintell?]
And when the Serbs started the war
they were not stopped immediately with,
- 3 y'know, [unintell] with using things like air strikes.
[The UN had the right to do this...]
Now, it is a much much more complicated situation, eh:
more difficult to find a solution.
But I think, that they should have been serious about (.)
- 4 giving protection, y'know,
to these safe areas which they have supposedly.
Ah: and not the least effort was made
to give protection to the people of Srebrenica recently.
[discusses lack of protection of safe area, incl em (1)...]
- 5 I think they should, y'know, not just give,
- 6 y'know, make threats but then:
not have any action afterward,
The trouble is that it is clear that the will isn't there,
uh: from the side of the Western countries to do anything.

*****Sequence 7*****

Total time: xxx

- UT: Agus an gceapann tú nach bhfuil an Naisiún Aonta ag déanamh a ndícheall faoi [unintell?]
- AC: Sílim nach bhfuil go leor:, deireann na daoine ansin ar an talamh go bhfuil siad ag déanamh a ndícheall agus: mm is deacair an suíomh dóibh é ach níl go leor: cumhacht tugtha dóibh, agus is an UN Security Council, atá freagrach as sin. 'Sé an trioblóid ná nach bhfuil gach éinne aontaithe abair an Bhreatain, níl siad ar son, seasamh láidir a thógáilar a ceist seo
- 1 níl suim acu i ndairíre, y'know? ah: Déanfaidh siad ráitimh éagsúla ach i ndairíre is cuma leo sa tíoch dar liomsa [discusses the Russian, French and US attitudes].
- 2 Y'know, tá an Fhrainc agus uh na Stáit Aontaithe uh
- 3 tar éis iarrachtaí éagsúla a dhéanamh but,
- 4 cé go bhféadfadh siad bheith níos láidre dar liomsa- Y'know sin an trioblóid [hhhh]
- 5 UT: /atá ann. mm: /Oka:y, Aedí:n/ \Well, go raibh míle maith agat Aedín |Chosáin|=
- 6 AC: |yeah |
- UT: =as a bheith linn ar Um Thráthnóna |inniú. |
- AC: |fáilte romhat|
- UT: Go raibh maith agat.

Sequence 7 - translation

- UT: And do you think the United Nations are not doing their best about [unintell?].
- AC: I think there isn't enough:, the people there on the ground say they are doing their best and: mm: it is difficult situation for them, but they are not given enough power, and it's the UN Security Council, which is responsible for that. The trouble is that not everyone is unified say Britain, that are not in favor, of taking a strong stand on this issue
- 1 they're not interested really, y'know? ah: They will make various statements but really they don't care at all I think [discusses the Russian, French and US attitudes].
- 2 Y'know, France and uh the United States uh
- 3 have made various efforts but,
- 4 although they could be stronger I think- Y'know that's the trouble [hhhh] |there. mm:
- 5: UT: |Oka:y, Aedí:n/ \Well, thank you very much Aedín |Chosáin|=
- 6 AC: |yeah |
- UT: =for being with us on Um Thráthnóna |today |
- AC: |you're welcome|
- UT: Thank you.

6.7.3 Accomplishing discourse-level tasks. The interview was divided into seven "sequences," based on loosely interpreted discourse boundaries marked primarily by question-answer exchanges and opening and closing patterns. As mentioned earlier, this division of itself offers a glimpse into the discourse-level goals and structures that govern conversational interaction. The schematic breakdown of each sequence (which follows in Section 6.7.3) is intended to highlight the multiple, coordinated patterns in the discourse of which discourse markers are a part.

In Sequence 1, Chosain's expertise in the matters of Bosnia is assumed, by virtue of the fact that she is interviewed, but not made explicit. We don't know why, for instance, she is interviewed (beyond her Irish capacity and general facility with the topic). This is interesting from a media-discourse point-of-view, as the authority of the speaker is backgrounded; the listening audience is not bound to evaluate the discourse on anything but informational grounds.

Also of interest is the assumption of the opening question in Sequence 2, "Not everyone understands how the troubles started in Yugoslavia. Can you explain it simply?" The question acknowledges the presence of a listening audience (for whom the program is directed and who will hear, along with DeBarra, the answer returned by Chosáin) and its possible confusion over the complex political situation in the former Yugoslavia.

From the standpoint of media practice, it is advisable in an interview of this length to start with an "easy" question. "Easy" questions, whose answers call up information readily, serve the purpose of putting the respondent at ease – a necessity that goes beyond

journalism when one or both interlocutor has limited proficiency in the language. Easy questions also simultaneously invoke or build a shared knowledge base for all participants, be they interviewer, interviewee, overhearers or listening audience.

Sequence 2 contains an example of the speaker's use of the marker **now** in a face-saving repair.

- 2 *Agus i gcónaí bhí sa Iugoslav, em, sé náisiúin éagsúla -
uh Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Montenegro,
agus: um: **now**.
ní féidir liom cuimhniú cad é an séú ceann [a couple of
unintelligible syllables]*
[speaks rapidly, with raised pitch and with some embarrassed
laughter]
- 3 *Is sé náisiúin éagsúla a bhí ann, agus: uh: y'know a
dteangacha féin acu, a daonúlacht féin acu ach:*

- 2 *And still Yugoslavia was, em, six different nations-
uh Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Montenegro,
and: um: **now**.
I can't remember what the sixth one [unintell?]*
[speaks rapidly, with raised pitch and with some embarrassed
laughter]
- 3 *It was six different nations, and: uh: y'know
with their own languages and their own populations but:*

As previously mentioned, **now** would seem to be used in its English form for discourse-level purposes that relate directly to the speakers' bilingual status, much as does the marker **I mean**, which was also used by an interviewee in a brief telephone interview aired on on RG.

Now, besides its adverb status, can function as a temporal marker in "discourse time," to use Schifffrin's term, while **I mean** marks speakers' evaluations of what they are producing in discourse. In the instances of their appearance in the data, **now** and **I mean** are both used very specifically in repair situations. The repair itself is a very particular kind, commensurate with the bilingual context of talk: that

of restoring monolingual coherence to a turn marked by a lapse of memory (in the case of **now** under discussion) or Irish-language fluency (in the case of **I mean** in the RG data).

Markers become pragmatically relevant to the bilingual environment of talk again in Sequence 3, where the use of **so** as a discourse-topicality marker is illustrated. In this case, the interviewer follows up a lengthy explanation of the strife in Bosnia with the following question (in translation):

So, the land is the thing they are trying to get-
are they trying to get anything else apart from the land

The interviewer's use of **so** initiates the global possibilities of the marker (**so** can relate to the topic overall, as well as coordinate clauses locally), essentially drawing to a necessary close the preceding nearly four minutes of uninterrupted interviewee talk. Globally, it isolates a main, summarizing point (the Bosnian-Serbs' quest for land as a catalyst for the existing problems), and locally it creates a logical transition for the next question which is the interviewer's journalistic task to produce.

Sequence 4 marks a point at which the interview departs from an idealized QA/speaker-Hearer format in which roles and functions are separated, and becomes more interactive. This heightened interactivity is evidenced by shorter responses, and increased participation (including hesitations and fillers) by the interviewer. The interactivity is continued and expanded in Sequence 5, whereas the interviewer is less visible in Sequence 6, possibly because she's diverting her attention to the need to conclude the program.

The marker **y'know** appears prominently throughout the interview, spoken only by the interviewee, a point that suggests that while the interactional tasks are distributed between participants, they are also distributed according to relative role and status. The interviewer, in the position of ostensible controller of the discourse, is the dominant participant (recall that **y'know** tends to mark the less powerful person in the discourse) in terms of the media-interview communication structure. The lack of visibility between the interlocutors exacerbates the need for the respondent to engage with the interviewer (11 tokens of **y'know** appear in Sequence 2, the lengthiest of the sequences), for whom the customary backchannel responses of conversation are not allowed in the media discourse frame. In fact, as the interaction level increases (especially at the point of turn negotiation in Sequence 4, but also in sequences 4 and 5), the frequency of the markers overall correspondingly increases. Additionally, the frequency of **y'know** in the data relates to the level of response by the interviewer (the ratio is higher when the interviewer is less "visible").

6.7.4 A schematic examination of the interview exchange. Table 3 below includes the following information for each sequence: the length of a sequence in minutes and seconds, the type and frequency of discourse markers that appear in that sequence, and the discourse "events" that may have been part of the sequence. Discourse "events" are the definable units and actions of the talk, such as greetings, turn-negotiation and other patterned strategies for maintaining or developing the appropriate progress of the discourse. From a bilingual perspective, the production of these discourse events could also be seen as evidence of discourse-

level "fluency" despite other language-production challenges the interlocutors face as non-native speakers.

A note about abbreviations: "IVer" and "IVee" are "interviewer" and "interviewee," respectively. (The designations of the transcript, "UT" for host/interviewer and "AC" for expert/respondent will be backgrounded for the time being.) "QA" is "question-answer."

=====

Table 3 - Breakdown of the interview by sequence

SEQUENCE 1	
Length:	22 secs
DMS -	NA
Discourse 'events':	the context of talk established (the nature of the program, identification of the speakers); the greeting sequence initiates the interview speech event; overlap by the interviewee occurs at the start of the interaction
<hr/>	
SEQUENCE 2	
Length:	3 min., 42 secs
DMS - y'know	11 } IVee
uh/um	56 }
now	1 }
well	1 }
Discourse 'events':	First QA sequence: the IVee responds to the question, establishes footing, produces repairs; response is lengthy as IVee attends to topic, eliciting a high frequency of word-search and repair cues
<hr/>	
SEQUENCE 3	
Seconds in length:	47 secs
DMS - y'know	4 } IVee
uh/um	4 }
yeah	2 }
well	2 } IVer
so	1 }
Discourse 'events':	First response by IVer to lengthy answer and followup question; turn negotiation is marked by overlap and latching, completion of the other's utterance, the use of "yeah" reception cue
<hr/>	

SEQUENCE 4
 Seconds in length: 49 secs
 DMs - y'know 2 } IVee
 uh/um 5 }
 uh/um 2 } IVer
 Discourse 'events': sets up conditions for the next, more interactive sequence in which IVee's response is interspersed with input by the IVer; marked by shorter response time and subsequent interruption that initiates Sequence 5 interactivity; IVer departs from idealized interviewer role as established in first QA sequence (characterized by word-search marker and self-interruption to rephrase question)

SEQUENCE 5
 Seconds in length: 1 min., 28 secs
 DMs - y'know 2 } IVee
 uh/um 13 }
 well 1 }
 yeah 1 }
 Discourse 'events': extends interactive display of participants through a greater number of turn exchanges, interruption, latching, and backchannel response by the IVer until response frame is established

SEQUENCE 6
 Seconds in length: 1 min., 33 secs
 DMs - y'know 5 } IVee
 um/uh 3 }
 well 1 }
 Discourse 'events': status quo is maintained with respect to the IVee, although absence of IVer participation suggests she has diverted her attention to the discourse structure and the need to bring about a close, rather than the discourse interaction

SEQUENCE 7
 Seconds in length: 54 secs
 DMs - y'know 2 } IVee
 um/uh 4 }
 yeah 1 }
 OK 1 } IVer
 well 1 }
 Discourse 'events': closing of speech event, marked by turn-negotiation, floor-holding by the IVee, overlap, and multiple English discourse markers heretofore unused by the IVer

6.8 Summary

This chapter departed from the general discussion of the way in which media is used in the development and dissemination of Irish (chapters 4 and 5) and turned in detail to the manner in which minority-language speakers negotiate the production of discourse and manage the vagaries of linguistic performance in a bilingual domain in which fluency is expected. This analysis centered on the appearance of English discourse markers in Irish media interviews.

English discourse markers occur in an environment in which a careful use of Irish is cultivated alongside an attention to the multiple, situated, discourse needs specific to the media. Some of the factors that condition the use of language in this public-discourse arena are news values, a conventionalized manner of organizing information, the role of the audience, and the technical limitations of the medium (lack of visibility). Discourse-marker insertion, then, as illustrated in the media data, becomes a strategy for discourse coherence and the negotiation of identity in a bilingual frame. The markers' multifunctional properties become all the more necessary in the discourse domain of the media, which imposes constraints of their own on the the language-production tasks of bilingual speakers.

This chapter also underscored the importance of considering discourse-level linguistic evidence – language use beyond the segment – for a fuller account of the dynamics of contact and change in a minority language, particularly an obsolescing one. At the same time, this research argues for expanding the range of discourse-level analysis to engender a broader understanding of media language itself, and thus, its

participation in the social dynamics that underly language use in a bilingual sphere.

English discourse markers, along with prosody, work as contextualization cues in the bilingual media arena described here, as the following and final chapter will specify.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and unifying principles

Bhí na sluaite acu ann as Baile Átha Cliath agus as cathair na Gaillimhe, éadach fiúntach sárdhéanta orthu go hile; corrdhuine gan aon bhriste air ach mionchótaí mná ina éagmais. Deirtí gur cultacha Gaelacha a bhí orthu, agus más fíor dóibh is cinnte gurb éagsúil an t-ordú a thioctas ar chló do phearsan de dheasca focal Gaeilge i do cheann. Bhí fir ann agus gúnaí simplí neamhornádeacha orthu – iad sin, dar liom, ar bheagán Gaeilge; fir eile ann le hoiread uaisleachta, slachmhaireachta agus galántachta ina mbanchultacha gur léir go riabh an Gaeilge go líofa acu. (na gCopaleen, pp. 43-44)

Crowds came from Dublin and Galway city, all with respectable, well-made clothes on them; an occasional fellow without any breeches on him but wearing a lady's underskirt instead. It was stated that such as he wore Gaelic costume and, if this was correct, what a peculiar change came in your appearance as a result of a few Gaelic words in your head! There were men present wearing a simple unornamented dress – these, I thought, had little Gaelic; others had such nobility, style and elegance in their feminine attire that it was evident that their Gaelic was quite fluent. (O'Brien, p. 51)

7.1 Contextualization cues

The quotation from *An Béal Bocht* 'The Poor Mouth' that heads this chapter is more than a wry, ironic assessment of the silly lengths some "city folk" have gone to to establish their sense of identity through the Irish language – paid for with a sense of inferiority that the native community assumes of itself, as the narrator reveals. It also points to the role of context in the way meaning is interpreted in sociolinguistic situations and within the relationship roles the participants are assigned, and how conventions come to be vested (literally, in this example) with symbolism.

John Gumperz (1982) describes the process of inference that occurs in a talk exchange (a process all the more significant in a bilingual interaction), pointing to the contributions that a shared background

knowledge of social, discourse-specific, and linguistic conventions always brings to bear:

In negotiating interpretive frames participants rely on contextualization of linguistic cues in interaction with other types of contextual and social background knowledge... Inferencing begins with determination of what the basic interactive goal and likely outcomes are. The resulting expectations are then either confirmed or revised by more local inferences that control turn taking, speech act sequencing, maintenance of thematic continuity, and similar aspects of discourse management...When contextualization conventions are not shared, miscommunication may occur, and this may lead to pejorative judgment or conversational breakdown. (Gumperz 1982b: 178-9).

This process is also one that occurs in the (sometimes divergent) media and bilingual frames of Irish-language radio. The previous chapter made clear that 1) there are requirements specific to the media discourse frame, of which fluency is one; 2) the discourse participants – speakers and hearers – share a bilingual background, with the range of meanings of both languages accessible to them, as well as display a range of language proficiency; and 3) the communicative needs of the discourse activity take precedence over certain considerations of language display, leading to the implementation of any communicative means possible to meet those needs. In this context, English discourse-marker insertion is seen as a multiple-purpose strategy for aiding discourse coherence and for reflecting identity through the pragmatic tools of the bilingual structure. What may be out of context in a prescriptivist Irish-language performance, e.g., English discourse markers or loan translations or Anglo prosody, is well within bounds when it is interpreted against the conventions or needs of a particular situation of use, such as language on the radio.

English discourse markers, along with prosody, which will also be discussed in 7.2, thus work as contextualization cues in the bilingual

media framework. They are relied on in Irish for discourse coherence, to fulfill the function of "shared conversational conventions," the absence of which causes a breakdown in the "negotiation of the interpretive frame," according to Hansell and Ajitotutu (1982:93). Their research indicates that "mutual intelligibility is not solely contingent upon a shared language base but also upon shared discourse features." To look at the emergence of English discourse markers in Irish from the standpoint of the contextualization cue offers an explanation for their appearance - to meet a communicative need¹ - and another way to gauge the relative position of the Irish language in the presence of English. (Discourse markers may appear for more than one reason, from lack of fluency to a marker of sociolinguistic identity.)

Their distribution at transition points in the discourse (abundantly apparent in the interview data in 6.7) supports this notion that shared conversational conventions are being invoked to assist in creating the conditions for appropriate interpretation of the discourse exchange; the participants in an interaction can thus be seen as "adopt[ing] strategies constrained by the existing communicative repertoire" (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 408). English discourse markers occur at vulnerable points in the discourse when several options are present for the interlocutors - when turns are negotiated, the floor is being held, speech acts are following sequence, or topics are being maintained or changed - and in that way they function as cues for the participants, assisting their interpretation of the propositions, interactions, and speech events of the exchange. Discourse markers -

¹ "In the absence of norms, we work at creating new ones" (Heller 1982: 118).

especially when their pragmatic function is exploited – help constrain the available options, and also reflect the constraints of the discourse itself at the present moment.

It has been established that discourse markers largely operate below the level of consciousness (see discussion in 6.7). This, along with their multifunctionality, general lack of semantic input, and relative distance from the propositional weight of the utterance allows their function in a wide range of communicative goals. For instance, the use of English discourse markers evokes the bilingual context, but without altering the Irish-dominant balance upon which the discourse rests and is intended to reinforce. (The station slogan, "There are two languages on the air – Irish and music," elevates the presence of Irish symbolically in much the same way, as discussed in Chapter 4).

With such an important dual goal on stage at RG and RL – discourse coherence and development of the language through everyday use – the use of English discourse markers becomes a relatively benign act, although concurrently symbolic in the bilingual system. This may not be mere happenstance. As Patrick and Payne-Jackson (1996) comment in relation to the use of Rasta Talk (a speech style undergoing functional expansion) in Jamaican Creole healing narratives:

[T]he nature of the linguistic elements that serve to invoke a discourse or characterize a register is not arbitrary. Their selection is constrained by the speakers' linguistic repertoire, language attitudes, and participation in change and variation patterns; the salience, and perhaps iconicity, of the linguistic features; and the ideological character of the discourse's social functions. (Patrick and Payne-Jackson 1996:73-74)

Management of discourse-level fluency, then, becomes broader than mere segmental knowledge of the language, particularly when the other factor of producing well-formed media discourse is introduced.

7.2 Prosody and context

Prosody, too, works on behalf of both the bilingual and media frames that co-exist on Irish-language radio. The Anglo intonation contours (discussed in chapters 2 and 4) of news broadcasts contextualize the radio talk, differentiating it from other Irish oral practices.² Whereas English discourse markers can be a default for someone not fully functional in the conversation strategies of Irish, the intonation contours that are present on the air are specifically in the service of promoting the well-formedness of media discourse. Like discourse markers, they function as contextualization cues for hearers. They also instantiate the intonational meaning of radio talk that the audience (especially that of RL) shares as primarily English-dominant speakers.

Media prosody can be viewed as the outcome of the following input: context, expectation, convention, and discourse aims. Each component plays a part in assessing pragmatic and propositional meaning. As

² Perhaps the best place for fieldwork of this kind at the long end of a pub bar, where the subdued stream of talk a few seats over is storytelling in action. A significant feature of Irish storytelling style is its flat intonational plane, relative to English. The "accent of interest" and the "accent of information," which Dwight Bolinger (1986) describes with such acuity to account for the pitch fluctuations of English, are seldom present. Yet "interest – the affective, communicative component – and "information" – the propositions and ideas – are not absent from the discourse. They are merely presented through grammatical and stylistic means other than intonation (also see Taniguchi 1955 for their manifestation in Hiberno-English).

multiple meanings are available from a single contour, meaning is necessarily recoverable with the assistance of contextual or situation-based information encoded by the use of the contour (cf Marek 1979). In the cast of broadcast prosody, the "intensity" of involvement realized by a media-intonation contour (which Marek measures according to pitch range), is mitigated by pitch accents that are "misplaced" (cf. Bolinger 1986) or routinized or conventionalized (cf. Cotter 1993). Again, the competing goals of the interaction – to proximally engage with the listener but to create a distant authority – are solved by the multifunctionality of the linguistic component (in this case, intonation or prosody).

As is the case in general with media-discourse presentation "rules," the constraints inherent in the formulation of intonation contours are locally interpreted and realized, meaning there are differences in how a contour sounds depending on source. For instance, on Irish radio, many of the announcers conclude an utterance and a story with a distinctive final fall to a mid-tone. There is a repetition – or a lack of variance – of the contours, which essentially "calibrates" the contours to the individual speaker. Variation occurs among news announcers themselves, but there is little variation within an announcer's own output. The final mid-tone and the routinized contour calibrations appear to be conventionalized cues in the Irish-language broadcast context.

That Irish-language speakers should adopt these pitch-based contours at all underscores their significance, as it conflicts linguistically with the strategies of the Irish focus system, in which grammatical focus is realized through the functions of morphology and

syntax, and not pitch prominence. At the same time, the bilingual realities in Ireland (supported by the dual supremacy of English and compulsory Irish-language course in school) have created an environment in which the prosodic strategies of the English focus system have overridden the structures of the Irish system. The results (the "ungrammatical" intonational encoding of focus) are clear evidence of a shift in progress – especially since the "borrowed" system, characteristic of speakers either lacking a certain level of fluency or of members of the Dublin Irish speech community, is reproduced for all to hear in talk on the radio.

Intonation on Irish-language radio can be evaluated in relation to its prosodic characteristics (it overlays a different system onto a substrate language), its function in discourse (it follows Anglo parameters to establish a broadcast presence that evokes authority through the Anglo context), and its role in language change (it simultaneously reflects and leads the change through its transmission on the radio). The extent to which radio effects language change cannot be answered at present, although some parameters are worth future exploration. Media effects change by providing a prestige model, and a source of linguistic reinforcement (generally lexical). However, RL is not a prestige model for speakers; nor is it a solidarity model, as such, as within the station the aim by its practitioners is to better their Irish.

To summarize, both discourse markers and intonation contours on the radio function as contextualization cues in a bilingual domain which carries the additional obligations of producing well-formed media discourse. These cues become all the more important in a domain in

which fluency is paramount and essential to meeting discourse-specific goals, but may be unavailable to the discourse participants.

7.3 Concluding summary

The purpose of this work has been to demonstrate how the broadcast media is being used for minority-language development in Ireland, and consider the issues this raises on a macrosociolinguistic level. On that level, the two radio stations in operation reflect different ends of the preservation-growth spectrum in their language-related station philosophy. Their work reflects the sociolinguistic needs of their different audiences/speech communities. From the other perspective, talk on the air can be evaluated microlinguistically, as was done with the analysis of English discourse markers. Examination of this sort leads to a fuller explanation of discourse contexts and language use, particularly as minority-language or bilingual status plays a role in discourse-level strategies, roles, and realizations.

Overarching the macro and micro considerations is the part that context plays in interpreting meaning. Social context allows us to consider the importance that the media assumes generally (chapters 2 and 3) and in relation to broadening the scope or domains of use of minority and obsolescing languages (chapters 4 and 5). It also allows us to interpret meaning within discourse, and points to the conscious or unconscious strategies (Chapter 6) that develop when the needs for coherent communication are constrained in particular ways by discourse function or sociolinguistic realities.

References

- Anderson, Rob, Robert Dardenne and George M. Killenberg. 1994. *The Conversation of Journalism: Communication, Community, and News*. Westport. Conn.: Praeger.
- Barnouw, Eric. 1978. *The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beaman, Karen. 1984. Coordination and Subordination Revisited: Syntactic Complexity in Spoken and Written Narrative Discourse. In Deborah Tannen, ed., *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse*: 45-80. Norwood, NJ: ALEX Publishing Corp.
- Bell, Allan. 1991. *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Blom, Jan-Petter and John J. Gumperz. 1972. Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway. In *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. Edited by John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1982. The Network Tone of Voice. *Journal of Broadcasting* 26.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1989. A Practical Case: Broadcast Prosody. *Intonation and its Uses: Melody in Grammar and Discourse*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1986. *Intonation and Its Parts*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Brody, Jill. 1989. Discourse Markers in Tojolabal Mayan. In *Papers from the 25th Annual Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society, Part II, Parasession on Language in Context*, ed. by Randolph Graczyk and Caroline Wiltshire: 15-29. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Brody, Jill. 1995. Orality, radio, and literacy in the intertextual gap. Paper presented at LSA annual meeting.
- Conklin, Nancy Faires and Margaret A. Lourie. 1983. *A Host of Tongues: Language Communities in the United States*. New York: The Free Press.
- Cotter, Colleen. 1989. Reading is believing: Grice in the newsroom. Unpublished ms.
- Cotter, Colleen. 1993. Prosodic Aspects of Broadcast Register. In *Proceedings of the 19th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*:90-100.
- Cotter, Colleen. 1996. Engaging the reader: The changing use of connectives in newspaper discourse. In *Sociolinguistic Variation: Data, Theory, and Analysis*: 263-278. Jennifer Arnold, et al., eds. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Coulmas, Florian. 1992. *Language and Economy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Crawford, James. 1992. *Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only."* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Crystal, David and Derek Davy. 1969. *Investigating English Style.* London: Longman.
- D'Anglejan, Alison and G. Richard Tucker. 1983. Sociolinguistic correlates of speech style in Quebec. In Ralph Fasold, ed., *Variation in the Form and Use of Language: A Sociolinguistics Reader.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Davis, Howard and Paul Walton, eds. 1983. *Language, Image, Media.* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- De Bhaldraithe, Tomás, ed. 1987 (second printing). *English-Irish Dictionary.* Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm.
- De Fréine, Seán. 1978 (second printing). *The Great Silence: The Study of a Relationship between Language and Nationality.* Dublin and Cork: The Mercier Press.
- Dorian, Nancy. 1981. *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dorian, Nancy C., ed. 1989. *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dorian, Nancy. 1991. Surviving the broadcast media in small language communities. In *Educational Media International* 28.
- Dorian, Nancy. 1994. Varieties of variation in a very small place: Social homogeneity, prestige norms, and linguistic variation. *Language* 40(4):631-696.
- Dorgan, Howard. 1993. *The Airwaves of Zion: Radio and Religion in Appalachia.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Edwards, John. 1994. *Multilingualism.* London: Routledge.
- Ewen, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen. 1992. *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness.* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fase, Willem, Jaspaert Koen, Sjaak Kroon, eds. 1992. *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fasold, Ralph et al. 1990. The language-planning effect of newspaper editorial policy: Gender differences in The Washington Post. In *Language in Society* 19, 4 (December):521-540.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1972. Societal bilingualism: stable and transitional. Section VI of *The Sociology of Language*: 91-106. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Foclóir Póca (Pocket Dictionary). 1990 (fourth printing). Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm.

- Ford, Cecilia E. and Sandra Thompson. 1992. On Projectability in Conversation: Grammar, Intonation and Semantics. Ms.
- Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Fry, Don and Roy Peter Clark. 1994. Return of the narrative: The rebirth of writing in America's newsrooms. *Quill* 82 (4): 27-28.
- Gal, Susan. 1989. Lexical innovation and loss: The use and value of restricted Hungarian. In Dorian, Nancy C., ed. *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Glasgow University Media Group. 1976. *Bad News*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Glasgow University Media Group. 1980. *More Bad News*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Radio Talk: A Study of the Ways of Our Errors. Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gonzalez, Andrew. 1991. Stylistic shifts in the English of the Philippine print media. In Chesire, Jenny, ed. *English around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graddol, David and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, eds. 1994. *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Gross, Peter. 1996. *Mass Media in Revolution and National Development: The Romanian Laboratory*. Cedar Rapids: Iowa State University Press.
- Gumperz, John J. and Dell Hymes, eds. 1972. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Gumperz, John J. 1982a. *Language and Society Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Gumperz, John J., ed. 1982b. Fact and inference in courtroom testimony. In *Language and Society Identity*, ed. John Gumperz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 163-195.
- Gumperz, John J. 1984. Communicative competence revisited. In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*. Edited by Deborah Schiffrin. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 278-289.
- Hansell, Mark and Cheryl Seabrook Ajitotutu. 1982. Negotiating interpretations in interethnic settings. In *Language and Society Identity*, ed. John Gumperz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 85-94.
- Hale, Ken. 1992. Language endangerment and the human value of linguistic diversity. In Hale et al. On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity. *Language* 68:1; 1-42.

- Hall, Stuart. 1994. Encoding/Decoding. In Graddol, David and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, eds. *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. Spoken and Written Modes of Meaning. In Graddol, David and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, eds. *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Harris, John and Lelia Murtagh. 1986. Irish and English in Gaeltacht Primary Schools. In Mac Eoin, Gearóid, Anders Ahlqvist and Donncha Ó hAodha, eds. *Third International Conference on Minority Languages: Celtic Papers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Harris, John. 1991. Ireland. In Chesire, Jenny, ed. *English around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haugen, Einar. 1989. The rise and fall of an immigrant language: Norwegian in American. In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. Nancy C. Dorian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heller, Monica S. 1982. Negotiations of language choice in Montreal. In *Language and Social Identity*, ed. John Gumperz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 108-118.
- Hermann, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hindley, Reg. 1990. *The Death of the Irish Language: A Qualified Obituary*. Routledge: London and New York.
- Hinton, Leanne. 1988. Oral Traditions and the Advent of Electric Power. In Cheris Kramarae, ed., *Technology and Women's Voices: Keeping in Touch: 180-186*. New York and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hinton, Leanne. 1994. *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages*. Berkeley: Heyday Books.
- Husband, Charles and Jagdish M. Chouhan. 1985. Local Radio in the Communication Environment of Ethnic Minorities in Britain. In Van Dijk, Teun A., ed., *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Ihde, Thomas W., ed. 1994. *The Irish Language in the United States: A Historical, Sociolinguistic, and Applied Linguistic Survey*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 1994. Media, Language and Identity on Corsica. American Anthropological Association annual meeting, Atlanta, Ga.
- Johns-Lewis, Catherine. 1986. Prosodic Differentiation of Discourse Modes. In Johns-Lewis, ed. *Intonation in Discourse*. San Diego: College-Hill Press Inc.

- Jones, Mari C. 1995. At what price language maintenance? Standardization in Modern Breton. In *French Studies, A Quarterly Review*, XLIX (4):424-438.
- Kiberd, Declan. 1996. *Inventing Ireland*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Krauss, Michael. 1992. The world's languages in crisis. In Hale et al., *On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity*. In *Language* 68:1; 1-42.
- Kress, Gunther and Robert Hodge. 1979. *Language and Ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Labov, William. 1972. The transformation of experience in narrative syntax. *Language in the Inner City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 1992. Another view of endangered languages. *Language* 68:4; 809-811.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1973. Questionable answers and answerable questions. In *Issues in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and Renée Kahane*. Braj B. Kachru, et al., eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1979. "Expository writing and the oral dyad as points on a communicative continuum: Writing anxiety as the result of mistranslation." Unpublished ms.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1982. Some of My Favorite Writers are Literate: The Mingling of Oral and Literate Strategies in Written Communications. In Tannen, Deborah, ed., *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*. Norwood, NJ: ALEX Publishing Corp.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1990. *Talking Power: The Politics of Language*. U.S.: Basic Books.
- Lee, Martin A. and Norman Solomon. 1990. *Unreliable Sources.: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media..* New York: A Lyle Stuart Book.
- Leitner, Gerhard. 1980. BBC English and Deutsche Rundfunksprache: A Comparative and Historical Analysis of the Language on the Radio. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 26: 75-100.
- Levin, Harry, Carole Schaffer and Catherine Snow. 1982. The Prosodic and Paralinguistic Features of Reading and Telling Stories. In *Language and Speech* 25-1: 43-45.
- Lichter, S. Robert, Stanley Rothman, and Linda S. Lichter. 1990 (second edition). *The Media Elite*. New York: Hastings House.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1994. Standard language ideology in the news media: The propagation of negative linguistic stereotypes. Paper presented at NWA annual meeting, Stanford University, California.
- Lipski, John. 1994. SO in bilingual Spanish: from codeswitching to borrowing. Paper presented at the Symposium on Spanish and Portuguese Bilingualism. Rutgers University, November 1994.

- Mac Eoin, Gearóid. 1986. Treise sa Ghaeilge agus sa Bhéarla [Stress in Irish and English]. In *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldráithe*, ed. Seosamh Watson. Baile Átha Cliath.
- Mac Póilin, Aodán and Liam Andrews. [1993]. *BBC and the Irish Language*. Belfast: ULTACH Trust.
- Maguire, Gabrielle. 1986. Language Revival in an Urban Neo-Gaeltacht. In Mac Eoin, Gearóid, Anders Ahlqvist and Donncha Ó hAodha, eds., *Third International Conference on Minority Languages: Celtic Papers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Manoff, Robert Karl and Michael Schudson, eds. 1986. *Reading the News*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Marek, Boguslaw. 1987. *The Pragmatics of Intonation*. Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL.
- Martin, Kallen. 1996. Listen! Native radio can save languages. In *Native Americas: Akwe:kon's Journal of Indigenous Issues XIII* (1):22-29.
- Maschler, Yael. 1994. Metalanguaging and discourse markers in bilingual conversation. In *Language in Society* 23, 3:325-366.
- Meinhof, Ulrike. 1994. Double Talk in News Broadcasts. In Graddol, David and Oliver Boyd-Barrett, eds., *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Menn, Lise. 1989. Why some people don't talk right: Universal and particular in child language, aphasia, and language obsolescence. In Dorian, Nancy C., ed. 1989. *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mertz, Elizabeth. 1989. Sociolinguistic creativity: Cape Breton Gaelic's linguistic "tip." In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. Nancy C. Dorian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milroy, James and Leslie Milroy. 1991. *Authority in Language: Investigating Language Standardisation and Prescription*. London: Routledge.
- Mishra, Arpita. 1982. Discovering connections. In *Language and Social Identity*, ed. John Gumperz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 57-71.
- Moses, Rae. 1994. Gendered dying: The obituaries of women and men. Paper presented at Berkeley Women and Language Conference, Berkeley, Calif.
- Mougeon, Raymond and Eduard Beniak. 1989. Language contraction and linguistic change: The case of Welland French. In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. Nancy C. Dorian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Na gCopaleen, Myles. 1992 (eighth printing). *An Béal Bocht (The Poor Mouth)*. Corcaigh: Preas Mercier Teoranta.

- Naro, Anthony J. and Maria Marta Pereira Scherre. 1996. Contact with Media and Linguistic Variation. In *Sociolinguistic Variation: Data, Theory, and Analysis*: 223-228. Jennifer Arnold et al., eds. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Nic Enri, Tina. 1994. *An Coimhthíoch Caol Dubh* [The Tall, Dark Stranger]. Baile Átha Cliath: Coiscéim.
- Ní Dhomhnaill, Nuala. Jan. 8, 1995. Why I choose to write in Irish, the corpse that sits up and talks back. *The New York Times Book Review*.
- Ní Laoire, Siobhán. 1994. Broadcast news: a stylistic analysis of news reports on Raidió na Gaeltachta.
- O'Brien, Flann. 1996. *The Poor Mouth: A Bad Story about the Hard Life*. Patrick C. Power, trans. Normal, Ill.: Dalkey Archive Press.
- Ó Dónaill, Éamonn. 1995. Amharc Neamhléanta ar staid na Gaeilge faoi láthair. (An unscholarly look at the current state of the Irish language.) *Oghma* (7). Edited by Seosamh Ó Murchú, Mícheál Ó Cearúil and Antain Mag Shamhráin. Dublin: Foilseacháin Oghma. 57-65.
- Ó Dónaill, Niall, ed. 1977. *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*. (Irish-English Dictionary.) Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair/Richview Browne and Nolan Ltd.
- Ó Murchú, Máirtín. 1985. *The Irish Language*. Dublin: The Department of Foreign Affairs and Bord na Gaeilge.
- Oöstman, Jan-Ola. 1981. *You Know: A Discourse-Functional Approach*. Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins.
- Ó Riagáin, Pádraig. 1992. *Language Maintenance and Language Shift as Strategies of Social Reproduction: Irish in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht: 1926-1986*. Baile Átha Cliath: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.
- Ó Siadhail, Mícheál. 1989. *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patrick, Peter L. and Arvilla Payne-Jackson. 1996. Functions of Rasta Talk in a Jamaican Creole Healing Narrative: "A Bigfoot Dem Gi' Mi". In *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 6(1):47-84.
- Poplack, Shana and David Sankoff. 1988. Codeswitching. In *Sociolinguistics. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*, U. Ammon and N. Dittmar, eds. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1174-1180.
- Quirk, Randolph. 1982. Speaking into the Air. In Richard Hoggart and Janet Morgan, eds., *The Future of Broadcasting, Essays on Authority, Style and Choice*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.
- McKay, Anne. 1988. Speaking up: Voice amplification and women's struggle for public expression. In Cheris Kramarae, ed. *Technology and Women's Voices: Keeping in Touch*: 187-206.

- Nunberg, Geoffrey. 1990. *The Linguistics of Punctuation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Redeker, Gisela. 1990. Ideational and pragmatic markers of discourse structure. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14:367-381.
- Rickford, John R. 1988. Language Contact, Variation and Diffusion: Microlevel Community Perspectives. In *GURT '87 Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, Implications, and Case Studies*, ed. Peter H. Lowenberg. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Roeh, Itzhak and Saul Feldman. 1984. The rhetoric of numbers in front-page journalism: How numbers contribute to the melodramatic in the popular press. *Text* 4(4): 347-368.
- Raidió na Gaeltachta Audience Research Department. February 1989. *Gaeltacht Areas Listener Survey*. Unpublished.
- Rouchdy, Aleya. 1989. 'Persistence' or 'tip' in Egyptian Nubian. In Dorian, Nancy C., ed. *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language* 50:696-735.
- Schegloff, Emanuel and Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 7:289-327.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1994. *Approaches to Discourse*. London: Blackwell.
- Schultze, Quentin J. et al. 1991. *Dancing in the Dark: Youth, Popular Culture, and the Electronic Media*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Schudson, Michael. 1978. *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Papers*. New York: Basic Books Inc.
- Sholle, David and Stan Denski. 1994. *Media Education and the (Re)Production of Culture*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.
- Silverstone, Roger. 1994. *Television and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.
- Smolicz, Jerzy J. 1992. Minority Languages as Core Values of Ethnic Cultures—A Study of Maintenance and Erosion of Polish, Welsh, and Chinese Languages in Australia. In Fase, Willem, Jaspaert Koen, and Sjaak Kroon, eds. *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Solomon, Julie. 1995. Local and global functions of a borrowed/native pair of discourse markers in a Yucatec Mayan narrative. In *BLS* 21:287-298. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

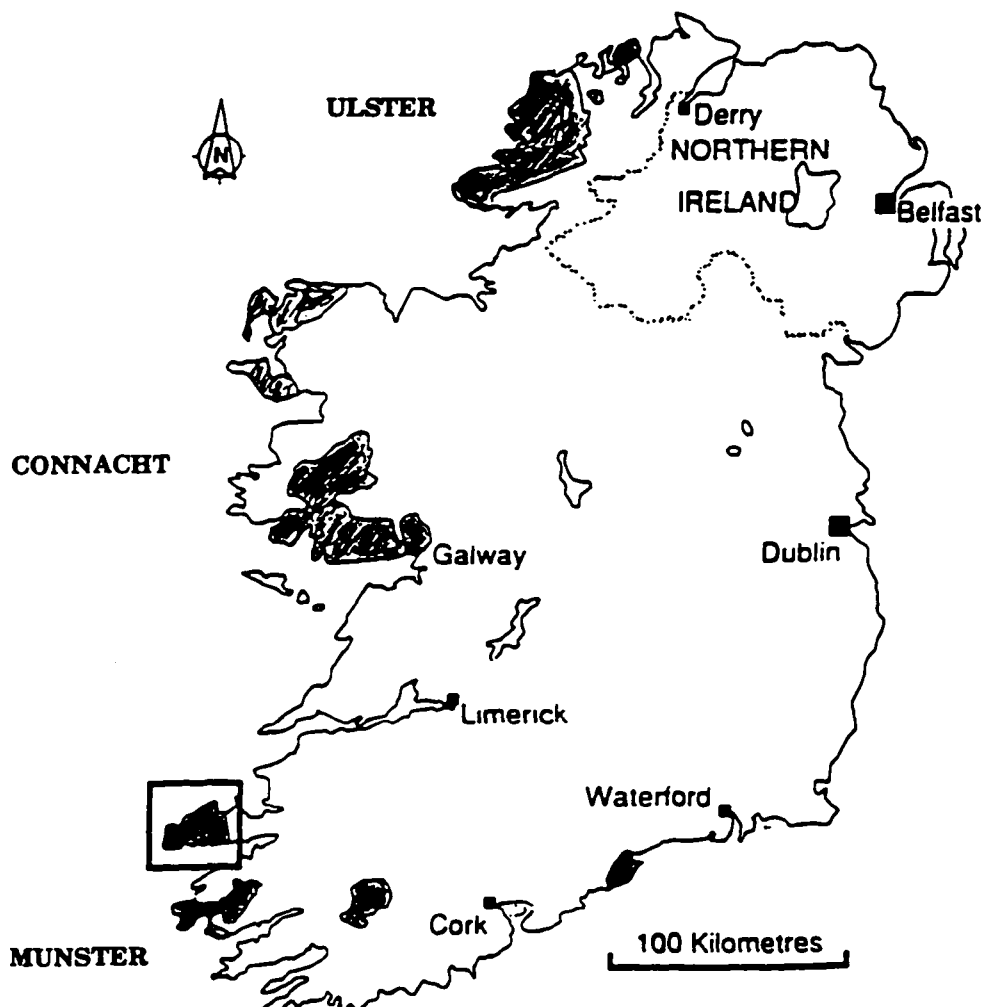
- Spitulnik, Debra. 1994. Code-Mixing and Ideologies of Hybrid vs. 'Pure' Language Use. Paper presented at American Anthropological Association meeting, Atlanta, Ga.
- Spurr, David. 1993. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Suter, Jans-Jurg. 1993. *The Wedding Report: A prototypical approach to the study of traditional text types*. Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Sutton, Laurel A. 1996. Cocktails and thumbtacks in the Old West: What would Emily Post Say? In *Wired Women: Gender and New Realities in Cyberspace*, ed. by Lynn Cherny and Elizabeth Reba Weise. Seattle, Wash.: Seal Press.
- Taniguchi, Jiro. 1955. *A Grammatical Analysis of Artistic Representation of Irish English (with a brief discussion of sounds and spelling)*. Tokyo: Shinozaki Shorin.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1982. The Oral/Literate Continuum in Discourse. In Tannen, Deborah, ed., *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*. Norwood, NJ: ALEX Publishing Corp.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tovey, Hilary, Damian Hannan and Hal Abramson. 1989. *Why Irish? Irish Identity and the Irish Language*. Dublin: Bord na Gaeilge.
- Trahan, Mark N. The power of stories: Native words and images on the Internet. In *Native Americas: Akwe:kon's Journal of Indigenous Issues XIII (1):15-21*.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1988. *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1991a. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1991b. Pragmatic Connectives. *Journal of Pragmatics* 3:447-456.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. and Walter Kintsch. 1993. *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*. New York: Academic Press.
- Verschueren, Jef. 1985. *International News Reporting: Metapragmatic Metaphors and the U-2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Watson, Seosamh. 1989. Scottish and Irish Gaelic: The giant's bed-fellows. In *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, ed. Nancy C. Dorian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Willis, Paul. 1990. *Common Culture: Symbolic work at play in the everyday cultures of the young*. Boulder & San Francisco: Westview Press.

Woolard, Kathryn. 1989. Language convergence and language death as social processes. In Dorian, Nancy C., ed. *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix A

Location of Gaeltachts in Ireland (shaded areas)
(Source: Pádraig Ó Riagáin 1992)

Note: Dingle survey area is marked by the box at lower left.



Appendix B

Tape and interview data log

(Tapes will be referred to in the text by source and date, or by tape number, as appropriate.)

Source, date, tape contents	Tape #
IR93 - Cork1:A Radio Cork (English and Irish)	21 July 1993 1
IR93 - RG1:AB News, announcements, music	4 Aug. 1993 2
IR93 - RG2:AB News broadcasts	9 Aug. 1993 3
IR93 - RG3:AB News broadcasts	11 Aug. 1993 4
IR93 - CR4:AB Classroom interactions at Áras Mháirtín Uí Caighain	13 Aug. 1993 5
IR93 - CR5:AB Classroom interactions at Áras Mháirtín Uí Caighain	17 Aug. 1993 5
IR93 - RG6:B only News broadcasts	19 Aug. 1993 6
IR93 - RG7:A RG news broadcasts (a.m.) Breandáin Ó Madaghan, songs lecture at Áras RG news broadcasts (p.m.)	19 Aug. 1993 7
IR93 - RG7:B Classroom interactions at Áras Mháirtín Uí Caighain	19 Aug. 1993 7
<hr/>	
IR94 - RG1:AB News broadcasts	? Aug. 1994 8
IR94 - RG2:AB News broadcasts	? Aug. 1994 9
IR94 - RL3:A News at 6, 7, and 8 p.m. News at 5, 6, and 7 p.m. [taped by Steve Coleman]	14 Dec. 1994 10 16 Dec. 1994

Fieldwork, Ireland, July-August 1995

IR95 - RL1:A	26 July 1995	11
RL offices: IVs with Fionuala, Rónán Ó Fearaíl in studio with Aedín (continued on Side B)		
IR95 - RL1:B	26 July 1995	11
(continued from Side A) in studio with Aedín horoscope (read on-air by Níall) back with Fionuala Níall		
IR95 - RL2:A	26 July 1995	12
RL offices *RG nuacht (brief) Fionuala Maria		
IR95 - RG2:B	28 July 1995	12
8 a.m. nuacht, etc.		
IR95 - RL3:A	27 July 1995	13
RL offices sample broadcast readings: Michael, Aedín, Rónán ÓF, Mary, Anna, Margaret, Dara IV-Conal MacAongusa (Part 1 of 2) (continued on Side B)		
IR95 - RL3:B	27 July 1995	13
(continued from Side A) IV-C. MacAongusa (Part 2 of 2) IV-Máirín NicEown (Part 1 of 2) (continued on RL4:A)		
IR95 - RL4:A	27 July 1995	14
(continued from RL3:B) IV-M. NicEown (Part 2 of 2) IV-Brían MacAongusa (Part 1 of 2)		
	28 July 1995	
(continued on Side B)		
IR95 - RL4:B		
(continued from Side A) IV-B. MacAongusa (Part 2 of 2)		
	28 July 1995	14
IR95 - RG5:A and B		
RG broadcast, includes local news and announcements (fógraí) [Taped by Mr. MacLionchí]		
	4? Aug. 1995	15

IR95 - RG6:A			
RG broadcast	3? Aug. 1995	16	
nuacht at 6 p.m.			
(with IV from Daingean, male)			
(with IV from North, female)			
RTE Radio 1 at 8 p.m.			
2 minutes news in Irish (Raidió na hEireann)			
IR95 - RL6:B	5 Aug. 1995	16	
(continued from GF7:B)			
IV-Rónán ó Dughthaigh at An Cistin			
in An Cheathrú Rua, Co. Galway (Part 2 of 3)			
IR95 - GF7:A			
Gleann Fhinne community gathering	4 Aug. 1995	17	
with storytelling and singing			
(continued on Side B)			
IR95 - GF7:B		17	
(continued from Side A)			
Gleann Fhinne (conclusion)	4 Aug. 1995		
IV-Rónán ó Dughthaigh at An Cistin	5 Aug. 1995		
in An Cheathrú Rua, Co. Galway (Part 1 of 3)			
(continued on RL6:B)			
IR95 - RL8:A		18	
(continued from RL6:B)			
IV-Rónán ó Dughthaigh at An Cistin	5 Aug. 1995		
in An Cheathrú Rua, Co. Galway (Part 3 of 3)			
RG broadcast: music, top stories	? Aug. 1995		
	(precedes 5 Aug.)		
IR95 - RG8:B			
RG broadcast:	? Aug. 1995	18	
regional news, music, sports,			
top stories	(precedes 5 Aug.)		
IR95 - RL9:A			
RL broadcast:	7 Aug. 1995	19	
• news			
• "Um Thráthnóna" (current affairs program)			
IR95 - RL9:B			
BLANK			
IR95 - RL10:A			20
Cúrsa Gaeilge (training tape)	July 1995 version		
(continued on Side B)			
IR95 - RL10:B			20
(continued from Side A)			
Cúrsa Gaeilge, Part 2 of 2	July 1995 version		
station promos (from Deirdre)	to date (summer 95)		
IR95 - RL11:A	1 Oct.? 1995?	21	
Um Thráthnóna current events program			
[taped by RL staff]			

IR95 - RL12:A

? 1995

22

Um Thráthnóna current events program
[taped by RL staff]

Cógar Tape Series, (c.) 1989, produced by RTÉ and Gael-Linn

Cógar 1 - Lessons 1-4	Tape	1
Cógar 2 - Lessons 5-10	Tape	2
Cógar 3 - Lessons 11-16	Tape	3
Cógar 4 - Lessons 17-20	Tape	4