University of Lodz

Faculty of Philology

Institute of English Studies

Izabela Grabarczyk

Language and integration – a sociolinguistic analysis of

selected Irish English pronunciation features used by

Polish migrant community in Ireland

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Instytut Anglistyki

Izabela Grabarczyk

Język a integracja – socjolingwistyczna analiza wybranych cech wymowy irlandzkiej odmiany języka angielskiego wśród polskiej społeczności migracyjnej w Irlandii

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Throughout human history, migration has been a constant and defining feature of human existence. From early nomadic tribes who moved in search of food and better living conditions to modern global migrations driven by economic opportunities, political unrest, and environmental changes, the movement of people across regions and continents has shaped civilizations and cultures. It is not merely a recent phenomenon but a fundamental aspect of humanity's story. Regardless of whether it is a voluntary choice or a necessity imposed by the circumstances, migration entails a multitude of challenges for individuals and communities. Migrants often face the difficult task of adapting to a new country with different cultural norms and language. As John Berry (2007) observes, this transition involves not just navigating a new environment but also redefining one's identity in the process.

When people leave their home country and native language behind, they must learn to operate in an entirely new social and linguistic landscape. This often necessitates a deep engagement with language as a means of adaptation and identity reconstruction. Some migrants strive to maintain their native language as a crucial link to their heritage, which can serve as a source of pride or a form of cultural resistance. Others focus on acquiring the language of their new community in order to integrate, maximize opportunities and blend in more effectively. Language, therefore, becomes an important tool for migrants. The adoption of certain linguistic features can be a conscious effort to align more closely with the host culture or a subconscious process reflecting the day-to-day interactions in the new environment.

This dissertation aims to investigate the pronunciation patterns among adult Polish migrants living in the Republic of Ireland in relation to selected factors that are part of their migratory experience – acculturation strategies, social/national identity and their social networks. Polish diaspora in Ireland is currently the largest minority and has shown a rapid growth in the first decade after Poland joined the European Union in 2004. Drawing on the research of second language acquisition in a naturalistic setting (Schumann 1976, Waniek-Klimczak 2011), the author believes that Polish migrants will adopts features of Irish English pronunciation and that this process will be influences by the level of their integration, their social/national identity, as well as the people they

surround themselves with and frequently interact. The focus is not, therefore, methodology of foreign language teaching/learning, but rather on how language acquisition in naturalistic setting is influenced by migratory experiences.

The dissertation is organised into two main sections. Part 1 focuses on the theoretical background and is comprised of three chapters. Part 2 presents the analysis and discussion of the data collected among Polish migrants in Ireland. It consists of two chapters focusing on two sets of data collected in 2016 and 2019 organised into Study One and Study Two. The first study is exploratory in nature, while the second study aims at gaining a deeper insight into pronunciation patterns among Polish migrant users of English.

Chapter 1 is devoted two migration of Polish nationals to Ireland. It explores the historical context of Polish immigration to Ireland, focusing primarily on periods before and after Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. It also gives an overview of Polish diaspora, such as population figures, demographic characteristics, geographical distribution and employment trends. It discusses the social dynamics within the Polish community, including the formation and activities of various community organisations. Finally, it explores the motivations behind Polish migrants' decision to relocate to Ireland, investigating the various factors that influenced their choice of this particular destination.

Chapter 2 describes the aspect of language in Ireland. It gives a brief overview of the country's linguistic landscape, highlighting the historical and social factors that have shaped it into what it is today. It also touches upon the current linguistic diversity in Ireland which is the result of recent migration trends. The core of the chapter is devoted to a detailed description of the phonological characteristics of Irish English, with a specific focus on the variable under investigation - Irish English slit-t.

Chapter 3 focuses on the selected factors related to second language use in migratory context. It describes strategies of acculturation (Berry 1997, 2006) and acculturation in second language acquisition (Schumann 1978, 1986), the social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner (1979), as well as language and second language identity (Norton Peirce 1995, Block 2007). It also gives an overview of social network theory (Milroy 1987) in an attempt to understand how an individual's social connections influence their language use. These theoretical frameworks have been employed in numerous studies exploring language use among migrants.

Chapter 4 present the analysis and discussion of Study One. The data collected for this study is analysed in relation to acculturation strategies, social identity and language identity theory in an attempt to explore the use of Irish English slit-t by Polish migrants in Ireland. It provides the rationale of the study and main research questions. Subsequently, the chapter describes the methodology covering aspects such as the research design, variables, instruments, data collection and analysis procedure and participants' background. The latter sections focus on the presenting an analysing the quantitative and qualitative findings of the study.

Chapter 5 follows the same structural framework of Chapter 4, extending the investigation into the pronunciation patterns of Polish migrants. This continuation is motivated by findings of Study One. While Study Two also considers aspects such as acculturation strategies, social identity and language identity, its focus shifts towards a more detailed analysis of the participants' everyday language use. It explores the interactions with members of the host community, the Polish community, and individuals from other national backgrounds. It also attempts to describe the closest social networks, drawing on social network theory, in an attempt to identify how these connections influence language use of Polish migrants.

The final section of this dissertation, Conclusion, provides a comprehensive summary of the findings from Study One and Study Two. It also addresses key issues encountered during the research and discusses the study's limitations. Finally, the Appendices section contains the instruments used for data collection, including the questionnaire employed during the semi-structured interviews and a list of carrier sentences designed to elicit more controlled speech samples.

Part 1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Chapter 1: Polish immigrants in the Republic of Ireland

Since the dawn of humanity, migration has been a fundamental part of the human story. The movement of populations has shaped physical landscapes and driven changes in societies, economies, and cultures. Recent migrations stand out due to their global scale and their profound impact on political systems, economic structures, and social dynamics, as noted by Castles, Haas, and Miller (2014). In contemporary academic discussions, migration has emerged as a pivotal and frequently debated topic. Whether migration is voluntary or involuntary, migrant communities encounter numerous challenges in adjusting to life in new countries and cultures. Movements of Polish nationals have been no different.

Poles have migrated over the years for various reasons, both voluntarily and due to political or economic circumstances. Long before joining the European Union in 2004, Polish citizens migrated to different countries in Europe and beyond, especially after the Second World War or during the period of the Communist rule in Poland. Between the years 1989-2004 Polish citizens migrated legally on the basis of bilateral agreements between countries, internships, employment programs in shortage professions, delegations but also individually and directly, without the assistance of government labour agencies (Wiśniewski and Duszczyk 2006). Upon opening the borders to labour workers after Poland joined the European Union in 2004, moving from one European country to another in search of work or improved life conditions became considerably more accessible to individuals from different walks of life. One of the destination countries which enjoyed great popularity among Polish migrants following the year 2004 was the Republic of Ireland.

This chapter focuses on the immigration of Polish people to Ireland. In the first part, it establishes the context with a brief description of Ireland's transformation from a traditional emigration country to a new immigration country, followed by the historical background of Polish immigration in Ireland before and after joining EU in 2004. The next section examines the current status of Polish citizens in Ireland, covering key aspects such as population statistics, demographic profiles, geographical distribution, and

employment trends. This section also covers the social life of the Polish community and the various organizations they have established. The latter part of the chapter addresses the question, "Why Ireland?" by exploring the factors that have motivated Polish migrants to choose Ireland as their destination.

1.1 Ireland's transition to a country of immigration

Before focusing on Polish citizens in Ireland, it is essential to briefly examine Ireland as a destination country. In recent decades, Ireland has experienced a significant shift in its migration patterns. Once known for its long history of emigration, Ireland has transformed into a modern and appealing destination for immigrants (Grabowska 2005). Grabowska notes that Ireland is the only country which experienced a significant decline in population (almost by half) between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, due to unprecedented emigration resulting from the Great Famine (Grabowska 2005: 28). Known as the "human warehouse of Europe" (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2009: 52), Ireland struggled with high unemployment rates, which reached their highest level in mid-1980s, and subsequent waves of outward migration for many years (Grabowska, 2005). This pattern began to shift in the 1990s when the Irish economy experienced substantial growth. During the Celtic Tiger era, Ireland saw rapid economic development and increasing affluence, leading to significant changes in migration patterns. The year 1996 was a "turning point" – it was the first year of positive net migration for Ireland (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2009; Ruhs and Quinn 2009). The rapid economic expansion led to a shortage of skills in the labor market, resulting in waves of inward migration (Nestor and Regan 2011). The economic changes in the 1990s and the resulting influx of migrants compelled Ireland to revise its immigration policies to better manage the new arrivals and regulate access to the labor market. In 2003, the Irish government passed the Employment Permits Act, granting full and immediate access to the Irish job market for immigrants from the countries that joined the EU in 2004 – Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Cyprus, and Malta – effective from May 2004.

      After the accession of the ten member states to the European Union in 2004, Ireland became a prominent recipient of nationals from these countries (Krings et al.

2013). The extensive influx was facilitated by economic boom and "a flexible and open labour market" (Krings et al. 2013: 90).

The Central Statistics Office conducts a population survey in Ireland, known as the Census, every five years. According to 2011 Census, the number of non-Irish nationals living in Ireland increased by 143% in a period of nine years, from 224 261 persons in 2002 to 544 357 in 2011. The number of non-Irish people has fallen rather insignificantly between 2011-2016 (by 1,6 %), only for this trend to reverse between 2016-2022. The most recent population survey indicates a significant increase of approximately 18% in the number of non-Irish citizens in Ireland since 2016. Currently, non-Irish citizens make up about 12% of the total population of slightly over 5 million people (Census 2022). The newcomer communities in Ireland include inhabitants from a number of both European and non-European countries, such as Poland, France, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Latvia, Slovakia, but also Australia, the United Stated and India (Migge 2012). In recent years, a significant addition to this community has been Ukrainian nationals, who have sought refuge in Ireland due to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. The top ten nationalities presented in the table below account for over 65% of all non-Irish nationals residing in Ireland.

Nationality	Number of persons
Polish	106,143
UK	83,347
Indian	45,390
Romanian	38,325
Lithuanian	37,912
Brazilian	30,678
Latvian	19,948
Spanish	19,829
Ukrainian	18,566
French	11,968

Table 1. Top ten non-Irish nationalities residing in Ireland (Census 2022).

The largest migrant group in Ireland and the one that demonstrated the highest increase in numbers between 2002 and 2011 are Polish nationals. According to the 2022 Census, Polish citizens remain the largest group of non-Irish nationals in Ireland, with a

population of 106,143. This reflects their significant and ongoing presence in the country. Although the latest data from the 2022 Census shows a decline from 2016, there was a considerable increase in dual Polish-Irish citizenships, indicating that many Polish people decided to settle for good (Census 2022).

Although the rapid increase of immigration to Ireland is mirrored in wider migration movements in Europe, researchers note that Ireland's situation differs from that of other European immigrant recipient countries, like the UK or France (Darmody et al. 2011). One of the differences has already been mentioned – the change in migration patterns – from a traditional emigration country, to a new immigration country. Another aspect is the unprecedented scale and speed of immigration flows, which definitely posed a challenge for immigration policy makers (Darmody et al. 2011). Ireland has welcomed immigrants from various nationalities and backgrounds, bringing about a rich diversity that has changed the country in many ways.

1.2 Polish immigration to Ireland - before and after EU accession

Before Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, Ireland was not a primary destination for Polish migrants. Instead, Polish migrants mainly chose countries like Germany, France, Great Britain, the USA, or Canada (Nolka and Nowosielski 2009). According to Grabowska (2005), migration of Polish citizens to Ireland began in the 1990s, predominantly for economic reasons, and intensified significantly after 2004. Although there is some data on earlier migration flows, these movements were relatively small and did not significantly impact Ireland's demographic composition. Grabowska (2005) identified four main waves of Polish immigration to Ireland.

The first wave includes individuals who were offered third level scholarships by the Irish Government after the Second World War (Grabowska 2005). Majority of them emigrated to England, either willingly or forced by the Communists. Although around one thousand Polish nationals were invited by the Irish Government, the number of those who accepted the scholarship is unknown. The second wave, "Solidarity migration" in the early 1980s, was a result of the imposition of the martial law by the Communist party, which allowed only one way cross-border movement. As Grabowska (2005) notes, although the numbers were again insignificant, these migrants played a huge role in

organising help for Solidarity activists and other Polish citizens during these times. The third wave, referred to as "Migration of hearts," took place in the mid-1980s and consisted of young Polish women who emigrated to Ireland to marry Irish men and obtain Irish citizenship, often giving up their Polish passport. Finally, the post-1997 migration during the years of Celtic Tiger boom, driven mainly by economic reasons. In her 2005 paper, Grabowska outlines how the difficult economic situation in Poland during the 1990s led to significant hardships, including a decline in living standards and high unemployment rates. As Grabowska (2005) notes, as a result of economic and political transition in Poland, standards of living declined dramatically, while the rate of unemployment increased. These aspects combined led to increasing emigration to Ireland after 1999, with seasonal peaks during the summer months.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Polish individuals migrated to Ireland for two main reasons. Firstly, they were recruited by international or Irish companies seeking Polish workers. Secondly, they were motivated by the prospect of joining friends and relatives who had already settled in Ireland and could assist the newcomers in finding employment (Grabowska 2005).

Between 1999 and 2003, Polish economic migrants in Ireland primarily found employment in service-related fields. They also worked in various other sectors, including agriculture, fisheries, hospitality, and industry (Grabowska 2005: 32). Before the Employment Permit Act of 2003, a total of 9,074 work permits were granted to Polish nationals (between 1999-2003; see Table 3 below).

Year	New permits	Renewals	Group permits	Permits issued	Renewals
1999	155	37	0	192	3
2000	810	95	0	905	5
2001	2082	415	0	2497	70
2002	1953	1192	0	3145	46
2003	2757	2051	0	4808	76
2004 (until 30.04.2004)	1171	743	0	1914	9

Table 2. Number of work permits issued for Polish citizens. Source: Grabowska (2005: 33).

After the introduction of the Act in May 2004, Polish citizens gained unrestricted and immediate access to employment opportunities in Ireland as work permits were no longer required. The 2011 Census reported that the question about nationality was first introduced in the 2002 population survey. This survey revealed that there were 2,124 Polish nationals residing in Ireland at that time. During the next census conducted in 2006, the number increased to 63,276; followed by further increase to 122,585 reported five years later in 2011 (Census 2011). Between 2002 and 2012, the number of Polish citizens in Ireland increased by 120,461 or 5,671.4%. The most dynamic increase in the population of Polish nationals in Ireland occurred between 2002 and 2011. The next census, conducted in 2016, indicated a slight decline in the numbers between the years 2011 and 2016, by less than 0.1%, from 122,585 to 122,515 Polish individuals. As already mentioned, the latest population survey demonstrated further decline in the number of Polish citizens, but reported a significant increase in the number of dual Polish-Irish citizenship. This indicates that Polish people are not necessarily leaving Ireland, but rather settling for good.

	2002	2006	2011	2016	2022
Poland	2,124	63,276	122,585	122,515	106,143

Table 3. Change in population numbers of Polish nationals in Ireland, 2002-2016 (Census 2011, Census 2016, Census 2022).

Even with this decrease, Polish population remains the largest non-Irish demographic in Ireland, with individuals from the United Kingdom being the second-largest group. It is also interesting to notice that Ireland was particularly popular as a destination country for post-accession migrants among inhabitants of large cities and towns, and less popular among inhabitants of rural areas (Grabowska-Lusińska and Okólski 2009).

Although one may say that these numbers are quite impressive already, it is essential to note that assessing the exact size of Polish population in Ireland is extremely difficult, if not impossible. As Röder (2011) notes, "the lack of a long history of immigration is reflected in how immigration and integration policies are made, but it also has affected the collection of immigration related data and research on this topic in Ireland" (1). Some sources suggest that the reported numbers of Polish nationals in the

census may be underestimated and could actually be higher. Seasonal variations in employment and residence patterns likely contribute to this discrepancy, with significant fluctuations throughout the year. The population survey data often contradicts the figures for Personal Public Service Numbers (PPS/PPSN) allocated to Polish nationals (Debaene 2013), which is necessary to commence employment in Ireland, to access social welfare benefits or any public services. If we compile the data on the allocation of PPS numbers (PPS Annual Allocations prepared by the Department of Employment Affairs and Social Protection, 2004-2023) between the years 2004 and 2023, the quantity we arrive at equals 414,149 Polish citizens, which is considerably higher than the number recorded by the Central Statistics Office. The statistics on the allocation of PPS numbers to Polish citizens do not account for those who never took up employment or those who stayed in Ireland for a short period and then left without returning. Nevertheless, the migration of Poles to Ireland after the country's EU accession was unparalleled in terms of its scale and was undoubtedly a novel development for both societies – the sending and the receiving (Lesińska et al. 2019).

1.3 Polish post-accession community in Ireland – selected characteristics

Polish diaspora in Ireland cannot be distinctly categorized into "old" and "new" migration, as is the case in the United Kingdom. While there were some Polish migration flows to Ireland before Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, these were relatively small and did not significantly impact the demographic composition or establish a large Polish community. The significant presence of Polish nationals in Ireland mainly stems from migration after Poland's 2004 EU accession. Unlike in countries with long-standing Polish communities, these newcomers did not have established networks to rely on and began forming a new community from scratch. As noted by Kahanec and Kureková (2011), post-2004 migrants, regardless of their destination, typically share certain characteristics: they are generally young, well-educated, and exhibit a balanced gender distribution. Kloc-Nowak (2019) further categorizes Polish migrants to Ireland into two broad groups: young, well-educated city dwellers and highly skilled manual labourers.

Demographic data – age, sex, marital status and dependants

According to the latest Census 2022 data, nearly 40% of the Polish population in Ireland is aged between 30 and 44 years. The average age of the Polish population has risen from 27.7 years in 2011 to 31.3 years in 2016, and further to 34.6 years in 2022, indicating a gradual ageing of the Polish community in Ireland. In terms of gender distribution, the Polish population in Ireland had a notable imbalance in 2006: 67% were men. This represented the highest proportion of males among all major immigrant groups in the country at that time (Kloc-Nowak 2019). A decade later, in 2016, the gender distribution within the Polish population in Ireland became more balanced, with 60,655 females and 61,860 males. Females slightly outnumbered males in the 25-44 and 65+ age groups. By 2022, the gender ratio continued to stabilize, reflecting a more even distribution, with 51% male and 49% female among Polish nationals (Census 2022)

Regarding marital status, as of April 2016, over half of the Polish population aged 15 and above were either married or in a committed partnership, with the second largest group being single individuals (Census 2016). By 2022, the marital status trends remained consistent, with a significant portion of the Polish population still being married or in partnerships (Census 2022). According to the Census data, 9% of the married Polish population in Ireland in 2016 were not living with their spouse, down from 47% in 2006 and 12% in 2011. This significant decrease suggests a strong trend towards family reunification. While the 2022 Census summary does not provide specific figures for this, it is likely that this trend continued, with most married Polish nationals living together as they settle more permanently in Ireland.

Klimek (2017) also notes that a "family formation phenomenon has recently emerged on a large scale among Poles in Ireland" (Klimek, 2017: 7). Between 2006 and 2011, there was a significant 20% increase in the number of Polish families with children in Ireland. This was driven by family reunifications and the birth of 8,928 Polish children in Ireland during that period (Klimek, 2017; Census 2011). In the following years, 2011 to 2016, the proportion of Poles aged 21 or younger remained stable, although the proportion of children aged 0-5 decreased by half. This decrease can be partly attributed to the rise in the number of children with dual Irish citizenship. As of the 2022 Census, Polish households continue to predominantly consist of married or cohabiting couples

with children (46%), followed by couples without children (14%). This trend indicates that a growing number of Polish nationals are choosing to establish families and have children in Ireland.

Place of residence

In terms of geographical distribution, Polish nationals have been a presence in every town and city across Ireland since the 2006 Census, and they were fairly evenly spread across the country. This trend has continued and evolved over the years. By the 2022 Census, Polish nationals remained widely distributed throughout Ireland, with significant communities in both urban and rural areas. Notably, larger concentrations are found in major cities such as Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, but substantial numbers also reside in smaller towns and rural regions, reflecting a diverse and widespread settlement pattern (Census 2022). Between the years 20112-2016, there has been a decline in the number of Polish nationals living in some areas of Dublin city, which might be the result of high costs of living in the capital city and, consequently, a decision to move to smaller towns (Kloc-Nowak 2019). As Kloc-Nowak (2019) observed, between 2011 and 2016, while the overall number of Polish nationals in Ireland remained almost unchanged, there was a notable shift from urban to rural areas. This trend continued through to the 2022 Census. Although significant Polish communities still reside in major cities like Dublin, Limerick, Galway, and Cork, there has been a marked increase in the Polish population in smaller towns and rural counties such as Fingal, Meath, and Wicklow.

Education and employment

According to Nolka and Nowosielski (2009), majority of migrants from the new EU member countries are often well educated, but some may feel that their education "lost some of its value after moving to Ireland" (2009: 41). Around a third of the Polish community in Ireland has tertiary-level education and 37% have an upper-secondary qualifications (Klimek, 2017: 6). Schupper's (2011) study on the issues of language and deskilling among Polish migrants in Ireland demonstrated the relatively high level of education of the Polish migrants in comparison to the host community. The number of

individuals who left school at primary or lower secondary level was much higher among Irish nationals, while the number of Polish individuals who "completed upper secondary and tertiary level education is far above that of their Irish equivalents (Schuppers 2011: 254). However, a fair comparison may be an issue here, since the vast majority of Polish migrants in Ireland were between twenty-five and forty-four years of age (over 57%) at the time of the study, while only 29% of the Irish population belonged that that age group (Schuppers 2011: 255). Nevertheless, Kloc-Nowak (2019) claims that the education profile, along with young age and the proportion of men, was one of the distinctive features for Polish nationals among other post-accession migrant groups (2019: 42). The educational attainment of immigrants, however, is not always reflected in their occupational distribution (Barrett et al., 2005). What characterised the employment of post-2004 migrants was a high employment rate in low-skilled and low-paid occupations, limited possibilities for upward job mobility and low earnings (Kahanec and Kureková 2011: 7). Immigrants with vocational education typically secured jobs that matched their qualifications, whereas those with higher education often found themselves in roles below their skill level, frequently in elementary occupations (Pollard et al. 2008). Nolka and Nowosielski (2009) explain that this situation often arises when immigrants' qualifications are not recognized by Irish employers or when limited English language skills impede their opportunities for advancement in the job market.

In terms of industry, at the time of 2016 census, 22% of Polish nationals were employed in wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and cycles; 18% were employed in manufacturing and 15% were working in accommodation and food service activities (Census 2016). Within the retail industry, 9% of the overall Polish population were employed as cashiers, retail assistants and accountants. As regards occupational group, 23% of Polish nationals worked in elementary occupations, with cleaners and domestics being the most common job type; followed by skilled trades occupations at 17%, with metal workers, tailors, dressmakers and butchers. 15% of Polish nationals work were employed in process, plant and machine operative occupations and transport. According to the 2022 Census, 14% of Polish nationals in Ireland hold positions as employers, managers, or higher professionals, an increase from the 11.2% reported in 2016. Employment in the wholesale and retail trade sector stands at 17%, with 15% working in manufacturing, and 13% in accommodation and food services. This data

indicates a shift towards more diversified and higher-level occupations among the Polish population in Ireland. Despite this increase, Poles are overrepresented in employment sectors where the requirement for a high level of education is not a prerequisite, e.g. manufacturing, construction and services (Schuppers, 2011: 255).

Interestingly, Kahanec and Kureková's (2011) research on post-accession migration found that the inflow of immigrant workers did not result in a decrease in wages or employment opportunities for native workers. The study has shown that the proportion of migrants who relied on welfare was relatively low during the initial period, although some evidence indicates an increase in welfare-dependent immigrants once they fulfilled legal requirements in terms of employment duration to access such benefits (Kahanec & Kureková 2011: 8).

Polish presence in Ireland

As it has been noted, Polish community is the largest minority community in Ireland. Although some migrants were only short-term residents in Ireland who decided to return to Poland once they fulfilled their goals, many Polish nationals came to Ireland with the intention of staying or arrived at a decision to stay with time, investing in property, sending their children to school, getting involved in everyday life of their local communities – both Polish and Irish, and building networks. What makes Polish diaspora in Ireland all the more interesting as a study subject is their extensive social, educational and cultural activity, evident in numerous initiatives undertaken by Polish migrants; not to mention organisations and associations aimed at bringing Polish migrants together and developing cooperation with the Irish society, as well as Polish schools or Polish shops and services, greatly contributing to the Irish landscape.

Although there were some Polish organisations founded long before Poland joined the EU, like the Irish Polish Society (1979), a Polish House at Fitzwilliam Place (1987) or Polish Social and Cultural Association Limited (POSK, founded around the same time) (Płachecki 2021), the influx of Polish migrants after the accession was "bound to give rise to interest in social activity, participation or […] to establish new organisations" (45). The main incentive behind setting up new organisations was to integrate Polish nationals living in Ireland, promote Polish culture, provide assistance; but also for business-related

issues, professional mobilisation or English language learning (Płachecki 2021). As the researcher claims, although the goals were quite dispersed, all of the new organisations had some common characteristics – like the "weight attached to integration into Irish society, the wish to involve new arrivals from Poland in structures […] around an organisation" which presented a great opportunity for network building, especially for those who were unfamiliar with Irish culture or had limited English language skills and hence limited access to social and public life in Ireland (Płachecki 2021: 36). Płachecki (2021) differentiated seven types of Polish immigrant organizations in Ireland, each with a specific focus. For example, the Support and Integration Centre 'Together-Razem' (2006) and The Help for Jobseeker Forum (2012) are aimed at charity and self-help. The Polish Business Club (2009) and Polish Community in Ireland (2010) focus on business and public relations. Local community unification is the goal of organizations like the MyCork Association (2005), MultiCity Polish Association in Kilkenny (2010), and the Galway Irish-Polish Association (GIPA, 2007). Forum Polonia (former Forum of Active Poles, 2008) represents socio-political interests. Educational needs are addressed by the Polish Teachers Association (SEN, 2010) and the Polish Educational Association (PSE, 2009). Youth and cultural activities are organized by the 87th Polish Scout Group (2007) and the Polish Folk Dance Group-Shamrock (2009). Finally, the Woman's Point of View (2010) provides support specifically for women. These organisations' dynamic activity has its share in integrating and promoting Polish culture, heritage and language.

Among some of the cultural activities organised by the Polish community around Ireland is the annual Polska Éire Festival. As the organisers note on their website, the first nationwide Irish-Polish festival was held in 2015 under the auspices of Minister of State Aodhán Ó Ríordáin and the Polish Embassy in Dublin. Although this festival was one of many initiatives taken by Polish organisations, Polska Éire is taking social media by storm and enjoying great success. It involved a series of events all around the country, organised by different Polish and Irish association. It aims at presenting Polish heritage, but also focuses on cultural exchange between Polish and Irish communities aimed at building a better relationship and understanding between the two groups.

The task of cultivating Polish culture and language was also undertaken by Polish weekend schools which provide supplementary education for the youngest members of the Polish community. According to Pędrak (2019), there are currently fifty two Polish

weekend schools in Ireland – fourty-seven Polish community schools and five School Consultation points, which operate under the auspices of the Polish Embassy in Dublin and the Centre of Development of Polish Education Abroad (ORPEG) (Pędrak 2019: 162). These schools were set up by Polish community members in order to preserve their cultural identities, maintain and transmit Polish language and customs (Pędrak 2019: 162, 165). The schools are located in cities and towns around Ireland – Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Cork and Cavan. As noted by the author, most of these Polish weekend schools operate in the evenings and over the weekends. They partner with local Irish schools, using their facilities to conduct classes. Students at these Polish weekend schools have the opportunity to learn the Polish language and gain knowledge about Polish history, literature, regional music, customs, and the religious traditions of the Polish community.

The pupils have the opportunity to learn Polish language, but also gain knowledge on Polish history, literature, regional music, customs and religion of the Polish community (Pędrak 2019: 165). Their legal basis differs according to whether they operate under the Ministry of National Education in Poland and ORPEG, or are private non-profit organizations operating with the support of the community and the Embassy.

It is also crucial to acknowledge the Polish-language and Polish-focused media that have emerged in Ireland since 2004. The rapid increase of Polish migrants in Ireland created demand for information concerning the life of Polish community in Ireland, various legal issues, labour market problems, life insurance, business-related queries or current affairs in Poland (Ruta 2010). However, as noted by researchers Ruta (2010) and Listoś (2010), Polish media in Ireland not only provide information but also assist with daily life in a foreign community and help integration by sharing details on Irish cultural events, especially for those with limited English skills. Among some of the printed press titles mentioned by (Ruta, 2010) is *Polska Gazeta*, the first Polish weekly in Ireland; *Kurier Polski* launched in 2006, describing various affairs in Ireland concerning Polish community; *Nasz Głos* which appeared for the first time in 2007; a spin-off of a Polish tabloid newspaper *Fakt dla Irlandii*, operating also in Ireland since 2008; or a Polish issue of *The Sun* also operating since 2008. All of these printed papers have also websites. In addition to that, Listoś (2010) lists at least twenty five online news websites dedicated to the Polish community in Ireland, including those directed at specific localisations, like *Polish Galway* or *Polacy w Longford*.

When discussing the presence of Poles in Ireland, one cannot omit Polish shops or Polish aisles in Irish supermarkets that have become a common sight in almost every Irish city and town. Many of these shops cater to other nationalities as well, mainly from Central and Eastern Europe. As far as the author is aware, there are no exact statistics as regards the number of shops offering Polish and Eastern European produce, and no research investigating the number of Polish nationals who frequent these establishment. However, a simple Google Maps search shows that in almost every larger city and town in Ireland Polish citizens have access to Polish products. For instance, the website of *Polonez*, the biggest Eastern European chain store, boasts of over twenty years' experience on the Irish market, thirty seven stores all over Ireland and the UK and the owners promise that "everything tastes exactly like home" (*Polonez*). On top of that, major Irish chains (Dunnes Stores or Super Value) also provide a selection of Polish products in all of their shops, acknowledging the presence of Polish citizens in Ireland and answering to their need for a taste of home. Polish food shops have become a part of Irish foodscape and they provide "a sense of home to Polish migrants living in Ireland" (Coakley 2010: 105). They can provide a sense of community and connection to one's cultural heritage. Quite a common practice among larger shop chains is offering Polish products that are necessary for preparing traditional Easter or Christmas dishes, which in a way contributes to preservation and celebration of Polish culture. They may also serve as meeting points for members of the Polish diaspora, where they can speak their native language, share their stories and experiences. Furthermore, these shops may also be a source of employment for Polish migrants, who face challenges finding work in other industries due the language barriers.

The examples of Polish presence discussed above demonstrate that Polish nationals have become part of the Irish landscape in many aspects of daily life. Matykowski and Andrzejewska (2012) investigated the situation of Polish economic migrants in the initial years following the accession of Poland to the EU. The authors concluded their study by observing the development of "a Little Poland social space in Ireland" (Matykowski and Andrzejewska 2012: 43) based on their "schematic model of performance" of Polish community members, which covers symptoms of political life, cultural ventures, social initiatives and service facilities. The activity of Polish nationals in all of these fields may also demonstrate that the character of modern migration is

completely different from its earlier waves (Matykowski and Andrzejewska 2012). As Pankowski notes:

> Today's notion of 'emigrating' is closer in meaning to that of 'going' or 'leaving'. There is no longer any need to emigrate from the language, culture, to break bonds with the home country and family, or even with the cuisine.
>
> (cf. from Matykowski and Andrzejewska 2012: 43)

1.3 Motivating factors for coming and/or settling in the Republic of Ireland

The decision of an individual to migrate might be motivated by a variety of reasons. As Grabowska (2005) notes, the difficulty in assessing these reasons results from the necessity to assume that individuals "operate with a rational, decision making model of the world" which allows them to freely reach a decision based on the options and possibilities offered (33). However, the decision to migrate is influenced by various factors within the institutional context (Grabowska 2005). These include rural poverty, employment and housing conditions, transportation costs, international laws, and immigration policies. It also depends on recruitment methods by employers and agencies, and the requirement for travel documents such as passports, visas, and work certificates (Grabowska 2005: 31).

Grabowska (2005) outlines a number of factors which have influenced the developments in international mobility of labour in recent years on macro and micro level. The first group of factors includes the following: changes in the labour market of the receiving country; its social benefit and insurance system; the wage gap; the gap between working and living conditions; social and cultural attractiveness; closure/restrictions of traditional labour migration destinations; development of migration policy (Grabowska, 2005: 27). The latter group includes personal development, pursuit of a new life direction; remittances; willingness to improve one's living and working conditions; favourable opinion of the receiving country in comparison to previous destination countries in terms of registering, tax system, employers and pay (Grabowska 2005: 28). Thus there are a number of different aspects to consider when discussing why a given country may become a popular destination for immigrants with a certain background.

Why Ireland?

The leading cause for a decision to emigrate is usually the economic situation in both – the sending and the receiving countries, although there may be additional factors that contribute to that decision. According to Grabowska (2005), "Ireland as a country of immigration was created purely by demand and pull factors: the international socio-economic environment; economic conditions; structural changes in the labour market; socio-economic demands for domestic labour" (29). Grabowska (2005) identified a number of push and pull factors that play a decisive role, based on her study of young Polish migrants between 20-34 years of age from the biggest Polish cities, who resided in Dublin (see Table 5).

The primary driving force was the desire to secure a well-paying job that could significantly enhance the immigrants' living standards (Grabowska 2005). Among some of the push factors, encouraging Polish individuals to leave their home country one can find the difficult employment situation in Poland, lack of adequate job opportunities for university graduates, low wages, as well as more personal reasons, such as financial needs of one's family, lack of any opportunities for individual's professional development or the will to change one's life and start anew somewhere else (ibid.). Among the pull factors drawing Polish nationals to Ireland was the country's high wage economy, favourable working and living conditions, shortages in labour force – jobs were easy to find even with basic language skills (ibid.). Additionally, Ireland proved to be an attractive destination not only for those who wished to improve their language skills, but also those who wanted to learn a highly utilisable language such as English, which could prove to be a great advantage in future social and professional relations (ibid.).

Push factors (from Poland)	Pull factors (to Ireland)
Macro (general) factors	
- increasing unemployment in Poland - no job opportunities for university leavers - low wage economy - corruption of the political elites - to avoid difficult economic situation in Poland before its accession to the EU - to learn the EU countries before Poland's accession	- English speaking country - high wage economy - high living and working conditions - economic growth in Ireland and shortages in the labour force
Micro (personal) factors	
- family in financial need - no opportunities for personal, professional development and improvement - new life orientation (university leavers, newlyweds, death of a member of family) - difficult relations in the workplace because of worsening general situation in the Polish market	- to improve English - receive more money - opportunities for using better equipment - better conditions in the workplace (lunch breaks, less formality, more flexibility) - reunification with family - life experience good point in CV to gather some work experience - remittances - earlier links with Ireland via scholarships, working holidays

Table 5. Push and pull factors reported by Polish economic migrants.
Source: Grabowska (2005: 39).

In her study, Grabowska (2005) identified three typical patterns among Polish migrants:

1. breadwinners abroad – migrants who essentially came to Ireland to support their families who stayed behind in Poland, the money earned in Ireland is used to cover for the family's needs and to improve their living standard;

2. global migrants – usually couples without children who move to another country to improve their working and living conditions;

3. affluent style migrants – individuals whose primary aim is to explore social and employment opportunities offered by "multicultural metropolis" as they aspire to lead a social and cultural life attributed to upper class elites in the receiving countries (Grabowska 2005: 42).

Hence, the decision to move to a different country can be driven by various motivations and shaped by diverse contexts. These influences can significantly impact how individual migrants settle in host countries and interact with both minority and dominant groups..

It is important to note that some researchers suggest a different approach to recent migration patterns, as these do not conform to the 'traditional' idea of migration. Travelling and crossing borders have become accessible and affordable, while the development of technology and different communicators available online enabled keeping in touch with family and friends regardless of the physical distance. Migrating to another country is no longer associated with rare homecomings or seldom exchange of news via handwritten letters. The above life enhancements changed the nature of migration – it has become "more calculated, but also more flexible" (Diskin 2016: 290). The 2004 EU enlargement altered migration patterns for Polish nationals, they were no longer bound by movements regulations within the EU, residence or work permit (Krings et al. 2013). Migrants gained the autonomy to decide both the timing and destination of their relocation. Krings et al. (2013) propose to classify the new migrants as 'free movers', since their decision to relocate is primarily driven by lifestyle preferences and the presence of opportunities, rather than solely economic necessities.

Polish and Irish communities – relations

On the website of the Republic of Poland, a section on Ireland notes that the diplomatic relations of Poland and Ireland were established in 1976, mostly focused on trade, while Polish Embassy was opened in Dublin in 1991 (Ireland, Website of the Republic of Poland, n.d.). Poland and Ireland are considered to be significant political allies and their relationship enhanced significantly after Poland joined the EU and the Irish government granted Polish citizens access to their labour marker (ibid.). Furthermore, the website of the Irish Department of Foreign affairs mentions the important role of the Polish community in Ireland, emphasises its vibrant character and involvement in the cultural and social life of Ireland (Embassy of Ireland, Poland, *Department of Foreign Affairs*, n.d.). Thus on the level of political and economic cooperation, both countries emphasise their friendship and common values. While the aforementioned information undoubtedly holds significant value, it is also noteworthy to delve deeper into the relation between the

Irish and Polish communities involved and their coexistence on everyday basis. In her article on PolskaÉire festival for *The Irish Times*, Aneta Stępień (2015) claims that Ireland's idyllic, green landscapes and traditional folk music earned a special place in the Polish imagination and hearts. The author further observes that the shared experience of emigration enhances the integration of Polish and Irish nationals, as it facilitates a mutual understanding "of what is involved in the process of leaving one's own country behind and adapting to a new place" (ibid.). This shared experience, however, is not the only area where these two communities intersect. Participants of Grabowska's study (2005) notice other similarities between Ireland and Poland, like Catholicism and history. The latter is also mentioned in Stępień's (2015) article:

> The history of resistance and fighting for independence in Ireland is a familiar subject for Poland, which itself had been oppressed for almost two centuries by different powers in Europe. The proud manifestation of Irish national symbols, plaques commemorating soldiers fighting in the uprising and the greatest nationalists on their pedestals, all these landmarks make Ireland feel like home.

The suggestion that there is convergence between the Polish and the Irish national character has often been indicated by Norman Davies, a Welsh-British historian, holding also a Polish passport (cf. www.davies.pl and the interviews within). Davies suggested that in order to explain what kind of people Poles are, it is enough to say that they are 'a kind of Irish'. In general, the shared experience, familiar history and cultural similarities can provide a sense of comfort and familiarity, making the adjustment to the new environment and culture less challenging for the Polish migrants. In fact, as Stępień (2015) claims, "Polish people seem very well integrated into the Irish community and generally speak about its members in brotherly terms". Many participants interviewed for this thesis have expressed similar approach. Most of the participants reported having several Irish friends, and they spoke highly of their amicability, inclusivity, and laid-back lifestyle. Both of the nations are also proud and protective of their national treasures (ibid.).

While it is true that the Polish-Irish relationship is often characterized by warmth and cordiality, it would be misleading to suggest that it is entirely free of challenges or difficulties. There is a body of research that indicates certain obstacles that Polish migrant communities face in Ireland and in the British Isles in general (Johns 2013; McGinnity and Gijsberts 2016, 2018). As Michael Johns (2013) observes, "[i]n both

Britain and Ireland Poles were the faces of intra-EU migration from the East and therefore were the target of more attention and at time scorn compared to other groups" (30). Some of the issues that Polish citizens encounter (both in Ireland and the UK) include deskilling, discrimination and social problems, exploitation and unwelcoming political climate related to their presence (Johns 2013: 37–38). The author mentions instances of discrimination and stereotyping again Polish people, extreme cases of damage to their property, physical attacks, bullying of children at schools, threats and outright violence against them, exploitation and lack of fair payment in a workplace, unfair and stereotypical treatment of Polish nationals in the media (Johns 2013). Johns (2013) also reports "a chilly political climate" and he perception among the host community that Polish nationals have come to take away their employment opportunities (44). The author notes, however, that these issues do not concern all of the Polish migrants and that his study focused primarily on the Polish community in the UK and to a lesser extent in Ireland (Johns 2013). Given the large numbers of Polish nationals moving to Ireland and the UK, it is inevitable that some challenges and issues will arise.

1.4 Conclusions to chapter one

People have always been on the move, searching for better lives, new opportunities, and adventure. The migration of Polish nationals to Ireland reflects this timeless pursuit. Although the numbers of Polish migrants in Ireland are no longer increasing (at least for the time being), it can be observed that they have become an integral part of the Irish society. Some arrived in Ireland seeking to improve their economic situation, while others saw it as an adventure and a chance to experience a new way of life. Many of them decided to stay, establish roots and raise their families.

Before Poland joined the European Union in 2004, Polish nationals usually emigrated to Germany, the United Kingdom, Scandinavian nations or the United States. After 2004, Ireland emerged as an unexpectedly attractive destination for Polish migrants, primarily due to a surge in employment opportunities in Ireland. They could easily find employment, even without sufficient (or any) knowledge of English, although of course these were mainly low-skilled job. While some of them managed to advance their careers,

many had to or chose to sacrifice their education because they could still live comfortably working basic-level jobs. Recent population data from Census 2022 suggests, however, that this trend is gradually shifting, with an increasing number of Polish individuals now securing higher-level positions.

The Polish diaspora currently represents the largest minority in Ireland. While some have assimilated into the host society, others maintain close ties with fellow Polish migrants, and still others navigate a middle ground between these two. As noted by many participants in this study, life in Ireland is "easy" – they appreciate Irish values and their way of life, and many do not consider going back to Poland.

Chapter 2: Language in Ireland

The Republic of Ireland has two official languages, English and Irish. The latter is a Celtic language from a Goidelic group of Indo-European languages. Irish holds a constitutional status as the first national language in Ireland (hence Éire - the official name of the country), while English enjoys only a supplementary role (Hickey 2007). However, despite its official status, less than half of the population claim to be able to speak the Irish language and even less than 5 percent uses it on daily basis outside of the education system (Census 2016). According to Hickey (2007), English is considered the language of public life in Ireland, with approximately 99 percent of the country's population of four million people using it as their native language (as of 2007).

The Irish language plays an important role in Irish identity and culture. It is seen as a symbol of Irish heritage and the Irish people have a strong emotional attachment to it. The language has been an important part of Irish history and played a significant role in the country's struggle for independence from British rule. Despite the fact that the vast majority of Irish people speak English as their primary language, there has been a recent resurgence of interest in the Irish language. Many people feel that the language is a key part of their identity and are eager to learn it or to promote its use. The Irish government has also made efforts to promote the Irish language and to encourage its use (Ceallaigh and Dhonnabháin 2015; Mccubbin 2010; Witczak-Plisiecka 2007). Irish is recognized as an official language of the European Union, and there are government-funded programs that provide support for Irish-language education and culture (ibid.). In recent years, there has been a growing movement to make Irish a more widely spoken language in Ireland, and to promote it as an important part of Irish national identity. However, the practical challenges of achieving this goal, such as the limited number of fluent Irish speakers and the predominance of English, continue to be significant barriers (Ceallaigh & Dhonnabháin 2015).

With respect to English in Ireland, there is a vast body of literature focusing not only on the characteristic features that distinguish Irish English from varieties of English in other English-speaking countries, but also describing extensive variation within the island itself. The several hundred years that followed the initial settlement of English speakers on the island -witnessed a struggle for power between the indigenous Irish and

the transported English language, which eventually led to the establishing of the latter as the dominant language of the majority. The interaction between the two languages, different settlement patterns and diverse dialectal influence has resulted in the emergence of an English variety that exhibits distinct features in terms of morphosyntax, lexicon and phonology.

This chapter explores English in Ireland. It begins with an overview of the linguistic situation in the country and the factors which contributed to its current shape. It also provides a brief overview of other languages spoken in Ireland, which are linked to the country's recent migration patterns. The main portion of this chapter examines the phonological features of Irish English as described by Trudgill, Hughes and Watt (2005), Collins and Mees (2008), Wells (1987), Bliss (1984), Hickey (1996, 1997, 2007, 2010) and Kallen (1997, 2013). The last part focuses on alveolar plosive /t/ variation in Irish English, with an emphasis on the variable in question – Irish English slit-t, which is the subject of this dissertation. The variable is described in terms of its physical features, available articulatory and acoustic analysis, possible origin and problems in the domain of terminology.

2.1 English language in Ireland

When describing English in Ireland, one of the crucial aspects to take into account is a wide range of varieties (Hickey 2010). Ireland is commonly perceived as the land of many accents, both by the outsiders, as well as Irish natives themselves. The most obvious division splits the island into two main accent varieties: Southern Irish English spoken in the Republic of Ireland, and Northern Irish English, spoken in Northern Ireland and bordering areas that belong to the Irish Republic, including County Donegal in north-western part of the island (Hickey 2010). This chapter focuses on the previous variety.

The history of English in Ireland is usually divided into two stages – medieval and modern (Filppula 1999). Norman invasion brought English and Norman French to Ireland around the twelfth century, which became vernacular languages spoken in Ireland alongside Irish (Filppula 1999: 4). Interestingly, within the next hundred years, despite Normans' success in conquering the province of Leinster and parts of Munster and Ulster, the language began to decline and the Norman population soon adopted the Irish language

and customs (Filppula 1999; Bliss 1979). As regards English – initially it was slightly more successful than Norman French, but Irish managed to push it into a steady decrease over the next few centuries, even in the areas outside of the Pale, rules by English rulers; even despite their attempts at stopping the process of gaelicisation, like imposing heavy penalties on those using Irish (Filppula 1999: 4-5). Further developments, like the Reformation in the sixteenth century, united the 'Old English' settlers and native Irish against the Protestant 'New English' rulers, and the Irish language became the symbol of the Catholic religion (Filppula 1999: 5). There are, however, some discrepancies between scholars as regards the position of English at the end of the sixteenth century, some note its near-extinction, while some claim there was a continuity between the 'Old English' and 'New English', introduced in Ireland by plantations in the seventeenth century (Filppula 1999; Kallen: 1997, 2013). Despite these differing views, it is generally believed that seventeenth century plantations proved to be a turning point in the linguistic history of Ireland (Filppula 1999; Kallen 1997, 2013). The Cromwellian Settlement in the 1650s proved to be "the final blow to the old Irish society" (Hogan 1927/1970: 52) and resulted in the spread of the English language, the language of gentry. Interestingly, however, the spread of English among the majority of Irish-speaking population happened much later (Filppula 1999). Although Irish was still dominant in the eighteenth century, this period also witnessed a spread of bilingualism. Initially, English was first favoured as a second language, while in the nineteenth century the policy of bilingualism was abandoned and the shift to English-only began (Filppula 1999: 8).

Researchers mention several causes of the language shift in Ireland (Filppula 1999: Hickey 2007), as some events increased its pace. These include the Great Famine in the 1840s, considered by Hickey (2007: 123) "the most significant blow to the Irish language", which resulted in around one million deaths and one million Irish nationals leaving the country, hitting the rural areas the hardest; the National School system introduced in 1831, which excluded Irish; the attitude and policies adopted by the Catholic church, like the foundation of Maynooth College, where English was the primary language of instruction, hence establishing this language as the official language of the Church in Ireland; choosing English as the language of politics and Catholic emancipation by leaders such as Daniel O'Connel (native Irish speaker) (Filpulla 1999: 9). The withdrawal of Irish from institutions such as parliament, courts of law, town and country

government, civil service, upper levels of commercial life, placed English on top of the social scale, as it was associated with success and opportunity, while Irish was increasingly associated with poverty and illiteracy (Filpulla 1999: 8).

As Hickey (2007) notes, "the most remarkable fact in the linguistic history of Ireland since the seventeenth century is the abandonment of the Irish language by successive generations" (Hickey 2007: 121). This phenomenon reached such an extent that "the remaining Irish-speaking areas today are only a fraction of the size of the country and contain not much more that 1 percent of the population" (Hickey 2007: 121). As the author further notes, bilingual speakers are mostly native speakers of Irish in Irish-speaking areas, although all of them also speak English (Hickey 2007). In terms of geographical distribution of the language shift, as Hickey (2007) mentions, English started spreading from the east of the country, where the first to adopt English were the cities, while Irish monolinguals were always most numerous along the western seaboard of the country, where rural areas were the last to adopt English (Hickey 2007). English spread gradually from east to west, from urban to rural areas, between early seventeenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century (Hickey 2007). In terms of how this process of dissemination came about, Hickey (2007) notes that Irish nationals did not learn directly from the settlers; he assumes they learned English from other Irish nationals who had contact with English speakers and were exposed to the language. There was little to no formal education for majority of the Irish population, and the 'hedge schools, informal means of education for Catholics, usually run by self-educated teachers, did not bring about a significant change. Hence the environment for acquisition of English by Irish natives was non-prescriptive and uncontrolled, which meant that there were no "external restrictions" on the use of non-standard features resulting from the influence of Irish (Hickey 2007: 125). As Hickey (2007) notes, "the use of speech habits and the transfer of grammatical structures from Irish on an individual level lasted long enough for these to spread to entire communities of speakers and to become general features of their forms of English" (125). According to Bliss (1984), the native speakers of Irish "interpreted and reproduced the sounds they heard in terms of their own phonemic system" and the result has been passed on through generations (Bliss 1984: 125). The author claims that present-day Irish English is the outcome of the adaptation of mid-seventeenth-century English sounds to the phonemic system of Irish (Bliss 1984: 125).

Bliss highlights that this phonemic transfer was not a simple overlay of English onto Irish; rather, it involved a complex process where the Irish speakers actively reshaped the sounds of English to fit their native phonological framework. This process resulted in distinctive features such as the pronunciation of vowels and consonants, the rhythm, and the intonation patterns unique to Irish English (1984).

2.1.1 Features of Irish English – phonology

There are numerous studies on the phonology of Irish English, both Southern and Northern varieties. Southern varieties were described by Wells (1982), Bliss (1984), Hickey (2004, 2007), Barry (1982) and Ó hÚrdail (1997) among others. There are also descriptions of rural and urban varieties; in the previous group we can find works by Henry (1958), Nally (1971), Lenny (1981) and Collins (1997); in the latter by Peters (2012), Sell (2009, 2012), Kalaldeh, Dorn and Ní Chasaide (2009) among others. This extensive body of research only demonstrates the wide range of varieties which exist withing the Republic of Ireland itself. This section covers the phonology of Southern Irish English based on the descriptions by Wells (1982), Bliss (1984) and Hickey (1996, 1997, 2004, 2007, 2010), Kallen (1997, 2013), as well as Trudgill, Hughes and Watt (2005), Collins and Mees (2008). It will focus on Irish English in a global context, i.e. compared to other "standard" varieties of English like British English or American English, without going into detail about regional differences. It gives an insight into characteristic features of the Irish variety of English in terms of vowels, consonants, prosody and other prominent aspects.

Vowels: monophthongs and diphthongs

One of the most prominent features of Irish English are vowels, both monophthong and diphthongs. The vowel system of Irish English is different in many respects from more mainstream varieties of British English and these differences can be attributed mostly to the conservative character of Irish English (Hickey 2007: 316). Irish English vowel system resembles more that of Early Modern English, rather than present-day mainstream British English (Hickey 2007). The vowel system of Irish English has been approached

by numerous scholars over the years, resulting in some discrepancies between individual descriptions, both in terms of features and their lexical incidence. Lonergan (2013) created a comparative vowel chart (see Figure 1) incorporating descriptions by Wells (1982), Bliss (1984) and Hickey (2007). The vowels marked in black indicate agreement between all three scholars, while grey indicates agreement between Wells (1982) and Bliss (1984).
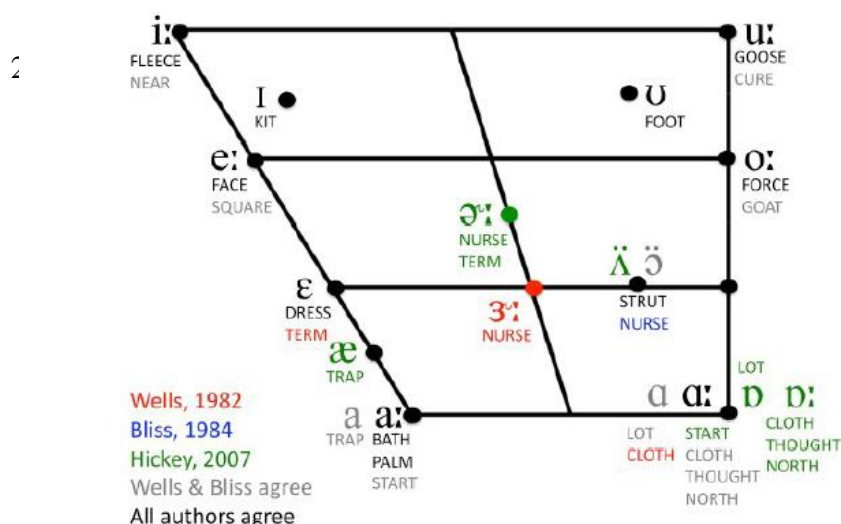
Figure 1. Comparison of the description of Irish English monophthongs by Wells (1982), Bliss (1984) and Hickey (2007). Source: Lonergan (2013: 30).

As can be seen in Figure 1, while Wells (1982) and Bliss (1984) show considerable agreement, Hickey's (2007) account differs considerably in some aspects (Lonergan 2013). The researchers agree on the realisation of the majority of long vowels (FLEECE, FACE, BATH, FORCE and GOOSE), as well as some short vowels (KIT, DRESS and FOOT), there are some differences in the approach to low and back vowels as can be seen on the chart below (Lonergan 2013). Although this chapter takes into account the different descriptions, it focuses primarily on the most characteristic features of Irish English in a global context, using IPA and Wells' (1982) standard lexical set as a point of reference.

As regards shorts vowels, one of the most striking features of Irish English is the inconsistent quality of STRUT vowel (Wells 1982). Wells (1982) notes that it might be realised as a mid-centralized back rounded vowel, unrounded back or centralised, or a variant extremely similar to the conservative RP (ʌ) (Wells 1982: 422; Bliss 1982).

However, Hickey (2007) notes that /ʌ/ is an unrounded vowel realised further back in Irish English than realisations found in RP (Hickey 2007: 317). Interestingly, some sources note the lack of distinction between /ʌ/ and /ʊ/, particularly in strongly local Dublin accents, where it is neutralised to /ʊ/ (Trudgill, Hughes and Watt 2005: 115), while Hickey (1995) claims that this feature is only limited to lower-class Dublin. Similarly, Wells (1982) claims that the /ʊ/ realisation is considered informal in educated Dublin speech and the majority of Irish English speakers demonstrate at least a potential distinction between /ʌ/ and /ʊ/, but their lexical incidence differs from other standard accents (Wells 1982: 422).

Regarding the TRAP /æ/ vowel, Collins and Mees (2008) observe that it may be pronounced with a more open quality. Wells (1982) states that in educated Dublin speech, the sound is realized as /æ/, whereas in other parts of the country it is articulated as a cardinal /a/. Wells (1982) and Hickey (2007) note a subtle distinction between /æ/ and /aː/, with Irish English speakers often retracting and lengthening /æ/, particularly before voiced consonants. Hickey (1995, 2007) also mentions a potential tense and raised pronunciation of this vowel, especially in regional dialects before /r/. In terms of specific word usage, Hickey (2007) remarks that conservative speakers prefer /æ/ over /ɛ/ in words like *many* and *any*, a phenomenon Wells (1982) describes as a notable characteristic of Irish English (Wells 1982: 423).

Wells (1982) notes that the low functional load of /æ/ and /aː/ distinction concerns also CLOTH words and the /ɒ/ vs. /ɔː/ opposition. As the linguist notes, in some word pairs this opposition is well established (*stock* and *stalk*, *knotty* and *naughty*), other words vary freely between /ɒ/ and /ɔː/ (*cross*, *loss*, *often*, *cost*) (Wells 1982: 424). Hickey (2007) mentions that low back /ɒ/ vowel is usually realised as open mid to frond vowel, and that CLOTH and THOUGHT words have the same realisation – a long low back vowel, quite open in mainstream varieties and raised in new forms of Dublin English (Hickey 2007: 328). Hickey (2007) also notes that while the non-retracted variant /a/ is a stigmatised realisation (*wɒnt* vs. *want*) (Hickey 2007: 317).

In terms of long vowels in Irish English, Wells (1982), Bliss (1984) and Hickey (2007) agree on the realisation of FLEECE /iː/, FACE /eː/, BATH /aː/, FORCE /oː/ and GOOSE /uː/ (Lonergan 2013), the distinct realisation of NORTH and FORCE, while some discrepancies occur in case of vowels before /r/, like START and NURSE. While

Wells and Bliss describe a front vowel for START /a:/, Hickey describes a back vowel /ɑ:/. For NURSE, Hickey (2007) describes a centralised rhotacized schwa /ɚ/ without lip rounding for supraregional English and a raised, retracted and often non-rhotic realisation in local Dublin English /nʊ:(ɹ)s/ (Hickey 2007: 330). Wells describes two variants of NURSE, /ɛr/ and /ʌr/, as in *earn – urn* or *prefer – fur*, noting that the contrast between these two variants is retained, wile sophisticated Dublin English speakers neutralise it to a lower central /ɝ/ and (1982: 421); while Bliss (1984) describes a rounded back vowel /ɔ̃/. As regards NORTH and FORCE, Hickey (2007) describes the former as an open /ɒ:/, and the latter as /o:/ (Hickey 2007: 330-331), although as Hickey (2004) notes the lack of distinction between these vowels among supraregional Irish English speakers is on the rise.

As it has been mentioned, Irish English is a rhotic variety, hence it lacks diphthongs which correspond to RP /ʊə/, /eə/ and /ɪə/ (Hickey 2007: 316). Bliss (1984) and Wells (1982) claim these as monophthongs are realised in Irish English as /u:/, /e:/ and /i:/ respectively. Diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are often described as narrow glides or steady-state vowels, although Wells (1982) claims this phenomenon is only present in areas outside of Dublin. According to Bliss (1984) and Wells (1982), diphthong GOAT is realised as a monophthong /o:/, while Hickey (2007) agrees to this realisation in traditional vernacular and rural varieties outside of the capital city, although he notes that in the mainstream Irish English there is slight diphthongisation with a higher end point /oʊ/ (Hickey 2007: 329). As regards FACE, Wells (1982) notes that in the provinces it is pronounced as /e:/, while different variants of a diphthong are present in Dublin English. Hickey (2007), on the other hand, claims that the normal realisation of FACE diphthong is a long monophthong /e:/ and the rising diphthong /eɪ/ is not found in southern varieties (Hickey 2007: 328). One of the interesting features, often stereotyped by speakers of other English varieties, is the lack of opposition between diphthongs /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/, hence the Anglo-American perception that Irish say *noice toime* (Wells 1982: 425). Wells (1982) notes that in some popular varieties of Irish English this contrast is not fully established, and absent in rural and southern areas, although possible realisation may vary widely throughout the country (Wells 1982: 425-426). Hickey (2007) describes three realisations of the diphthong in PRICE - /aɪ/ in General Irish varieties, /əɪ/ in eastern dialects including Dublin English, and /ɑɪ/ present in Advanced Dublin English although the latter is

disappearing (Hickey 2007: 329); Bliss (1984) notes a more central onset for PRICE /əɪ/, while Barry (1982) highlights the unstable onset of the diphthong with a number of different realisations (Lonergan 2013). The lack of consensus on the diphthongs in Irish English is the result of great variation within the country.

Consonants

Similarly to Wells' (1982) lexical sets, Hickey (2008) created a consonant lexical set for Irish English, divided into five main varieties: Rural Northern, Popular Dublin, Fashionable Dublin, Rural South-West/West and Supraregional Southern (see *Figure 2*). This categorization certainly draws attention to great variation within the country.

Lexical set	Rural Northern	Popular Dublin	Fashionable Dublin	Rural South-West/West	Supraregional Southern
THIN	θ	t	t̪	t	t̪
BREATHE	ð	d	d̪̥	d	d̪
TWO	t	t	t, tˢ	t	t
WATER	ɾ, ʔ, Ø	ʔ h	ɾt̪	t̞	ɾ, t̞
GET	tʼ, ʔ	h, Ø	t̞	t̞	t̞
FEEL	Ø	l, ɫ	ɫ	l	l, ɫ
SORE	ɻ	ɹ̴, Ø	ɻ	ɹ̴	ɹ̴, ɻ
WET	w	w	w	w	w
WHICH	w	ʍ	w	ʍ	ʍ, w

Figure 2. Consonants lexical sets and representative values in Irish English. Source: Hickey (2004: 90).

One of the prominent features of Irish English is the fortition of dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, known as th-stopping, which means that these sounds are frequently realised as dental plosives /t̪/ and /d̪/ or variants with affricated quality (Wells 1982, Bliss 1984, Hickey 2004, Kallen 2013). Kallen (2013) notes that the realisation of dental fricatives in Irish English is governed by a mixture of geographical, social and phonological factors (2013: 51). As Wells (1982) claims, this feature is often stereotyped by speakers of other accents of English, who may have difficulties with hearing the dentality over the plosiveness, and

categorize the sounds as /t/ and /d/ (Wells 1982: 429). However, as it can be seen in Figure 2, in Popular Dublin and Rural South-West/South areas these sounds can be realised as alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, therefore dissolving the contrast between minimal pair words such as *thin* and *tin* (Bliss 1984). Although, as Hickey notes, the distinction between alveolar and dental stops is sociolinguistically significant in Ireland and the realisation of interdental fricatives as alveolar stops is rather stigmatised (Hickey 2004: 90).

Another characteristic feature of Irish English, attributed particularly (but not limited) to Dublin English, is the varied realisation of alveolar plosive /t/. This sound has a number of allophones, it may be pronounced as a traditional alveolar plosive, a voiced variant, a glottal stop, a glottal fricative, a flap or a fricated variant (Wells 1982; Hickey 2007). According to Wells (1982), intervocalic T Voicing is typical of working-class Dublin accents, particularly men; T Tapping is increasingly popular with younger speakers, although Kallen (2013) also argues this realisation is preferred by men rather than women, and tends to decrease with formality (Kallen 2013: 52); while mainly intervocalic T Glottaling may be heard among younger working-class Dubliners in casual speech (Wells 1982: 430), although Kallen (2013) also notes that this realisation may depend on the gender of the speakers and formality of speech style (2013: 52). Furthermore, as can be inferred from Figure 1, in Fashionable Dublin English syllable-initial /t/ may be realised with very slight affrication, as in *two* /tˢuː/ (Hickey 2003; 2007). Interestingly, the same phenomenon applies to voiced alveolar plosive /d/ in syllable-initial position (Hickey 2007: 331). The last /t/ variant mentioned above, a fricative realisation in intervocalic and word-final position, is a subject of this dissertation and will be discussed in detail in the next subchapter.

According to Wells (1982), Hickey (2007) and Kallen (2013), the alveolar approximant /l/ is generally realised as clear variant in all positions, although the linguists mention possible changes in this regard as a result of the influence of British and American accents. As Hickey (2007) claims, a velarized variant could be found only in Dublin English and adopted by advanced Dublin English users, hence it is becoming increasingly more popular among the young speakers of Irish English all over the country (Hickey 2007: 331; Kallen 2013).

Another characteristic feature of Irish English is rhoticity. This variety of English is firmly rhotic, /r/ is realised in all environments when it is historically present (Kallen

2013; Wells 1982). *Figure 2* demonstrates different realisations of this sound, determined socially and regionally. According to Hickey (2004), a velarized continuant is the most widespread variant in traditional southern Irish English variety. An uvular /ʁ/ may be found in local varieties of north-east Leinster, although it is a recessive realisation, a remnant of a more widespread distribution in the past (Hickey 2007: 321-322). A retroflex /ɻ/, initially found in Dublin English as a possible result of low rhoticity in local Dublin English (Hickey 2007: 321). As the author notes, this realisation has spread outside of Dublin quite rapidly and may become a predominant realisation of /r/ for all mainstream varieties of southern Irish English (Hickey 2007: 321). Along with regional and social distinction, Wells (1982) describes some context-dependent differences, thus /r/ may be realised as a post-alveolar approximant in an environment preceding a stressed vowel, and as a variant of a fricative when preceded by /t/ or /d/, or dropping /r/ after /ə/ in a pretonic syllable in popular Dublin speech, e.g. /sə'praɪz/ vs. /sər'praɪz/ (Wells 1982: 432). Interestingly, although one of the remarkable features of educated Dublin English is rhoticity, popular Dublin English is characterised by weak or non-rhoticity (Hickey 1999). Kallen (2013), however, argues that a simple distinction between rhotic and non-rhotic speech might be quite misleading in case of working class Dublin speakers, and it might be described in terms of a "cline of r-colouring to vowels, ranging from strong /r/ articulation through intermediate stages and ultimately to /r/ deletion" (Kallen 2013: 48).

Yet another feature is the retention of labiovelar fricative – the phonemic distinction between /w/ and /ʍ/ sounds, hence the contrast between words like *witch* and *which* is preserved, e.g. /wɪtʃ/ and /ʍɪtʃ/ respectively (Wells 1982; Hickey 2004; Kallen 2013). Although Hickey (2007) notes that in the mainstream Irish English there is a phonetic distinction between these words, the merger of /w/ and /ʍ/ in supraregional Irish English and advanced Dublin English is on the rise, thus *which* and *witch* become homophones. The above description involves the most characteristic features of Irish English, the realisation of remaining consonants which were not included here, is similar or indiscernible from standard British English.

Prosodic features

There are some aspects concerning the stress and intonation of Irish English that are characteristic of this variety. Stress usually falls on the last syllable of a three-syllable word, like in *edu'cate*, *adver'tise* or *rea'lise* (Hickey 2007: 347); or one syllable later than in English as in *di'scipline* or *in'tegral* (Bliss 1984: 139). Bliss (1984) further notes that where in English there is a secondary stress in the word, in Irish English the main stress will fall on that syllable, e.g. *para'lyse* or *archi'tecture* (139). Wells (1982) states that stress pattern in Irish English generally appears more flexible in comparison to RP, therefore forms such as *af'fluence*, *dis'cipline*, *or'chestra* and *muni'cipal* can be used alongside '*affluence*, '*discipline*, '*orchestra* and '*municipal* (1982: 436).

As regards intonation, Wells (1982) claims that the intonation pattern in Irish English is not remarkably different from RP, apart from a low-fall nuclear tone in yes-no questions, as opposed to low-rise in RP (Wells 1982: 436). Other sources note that Rural Irish English has a characteristic 'lilting' intonation, a result of the influence of the Irish language (Collins and Mees 2005: 181, Dialect Blog). These non-standard patterns of intonation occur mostly in vernacular speech in counties Cork and Kerry (Hickey 2007). This pattern is described as a fall in pitch on stressed syllables with a slight rise preceding it, and it may appear several times in one sentence (Hickey 2007: 309). Hickey (2007) describes it as "undulating intonational pattern", which may extend across two syllables in two-syllable words or may be limited to one syllable in one-syllable words (Hickey 2007: 309).

Phonological processes

There are several phonological processes found in Irish English – Schwa Absorption, certain types of Epenthesis, Methathesis, Yod Coalescence and Yod Dropping (Wells 1982; Hickey 2007).

The first process involves eliminating of /ə/ following a vowel and preceding either a liquid or a nasal (Wells 1982). As Wells (1984) notes, where RP has /ɪ/ sound, Irish English often has /ə/, hence this process is more popular in the latter variety, although not necessarily in careful and educated speech, e.g. *lion* /ˈlaɪən/ reduced to /ˈlaɪn/

and thus rhyming with *line* (Wells 1982: 435). The same process may apply to -ing ending, where /ən/ is reduced to a syllabic consonant /n̩/, as in waiting /ˈweːtn̩/ (Wells 1982: 435).

As regards Epenthesis processes, Wells describes Schwa and Plosive Epenthesis. The former is found in popular speech, an inverse process to Schwa Absorption, where /ə/ is inserted between a plosive and either a liquid or a nasal, or between two liquid/nasal consonants, as in *petrol* /ˈpɛtərəl/ or *form* /ˈfɔɹəm/ (Wells 1982: 435). Hickey (2007) describes it as a prominent feature in many varieties of Irish English, although its range may vary, it is universal in /lm/ clusters, while schwa epenthesis in /ln/, /rl/, /rn/ and /rm/ clusters and a stop plus sonorant cluster are more common in vernacular varieties, as well as (Hickey 2007: 306-307). Plosive Epenthesis can be found in popular Dublin speech and regards the insertion of /d/ in two possible environments – after /l/ or /n/ and before /z/ or after /r/ and before /n/ or /l/, hence *bills* and *builds* become homophones and are both pronounced as /bɪldz/, and *girls* may be pronounced as /gɛrdl̩z/ (Wells 1982: 435). Hickey (2007) also mentions several examples of /t/-epenthesis after a sibilant, which were found among speakers from County Dublin.

Another process characteristic of Irish English is a methathesis, described by Hickey (2007) as the process where two neighbouring sounds are switched. It occurs in unstressed syllables and involves /r/ sound and a short vowel, hence *modern* may be pronounced as /ˈmɒdɹən/, although this process is not usually noticed by speakers due to its low salience (Hickey 2007: 308). Hickey (2007) also notes "more radical" examples of methathesis in vernacular varieties, where two stops separated by a vowel are switched or two sonorants, hence *hospital* /ˈhɒspɪtl/ becomes /ˈhɒstɪpl/ (2007: 308).

The last two processes, Yod Coalescence and Yod Dropping concern the modification or deletion of /j/ sound. In the former process, consonant clusters /sj/, /zj/ /dj/ and /tj/ may be realised as /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /dʒ/ and /tʃ/, e.g. *due* pronounced as /dʒuː/ and *tune* as /tʃuːn/ (Gimson 1970). In the latter, /j/ sound is deleted, hence *new* might be pronounced as /nuː/. According to Wells (1982), Yod Coalescence in stressed syllables can be heard in Dublin, both in popular and conservative educated accent, although Yod Dropping is more common in Irish English after /n/ and very frequent in unstressed syllables (Wells 1982: 435-436). Hickey (2007) argues the deletion of yod in stressed syllables following alveolar sonorants is quite normal in supraregional Irish English, and

although it is less frequent in unstressed syllables, the speakers of vernacular varieties also tend to lose it (Hickey 2007: 307). Hickey (2007) further specifies several conditions that have to be fulfilled for the process of yod deletion to occur: /j/ is not in the absolute initial position, the preceding segment is an alveolar sonorant and the syllable to which the onset belongs is stressed (Hickey 2007: 325). Kallen (2013) argues, however, that the process of Yod Dropping in Irish English is less popular when compared to other varieties.

2.1.2 /t/ lenition – Irish English slit-t

Lenition is a process of phonetic weakening, common in many languages, affecting alveolars in Irish English, usually demonstrated by a shift from a stop to a fricative or from voiceless to voiced obstruent (Hickey 1996: 173). According to Hickey (1986, 2007), a fricated realisation of /t/ is the clearest and most widespread feature in present day supraregional Irish English (1986: 17; 2008: 79), known as Irish English slit-t or /t/ lenition. Although this feature is present in other varieties like Liverpool, Newfoundland or Australian English, its origin have been linked to Irish nationals who migrated to different parts of the world taking their accent with them (Jones and Llamas 2008). In supraregional Irish English /t/ lenition is always realised as apicoalveolar fricative (Hickey 2007); this process also applies to voiced alveolar plosive /d/ although it is not as salient and frequent as in the case of /t/.

The process of /t/-lenition is governed by several conditions (Hickey 1996). It occurs in phonetically weak environments, where the weakness is defined by the position of the sound in question relative to stressed nucleus and the sonority of neighbouring segments (Hickey 1996: 176). The sound undergoing the process of lenition requires an open environment on both sides, i.e. sonorants but not stops and fricatives. Hence the environment described by Hickey (1996) as the weakest constitutes of vowels or zero. Therefore slit-t may be present in invervocalic and word-final position, but it does not appear when immediately preceded or followed by another consonant (Hickey 1995; Wells 1982). What is more, for /t/ lenition to take place, /t/ has to be located in syllable coda, and, for many speakers, in a post-stress position, not immediately preceding a stressed syllable, e.g. *litigation* /lɪtɪˈgeɪʃən/ would not have a lenited /t/, while *Italy* /ˈɪtɪli/

would. The general rules of Irish English phonotactics also apply here, where two fricatives cannot appear in sequence, hence *saturation* is pronounced as /sætʃuˈreːʃən/ and not /sætʃuˈreːʃən/ (Hickey 1996: 177). Another aspect is the syllable sequence where preceding /s/ may affect realisation of /t/ blocking the lenition, like in *community* /kəˈmjuːnɪti/ vs. *solicitor* /səˈlɪsɪtɚ/, where despite the same stress placement and weak environment, only the former contains lenited /t/ (Hickey 1996: 177).

What is also interesting, Hickey (1996) argues that the process of /t/ lenition is "a cline of phonetic weakening", with a stop on one end of the continuum and a zero at the other (Hickey 1996: 177; 2007) as can be seen in *Figure 3* below.

Cline of *t*-lenition in Dublin English						
/t/	[t̞]	→	[ɹ]	→	[h]	→ ø
water	[wɑːt̞ɚ]	[wɑːɹɚ]		[wɑːhɚ]	[wɑːɚ]	

Figure 3. Cline of /t/ lenition in Irish English. Source: Hickey (2008: 89).

In supraregional Irish English it is realised as slit-t, regardless of the speech style, while other realisations are possible on the east coast, in more colloquial varieties (Hickey 2007). They bear, however, sociolinguistic significance and disappear in more formal speech (Hickey 2007). In several sources, Hickey (1996, 2007) includes also a glottal stop after the glottal fricative /h/, although as the author notes, this realisation is limited to local Dublin English. *Figure 4* below demonstrates possible realisations of lenition depending on the syllable position after Hickey (2007).

Position	Example	Permitted realisations of lenition
1. intervocalic	*pity*	t̞, h, ʔ, Ø
2. word–final	*pit*	t̞, h, ʔ, Ø
3. pre-consonantal	*little*	ʔ
	[-tl̩]	, h, Ø
4. post-consonantal	*spent*	ʔ, Ø ([-tˢ])

Figure 4. Realisations of lenition and syllable position. Source: Hickey (2007: 324).

As it has been mentioned above, fricative realisations of /t/ occur in environments between two vowels or in word-final position – preceded by a vowel and followed by a pause, although a glottal fricative, a glottal stop or segment deletion is also possible. Where the /t/ is followed by a consonant – syllabic /l/ or /n/, the permitted realisations include a glottal stop or a glottal fricative; same may apply to /t/ when preceded by a consonant, although a slightly affricated variant is also possible in this case. Hickey (2007) also argues that a fricative realisation of /t/ is possible when preceded by /r/ due to lack of closure and continuant nature of this consonant, as in *cart* or *port* (Hickey 1996; 2007).

As regards the physical characteristics of slit-t realisation of voiceless alveolar plosive /t/, Hickey (1995) describes it as an apico-alveolar fricative, where the tip of the tongue is an active articulator, held above the alveolar ridge (1995: 124). Hickey further describes the sound as being "formed by bringing the apex of the tongue close to the alveolar ridge as if for articulation of /t/ but stopping just before contact (Hickey 1986: 234); "a controlled articulatory gesture which moves the apex of the tongue toward the alveolar ridge and hols it there for a duration approximately that of other fricatives" (Hickey 1984: 676); "a controlled movement which is considerably longer than a tap" but does not involve apico-alveolar closure (Hickey 1984: 676); a controlled articulation which results from the tongue being held just below the alveolar ridge to produce an apico-alveolar fricative rather than a stop" (Hickey 1995: 124); a shift of an alveolar stop to an alveolar fricative "with no change in place of articulation or secondary articulation" (Hickey 2009: 123). As the above descriptions indicate, the main articulatory characteristics of slit-t that is evident includes friction similar in length to that of fricatives and a lack of closure, demonstrated in Figure 5 which shows an instance of slit-t in word-final position in *met*.

The most recent study by Skarnitzl and Rálišová (2022) on the variability of the /t/ sound in the syllabic coda among speakers of Southern Irish English demonstrates that slit-t realisation is typical in high sonority words, particularly in lexical words. The researchers also identified less common variants – voiced and laminal slit-t.

Research by Pandeli (1993) using electropatograms has shown that the sound was an apicoalveolar fricative with a broad, flat, central channel where "the contact was concentrated at the sides of the palate across an area stretching from the front to the

middle or back of the alveolar ridge" (cf. Pandeli et al. 1997: 68). The mean width of the fricative channel was estimated at 10.4 mm, similarly to the width for a postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and greater than the width for an alveolar voiceless fricative /s/ (Pandeli et al. 1997). Regarding the shape of the tongue, the study demonstrated the tongue and the palate to be flat in shape, lacking contact at the sides of the palate "in front of the major constriction", thus indicating apical articulation as described by Hickey (Pandeli et al. 1997). In terms of durational characteristics of the slit-t, the study by Pandeli et al. (1997: 69) investigating the spectrograms of /ʃ/, /s/ and slit-t demonstrated a shorter mean duration of slit-t (239 ms) as compared to the former two sounds 259 ms and 290 ms respectively).
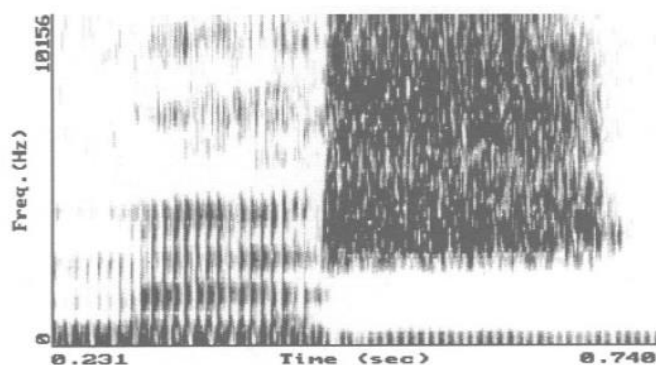
Figure 5. Spectrogram of *met*. Source: Pandeli et al. (1997: 68)

One of the problems concerning slit-t is its phonetic transcription as the International Phonetic Alphabet lacks a diacritic that would indicate the cross-sectional tongue shape (Pandeli et al. 1997). Pandeli et al. (1997) mention fifteen different symbols used to transcribe slit-t sound, although, as the authors claim, some of these might be "misleading [or even] inaccurate" (1997: 70). Majority of the transcriptions were based on modifications of symbols /ɾ/, /s/, /t/ and /θ/ (Pandeli et al. 1997). Pandeli et al. (1997) argue that the problem with transcribing slit-t as /ɾ/ lies predominantly in the duration of the sound and closure – flap/tap is considerably shorter in duration than lenited /t/ and it would normally be realised with closure, which does not occur in for slit-t. In the case of /s/, the authors argue that although it may show the fricative nature and place of articulation of lenited /t/, but it does not account for the cross-sectional shape of the tongue, as there is no such diacritic in IPA. Pandeli et al. (1997) also found several issues

with transcribing slit-t with a /t/ symbol with a lowering diacritic, despite it being the most popular transcription in majority of works, as it may demonstrate fricative realisation but not the grooved tongue shape. The authors believe that the most satisfactory way to transcribe lenited /t/ is the symbol for voiceless dental fricative with a diacritic signifying retraction /θ̠/, as it demonstrates the fricative realisation of the sound and implies the cross-sectional tongue shape. However, although the retraction diacritic indicates retracted place of articulation, it may not be sufficiently specific (Pandeli et al. 1997). The authors propose that the most precise transcription would be /θ̠/ which involves a diacritic from the extended IPA (Duckworth, Allen, Hardcastle and Ball: 1990). On the other hand, the transcription proposed by Hickey (1984) involves a symbol for voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ with a subscript caret /t̞/ to indicate "lack of closure by the tongue apex " (Hickey 1984; Hickey 2014), although this diacritic is not part of the IPA. Kallen (2013) proposes [t̞], after Ó Baoill (1990, 1997) and as recommended by the IPA (Kallen 2013: 53). As the researcher argues, this symbol "combines the phonemic place features of /t/ with the IPA diacritic for lowering – indicating that the tongue has lowered from a potential point of contact with the alveolar ridge" (Kallen 2013: 53).

The origins of slit-t remain debatable. Jones and McDougall (2006) note that the frication of the plosives (lenition) may appear independently in certain phonological contexts in many languages, although in some of them this phenomenon becomes phonologized and turns into a characteristic feature of this variety, like in the case of Irish English. In Hickey's (1995) article on the role of language contact in the development of Irish English, the author argues that fricativisation of alveolar stops is one of those features the source of which cannot be directly attributed to either the contact language or the input variety. However, as Hickey (1995: 119) notes, although slit-t is not present in Irish, this feature as a type of change or a process, is typical of developments of this kind in Irish. Hickey (1995: 119) further argues that in phonetic terms slit-t "represents a weakening, the lenition of a stop to a fricative", which has been considered a generic feature in present day Irish English. Wells (1982) also refers to this phenomenon in Irish English as a common and productive process which occurs in all Celtic languages (1982: 430), indicating possible connection with the indigenous Celtic Irish language. Kallen (2013) argues that the [t̞] realization is "relatively rare in world Englishes." However, this sound, or its similar versions, has been described in varieties of English spoken in

England (specifically parts of the Midlands and the North), Scotland, Newfoundland, and Australia (Kallen 2012: 54). However, as it has been mentioned earlier, it is often discussed that the source of this sound in varieties of English outside of Ireland might be attributed to the influence of Irish immigrants (Kallen 2013), as noted by Clarke (1997) in relation to Newfoundland English; by Tollfree (2001) in Australian English; or by Jones and Llamas (2008) in Middlesbrough English.

As regards studies concerning lenited /t/ including fricative realisation of the sound, there is a considerable body of research on Australian English, some varieties of British English and Canadian English, all of which also mention the possible Irish link. Jones and McDougall (2009) conducted a study on acoustic characteristics of /t/ sound in Australian English, comparing it with the realisation of /s/ and /ʃ/, predicting more similarity between /t/ and /ʃ/ rather than /t/ and /s/. The study focused on investigated controlled speech, as the authors argue that casual speech environment might prove problematic in terms of analysis, since in casual speech, "fricated plosives may occur either as a low-level phonetic effect or as a more regular and systematic phonological pattern, or as both" (Jones and McDougall 2009: 267). The results of the study indicated spectral similarity between fricative /t/ and /ʃ/ realisation in Australian English, although it tends to have characteristics that fall between the /s/ and /ʃ/ sounds (ibid.).

In the article on variation and change in Australian English, Tollfree (2001) focused on the auditory and acoustic analysis of the reduced forms of /t/, including voiced t-tapping, /t/-frication and glottalization. The data was gathered during conversations and Labovian-style interviews among participants from urban Adelaide, Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney. The author analysed /t/ sound in informal and formal style – conversational and a list of words and sentences, in four contexts – intervocalic medial, intervocalic final, pre-consonantal final and pre-pausal final. Interestingly, while fricated realisation of /t/ in Irish English is supraregional and not bound to any social group, in Australian English Tollfree (2001) observed this variant mainly among older speakers and those of higher economic status, particularly in formal speech, in intervocalic and pre-pausal contexts (cf. Jones and McDougall 2006: 265).

2.2 Language in Ireland – concluding remarks

As the above description indicates, Irish English stands out as a particularly distinctive variety of the English language. Its phonology, grammar and lexis reflect the complex relationship of Ireland's linguistic heritage and the socio-political influences that have shaped it over centuries.

The interviews conducted with Polish migrants in this study show that it does not take a professional to notice the unique characteristics of Irish English as compared to other varieties they are familiar with – like British or American English, but also the considerable diversity within Ireland itself. All participants reported that the Irish English accent and its variations were particularly challenging when they first arrived in Ireland. They admitted to struggling considerably with understanding the locals, as the accents they encountered were vastly different from those they had been exposed to in school or through media. Over time, however, these difficulties faded, and many respondents came to genuinely appreciate Irish English. Only a few expressed a preference for what they described as the more "sophisticated" British English.

Considering the exposure of Polish migrants to such a distinctive variety of English, it is particularly interesting to explore whether they adopt any of its features into their own speech and, if that is the case, which features they perceive as salient and prestigious enough to adopt – either consciously or unconsciously. This dissertation seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the language use patterns among Polish migrants in Ireland.

Chapter 3: Selected factors related to migration and L2 use in migratory context

This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework of the dissertation. It describes selected theories and approaches to language use in a naturalistic context by adult migrants - strategies of acculturation, acculturation in SLA, social identity and language identity, as well as social network theory.

The acculturation theory proposed by Berry (1997, 2006) describes the psychological and cultural changes that result from on-going contact between people from different cultural backgrounds and the strategies of acculturation based on individual's attitudes and behaviours displayed in intercultural interactions. Schumann's (1986) model of second language acquisition (SLA) links the degree of acculturation of an individual into the receiving society with the degree of acquisition of the receiving community's language by the migrant, with a focus on the influence of the amount of interaction with the target language speakers on the process of SLA. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory explains the mental processes behind intergroup behaviours and evaluating other according to an ingroup/outgroup classification – social categorization, social identification and social comparison. Bonny Norton Peirce's (1995) language identity and David Block's (2007) second language identity theory point to a complex, multifaceted and fluid relationship between language and language user's identity. Milroy's (1987) social network theory describes how the formal and informal social relationships of individuals influence their use of language, depending on the closeness of the ties and nature of the relation.

These theories, strategies and methods have been applied in a variety of studies concerning language use in migratory context, such as Drummond's (2012a, 2012b) studies on Polish migrants in the United Kingdom, Lybeck's (2002) study of Norwegian migrants in the United States, Hammer and Dewaele's (2015) study on acculturation and language attainment among Polish migrants in the United Kingdom, Debaene and Harris' (2013) research on variations in the use of English among immigrant Poles in Ireland, Marx's (2002) investigation of the link between social identity and second language phonology of Canadian English speakers of German, Ryan's (2011) analysis of social networks of Polish migrants in London, a publication by Ward et al. (2010) on acculturation processes and the roles of family, community and society.

3.1 Acculturation

The concept of acculturation was first mentioned in the early 1930s. It derives from the field of cross-cultural psychology aimed at demonstrating the influence of cultural factors on the development of behaviour of individual humans. The researchers aimed to investigate "what happens to individuals, who have developed in one cultural context, when they attempt to live in a new cultural context?" (Berry 1997: 6). Cross-cultural psychology supports the view that individuals change their behaviour to suit the new setting, noting that there is "a complex pattern of continuity and change in how people go about their lives in the new society" (Berry 1997: 6).

3.1.1 Berry's Model of Acculturation

John W. Berry's analysis of acculturation attitudes was a major contribution to the study of psychological acculturation, although this concept has been used much earlier. As Berry (1997) notes in his paper, the term has been used widely in cross-cultural psychology, becoming a subject of criticism at one stage due to erosion of its original meaning, as some researchers used it synonymously with *assimilation*. According to Berry (2006), acculturation is "a process of cultural and psychological change that results from the continuing contact between people of different cultural background (2006: 27). Every situation in which individuals brought up in two different cultures come into contact for an extended period of time "creates conditions for acculturation" (Waniek-Klimczak 2011: 228). This process is commonly associated with migratory context, where individuals adapt to a new culture, and their way of thinking and feeling undergoes reorientation (Brown 1994).

Majority of contact situations result in the development of societies that are *culturally plural* – consisting of several cultural, linguistic or religious entities, sharing a social and political framework (Berry 2006). More often than not, these cultural groups are not equal in power in terms of numbers, economic or political situation (Berry 1997). Berry (2006) distinguished two models of plural societies which represent beliefs regarding the possible ways of organising oneself in a culturally diverse context, i.e. a *melting pot* and a *multicultural* model. The former is made up of various minority groups

which occupy the margins of a dominant (mainstream) society. In this set up, it is generally assumes that minority groups should be completely absorbed by the mainstream society, or else become marginalised as they denied their cultural continuity. In the latter model, various ethnocultural groups comprise a "mosaic", where both their cultural identity and continuity are accommodated (Berry 2006: 27-28).

The dynamics between culturally diverse societies is determined by three major factors: voluntariness (voluntary/involuntary), mobility (sedentary/migrant) and permanence (permanent/temporary) (Berry 1997, 2006). Thus, one may distinguish indigenous peoples or national minorities, that is societies that have "always been there" and whose lands were incorporated by force into larger nation states, e.g., Aboriginal people of Australia (Berry 2006: 29-31). There are also ethnocultural groups, "descendants of earlier waves of immigrants who have settled into recognizable groups, often with a sense of their own cultural heritage", e.g. Acadians in Francophone Canada (2006: 29-31). Furthermore, there are immigrant groups, comprised of people who moved to different countries in order to take up either temporary or permanent residence, in search of a better life, motivated by push and pull factors, generally considered voluntary members of plural societies, e.g. Polish migrants in the UK and Ireland. Berry (2006) also distinguishes sojourners, who migrate on temporary basis for a specific purpose, e.g. exchange students, guest workers. The last group includes involuntary migrants, such as refugees and asylum seekers. The three factors mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, along with attitudes, motives, values and abilities-, influence the process of settling and acculturation (Berry 2006).

As regards settling patterns, Berry (2006) notes that there are individual and group differences which influence the process of becoming members of new societies. In the words of Berry, "some jump in with both feet, seeking rapid absorption, while others are more hesitant, seeking to retain clear sense of their own cultural heritage and identity" (2006: 30). It is generally assumed that the degree of cultural distance and similarity are the most powerful factors determining the course of adaptation. Therefore, the more different the cultures, languages and religions, the more difficulties may arise in the acculturation process; the fewer differences in these dimensions, the more probability for positive adaptation. The process occurs in all instances where culturally different groups come into contact and may involve various aspects of intercultural experience. The

strategies of acculturation depend on resolving two major issues: cultural maintenance vs. contact and participation. The former refers to the importance of cultural identity and its maintenance to individuals, while latter is related to the extent of participation of individuals in cultural groups other than their own (Berry 1997: 9).

The acculturation model proposed by Berry (1997) differentiates between four acculturation strategies. They are based on two major components, attitudes (the preference) and behaviours (the actual practices) as displayed in daily interactions. The four strategies are as follows (Berry 1997):

a. Assimilation. Members of the non-dominant group display negative attitude towards their native cultural identity and positive attitudes towards the culture of the host community, seeking daily interaction with other cultures.

b. Separation. Members of the non-dominant group display positive attitude towards their native cultural identity and do not express the willingness to participate in the dominant culture, avoiding interaction with other cultures.

c. Integration. Members of the non-dominant group display interest in both, native culture maintenance and interaction with the members of the host community.

d. Marginalisation. Members of the non-dominant group display little interest in both, native culture maintenance and interaction with the host community.

According to the author, this classification is based on the assumption that the members of the non-dominant group are free to decide how they want to acculturate, but that is not always possible (Berry 1997).

> When the dominant group enforces certain forms of acculturation, or constrains
> the choices of non-dominant groups or individuals, then other terms need to be
> used. Most clearly, people may sometimes choose the Separation option; but
> when it is required of them by the dominant society, the situation is one of
> Segregation. Similarly, when people choose to Assimilate, the notion of the
> Melting Pot may be appropriate, but when forced to do so, it becomes more like
> a Pressure Cooker. (Berry 1997: 10)

The openness and inclusiveness of the dominant community is a major requirement. If integration is to be a free choice of the non-dominant group, both groups ought to accept "the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples" (Berry 1997: 10). Furthermore, the members of the dominant group have to be prepared to adapt public

institutions, like schools, hospitals, workplaces, in order to meet the needs of the non-dominant groups. Integration strategy is possible in explicitly multicultural societies, members of which are aware of the value of cultural diversity, the levels of prejudice are low, the attitudes among cultural groups are positive and all groups are willing to identify with the dominant society (Berry 1997).

Studies show that the *integration* strategy is most beneficial to the individual's general well-being in the long term, while *assimilation* strategy leads to successful language acquisition as a result of extensive exposure to TL and interaction with TL speakers (Waniek-Klimczak 2011). Although the use of second language in naturalistic context is subject to numerous factors, the general assumption is that the pattern of acculturation chosen by individuals may serve as "a predictor of success in second language acquisition" (Waniek-Klimczak 2011: 229).

3.1.2 Schumann's Acculturation Model for SLA

Schumann's (1978) model of second language acquisition has been highly influential in the field of SLA. As the author claims, this model was based on social psychology of acculturation and designed to account for second language acquisition in a migratory context where the learning of the target language by adults occurs with no formal instruction (1986). The concept of acculturation is understood as "social and psychological integration of the learner with the target group" and is considered a crucial causal variable in SLA (1986: 379). At the basis of this model is a prediction that the degree of an individual's acculturation into the target language community influences the degree to which an individual acquires the language of the target community. Although acculturation is not the direct cause of SLA, it constitutes a crucial link in what the author calls "a chain of causality" which leads to natural SLA (1986: 385). Acculturation constitutes the initiating factor of the causality chain – the level of acculturation determined the amount of interaction with the TL community, it influences the amount of input received by the SL speaker, which in turn directly influences the process of SLA. Schumann (1986) claims that any learner or user of L2 may be placed on a continuum – ranging from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity – and that the level of language acquisition is directly linked to the degree of acculturation.

In Schumann's 1986 work, the author distinguishes between two types of acculturation. One type includes learners who are socially integrated with the TL group, enjoy sufficient amount of contact with TL speakers and are psychologically open to the TL. In the second type, learners are socially integrated, have contact with TL and are psychologically open – but they also consciously or unconsciously aim to adopt the lifestyle and values of the TL community. According to Schumann, while both types of acculturation are sufficient to generate SLA, adoption of values and lifestyle does not prove necessary (1986).

Schumann's (1986) model divided variables into social and affective, which influence the quality and quantity of contact that second language learner have with the target community. The social variables, which involve the relationship between two social groups in contact, include the following:

a. social dominance – the relationship between the SL and TL groups based on whether the former is politically, culturally, technically and economically dominant or subordinate to the latter; in both scenarios there would be insufficient contact due to social distance, hindering the process of SLA.

b. three integration strategies: assimilation, preservation and adaptation – the strategy which best facilitates language acquisition is assimilation, where members of the SL group are willing to give up their culture, values and lifestyle in order to adopt those of the TL group; adaptation strategy allows for adopting the lifestyle and values of the TL, while also maintaining SL lifestyle and values, which may also enhance the process of SLA, depending on the degree of contact; preservation strategy means maintaining only SL group values and lifestyle, leading to separation of the SL group from the TL group.

c. enclosure – refers to the extent to which SL group and TL group share schools, churches, workplaces, recreational facilities and other social institutions; the more institutions shared by these groups, the more favourable conditions for SLA.

d. cohesiveness and size – if L2 is cohesive, its members are likely to separate themselves from the TL group; if the L2 group is considerable in size, contact between its members will be more frequent than with the members of the TL group, limiting opportunities of SLA.

e. congruence – described as similarity between the cultures of the two groups; if these are similar, social contact between SL group and TL group is more likely.

f. attitude – if the attitudes of SL group and TL group towards one another are positive, the conditions for SLA are more favourable.

g. intended length of residence – the longer the SL group's intended length of residence, the more opportunities for developing extensive contact with the TL group, the better conditions for SLA.

The affective variables, related to the process of language learning by individuals, are as follows:

a. language shock – this affective variable refers to a situation when using the second language makes the learner/user feel foolish or comic, when he/she fears being criticized or ridiculed.

b. cultural shock – this variable refers to anxiety felt by migrants who face new culture, feel disoriented and confused, which in turn may decrease the effort made by the learner to acquire the second language.

c. motivation – this factor refers to the reason why L2 learners want to acquire the second language; the reason may be divided into integrative and instrumental, the former involves social reasons, while the latter more practical – like acquiring a satisfying job; Schumann (1986) notes that the integrative reason is more powerful because "it implies a desire to integrate with speakers of the target language" (1986: 383) however the author also claims that should there be a necessity to use the language in professional life this would entail a higher level of leaning.

d. ego-permeability – so-called 'language ego', refers to the ability of the learner to accept a new identity associated with the belonging to a new speech community (Graham and Brown 1996: 240).

Schumann (1978, 1986) emphasises the direct link between the level of language acquisition and the degree of the language user/learner's ability to acculturate. The author describes three language functions – stages of language development: communicative (exchanging information), integrative (identifying with a social group) and expressive (expressing psychological needs). Schumann (1978) suggests that the processes involved in early SLA in his model are similar to those which occur in pidginization – since "pidgins are generally restricted to the first function – communication" (1978: 140), while integrative and expressive functions are realised via the native language of the speaker.

When the learner fails to pass the early stage of SLA as a result of social and psychological distance, fossilization of incorrect grammar forms and errors takes place, and the lack of progress leads to pidginization.

Schumann's model is considered an extremely influential work in the field of acculturation and SLA, which is evident in the vast body of research on SLA up to date. Waniek-Klimczak (2011) refers to Schumann's model in research on language proficiency among expert ESL speakers of Polish origin who immigrated to the UK. The results of her study indicate a strong dependence between acculturation strategy and native-like use of language. Similarly, Hammer and Dewaele (2015) investigated the importance of acculturation in the ultimate attainment in language learning, concluding that there is a right link between the level of attainment in L2 and the level of acculturation. Lybeck (2002) applied Schumann's model to research pronunciation patterns among Americans living in Norway. The study demonstrated a higher level of L2 pronunciation patterns among individuals who were more successful at acculturating.

Although Schumann's model was subject to significant attention in the field of SLA, many researchers who reviewed it noted both its strengths, but also weaknesses. Bonny Norton (2000) pointed to the fact that this models not only emphasizes the socio-cultural context of language learning, but also the role of individuals in the learning process, as well as the role of regular contact. The author notes, however, that the model "does not pay sufficient attention to the inequitable relations of power that exist between second language learner and target language speakers" (Norton 1998: 4). Norton (1998) also points to a problematic issue of attitude – it is subject to power relations between the TL group and SL group, and the model does not account for a situation in which the power relations based on race and ethnicity come into play. It also does not acknowledge the consequences of the assimilation strategy of acculturation – giving up the lifestyle, history or values.

In Rod Ellis' (1997) work on second language acquisition, the author points to two problematic issues with Schumann's model. He notes that in Schumann's model integration patterns and attitudes are considered stable variables, while in Ellis' opinion, these are dynamic and may change according to the learner's social experience. Another issue is that this model does not acknowledge the fact that "learners are not just subjects *to* social conditions but can also become subject *of* them; they can help to construct the

social context of their own learning" (Ellis 1997: 39). The authors of another work on SLA research, Diane Larsen-Freeman and Michael H. Long (1991), point to problems with measuring social distance in Schumann's model, the possibility of determining the influence of positive or negative attitudes on the social distance – the issue of quantifying it (1991: 316).

3.2 Identity

Identity is a multifaceted concept that includes many aspects of who we are, both as individuals and as members of various groups. It is shaped by personal experiences, cultural backgrounds, social affiliations, and our interactions with the world around us. The issue of identity appears in numerous studies on migration, integration and use of language in naturalistic context. According to Lanza and Svedsen (2007), the recent interest in identity in the field of linguistics may be the result of turning towards constructivism, rather than essentialism in social sciences concerning collective identity. Essentialist approaches consider identity in terms of given categories – who individuals or groups of individuals are, while constructivist approaches acknowledge the fluidity of identities as performed and constructed in social interaction (Lanza and Svedsen, 2007: 277). As Lanza and Svedsen (1998) note, the construction (or reconstruction) of identities takes place along various axes, like age, gender, social status, geographic, religious, political and social orientation. Although, as the authors note, speakers can position themselves on such axes, via the means of certain languages or linguistic features, the content of these features may be negotiated in interaction (Lanza and Svedsen, 1998). The construction of identity is not what Lanza and Svedsen call "free play" – it is not unstructured, but rather governed by variety of factors such as symbolic value of a language on a "market place" (1998: 278).

Although Lanza and Svedsen (2007) focus on the issue of language choice in multilingual context, theories and approaches described in their article can be easily applied to choice of language features in a migratory context. David Block, one of researchers investigating identity in second language, claims that "it is in the adult migrant's experience that identity and one's sense of self are most put on the line […]

individuals are forced to reconstruct and redefine themselves" (Block, 2007: 75). This process of reconstruction and redefinition concerns both, the individual sense of self, as well as the position they are assigned in the new environment (Block, 2007). Naturalistic context does not necessarily guarantee contact between learners/users of L2 with longer term inhabitants of the second language context. Apart from the ways in which migrants acculturate in a dominant society, the roles they undertake as member of different social groups in different social situations can be quite telling, and so is their identity as expressed through language. This dissertation draws in part on the framework of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turney, 1979, 1986) and language identity, which have proved to have considerable explanatory force in the field of acquisition and use of second language in migratory context.

3.2.1 Social Identity Theory

The concept of Social Identity Theory (SIT), or the theory of intergroup behaviours, was developed by Henry Tajfel and John C. Turner in 1979. It influenced early research on migration and second language acquisition. According to this theory, individual's identity was derived from membership in different social groups. Tajfel and Turner define a social group as "a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be member of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it" (1979: 40). The categorization into groups can be based on a variety of dimensions, like nationality, profession, interests, place of origin or residence, marital status, language or accent spoken – every dimension of individual's life may serve as a basis for categorization. The individuals may identify themselves in a variety of ways simultaneously. According to Tajfel (1982), individuals aim to be members of ingroups that compare favourably to other groups – they want to achieve positive psychological distinctiveness. In order to achieve positive self-esteem, individuals demonstrate all kinds of group behaviour, which constitute the processes involved in creating a person's social identity, like expressing solidarity with the members of their ingroup, discriminating against outgroup members. In the former case, individuals increase their self-perception by enhancing the status of the group to which

they belong, for example, by praising it, and criticizing the groups they are not members of in order to distance the outgroup and boost the ingroup's image. To be a member of a given social group, it is necessary for the individuals to feel and perceive themselves as members of that group and also to be perceived as members of that group by others (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Tajfel and Turner (1986) claim that at the basis of the theory is a distinction between two extremes of social behaviour – interpersonal and intergroup behaviour. They note that the first extreme includes individuals whose interaction with one another is determined solely by their individual characteristics and interpersonal relations, and not the social groups to which they belong (e.g. husband and wife). The second extreme involves interaction between individuals determined by their membership in social groups and not the individual relations and characteristics (e.g. soldiers from opposing armies). The authors observe that neither of these two extremes is a frequent occurrence in real life situations. The question Tajfel and Turner (1986) attempt to answer in their work concerns the conditions which determine adoption of behaviours that would place individuals on this continuum of social behaviour between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) differentiated three mental processes involved in evaluating others according to the ingroup/outgroup classification. These include social categorization, social identification and social comparison. Social categorization refers to categorizing ourselves and people around us in order to understand and identify them. Individuals are not able to function in a social environment without putting people into categories, e.g. Polish, student, Muslim, woman. These categories allows us to expect certain behaviours from their group members and adherence to certain norms they are guided by – this if how we define people and organize the world around us. The second process, social identification, involves adopting the identity of the group individuals associate themselves with and, consequently, adopting the behaviour of its members and conforming to the norms of the group. Our self-reference and thus self-esteem becomes inherently affiliated with our ingroup. Finally, in the social comparison stage, individuals compare their ingroup with other outgroups. And since members of a given ingroup aim at positive psychological distinctiveness in order to maintain positive self-esteem, they tend to favour their group over others (MacLeod 2008).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) note that the intergroup differentiation in a concrete social situation is influence by three classes of variables. Firstly, the group membership must be internalized by the individuals "as an aspect of their self-concept" (1979: 41). Hence, being defined by others as members of a given group is not sufficient. Secondly, there must be an opportunity for intergroup comparisons which in turn enables "selection and evaluation of relevant relational attributes" (1979: 41). Not all of the differences may be used as basis for evaluation, some attributes are more significant than others and they vary between groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Finally, the differentiation between ingroup and outgroups can only occur when the latter is a relevant comparison group. Comparability is also determined by a number of factors, such as similarity, proximity or situational salience (Tajfel and Turner 1979). The process of ingroup – outgroup differentiation aims primarily at either maintaining or achieving superiority of one over the other in certain relational attributes (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Tajfel and Turner's (1979) theory found its application in numerous studies related to migration and acculturation. In an article by Howard Gales and Patricia Johnson on ethnolinguistic identity and language maintenance, the authors refer to the Social Identity Theory in the context of ethnic minorities (1987). The authors note that the issue of language emerges when a language or its variety becomes a dimension of ingroup/outgroup comparison. Hence, people who define an encounter with a member of another ethnic group as an intergroup one and value their language as a core aspect of its identity will wish to assume a positive identity by means of adopting various strategies of 'psycholinguistic distinctiveness' such as switching to ingroup language, accentuating ethnic dialect and slang, etc. (Gales and Johnson 1987: 71)

Individuals use language in order to express their membership in a given group. This can be done in a variety of ways, by adopting a language of that group, a specific accent or dialect, by switching to slang or jargon, by adopting speech markers – language accentuation strategies (Gales and Johnson 1987: 71). On the other hand, minorities that are characterized by negative social identity as compared to the dominant group, may not pursue language accentuation strategies. This may take place when individuals "a) strongly identify with their social group and b) make insecure social comparison between the positions of their group socially and of the outgroup" (Gales and Johnson 1987: 71).

Although Gales and Johnson (1987) focus primarily on cognitive processes and behaviours in interethnic relations, this approach can be easily applied in a migratory context. This dissertation focuses on Polish adult migrants in Ireland, hence one way of categorizing would be considering members of the Polish migrant community as an intergroup, while the members of the Irish community constitute an outgroup. Although valid, this categorization is definitely one of many options. As mentioned, in order to be a member of a given group, the participants must internalize the membership to that group as means of self-reference; it is not sufficient for others to classify them as such. Furthermore, individuals can simultaneously belong to a variety of social groups, may less or more consciously adopt certain prototypical values, behaviours and norms characteristic of that group. Language may be adopted in variety of ways in order to- achieve positive social identity and mark ingroup affiliation.

3.2.2 Language identity and second language identity

Around 1990s, research on second language acquisition moved towards considering the process of language learning rather than the product – language began to be viewed as a phenomenon that is intrinsically complex (Martyn and Diskin 2016). One of the first researchers who attempted developing a theory of social identity in second language learning was Bonny Norton (1995), who based her work on the poststructuralist theories of identity proposed by social theorist Christine Weedon (1987) and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977). As David Block (2007) notes, the rise of identity in linguistics was a matter of catching up with other social sciences, like sociology, anthropology or social theory.

Norton (1995) tried to propose "a comprehensive theory of identity that integrated the language learner and the language learning context" (1995: 12). The study of immigrant women in Canada focused on showing the complex nature of language, the complex nature of identity and, consequently, the complex relationship between both. Norton's (1995) theory of identity differed from the approach proposed by Tajfel and Turney (1979) in that the researcher put emphasis on the members rather than on the group. In her study Norton (1995) emphasises three characteristics of subjectivity (social

identity or the sense of self) which are crucial to interpreting her work: the multiple nature of subject, subjectivity as a site of struggle and subjectivity as changing over time (1995: 15). The author argued the need for reconceptualization of the individual in SLA theory, especially the assumption that every individual has an essential, unique, fixed and coherent core, e.g. introvert/extrovert, motivated/unmotivated (Norton 1995). Norton (1995) claimed that sense of self is created in a variety of social sites which are governed by relations of power, where a subject has agency and is "conceived of as both subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community and society" (Norton, 1995: 15). Norton (1995) introduced a notion of investment (to replace the notion of motivation in second language learning), which aimed at explaining the learners' desire to get involved in social interaction and community practices.

> If learners 'invest' in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire wider range of symbolic resources (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate, money), which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. (Norton 2012: 50)

Norton (1995) argued that there is an integral link between the notion of investment and identity – the learners' sense of self increases along with the value of their cultural capital. Norton's (1995) work drew attention to the need of rethinking the position of an individual in second language acquisition and triggered vast interest around the issues of identity research on second language learning.

The shifting focus on the individual in the context of language use and language learning resulted in increased interest in another perspective – language identity. One of the researchers dealing with this issue extensively in his work is David Block (2007). Block (2007) defines the notion of language identity as "the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language (e.g. English), a dialect (e.g. Geordie) or a sociolect (e.g. football speak)" (2007: 36-36). There are three types of this relationship – language expertise, language affiliation and language inheritance (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997). The first refers to a person's proficiency in a language, dialect or sociolect; the second to the person's attachment and attitude towards the language, dialect or sociolect, and the third one is related to "being born into family or community setting that is associated with a

particular language or dialect" (Block 2007: 40). Language inheritance does not guarantee individual's expertise nor positive affiliation. This basically means that language identities have the ability to change quite dramatically. An individual may be born into a given language community, but may develop a strong association to and expertise in another language community (Block 2007).

Another approach to language identity considers it in terms of acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), which refers to multidimensional process of indexing the utterances produced by language users. These utterances create an index of an individual's identity. The indexing process is multidimensional, meaning that an individual acts out different dimensions of identity simultaneously – ethnicity, gender, nationality or social class (cf. from Block 2007).

Furthermore, Silverstein (1998) views language identity in terms of 'language' and 'speech' communities. Language communities describe "groups professing adherence to the normatively constructed ideologically articulated standard' language", while speech communities refer to "groups characterized by the actual use of specific language forms" (Bloomaert 2005: 243). Hence the language affiliation and inheritance described above may relate to the standard form of language, while the acts of identity may be directly connected to speech communities. Blommaert (2005) notes that an identity is often ascribed to membership in a language community and it may not be particularly related to the inhabited identity which arises from language use in different speech communities to which the individual belongs, with different communities of practice with which the individual is engaged (cf. Block 2007).

The fourth approach to identity described in Block's (2007) work on second language identities is related to semiotic behaviours and multimodality. This refers to combination of semiotic modes in the creation of a semiotic product/event (Block 2007). Block (2007) notes that communication is about more than linguistic means, such as accent, pronunciation, lexical choice, syntax or morphology, which can be used to express oneself. Multimodality includes other elements, such as hairstyle, clothing or facial expressions that accompany the linguistic means. The author notes that this approach may actually propose a notion of multimodal identity, rather than language identity (Block 2007).

The approach to identity that is of interest to the current study is identity in second language context – second language identity. Block (2007) emphasises that the key element of second language identity is the degree of audibility in the second language (2007: 41). The concept of audibility does not only mean the right accent, but also the right social and cultural capital to be approved as a member of a given community of practice. Audibility may include intelligibility, authentication, 'right to speech', creating an identity in second language also via expressions, movement or behaviour (Block 2007). The concept of audibility in this approach involves "the extent to which the individual can 'do' the multimodal package required by a particular community of practice" (Block 2007: 42). It ought to be noted that individuals cannot always control how they are received by the host community, due to race or ideas of beauty widely accepted within the community (Block 2007: 42).

The nature of identity in a second language is as complex and multivalent as in the case of one's native language. The view of second language learners as imperfect language users and poor copies of native speakers was replaced by an image recognizing that the process of language learning is also about increasing participation in a community of practice and a continuous process of constructing one's identity (Norton and McKinney 2011). Norton and McKinney (2011) note that language learning process is not only about learning rules, structures or vocabulary, but rather a process in which "language learners need to struggle to appropriate the voices of others; they need to learn to command the attention of their listeners; and they need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice" (Norton and McKinney 2011: 81).

Although Norton and McKinney's claims aimed at describing the process of language learning more than the issue of identity, they may be easily applied to second language users in migratory context. Learning and using a second language is not only about communication. In a situation where individuals leave behind their home country and their native language; they have to function in a new country, new culture, new language, the need to re-establish their identity might be particularly pressing. They do it through language, whether consciously or without putting much thought into it, individuals may adopt different linguistic features and behaviours to create their own representation of language. This may be particularly evident in the domain of pronunciation, an element of language considered to be the most salient linguistic marker

of a speaker's cultural identification (Lybeck 2002). When users of L2 change their pronunciation patterns to sound more like native speakers, this phenomenon is considered a strong marker of cultural identification with the dominant group – and it may also be an indicator of a developing new cultural identity.

3.3 Social Network Theory

The concept of social network analysis (SNA) has been widely used in the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology and other related disciplines. Although there is some dispute concerning the origins of the idea of social network as an analytic concept, many researchers attribute the first use of the term to John A. Barnes (1954), who described social relationships and behaviour of the inhabitants of Bremnes, a village in Norway (cf. from Milroy 1987; Wasserman and Faust 1994). The anthropologist believed that social behaviour could not be explained only by concepts related to status, location and economic activity – he found an order of social relationships to be of great importance (Milroy 1987). According to Bergs (2005), opinions concerning the status of social networks in scientific theories, "range from social networks as comprehensive models of social structure that can explain or even predict the behaviour and attitudes of their members to social networks as abstract metaphors somehow representing social structures" (2005: 23). However, the value of SNA should not be underestimated, especially in the field of sociolinguistic research, where it "proved to have an explanatory force" (Lanza and Svedsen, 2007: 276). As Lanza and Svedsen (2007) note, in the domain of language contact research, SNA may be instrumental in explaining individuals' language behaviour – how frequency and context of interactions with different network members can influence each other's language practices (ibid.)

This dissertation refers mainly to social network theory as described by Leslie Milroy (1987, 2002), but also studies and application of social networks by Li Wei (1994), Lanza and Svedsen (2007). Milroy's (1987) work focuses on social networks in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The author investigated linguistic differences between different areas of Belfast, different social and cultural groups, between genders, as well as differences between specific linguistic variables – and these differences are explained on the basis of

social network structure (Milroy 1987). Milroy claimed that "careful observation of the manner in which people use language in its social context is capable of yielding many interesting and surprising results" (1987: 1).

Milroy (1987) defines social network as an aggregate of relationships of an individual with other people. These networks may be divided into general types – high or low density (Milroy 1987). One network can be either more or less dense than another, depending on whether the members of an individual's network know each other (closed network, high density) or not (open network, low density). Li (1994), similarly to Milroy (1987), identifies exchange and social networks, as well as a third group – networks of passive ties, which includes individuals who do not keep in touch on regular basis, but provide moral support and are valued. Lanza and Svedsen (2007) distinguish also between individual network and a total network model, and note that the concept of passive networks described by Li (1994) may require redefinition as a result of globalization and the development of communication technology.

At the centre of the network is an individual – an ego. The individuals directly linked to ego may be described as members of the individual's first order network zone. The people to which these individuals are connected belong to ego's second order zone – ego does not know them, but may come into contact with them via first order zone. Milroy notes that other zones can also be differentiated, but the first and second are most important and the 'friends of friends' are used to achieve a variety of goals in a community (Milroy 1987). The ties within the first order zone may also be differentiated into weak and strong, for example those between friends and kin vs. those between acquaintances.

The links between the members of a social network may also be of different types, allowing for further differentiation into multiplex or uniplex ties. The former describes a situation where members of a network are linked in several ways, for example they are friends, co-workers, neighbours, while the latter refers to a situation where members are linked in a single capacity only (Milroy 1987). What Milroy (1987) calls interactional or content characteristics of networks, has a huge influence on behaviour. The author gives an example of the relationship with her sister and her newsagent – although both are her first order network contacts, the former one has more capacity when it comes to influencing the author's behaviour. Milardo also distinguishes between interactive and

exchange networks (1988: 26-36). The former includes individual with whom ego interacts on a frequent basis and over longer periods of time, but there is not material or symbolic reliance. The latter network includes individuals like family and close friends, with whom ego interacts on a regular basis and exchanges advice, criticism, support and direct aid (Milardo 1988: 26-36). The former Milroy notes that highly multiplex networks are quite influential, especially when high multiplexity occurs along with high density – they "both increase the effectiveness of the network as a norm-enforcement mechanism" (Milroy 1987: 52) In other words, networks that are close-knit (dense) have the tendency to exert normative pressure on its members.

The aim of social network analysis is to examine the structures and properties of the relationships between members of a social network. This model of analysis has been quite popular among researchers investigating bilingual and multilingual communities, language variation and language change. As Lanza and Svedsen note, "language is an integral part of collective identities, such as cultural, national, and ethnic identities, and that maintenance of language across generations is a key factor to the maintenance of such identities" (2007: 276). The methodology used to study social networks is both qualitative and quantitative. The quantitative method involves asking the participants of the study to list ten people in their exchange and interactive networks, indicating which members of the network know one another (Lanza and Svedsen 2007; Li Wei 1994; Joan and Ting 2017). The density of the network is assessed with the use of available formulas, like the ones proposed by Niemeijer (1973) or Milroy (1987). The qualitative method includes analysing the multiplexity of ties among the members of a network (Joan and Ting 2017). This dimension is assessed by requesting the participant to state how often they contact a given individual and in what situation, and how important this contact is to them, which allowed for differentiation between primary and secondary network members (Stoessel 2002).

In order to measure both density and multiplexity of a social network, scores considered by Milroy (1987) to be "important indicators of an individual's level of integration into the local community" (1987: 140), the researcher developed a tool called Network Strength Scale. The participant's network score was calculated on the basis of the following conditions, which marked as either absent or present (Milroy 1987: 141-142):

1. Membership of a high-density, territorially based cluster.
2. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood (more than one household, in addition to his own nuclear family).
3. Working at the same place as at least two others from the same area.
4. The same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the area.
5. Voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours. This applies in practice only when conditions three and four are satisfied.

The first point indicates density, while the remaining four points show multiplexity. The third and fourth points "reflect the particular capacity of an area of homogenous employment to encourage the development of dense, multiplex networks" (Joan and Ting, 2017: 25).

Social network analysis (SNA) provides a robust framework for understanding the complex relationships and interactions that shape individual and collective behaviours. By examining the density and multiplexity of social networks, researchers can gain infights into how social ties influence language use and identity among bilingual and multilingual communities. The methodologies and concepts discussed in this subchapter may lay the groundwork for exploring how social networks impact the language practices of Polish migrants in Ireland.

3.4 Selected factors related to migration and L2 use – concluding remarks

The theories and approaches described in this chapter can provide a comprehensive approach to understanding language use patterns in migratory context.

Berry's (2007) acculturation theory explains how migrants adopts different strategies when adapting to a new culture. It might be expected that the acculturation strategy chosen by the Polish migrants may influence their willingness and ability to adopt Irish English pronunciation features.

This adjustment of speech patterns might in turn indicate the migrants' membership within a particular social group (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). Schumann's (1976) theory of second language acquisition posits that the degree of social and psychological integration with the target language community affects language learning

outcomes. This theory underscores the importance of social integration and positive affective factors in facilitating effective language acquisition.

The theories of identity and second language identity may help understand the dynamic and evolving nature of language identity and the complex process of identity formation.

Social network theory (Milroy 1987) might shed some light on the relationship between the language use of Polish migrants in Ireland and their social groups. The individuals who are embedded in dense, multiplex networks with frequent contact with Irish speakers might be more likely to adopts local linguistic features.

PART 2: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 4: Study One. An analysis of Polish migrants' English based on data from 2016

This chapter describes Study One, an initial and exploratory research into the pronunciation patterns of Polish migrants in Ireland and the sociophonetic factors that influenced them. The study is based on data gathered between April-June of 2016 among fourteen adult Polish migrants living in Ireland on a full-time basis. The chapter begins by providing the rationale for the study and explaining the significance of such research. It then proceeds to outline the primary research questions proposed by the author. This is followed by the description of the method of the study, including study design, variables, instruments, data collection and analysis procedure, as well as the participants of the study. The further subchapter focuses on the presentation of the results, both quantitative and qualitative, followed by their analysis.

4.1 Rationale and aim of the study

Regardless of the motivation behind a decision to migrate, whether it was a voluntary or a forced move, members of migrant communities are faced with numerous challenges related to life and adaptation in a different country and a different culture. In a situation where individuals leave behind their home country and most often also their native language, they have to learn how to function in a new country, new culture and, first and foremost, in a new language (or language variety).

The accession of Poland to the European Union had brought unprecedented numbers of Polish migrants to Ireland within a relatively short timeframe. As it has been mentioned in chapter one, Ireland was not a primary country of destination for Polish migrants prior to 2004. The numbers of Polish nationals reported by the official count of the population between the years 2002-2016, shows a massive growth from 2,124 Polish citizens in 2002, to 63,276 in 2006, followed by 122,585 in 2011 (Census 2011, Census 2016). Once the accession to the European Union facilitated more unrestricted movement of people, over 120 thousand Polish people decided to move to Ireland, which is a

significant number for a country with 5,1 million population (Census 2022). Although the migration of Polish nationals to Ireland stabilized after 2011 (Census 2022), the Polish community remains the largest migrant group in the country, having exhibited the highest increase in numbers between 2002 and 2011—they are present and prominent.

Furthermore, based on comments from all of the participants in this study, the variety of English spoken in Ireland took a lot of them by surprise. As evident from participant responses in the qualitative results of the study, every single participant admitted to struggling with understanding the locals at the beginning of their adventure, pointing to accent and accent variation within the country as the most challenging aspect of the language experience in Ireland. However, majority of the speakers asserted that Irish English gradually endeared itself to them over time. As a relatively new community in Ireland, Polish nationals lack established patterns or models of language use, unlike in countries with a longer history of Polish migration, such as the United Kingdom or the United States. Therefore, it is particularly intriguing to observe how Polish nationals exposed to Irish English adapt (or do not adapt) their L2 under the influence of this variety.

Considering the relatively recent establishment of the Polish community in Ireland, the body of research on the language use of Polish nationals is still developing and remains somewhat limited. There are numerous studies concerning language use, attitudes to language and identity (Regan 2023; Martyn and Diskin 2016; Kopečková 2016; Nestor and Regan 2011; Diskin and Regan 2017; Gąsior 2023; Migge 2016; Kobialka 2016; Diskin 2017; Regan 2023; Walsh and Singleton 2023; Skrzypek 2016; Nestor 2013), although the aspect of pronunciation seems to be rather underrepresented in the available body of research. Furthermore, in terms of Irish English slit-t, as of the time when author's analysis was carried out, the variable has not been researched in non-native context (Grabarczyk 2019). As described in Chapter 2, the topic has been described in detail among native users of English, not only in Ireland, but also in Newfoundland or Australia where the feature is also present (Jones and Llamas 2008; Jones and McDougall 2009; Hickey 1986, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1999, 2007, 2009; Clarke 1986, 1997). Consequently, it will be interesting to see whether similar patterns of slit-t use or /t/ lenition in general apply in similar, manner to Polish users of English residing in Ireland.

Therefore, this study aims to provide valuable data concerning the development of Poles as a diaspora, their behaviour, integration processes, identity formation and language practices in domain of pronunciation. Understanding the community's dynamics can offer significant insights into the complex interplay between sociocultural factors and linguistic behaviour, contributing to both theoretical understanding and practical applications in multicultural settings.

4.2 Research questions

This study explores the participants' acculturation strategies, social/national identity, and the possible influence of these variables on the use of the Irish English variable, slit-t, in formal and spontaneous speech among Polish migrants. To guide this exploration, the study is framed around the following research questions:

Question 1:
Based on the theory of acculturation and second language acquisition, how does the level of integration of Polish migrants into the host community, along with their attitudes towards both the host country and its language, correlate with their use of the Irish English slit-t?

This question investigates whether greater integration and positive attitudes towards the Irish community and language lead to an increased use of the Irish English slit-t. Research by Schumann (1978, 1986) and Waniek-Klimczak (2011) suggests that assimilation or adaptation strategies can enhance second language learning, as individuals are more likely to adopt the language characteristics of a community they view favourably. In this context, it examines whether Polish migrants are likely to adapt their pronunciation to resemble the "natural" or characteristic patterns of Irish English.

Research Question 2:
Do Polish individuals who exhibit the highest use of the Irish English slit-t display a tendency towards forming a new social or local identity, as per social identity theory and second language identity?

This question explores whether the pronounced use of the Irish English slit-t among Polish migrants is an indicator of their effort to establish a new identity within the Irish community. Studies by Drummond (2012a, 2012b), Lybeck (2002), and Peirce and McKinney (2011) suggest that when second language users adopt native-like pronunciation, it often signifies cultural identification with the target language group, potentially reflecting a shift in their social identity.

4.3 Methodology

This subchapter covers methodology of the study. It is divided into sections focusing on the design of the study, description of the variables under analysis, instruments that were applied, data collection and analysis procedure, as well as a brief description of the main demographic information on the participants.

4.3.1 Study design

The study comprises two categories of analysed data: qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data was obtained during recorded semi-guided interviews with the participants. Quantitative data was collected during semi-guided interviews and recordings of carrier sentences with the variable in question.

Fourteen adult Polish migrants in Ireland with similar length of residence (between eight and twelve years) were invited to participate in a recorded interview. In the first part of the interview, the participants were asked to provide responses to twenty three questions aimed at eliciting information on their background and language experience; in the second part, the participants were requested to read a list of carrier sentences.

Within the frame of the present study, two independent variables and one dependent variable were taken into account. The independent variables included acculturation strategy and social/national identity. The dependent variable involved realisation of voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ as an apico-alveolar fricative (slit-t) in

intervocalic word-medial and word-final position followed by a vowel or a pause. The variables are discussed in more detail in the next section.

4.3.2 Variables

This study considers two independent and one dependent variable. The independent variables include acculturation strategy and social/national identity. The dependent variable involves the realisation of voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ as an apico-alveolar fricative slit-t in the following contexts: intervocalic word-medial position and word-final position preceded by a vowel and followed by a vowel or a pause.

The independent variable chosen for analysis in this study, acculturation strategy, aims to lay the groundwork for analysis of language use by Polish migrants. This variable allows for a clearer understanding of the influence of internal factors on the use of a local Irish English pronunciation feature, that is slit-t. The objective of including the second independent variable, social/local identity, is to identify a possible relationship between the use of slit-t and the development (conscious or unconscious) a new cultural identity.

The dependent variable, Irish English slit-t, has been chosen for several reasons. First of all, as already described in chapter two, fricative realisation of /t/ is the most distinct and widely observed characteristic in contemporary Irish English (Hickey 1986, 2008). In the words of Hickey (1995: 119), it is "one of the auditively most salient features of Southern Irish English." Additionally, it is not tied to any particular social group or a region, hence the variable can be heard in the speech of Irish nationals all over the country and therefore can be encountered by Polish nationals in different regions and in contact with different social groups. As noted in chapter two, although the process of /t/ lenition can be observed in other varieties of English, like Newfoundland or Australian English, the researchers trace it back to Irish nationals who migrated to different parts of the world, retaining their accent (Jones and Llamas 2008). The lenited realisation of /t/ in supraregional Irish English is always an apico-alveolar fricative (Hickey 2007). Furthermore, fricative realisations of voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ is absent in Polish language, which limits the possibility of interference form the participants' mother tongue. Finally, as previously noted, the lenited realisation of /t/ and particularly Irish

English slit-t, has not been formerly researched among non-native users of English in Ireland.

4.3.3 Instruments

Qualitative and quantitative data was obtained during recorded interviews in English with the use of a questionnaire and a list of carrier sentences. The carrier sentences and interviews were applied to collect data for phonetic analysis of the dependent variable. Additionally, the semi-guided interviews were used to compile data on the independent variables and to sketch a profile of each of the participants.

The first instrument was a list of twenty-four carrier sentences, which included words featuring the variable under investigation (nine sentences), alongside other variables and random words, designed to avoid biasing the study's focus. The target sentences included four instances of alveolar plosive /t/ in intervocalic word-medial position and five instances of /t/ in word-final position preceded by a vowel and followed by a vowel (see Appendix 2). The data was subject to auditory analysis in ELAN and careful visual analysis of spectrograms generated in Praat software (Boersma and Weenink 2024). All instanced of alveolar plosive /t/ realised as slit-t were marked as 1, while other realisations of the sound were marked as 0. Afterwards, the realisations marked as 0 were analysed in order to identify and group them.

The second instrument applied in this study was a questionnaire aimed at collecting data on the independent variables (adapted from Waniek-Klimczak 2011), specifically strategies of acculturation, attitudes towards the host community and their overall experience in Ireland, as well as social/national identity. The data gathered during the semi-guided interviews allowed for understanding the participants' background and thereby identifying potential factors influencing their pronunciation patterns. Additionally, the data obtained during the structured interviews constituted the second part of quantitative analysis. All instances of /t/ sound in intervocalic word-medial, intervocalic word final position, and word final position preceded by a vowel and followed by a pause (i.e. possible context for realisation of /t/ as a slit-t) were extracted, analysed auditorily and visually in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2024).

4.3.4 Data collection procedure

The author personally undertook the task of data collection. The participants were recruited via friend-of-a-friend technique. Due to the fact that the researcher used to live in Ireland prior to undertaking tertiary education, she had extensive contacts among Polish migrant community. She reached out to friends and acquaintances in search of participants, mainly in person, but also via text and Facebook messages. The participants who were willing to partake in the study contacted the researcher to set a date of the interview. Prior to the interviews, the participants were informed that a proficient level of English was necessary to engage in conversation and read a number of sentences in English. The interviews were conducted either at the researcher's or the participant's house, lasting approximately from fifteen to forty minutes, depending on the participant's willingness to elaborate on responses to the questions (the longest interview lasted two hours). Although the interviews were conducted entirely in English, the greeting and short conversation at the beginning were carried out in Polish, as it only seemed natural.

The first part of the project included a semi-guided interview during which a number of issues concerning the participants' immigration experience in Ireland were addressed (see Appendix 1). The aim of the interview was to evoke spontaneous speech (as much as circumstances allowed) via a number of strategies, such as including questions eliciting emotional response and guiding the interview towards a more relaxed, friendly conversation. The guiding topics were also structured to extract necessary information concerning a variety of topics needed for interpretation of the participants' acculturation strategies, migratory experience, attitudes towards the host community and language, as well as knowledge and perception of the English language.

In the second part of the meeting, the participants were requested to read a number of carrier sentences that contained a variable in question to elicit controlled and more careful speech. The data was recorded with the use of a portable stereo recorder, H1 Handy Recorder, discreetly positioned near the participant. The entire interview was recorded and saved in .wav format using 44.1 kHz sampling rate, saved on an SD memory card and later transferred onto the researcher's computer via an USB cable. Although the conditions for the recording were not ideal due to possible background noise, the

researcher took utmost care to eliminate any possible interference and ensure the accuracy of data collection.

4.3.5 Data analysis procedure

The collected recordings were later transcribed in ELAN. The qualitative analysis involved a comprehensive review of participants' responses and comments given during the semi-guided interview. The questions/guiding topics may be roughly organized into the following: migratory experiences in Ireland, knowledge of English on arrival, use of English/Polish in everyday life, awareness of Irish English as a variety and of accent variation within the country, attitudes towards preserving Irish/Polish customs and language, attitudes towards Irish/Polish community in Ireland, active involvement in Irish/Polish community, participants' plans for the future (see Appendix 1 for a list of questions used during the interview). Several questions were included to foster a relaxed atmosphere; the author wanted the meeting to resemble a casual chat/conversation rather than a formal interview, encouraging participants to speak naturally. These questions included inquiries about favourite places, different likes and dislikes, as well as leisure activities.

All responses and comments were analysed to asses possible acculturation strategies, participants' attitudes toward life in Ireland and the host community, attitudes toward the Polish community in Ireland, their active involvement and affiliation with the latter (or lack thereof), proficiency in English prior to their arrival and the development of their skills after settling in Ireland, the level of contact and interaction with the host community, the importance of being recognised as Polish nationals, as well as the advantages or disadvantages of being a Polish citizen in Ireland. Furthermore, the participants' future plans were considered as indicators of attachment to Poland/Ireland and motivation for English language acquisition. In the discussion section, each participant is analysed individually. Their pronunciation patterns are compared against the background knowledge gleaned from the interviews.

The quantitative part of the analysis involved nine carrier sentences (see Appendix 2) and data gathered during the interview. The carrier sentences included four instances of alveolar plosive /t/ in word-medial position and five instances of /t/ in word-final

position, followed by a word starting with a vowel (*I'm saying X again*). The data initially underwent careful auditory analysis in ELAN and relevant instances were later analysed in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2024), that is realisations of /t/ as a slit-t or as anything other than a voiceless alveolar plosive. In the first part of the analysis, all instances of the alveolar plosive /t/ realised as slit-t were marked as 1, while other realisations of the sound were marked as 0. Afterwards, all the instances categorized as 0 underwent a careful auditory and visual analysis to identify possible realisations.

It ought to be noted that despite taking necessary measures to ensure the correct identification of all instances of /t/ sound in relevant contexts, its thorough analysis proved to be a challenge in some cases. Due to the data collection environment, it was impossible for the recordings to meet laboratory standards, which unavoidably limited the precision of the acoustical analysis. Therefore, the analysis predominantly relies on auditory identification of the variant under investigation supported by visual analysis in Praat. In terms of the remaining variants realised by the respondents, the author identified standard voiceless alveolar plosive realisation, flap/tap variants, instances of voiced and affricated [tʃ] realisations, as well as a few glottal stops. A number of participants also produced a sound that initially could be confused with slit-t realisation, although upon a closer inspection it became clear that friction in the sound was preceded by a closure (which is absent in slit-t). The realisation could be best described as a [t] with a noise component, most typically affricated [t^s] (after Skarnitzl and Rálišová 2022). Additionally, these were usually realised in context where slit-t would be most likely expected in the speech of Irish English native users, i.e., in prepausal environment.

The next part of the quantitative analysis involved extracting data from the semi-guided interviews. Despite the considerable size of the samples, the author extracted every utterance that contained /t/ sound in a relevant environment, that is, in intervocalic word-medial or word-final prepausal position, where the alveolar plosive could be possibly realised as a slit-t. All the extracted utterances also underwent auditory and then thorough visual analysis in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2024). Similarly to the carrier sentences, all the utterances where slit-t realisation was present, were marked as 1, while other realisations were marked as 0. The latter were also analysed in detail in an attempt to categorize them into different realisations.

As it has been mentioned, the carrier sentences were aimed at eliciting speech in a more controlled, formal environment, while the semi-guided interview was designed to evoke unrestrained speech. These were later quantified, categorized and the results were presented in relevant tables in the Results section.

4.3.6 Participants

The participants include fourteen adult Polish migrants living in the west of Ireland; ten participants from Country Clare, three participants from County Galway, situated north of County Clare, and one participant from County Limerick, bordering with County Clare in the south. The sample was limited to western seaboard of the country for two reasons; first, to exclude possible regional differences in phonological features; secondly, the researcher had resided in County Clare for over ten years and had extensive contacts among the Polish community. This of course facilitated the recruitment process through friend-of-a-friend technique.

Twelve participants moved to the Republic of Ireland post-2004 accession to the EU and two moved shortly before that. The length of residence between the participants is between eight to twelve years. All of them moved to Ireland as adults/young adults. Every participant was employed full time at the time of the interview in the following sectors: retail, manufacturing, customer services and accounting, IT and engineering. There are seven female and seven male participants to account for possible gender differences in language use. For the purpose of the study, the participants are described as *Speaker 1*, *Speaker 2*, *Speaker 3* etc.

Participant	Age	Sex	Place of residence	Length of residence
Speaker 1	32	female	Ennis	8
Speaker 2	40	male	Ennis	12
Speaker 3	40	female	Galway	13
Speaker 4	42	male	Limerick	11
Speaker 5	32	female	Ennistymon	10
Speaker 6	29	female	Ennis	9
Speaker 7	36	male	Ennis	11
Speaker 8	36	female	Ennis	12
Speaker 9	36	female	Ennis	10
Speaker 10	38	female	Ennis	12
Speaker 11	39	male	Sixmilebridge	10
Speaker 12	31	male	Ennis	10
Speaker 13	32	male	Galway	12
Speaker 14	40	male	Galway	12

Table 6. Participants of Study One.

4.4 Results

This subchapter focuses on the results of Study One. It is divided into two mains parts: quantitative results and qualitative results.

The first section of quantitative results presents instances of slit-t in carrier sentences (controlled speech) and in the data extracted from semi-guided interviews (spontaneous speech). The second section of quantitative results analyses all instances of /t/ realised as variants other than slit-t. The qualitative analysis includes a thorough description of the participants' background in an attempt to identify their acculturation strategies, as well as their possible social/local identity.

The two groups of data were later correlated to describe the possible relationship between the dependent and independent variables described in subchapter Variables.

4.4.1 Quantitative analysis results

As described in Data analysis procedure, all instances of /t/ realised as a slit-t were marked as 1, while other realisations were marked as 0. The analysis involved a careful auditory

analysis coupled with visual analysis of spectrograms generated in Praat. The second section analyses all instances of /t/ realised as variants other that slit-t. This includes realisation of the sound in question as a voiceless alveolar plosive [t], flap/tap, voiced variant, few instances of affricated [tʃ] and a considerable number of affricated [tˢ]. All of the above were described in terms of the position of the sound within a word (medial or final) and the semantic status of the word (lexical or grammatical words). The quantitative approach is justified by the exploratory character of the study and the author's aim to investigate the tendency to adopt slit-t by Polish users of English.

4.4.1.1 Slit-t in the speech of Polish migrants

In carrier sentences presented below, Speaker 1 demonstrates fairly systematic use of slit-t, employing this variant in six out of nine possible context, primarily in intervocalic word-final position (*what*, *but*, *eight*, *hat*) but not when the sound was preceded by a long vowel in the word *feet*. As for intervocalic word-medial position in carrier sentences, the speaker used slit-t in two out of four words (*water* and *meter*, but not *letter* and *butter*). In terms of spontaneous speech, in 54 possible contexts, Speaker 1 pronounced slit-t in 27 cases, only once in word medial position (pretty much the only language), four times in word-final position followed by a vowel (e.g. *but other than that*, *at all like*) and 23 times in word-final position followed by a pause or hesitation (e.g. *familiar with it*; *place like that*; *it's kinda cute*).

The next speaker that displayed some use of slit-t is Speaker 5, two instances in intervocalic word-final position in one syllable words (*what*, *but*) and three instances in word-medial position (*water*, *butter*, *meter*). During the interview, Speaker 5 pronounced slit-t in 28 out of 97 contexts. Similarly to Speaker 1, majority of these instances (17) appeared in word-final position followed by a pause or hesitation (e.g. *but erm*, *I didn't know that*), 9 instances in word-final position followed by a vowel (*not at all*, *but I didn't know that*) and only once in word-medial position.

Similarly to the two previously described participants, Speaker 9 pronounced slit-t in 6 out of 9 possible context in carrier sentences, twice in word-final position (*what*, *but*) and four times in word-medial position (*letter*, *water*, *butter*, *meter*). As for extracts from the interview, Speaker 9 produced slit-t in 15 out of 23 possible contexts. As it can

be noted, Speaker 9, much like Speakers 6, 9 and 14, did not produce much material for analysis as they answered the questions rather sparsely, despite some encouraging prompts. Nevertheless, in the case of Speaker 9, it is interesting to see that within such a limited sample, they produced the sound in question in majority of the contexts. Slit-t appeared once in word-medial position, once in word-final position followed by a vowel and 13 times in word-final position followed by a pause (*I think I'm fine with it*, *it's quiet… I like that*). Speaker 6 produced the sound in questions four times in carrier sentences, twice in word-final position (*what*, *but*) and four time in word-final position (*letter*, *water*, *butter*, *meter*). In phrases extracted form the interview, the participant used slit-t in 6 instances our of 22 possible contexts, twice in word-final position followed by a vowel (*a lot every day*, *it's not important*) and four times in word-final position followed by a pause (e.g. *writing is very poor alright, contribute to it*).

Speaker 12 did not produce one instance of slit-t in carrier sentences, but did pronounce the sound a few times during their interview; twice in word-final followed by a vowel context (*but other than that*, *but at home*) and seven times in word final followed by a pause/hesitation (e.g. *I'd give myself an eight*, *I do that*). Similarly, Speaker 11 produced slit-t one in the carrier sentences (*but*) and once in the interview in the phrase *I like it*; much like Speaker 2 who did not use the sound in carrier sentences and produces only two instances of it in the interview (twice word-medially in the word *daughters*).

Speaker 11 seems to be a particularly interesting example. First of all, this participant provided the most extensive interview which lasted about two hours. He gave detailed answers to all of the questions and trailed off quite frequently to ponder on some anecdotes from his life in Ireland and reflect on his migrant experience. The author decided to analyse the entirety of the interview to see whether the pattern of language use would change as the speaker got more relaxed and spontaneous in his answers. In the carrier sentences, Speaker 11 pronounced the slit-t sound only once in the word *but*. As for the interview, the speaker produced 494 contexts in which the variable in use might be observed. He pronounced slit-t seven times in word-medial position (e.g. *motorwa*y, *way better*), fifteen time in word-final position followed by a vowel (e.g. *I have not experienced that here*, *you know without any*) and 169 times in word-final position followed by a pause/hesitation (e.g. *is probably that*, *he mentioned that*, *parenting country right?*).

The remaining speakers—specifically S3, S4, S7, S8, S13, and S14—did not exhibit any use of the Irish English slit-t, either in the carrier sentences or in the phrases extracted from the semi-guided interview.

	Instances of slit-t													
	S1	*S2*	*S3*	*S4*	*S5*	*S6*	*S7*	*S8*	*S9*	*S10*	*S11*	*S12*	*S13*	*S14*
what	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
but	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
eight	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
feet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
hat	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
letter	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
water	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
butter	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
meter	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	6	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0

Table 7. Instances of slit-t in carrier sentences.

	Instances of slit-t			Total contexts	Other realisations
	word-medial	word-final+ vowel	word-final+ pause		
S1	1	4	23	53	26
S2	2	0	0	38	36
S3	0	0	0	47	47
S4	0	0	0	82	82
S5	1	9	17	95	67
S6	0	2	4	22	16
S7	0	0	0	112	112
S8	0	0	0	140	140
S9	1	1	13	23	8
S10	0	0	1	20	19
S11	7	15	169	494	303
S12	0	2	7	53	44
S13	0	0	0	75	76
S14	0	0	0	23	23

Table 8. Instances of slit-t in phrases extracted from the interview.

Since the data under analysis differed significantly in quantity from speaker to speaker, the only reasonable way to summarize it is by presenting the percentage of slit-t realizations for each speaker. The contexts for slit-t produced by the speakers ranged from 20 to an extreme 516, making it justifiable to examine the patterns by individual speakers. As the table below shows, the speakers that stand out include S1, S5, S6 and S9. Interestingly, all of these speakers show higher percentage values of slit-t in controlled speech (carrier sentences) rather than in spontaneous speech (interview). Speaker 11, the participant with the highest quantity of contexts, produced the sound under analysis in only 38% of cases in spontaneous speech.

	Instances of slit-t (percentage by speaker)													
	S1	*S2*	*S3*	*S4*	*S5*	*S6*	*S7*	*S8*	*S9*	*S10*	*S11*	*S12*	*S13*	*S14*
Carrier sentences	67	0	0	0	56	44	0	0	67	0	11	0	0	0
Extracts from interview	50	5	0	0	29	27	0	0	65	5	37	15	0	0

Table 9. Percentage of slit-t use by speaker in carrier sentences and interview extracts.

In terms of the position of the variable within the word, the difference between word-medial and word-final position in carrier sentences among the speaker that used the feature is not really noteworthy. However, the situation is quite different when we look at data from the interviews. The majority of the contexts where speakers pronounced the slit-t occur in intervocalic word-final positions, followed by a pause or hesitation.
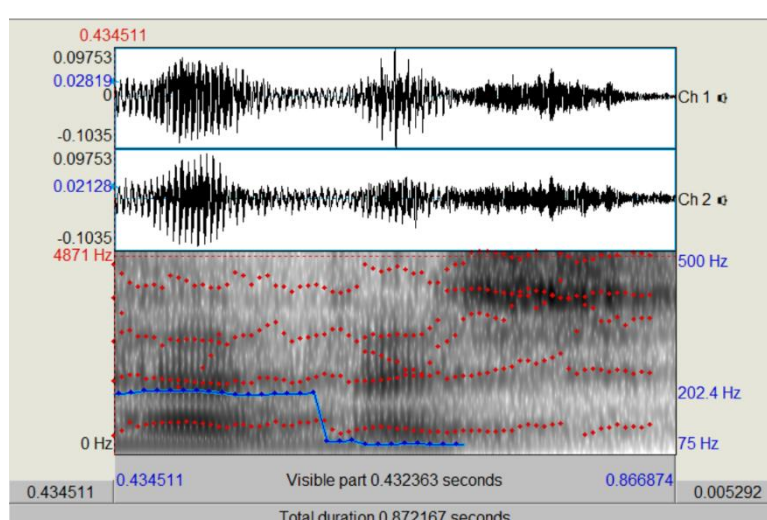

Figure 6. Slit-t in word final position followed by a pause: *have it*. Speaker 6.

Regarding the semantic status of the word, carrier sentences included only two function words (*what*, *but*) and seven lexical words (*eight*, *feet*, *hat*, *letter*, *water*, *butter*, *meter*). Both of the function words were pronounced with slit-t by four participants out of fourteen. As for lexical words, *eight* and *hat* were pronounced with slit-t by one participant, *letter* by two participants, *water* by four, *butter* by three and *meter* by three as well. The difference in variable use between function and lexical words in the carrier sentences is not particularly notable. However, the situation changes significantly when considering phrases extracted from the interview.

		Instances of slit-t in function and lexical words												
		S1	*S2*	*S3*	*S4*	*S5*	*S6*	*S7*	*S8*	*S9*	*S10*	*S11*	*S12*	*S13*	*S14*
Total slit-t		27	2	0	0	27	6	0	0	15	1	191	9	0	0
Number	Function words	22	0	0	0	21	5	0	0	7	1	150	5	0	0
	Lexical words	5	2	0	0	6	1	0	0	8	0	41	4	0	0

Table 10. Instances of slit-t in function and lexical words (interview).

In spontaneous speech samples, Speakers 1, 5, 6, and 11 pronounced slit-t variant predominantly in functions words. Interestingly these function words mainly included *but*, *what*, *that* and *it*, with *but* being the word most frequently pronounced with a fricative, especially in word-final environment followed by a pause, but even more when followed by hesitation.
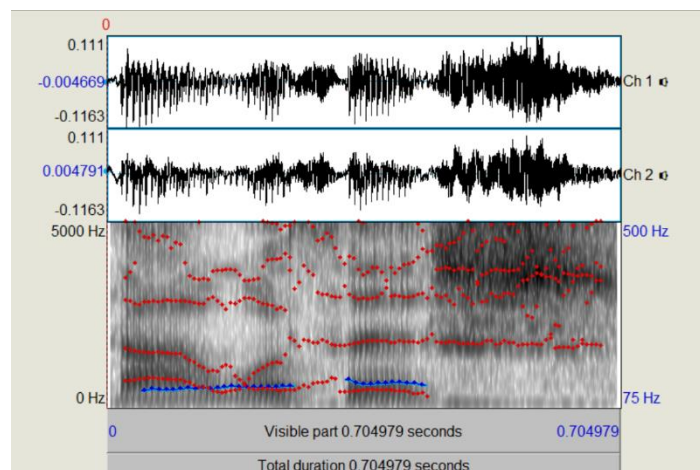
Figure 7. Slit-t in word final position followed by a pause: *that was **it***. Speaker 1.

In spontaneous speech samples, Speakers 1, 5, 6, and 11 predominantly pronounced the slit-t variant in function words. Notably, these function words primarily included *but*, *what*, *that*, and *it*, with *but* being on top of the list. This was especially notable in word-final environments followed by a pause, and even more so when followed by hesitation. For example, in the case of Speaker 11, *but* constituted 106 slit-t realisations, followed by *that* with 55 realisations. Similarly, in the case of Speaker 5, the function word *but* followed by a pause/hesitation constituted for 12 realisations of slit-t out of 28 in general; and in the case of Speaker 1, *but* accounted for 10 realisations out of 27. Only Speakers 9 and 10 did not show any significant difference in the use of slit-t between function and lexical words. However, the general tendency among the participants that demonstrate some use of the variable show preference for producing the sound in function words.

4.4.1.2 Other realisations of /t/ in the speech of Polish migrants

This section analyses all instances of /t/ realised as variants other than slit-t. As demonstrated by the preceding analysis, only a few participants exhibit any use of the variable in question, which may be considered a somewhat unsatisfactory outcome. However, an analysis of the realizations marked as 0 reveals that they are not limited to the traditional voiceless alveolar plosive. Instead, they exhibit considerable variation both among different speakers and within individual speakers, although mainly in the spontaneous speech. While alveolar plosive /t/ is, as expected, the predominant realisation

among the participants, the author identified other variants such as: flap/tap, voiced, glottal and affricated [tʃ] (only a few realisations), and a considerable number affricated [tˢ]. The realisations of the sound that were impossible to identify (mainly because of some interference or mispronunciation) were placed in the 'other/unclear' category and will not be analysed further. All of the realisations presented in the table below were also investigated in terms of the position of the sound within a word (medial or final) and the semantic status of the word (lexical or grammatical).

	Realisations of /t/								Total contexts
	slit-t	alveolar [t]	flap/tap	voiced	glottal	affricated [tʃ]	affricated [tˢ]	other/ unclear	
S1	6	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	9
S2	0	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	9
S3	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
S4	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
S5	5	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	9
S6	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	9
S7	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
S8	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
S9	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
S10	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	9
S11	1	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	9
S12	0	2	5	0	0	0	2	0	9
S13	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
S14	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9

Table 11. Other realisations of /t/ in carrier sentences.

As mentioned above, pronunciation patterns of the participants in carrier sentences do not show considerable variety. Voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ constitutes the bulk of realisations across speakers. Some variation can be observed in the speech of Speaker 12, who pronounced *what* and *but* with affricated [tˢ], while *letter*, *water*, *feet* (I'm saying *feet* again.), *butter* and *meter* with a flap/tap. The affricated [tˢ] realisation can also be noted in the recordings of Speaker 1 (*butter*), Speaker 2 (*butter*), Speaker 5 (*letter*),

Speaker 6 (*eight*) and Speaker 11 (*what*, *letter*, *hat, butter, water*). There is a slight preference for this variant in word-medial position, although the difference is not substantial in this sample.

The situation becomes somewhat more intricate when examining spontaneous speech data. Alveolar plosive /t/ is the only variant pronounced by Speaker 14, who consistently realises word-medial and word-final /t/ as the 'traditional' [t] and does not show any variation. Alveolar voiceless plosive constitutes also majority of variants in the speech of Speakers 3, 2, 7, 8, 13, as well as Speakers 4, 5 and 11.

	Realisations of /t/							Total contexts
	slit-t	alveolar [t]	flap/tap	voiced	glottal	affricated [tʃ]	affricated [tˢ]	
S1	27	9	10	1	1	2	3	53
S2	2	25	2	0	2	0	7	38
S3	0	40	2	0	1	0	4	47
S4	0	54	1	0	1	0	26	82
S5	28	29	5	0	3	2	28	95
S6	6	9	2	0	0	0	5	22
S7	0	77	14	0	0	0	21	112
S8	0	101	30	5	0	0	4	140
S9	15	6	2	0	0	0	0	23
S10	1	7	8	2	0	0	2	20
S11	191	177	33	0	0	7	86	494
S12	9	5	25	2	0	0	12	53
S13	0	54	12	1	0	0	8	75
S14	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	23

Table 12. Realisations of /t/ in interview extracts.

Speaker 1 shows considerable variation with predominant use of flap/tap (e.g. *what is this*, *not anymore, Polish or whatever*), followed by a affricated [tˢ] variant (*I read a lof of English*, *wanna find out*, *and all that*) and isolated cases of glottal realisation (*know or not*). In the case of Speaker 2 there is some evidence of using affricated [tˢ] variant, especially when followed by a pause/hesitation (e.g. *to visit er… our friends*, *I think that*

er…, the accent is quite er…). As mentioned above, although Speaker 4 predominantly realised the analysed variant as a plosive /t/, almost a third of the instanced pronounced by the speaker were realised as [tˢ] and, like in the case of Speaker 2, most often when the sound was followed by a pause or hesitation (e.g. *once a year but…*, *different accents but…*).
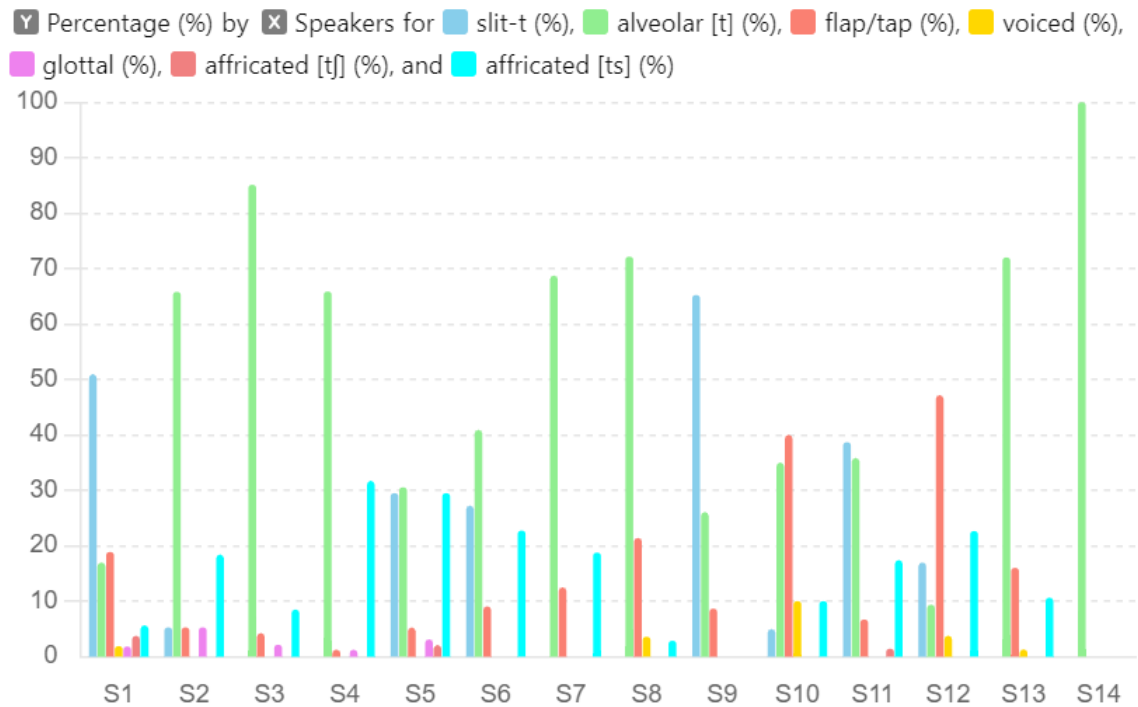
Figure 8. Percentage of /t/ realisations for each speaker. Study One.

Speaker 5 produces almost equal number of instances of [t] and affricated [tˢ] (e.g. *well I had a bit of English*, *just for a bit of chat*, *totally different*), as well as a few instances of flapping/tapping (e.g. *to find out whatever*, *but I wouldn't*) and a single instance of a glottal stop (*to say that*). Despite considerably limited sample in both cases, Speaker 10 shows fairly significant preference for flaps/taps (e.g. *that I work with*, *I think it is*, *but I see probably*) with only a single example of affricated [tˢ] (*English in Ireland is quite…*); while Speaker 6 demonstrated several instances of affricated [tˢ] (e.g. *writing is very poor*, *it is and it isn't*, *it's not important*) with only a couple of flaps/taps (e.g. *English at all*, *but I never was*). In the speech sample of Speaker 7 one can observe some flap/tap

realisations mainly in word-medial or word final position followed by a word-initial vowel (e.g. *not English classes*, *complain about it*, *you know what I mean*) and only a few instances of affricated [tˢ] in word final position followed by a pause (*I'm not very good at…*, *too judgmental but…*). Similarly to Speaker 7, Speaker 8 also uses flap/tap realisation in similar contexts (e.g. *a lot of*, *I can pick it up*, *whatever*).

As for Speaker 11, who provided extensive data and provided the longest interview among all participants, the predominant realisation in the 'other' section is a plosive /t/, followed by affricated [tˢ], especially in word medial position, but also in word-final position followed by a pause (e.g. *water*, *somewhere on the bottom*, *is better than Russian*, *the written part was good*, *you get er… some text*, *and I found that…, turn right*). The participant also produced 33 instances of flaps/taps, particularly in word-medial and word-final position followed by a vowel (e.g. *whatever*, *but it was*, *but I think*, *exactly what it was*). Additionally, there were seven examples of affricated [tʃ] (e.g. *no Irish people at all*, *I don't know how many bikers but…*).
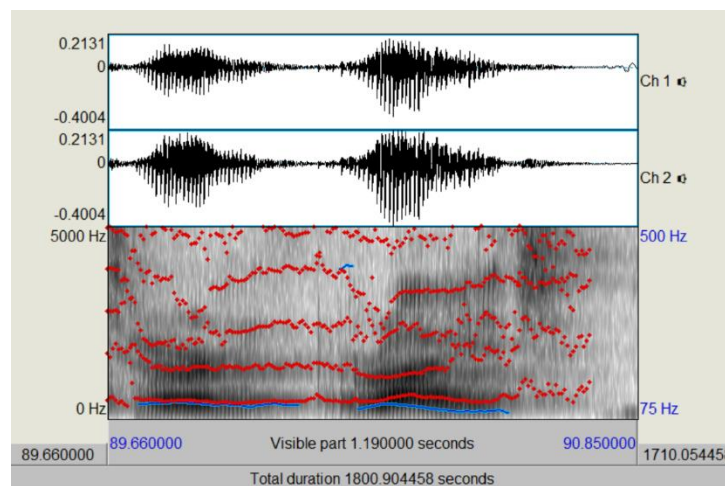
Figure 9. Affricated [ts] in word final position followed by a pause: *turn right*. Speaker 11.

Likewise, Speaker 12 also shows considerable variation in the spontaneous speech sample, with particular preference for flap/tap realisations (e.g. *small bit of French*, *it's not a club*, *it is useful, to get a job*) and several instances of affricated [tˢ] realisation in word-final position followed by a pause (e.g. *travelled a lot but…*, *but… what's gonna happen*). In the case of Speaker 13, /t/ is predominantly realised as a voiceless alveolar

plosive, although there are also some flaps/taps (e.g. *that's the city where I live*, *what I dislike about Ireland*) and a few examples of affricated [tˢ] variants (e.g. *I like to hike there but…*, *could be better but…*).
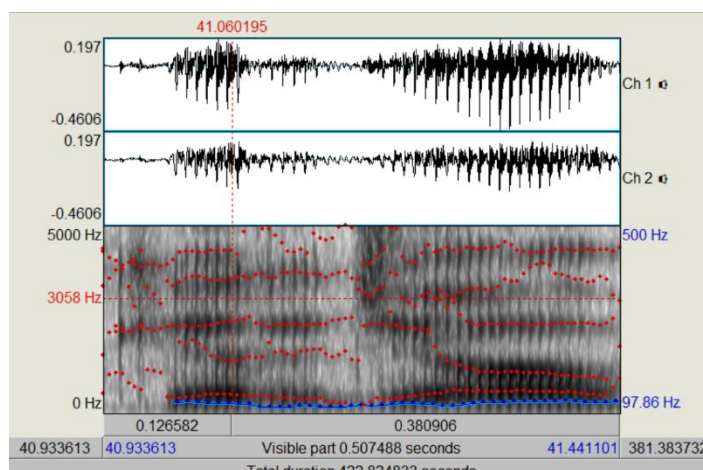
Figure 10. Flap/tap realisation in intervocalic position: *get a job*. Speaker 12.

As it can be observed, in the spontaneous speech sample the participants show considerable variation. Despite the overall prominence of 'standard' alveolar plosive /t/ realisations, majority of the speakers demonstrate use of flap/tap, affricated [tˢ], while affricated [tʃ] realisations and glottal stops constitute only isolated instances. In terms of the position of the sound within a word, there is a slight preference for the use of flap/tap in word-medial or word-final position followed by a word-initial vowel, while affricated [tˢ] realisations can be often observed in word-final position, especially when followed by a pause or a slightly longer hesitation. In terms of the semantic status of the word, flap/tap and affricated [tˢ] realizations were predominantly observed in function words, notably in conjunctions like *but* and *that*, the demonstrative pronoun *that*, and the pronoun *it*, with fewer occurrences in lexical words.

4.4.2 Qualitative results

This subchapter presents an in-depth overview of the qualitative analysis results, with an aim to interpret the study's quantitative findings within the context of the participants' backgrounds. It provides detailed descriptions of each participant, incorporating data gathered from semi-formal interviews, with an aim to sketch comprehensive profiles for each individual. This approach not only highlights the unique characteristics and migrant experiences of the participants but also enriches the understanding of the sociolinguistic context underpinning the study. While the following descriptions may seem lengthy, the author chose to include them in the main body of the dissertation rather than in the Appendices section, as the data presented below forms a critical basis for analysing the linguistic behaviours of the participants.

Speaker 1

Speaker 1 is a 32-year-old female from County Clare employed in the retail sector for a large chain shop. She had lived in Ireland for eight years at the time of the interview. In terms of her language background, she had studied English for nearly ten years before moving to Ireland, during both primary and secondary school. The participant admitted that prior to her arrival in Ireland, her passive understanding of English was at a very high level, although her speaking skills needed significant improvement. After moving to Ireland, she did not partake in any formal English classes but rather learned the language through interactions with locals. At the time of the interview, the participant rated her language abilities as very high.

In terms of her attitude towards the variety of English spoken in Ireland, Speaker 1 expressed a preference for Irish English over British English, which she finds less appealing. She uses English almost exclusively in her daily life, as her coworkers, flatmate, and partner are Irish nationals. As for language input in the form of different media, like television, books or magazines, the speaker claims she only engages with English speaking sources, predominantly Irish English.

Speaker 1 demonstrates awareness of the various accents within Ireland and admits that, although some people might find them challenging, the Irish English accent does not pose a problem for her. She is confident that her accent does not reveal her Polish

heritage, but rather contains traces of Clare accent. The participant believes that the knowledge of English is a crucial aspect of a comfortable life in Ireland. She visits Poland once or twice a year for holidays, noting that "it doesn't feel like 'home home' anymore; it's nice to see the family, but it's more like a holiday than home."

The participant does not belong to any groups or associations, whether Polish or Irish. While she is aware of the large Polish community in Ireland, she does not consider herself a part of it and does not feel that her Polish origin has influenced her experience in Ireland. Regarding traditions, she understands why some Polish people, especially those with families and children, might want to maintain Polish customs, but she herself does not have a family and does not feel the need to do so. Similarly, she acknowledges that her native language could be useful but notes that she does not use it much anymore. She is very happy in her current place of residence and is committed to staying in Ireland, describing life there as "brilliant."

Speaker 2

Speaker 2 is a 40-year-old male who had lived in Ireland for twelve years at the time of the interview. He is employed at a manufacturing company. Before settling in Ennis, he spent a year and a half in Cork, a city in the south-west of Ireland. He had English classes in secondary school, but he admits his language skills were very poor when he first arrived in Ireland. Consequently, he enrolled in several English courses and now holds a FETAC ESOL certificate in English. He rates his reading and writing abilities in English as quite good. The participant finds the Irish English accent easy to understand and expresses fondness of this variety.

In his daily life, he uses English at work with his Irish coworkers. He believes that a good command of English is essential for success in Ireland, and he attributes his current position to his language skills. Regarding his accent, he is confident when interacting with other non-native English speakers but is certain that locals can immediately recognise his foreign origins. The participant does not watch Polish television and claims to read only English internet magazines. He also is not a member of any organised clubs or associations, although he used to play hockey with an Irish team in Limerick in his free time. He considers himself part of the Polish community in his town and occasionally participates in events they organise. He believes preserving Polish customs and language

is important, especially for his two daughters, who he feels should know their parents' country of origin, language and history. He sees speaking Polish as an advantage, facilitating interactions within the large Polish community in Ireland. He is proud of his Polish heritage and considers it important to be recognized as a person of Polish nationality. His children attend an Irish-medium school and are fluent in Irish, English, and Polish. The family also celebrates Irish customs and holidays such as Christmas and Halloween, alongside with Polish holidays and celebrations.

Speaker 2 visits Poland approximately every two years. He states that he "doesn't like Poland as a country for living" but enjoys visiting to see friends and family. He describes his current town of residence as quite nice and safe, though slightly lacking in opportunities for children. The whole family holds Irish passports and plans to stay in Ireland.

Speaker 3

Speaker 3 is a 40-year-old woman, residing in County Galway at the time of the interview. She had arrived in Ireland in 2003, before Poland's accession to the EU. Prior to her arrival, she studied English for four years in secondary school, and upon settling in Ireland, she undertook a three-month business English course. She rates her proficiency in reading, writing, and speaking English as very good. Working in an English-only environment necessitates English as the primary language of communication for a significant portion of her day, although while at home, she converses in Polish with her partner and their child. Regarding media and literature, she enjoys a diverse range of both Polish and Irish (English-speaking) movies, TV programs and books.

The participant acknowledges initial challenges stemming from accent variety in Ireland, although she has adapted over the years and no longer finds Irish English problematic. The speaker stresses the importance of proficiency in the English language for a successful life in Ireland. The speaker claims she "loves" Irish English accents and "hates" the way English sounds in England. Regarding her own pronunciation, she believes to have a strong Eastern European accent, but as long as people do not have troubles understanding her, she is not phased by her foreign-accented speech.

The participant is not affiliated with any Polish or Irish organisations, although she once assisted in organising the Polish section of Saint Patrick's parade. She believes

it natural for Polish people to maintain their language and customs, anticipating her young son to eventually communicate in his parents' mother tongue. Yet she notes that Polish language may not be all that important while living in Ireland.

The speaker also claims that her Polish nationality has positively influenced her experience in Ireland, as Irish people view Polish individuals as akin to themselves in nature and understand the need for migration in search of better opportunities. While appreciating the warm reception from the host community, she does not feel a strong need for recognition of her origin. Regarding Irish customs and traditions, she adopts a flexible approach, participating in different Irish and Polish celebrations. She is content with her life in County Galway and is planning to remain in Ireland, as a holder of and Irish passport. However, the speaker sometimes ponders the possibility of moving to a country with more favourable weather conditions. She visits Poland every two years or so, as she prefers to use her holiday leave for exploring other countries.

Speaker 4

Speaker 4 is a male in his early forties who had been living in Ireland, County Limerick, for eleven years at the time of the interview. He is employed in the manufacturing industry, but also works as a scuba diving instructor every weekend. He considers Ireland a beautiful place to live, with a wonderful coast and many opportunities for divers and enthusiasts of outdoor activities. The speaker also expresses fondness of the Irish people, noting their calmness and peaceful way of life. Prior to moving to Ireland, his English was fairly basic as he had never learned it in Poland in any formal setting, and he learned the language in Ireland through interaction with the locals and by reading his "favourite newspaper" Limerick Post. He noted that he read the paper every week "with a dictionary in his hand" and now considers his English abilities as "really good". In terms of the accent, the speaker is aware of different varieties in Ireland and notes significant difficulties in understanding locals from County Clare at the beginning of his life in Ireland, although this no longer poses any challenges to him and he considers "Clare accent" his favourite, noting its specific intonation patterns ("they're singing like, you know"). The speaker uses mostly English in his daily work life, as he deals mostly with Irish people at his place of employment, although afterwork interactions with his friends are predominantly in Polish. He also notes the importance of being able to speak English

in Ireland for better job opportunities and comfort of everyday life. In terms of the variety of English spoken in Ireland, the speaker claims that although it might pose difficulties at the beginning, these subside with time and once a person is able to understand Irish English, they will be able to understand English "everywhere they go in the world." As for speaker's pronunciation, he believes that it is easy to recognise his Polish origin from his accent. He also stresses the importance of proper pronunciation in order to be understood by the locals.

The participant does not belong to any Irish or Polish organisation. The scuba diving centre where he works on the weekends is owned by an Irish national, and although majority of the clients are Irish, the instructors and the trainees constitute quite an international collective, and the same applies to his other activities – the participant does jujitsu and plays soccer with fairly diverse groups in terms of nationalities.

Speaker 4 visits Poland approximately once a year to visit friends and family. Although he states to slightly miss Poland, he does not consider ever returning there to live. He notes that is he ever decides to part with Ireland, he will not choose his country of origin as his destination.

The participant notes that he mainly reads books in Polish, watches TV and listens to the radio in Polish as it is important for him to be able to express himself in his "national language". For similar reasons he communicates with his daughter exclusively in Polish. He also expresses fondness of Polish customs and traditions and the need to cultivate them in Ireland, the speaker also notes that he is not aware of any significant Irish traditions apart from "Guiness and fish and chips"

In terms of the usefulness of the Polish language in Ireland, the speaker is unsure about its importance, although he notes that "it's good to know" in his case as he is doing quite a bit of informal translating between his employers and Polish employees that do not know the language.

Speaker 4 is content with the area of his residence and is aware of a considerably large group of Polish migrants in the area. He does not belong to any group or association, neither Polish, nor Irish. As regards his nationality, although the speaker notes he would never deny and hide his origins, he is not necessarily eager to share it with everyone and would rather say that he is European. He also does not believe that his nationality has affected his experience in Ireland in any way and he prefers to think that the people he

meets judge him by his actions as a person and not his origin. Although he is content with his life at the moment, he is considering a possible move in the future to a different, although unspecified at the time, European country.

Speaker 5

Speaker 5 is a 32-year-old woman residing in the small coastal town in County Clare. She has lived in this area for over a decade at the time of the interview. Similar to *Speaker 1*, she works as a shop assistant, albeit for a smaller, family-run business. She is a single mother of three children. Regarding her English language skills, she received some formal instruction in secondary school but found it inadequate for her initial months in Ireland. Like Speaker 1, she did not enrol in any English classes upon arrival but learned through interactions with her Irish and multinational coworkers, as well as the chatty customers in the close-knit rural community. She acquired English naturally, making speaking her strongest skill, while she considers her reading and writing abilities to be comparatively lower.

The speaker identifies the Irish English accent as the most challenging aspect of her language experience in Ireland, although she finds it easier to understand than American and British accents, possibly due to limited exposure to the latter two. She mentions difficulties stemming from learning English in a natural setting, such as mastering correct grammatical forms and pronunciation through trial and error, aided by her coworkers' corrections. She primarily speaks English at work and occasionally at home when helping her children with homework. She speaks English mainly at work and also sometimes at home when she has to help her children with the homework. Otherwise, the family members communicate in Polish (the speaker's children and her mother, who has limited knowledge of English). The family travels to Poland once a year or less, and she expressed no longing for Poland, stating she is content with her life in Ireland.

Regarding accents, she notes she has been told several times that she "must be from Clare" due to her accent. She explains that her strategy for learning the language involved listening to locals and imitating them, leading to her adopting the local pronunciation patterns. Consequently, as she claims, "it would be weird if I had a different accent." She is not involved in any Polish or Irish associations, although she is interested in recent events organized by the Polish Irish Association in Ennis. She does not maintain

contact with other Polish nationals in her place of residence and does not feel the need to be recognised as Polish, although she acknowledges her Polish heritage. She is considering applying for an Irish passport soon. After the interview, she added that her children are actively involved in preserving Irish customs; they learn Irish at school and play Gaelic football for the local school team, and she expressed pride in her sons' achievements in this area.

As previously mentioned, the speaker is happy with her life in Ireland. She appreciates her current residence, viewing it as an ideal place for her family due to its attractive location, close-knit community, and friendly locals who welcomed them warmly. As she puts it, "it's sad to say it," but she does not consider returning to Poland at all.

Speaker 6
Speaker 6 is a 29-year-old female who had lived in a small town in County Clare for nine years at the time of the interview. She is employed at a manufacturing company as a general operative in the same town. Before arriving in Ireland, she had English classes in secondary school but describes her proficiency at that time as rather poor. Over her years in Ireland, she learned the language through interactions with the host community, with whom she spent considerable time. Her partner is Irish, and they live and work together, resulting in significant daily use of English. While she admits to struggling with writing in English, she rates her reading and speaking abilities as good.

The speaker is fond of the Irish English variety, although like the participants described above, she also identifies the accent as the most problematic part of the language experience in Ireland, especially in rural areas. Nevertheless, the participant claims that Irish English is "easy" to understand and learn. She primarily watches and reads Irish news, magazines, and books but switches to Polish media when the content concerns Poland. She does not prioritize perfect pronunciation as long as it does not hinder communication, but she considers the ability to speak English crucial for success in Ireland.

The only organization she belongs to is a local amateur tag rugby club, where most members are Irish, although other nationalities occasionally. She is aware of the Polish community in her town but has never been interested in "contributing" to it and

does not see being recognized as Polish as important. Nevertheless, she stresses the importance of preserving her home country's customs and language, asserting that "you can't forget where you are from." Given the large Polish population in Ireland, she notes that knowing Polish can be of advantage and that there is "no harm" in being able to speak it.

When asked about Irish culture, she emphasized the importance of contributing to and socializing with the host community. She visits Poland once a year, mainly for family reasons, and is happy with her current residence. The speaker appreciates her current place of residence for its friendly community. Having just obtained Irish citizenship, she does not consider settling anywhere else, as Ireland is "very welcoming to other nationalities."

Speaker 7

Speaker 7 is a male in his late thirties who moved to Ireland in 2005. After spending a few weeks in County Limerick, he settled in County Clare, where he is currently employed in manufacturing. He had some beginner-level English instruction during his university years in Poland, although he claims his English skills were limited upon arrival. Instead of attending English classes in Ireland, he immersed himself in the language through books and television. He currently consumes English media—books, magazines, movies, and TV—and rates his language skills as quite good. He does not feel the need to read in Polish or any other language, given the wide range of information available in English.

The participant uses English on a daily basis at work and he also speaks English with his daughter six days a week, while one day is reserved for Polish as a way of "keeping [the daughter] bilingual". This focus on bilingualism has made him attentive to his pronunciation, as he does not want to be a poor language model for his daughter. He admits that her English skills are beginning to surpass his own. He believes that speaking good English is crucial for success in Ireland and does not find Irish English difficult to understand, although he expresses awareness of the various accents within the country.

Regarding accents, the participants states that he is aware of his strong Eastern European accent, which he finds quite difficult. He believes his accent and nationality sometimes lead to different, not always positive, treatment by the host community. While

he identifies with the Polish community, the speaker states he is a member of it "by birth", although he does not necessarily associate with them and he does not "force" himself to interact with other Polish nationals. Quoting the speaker: "just because we are all Poles doesn't mean we have to all meet." He does not feel the need to be recognized as a person of Polish origin and views nationalities as an abstract concept. Although he participated in the first Polska Éire Festival, he chose not to continue with the Polish Irish association due to differing opinions. He believes the festival should focus on integrating the two communities and exchanging knowledge rather than presenting only the Polish perspective. He advocates for Polish people to learn about Irish history and culture, criticizing those who display overt patriotism without a basic understanding of Polish history. When asked about the advantages of speaking in Polish, the speakers emphasised that being able to speak any second language in general is beneficial. In terms of Irish customs, he states the importance of celebrating them, although without pretending that "we enjoy and appreciate them the same way as locals – we should respect them".

He is content with his current residence, describing the town as small but well-equipped with necessary amenities, despite limited entertainment options. He visits Poland about once a year, mainly for his children to meet family and experience Polish culture. With no close family left in Poland, he notes that visiting "doesn't feel like home at all." He has two children, the elder of whom is in school, so the family plans to stay in Ireland for the foreseeable future. He finds life in Ireland comfortable, stating: "it is so easy to live here, even if you do menial jobs you can afford anything."

Speaker 8

Speaker 8 is a female in her late thirties who had been living in Ireland, County Clare, for twelve years at the time of the interview. Apart from her life in Poland and her current place of residence, the participant had lived in the United States for slightly over a year. As an outdoorsy type of person, she enjoys Ireland's beautiful countryside and coastal areas and the "mentality of Irish people."

Prior to arriving in Ireland, the speaker obtained a good level of knowledge of the English language in Poland, during school and university, where she studied English literature for a year. Once she moved to Ireland, she improved her skills by interaction with the locals and work colleagues. Consequently, she decided to attend an English

course that allowed her to obtain advanced English certification. The participant describes her current skills as "well I can speak, I can write… I understand, but I would love to learn more, obviously." As regards the difficulty of English in Ireland, she admits to not being sure whether it stems from the accent or rather the way people speak, which she describes as "careless."

On the daily basis, the participant uses mainly English, especially during her work hours as a customer service representative in the travel industry. At home she uses mainly English with her child, as they do know Polish, but would be "much more responsive" and "quicker to respond" in English. The participant's previous partner is also a foreigner, and they communicate only in English. The same applies to communication with her friends and acquaintances, since most of them are either Irish or non-Polish. The speaker also believes that speaking good English is crucial in Ireland, although she admits that the Irish English variety might prove to be a challenge at times. She observes that Irish English would be harder to understand than American English, and the accents in Ireland "are different all over the place." She also expresses her fondness of the British English variety, which she refers to as "fancy." The participant admits that if she had the choice, she would learn the language from "the English side." As for her pronunciation, the speaker believes she sounds "probably quite funny" as she had been told before that although her speech contains elements of the "Clare accent", she would still be easily recognised as Eastern European. The speaker also holds the view that "proper and nice" pronunciation is important.

Speaker 8 mostly watches television in English, and she reports to frequently watch the "five British channels" that she has access to. As regards reading magazines and literature, she asserts that she primarily does that in English as it is "easier" nowadays than reading in Polish. Simultaneously, she also firmly declared that preserving the Polish language and customs is very important to her, but so is getting acquainted with the traditions of the host country. The speaker is a very active member of the Polish Irish Association, aimed at promoting cultural exchange between the two communities. She takes great pride in being part of this venture, stating that she believes to be "the main person in Polish Irish Association who very much pushes it towards multicultural direction."

The speaker does not visit Poland on a regular basis and reports longer periods without travelling to Poland in the past, as her family also lives in Ireland. She admits to missing different aspects of life in her home country, but is also happy in her current place of residence, stating its size, cosiness and friendliness of the locals as main benefits.

In terms of her native language and its usefulness and importance in Ireland, she notes that the knowledge of any other language would be a huge advantage, especially for the younger generation of Polish migrants. Her child is bilingual in Polish and English, and also attends Irish-medium school, although she expresses some regret over the fact that the child's father did not make more effort to teach them more languages, as he is a fluent speaker of several (being a Belgian citizen).

The nationality is an important element of identity for the speaker, she is proud of being Polish and would not "hide" her origins. She does not feel that her Polish background has affected her experience in Ireland, although if anything, it has been helpful in terms of employment or organising events as part of the Polish Irish Association. In terms of the future, the speaker does not plan on parting with Ireland, although this decision is also guided by the fact that her child's father resides in Ireland permanently.

Speaker 9

Speaker 9 is a female in her late thirties who moved to Ireland in 2006 and had lived in County Clare for ten years at the time of the interview. She obtained tertiary level education and currently holds an engineering position in a manufacturing company. The speaker received formal English instruction in primary and secondary school, as well as at university, although she notes her skills were not on a high level upon arriving in Ireland. Besides English, she speaks some Spanish, Swedish, and Czech; the latter is also the language of her partner. In Ireland, she did not take any additional English lessons but improved her skills through daily interactions at work and with her English-speaking housemates. She rates her reading, writing, and speaking abilities as "fine."

She uses English daily, especially at work, but also at home and with friends. While she acknowledges that the Irish English accent and its regional variations can be challenging, she is fond of this variety of English and prefers it to the English spoken in

the United Kingdom. She believes that proficiency in English, including good pronunciation, is crucial for achieving success in Ireland.

Regarding the Polish language, she believes it is important to preserve it but notes that it can be both an advantage and a disadvantage. She reads both Polish and Irish books, news, and magazines, and watches movies and television from both cultures. She claims that maintaining the customs and languages of both cultures is equally important.

Although aware of the Polish community in her town, she states that she is "not a member of that community." However, she acknowledges that being recognized as a Polish national may be important, as Poland is her country of birth where she has spent most of her life. She is fond of her current residence, appreciating its small and quiet nature. However, she envisions her future elsewhere, possibly in another country, though not in Poland. She visits her home country once a year to spend time with her family.

Speaker 10

Speaker 10 is a female in her late thirties. She has been living in Ireland for twelve years and works in administration. Besides her native language, Polish, she speaks English and German. Before moving to Ireland, she received formal English instruction in public schools and spent a few months in the U.S. Since arriving in Ireland, she improved her English through interactions at work rather than formal courses. She rates her English skills as "very good."

In terms of the difficulty of English in Ireland, she found the wide variety of accents challenging at first but gradually got used to it. She believes that speaking good English and having "proper" pronunciation are necessary for success in Ireland. At work, she communicates exclusively in English with her colleagues and friends, while at home, her family uses both Polish and English. She enjoys the Irish variety of English, describing it as the "sound of music," and feels she has "a bit of an Irish accent."

She is not a member of any association or organization and spends most of her free time with her family (her Polish husband and two children). For reading and watching TV, she uses sources in both languages. She believes in preserving the languages and cultures of both Poland and Ireland. She asserts that knowing any foreign language is an advantage in any country. She is aware of the large Polish community in her area and considers herself a part of it, though she doesn't feel the need to be recognized as a Polish

national. However, she notes that her nationality affects her experience in Ireland because she views it through her "Polish glasses."

Her family travels to Poland once or twice a year for holidays and to visit family. She is content with her current life in Ireland and plans to continue residing there.

Speaker 11

Speaker 11 is a man in his late thirties who moved to Ireland two years after Poland joined the EU. He has lived in County Clare for ten years and works as an engineer in the IT sector, holding tertiary-level education.

He studied English extensively before coming to Ireland, including secondary school, private classes, and formal courses. He also spent time in America and Spain. In Ireland, he improved his English through interactions with co-workers, friends, and housemates, having little initial contact with Polish people. He rates his English reading, writing, and speaking skills as "very good" and uses English primarily in his daily life, sometimes going long periods without using Polish. Although he reads mainly in English due to his profession, he has started reading more in Polish to maintain his native language skills.

He finds the Irish accent challenging and calls it "the killer." He notes that the variety of accents and Irish Gaelic expressions, especially in rural areas, can make understanding difficult for foreigners. He believes that English knowledge is not always crucial for success in Ireland, depending on the profession, and that pronunciation matters only if it affects communication. His accent is still "fairly Polish-sounding," but he has acquired some Irish features over the years.

He participates in motorbike events organized by both Polish and Irish groups but is not a member of any formal associations. He values preserving both Irish and Polish customs and regrets initially "hiding" his nationality, feeling he should have been more involved in maintaining Polish traditions and language. He praises the Irish for valuing their customs and hopes the Polish community will do the same. He sees knowing Polish as an advantage in the job market and a benefit of bilingualism.

Regarding nationality, he doesn't always reveal his origins when meeting new people but has never faced negative behaviour from the Irish community. Planning to stay in Ireland, where he owns a house, he appreciates the country as a good place to live and

doesn't consider moving. He travels to Poland two or three times a year to visit family but prefers Ireland despite being fond of Polish landscapes and disliking the stereotypical Polish mentality.

Speaker 12

Speaker 12 is a Speaker E is a 31-year-old male who had been a resident in Ireland, County, Clare, for ten years at the time of the interview. He is employed in the accounting department with the services sectors. Prior to coming to Ireland, he did not receive any formal language instruction in English; instead, he learned English by watching movies and cartoons, which he still prefers to watch in English. As the speaker notes, upon his arrival, he had sufficient language skills to secure a job. He further improved his language abilities through interaction with the locals and other nationalities, as well as access to English-language media. The participant rates his writing, reading and speaking skills as good or very good. In terms of the speaker's own pronunciation, he notes that he is often mistaken for an Irish citizen and people are usually surprised when they learn his nationality. He suggests this might be due to his appearance, saying, "are you Irish-looking speaking Polish, or Polish-looking speaking English well?"

Speaker 12 is proud of his Polish heritage and values preserving his home country customs, which he cultivates with his Polish housemates by celebrating traditional holidays like Christmas and Easter. Simultaneously, he enjoys participating in Irish customs, noting Saint Patrick's Day to be his favourite. The speaker has been actively involved in the organisation of Polska Éire Festival and supports the Polish Irish Association in Ennis—an organisation aimed at fostering cultural exchange between Polish and Irish community. Additionally, he is a member of a local Irish soccer club and plays basketball with a mixed team of Polish and Lithuanian nationals.

The speaker maintains that his nationality has not significantly affected his experience in Ireland, neither negatively nor positively. At work, he operates in an all-Irish environment and has many Irish friends, hence he primarily communicates in English throughout the day. However, at home, he speaks Polish with his Polish housemates, watches Polish TV, and does not engage much with Irish television. He considers speaking Polish a significant advantage in Ireland, especially at work, where he

sometimes assists Irish colleagues with Polish customers with limited English proficiency.

Similarly to other speakers described above, the participant concludes that the Irish English accent in rural areas is the most challenging aspect of the language experience in Ireland. He also believes that "correct" pronunciation is crucial for effective communication.

The speaker is content with his current place of residence, but also expresses willingness to explore and considers a possible move to a different Irish city or another country in the future. He visits Poland on a regular basis, approximately twice a year to see his family.

Speaker 13

Speaker 13 is a 32-year-old male from a city in County Galway where he settled shortly before Poland joined the European Union. At the time of the interview, he had been a resident in Ireland for over 12 years. He is currently employed in the technical support sector. Prior to coming to Ireland, he received five years of formal English instruction in both primary and secondary school. However, he found that knowledge largely unhelpful, as it was mainly grammar-oriented, and he didn't know how to "use" the language. After arriving in Ireland, he spent six months in a language course at Galway Community College. He also pursued higher education in Ireland, earning a bachelor's degree from an Irish university, thus studying and improving his English simultaneously. Additionally, he developed his language skills at work and currently rates his abilities as rather good.

Due to the nature of his job, he uses a lot of English daily, especially with his co-workers and customers, communicating both via email and telephone. Although, as the speaker states, he knows a lot of Irish nationals, "for some reason" he does not have any close Irish friends, and the majority of people in his close circle of friends are of Polish origin. He is not a member of any club, as he prefers to spend time actively on his own or with his friends, who are also primarily Polish.

Regarding English in Ireland, similarly to other participants, he identifies accent and dialect variation as the most challenging aspect of the language experience, particularly for newcomers, although he is fond the Irish English variety. He does not

believe that speaking good English is necessary to succeed in Ireland or that it is actually sufficient for success. While he acknowledges that pronunciation is important for communication, he also believes that due to the variety of accents in Ireland, people do not pay much attention to how words are pronounced.

The speaker believes that preserving the customs and language of both Poland and Ireland is crucial, especially for families with children. He feels it is the responsibility of parents to teach their children about Polish language and history, as one should know their roots. At the same time, he strongly believes that the Polish community should learn about Irish history and traditions and "assimilate with the Irish people" by cultivating those customs. He thinks that knowing the Polish language might be an advantage, as Poles are the largest minority in Ireland, and that it would certainly facilitate mutual understanding through shared cultural background.

Although he does not belong to any organized association or group, either Polish or Irish, he considers himself a member of the general Polish community living in Ireland. He is proud to be Polish, proud of Polish history, and has never been ashamed or tried to hide his origins. He does not feel that his Polish origins have influenced his experience in Ireland in any significant way.

He enjoys his life in the current place of his residence, appreciating the relaxed atmosphere and the people's easy-going approach to life. He considers Ireland to be generally a less stressful place to live than Poland. Together with his fiancée, they are currently house-hunting and plan on settling in Ireland long-term. Despite this, he visits Poland, his "home country," twice a year to see friends and family, and is happy to see life there "improving."

Speaker 14

Speaker 14 is a 40-year-old man from County Galway, who had been living in Ireland for twelve years at the time of the interview. Initially residing in Galway city for a year, he then explored opportunities in Dublin for three years before returning to settle in Galway. He enjoys Ireland's landscapes and nature, despite not being fond of the weather.

Before arriving in Ireland, his English was very limited, and despite four years of schooling, he says, he "couldn't say even one sentence actually." He improved his English through interactions with locals and colleagues and attending a language school for a

year. He currently rates his English skills as good, with better reading abilities than writing or speaking.

He finds the variety of Irish accents challenging, noting that "in some counties it's a very strange accent and sometimes it's very hard to understand it." Although his job requires minimal interaction, he uses English daily and speaks Polish at home with his partner and child. He believes knowledge of English is crucial for success in Ireland and continues to develop his skills, attending private tuition classes weekly.

Upon arriving in Ireland, he had significant difficulties understanding the local accents, but these challenges decreased over time. He is fond of the Irish English accent but prefers Scottish English. He is uncertain about how his own pronunciation sounds to others but works on improving it. He mainly consumes Polish media, including TV, movies, and literature.

An outdoorsy person, he spends much of his time cycling and hiking with friends, mostly of Polish origin. He is not associated with any organized clubs. He places great importance on preserving Polish language and traditions, stating, "it's very important to know where we came from." He also believes in cultivating Irish customs because "we need to know the country where we live at the moment." He identifies with the Polish community in his area and considers himself a part of it, though he doesn't think being recognized as a Polish national is crucial.

Speaker 14 visits Poland once a year and cherishes these visits. He appreciates the benefits of his current residence in Galway, particularly its size and entertainment options. As for his future, he is undecided about staying in Ireland long-term, noting, "we plan to stay here for a while, I think, and it could be, like, for life."

4.4.2.1 Acculturation, attitudes, identity

This subsection attempts to extract data from the participants' profiles and summarize it in form of a table to gain insight into three major independent variables – acculturation strategy, attitudes to host country and language, as well as national/local identity. Although this task proved to be challenging, the summary presented below provides an overview of general tendencies among the participants in terms of the strategy of acculturation they manifest (after Schumann 1986: assimilation, integration,

marginalisation, separation), their general attitudes towards Irish people and the variety of English spoken in Ireland, as well as their self-identification in terms of identity. A section on daily language use was also added to obtain a general overview of possible interactions It should be noted that while the first section of the table is the author's interpretation of given answers in an attempt to identify possible strategy of acculturation, the latter two sections are based on the participant's self-reports.

	Attitudes towards host country and language	Social/national identity	Language use on daily basis	Acculturation strategy
S1	life in Ireland is brilliant; preference for Irish English over BrEng; content about having 'Clare accent'	does not consider herself a member of local Polish community; Poland doesn't feel like home anymore	interacts almost only in English; Polish is of no use to her	assimilation
S2	content with his life in Ireland; likes Irish English; aware of his foreign accent in English; cares about traditions and customs of both countries	feels a member of the local Polish community; proud to be Polish; important to be recognised as a Polish person; holds Irish passport	interacts in English at work, uses Polish and English with family and friends	integration
S3	content with her life in Ireland; views Irish people as similar to Polish; 'loves' Irish English; not bothered about her 'strong' Eastern European accent; considers it important to preserve customs of both countries	does not feel the need to be recognised as a Polish person; holds an Irish passport	interacts in English at work; uses Polish at home and with friends	integration
S4	fond of Irish people and Ireland, likes Irish English; aware of his foreign accent; content with his life, although thinking about moving	sharing his nationality with others is not important, would prefer to describe himself as 'European'	interacts in English at work, uses Polish with friends and with his daughter	integration
S5	content with her life in Ireland, her place of residence and 'friendly locals', expresses no longing for Poland; likes Irish English, aware of her 'Clare' accent	does not maintain contact with other Polish nationals in her place of residence; she's considering applying for an Irish passport	interacts in English at work, uses both Polish and English at home	assimilation

S6	fond of Ireland and Irish English variety; her partner is Irish; preserving language and customs of both countries equally important; wants to settle in Ireland for good	not interested in 'contributing' to the local Polish community, being recognised as Polish not important; has Irish citizenship	interacts almost only in English	integration
S7	like his place of residence, especially opportunities for better life; feels that having knowledge about Ireland's history and customs is important; aware of his Eastern European accent, finds it quite difficult	member of Polish community 'by birth', although he does not interact with Polish community; does not feel the need to be recognised as Polish	interacts only in English at work, uses mostly English at home (with his daughter) and sometimes Polish	integration
S8	likes 'the mentality' of Irish people and the beauty of the country; she prefers British English as the 'fancy' variety; aware of her Eastern European accent with elements of 'Clare' accent; preserving language and customs of both countries is equally important,	nationality is an important element of her identity, proud of being Polish; involved in Polish Irish association	interacts in English at work, in Polish with friends, in both languages at home (with predominance of English)	integration
S9	fond of Irish English, prefers it over the variety spoken in England; fond of Ireland and her current place of residence, although not planning to stay for life	does not consider herself a member of Polish community; being recognised as Polish 'might' be important as it's her country of birth	interacts mostly in English at work, with friends and her partner	integration
S10	content with her life in Ireland, plans to stay; preservation of the customs and language of both countries equally important; fond of Irish English variety; aware of traces of Irish accent in her speech	aware of Polish community in her place of residence, feels a member of it; does not feel the need to be recognises as a Polish national	interacts exclusively in English with colleagues and friends, uses both languages at home	integration
S11	fond of Irish people, admires their way of life; does not like Poland and 'Polish mentality' likes the variety of English spoken in Ireland; claims to have Polish English accent; believes that	used to avoid Polish people and hide his nationality, unsure of the reasons, but that is no longer the case	uses almost exclusively English in all daily interactions	assimilation/ integration

	cultivating the customs and language of both countries is equally important			
S12	content with his current place of residence, has a lot of Irish friends; has been mistaken for an Irish person due to his accent; enjoys celebrating customs of both countries; does not plan to stay, wants to explore	proud of his Polish nationality and heritage, involved in different organisations – Irish, Polish and mixed-nationalities	interacts in English at work with his colleagues and friends, uses Polish at home with his flatmates	integration
S13	likes his life in Ireland and the locals for their easy-going approach to life, knows a lot of Irish people but does not have any close Irish friends; considers it important to 'assimilate' with Irish people; considers Poland his 'home country'	considers himself a member of the wider Polish community in Ireland; never tried to hide his origins, proud to be Polish	interacts in English at work, in Polish at home with family and friends	integration
S14	content with his life in Ireland, likes Irish English variety; considers preservation of customs and language of both countries equally important	considers himself a member of the Polish diaspora; being recognised as a Polish national is not important to him although he never 'hides it'	interacts mostly in Polish with family and friends, uses English only at work, his job doesn't require much communication	integration

Table 13. Attitudes towards the host country and language, social/national identity, daily language use and acculturation strategy.

4.5 The use of Irish English slit-t by Polish migrants in Ireland: analysis and discussion

This subchapter analyses and discusses the quantitative and qualitative results of Study One. The first section presents the analysis of the qualitative data in order to explore two independent variables: acculturation strategies employed by the participants, as well as their attitudes towards the host country and language. It provides a comprehensive overview of the participants' behaviours and attitudes, offering insights that may enhance

the understanding of their pronunciation patterns. The following section provides the analysis of strategies of acculturation, attitudes to host country and language in reference to the phonetic variable under investigation. The aim of this section is to assess possible relationship between the strategies chosen by the participants and their use of slit-t. It also contains comparison to the use of the variant by Irish English native speakers. Section 4.5.3 presents the analysis of the relationship between slit-t use and participant's national/social identity as inferred from the qualitative data.

Section 4.5.4 presents the analysis of overall realisations of /t/ in relation to acculturation, attitudes and identity of the participants. This is followed by the discussion of the results and some concluding remarks.

4.5.1 Acculturation strategies and attitudes towards the host country and language

According to the background literature discussed in Chapter 3, acculturation strategies and attitudes toward the host country and target language significantly influence the acquisition of L2 phonology. As previously discussed, the patterns of acculturation adopted by migrant L2 users can be predictive of their success in L2 acquisition and its extent (Waniek-Klimczak 2011). Therefore, as mentioned in Chapter 3, according to Schumann's (1986) theory, the participants who chose *assimilation* strategy of acculturation can also be expected to demonstrate a higher degree of L2 pronunciation acquisition compared to those who, for instance, adopt the *integration* approach, preserving and promoting both cultures equally (Lybeck 2002). Furthermore, participants with positive attitudes towards the Irish community and the Irish English language are likely to have an advantage in acquiring L2 phonology over those with less favourable views of the host community.

The qualitative analysis of the interviews reveals that most participants adopt an *integration* strategy of acculturation. Only three participants, specifically Speakers 1, 5, and 11, who report limited interaction with the Polish community and predominantly engage with Irish nationals in various aspects of their lives, show a tendency towards *assimilation*. None of the participants exhibit signs of *marginalisation* or *separation*.

Speaker 1 stands out as the most "extreme" example of assimilation among the participants. She expresses profound satisfaction with life in Ireland, describing it as "brilliant," and shows no intention of returning to Poland. Reflecting on her sense of belonging, she mentions that Poland no longer feels like "home home" to her. In her professional, domestic, and social life, she predominantly interacts with Irish nationals. She also appreciates the Irish English variety and takes pride in having developed an Irish accent. The speaker demonstrates no interest in engaging with the Polish community or maintaining Polish customs. Her actions and sentiments suggest a deliberate distancing from, or even a rejection of, her native cultural identity, as she clearly identifies herself as part of the host community in Ireland.

Assessing the acculturation strategy of Speaker 5 presents a more nuanced case; her approach straddles the boundary between *integration* and *assimilation*, showing tendencies that align closely with both. Similarly to Speaker 1, she evidently takes pride in her accent, but at the same time she regards the adoption of Irish English pronunciation features as a natural consequence of her residence here; having embraced her surroundings, she has naturally assimilated to speaking like the Irish. However, a considerable portion of her daily interactions take place in Polish, as her children are bilingual, her mother (who lives with her) has limited English and her partner is Polish. At the same time she denies interaction with any members of the local Polish community. During the interview, the participant portrayed her current place of residence as a warm, close-knit community where she feels welcomed and deeply integrated into the everyday life of the area.

The case of Speaker 11 is also quite complex as the participant demonstrates a change between acculturation strategies over the years. He thoroughly enjoys his life in Ireland, has many Irish friends with whom he interacts regularly, and often goes extended periods without speaking Polish. He also admits that, at the beginning of his life in Ireland, he felt "ashamed" of his nationality and to this day prefers not to disclose his origin when meeting new people. Interestingly, despite never experiencing any negative situations due to being Polish, he admits that he is unsure about the motive behind his behaviour in this regard. The participant reflects with regret on his lack of involvement in preserving Polish customs and traditions in the past, as he had fully immersed himself in Irish community and culture. He admires the deep pride that the Irish people have in

their traditions and wishes that the Polish community would embrace a similar sense of cultural pride. Although the participant exhibits many behaviours indicative of an *assimilation* strategy, his current desire to incorporate more of his own culture into his daily life signifies a shift towards an integration strategy.

All of the remaining participants show a preference for an integration strategy, occasionally leaning more towards embracing the host community's culture, while at other times favouring their Polish heritage. They typically engage with both the Irish and Polish communities daily, though the nature and depth of these interactions vary. They often work with Irish nationals, but share accommodation with Polish people, spend leisure time with Polish people or simply have family and children with whom they interact mainly in Polish. Although many of the participants report

Another aspect that might indicate tendency toward integration strategy is that most participants report equal importance of preserving the culture and language of both countries. There are some exceptions among the participants that lean more towards one culture than the other. For instance, Speaker 11 highlights the significance of celebrating Irish customs but argues that Polish individuals should not pretend to enjoy them in the same manner as the Irish do; or Speaker 2 whose family favours celebrating Irish traditions, although earlier in the interview he asserted that both countries' customs are equally important. These various approaches illustrate the complexity of the issue. While most participants assert that it is important to preserve the traditions of both countries, in practice, many choose to celebrate the customs they personally enjoy or find significant, irrespective of whether they are Irish or Polish.

In terms of attitudes towards the country and the Irish community, all of the participants express a positive approach. While discussing aspects they dislike about living in Ireland, a seemingly trivial aspect such as the weather was the most commonly mentioned concern. One participant expressed his dislike towards the Irish Traveller Community and another mentioned poor driving skills of Irish nationals. Many participants described the relaxed, easy-going nature of the Irish people and their way of life as their favourite part of living in Ireland. Speakers 5 and 11 highlighted the friendliness and hospitality of the Irish people, while Speaker 3 appreciated the similarities between the Irish and Polish cultures, fostering a positive mutual understanding. Several participants describe life in Ireland as easier and more fulfilling,

particularly due to the financial stability it offers compared to Poland. They appreciate the more relaxed work-life balance in Ireland and frequently contrast it with the more stressful and hectic lifestyle they experienced in Poland. This balance allows them to enjoy a sense of peace and contentment that they find lacking in their home country. Regarding their experiences as Polish citizens in Ireland, only one participant mentioned feeling treated differently because of his Polish nationality and accent. In contrast, the other participants reported no negative impacts related to their nationality, suggesting that they felt welcomed and accepted by the host community.

Furthermore, although all the participants identified the Irish accent as the most challenging aspect of their language experience when they first arrived, they had since developed a fondness for the Irish variety of English. Over time, they have come to appreciate and enjoy the unique nuances of the local accent, finding it an endearing part of their life in Ireland. Some preferred it over British English, others found it easy to learn and comprehend once they became accustomed to the accent, and a few even declared they "love it." Only two participants expressed a preference for other varieties of English. Speaker 8 favoured British English, describing it as the more sophisticated variety, while Speaker 14 had an affinity for Scottish English. Overall, one might anticipate that these overtly positive attitudes would be mirrored in the participants' language use.

4.5.2 Acculturation, attitudes and slit-t

One of the author's research questions in Study One was based on the assumption that the extent of integration into the host community would be mirrored in the participants' language use, particularly in their adoption of the feature that is reported as the most salient and widely observed characteristic of Irish English. As discussed in Chapter 3, Waniek-Klimczak's (2011) research indicates that although the integration strategy is most beneficial for an individual's overall long-term well-being, successful language acquisition is more closely linked to the assimilation strategy, as the latter entails extensive exposure to target language and frequent interactions with its native speakers. However, the findings reveal a far more nuanced and complex picture, both in terms of strategies of acculturation, as well as the use of language.

The quantitative results indicate that two participants who used slit-t in carrier sentences were those identified with assimilation or assimilation/integration strategy (Speakers 1, 5). Both of them used slit-t variant in at least half of the realisations in the controlled speech sample, while in the controlled speech sample Speaker 1 displayed more frequent use of the feature than Speaker 5 (50% and 29% of all instances relatively). This might be a result of the extended interaction with the members of Irish community that both of the speakers mention, and subsequently increased exposure to Irish English input across different areas of their life – professional and social in the case of Speaker 5, and also domestic for Speaker 1 (her partner is Irish). Since both participants report limited knowledge of English prior to their arrival in Ireland, they immersed in the language and learned/improved their skills primarily through interactions with the locals. What is more, both of the participants take pride in being told that they speak with an Irish accent, thus is might also be a case of "passing for a native" speaker reported by Drummond (2012a) among Polish migrants in Manchester.

Speaker 11, who also displayed tendencies towards the assimilation/integration strategy and demonstrated extensive exposure to TL, produced the variable in question once in carrier sentences and significantly more in spontaneous speech sample (37% of all instances). Based on this data, it might be assumed that the speaker was more conscious of his speech during reading the list. However, the results of the analysis of all variants realised in carrier sentences (which is addressed further in this chapter) show frequent use of affricated /ts/ variant. The analysis of extracts from the interview also revealed an interesting patterns. The predominant realisation was an alveolar plosive [t] and the next most frequent variant was [t]+friction realisation across all contexts, although primarily in word-final prepausal position. This might in turn indicate a certain level of awareness of slit-t as a characteristic feature, and possibly imperfect attempts (conscious or unconscious) of imitating the speech of Irish English natives.

Interestingly, two participants who were categorized under integration strategy of acculturation show similar numbers of slit-t occurrences to Speakers 1, 5 and 11. Speaker 6 pronounced the variant in four out of nine instances in carrier sentences and in six out of twenty-two context in the spontaneous speech sample. Similarly to Speaker 11, she also adopted [t]+friction variant in some instances during the interview, although the predominant was still alveolar plosive [t]. Since the speaker's partner is Irish and they

live together, it might be assumed that extensive exposure to the variety plays a significant role. She also admitted that her English was rather poor on arrival and she learned only through interaction with her Irish coworkers, neighbours and later, of course, her partner and their friends, thus it might be assumed that majority of the learning process involved imitation of Irish English natives. It ought to be pointed out that despite a considerably limited sample provided by the speaker, she employed quite a lot of formulaic phrases that frequent the speech of Irish people (*alright* and *like* at the end of a sentence as discourse markers). Which also suggests that the strongest influence on the speech patterns of Speaker 6 was the exposure to native users of Irish English.

The last respondent that demonstrated fairly consistent use of slit-t quite in both speech samples was Speaker 9. Similarly to other speakers, she primarily pronounced it in word-final position followed by a pause, although the realisation of slit-t is evenly distributed between function and lexical words in spontaneous speech. The remaining realisations of /t/ for Speaker 9 were voiceless alveolar stops. When referring back to the participant's background, it is evident that majority of her daily interactions take place in English. Although she works at a company with many Polish employees, she is the only Polish national in an engineering role. For most of the day, she engages in English with her fellow engineers and the management, who are all Irish nationals. She also communicates in English with her husband (who is Czech) and with her friends, although the latter include different nationalities. The speech patterns demonstrated by Speaker 9 might be also the case of extensive exposure to the target variety and almost exclusive use of English in all aspects of her daily life. The speaker also reports preference of Irish English over British English, which might also play a role in the pronunciation patterns she exhibits.

When considering the patterns of slit-t use by the participants described above and those of Irish English natives described in Chapter 2, a rather limited correspondence can be observed. As Skarnitzl and Rálišová (2022) note, among Irish English natives, slit-t realisation is more frequent in word-medial position, rather than word-final; it is significantly more prevalent in prepausal environment, and it is the primary variant in lexical words. In this speech sample, all realisations of slit-f in carrier sentences demonstrated by the participants were fairly equally distributed between word-medial and word-final position followed by a word-initial vowel. The speakers also displayed

considerable inconsistency. The carrier speech sample cannot really account for semantic status of the word, as it only contained two context words (*what*, *but*) and seven lexical words. Regarding the spontaneous speech sample, considerable majority of slit-t occurrences are evident in content words (around 70%), especially in *but*, *what*, *it*, *that* (as a conjunction but also as a demonstrative pronoun). The only result that corresponds quite strongly to studies on slit-t use by Irish English speakers is the predominant realisation of this variant in word-final prepausal position, especially, as mentioned above, in function words (e.g. *but*, *what*, *that*, *it*). It might be inferred that these high-frequency function words are commonly heard and used by the participants, making them familiar and easy to pronounce without much cognitive effort. As a result, participants might naturally adopt the Irish English pronunciation of these words.

All of the remaining participants did not use slit-t in carrier sentence and only two respondents (Speaker 2 and 12) demonstrated isolated cases of slit-t in lexical and function words in spontaneous speech. It is worth noting that two speakers within this group (Speaker 7 and Speaker 8) claim to interact mostly in English on a daily basis, including their time spend at work, as well as at home. Nevertheless, they do not display any use of the feature in question in either controlled or spontaneous speech. Interestingly, Speaker 7 communicates in English with his daughter (six days a week, one day is reserved for Polish) and is particularly vigilant about his pronunciation as he wants to be a good language model for his daughter. It might be inferred that he does not perceive Irish English variety a suitable standard for his daughter. However, when asked about his opinion on English spoken in Ireland, the participant answered evasively "what's not to like." The participant believes that he has a strong Eastern European accent and finds this challenging because, in his view, it often leads to discriminating treatment by the host community. While the participant claims that life in Ireland is "easy" and Poland does not feel like home at all", he also asserts that Polish people should not pretend to enjoy Irish customs the same way Irish nationals do. The author believes that these statements may reveal a much more complex migrant experience of the participant that may also reflect his attitudes to the language.

The lack of slit-t in the speech of Speaker 8 might be influenced by the participant's attitude to Irish English. As she notes in the interviews, she prefers British English as the more sophisticated variety. As she notes, "if I had a choice, I'd probably

prefer to learn it from English side." The speaker is not bothered by her accent, which she describes as a mixture of Eastern European and Irish. Additionally, while the majority of Speaker 8's daily interactions occur in English, her role in customer service at an airport involves engaging with individuals from a wide range of nationalities. She is also involved in the Polish Irish association and organises a lot of activities aimed at integration of the two communities. Therefore, in the case of Speaker 8 it might be inferred that her pronunciation is the result of her acculturation strategy, preference for a different variety of English and interaction with English speakers from different countries.

The absence of slit-t realisation in the speech of the remaining participants can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, the participants may not feel compelled to incorporate "language accentuation strategies" in the form of specific pronunciation features (Gales and Johnson 1987). A lot of them expressed that good pronunciation is only crucial when its absence leads to communication difficulties. The majority of participants do not appear to be concerned with their pronunciation or acknowledge that they have never considered it. It might be easier for the participants to retain their pronunciation, which may reflect comfort with what they know. It might also be a sign that they are content with their identity and do not feel the need to negotiate and re-establish through language use (Block 2007). Additionally, they may not recognise slit-t as a characteristic feature of Irish English pronunciation and may adopt other elements of pronunciation which appear salient to them (this will be addressed in section 4.5.4). As previously noted, several participants primarily use English in their professional environments, while their informal interactions with family and friends are conducted in Polish. This pattern is evident in the case of Speaker 13, who exclusively uses English at work due to his role in IT customer service, yet maintains close friendships solely with other Polish nationals. As previously mentioned, several participants interact in English primarily at work, while any other informal interactions with their family or friends take place in Polish. This is the case for Speaker 13 who uses only English at work as he works in IT customers service but his closest friends are exclusively Polish. Therefore, the speaker might not feel compelled to assimilate with his Irish co-workers, since the ingroup (Tajfel and Turner 1979) he identifies with most are his Polish friends.

4.5.3 Slit-t and social/local identity

The second research question posed by the author in Study One is based on the assumption that the participants with the highest use of Irish English slit-t may display a tendency towards establishing a new social/local identity. Individuals who arrive in a foreign country as adults face a considerable challenge in adapting to the new cultural and linguistic environment. As Block (2007) observed, "it is in the adult migrant's experience that identity and one's sense of self are most put on the line [...] individuals are forced to reconstruct and redefine themselves" (75). This reconstruction and redefinition of identity can be achieved through language. Individuals might adopt various linguistic features and behaviours either to align with the patterns of the host community or to create their own representation within the new linguistic context. The results of this study indicate that, similarly to strategies of acculturation, the notion of identity is a challenging aspect to describe.

The qualitative data reveal that only three participants, namely Speakers 2, 8, 12 and 13, explicitly expressed pride in their Polish heritage and emphasized the importance of being recognized as Polish nationals. Speaker 8, who is actively involved in the Polish-Irish Association, emphasized during the interview the crucial role of integration and the need to educate both the Polish and Irish communities about each other. Speakers 2, 12 and 14 perceive themselves as members of the local Polish community in their area of residence, although Speaker 12 is also involved in different activities with mixed-nationality groups. Interestingly, Speaker 14 remarks that while being recognized as Polish is not a significant aspect of his life in Ireland, he never intentionally conceals his nationality.

The remaining participants do not feel compelled to be identified as Polish nationals. They either overlook their local Polish communities or consider their association with them as a given, without placing significant importance on it. Speaker 4 would prefer to describe himself as European and does not feel the need to share his nationality with others. One of the participants has admitted to hiding his identity in the past to avoid negative reactions from the host community, and although his stance has softened over recent years, he still discloses his nationality only when necessary.

Similarly, Speaker 7 is cautious about revealing his nationality to avoid negative treatment, noting that such bias is often present in Ireland.

Among this group there are also the four participants that demonstrated use of Irish English slit-t - Speakers 1, 5 and 9 and 11. The former two, as mentioned in Section 4.5.2, emphasized that they have been complimented on their Irish accent, which demonstrates their awareness and concern for how they are perceived by the host community, particularly in terms of their pronunciation. They also expressed a considerable sense of belonging within their local communities, which suggests evolving aspects of their identity. Since neither of the participants in the respective groups prioritize recognition as Polish nationals, this suggests that their Polish national identity has become less central to their overall self-concept. The sense of local affiliation they express might indicate a possible adoption of a local identity, reflecting a shift from their original national identity towards one that is more integrated with and aligned to the host community. These changes could be seen as a natural progression in their adaptation process, highlighting their growing connection and commitment to their new environment.

The overall tendencies and behaviours in terms of social/local identity of the participants in this study may be explained by Tajfel and Turner's (1979) ingroup/outgroup classification, discussed in Chapter 3. The participants avoided identifying with the Polish community, either because they viewed it negatively or were aware of its negative perception by others. Although only a few participants openly voiced their dislike for certain aspects of Polish mentality, lifestyle, or behaviours, the interviews suggest that many participants prefer not to be closely associated with the Polish community. At the same time, the majority of participants expressed a strong appreciation for the Irish people, frequently describing them in positive terms as welcoming, easy-going, and relaxed. During the interviews, the author observed that participants either immediately expressed their national pride or dismissed concerns about being recognized as Polish, viewing it simply as default part of their identity. For example, Speaker 7 claims he is a member of the Polish community "by birth" but emphasizes that he does not "force" himself to interact with fellow Polish nationals in his current place of residence. However, some participants hesitated to address the topic, expressing that they had never previously considered their stance on it or were uncertain

about their feelings. This uncertainty suggests that the issue of national identity may not have been a significant concern for them, or it may reflect a broader ambivalence about their place within the host community.

4.5.4 Acculturation, attitudes, identity and realisations of /t/

This section presents an analysis of other realizations of /t/ in relation to the participants' chosen acculturation strategies, their attitudes toward the host country and its language, and their social or local identity. This subchapter focuses on the participants with the largest degree of variation in realisations of /t/. The aim is to identify possible patterns of language use among Polish migrant users of English.

The results in Section 4.4.1.2 demonstrate that majority of the participants exhibit considerable variation of /t/ realisation with predominance of alveolar [t], flap/tap realisations and affricated [t^s]. As discussed in Chapter 3, all of these variants are present in Irish English. However, since they are also found in other English varieties, determining the exact source of influence can be challenging during analysis. Nevertheless, a closer examination of these variants could provide deeper insights into the pronunciation patterns of the participants.

Skarnitzl and Rálišová (2022) aptly observe that "the voiceless plosive /t/ may well be a consonant whose manifestations in speech vary the most throughout the English-speaking world" (p. 2). Ireland is no exception, as the /t/ sound exhibits a range of allophonic variations. The slit-t variant was chosen for analysis in this dissertation due to its distinctive and widely recognized presence as a hallmark of Irish English. This phonetic trait is prevalent across the entire country and manifests consistently among all social groups. Nevertheless, as detailed in Chapter 3, voiceless alveolar plosive may be also realised as a traditional [t], a voiced variant, a glottal stop, a flap or a fricated variant (Wells, 1982; Hickey, 2008). In their study on the realisation of Irish English /t/ in the syllabic coda, Skarnitzl and Rálišová (2022) identified even more possible realisations, some of which had not been accounted for before (See Chapter 3). Therefore, given the extensive variation in the realisation of the /t/ sound across different varieties of English, including Irish English, it is not surprising that most of the participants of Study one also exhibit considerable variation.

As it can be observed in the results section, the three participants that demonstrated assimilation or assimilation/integration strategies of acculturation, and very positive attitude towards the host community and their language show some variation in the controlled speech sample. Speaker 1, predominantly employed slit-t, although she also pronounced alveolar [t], and a couple of affricated [tˢ] variants. In the recording of Speaker 5, five instances constituted slit-t, three alveolar [t] and only one affricated [tˢ]. And although Speaker 11 pronounced slit-t in only one instance, he also exhibited the use of flap/tap variants and five instances of affricated [tˢ]. There were also several flap/tap realisations in the samples of Speaker 10 and 12, who demonstrated integration strategies of acculturation and also positive attitudes towards their life in Ireland.

The spontaneous speech sample shows much more variety across speakers. Speaker 1 predominantly used the slit-t variant, followed by flap/tap realisations and alveolar [t], and some isolated cases of affricated [tˢ], glottal and affricated [tʃ] occurrences. Speaker 5 pronounced slit-t, alveolar [t] and affricated [tˢ] almost equally frequently. Similarly, the last speaker with a very high level of integration into the host community (assimilation/integration strategy), Speaker 11, produced similar number of slit-t and alveolar [t] realisations, followed by affricated [tˢ] and flap/tap realisations. Across these speakers, alveolar [t] realisation was spread fairly evenly throughout different positions within the word, both in content and function words. Flap/tap realisations occurred mostly in function words in intervocalic word-final position followed by a vowel. Most affricated [tˢ] realisations was observed in word-final position followed by a vowel. Therefore, a discernible pattern can be observed in the speech of the three speakers identified as the most integrated into the host community.

The patterns of Speakers 6 and 9 are also quite interesting. Both of them were notably reserved during the interview, providing concise and succinct answers. They seem fairly integrated into the host community, but differ in terms of plans for their future. Speaker 6 was at the time awaiting her Irish passport, while Speaker 9 was contemplating a move to a different, warmer country. While Speaker 6 predominantly opted for alveolar [t], followed by slit-t, affricated [tˢ] and a couple of flap/tap realisations; Speaker 9 primarily pronounced slit-t variant, followed by alveolar [t] with a couple of flap/tap realisations. Both of them reported interacting almost exclusively in English on a daily basis, hence they may have been exposed to significant input of Irish English.

Speakers 4 and 8 also exhibited notably interesting patterns. While both of them did not produce a single occurrence of slit-t, Speaker 4 seemed to favour alveolar [t] pronunciation followed by a considerable number of affricated [tˢ] realisations. Speaker 8 also pronounced majority of the contexts as alveolar [t], but the next feature was flap/tap realisation. Although both of them seemed fairly integrated into the host community, the former participant reported interacting in English only at work, while his closest friends were Polish speakers. The latter participant admitted communicating only in English in most of her daily interactions, but she also stressed the importance of her nationality and being recognised as Polish. Another speaker with a similar approach to the notion of nationality was Speaker 12 and his patterns showed a preference for flap/tap realisations and affricated [tˢ] over alveolar [t].

Speakers 7 and 13 both showed preference for alveolar [t] and also showed several instances of flap/tap realisations in their speech. However, Speaker 7 produced more instances of affricated [tˢ]. The background of the participants was quite different in either case, as Speaker 7 primarily interacted in English in all areas of his daily life, Speaker 13 only spoke English at work and claimed that he did not have many close Irish friends. They were both content with their lives in Ireland, albeit for different reasons. Speaker 7 enjoyed the financial stability offered by Ireland, while Speaker 13 is fond of the relaxed way of life. While both participants are aware of their foreign accent, Speaker 13 does not seem bothered about it, while Speaker 7 associates his Eastern European accent with discriminating treatment on the part of the host society. Therefore, his adoption of affricated [tˢ] might be the effect of imitating the local community with the intent of not standing out as a foreigner.

Speakers 2, 3 and 10 and showed either little to no variation, pronouncing mostly alveolar [t] with only a few affricated [tˢ] or flap/tap realisations. Interestingly, all participants are aware of their foreign accent and do not seem bothered about this; all of them also report being very content with their life in Ireland. This contradicts the concept of adopting language accentuation strategies (realisations of /t/ characteristic of Irish English in this case) described by Gales and Johnson (1987). They do not "make insecure social comparison between the positions socially and of the outgroup" (Gales and Johnson 1987: 71). The participants seem confident in themselves and do not assign their value to membership in the Polish community.

The only speaker that shows consistent use of alveolar [t] throughout his recordings is Speaker 14. It is worth noting that while he enjoys his life in Ireland and puts effort into improving his English (private language classes), his interactions in English are very limited on a daily basis and all of his friends are Polish.

As it can be observed, the above analysis reveals a complex and multifaceted picture of language use patterns and their potential influences. The 'standard' alveolar plosive [t] is the predominant realisation, similar to its usage among native speakers of Irish English (Skarnitzl and Rálišová, 2022). The use of flap/tap realisations also mirror the use of this feature among native English speakers, not only of the Irish variety. However, the feature that was identified as quite frequent among a number of participants of the study is and affricated [tˢ] realisation. As Skarnitzl and Rálišová (2022) observe in their study, "[t] with a noise component (typically affricated [tˢ])" can be mostly observed in "post-consonantal items", especially in "in the case when the preceding consonant is an obstruent" (7). This environment is not accounted for in the results of the study as the author selected intervocalic or postvocalic prepausal positions, based on the descriptions of slit-t in relevant literature (See Chapter 3). Nevertheless, this was a frequent realisation of /t/ in post-vocalic word-final position followed by a vowel. It might be assumed that the presence of this variant in the speech sample was the result of imperfect imitation of the native users of Irish English by the participants. Since slit-t is described as the most salient and widespread feature of Irish English, it is plausible that Polish users of English notice this feature and, if the attitudes to target community and its language are positive, might try to incorporate it in their speech – either consciously or unconsciously. If they demonstrate strong integration patterns into the host community, they might associate this feature positively and recognise the social value of slit-t as a marker of local identity – identity of the community which they aspire. However, although they may hear and perceive it, they might not be able to imitate it to a native-like degree, since all of them moved to Ireland as adults and their capacity for correct identification and production of new, foreign sound may be limited.

What is more, several participants (Speakers 1, 5, 6, 9 and 11) had a tendency to exaggerate the feature, especially in environment when the sound was followed by a pause or longer hesitation. Additionally, in instances involving words like *different*, *accent* they consistently pronounced affricated [tˢ] variant. The same variant was also

frequently pronounced in *Ireland*, which shows devoicing and affrication. The first process might be an interference from the Polish language. This also suggests these participants are possibly aware of the prominence of the feature and have adopted it as a prestigious form, aligning themselves with what they perceive as a desirable variant used by the target language group.

4.6 Discussion

The analysis of the data highlights certain emerging patterns as regards the correlation between pronunciation and migratory experience of the speakers. At the same time, it also becomes fairly clear that the factors shaping the participants' language use and their integration into the host community are quite complex.

Considering Berry's (1979) acculturation strategies, it is fairly challenging to categorically place the participants into the four distinct groups he proposed. Although several participants showed signs of adopting the assimilation strategy, in certain cases it would be an oversimplification to label them as such (Speaker 5 and 11). The speakers do not exhibit the typical negative attitudes toward the Polish community associated with this strategy. While many distanced themselves from or showed a lack of interest in engaging with the Polish community, they still recognized the significance of preserving the Polish language and customs. This recognition contradicts Berry's (1979) definition of the assimilation strategy, which suggests a complete disregard for one's original culture.

The same applies to the participants who demonstrated tendencies towards integration strategy. According to Berry (1979), integration refers to a situation when members of the migrant group display interest in both cultures, their own and the host community. Such was the case with several participants, however, one could notice that the strategy was not really a balanced integration of the two worlds. The participants often follow one culture more than the other, or only pick and choose' those aspects of each of the cultures that suit them the most. Some of the participants readily answered that cultivating both of the cultures was very important and then stated that they do not partake in the cultural life of the migrant community or do not believe that migrants in Ireland should enjoy Irish customs and traditions the way Irish individuals do. The answers were

often contradictory, which may indicate that the participants have not thought about the issue before or that there are more strategies of acculturation than the binary approach offered by Barry (1979).

As previously discussed, participants who exhibited a preference for the assimilation strategy of acculturation also displayed the highest frequency of the target variable in their speech. These individuals reported significantly higher levels of interaction with the host community compared to their engagement with the Polish community. This pattern of behaviour was mirrored in their language use, indicating a strong correlation between their social integration and linguistic practices.

During the interviews it also became clear that most of the participants did not feel the need to assimilate, not in the sense that they did not approve of the host society, but that adopting a clear pattern of behaviour was not really necessary. The common perspective on life in Ireland was that it is easy to live there, both financially and socially. Many expressed that life in Ireland was remarkably easy and fulfilling, both from a financial and social standpoint. One participant highlighted a key aspect of Polish-Irish relations: the significant similarities between the two groups. Both communities are deeply family-oriented and known for their strong work ethic and long histories of economic migration. Additionally, sharing the same religious background fosters a set of common beliefs among Polish and Irish people. Despite the fact that certain traditions may be unique to each culture or celebrated differently, many customs form a shared cultural foundation. It remains debatable whether the reported convergence between the two nations, this feeling of "similarity" is relative to experiencing something real, or just a reflection of the respondents' feeling secure and satisfied with their living in Ireland, but it is reminiscent of Norman Davies's comments mentioned in earlier sections of this work and indicating common personality traits and common elements in history (cf. Interviews at www.davies.pl). As discussed in Chapter 3, Berry (2006) emphasizes that cultural distance or similarity greatly influences the patterns of adaptation. Therefore, adopting a new way of living and developing native-like habits is less challenging or even less necessary when societies already share many customs, values, and behaviours. Regarding identity, it is noteworthy that participants who were complimented on their "Irish accent" appeared genuinely pleased to be mistaken for native speakers. Despite some asserting that they were indifferent to how their speech was perceived, their remarks

were somewhat contradictory. It became clear that they were actively seeking to enhance their language skills to match those of native speakers. Therefore, it can be inferred that "the shift in pronunciation to resemble native speakers" served as a means for participants to identify with the target group, aiming to gain acceptance and respect (Hammer & Dewaele 2015: 184). For these individuals, pronunciation became an important tool in re-establishing (Block 2007) their identity within the context of a new language, signifying their alignment and affiliation with the dominant group.

However, as revealed in the qualitative analysis, some participants adopted a different approach. They did not show a tendency to use slit-t and were aware of their "Polish accent." Despite this, they were satisfied with their lives in Ireland and did not feel compelled to resemble Irish English speakers. This suggests that while language is a significant aspect of one's identity, it is not necessary to alter one's social or national identity to thrive in the host community. These individuals embraced the opportunities available in Ireland and contributed as they saw fit, without feeling the need to assimilate completely. They maintained a strong sense of belonging to the Polish community and did not feel the need to change this aspect of their identity.

What is more, the results of the quantitative analysis indicate that the variants of /t/ pronunciation among majority of the participants demonstrated considerable variation. They did employ other allophones of /t/, although, as mentioned above, these were not limited to the Irish English variety and might reflect influences of other varieties. It can be assumed that the extensive access to the internet and various streaming platforms, providing English-language content from around the world, may also play a significant role. Additionally, many participants claimed that they engage in daily interactions in English. Given that Ireland is currently a fairly multicultural country (See Chapter 1), their conversations may take place not only with Irish natives but also with other native and non-native English speakers from different countries.

It should also be noted that the majority of participants reported learning or improving their English language skills in Ireland mainly through interactions with locals. This indicates that much of their language acquisition involved mimicking native speakers. However, this method is obviously not flawless. Participants may not perceive certain sounds accurately or may think they are replicating them correctly when their pronunciation actually differs, either slightly or significantly. As suggested by the author,

the affricated variant identified in the results may be a sign of these discrepancies in sound reproduction. This may indicate a relatively unsuccessful attempt to sound natural, where the speaker, whether consciously or not, recognizes that the use of slit-t is socially indexed as a characteristic of authentic Irish English pronunciation. However, it is evident that the speaker lacks the full competence to apply the slit-t feature seamlessly, resulting in a less natural articulation. Such a realisation recalls Labov's (1966) classic study on rhoticity in New York City, where speakers attempted to adopt prestigious speech patterns but often did so inconsistently or in a way that marked them as non-native or less fluent.

While this dissertation primarily examines a single variable, it is noteworthy that several participants incorporated additional features of Irish English during their interviews. All speakers consistently exhibited rhotic accents, and many displayed varying degrees of th-stopping, producing dental alveolars in words like this, that, and think. Notably, Speakers 1, 5, 6, 11, and 12 demonstrated similar patterns to Irish English in their pronunciation of the STRUT vowel. They frequently lacked the FOOT-STRUT distinction, pronouncing words like but, Dublin, bus, and country with a sound closer to /ʊ/ rather than the standard RP /ʌ/. Another prominent feature, particularly for Speakers 1, 5, and 11, was the monophthongisation of diphthongs in words like say, communicate, change, and way. Additionally, Speakers 1, 5, and 6 exhibited a tendency towards the 'lilting' intonation pattern typical of rural Ireland (see Chapter 3). Determining whether these features result from native language transfer, imperfect learning or the Irish English input, is challenging. However, exploring a broader range of phonological characteristics in future studies could provide deeper insights into the pronunciation patterns of Polish migrants in Ireland.

4.7 Conclusions to chapter four

The findings of Study One suggest that Polish migrants' use of Irish English pronunciation features can be influenced by several interrelated factors. Firstly, their level of acculturation plays a crucial role, with deeper integration into the host society likely facilitating the adoption of local speech patterns. Additionally, migrants with favourable attitudes towards the host community tend to embrace these linguistic features more

readily, reflecting their positive engagement and acceptance of the local culture. The use of these pronunciation features may also serve as a marker of identity expression.

However, the relationship between these factors is complex. Acculturation is not a straightforward process but rather a dynamic interplay of various elements. Individuals may simultaneously experience varying degrees of identification with their own cultural roots and the new host culture, leading to diverse and sometimes contradictory expressions of identity and language use.

This exploratory study supports the idea that adopting pronunciation patterns similar to native Irish English speakers can reflect a migrant's desire to affiliate with their in-group. However, the evidence is not yet robust enough to confirm whether this shift signifies the adoption of a new national or social identity.

The observed correlation between the acquisition of specific pronunciation features and the participants' strategies of acculturation, attitudes, and identity highlights the intricate nature of this process. Aligning one's speech with native patterns might be seen as an attempt to integrate and belong. Still, it is crucial to recognize that numerous other factors influence the acquisition of target language phonology. While acculturation strategy is a significant determinant, the extent of language input and the frequency of interaction with the host community are equally crucial in shaping pronunciation. Understanding these dynamics requires a broader examination of the contexts in which language learning and identity formation occur.

Chapter 5: Study Two. An analysis of Polish migrants' English based on data from 2019.

This chapter describes Study Two, a subsequent research into the pronunciation patterns of Polish migrants in Ireland and sociophonetic factors that influenced them. The results and analysis of Study One discussed in the previous section deemed it necessary to investigate the variables in question further, widening the scope of the sociophonetic background. This study is based on data collected between October-November 2019 among fourteen adult Polish migrants in Ireland. The variable under analysis remained Irish English slit-t, however, the focus of the semi-guided interview shifted towards different independent variables, introduced with the intention of gaining better

understanding of the relationship between participants' linguistic experiences in Ireland and their pronunciation patterns in the second language.

The structure of this chapter parallels that of Chapter 4. It begins with providing rationale for the study, followed by outlining primary research questions proposed by the author. The next section includes the description of the method, involving study design, variables, data collection and analysis procedure, as well as a section on the participants. Then it proceeds to presentation of quantitative and qualitative results, concluded with their analysis and a discussion section.

5.1 Rationale and aim of the study

The principal reasons for continuing with the study of Polish migrants in Ireland remain consistent with those outlined in chapter four. First of all, Polish migrant community is the largest minority group in Ireland that has shown rapid growth within a relatively brief period of time (2002-2011) and now constitutes a significant presence in the demographic landscape of Ireland. Furthermore, as it has been noted, prior to joining European Union, Ireland was not among primary destination countries for Polish people planning to migrate, hence this community is quite new. One might say it is currently establishing itself, therefore, it might be particularly interesting to observe its development and patterns of language use. Finally, the author believes that gaining a deeper insight into the language practices of Polish migrants may offer valuable contributions to the field of sociolinguistics and language use in migratory context.

However, the rationale for Study Two is mainly grounded in the results of Study One and the conclusions drawn from them. These finding provided basis for the continuation of research, highlighting key areas for further exploration and refinement. Study One aimed to explore the relationship between acculturation strategies, attitudes to the host country and language, national/social/local identity and the use of Irish English slit-t, which is quite unanimously considered the most salient feature of this variety (cf. Hickey 1995). While the results illustrated certain patterns, it also became apparent that the factors that influence participants' language use, as well as the way they settle and partake in the host community are fairly intricate, quite challenging to identify and classify. Additionally, although majority of the participants did not demonstrate

considerable (or any) use of the dependent variable in question, further analysis of the realisations displayed by the respondents showed quite significant variation. Majority of them are also accounted for, although not limited to, Irish English, which leads to additional challenges related to identifying the possible source of influence.

One of the main findings of Study One concluded that while acculturation strategy is a substantial determining factor influencing language use, the amount of language input and interaction with members of the host community appears to be of considerable importance. Therefore, although all of the independent variables from Study One are also taken into account in Study Two, they assume a secondary role. The central focus of this study revolves around several key aspects: self-reported levels of both Polish and English language use, the nationalities and relationship with the individuals with whom the interactions occurs and the nationalities individuals that comprise the participants' innermost circle of friends. This approach stems from the social network theory described in chapter three and the assumption that individuals' language use is influenced by their formal and informal social relationships, the closeness of the ties and nature of the relationship (Milroy 1987, Ryan 2011, Ward et al. 2010, Lanza and Svendsen 2007, Li Wei 1994).

The author anticipates that expanding theoretical background and shifting focus to different independent variables may facilitate understanding of language practices displayed by Polish migrants in Ireland.

5.2 Research questions

As it has been noted in the previous section, the author does not abandon inquiry into the possible acculturation strategies, attitudes to host country and community, and social/national identity. However, the research questions for Study Two focus on how the ratio of daily language use (Polish, English, other languages), the choice of interaction partners (language used with different individuals), and the nationalities of closest friends influence the participants' language use patterns.

Research Question 1

How does the daily percentage of English usage among participants in interactions with members of the host community affect their adoption of the Irish English slit-t pronunciation?

This question is based on the assumption that participants who report a higher proportion of English usage in their daily interactions with the Irish community are more likely to use the Irish English slit-t. This concept is rooted in the theory of acculturation in second language acquisition (SLA), which posits that the level of acculturation influences the extent of interaction with the target language (TL) community. This interaction increases the language input received by the second language speaker, directly impacting the SLA process (Schumann 1986).

Research Question 2

To what extent do participants with predominantly Irish nationals in their closest circle of friends use the Irish English slit-t pronunciation more frequently than those whose closest friends are primarily Polish or other non-native English speakers?

This question specifically investigates whether having a close social circle primarily composed of Irish nationals correlates with a higher frequency of using the Irish English slit-t pronunciation. This exploration is informed by social networks theory, which posits that the composition of one's social network significantly influences language behaviour (Milroy 1987, Ryan 2011, Ward et al. 2010, Lanza and Svedsen 2007, Li Wei 1994). The focus is on how these social relationships and friendships impact the linguistic choices of Polish migrants in Ireland.

5.3 Methodology

This section discusses the study's methodology, which is structured into segments that address the study design, variables, instruments, procedures for data collection and analysis, and a concise overview of participant demographics.

5.3.1 Study design

Consistent with Study One, Study Two entails the analysis of two types of data. Qualitative data were obtained through recorded semi-structured interviews with the participants, while quantitative data were acquired from recordings of carrier sentences featuring the variable under investigation, as well as extracted from the semi-structured interviews.

In Study Two, fourteen adult migrants in Ireland were invited to participate in a recorded interview. In the initial phase, participants read a list of carrier sentences. In the subsequent phase, they responded to twenty-five questions during a semi-structured interview/conversation (see Appendix 3).

As indicated in the preceding section, the current study examines three independent variables: the percentage of daily use of English/Polish, the nationality and relationship with the interlocutors, and the nationality of the participants' closest friends. The dependent variable remains unchanged from Study One—the realization of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ as an apico-alveolar fricative (slit-t) in intervocalic word-medial and word-final position followed by a vowel or a pause.

5.3.2 Variables

The independent variables chosen for analysis in Study Two are intended to establish a foundation for examining language use among Polish migrants. The data on daily use of the participants' native language and the language of the host community will provide valuable insight into the amount of L2 input the respondents receive. The second variable examines the nationality of individuals with whom the participants interact in Polish and English, as well as the nature of these relationships. The third variable encompasses the

participants' self-reported social networks, detailing their closest friends and acquaintances in terms of nationality.

The dependent variable in this study remains consistent with that of Study One. In Study One, it was observed that only a few participants demonstrated some use of slit-t, while the majority of realizations included a 'plain' alveolar plosive /t/, flap/tap, or an affricated /tˢ/ variant. These three variants, however, are not exclusive to Irish English; they are prevalent across various English dialects worldwide. This widespread occurrence complicates the task of pinpointing the exact source of influence on the participants' speech patterns.

Given this challenge, the author decided to focus on the variable reported to be most characteristic of Irish English. This decision stems from the need for a more distinctive and identifiable feature to analyse the influence of Irish English on the participants' speech, avoiding the ambiguity associated with more globally common speech patterns. Additionally, this characteristic feature has not been described yet in non-native contexts (as far as the author is aware).

By addressing these considerations, the study builds on the findings of Study One, offering a more nuanced and targeted exploration of linguistic variables. Similarly to Study One, other variables that might influence language learning in migrant context, like length of residence or age on arrival, were also controlled. All participants arrived in Ireland as adults and have been living there between 12 to 15 years.

5.3.3 Instruments

The instruments utilized in Study Two were of a similar nature to those employed previously, albeit with some modifications. The data collection involved both qualitative and quantitative methodologies through recorded interviews conducted in English. These interviews utilized a set of predefined carrier sentences and a questionnaire administered during semi-structured interviews.

The first instrument was a list of twenty-two sentences which included words containing contexts for the variable under analysis. The carrier sentences included four words with /t/ sound in word-medial intervocalic position (*water*, *better*, *butter*, *meter*), nine single-syllable words with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*met*, *but*,

what, *hat*, *eight*, *that*, *wet*, *let*, *neat*), one two-syllable word with the stress on the first syllable with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*bucket*) and two two-syllable words with stress on the second syllable with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*repeat*, *delete*) (see Appendix 4). The remaining five random words were included to diversify the sentences and prevent the participants from identifying the variable in question. All instanced of alveolar plosive /t/ realised as slit-t were marked as 1, while other realisations of the sound were marked as 0. The realisations marked as 0 were later analysed in order to identify and group them.

The second method used in this study was a questionnaire designed to gather data on independent variables (adapted from Waniek-Klimczak 2011). The data collected through semi-guided interviews provided insights into participants' backgrounds, helping to identify potential factors influencing their pronunciation patterns. Additionally, data from semi-structured interviews constituted the second phase of quantitative analysis. Instances of the /t/ sound occurring in intervocalic word-medial, intervocalic word-final, and word-final positions following a vowel and preceding a pause (contexts where /t/ might be realized as a slit-t) were extracted and underwent auditory and visual analysis in Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2024).

5.3.4 Data collection procedure

Data for Study Two was collected in the same manner as in Study One. However, the researcher was living permanently in Poland at the time of the interviews, hence gathering data proved slightly more challenging. Nevertheless, it was collected in person, as the author travelled to Ireland for a period of time to personally visit participants who were willing to partake in the study. In this study, the participants were recruited with the use of friend-of-a-friend technique, but also through social media. The author signed up for different Facebook groups for Polish people in Ireland and posted a message. The participants that were interested in the study replied to set a date for an interview. The decision to search for the participants online was motivated by the fact that the author wanted to search for participants from other parts of Ireland, in line with the concept that slit-t is a supraregional feature observed all over the country and in all social groups.

Following the precedent set in Study One, prospective respondents were informed in advance that their English proficiency should enable comfortable conversation on various topics related to their daily life in Ireland. The interviews were conducted in the participant's house and lasted from 30 minutes to 1,5 hours. Luckily, most of the participants were eager to elaborate on the responses. Similarly to Study One, the entirety of the interview was conducted in English, while the initial conversation usually took place in Polish. There were a couple of exceptions where the participant's partner was a native English user and was present at the beginning of the interview.

In this study, the first part of the project also included a semi-guided interview that was used in Study One. However, certain questions were refined to evoke more precise answers, for example the proportion of daily Polish/English usage. Additionally, several questions were added to gather insights into participants' self-reported social networks, such as the nationalities of individuals with whom they spend leisure time and those they consider their closest friends in Ireland. The interview also aimed at evoking spontaneous speech and certain questions were included to guide the interview towards a friendly conversation.

Similarly to Study One, the questions in Study Two revolved around topics that allowed for extracting necessary information on the participants' background – acculturation strategies, migrant experience, attitudes towards the host community and language, etc. However, most important questions for this study revolved around the participants language use on everyday basis, who they interact with and in which language, as well as the nationality of their closest friends.

In the latter part of the interview, the participants were asked to read a number of carrier sentences that contained words with /t/ in environments that would allow for realisation of the sound as slit-t. The carrier sentences aimed at controlled and more careful speech. The data was recorded with the use of a portable stereo recorder, Zoom H6 recorder (previously used H1 Handy Recorder was not available), positioned near the participant. The interview was recorded and saved in .wav format, using 44.1 kHz sampling rate, saved on an SD memory card. It was later transferred onto the researcher's computer via a USB cable. Similar to Study One, the interviews in this study were conducted at participants' homes, which introduced the possibility of background noise.

However, measures were implemented to mitigate these risks, ensuring that any potential disturbances were minimized.

5.3.5 Data analysis procedure

The recordings were subsequently transcribed in ELAN. Like in Study One, the qualitative analysis involved creating comprehensive profiles of each participant based on the responses given during the interview. As mentioned in the previous section, the questionnaire used in semi-guided interview in Study One was modified in Study Two to account for more specific information on language use, interaction and relationships. Therefore, the descriptions of each participant are similar in structure to those presented in Study One, although they contain more detailed information. Independent variables identified in the interviews were also presented in a table for clarity.

The structure of the quantitative analysis is identical to that applied in Study One. However, the sample eliciting controlled speech was expanded by seven additional words (see Appendix 4) with /t/ in a desired context. The carrier sentences included four words with /t/ sound in word-medial intervocalic position (*water*, *better*, *butter*, *meter*), nine single-syllable words with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*met*, *but*, *what*, *hat*, *eight*, *that*, *wet*, *let*, *neat*), one two-syllable word with the stress on the first syllable with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*bucket*) and two two-syllable words with stress on the second syllable with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*repeat*, *delete*) (see Appendix 4). Like in Study One, the data in Study Two sounds underwent detailed auditory analysis using ELAN, and relevant occurrences were subsequently analyzed in Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2024), specifically focusing on realizations of /t/ as a slit-t or any variant other than a voiceless alveolar plosive. Instances where the alveolar plosive /t/ was realized as a slit-t were marked as 1, while other realizations were marked as 0. The occurrence of slit-t instances was also quantified and compared against existing data (Pandeli et al., 1997; Skarnitzl and Rálišová, 2022). Following this, instances categorized as 0 underwent meticulous auditory and visual analysis to identify their specific realizations. These categories encompassed alveolar

plosive [t], tap/flap, voiced realisation, glottal, affricated [tʃ] and affricated [tˢ], as well 'other' instances that were difficult to categorize.

The next part of the quantitative analysis involved extracting data from the semi-guided interviews. Despite the considerable size of the samples, the author extracted every utterance that contained /t/ sound in a relevant environment, that is, in intervocalic word-medial or word-final prepausal position, where the alveolar plosive could be possibly realised as slit-t. All the extracted utterances also underwent auditory and then thorough visual analysis in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2024). Similarly to the carrier sentences, all the utterances where slit-t realisation was present, were marked as 1, while other realisations were marked as 0. The latter were also analysed in detail in an attempt to categorize them into different realisations.

5.3.6 Participants

The participants of Study Two include fourteen adult Polish migrants living permanently in Ireland at the time of the interview. The sample is geographically diverse compared to participants in Study One. Four participants live in Dublin city, six reside in County Clare in towns (Shannon, Lahinch, Ennis) and villages (Sixmilebridge). Four participants live in County Galway – two in Galway city and two in the town of Athenry (with one residing in the outskirts). As mentioned previously, the sample was expanded to different locations to investigate whether the feature would appear in the pronunciation of participants living in different locations.

Thirteen participants moved to Ireland in the years following the accession of Poland to the European Union. One participant, Speaker 22, first arrived in Ireland in 2003. However, she temporarily relocated to Australia for two years. Speaker 17 also interrupted his residence in Ireland by moving to Spain for two years. The length of residence of the respondents is between twelve and fifteen years. All but one of them (Speaker 21 is currently on sick leave for health reason, normally works as a shop assistant) are currently employed in the following sectors: manufacturing, engineering, accounting, retail, administration, fitness, scuba diving instruction, early education. There are ten female and four male participants in the study. The author made concerted efforts to achieve gender balance; however, it is important to note that females were significantly

more responsive to social media invitations to participate in the study, whereas all male participants were recruited through a friend-of-a-friend referral method. To ensure clarity in subsequent analysis and discussion, participants are referred to using a numbering system starting from *Speaker 15*, as established in Study One.

Participant	Age	Sex	Place of residence	Length of residence
Speaker 15	40	male	Shannon	13
Speaker 16	37	male	Dublin	14
Speaker 17	47	male	Lahinch	13
Speaker 18	32	male	Ennis	13
Speaker 19	33	female	Ennis	14
Speaker 20	36	female	Dublin	13
Speaker 21	42	female	Sixmilebridge	13
Speaker 22	39	female	Galway	13
Speaker 23	39	female	Galway	14
Speaker 24	55	female	Dublin	15
Speaker 25	33	female	Dublin	12
Speaker 26	39	female	Athenry	15
Speaker 27	31	female	Ennis	12
Speaker 28	40	female	Athenry	14

Table 13. Participants of Study Two.

5.4 Results

This subchapter focuses on the results of Study Two. It is divided into two mains parts: quantitative results and qualitative results.

The first section of quantitative results presents instances of slit-t in carrier sentences (controlled speech) and in the data extracted from semi-guided interviews (spontaneous speech). The second section of quantitative results analyses all instances of /t/ realised as variants other than slit-t. The qualitative analysis includes a thorough description of the participants' background, their daily use of Polish and English, the nationality of their interlocutors and the nationality of the members of their social networks.

The two groups of data were later correlated to describe the possible relationship between the dependent and independent variables described in subchapter Variables.

5.4.1 Quantitative analysis results

As outlined in the Data Analysis section, instances where /t/ was realized as a slit-t were categorized as 1, while other forms of realization were categorized as 0. The analysis involved meticulous auditory examination and visual inspection of spectrograms generated using Praat. Furthermore, all occurrences of slit-t were quantified for comparison against existing data.

The subsequent section scrutinizes all instances of /t/ realized as variants other than slit-t. This encompasses its realization as a standard voiceless alveolar plosive /t/, voiced variants, flap/tap, affricated /ts/, and other forms that defy easy categorization, which will be further discussed later. Each instance was also analysed based on its position within a word (medial or final) and its semantic role (lexical or grammatical).

5.4.1.1 Slit-t in the speech of Polish migrants

In the carrier sentences presented in the table below, only two female speakers demonstrate any use of the slit-t variant. Speaker 19 pronounced the sound in five one-syllable words with /t/ in the word-final position followed by a vowel (*but*, *hat*, *eight*, *wet*, *let*), and in three two-syllable words with /t/ in the same position (*bucket*, *repeat*, *delete*). Speaker 22 used the sound in two words with /t/ in word-medial position (*water*, *butter*) and in three one-syllable words with /t/ in word-final position followed by a vowel (*but*, *hat*, *eight*).

In the phrases extracted from the interview, nine speakers did not produce any instances of slit-t in any of the positions within the word. These include two male Speakers – 15 and 18, and seven female Speakers – 16, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28. Speaker 17 pronounced slit-t in seven instances in six phrases where the sound was positioned word-finally and followed by a pause. These include mainly function words (*I like it*, *why not*, *afters years but*, *that's it*, *not… where I'm now*) and one content word (*a little bit*),

although these six instances represent only thirteen percent of overall contexts produced by the speaker where slit-t could be pronounced. Speaker 19 used the sound in two words in word-medial position (*eighty*-six, *pretty* good) and in fourteen instances in prepausal word-final position, predominantly in function words (e.g. *pay for it*, *none of it*, *I was convinced that*, *not counting on that*, *complain about that*) and much less frequently in content words (*Matt*, *communicate*). In the case of this speaker, the variable in question was particularly audible when followed by a longer pause and hesitation.

	Instances of slit-t in carrier sentences													
	S15	*S16*	*S17*	*S18*	*S19*	*S20*	*S21*	*S22*	*S23*	*S24*	*S25*	*S26*	*S27*	*S28*
water	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
butter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
better	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
meter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
letter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
bucket	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
repeat	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
delete	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
neat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
met	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
but	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
what	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
hat	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
eight	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
that	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
wet	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
let	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 15. Instances of slit-t in carrier sentences.

The next respondent is quite notable for the amount of data she provided for analysis as she elaborated on the questions quite extensively. The researcher singled out 269 contexts where the investigated sound might appear. The participant, however, produced the sound in only thirteen percent of cases. Seven times in word-medial position exclusively in content words (*butter*, *buttock*, *daughter*), and twenty-nine times in word-final position followed by a pause, predominantly in function words (e.g. *I came back for*

it, *or something like that*, *that wasn't kind legal but…*, *kids are helping with that*), and only in two content words (*matter*, *met*).

Speaker 24 pronounced slit-t only in two instances during the interview, in word-final position followed by a pause, both times in the word *that*. Finally, Speaker 26 also pronounced slit-t in only nine cases out of 137 possible contexts. These include all function words – one realisation in word-final position followed by a vowel (*like that in Galway*) and eight realisations in word-final position followed by a pause (e.g. *any modernizing with it*, *funerals or something like that*, *you don't wanna do that*).

	Instances of slit-t			Total contexts	Other realisations
	word-medial	word-final+ vowel	word-final+ pause		
S15	0	0	0	43	43
S16	0	0	0	36	36
S17	0	0	6	43	37
S18	0	0	0	55	55
S19	0	2	12	55	41
S20	0	0	0	224	224
S21	0	0	0	58	58
S22	7	0	29	262	226
S23	0	0	2	152	150
S24	0	0	0	125	125
S25	0	0	0	57	57
S26	0	1	8	137	128
S27	0	0	0	56	56
S28	0	0	0	28	28

Table 16. Realisation of /t/ as slit-t by position within a word.

Only two speakers demonstrated the use of slit-t in both carrier sentences and phrases extracted from the interview, and an additional three respondents exhibited this feature in the spontaneous speech sample

5.4.1.2 Other realisations of /t/ in the speech of Polish migrants

This section follows the precedent set in Study One and analyses all instances of /t/ in carrier sentences and phrases extracted from the interview that were not realised as slit-t. As evident from the previous section, only a few of the participants pronounced the variable under investigation, and their usage was notably inconsistent. Similarly to Study One, a closer investigation of all realisations marked as 0 reveals considerable variation among the majority of participants. In this data set, the predominant variable was also alveolar plosive /t/, although several speakers demonstrated the use of flap/tap, affricated [tˢ], as well as some isolated instances of glottal stops and voiced variants. The realisations presented in the table below were also analysed as regards their position within a word (medial or final) and the semantic status (context or function word).

Four Speakers – 20, 23, 27 and 28 – were consistent in their pronunciation in carrier sentences, as all of them used 'standard' [t] in all contexts. Speakers 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25 and 26 also demonstrated predominant use of [t] with slight variation with some isolated cases of affricated [tˢ], primarily in word-final position (*met*, *hat*, *that*), but also in word-medial position (S 24 and 25: *water*, *better*, *better*, *letter*), as well as several flaps/taps (S17: *wet*, *repeat*, *delete*, *let*).

	Realisations of /t/								
	slit-t	alveolar [t]	flap/tap	voiced	glottal	affricated [tʃ]	affricated [tˢ]	other/ unclear	Total contexts
S15	0	15	0	0	0	0	2	0	17
S16	0	15	0	0	0	0	1	0	17
S17	0	12	5	0	0	0	0	0	17
S18	0	11	5	0	0	0	0	0	17
S19	8	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	17
S20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
S21	0	11	0	1	0	0	5	0	17
S22	5	0	0	0	0	4	7	0	17
S23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
S24	0	13	0	0	0	4	0	0	17
S25	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	1	17
S26	0	14	0	0	0	4	0	0	17
S27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
S28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17

Table 17. Realisations of /t/ in carrier sentences.

The pronunciations of Speakers 19 and 22 is quite noteworthy. The former seems to be using slit-t, an alveolar plosive [t] and an affricated [tˢ] variant interchangeably in similar contexts. While monosyllabic *let*, *wet*, *hat*, *eight* and *but* are pronounced with a slit-t, /t/ in *that* is affricated and *met* is pronounced with a voiceless alveolar plosive. Four instances of word-medial /t/ are pronounced with alveolar plosive [t] (*butter*, *better*, *letter*, *meter*), while *water* has an affricated [tˢ] variant. The instances of slit-t and affricated [tˢ] variants appear more frequently towards the end of the S19's recording. It might be assumed that she started becoming more relaxed and less watchful of her speech. Speaker 22 demonstrated three variants in carrier sentences – slit-t, [t] affricated to [tʃ] and an affricated [tˢ], the latter specifically in word-final position followed by a vowel (.e.g *met*, *neat*, *that*, *we*, *repeat*, *delete*, *let*) and two instances of [t] affricated to [tʃ] in word-medial position (*butter*, *meter*).
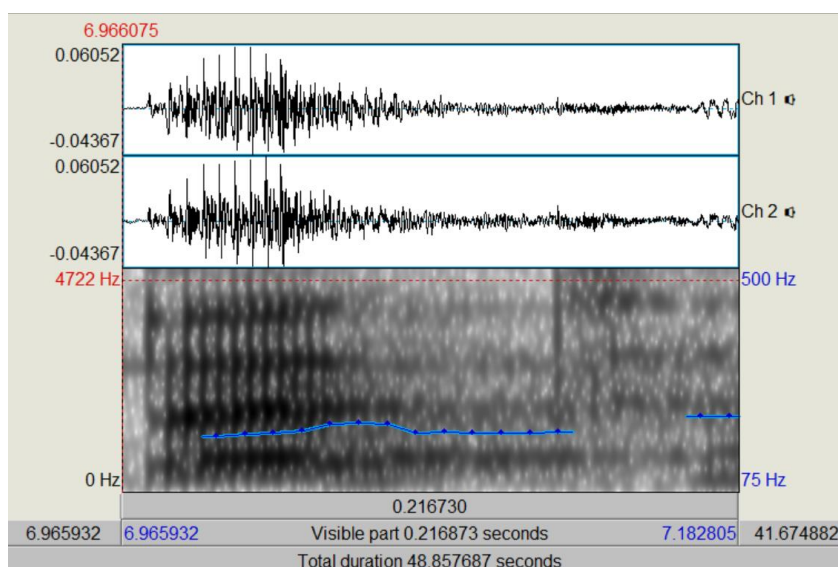

Figure 11. Alveolar [t] in intervocalic position: *better*. Speaker 27.

	Realisations of /t/							Total contexts
	slit-t	alveolar [t]	flap/tap	voiced	glottal	affricated [tʃ]	affricated [tˢ]	
S15	0	35	3	0	0	0	7	43
S16	0	25	6	1	1	0	3	36
S17	6	25	6	4	2	0	0	43
S18	0	29	12	0	1	0	13	55
S19	14	26	11	0	0	0	4	55
S20	0	217	0	1	0	0	6	224
S21	0	57	0	0	0	0	1	58
S22	36	85	69	24	0	0	48	262
S23	2	109	32	3	0	0	6	152
S24	0	97	1	1	0	3	23	125
S25	0	49	0	0	0	0	8	57
S26	9	75	18	10	1	0	24	137
S27	0	51	0	0	0	0	5	56
S28	0	28	0	0	0	0	0	28

Table 18. Realisations of /t/ in extracts from interviews.

Similarly to the data analysed in Study One, the analysis of interview excerpts in this study adds further complexity to picture. Speakers 20, 21, 25, 27 and 28 again demonstrated relatively consistent behaviour in their pronunciation patterns with predominance of 'standard' [t] realisation in almost all of the contexts. There were several occurrences of affricated [tˢ] realisations by Speaker 20 (word-medial in *translator*, *putting*; word-final followed by a pause in *I was very surprised that*, *I love quiet*), Speaker 25 (only word-final followed by a pause in *two thousand eight*, *I don't think about it*, *so that's strange but*) and Speaker 27 (also word-finally followed by a pause in *I meet people that*, *it is important but*).
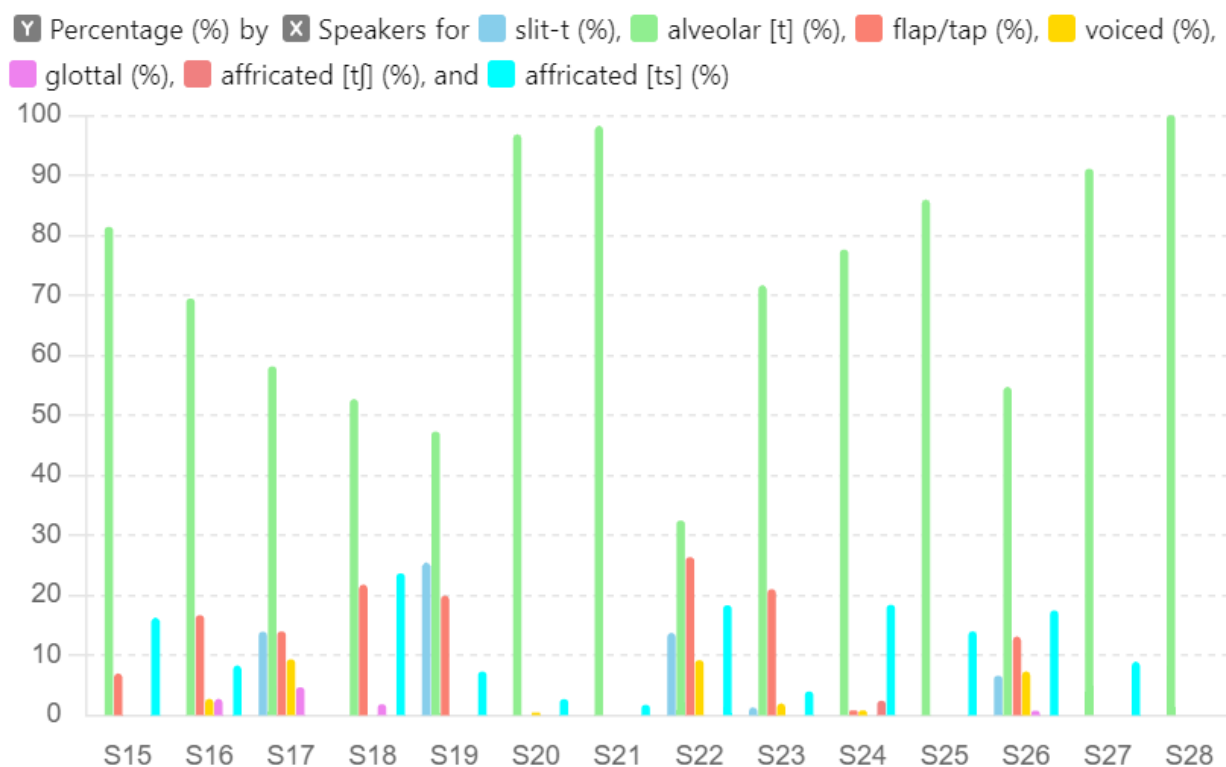
Figure 12. Percentage of /t/ realisations for each speaker.

Speakers 15 and 16 also show prevalence of voiceless alveolar plosive realisations (78% and 67% of instances respectively), although other variants are present. In the former case, the author identified three instances of a flap/tap sound in function words in intervocalic position (*but I'd say*, *it is I'd day*, *that's the way it is*) and fifteen instances of affricated [tˢ] variants (e.g. *in the future but*, *about Shannon or about*, *you can probably live without*). Speaker 16 demonstrated slightly more flapping/tapping (e.g. *just a bit*, *out of ten*, *you have a lot of*) and fewer instances of affricated [tˢ] (e.g. *at work but…*, *it's quiet*, *we always laugh at it*). Like the other participants, Speakers 17, 18 and 23 show preference for voiceless alveolar plosive variants, followed by flap/tap realisation in intervocalic word-final position and primarily in function words (e.g. *but I can learn quick*, *make a lot of mistakes, but I don't know when*). The latter also pronounced around 23% of overall context as affricated [tˢ]. Similarly to other respondents, these were mainly observed in function words in word final position followed by a pause or a longer hesitation (e.g. *but… I changed my mind*, *just something that*, *understand them or something but…*). This is also the case with Speaker 24 who did not produce any instances of slit-t in both recordings (carrier sentences and interview). Majority of the realisations

143

employed by her are voiceless alveolar plosive variants, however, the participant showed a slight tendency to produce affricated [tˢ] in both content and function words, in word-medial and word-final position (e.g. *better than the others*, *my daughter's delivery*, *in the community*, *I'm proud of it*).

Finally, in the speech sample of Speaker 22, a considerable preference for flap/tap realisation can be observed, even more frequently than alveolar [t]. It is realised in intervocalic word-final position, primarily in function words (e.g. *never turn it on again*, *I just gave it all up*, *but I was really ambitious, couldn't help me at all, that's all it is*) but also in content words (e.g., *to get a job*, *there's quite a lot of them*) and in word-medial position (*I remember getting a job*, *I'm outta here*). The next most frequent realisation for Speaker 22 is a voiceless alveolar plosive that is spread fairly evenly in terms of environment and semantic status of the word. This is followed by 49 (out of 269) instances of affricated [tˢ] in intervocalic position in content words (e.g. *nineteen-eighty, got connected back to my root and*), word-medial in content words (e.g. *it was a matter of half an hour*), word-final position followed by a pause in content words (e.g. *I never bothered with that*, *just like that*, *different sort of learning but*) and word-final position followed by a pause in content words (e.g. *in Galway the accent is flat*, *I just can't commute*). Among all the participants, Speaker 22 exhibits the greatest variation with different realisations spread fairly evenly. The only variant that Speaker 22 did not employ was a glottal realization (in the context chosen for the study).
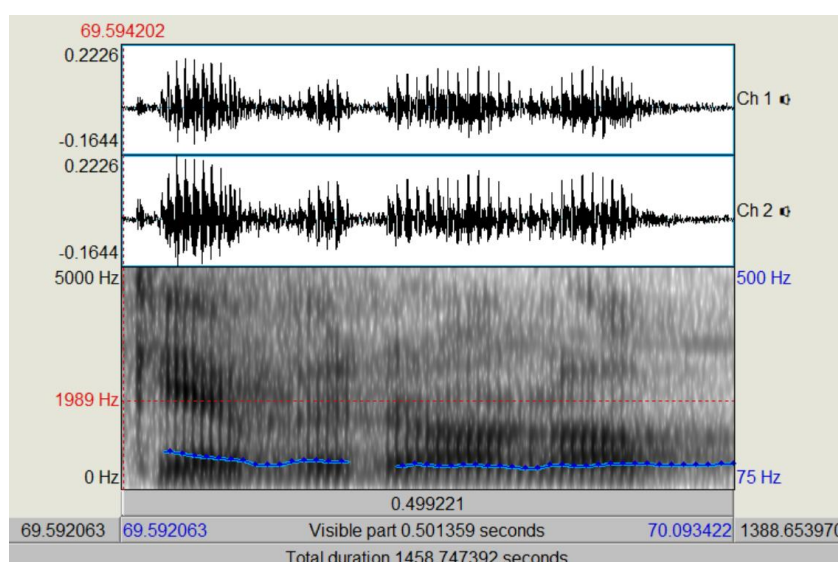

Figure 13. Flap/tap realisation in intervocalic position: *gave it all*. Speaker 22.

5.4.2 Qualitative analysis results

This subchapter presents a detailed overview of the qualitative analysis, aiming to contextualize the quantitative findings by examining the participants' backgrounds. It offers comprehensive profiles of each participant, compiled from data gathered through semi-formal interviews. These profiles not only capture the unique characteristics and migration experiences of the individuals but also shed light on their daily use of Polish and English, the nature of their interactions, and the nationality of their closest friends. Although the following descriptions are extensive, they are included in the main body of the dissertation rather than the Appendices, as they are essential for interpreting the participants' linguistic behaviours.

Speaker 15

Speaker 15 is a 40-year-old male who had been living in Ireland, County Limerick and then County Clare, for thirteen years at the time of the interview. He also had the experience of living in the United Kingdom in the past for approximately six months. He states his nationality and his native language as Polish. The reason for migrating to Ireland was the participant's wish to "change [his] life for good", as well as economic reasons. He is currently employed at a sports centre as a fitness instructor.

Speaker 15 obtained some formal instruction in English while living in Poland, during his years of education in primary and secondary school, although he primarily learned the language in Ireland through interactions with other people. He currently rates his level of English as "a little bit higher than intermediate." As regards the daily use of Polish and English, the speaker responds that on work days, it would be fifty-fifty, but that percentage changes during the weekend when he mostly uses Polish with his family and friends, and only a little bit of English (ninety to ten percent).

When asked about the difficulty of English in Ireland, the participant admits to having problems at the beginning of his life in Ireland, but these decreased with time as he started to get used to the Irish English variety and understand it more. The speaker is aware of different accents all over Ireland, noting their peculiarities with an example that "sometimes people from Limerick can't understand people from Cork and [the] opposite, and Dublin, and especially from the countryside."

As for the speaker's pronunciation, he believes that he probably sounds "Russian" or like "Russian with a Clare accent" to other people and that it is easy to recognise his foreign origin based on his speech. The participant also notes that good level of English in Ireland is important when looking for a satisfying job, to "integrate" and to "live like any other person here," but it is possible to live in Ireland without a high command of the language. As for the knowledge of the Polish language, the speaker feels it would not give him a lot of as Irish people "wouldn't be very willing to use different languages" and are not very accepting of hearing different languages, especially in the workplace. In his free time, the speaker reports primarily watching Polish TV, and listening to audiobooks in both Polish and English. He notes he communicates in Polish with his friends and family, although his child, who was born in Ireland, prefers to speak English with other Polish children. The majority of his free time is reportedly devoted to his family and friends.

As the speaker claims, around eighty percent of his friends, including closest friends, are of Polish origin, while the rest consists of Irish and other nationalities. He believes that Irish people are more easy-going and relaxed, although in more serious situations, he would prefer to deal with fellow Polish nationals. The speaker does not belong to any organisations and associations, although he claims to feel part of the fitness and scuba diving communities (due to his work and hobby), which were fairly international. He does not consider himself a member of the large Polish diaspora in his current place of residence. The speaker notes that his nationality affected his experience in Ireland, but observes that the situation would be similar in any other country.

The speaker explains that his family celebrates various holidays in the Polish tradition, emphasizing the importance of maintaining Polish customs and language and passing them on to his daughter, although they also observe some Irish customs. He is satisfied with his current place of residence as it is close to the ocean, which is what "keeps [him] here". Regarding the speaker's future plans, he shares that one his biggest dreams is moving to a warmer country and the family does not think about going back to Poland at all, and they are "closer to staying in Ireland that going back to Poland."

Speaker 16

Speaker 16 is a 37-year-old male who had been living in Ireland, Dublin, for fourteen years at the time of the interview. He reports his nationality and native language as Polish. The speaker moved to Ireland solely for economic reasons. He is currently employed in a manufacturing company as a supervisor.

Regarding his language background, he learned English in Poland for two years in primary school and does not consider this experience of any use or importance in terms of his English language abilities. In fact, he learned English predominantly by watching YouTube videos of American content creators and through interaction with the locals and other nationalities upon his arrival in Ireland. He rates his current language skills as upper-intermediate. Although English is the only language of communication for the speaker during his working hours, at home he communicates with his wife and kids in Polish. The variety of English spoken in Ireland did prove to be quite problematic for the speaker at the beginning. However, after a number of years in Ireland, the participant states it is easier than any other varieties he sometimes comes across, like "Liverpool, Manchester or London," and he claims to like Irish English.

When asked about his own pronunciation, the speaker notes that he sounds "strange" to other people as he has been told before that his speech is a mix of Dublin and American accents. He asserts that a good level of English is necessary in Ireland in terms of job opportunities and everyday life, while Polish language might be useful only if a person is working with other Polish nationals with limited English abilities. The speaker also claims to watch only Polish TV, but when it comes to any internet sources, they are solely in English.

He usually spends his free time with his Polish family, but also friends—some of them are of Polish, Irish and Russian origin, although his closest friend is Lithuanian and they communicate in Polish. The speaker describes his closest group of friends as fairly multinational. He does not feel the need to be recognised as a Polish citizen and does not "associate with any Polish." The participants also believes that although his nationality might have affected his life in Ireland at the beginning, it was mostly the result of his limited language skills. As his abilities improved, he feels he is "being treated like any other person… Irish person." In terms of traditions the speaker cultivates with his family, he considers it important to celebrate the customs of both countries, stating "we celebrate

all Irish […] important days […] and we celebrate everything that comes with Polish tradition." The speaker and his family plan to stay in Ireland.

Speaker 17

Speaker 17 is a 47-year-old male from a small coastal town in County Clare. He is of Polish origin and his native language is also Polish, although he reports being able to speak "Spanish a little bit." The participant initially came to Ireland in 2004, on the day of Poland's accession to the EU, where he spent five years before moving to Gran Canaria. After two years on the Spanish island, he returned to Ireland. The speaker reports living in North Tipperary before moving and settling in Clare. Before that, the speaker also reports having lived in the Netherland for a period of time. He provides three reasons for his move to Ireland: learning the language (as the most important for him), money and adventure. He is currently employed as a scuba diving instructor.

The speaker did not receive any formal English instruction before moving to Ireland. He asserts that classroom learning and studying from books are not suitable for him; instead, he learns much more effectively through real-life experiences. Since that was his initial purpose, he learned English in Ireland through interaction with the locals and other nationalities in Ireland. He assesses his current abilities as "good", although he also expresses the need to improve and work on "grammar mistakes." In terms of the English-Polish ratio in his everyday communication, the speaker notes that during work week he speaks mostly English (seventy percent), while at home he speaks to his family only in Polish. The accent does not pose many difficulties to the speaker currently, although he also expresses that accent and variety-specific vocabulary were quite a challenge at the beginning of the stay. At the moment, however, he finds Irish English easier to understand than American English. He is fond of the Irish English variety, although he notes "I always thought it's a little bit like […] farmer's English." As for the speaker's pronunciation, he reports that he definitely sounds Polish to Irish speakers, but mostly because after so many years the Irish population "learned" how Polish people speak in English. The speaker does not find the ability to speak Polish in Ireland useful at all. While watching TV and movies, reading and searching for any internet sources, he reports to always go for English.

As regards spending free time, the speaker asserts that his daily job requires a lot of interaction, hence he does not necessarily look for more company after work. If he does, it is usually "whoever is around" as he is not the kind of person either "looking [to spend time] with the Polish" or "stay away from Poland". He reports his daily interactions are spread evenly between Polish and Irish nationals, and some other nationalities. The speaker does not feel the need to be recognised as a Polish national and is not sure whether his origins affected his experience in Ireland. He does not belong to any Polish or Irish organisation or association.

The traditions that are usually celebrated in the speaker's household include holidays from both countries. He is very content about his current place of residence, describing the town as "fantastic," stating closeness to the ocean, freedom and space as the main benefits. He also notes that life in Ireland "is so easy," although he is undecided about settling in one country for the rest of his life and "might do somewhere, but I don't know when and I don't know where." The speaker travels to Poland approximately once every two years, mainly to visit family.

Speaker 18

Speaker 18 is a 32-year-old male who had been a resident in County Clare for thirteen years at the time of the interview. He was born in Ukraine and moved to Poland around the age of six. He reports his nationality to be Polish and his native language as Polish. The speaker also indicated his ability to speak German (a bit) and Slovak (fairly fluent), and to understand some Russian and Czech. He initially came to Ireland to take a gap year in his studies, to "save some money and… maybe earn and spend some money" and although he did not plan to stay in Ireland initially, he is currently settled in a small town in County Clare. He is currently employed in a manufacturing company.

The speaker learned English through watching movies in English with Polish subtitles, although he also received formal instruction at primary and secondary schools. This led him to purse English philology with the in intention of becoming a teacher. However, he decided to withdraw from the program after one year spent in Ireland. The speaker reports that at the time he believed his communication skills in English to be sufficient, stating "it would be okay, I'd say, in England." Upon arriving in Ireland, however, the struggled to understand the locals due to their accent which he describes as

"some farmer's accent or local accent or whatever." He rates his current abilities as very high, though he admits to experiencing some difficulties with a more "professional, technical" language. In his daily life, the speaker communicates in English (fifty percent), Polish (twenty five percent) and Slovak (twenty five percent). All of these languages are also present in his household, as his wife is of Slovak origin and their children communicate fluently in three languages. The speaker finds Irish English easy to understand after getting used to it, although he attributes his ability to speak English prior to arriving in Ireland as one of the factors that facilitated faster comprehension. He reports being fond of this particular variety of English, although he "would change a few small bits and pieces." Regarding his pronunciation, the speaker notes that he adjusts it depending on his interlocutor. When speaking with an Irish or English person, he reports attempting to sound "more English" by "pretending an accent." However, when communicating with another non-native English speaker, he is not "bothered" about their perception of his speech. The speaker considers knowledge of Polish in Ireland important due to the size of the Polish diaspora and believes that Polish should be introduced as one of the languages at schools in Ireland.

When asked about reading books/magazines and watching TV/movies in his free time, the participant states he does it in three languages: Polish, English, and Slovak. The same applies to the time spent with friends and acquaintances; he cannot identify a prevalence of any specific nationality in his everyday life and notes he "hangs out with all the nationalities." He currently does not belong to any organization or association. Regarding his origin, the participant emphasizes the importance of being recognized as a Polish national and considers himself a member of the Polish community in his current place of residence. He notes that even if he does not wish to participate in events organized by members of the Polish diaspora for himself, he always gets involved for his children—he wants them to know the customs and traditions of his home country. Similarly, his family celebrates important Polish holidays "the same as […] back in Poland." He feels that his nationality has slightly affected his experience in Ireland but notes that he "had the benefit […] of knowing English" before moving and considers his language skills a contributing factor to his mainly positive experiences. When asked about future plans, the participant mentions several factors that could draw him back to Poland: his parents' business and the support of family with the kids. However, he also values his

independence and is considering buying a house in his current place of residence, likely within the next three years.

Speaker 19

Speaker 19 is a 33-year-old female who had been residing in County Clare, Ireland, for fourteen years at the time of the interview. She identifies her nationality as Polish and her native language as Polish. The participant initially came to Ireland with a couple of other friends just for a year, just to explore Ireland and decided to stay. She is currently employed in a manufacturing company.

She received formal English instruction in Polish public schools. After arriving in Ireland, she attended two English courses but did not find them helpful. Instead, she primarily learned the language through interactions with locals and other members of the migrant community. She rates her current abilities as "pretty good" and states having no problems with communication at all. As for the languages used in her everyday life, the speaker claims it is usually "half and half"—mostly English at work, while at home she mixes languages. Her partner is of Belgian origin, although he can speak some Polish and they frequently code-switch between Polish and English. Like many of the participants described above, she also found the variety of English spoken in Ireland difficult to understand at the beginning. This surprised her as she was fairly confident in her language skills upon arriving, stating "I was good in English at school, so I said […] that would be easy-peasy […] but for the first month I didn't say a word in English […] I couldn't understand anything what they were saying to me." However, these difficulties decreased with time, although she notes that certain accent varieties in Ireland are challenging to understand. As for her preference, she likes British and Scottish accents, and does not have an opinion on Irish English, stating "I don't know, I'm living here so that's the accent you hear every day." The speaker states that people often mistake her for an Irish person based on her pronunciation. She believes that knowledge of English is important in Ireland, although it would be similar to any language of a given country, "you're supposed to learn and communicate." As for the knowledge of Polish in Ireland, she is not convinced it is of much use on everyday basis. In her free time, she mostly reads books in Polish, while TV/movies are usually in English (although usually British and American movies).

As regards the time spent with different nationalities, the participant states her friend and acquaintance group would include approximately sixty percent Irish and forty Polish nationals, although she also has close Spanish, Brazilian and English friends, and those closest to her would also be a mixture of different nationalities. She does not feel the need to be recognised as a person of Polish origin and she never attends any of the events organised by the Polish community in her place of residence. She also does not belong to any association, neither Irish or Polish. The participant does not feel her origins played any significant role in her experience in Ireland, as Irish people are "very open and similar to Polish."

In terms of Polish traditions and customs, *Speaker 18* does not pay attention to celebrating them as they do not play any significant role in her life. She usually travels to Poland once or twice a year to see her family who also visit her in Ireland from time to time. The participant is unsure about her plans for the future; she notes that life is Ireland is "easy" but she would not say no to an opportunity of moving to a warmer country.

Speaker 20

Speaker 20 is a female in her early thirties, who identifies her nationality as Polish and her first language as Polish. She also reports being fluent in Russian in the past, as her grandfather is Belarusian, although her ability to communicate fluently diminished over the years as she dos not use it anymore. The speaker had been a resident in Ireland for thirteen years at the time of the interview. As a result of her first job in Ireland, she moved a lot, although she currently resides in Dublin.

She initially came to Ireland with her then-partner for the summer to learn the language and save up some money. At the time, she was studying philosophy at a university in eastern Poland. Her first job in Ireland was as a general operative at an archaeological site, but her responsibilities grew over time. The speaker 'fell in love' with this job, considering it her 'calling.' However, when the recession hit Ireland, she had to seek employment elsewhere. She parted ways with her partner and decided to pursue further education to obtain qualifications in accounting.

Before arriving in Ireland, the participant had very limited knowledge of English. However, she was determined to learn the language and dedicated every moment outside of work to immerse herself in it. She watched a lot of Irish TV and learned through

interactions with her Irish work colleagues, asking numerous questions. Her diligent efforts paid off, as she now considers herself fluent in English and feels confident in her language skills. She also spent a year in Columbia, US, where her husband was employed for a year as an engineer. As for the ratio of Polish to English in her daily interactions, the speaker uses almost only English – at work, with her colleagues and friends, and with her Irish husband and his family (ninety percent of the time). The only time she uses Polish is to communicate with her family in Poland over skype (ten percent of the time).

When asked about the level of difficulty of English in Ireland, the participant explained that her initial proficiency in English was very low and hence she could not make comparisons with other countries; she started learning the language from scratch upon arriving in Ireland. The speaker adds that the first variety of Irish English she came into contact with was Cork accent and, as she observes, "if you understand Cork accent, any other accents seem very easy to you." She does not report any problems with understanding English in Ireland at the moment, in fact, she "absolutely love[s] Irish accents," listing Donegal, Cork as her favourites. As regards her own pronunciation, the speaker believes she sounds Polish when speaking English, as she had been told that before. However, she had mistaken for a Scandinavian and French nationals in the past as well. The speaker believes that mastering English is essential for achieving a fulfilling career in Ireland. As she notes, it is important to have sufficient vocabulary to be able to hold a conversation in general. As for the Polish language, the speaker identifies certain fields where is might be useful, like the social services or hospitals, but only to deal with Polish individuals with limited knowledge of the English language.

The participant only watches Irish TV, as well as movies and TV series in English. However, she does read books mostly in Polish, as she feels her ability to speak her native language is "slightly changing" as it has become a "secondary" language for her.

Speaker 20 is very happy with her current residence, describing it as a lovely, close-knit neighbourhood. However, she notes that they plan to move back to her husband's hometown in County Kilkenny once she finishes her studies. She affectionately refers to this city as "a home away from home." In terms of her general impressions about Polish and Irish nationals, she believes that she fits in better with the latter as they are "more open […] forgiving […] never mean". At the same time she cherishes Polish people for their honesty and a bit of "harshness." The participant mostly spends time with

Irish people, including her husband's family and her closest friends, although she would also "be friendly" and organise some outings with a few other mixed Irish-Polish couples. She also volunteers with an organisation that is involved in women's rights in Dublin.

The speaker admits that she has never given much thought to her national identity, as she notes, "it's just normal and natural that I'm being recognised as a Polish person." She is proud of her origins and admits to getting slightly annoyed when mistaken for a citizen of other Eastern European countries. She is aware of a large Polish community in Dublin and in her area of residence, although she does not interact with their members frequently. The participant feels that her nationality affected her experience in Ireland in a very positive way and helped her in her career. As she notes, Polish people are considered hardworking and honest, and hence would be preferred by some Irish employers over other nationalities.

The speaker emphasizes that the languages and customs of both countries are equally significant to her, and she dedicates considerable effort to blending and preserving Polish and Irish traditions in her household. Additionally, she expresses a strong desire for her husband to learn Polish to communicate with her family in Poland, noting that he is currently making efforts to do so.

She travels to Poland at least few times a year and admits to being extremely homesick. As the speaker claims, if she had the choice, she would be living in Poland, but understands that it would be difficult for her husband to settle in with no knowledge of the language. She observes that she is "not a hundred percent fit to live in Poland now and […] not a hundred percent here [Ireland] as well." She feels caught between the two countries and notes she is always going to be a foreigner in Ireland, and if she could go back to Poland, she would do it "in a heartbeat." She would like to have a group of close Polish friends in Ireland, but notes she simply was not "lucky" to make long-lasting friendships with Polish nationals. Despite expressing happiness about her life with her husband in Ireland, the speaker notes she would have made different decisions if she could go back in time.

Speaker 21

Speaker 21 is a 42-year-old female. She reports her nationality as Polish and her first language as Polish, although she can also speak basic Russian. At the time of the

interview, she had been living in a small town in County Clare for thirteen years. She moved to Ireland to join her husband, who had arrived earlier, and together they decided to make it their home. She is currently employed as a shop assistant in a local grocery store.

Before coming to Ireland, she had one year of formal instruction of English at school, which did not help to develop her language skills. In Ireland she learned the language through interaction with the locals and other nationals. She rates her current abilities as communicative. In terms of Polish and English use, she admits to using both languages equally during the day, as she uses English at work with her colleagues and customers and Polish with her family at home. Her children are bilingual, but would struggle with Polish at times. The speaker does not consider English in Ireland difficult to understand and she feels like all Irish accents are very similar all over the country. She is fond of the variety of English spoken in Ireland. In terms of her own pronunciation, she believes that she sounds Russian as she had been told numerous times before. The speaker admits that speaking good English is necessary in Ireland, but that Polish is also an advantage – she notes that her Irish friends also expressed interest in learning basic Polish, especially after they started visiting Poland for holidays. She also expresses that she finds Irish people easier to get on with, more friendly and open than the Polish which, as she describes, "is sad to say". She has a close group of four friends, two Irish and two Polish, and they usually go out together, and they also have a group chat where they communicate. In her free time, the participant reads books and watches TV/movies in both languages, with no prevalence of one or the other. She cultivates Polish traditions in her household but also partakes in any Irish holidays, mixing the two cultures. Being recognised as a Polish national is important to her, as the participant notes, she does not feel "shame" due to her nationality. At the same time, she mentions a couple of unpleasant situations in her past that were the result of her nationality, especially uncomfortable comments from Irish nationals about Polish migrants "taking their jobs." She is not a member of any association or organisation. The participant states that her current place of residence has a large number of Polish nationals, but she does not feel part of this group and no longer keeps in touch.

She visits Poland usually once every two years and her children spend summer holiday in Poland with their grandparents. At the time of the interview, the participant

was on a leave from work and was planning to spent a few weeks there with her family. She is planning to stay in Ireland for the time being, although she does not have any specified plans to either leave or stay in Ireland, or move somewhere else. The participant is aligning her future plans with those of her children, who are still currently in school.

Speaker 22

Speaker 22 is a 39-year-old female residing in Galway at the time of the interview. Her nationality is Polish and her native language is also Polish. She used to be able to speak German, but "it got replaced" with English with time. She initially came to Ireland in 2003 on a student exchange programme for one year and did not plan to stay. However, just before taking a flight home, she received a job offer, which she decided to accept. During her time in Ireland, she followed her Irish husband to Australia, where they stayed and worked for three years. She is currently employed as an engineer in Ireland.

The participant received some formal instruction in English while still living in Poland, as she states, "enough to get by." The first two months of her student exchange in Ireland were really hard in terms of language, but the participant was really determined to learn English. She did not take any English language courses, instead she translated everything with a dictionary in her hand and wrote down all new words "phonetically." As the speaker notes, she was familiar with all the material presented in her classes, as she had already covered these topics in Poland, hence she used her knowledge to learn about it in English. Apart from that, like many of the participants before her, she learned the language through interaction with the locals. She currently rates her English abilities quite high. In terms of daily use of the languages, at work she speaks only English, even with the occasional Polish employees she comes across as she find it much easier to communicate in English, mainly due to some professional terminology. At home she speaks English (around sixty percent of the time) and Polish (around forty percent of the time). She speaks Polish to her children and her Irish husband, whose knowledge of Polish is on a very good level and he can communicate with the participant's Polish family members easily. At the beginning of her stay in Ireland, she had some difficulties understanding people from different parts of Ireland, like Cork or Donegal, but they do not pose any more problems for her. She also notes that Galway accent is easy to understand and learn. She likes the way English sounds in Ireland, although she mentions

that her cousin, who has a strong British English accent, noted that the participant speaks like "a farmer's daughter." In addition, when she lived in Australia, the locals identified her as Irish right away. At the same time, the speaker states Irish nationals can immediately recognise she is a foreigner, although they would not identify her as Polish. In her opinion, her pronunciation is very "Eastern European-sounding."

She believes that speaking good English makes the life easier in Ireland, as the Irish are "a talking nation." As regards the ability to speak Polish, she mentions that it might be useful in some professions, although it has not been beneficial in her case. Nevertheless, she speaks to her children predominantly in Polish and is happy that their knowledge of the language is on a very good level. In terms of free time entertainment, she watches English-medium TV and read mainly Polish books. As she notes, while a few years back she was translating everything from Polish to English, the first language that comes to her mind currently would be English (when talking to herself or example).

In terms of her friend group, her closest friends are of Irish, Mexican and Dutch nationality. She also has some Polish acquaintances, mainly from mixed Polish-Irish marriages. She does not intentionally "avoid" spending time with the Polish community in her current place of residence, but her stay in Australia affected a lot of her relationships and she is currently building her connections again. Although she is planning to "get involved more," mainly because of her kids.

When asked about being recognised as a Polish person, she notes that she is happy as a Polish person in Ireland and she likes to think that she is "a good ambassador for Poland" and it is a part of her identity. At the same time, the participant does not "push [her] culture and traditions on the Irish and [is] interested in others." The participants also claims that her nationality affected her experience in Ireland only in a positive way, especially at the beginning, when Irish people were interested in Polish people as the numbers of Polish migrant were very low at the time.

When it comes to customs and traditions, the participant proudly integrates elements from both cultures. She takes special care to introduce Polish holidays to her family and her husband's relatives. However, she shares a sense of disappointment that her efforts are not fully appreciated by her in-laws as much as she had hoped.

She travels to Poland with her family around three times a year to visit her close and extended family, where there's "plenty to do and there's always people to visit."

When asked about her plans for the future, the participant is planning to stay in Ireland, although she would not pass the opportunity to live in Australia again, where she really enjoyed the weather and the way of life.

Speaker 23

Speaker 23 is a 39-year-old female from Galway. She reports her nationality as Polish and her first language as Polish. She can speak basic German. At the time of the interview, she had been a resident in Ireland for fourteen years. The participant decided to spend some time in Ireland after graduating from a university, because "everyone was going to Ireland" after Poland's accession to the EU. Initially she planned to work and enjoy her time in Ireland for a year or two, but had eventually decided to stay. She currently works in an administrative job.

She acquired basic English skills through public schools and private lessons in Poland. Additionally, she spent five months in the United States on a student visa, which she considers a crucial experience for enhancing her language proficiency. In Ireland, she improved her skills primarily through interactions with locals and individuals from various backgrounds. She now assesses her English proficiency as fluent. In her everyday communication, she uses English predominantly (sixty percent) – at work and at home with her husband, although she communicates in Polish (forty percent) with her kids and her closest friend, who is also a Polish national. Similarly to other people, she identifies Irish English accents as one of the most challenging aspects of her language experience at the beginning of her life in Ireland, as it is so "different to American." However, she changed her mind with time and "loves" Irish English and is not so fond of the American varieties. As for her own pronunciation, she states she is aware of her foreign accent, although a lot of time people do not identify her as a Polish citizen. She does not believe that knowledge of English is essential to be successful in Ireland and one could achieve it with limited language abilities. The participant does not consider the knowledge of Polish in Ireland useful, although she mentions it might help in certain situations, but have never proved beneficial in her case. She predominantly reads books in English and watches Irish TV, mostly to practice and improve her language skills. Although she admits to watching morning TV shows and some soap operas in Polish, as a "sentiment."

In terms of close friends, the participant states to spend time with both, Polish and Irish people, although she admits it is sometimes easier to interact with Polish nationals due to the shared cultural background and experience growing up in Poland. She has two closest friends – Irish and Polish nationals, although she notes that these two relationships are very different.

In terms of her involvement with the local Polish community, she does not feel the need to do so anymore, as she believes Polish people just "blended into this [Irish] culture." What is more, a lot of her family members also live in Ireland, hence she does not engage with a lot of people outside of her family and friend group. Her kids, however, attend Polish weekend school and she is very happy about this opportunity for them.

Being recognised as a Polish citizen is important to the participant and she notes that her nationality affected her experience in Ireland – mostly in a positive way, but she also mentions some negative situations that stemmed from different mentalities or tempers.

The participant is dedicated to preserving customs by cultivating traditions from both countries, driven particularly by the cultural blend in her Polish-Irish family. She is very content in her current place of residence and considers Galway to be a wonderful place to live, with a lot of opportunities for different activities and entertainment. When asked about the future plans for the family, they are still uncertain about settling in one of the countries, as the participant's husband is very fond of Poland and enjoys his time there on holidays. The speaker admits this decision is hard for them and they are still pondering on it.

Speaker 24

Speaker 24 is a 55-year-old female, who had been living in Dublin for fifteen years at the time of the interview. She identifies as Polish and reports her native language as Polish as well, although she can speak a little Hebrew, Spanish and some Russian. Prior to moving to Ireland, she had lived in Israel for ten years. The participant's move to Ireland was motivated by the desire to explore Ireland as a country, its culture and people. She is currently employed in an office job in the service industry.

In terms of the participant's knowledge of English, she had not received any formal instruction while living in Poland, however, during her stay in Israel, she started

learning English by herself and then attended an English course organised by the British Council. While in Ireland, she honed her skills mostly through interaction with people and access to the media. She currently rates her abilities rather harshly as "average" and feels that her language skills are not improving as much as she would like them to. On everyday basis, she speaks English at work (seventy percent of the time) and Polish (thirty percent of the time) at home to her husband and daughter. Her profession involves extensive interaction in English, and she feels that her language skills diminish after a full day of work, as she notes, "the funny thing is [...] I turn off the computer [and] my brain [...] switches off English." Similar to several participants described earlier, the speaker believes that once someone becomes accustomed to the Irish variety of English, they will be able to understand all other varieties. She is fond of this variety, describing it as "fun." As for her own pronunciation, during communication with different customers on the daily basis, she was taken was an Irish national from County Meath, County Dublin, as well as a Dutch citizen. She notes that even though very often she is identify as a foreigner based on her accent, she has never been recognised as a Polish person.

She does not believe that speaking good English in Ireland is crucial as she believes Irish nationals are nice and would not discriminate someone based on their low level language skills. Furthermore, she believes that Polish can be a great advantage in Ireland. The participant shares an example of her daughter, whose Leaving Certificate results (equivalent of Polish Matura exam), boosted by her Polish exam score, helped secure her a spot at a university. *Speaker 24* watches movies and TV series on various streaming platforms exclusively in English, while she enjoys reading books in both English and her native language. The participant admits to a deep affection for English, considering it to be "her language."

The participant acknowledges the large Polish community in Dublin but notes that she does not spend much time socializing due to her busy schedule with work and sports activities. Most of her time after work is spent with her family, and she mentions that her closest friends are of Polish origin. At gatherings and celebrations, the participant finds herself primarily engaging with Irish individuals. She notes that fellow Polish nationals tend to be less sociable and more reserved, sometimes appearing to hold themselves in higher regard than others – which the participant particularly dislikes.

The speaker is proud of her nationality, Polish language and the history of her home country. Additionally, she remarks that her daughter frequently attempts to correct her pronunciation to sound less foreign. However, she firmly maintains that there is nothing wrong with having a distinct accent and states that she has no desire to "pretend [she is] Irish". Her language skills allow her to complete her professional duties and she is not bothered with her accent, as long as it allows her to be understood.

Currently, she is not affiliated with any association or organization, but in the past, she was actively engaged with the Labour Party, advocating for the Polish community. She recalls being invited to Parliament and Irish TV to discuss the Polish diaspora in Ireland. Additionally, she contributed articles to the Polish newspaper published in Ireland. However, she decided to prioritize her personal life and is no longer involved in any of the above.

Additionally, the participant feels that her nationality had a positive influence on her experience in Ireland, especially in terms of her professional development. She recounts an incident where, while writing an article for a newspaper about insurance companies, she was offered a job opportunity to establish a Polish branch of the company, catering specifically to Polish nationals.

When it comes to traditions, the participant and her family happily blend elements from both Polish and Irish cultures, aiming to incorporate the best of what each has to offer. She notices differences in the mentalities of Polish and Irish people, finding the latter to be more open and trusting. She mentions that she has always felt a kinship with Irish culture, describing herself as naturally open-hearted, much "like an Irish person".

When asked about her future, the participants plans to stay put for the next five years and then hopes to travel. However, she intends to prioritise supporting her daughter through college before pursuing her own travel aspirations.

Speaker 25

Speaker 25, a 33-year-old woman, identifies herself as Polish, with Polish being her native language. She first arrived in Ireland in 2007 while studying law at a university in Poland, seeking employment and leisure during the summer break. After returning to Poland to resume her studies, she opted to discontinue a year later and returned to Ireland.

At the time of the interview she had been a resident in Dublin for twelve years. She is currently employed as a general operative in a pharmaceutical company.

She received formal English instruction during both her primary and secondary education, supplemented by attending a private course in Poland for a period of three years. Upon moving to Ireland, she further developed her language skills through interactions with locals and people of various nationalities. Currently, she considers her proficiency level to be intermediate, acknowledging that her speaking skills surpass her writing abilities. In her daily life, the participant predominantly uses English at work, accounting for about sixty percent of her time, while she converses in Polish with other Polish nationals during breaks (forty percent), as well as with her husband and housemates after work. On weekends, she exclusively speaks Polish. The participant does not have any close friends who primarily speak English and with whom she would frequently interact.

Similar to several other participants, *Speaker 25* finds English in Ireland challenging to comprehend, largely due to the various accents prevalent throughout the country. Initially, she struggled to understand the locals, as their speech differed greatly from what she had learned in school. However, she gradually overcame these difficulties and got used to it. The participant also notes that her interactions in English primary occur with people from diverse cultural, background, not just Irish natives. This intercultural mix is far different from what she was taught at school.

Initially, the participant the participant expressed concern regarding her English proficiency and pronunciation, although this also decreased with time. She is not currently "bothered" with her skills and the way she sounds when speaking English. However, she admits that a good level of English is necessary to live in Ireland comfortably and admits that her abilities improved greatly once she started working with Irish people and other nationals, and was simply "forced" to interact solely in English. Additionally, she does not believe that the knowledge of Polish language can be of any use in Ireland.

The speaker admits to watching TV series and movies primarily in English, although these usually include American English. Additionally, she stays updated with news and magazines in English, while in terms of reading books she opts for Polish. Regarding leisure activities, the participant regularly participates in events hosted by Polish nationals (although open to all nationalities) and attends concerts featuring Polish

artists held in Dublin. Her husband also used to DJ at parties organised by Poles in Dublin, which she always attended. She spends majority of her time with her Polish husband, as well as Polish and Slovak friends. As the speaker notes, she feels "more connected to Polish people" and does not have any Irish friends. Additionally, she notes that being recognised as a Polish citizen is important to her and she would not "hide" her origins. She does not feel that her nationality affected her experience in Ireland in any way.

The participant is aware of the large Polish community in her current place of residence, she knows most of them to see, but does not interact with them on daily basis. She used to play basketball regularly with a group of Polish people, but they discontinued meeting for different reasons.

In terms of traditions, the speaker cultivates all Polish customs and often travels home for major Polish holidays. She travels to Poland three to four times a year, splitting the time between her and her husbands families who live quite far apart in Poland. Despite spending twelve years in Ireland, she admits to missing Poland and not quite feeling at home in her current surroundings. While she had entertained the idea of purchasing a home in Ireland in the past, the high property prices discouraged her from following this idea. She is currently planning to remain in Ireland for a few more years to accumulate savings that will allow her to purchase a property back in Poland.

Speaker 26

Speaker 26 is a 39-year-old woman who has been living in a small village in County Galway for the past fifteen years. She identifies as Polish and her native language is Polish. Additionally, she has some proficiency in German. She initially came to Ireland for a few months during the summer as part of a student experience program, prior to Poland joining the European Union. During that time, she and her husband developed a deep affection for Ireland, leading them to sell all their possessions in Poland and relocate to Ireland permanently. Her family moved around County Galway, following job opportunities. The participant is currently employed at an Irish preschool.

She received formal English instruction during her years in private primary school where she had eight hours of English a week. As the speaker notes, after coming to Ireland, she had to get used to the local accent and vocabulary typical to Irish English. She currently rates her abilities as advanced. In terms of daily language use, the

participant notes that she uses Polish and English equally. She speaks English at work and with her friends and acquaintances, while she speaks Polish with her husband, her brother, and a few Polish friends. Both parents speak English to their two children, who understand Polish but, as the participant notes, 'will never even pretend that they're Polish anymore.' One of the sons was one year old when they moved to Ireland, and the other was born there. Speaker 25 does not find English in Ireland difficult to understand, claiming it is simply a matter of getting used to the accent. She expresses great fondness for this variety of English, particularly "the sound of it" and the typical Irish expressions. As for the speaker's pronunciation, she believes that she "will never get rid of [her] Polish accent," and people usually mistake her for a Russian national. She is actively working on her accent to sound more Irish, which is particularly important to her because of her profession. She emphasises that improving her accent to sound "more Irish" is crucial to set a good example for the children she teaches. She believes that the knowledge of English is very important and one should learn the language of the host country they choose to settle in. Additionally, the participant believes that knowing Polish can be very useful in Ireland and it certainly was in her case – she used to work as a freelance interpreter, assisting Polish people with limited knowledge of English in handling different formalities. She also asserts that even a passive knowledge of English is a significant advantage for her son, who is aspiring to become a police officer in Ireland. The participant is a passionate movie enthusiast who exclusively watches films in English, while she typically reads books in both languages. She also notes that her teenage children started learning Polish only a few years back and show more interest in it than they used to.

The participant used to help out at a local Polish schools in organising different events. She also used to run a horse riding school, where they also organised family integration days for Polish and Irish nationals. Additionally, she was actively involved in an organization that brings together volunteers and dedicated some of her time to voluntary work in animal sanctuaries. As part of her profession, she also actively involved her preschool pupils in cultivating different traditions and often familiarises them with certain Polish customs and Polish food. She notes that the children love it and always look forward to events revolving around Polish culture.

The speaker claims her friend group is currently predominantly Irish, although her closest friends include one Polish person, one English and one US citizen, all of whom have been living in Ireland for many years. She acknowledges the Polish community in her area of residence and although she does not interact with their members on the daily basis, usually when searching for some specialists or when looking to sell or purchase something. The participant does not pay attention to being recognised as a Polish citizen, but she is proud of her origin and notes that Polish employees are appreciated in Ireland and considered hard-working and honest. However, she mentions that she came across some prejudice from the Irish community and attributes it to some undesirable behaviours of some of the Polish nationals in Ireland. The speaker also recalls some discriminating comments towards her during the financial crisis in Ireland. Currently, however, she resides in a small closely-knit community where they "blend in." She generally considers Irish people as more optimistic, open-minded and relaxed.

In terms of traditions, the speaker asserts her family "combines the best experiences form both cultures" and they cultivate both Irish and Polish holidays. The participant does not travel to Poland often, usually once every three or four years. As her closest family resides with her, she does not feel the need to visit her home country. She is really happy in her current place of residence in a beautiful Irish countryside and is in the process of saving up money to buy a property in that area, where she plans to settle for good.

Speaker 27

Speaker 27, a 31-year-old female, came to County Clare in 2007. She identifies as a Polish national and reports her native language as Polish. The primary reason for her move to Ireland was finding employment and saving money. She is currently employed as a shop assistant at a pharmacy.

Before coming to Ireland, she received formal English instruction in primary and secondary school and was also pursuing qualifications as an English teacher. However, she dropped out after one year to relocate to Ireland. After arriving here, she improved her abilities at an English language course and obtained an advanced certificate. She rates her current abilities as "between advanced and professional, depending on the situation and the day." In her daily interactions, during work days, she uses English predominantly

(seventy percent of the time) with the customers and her work colleagues, while at home she uses exclusively Polish to speak to her Polish husband and two children, as well as to her Polish friends and neighbours.

The speaker does not feel that English in Ireland is difficult to understand; she believes it is much easier than British English. She is not fond of the Irish English variety and prefers British, describing the latter as "distinguished and elegant." She does note that the accent varieties in Ireland may pose some problems in everyday interactions and the specific way people pronounce words is sometimes hard to understand. As for her own pronunciation, the speaker admits to sounding "foreign", although she believes she sometimes sounds "like Irish, depending on the day." The participant believes that having a good level knowledge of English is very important in Ireland, especially when someone is aspiring to get a "well-paid, respectful job." Additionally, she finds the knowledge of Polish useful, especially at her job, where she is able to assist Polish customers or help her Irish colleagues with Polish surnames.

The participant has only Polish TV in her house; she watches TV series and movies almost only in Polish. In terms of reading different resources, she primarily chooses English as it is "such an important language" and using it has become something really natural for her. Nevertheless, she describes her current home as "little Poland" and notes that it is very important to her to cultivate Polish customs and preserve the Polish language, especially for her children. The family includes certain Irish traditions, although they do not bear as much importance to them.

Although she has a few Irish work colleagues, her closest friends and the people she spends most of her free time are exclusively Polish. The speaker claims her nationality is important to her, but it is not something "she is crazy about" and although she would never hide her nationality, she does not feel the need to share it with others. She recalls one negative situation where she was discriminated on the basis of her nationality, but notes it was a singular event during her time in Ireland. She does not belong to any organisation, although she was involved in some events organised by the Polish Irish Association and feels like their activities contribute to better understanding between the two communities.

She is content with the town where she currently lives as she has all the important amenities nearby – her job and her children's school. Nevertheless, the participant is not

planning to stay in Ireland. She feels homesick and would like to live closer to her family members, hence she is planning to move back to Poland within the next few years.

Speaker 28

Speaker 28 is a 40-year-old female, who had been residing in County Galway for fourteen years at the time of the interview, first in Galway city where she stayed for six years, and then in Athenry where she purchased a house. She identifies as Polish and reports her native language as "Polish, obviously." The reason behind the participant's move to Ireland was the desire to change her life and find employment.

While living in Poland, the participant had some formal instruction in English in secondary school. After coming to Ireland, she attended private lessons with a teacher from Australia. Additionally, she learned the language though interaction with the locals and individuals of various nationalities. She currently rates her abilities as intermediate, although claims that her writing, reading and speaking skills are not on the same level, with the latter being assessed by the speaker as slightly worse. She uses English only at work and Polish at home with her husband and children. Since she is currently employed in a part-time position, she assesses the ratio of daily language use as seventy percent Polish and thirty percent English. In terms of the difficulty of English spoken in Ireland, the participant also notes that she struggled with the accent at the beginning, but these difficulties ceased with time and she grew to like this variety very much. As for her own pronunciation, the speaker believes she has a strong Polish accent and that she did not "get any [Irish] accent" throughout the years of her life here. She believes that the importance of the knowledge of English depends on what individuals want to do and it might not always be necessary. As for the knowledge of Polish, the participant does not feel it is of any use in Ireland. She watches TV/movies and reads books/magazines exclusively in Polish.

Although she works exclusively with Irish nationals and sometimes spends time outside of work with them, her friend group consists only of Polish people, including her closest friend. She is aware of a considerable number of Polish migrants in her area of residence, she does not consider herself a member of this community and would interact only with those who live close to her, regardless of their nationality. The participant also feels that her Polish nationality did not influence her experience in Ireland in any way and

she does not care about being recognised as a Polish citizen. In terms of traditions and language preservation, she speaks Polish to her family. They cultivate traditions of both countries equally as her children were born in Ireland.

The participant is content with her life in Ireland, they are happy with their area of residence and the property they own. She is not planning to move back to Poland, as she notes, "it would be a hard decision to move out because I don't see myself living in Poland." The main aspects that discourage the participant from returning to Poland are the cost of living and mentality of Polish people.

5.4.3 Acculturation, attitudes, identity

This subsection aims to compile data from the participants' profiles and present it in a tabular format to shed light on three variables: acculturation strategies, attitudes towards the host country and its language, and national or local identity. Despite the challenges encountered, the following summary provides a broad view of general trends among the participants. It explores the strategies of acculturation they adopt (following Schumann's 1986 framework: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation), their overall attitudes towards Irish people and the English spoken in Ireland, and how they identify themselves in terms of identity. Similarly to Study One, it is important to note that while the first part of the table reflects the author's interpretation of responses to infer possible acculturation strategies, the latter two sections are based directly on participants' self-reports.

	Attitudes towards host country and language	National/local identity	Acculturation strategy
S15	positive, views Irish people as easy-going and relaxed, views Polish people as more reliable; celebrates Irish customs, but Polish are more important	doesn't feel a member of the Polish community; being recognized as a Polish national not important	integration
S16	content with his life in Ireland; plans to stay; celebrates customs of both countries; fond of Irish English	doesn't feel a member of the Polish community; being recognized as a Polish national not important	integration
S17	very content with his life in Ireland (primarily due to is natural beauty); considers life in Ireland easy; not sure about	being recognized as a Polish national not important; he does not avoid nor seeks the	integration

	staying for good; fond of Irish English	company of other Polish people	
S18	content with his life in Ireland; considers settling for good; celebrates Polish, Slovak and some Irish customs; generally fond of Irish English	considers himself a member of the Polish community; being recognized as a Polish national is important	integration
S19	content with her life in Ireland; considers her life in Ireland as easy; considers Irish people as open and similar to Polish; does not pay a lot of attention to cultivating any customs	doesn't feel a member of the Polish community; being recognized as a Polish national not important	integration
S20	content with her life in Ireland in her closely-knit neighbourhood but misses Poland and would go back if she could; fond of Irish English; considers English her primary language; considers Irish people as more open, forgiving and never mean	considers being recognised as a Polish national as something natural, proud of her origins; she does not interact with Polish people frequently, expresses regret for not having any close Polish friends; fits in more with the Irish due to her personality	integration
S21	content with her life in Ireland, finds Irish people more open and friendly than Polish, fond of Irish English	doesn't feel a member of the Polish community; being recognized as a Polish national is important	integration
S22	content with her life in Ireland; plans to settle in Ireland; cultivates traditions of both countries as her husband is Irish; Polish traditions are really important to her, fond of Irish-English variety	feels happy as a Polish person in Ireland, considers it part of her identity; doesn't avoid Polish community and plans to get involved more for her kids' sake	integration
S23	very content about her life in Ireland, loves her current place of residence; cultivates cultures of both countries, fond of Irish English variety; might consider a move to Poland in the future as her Irish husband is very fond of the country	being recognised as a Polish citizen is important; she doesn't feel the need to engage with other Polish people outside of her friend group	integration
S24	content with her life in Ireland; cultivates customs of both countries as she sees fit; finds Irish people more open and trusting; fond of Irish English variety, considers it 'fun;' describes English as 'her' language	doesn't interact with the Polish community much; proud of being Polish; her nationality helped her advance in Ireland; feels more connected to Irish people due to her personality	integration
S25	doesn't feel at home in Ireland, misses Poland and is planning to	doesn't interact with the Polish community often; proud of her	separation

	go back, cultivates all Polish traditions	Polish nationality; feels more connected to Polish people	
S26	very content in her place of residence, feels deep affection for Ireland; want to settle for good; considers Irish people as more optimistic, open-minded and relaxed; fond of Irish English, particularly the sound of it; cultivates traditions of both countries, likes sharing Polish customs with others	being recognised as a Polish citizen in not important, but she is proud of her origin, she interacts with other members of the Polish community occasionally	integration
S27	content with her life in Ireland, but not planning to stay, misses her family back home; preserving Polish traditions and the language is very important to her; she also sometimes incorporates some Irish customs	considers herself member of the Polish community, her Polish nationality is important to her but she doesn't feel the need to share with others	integration
S28	content about her life in Ireland, mainly her current neighbourhood, fond of Irish English variety; is not planning to come back	doesn't feel a member of the Polish community, feels a member of her local community (regardless of the nationality); being recognised as a Polish citizen is not important	integration

Table 18. Attitudes towards the host country and language, social/national identity, daily language use and acculturation strategy.

5.4.4 Language use and interactions, friends

The table below provides a summary of interaction patterns reporter by respondents in Study two with various communities, including native English speakers, Polish speakers and other groups. The table further shows facts about the relevant speaking community for each respondent, e.g., information about interlocutors in English language conversations, information about interlocutors in Polish language conversations, and nationalities of closest friends.

	English/Polish %	English with…	Polish with…	Closest friends
S15	50/50 (week) 10/90 (weekends)	colleagues, clients	friends, family	Polish, few Irish
S16	50/50	colleagues, clients	family, friends	Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Irish
S17	70/30	colleagues, clients	family, friends	Polish
S18	50 English 25 Polish 25 Slovak	colleagues, friends, family	colleagues, friends, family	Latvian, Slovak, Polish, Irish
S19	50/50	colleagues, friends, partner	colleagues, friends, partner	Irish, few Polish, Spanish, Brazilian, English
S20	95/5	colleagues, friends, husband	family in Poland	Irish, one Polish friend
S21	50/50	colleagues, customers, friends	family, friends	Irish, Polish
S22	100/0 (at work) 60/40 (at home)	colleagues, clients, friends, husband	husband, children, friends	Irish mainly, Mexican, Dutch, German
S23	60/40	colleagues, clients, husband, friends	family, friends	Polish, Irish
S24	70/30	colleagues, clients, friends	family, friends	Polish,
S25	40/60 (week) 100/0 (weekends)	colleagues (different nationalities)	family, friends	Polish
S26	50/50	colleagues, pupils at work, her sons	husband, brother, friends	Irish, American, Polish
S27	70/30 (at work) 30/70 (at home)	colleagues, customers	husband, children, friends	Polish
S28	30/70	colleagues	family, friends	Polish

Table 19. English/Polish use ratio, interactions, closest friends.

Respondents show varying percentages of English and Polish usage depending on the context, such as whether interactions occur during the week or weekends, and whether they are at home or at work. One respondent notably uses Slovak, in addition to English and Polish, for a significant portion of the day, primarily with his wife, children, and Slovak friends. The overall pattern indicates that English is predominantly used with colleagues, clients, and friends, whereas Polish is mainly used with family and friends. Furthermore, only a few nationalities are consistently mentioned as significantly present in the lives of these respondents. Despite the diversity in their linguistic and social interactions, certain nationalities emerge as particularly important in their daily interactions.

5.5 The use of Irish English slit-t by Polish migrants in Ireland: analysis and discussion

This subchapter analyses and discusses the quantitative and qualitative results of Study Two. While this study does not primarily focus on acculturation strategies, attitudes towards the host community and language, or social and local identity, these aspects of migrant experience are inseparable from the participants' backgrounds. As observed in Study One, they can provide valuable insights into the factors that influence language use by Polish migrants in Ireland. Although Study One identified difficulties in defining the participants' acculturation strategies, the author believes that attempts at identifying them should not be dismissed. Despite the challenges, this approach can still uncover useful patterns. Therefore, the first section of Study Two present the analysis of strategies of acculturation, the participants' attitudes towards the host country and language, as well as their approach towards nationality and the importance of being recognized for their origin.

The following section presents analysis of qualitative data in order to explore three interconnected independent variables: the ratio of Polish/English use, the nationality of individuals with whom the participants interact in both languages and the nature of these relationships, and the nationality of the participants' closest friends. As observed in Study One, a greater insight into participants' interactions with the host community (or their absence) may shed light on their linguistic behaviours.

Following the approach applied in Study One, the next section presents the results of quantitative analysis and their possible correlation with the three independent variables in order to evaluate potential patterns in participants' use of Irish English slit-t. This is followed by analysis of overall realisations of /t/ in relation to the independent variables. The final section discusses the findings and provides concluding observations.

5.5.1 Acculturation strategies, attitudes and identity

Much like in the case of previous respondents, assessing acculturation strategies among speakers in Study Two was not an easy task. Based on the four different strategies described in Chapter 3, the most obvious choice for almost all of the participants was integration, with only one respondent showing considerable separation from the host community (Speaker 23). However, upon closer examination of the participants responses, one can observe different behaviours and opinions that demonstrate different levels of integration into the host society.

The level of integration is highly dependent on the participants immediate surroundings – mostly family. Obviously, the importance of the preservation of customs and traditions of the host/home countries differs markedly in mixed Irish-Polish families (as in the case of Speakers 20, 22 and 23) or Polish-other nationality families (Speaker 19). The dynamics change significantly if the respondents have children, as this often heightens their sense of responsibility to preserve and pass on their cultural heritage.

As the qualitative results show, only one participant is not content with her life in Ireland and does not feel at home. Speaker 25 came to Ireland mainly for economic reasons and has worked in low-skilled jobs surrounded by people of different nationalities. Therefore, for a major part of her day she is exposed to non-native English language input. Additionally, her husband, housemates and friends are all Polish nationals, hence most of her time outside of work is spent speaking almost exclusively Polish. The participant also claims she feels a stronger connection to Polish people, primarily due to their shared cultural background and experiences, and does not have any Irish friends. It is evident that the participant highly values her native cultural identity and does not necessarily desire interaction with the host community members, or never actually had an opportunity to establish any relationships with them. She does not openly

express any negative attitudes towards members of the target language community but the group that guaranteed "positive psychological distinctiveness" (Tajfel 1982) in her case involved fellow Poles. Although she has lived in Ireland for a significant amount of time, her stay appears to be driven primarily by economic reasons, specifically her goal of saving enough money to purchase an apartment in Poland. This indicated that the strategy demonstrated by the participant could be best described as separation, as described by Berry (1997, 2006) (or preservation in Schumann's description, 1976).

All other participants reported being content with their lives in Ireland, with some expressing their satisfaction more strongly than others. Similarly to Study One, most respondents described life in Ireland as "easy," characterizing Irish people as more open, relaxed, friendly and easy-going compared to Polish people. Speakers 20 and 24 noted that, because of their personality traits, they felt a greater affinity with the Irish community. Speaker 19, on the other hand, noted that Polish and Irish people are very similar. Interestingly, Speaker 15 believed that Polish nationals are more reliable than Irish, while Speaker 20 noted that she quite likes Polish honesty and being forward. This indicates that majority of the participants demonstrate favourable attitudes to the Irish society, attributing positive characteristics to them, which again can be referred back to ingroup/outgroup categorization by Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986).

At the same time, however, the participants that displayed positive attitudes towards life in Ireland and Irish people can be categorized into four groups: 1. those who see themselves as part of the Polish community and value recognition as Polish nationals; 2. those who identify with the Polish community but do not seek recognition as Polish citizens; 3. those who do not see themselves as part of the Polish community but value recognition as Polish citizens, 4. those who do not consider themselves part of the Polish community and are indifferent to being recognized as Polish citizens. Interestingly, one participant from the last group, Speaker 28, notes that she feels part of her local community, meaning her neighbourhood, which consists of different nationalities. The cases of Speakers 20 and 24, who feel strong connection with the Irish population based on the personality traits they assign to its members (openness, friendliness), and describe English language as their primary means of expression compared to Polish (Speaker 24: "this is my language") could be described by the mental processes involved in ingroup/outgroup classification proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). One might assume

that these participants adopted the identity of the people they associate themselves with – they adopt the behaviour of Irish people and conform to the norms of the group. At the same time, both of the speakers express pride in their Polish heritage, which suggests that national identity can be significant independently of community belonging.

As expected, the analysis of participants' acculturation strategies, their attitudes toward the host community and language, and their national/local identities in Study Two closely mirrors the findings from Study One.

5.5.2 Language use, interactions, friend groups

During the interviews, participants were asked to estimate the percentage of their daily use of English and Polish. They were also asked to specify the nationalities and their relationships with the individuals they spoke to in each language. Furthermore, they described their closest friend groups to give insights into their social networks (Milroy, 1987). These variables related to language use were analysed to understand how these external factors might influence the participants' language choices. Of course, the information elicited from the respondents was based solely on self-reports, which may not always accurately reflect their actual language usage patterns or social interactions. Nevertheless, they provide valuable insights into the participants' perceptions and attitudes towards their language use and social networks.

As observed from the qualitative results, four participants report using English and Polish equally on a daily basis. Speaker 16 notes that he uses English exclusively in his supervisory position at work and much less frequently outside of work. Once home, the interactions with his family (wife and two kids) and friends occur in Polish. The participant also notes that his closest friend group is fairly mixed in terms of nationality, including Polish, Lithuanian, Russian and Irish, and he interacts with them in Polish and English (his closest friend, who is Lithuanian and also his flatmate, speaks Polish).

The remaining three respondents (Speaker 19, 21 and 26) do not interact in English only with their colleagues and customers, but also with those much closer to them – partners, friends, their children or their children's friends. Speaker 19 claims to interact in both languages both at work and with people close to her, like her partner who is a Belgian national and has basic proficiency in Polish. She frequently mixes Polish and

English when speaking with her partner, often switching between the two languages within a single conversation (as the researcher witnessed during the interview). She also reports to have a fairly mixed group of closest friends, including Polish, as well as both native and non-native users of English.

Speaker 26 shows quite interesting patterns. She interacts in Polish with her husband, brother and a few Polish friends. She emphasizes, however, that these friends are married to Irish nationals, so they would primarily interact in English not to single out the partners. She also notes that she communicates in English with her children because it is their primary language, having grown up in Ireland (one of them was even born there). Although they understand Polish, they struggle to speak it fluently and have "a terrible Irish accent" when they do. As the respondent notes, her children "will never ever pretend that they're Polish anymore." At work, she communicates solely in English. Since she works in a kindergarten, where most of the children are Irish, she pays a lot of attention to her pronunciation because she wants to be a good language model for the children, hence she is "trying to get rid of [her Polish] accent." The speaker also has two close friends of American and Irish origin with whom she interacts daily. The family also lives in a very secluded area, where they are the only Polish family around.

Speaker 21 interacts in English at work, but also with her closest friends – a close-knit group comprising two Irish and two Polish nationals. They meet frequently and stay connected daily through a group chat. At home, she communicates exclusively in Polish with her sons and husband, except when her sons' Irish friends visit. She also learned English primarily through interactions with the locals, especially at a shop where she is an assistant.

Five participants (Speakers 15, 17, 25, 27, and 28) report using English exclusively at work, while at home or during their free time they communicate only in Polish. The variation in reported language use among respondents often depends on factors such as the day of the week (weekday versus weekend), the number of hours they spend at their job each day, and the extent to which their work involves interacting with others. Most participants also report that their closest friend group consists exclusively of Polish individuals. One respondent, Speaker 15, notes having a few Irish friends as well, but he does not interact as much with them as with his Polish friends. Speakers 15 and 25

also reported speaking almost solely Polish during weekends, indicating that the majority of their leisure time interactions occur in their native language.

Two participants reported similar ratio of English/Polish use (with predominant English) in their daily interactions. English is mostly reserved for professional interaction and friends, while Polish is reserved for family. Speaker 23 noted that while she has many Irish friends, her closest friend is Polish. On the other hand, Speaker 24, who has limited interaction with the Polish community, identified her Polish husband as her closest friend.

The patterns of language use are quite different in the case of Speaker 18, whose daily interactions occur in English (50% of the time), Polish (25%) and Slovak (25%). His wife is Slovak and both of them can understand and speak their respective native languages. Both of them also communicate with their children in all three languages. Additionally, the participants' closest friends include a fairly international mix, with mostly Latvian, Slovak, Polish and Irish nationals.

Speaker 22 reports interacting in English 95% of the time, at work, with her Irish husband and his family, as well as with her Irish friends or other Irish-Polish mixed couples. The only interaction that occurs in Polish is with her family during Skype calls. Interestingly, the participant notes that the extended input and use of English influenced her native language. Her family noted that her "Polish is changing." The participant attributes this shift to her early days of learning English, when she used to translate from Polish to English in her head before speaking. Now, the situation has reversed, and she often finds herself translating from English to Polish instead.

Similarly to Speaker 18, the language use patterns at home for Speaker 22 are also quite interesting, although limited to only Polish and English. The respondent reports speaking exclusively in English at work, even when she occasionally has the opportunity to work with Polish people. The participant notes that her knowledge of specific vocabulary and terminology related to her engineering work is significantly stronger in English than in Polish. Consequently, she finds it much easier and more efficient to discuss work-related matters in English. Additionally, using English helps avoid any potential misunderstandings. As for the interaction at home, the participants speaks Polish to her children and notes that their knowledge of Polish is superior to English, although they have not yet begun their formal education in Irish schools. She also speaks in both languages to her husband, who is an Irish national, but has communicative knowledge of

Polish and is able to have a conversation in Polish with the participant's family members. She communicates in English with her husband's family and her friends of different nationalities, including Irish, Mexican, Duch and German. During the interview, the participant realized that she interacts with Polish people more frequently than she initially thought, especially with her Polish neighbour or other parents at her child's kindergarten.

The analysis of the results indicates that various internal and external factors influence the daily use of both languages. Generally, English is the predominant language used at work, while Polish is primarily spoken at home and during leisure time. However, this pattern differs significantly for mixed Polish-Irish families and for those whose children were born and/or grew up in Ireland, as these children typically prefer to communicate in English. Moreover, only four participants reported having close friends who are exclusively Polish; the remaining participants' social circles included a mix of Polish, Irish, and other nationalities.

5.5.3 Language use, interactions, friend groups and slit-t

One of the research questions in Study Two operates on the premise that the extent of daily input and interaction in English will correlate with the use of the Irish English slit-t feature. This assumption is grounded in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory, specifically Schumann's (1986) Acculturation Model. According to this model, the level of acculturation determines the degree of interaction with the target language (TL) community, which, in turn, affects the amount of linguistic input a second language learner receives. This input significantly influences their language usage patterns, including, as one might expect, the adoption of specific phonetic features. In this study, however, only two participants demonstrated use of slit-t in carrier sentences, and four participants used slit-t variant in phrases extracted from the interview.

The two speakers that produced the variant under investigation in both speech samples, controlled and spontaneous, are Speaker 19 and 22. Speaker 19 pronounced the fricative variant of [t] in eight out of seventeen carrier sentences, only in word-final position, predominantly in monosyllabic words, with a few occurrences in two-syllables words (once word-finally in an unstressed syllable; twice word-finally in a stressed syllable). In the spontaneous speech sample, the respondent produced slit-t in fourteen

instances, which constitutes 25% of overall contexts, almost exclusively in word-final position followed by a pause in function words. The controlled sample of Speaker 22 shows two instances of slit-t in word-medial position and three occurrences in monosyllabic words in word-final position. As for the spontaneous speech sample, 15% of the overall contexts were pronounced as slit-t, also predominantly in prepausal word-final position in function words, with several instances in word-medial position in content words. Interestingly, the two participants reported interacting in English in both contexts – professional and private, and both of them have mixed-nationalities friends group. The former participant, however, claimed to interact equally in both languages in all context, while the latter did not use Polish at all in her job.

The other two participants that showed some, although very limited, use of slit-t in spontaneous speech, include Speakers 17 and 26. The former produced the variant in 14% percent of overall contexts and the latter even less, in roughly over 6%. Both of them used the variant in function words in word-final position followed by a pause. However, the patterns of language use are quite different – Speaker 17 uses English only in professional capacity, while Speaker 26 uses it in both professional and private areas of her life. Interestingly, Speaker 17 had very little ability to speak English prior to coming to Ireland and improved his skills through interaction with the locals. Speaker 26 reports being able to speak really well before arriving but, at the same time, she admits to actively working on her pronunciation as she wants to speak with an Irish accent mainly due to her profession.

Although the results for Speakers 19 and 22 demonstrate that extended interaction in English correlates with the use of the slit-t sound, the findings for other participants do not align with this claim. In the case of several participants, the ration of English/Polish use is quite similar or even considerably higher (Speaker 20), yet they do not pronounced this variant at all.

The second research question posed by the author is framed with the understanding that participants with close-knit groups of primarily Irish friends are more likely to adopt the Irish English slit-t compared to those whose closest friends are mainly Polish or other non-native English speakers. As it has been mentioned above, Speakers 19 and 22 both have mixed friends group that include both native and non-native users of English. Both of them communicate with their partners in English and Polish, although

only one of the partners is Irish, while the other is Belgian. Speaker 17, who showed some limited use of the feature in spontaneous speech, claims to have only Polish close friends, while Speaker 26 has mostly Irish, American and a few Polish. In the case of Speaker 17, it might be assumed that since he learned English in Ireland through interaction, he adopted some use of the feature, as he did not have enough knowledge about what the 'standard' pronunciation would be. It might be also inferred that the use of slit-t variants by Speaker 26 might be the result of her desire to sound Irish and imitation of the locals.

Interestingly, however, majority of the remaining participants that do not demonstrate any use of Irish English slit-t have predominantly Polish groups of friends or Polish and Slovak/Lithuanian/Russian, that is other non-native users of English with whom they communicate in Polish, or Polish/Slovak/Russian mixture quite often. Therefore, the second part of the assumption appears to have some validity, but the results are not sufficient enough to support definitive conclusions.

5.5.4 Language use, interactions, friend groups and realisations of /t/

This section presents an analysis of other realisations of /t/ in relation to participants' language use ratio, interactions with different nationalities and nationalities of closest friends. The subchapter focuses on the participants with the largest degree of variation in realisation of /t/ in order to identify possible patterns of their language use. Similarly to Study One, the results in this section are analysed in line with general tendencies among Irish English users as described in Chapter 3 and Section 4.5.4 in Chapter 4.

In the controlled speech sample, four participants consistently pronounced alveolar [t] – Speakers 20, 23, 25, 27 and 28. While in the case of Speakers 27 and 28 such patterns can be explained by predominant Polish use in a private setting and exclusively Polish friends, Speaker 23 is married to an Irish national and interacts with Irish people extensively. Therefore, her language use patterns might be influenced by other aspects of her migrant experience. Speaker 20 is a particularly interesting case and will be addressed later in the Discussion section of this chapter. Her speech demonstrated many other features that are strongly associated with Irish English (as described in Chapter 2).

Four more participants produced alveolar [t] in majority of the contexts with isolated instances of affricated [tˢ] and/or /t/ affricated to [tʃ] – Speakers 15, 16, 19, 21, 24 and 26. Most of the respondents in this group interact in both languages at work and outside of work, with family or mixed-nationality friend groups. Interestingly, Speaker 22 realises the sound as either slit-t or a variant affricated to either [tʃ] or [tˢ], which might be connected to her extensive interaction in English, especially in her professional life, but also with her husband and her family.

Speakers 17 and 18 realise the sound either as an alveolar [t] or a flap/tap (five occurrences each). While the first participant reports interacting mostly in English at work and in Polish with friends and family, the second speaker has a more international group of friends and his daily interactions take place in English, Polish and Slovak. However, as noted in the Qualitative results section, Speaker 17 is a scuba diving instructor in a popular holiday destination in Ireland, hence he might be exposed to different varieties of English due to extensive contact with tourists.

Similarly to the results in Study One, closer examination of the spontaneous speech recordings in this study shows more variety. The participants that demonstrate little to no variety (pronouncing mostly [t]) sound), Speakers 15, 16, 17, 21, 25, 27 and 28, all report using English only at work, while Polish is the language of communication with friends and family. Additionally, Speaker 28's job does not require a lot of interaction at all, hence the English input at work is fairly limited. Therefore, she might not get enough exposure to the target language or might not feel motivated enough to adapt her language use patterns. Speaker 21 reports equal use of both languages at work and with friends, although the language she uses at home is almost only Polish. The last participant that might be assigned to this group based on her language use patterns is Speaker 20. Despite the extensive exposure to Irish English input (husband and his family, friends), she pronounces /t/ as regular alveolar [t] with only a few examples of an affricated variant [tˢ] in word-final position. As mentioned above, this participant will be addressed in the Discussion section.

 The remaining participants show considerable variation, despite different ratios of language use or differences in their friends group nationality-wise. Two participants that use English both professionally and privately, and have friends of different nationalities, Speaker 18 and 19, show prevalence of alveolar [t] realisations, but also

flap/tap and affricated [tˢ]. Speaker 22, who is married to an Irish citizen, also predominantly uses alveolar [t], although 21% of overall realisations involve affricated [tˢ]. Speakers 24 and 26, show preference for alveolar [t], but also quite frequently employ [tˢ]. Both of them interact in both languages at work and at home, although the latter respondent has a more international friend group. Finally, Speaker 22 shows the greatest variation. Like in the case of other speakers, the majority of instances are realised as alveolar [t], followed by flap/tap realisations, affricated [tˢ], voiced [t] and slit-t. As mentioned above, the speaker is exposed to extensive English interaction, both at work and in her private life. Taking into account that her husband is Irish, one might assume that the input of Irish English would be considerable, also from the husband's family and friends.

As it can be noted, the results of quantitative analysis align with those observed in Study One. In Study Two the predominant realisation was alveolar [t] across all speakers, which, again, is consistent with findings by Skarnitzl and Rálišová (2022). The flap/tap realizations also parallel those used by native English speakers across different varieties, not just Irish English. Similar to the findings in the previous study, a noteworthy discovery in Study Two is the frequent use of the arricated [tˢ] variant among several participants, especially where a fricative slit-t realisation would be expected. As suggested in Study One, the author believes that adopting variant – [t] with a noise component (Skarnitzl and Rálišová 2022), might stem from the participants' attempts to mimic Irish English users. The two participants that demonstrated pronunciation of slit-t and an affricated [tˢ] variant (Speaker 19 and 22) also had a tendency to extend this feature to other contexts, like *Ireland*, *accent* where a different realisation would be most likely (Skarnitzl and Rálišová 2022). Therefore, it might be suggested, only tentatively, that the participants that showed use of slit-t might recognise it as a prestigious form within the target language community and may attempt to adopt it, although imperfectly and inconsistently.

5.6 Discussion

The results of the analysis demonstrate certain patterns of language behaviour for individual speakers, although these are not sufficient to draw conclusive insights. In SLA

theory, Schumann emphasizes that exposure to the L2 is fundamental for acquiring the language; high-quality and frequent second language input reduces social and psychological distance – the learner becomes more integrated, which again facilitates language learning. Additionally, naturalistic input increases the effectiveness of second language acquisition. (Schumann 1978, 1986) Majority of Study Two participants report frequent, everyday use of the language. Whether it is high quality, it is hard to judge, because the depth and specific context of their interactions were not fully explored in this study.

Following this line of reasoning, for successful acquisition of the slit-t variant, participants would need to interact exclusively with Irish nationals in English. When we take into account professional setting, this might be true for participants in high-skilled jobs, like in the case of Speaker 20 (accounting) and 22 (engineering). However, the remaining participants interact with a variety of nationalities, especially when their jobs involve dealing with customers (scuba diving instructor, insurance broker, retail assistant). This is further complicated by out-of-work interactions. While many participants use English for professional and public interactions and reserve Polish for communication at home, several report using English with family and friends as well. And the latter include nationals from diverse backgrounds. This is not particularly surprising given that non-Irish citizens constitute about 12.5% of Ireland's total population (Census 2022). This diverse linguistic exposure may limit their opportunities to consistently adopt the slit-t variant as typically used by native Irish speakers.

A similar observation applies to the participants' social networks, specifically their family ties and the self-reported groups of friends. As Lanza and Svendsen (2007) emphasise, the individual's language choices and multilingual practices can be understood through their social networks. The researchers' study focused on the use of different languages and the way in which multilingual individuals navigate and negotiate their identity through language choices, often adapting their speech to align with different social groups (ibid.). Drawing from this study and other research on social networks theory and its application in migrant contexts (Milroy 1987, Li Wei 1994, etc.), it was expected that the participants who have native Irish English users in their close circle of friends (and/or family) would adopt more native-like pronunciation features than those whose network is predominantly composed of Polish speakers. The author believed that

the language used in close relations would have more value or prestige for the participants, as opposed to the language used primarily in professional setting, either with colleagues, or with strangers – customers, members of the general public, etc. As it can be observed in the results of qualitative analysis, the participants social networks were often quite complex and were not always mirrored in their language behaviours.

Out of the three respondents who were married to Irish citizens, only one used English exclusively, while the other two used Polish and English. This can be explained by the fact that the latter two had children and felt the need to preserve their native language. One participant (Speaker 26) spoke Polish with her husband and brother, while the language of interaction with her children was English, whose knowledge of Polish was not sufficient for a comfortable conversation. Another participant used both languages at home with her Belgian partner, code-switching between the two in line with her preference. Yet another respondent (Speaker 18) added Slovak to the mix, communicating in three languages with his wife and children. The clear division between using English in professional and public setting, and using Polish in interactions with friends and family, was observed among four respondents only (Speakers 15, 16, 17 and 27).

An examination of the participants' self-reported friend groups revealed a diverse range of social connections: five participants reported having close friendships exclusively with Polish individuals, three participants maintained close ties with both Polish and Irish friends, and the remaining five participants reported friendships with individuals from various nationalities. Among these, most were non-native English speakers, with only two exceptions being native English speakers (one English and one American). The analysis of the participants' social networks illustrates a complex and varied picture of friendship patterns. Some participants maintain exclusive friendships within their ethnic community, while others expand their social circles to include both local Irish friends and individuals from diverse international backgrounds. This diversity highlights the multifaceted nature of social interactions among Polish migrants in Ireland, where linguistic and cultural integration can vary significantly.

The pronunciation of participants who primarily interact in Polish with their friends and family show some emerging patterns – they either show very limited or no use of the feature under investigation. However, the respondents who report extensive

interaction in English with Irish nationals, as well as other nationalities, show considerable variety and inconsistence. The two participants that demonstrated the highest use of slit-t, Speaker 19 and 22, report mixed-nationality friend group. While Speaker 19 used both languages equally on daily basis and in different settings, Speaker 22 used English exclusively at work, while interactions with family and friends occurred in both languages. Of course, in the case of the latter speaker, it is evident that interactions with her husband and family might play a significant role in her language use patterns. However, another participant in a similar situation, Speaker 23, shows very limited use of the feature.

One respondent demonstrated quite interesting patterns of pronunciation. Speaker 20 noted that her use of English amounts to 95% of overall daily interactions. She extensively used English with her Irish husband, his family and their friends. Yet she demonstrated no use of slit-t at all. At the same time, the author identified other features that are characteristic of Irish English (as described in Chapter 2) during the interview. The participant frequently realised th-sounds /θ/ and /ð/ as dentalised variants (e.g. *think*, *this*, *bother*). She also demonstrated quite distinctive realisation of /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ vowels, neutralising them to /ʊ/ in many words (e.g. *but*, *money*, *Dublin*). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the inconsistent quality of the STRUT vowel is considered one of the most striking features of Irish English (Wells 1982). The participant also pronounced diphthongs as monophthongised variants (e.g. *broad*, *notice*, *change*). It might be expected that her speech patterns are heavily influenced by those of her husband, who might opt for other realisations of /t/ in this position. It might also be assumed that the lack of slit-t in the participants' speech sample suggests that this feature might not be perceived by her as salient or prestigious.

Speaker 20 was not an isolated case in the use of other pronunciation features that are characteristic of Irish English. Rhoticity, frequent th-stopping, lack of FOOT-STRUT distinction, monophthongisation of diphthongs was also evident in the speech samples of Speakers 20 and 22. It might be assumed that certain Irish English features are more noticeable to Polish migrants or might be easier to adopt.

5.7 Conclusions to chapter five

While the author anticipated that focusing on the daily use of Polish and English, the relationships with people they interact with in both languages and their social circles would better explain the linguistic behaviours of the participants, this approach did not yield the expected insights. The language ratio patterns among respondents generally followed predictable tendencies, such as using English in professional and public setting and Polish at home and with friends. But there were also several participants that interacted primarily in English in both areas of their life – professional and private – on everyday basis. Therefore the author expected that in these cases the extensive interaction and input of the target language would be demonstrated in the pronunciation of the variable under investigation, slit-t.

The two participants that used the feature in both controlled and spontaneous speech samples show some similarities in terms of their background – as both of them have international groups of friends and both of them communicate in both languages at home. Both of them are also friends and they interact quite frequently, although they only interact in English when their English-speaking partners are present.

The remaining participants show only isolated instances of slit-t, despite the fact that majority of them interacts in English frequently and a lot of them use English both at work, but also with family and friends. Most of the participants, however, show considerable variety in realisation of /t/ with quite a few of them realising the sound as an affricated variant [tˢ], which, similarly to results presented in Study One, might be a sign of imperfect imitation of the locals.

The results of Study One and Study Two show significant convergence, indicating that the anticipated differences between the two groups were not as pronounced as expected and they could be considered as one study. Initially, the author expected that the groups would display more distinct characteristics. The author hoped that a closer examination of the participants' daily language use, including who they interact with and who their friends are, would yield more definitive insights. While some emerging patterns can be observed in the analysis of individual participants, no definitive conclusions can be drawn when considering the whole group.

General conclusions

The primary aim of this dissertation was to explore the pronunciation patterns of adult Polish migrants in the Republic of Ireland in relation to selected factors that are part of their migratory experience and are reported to have significant influence on language use. In Study One, these included acculturation strategies and social/national identity (Berry 2007; Schumann 1978, 1986; Norton Peirce 1995). In Study Two, the author decided to move focus to the ratio of daily English/Polish use, the people that the participants interact with and the nationality of the members in their social circle (drawing on the applications of social networks theory by Milroy 1987).

As mentioned above, the analysis and discussion of the data is divided into Study One and Study Two. The former was more exploratory in nature and aimed at investigating the use of slit-t among Polish migrants in Ireland in relation to their acculturation strategies and social/national identity. The participants of the study included fourteen adult Polish migrants from the west of Ireland, who arrived in Ireland as adults. Majority of the participants had little to no English prior to their arrival, or obtained some formal instructions, but noted that their skills did not prove sufficient once they found themselves in an English-speaking country. The participants had been residents in Ireland between eight and thirteen years at the time of the interview, thus the majority of them came to Ireland after Poland's accession to the EU in 2004.

During the first part of the interview, the participants were requested to read a list of carrier sentences that contained /t/ in a context where it could be realised as slit-t, i.e. in intervocalic word-medial position and in word-final position preceded by a vowel and followed by a vowel. During the second part of recording, the author conducted a semi-structured interview in order to elicit information necessary to sketch the participants' background, as well as to evoke more spontaneous, relaxed speech. The data from the semi-guided interviews underwent both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The former aimed to analyse the participants migratory experience, but especially their acculturation strategies and their social/national identity. The quantitative analysis involved extraction of all contexts from the interviews where slit-t realisation would be possible (intervocalic word-medial, intervocalic word-final, and word-final preceded by a vowel and followed by a pause) in order to quantify the use of the feature in question among respondents. By

analysing both quantitative and qualitative data, the author aimed at addressing two research questions. The first question concerned the participants' acculturation strategy and their increased use of slit-t. The second question aimed at investigating whether the participants who exhibited the highest use of Irish English slit-t displayed a tendency towards forming a new social or local identity.

The findings demonstrate that in the controlled speech sample only four out of the fourteen participants used slit-t, and six overall more showed some use of the feature in the spontaneous speech sample. Only three of these participants exhibited either an assimilation or an assimilation/integration strategy of acculturation. It can be inferred that their pronunciation patterns were shaped by their active engagement with the local host community, which also reflects their high level of integration into the host country. Two of these participants were also content about their "Irish accent" and strongly identified with their local communities, which might indicate changes in their identity towards and stronger affiliation with their local communities. Therefore, it might be observed that their extensive language interaction with the host community – people they liked and felt accepted by, played a significant role in their adoption of Irish English pronunciation features. Although the correlation between acculturation strategy and the use of the slit-t feature was clearly evident among these three participants, it did not hold true for the others.

The findings revealed that the majority of participants were generally unconcerned about their pronunciation. Many report they have never considered it, or they acknowledged their foreign accent in a dismissive manner. They were content with their lives in Ireland and as long as they were understood and their pronunciation did not hinder daily interactions, expressing their identity through pronunciation was given lower priority.

The second group of participants, recorded four years later, included a sample with a wider geographical and age distribution. Since Irish English slit-t is recognized as a supraregional feature, the author aimed to expand the participant sample to capture this broader picture. All of the participants came to Ireland as adults or young adults, and their length of residence spanned between twelve and fifteen years. The study aimed to further explore the pronunciation patterns of Polish migrants in Ireland. The phonetic variable under analysis was the same as in Study One, although the focus of the quantitative

analysis changed. In order to gather more controlled and spontaneous data with the variable in question, the carrier sentences were expanded by further seven words with /t/ in an appropriate context. The questionnaire in the semi-guided interview was also developed to elicit information about the daily use of both Polish and English, the nationalities of people they interact with, and the composition of their friendship groups.

The analysis of the quantitative data showed even fewer instances of slit-t realisations by the participants. Only two of them used the variant in both controlled and spontaneous speech sample, and only three more used slit-t quite inconsistently during the interviews. Although their use of the variable in question might be explained by their extensive interaction in English with Irish people, they also interacted with other nationalities. There were also other participants in the group that reported similar language use ratio and also interacted in English in both professional and private domains, yet they did not demonstrate any use of the feature in question.

Another important observation for both groups was that the majority of the participants showed considerable variation in their realisation of syllable-final /t/, which is also true for native Irish English users. What is particularly interesting, however, is that quite a few participants used an affricated [tˢ] variant where native Irish English would mostly likely use slit-t. The author believes that this indicates imperfect attempts at slit-t realisation, the sound which the speakers felt to be natural for Irish English. The participants may have perceived slit-t as a salient feature and might have tried to incorporate it, but they were not entirely successful. Another finding that might support this assumption is the realisation of /t/ in a context where it would not normally appear among native speakers, e.g. *Ireland*, *accent*, *different, Poland*, which appeared in the speech of quite a few participants.

Additionally, one of the findings that became evident during the analysis of spontaneous speech samples is that the general tendency for slit-t or affricated [t*s*] realisation is word-final position followed by a pause, particularly in content words like *but*, *that*, *what* and *it*. Interestingly, *but* with slit-t or affricated [tˢ] realisation was mostly used in the capacity of a discourse marker, rather that a conjunction, primarily at the end of a phrase followed by some hesitation. It might be assumed that these one-syllable, easy to pronounce content words of high frequency would be present in the speech of Irish English natives Polish migrant interact with and would be easy to imitate.
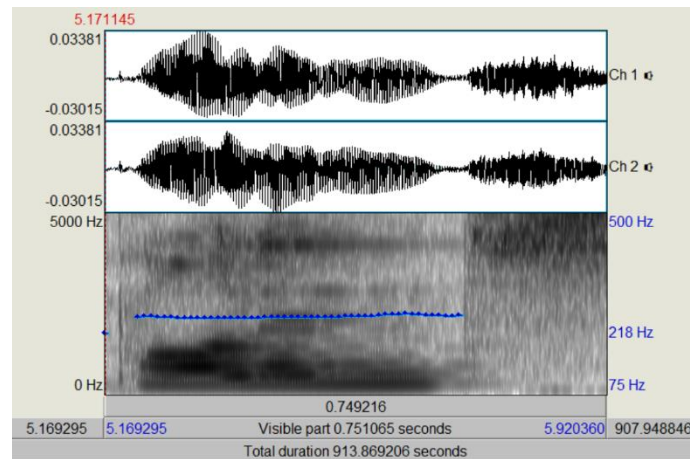
Figure 14. Realisation of /d/ in *Poland*. Speaker 19.

An additional insight from the qualitative analysis of both studies was that a high level of integration into the host community does not necessarily equate to overall life satisfaction in Ireland. Although the country offers opportunities for a comfortable life, many individuals fulfil their social needs by forming connections with fellow Polish nationals or people from other backgrounds. Most participants reported feeling welcomed and accepted by the host community. This sense of acceptance may explain why they did not feel the need to adopt further linguistic adjustments to blend in.

Finally, as briefly noted in the Discussion sections of Study One and Study Two, several participants exhibited pronunciation of other features characteristic of Irish English. Although these were not analysed in detail, they were notable enough to warrant mention. It is important to recognise that the perception of whether a feature is salient or marks a given group can vary among individuals. Participants may adopt linguistic traits they perceive as prominent, those frequently used by their family and friends, or those characteristic of groups they aspire to join. Socially indexed elements of language can be found at different levels, e.g., slit-t is a socio-phonetic feature, but there may also be indexed elements on the level of lexis and discourse and stylistics (cf. the social meaning "school" Eckert and Labov 2017, Eckert 2019, Beltrama 2020, Salmon 2022), e.g. the use of a somewhat American "like" in the Irish English language.

It ought to be also noted that there are several limitations to the study. First of all, the collected data included a relatively small sample of participants. The author conducted the interviews in person, meeting participants either at their homes or at the author's place

190

of residence (in the case of Study One). Recruiting participants for these one-on-one interviews in such personal settings was challenging. During the recruitment procedure, it became evident that the Polish community in Ireland preferred to maintain their privacy. While several participants were really enthusiastic about participating and sharing their experiences of living in Ireland, others agreed seemingly out of curiosity. Additionally, not all of the participants were equally willing to elaborate on the questions during the interview. Some participants did not wish to disclose personal information or did not feel at ease answering questions about their nationality and langue, or have not given such aspect much thought before. Therefore the differences between data to analyse between individual participants was considerable. Nevertheless, the author decided to include the recordings in their entirety, looking for patterns of pronunciation for individual migrants and comparing them to their life story.

Another aspect that posed difficulties in the study, connected to the issues mentioned above, was the quality of the recordings. Although the author took utmost care to ensure that the recording equipment was properly set up and that interviews were conducted in a quiet environment, background noise, varying acoustics of different locations, and occasional technical glitches affected the clarity and consistency of the audio, making the acoustic analysis quite challenging and not allowing for any laboratory-quality measurements. However, the author is of the opinion that collecting recordings would be very difficult, if not impossible, if the participants had to be interviewed in laboratory settings. Additionally, interviewing participants in the comfort of their own homes often boosted their confidence, making them feel more at ease. This familiar setting frequently led to more detailed and longer responses to the questions.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, the author believes that the findings of this study can contribute to the growing body of research on Polish migrants in Ireland. Although the quantitative analysis indicates that the slit-t is not a prominent feature in the speech of Polish migrants in this study, the observed variation in /t/ realizations is intriguing and warrants further exploration with a much larger participant sample.

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Summary

This dissertation investigates the pronunciation patterns among adult Polish migrants living in the Republic of Ireland in relation to selected factors that are part of their migratory experience – acculturation strategies, social/national identity and their social networks. Polish diaspora in Ireland is currently the largest minority and has shown a rapid growth in the first decade after Poland joined the European Union in 2004. Drawing on the research of second language acquisition in a naturalistic setting (Schumann 1976, Waniek-Klimczak 2011), the author believes that Polish migrants will adopts features of Irish English pronunciation and that this process will be influences by the level of their integration, their social/national identity, as well as the people they surround themselves with and frequently interact.

The dissertation is organised into two main sections. Part 1 focuses on the theoretical background and is comprised of three chapters. Part 2 presents the analysis and discussion of the data collected among Polish migrants in Ireland. It consists of two chapters focusing on two sets of data collected in 2016 and 2019 organised into Study One and Study Two. The first study is exploratory in nature, while the second study aims at gaining a deeper insight into pronunciation patterns among Polish migrant users of English.

Chapter 1 is devoted two migration of Polish nationals to Ireland. It explores the historical context of Polish immigration to Ireland, focusing primarily on periods before and after Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. It also gives an overview of Polish diaspora and explores the motivations behind Polish migrants' decision to relocate to Ireland. Chapter 2 describes the aspect of language in Ireland. It gives a brief overview of the country's linguistic landscape, highlighting the historical and social factors that have shaped it into what it is today. The core of the chapter is devoted to a detailed description of the phonological characteristics of Irish English, with a specific focus on the variable under investigation - Irish English slit-t. Chapter 3 focuses on the selected factors related to second language use in migratory context. It describes strategies of acculturation (Berry 1997, 2006) and acculturation in second language acquisition (Schumann 1978, 1986), the social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner (1979), as well as language and second language identity (Norton Peirce 1995, Block 2007). It also gives

an overview of social network theory (Milroy 1987) in an attempt to understand how individuals social connections influence their language use.

Chapter 4 present the analysis and discussion of Study One. The data collected for this study is analysed in relation to acculturation strategies, social identity and language identity theory in an attempt to explore the use of Irish English slit-t by Polish migrants in Ireland. Chapter 5 follows the same structural framework of Chapter 4, extending the investigation into the pronunciation patterns of Polish migrants. While Study Two also considers aspects such as acculturation strategies, social identity and language identity, its focus shifts towards a more detailed analysis of the participants' everyday language use. It explores the interactions with members of the host community, the Polish community, and individuals from other national backgrounds. It also attempts to describe the closest social networks, drawing on social network theory, in an attempt to identify how these connections influence language use of Polish migrants.

The final section of this dissertation, Conclusion, provides a comprehensive summary of the findings from Study One and Study Two. It also addresses key issues encountered during the research and discusses the study's limitations. Finally, the Appendices section contains the instruments used for data collection, including the questionnaire employed during the semi-structured interviews and a list of carrier sentences designed to elicit more controlled speech samples.

The finding of the study demonstrated a more frequent use of slit-t among Study One participants. The general tendency indicated that participants who adopted the slit-t feature usually had higher engagement with the local community and identified more strongly with their local "Irish" identity. This suggests that active integration and a positive attitude towards the host community are linked to adopting local pronunciation traits. At the same time, many participants were unconcerned about their pronunciation, prioritizing intelligibility and social interaction over mimicking native accents. The results of Study Two demonstrated that the tendency to use slit-t was inconsistent and did not align strictly with the extent of English interaction. Participants engaging frequently in English did not necessarily adopt the feature. Participants exhibited considerable variation in syllable-final /t/ realizations, with many using an affricated [t^s] instead of slit-t, indicating imperfect attempts at adopting the Irish feature. Besides slit-t, participants

occasionally adopted other features characteristic of Irish English, possibly influenced by their perception of salient traits and the linguistic habits of their social groups.

The findings highlight the need for further research with a larger participant sample to better understand the variations in /t/ realizations and the factors influencing the adoption of Irish English pronunciation features among Polish migrants.

Streszczenie

Niniejsza rozprawa doktorska bada wzorce wymowy wśród dorosłych polskich migrantów mieszkających w Republice Irlandii w kontekście wybranych czynników związanych z ich doświadczeniem migracyjnym – strategii akulturacji, tożsamości społecznej/narodowej oraz ich sieci społecznych. Polska społeczność w Irlandii jest obecnie największą mniejszością, która odnotowała szybki wzrost w pierwszej dekadzie po przystąpieniu Polski do Unii Europejskiej w 2004 roku. Opierając się na badaniach nad przyswajaniem drugiego języka w środowisku naturalnym (Schumann 1976, Waniek-Klimczak 2011), autor pracy zakłada, że polscy migranci będą przejmować cechy wymowy irlandzkiej odmiany języka angielskiego, a proces ten będzie zależny od poziomu ich integracji, ich tożsamości społecznej/narodowej oraz otoczenia, z którym wchodzą w interakcje.

Praca składa się z dwóch głównych części. Część pierwsza skupia się na podstawach teoretycznych i zawiera trzy rozdziały. Część druga przedstawia analizę i omówienie danych zebranych wśród polskich migrantów w Irlandii. Składa się ona z dwóch rozdziałów, które koncentrują się na dwóch zestawach danych zebranych w latach 2016 i 2019, podzielonych na Badanie Pierwsze i Badanie Drugie. Pierwsze badanie ma charakter eksploracyjny, natomiast drugie dąży do głębszego zrozumienia wzorców wymowy wśród polskich użytkowników języka angielskiego.

Rozdział 1 poświęcony jest migracji obywateli Polski do Irlandii. Bada kontekst historyczny polskiej imigracji w Irlandii, koncentrując się przede wszystkim na okresach przed i po przystąpieniu Polski do Unii Europejskiej w 2004 roku. Przedstawia również przegląd polskiej diaspory i analizuje motywacje, które skłoniły polskich migrantów do osiedlenia się w Irlandii. Rozdział 2 opisuje aspekt językowy w Irlandii. Zawiera krótki przegląd krajobrazu językowego kraju, podkreślając historyczne i społeczne czynniki, które go ukształtowały. Główną część rozdziału stanowi szczegółowy opis cech fonologicznych irlandzkiej odmiany języka angielskiego, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem badanego zjawiska – irlandzkiej wymowy *slit-t*. Rozdział 3 koncentruje się na wybranych czynnikach związanych z używaniem drugiego języka w kontekście migracyjnym. Opisuje strategie akulturacji (Berry 1997, 2006) oraz akulturację w przyswajaniu drugiego języka (Schumann 1978, 1986), teorię tożsamości społecznej

(Tajfel i Turner 1979) oraz język i tożsamość w drugim języku (Norton Peirce 1995, Block 2007). Przedstawia również przegląd teorii sieci społecznych (Milroy 1987) w celu zrozumienia, jak społeczne powiązania jednostek wpływają na ich używanie języka.

Rozdział 4 prezentuje analizę i omówienie Badania Pierwszego. Zebrane dane są analizowane w kontekście strategii akulturacji, teorii tożsamości społecznej i językowej w celu zbadania użycia analizowanego wariantu przez polskich migrantów w Irlandii. Rozdział 5 podąża za strukturą rozdziału 4, rozszerzając badanie wzorców wymowy polskich migrantów. Chociaż Badanie Drugie również uwzględnia aspekty takie jak strategie akulturacji, tożsamość społeczna i językowa, koncentruje się na bardziej szczegółowej analizie codziennego używania języka przez uczestników. Bada interakcje z członkami społeczności przyjmującej, polskiej społeczności oraz osobami o innych narodowościach. Próbuje również opisać najbliższe sieci społeczne, opierając się na teorii sieci społecznych, w celu zidentyfikowania jak te powiązania wpływają na użycie języka przez polskich migrantów.

Ostatnia część pracy, Wnioski, zawiera kompleksowe podsumowanie wyników z Badania Pierwszego i Drugiego. Omówiono również kluczowe problemy napotkane podczas badań oraz ograniczenia pracy. W sekcji Załączników znajdują się opis instrumentów badawczych, w tym kwestionariusz stosowany podczas wywiadów oraz lista zdań zaprojektowana w celu uzyskania bardziej kontrolowanych próbek mowy.

Wyniki badania wykazały częstsze użycie zmiennej wśród uczestników Badania Pierwszego. Ogólna tendencja wskazywała, że uczestnicy, którzy przejęli tę cechę, zwykle okazywali większe zaangażowanie w lokalną społeczność i utożsamianie się z lokalną "irlandzką" tożsamością. Sugeruje to, że aktywna integracja i pozytywne nastawienie do społeczności przyjmującej są związane z przejmowaniem lokalnych cech wymowy. Wyniki Badania Drugiego wykazały, że tendencja do używania wybranej zmiennej była niespójna i nie była ściśle związana z intensywnością interakcji w języku angielskim. Uczestnicy, którzy często używali angielskiego, niekoniecznie przejmowali tę cechę. Wykazywali znaczne zróżnicowanie w realizacji /t/, przy czym wielu z nich używało afrykaty [tˢ], co może wskazywać wskazuje na niedoskonałe próby przejęcia tej cechy irlandzkiej wymowy. Uczestnicy wymawiali również inne cechy charakterystyczne dla irlandzkiej odmiany języka angielskiego.

Wyniki podkreślają potrzebę dalszych badań z udziałem większej liczby uczestników, aby lepiej zrozumieć zróżnicowanie w realizacji /t/ oraz czynniki wpływające na przejmowanie cech wymowy irlandzkiej odmiany języka angielskiego wśród polskich migrantów.

List of figures

List of tables

Appendices

Appendix 1. Questionnaire used for the purpose of Study One.

1. When did you come to Ireland? Have you moved around Ireland or have you stayed in one area? Which area? (town/county)

2. Do you have a favourite place in Ireland? Where is it? Do you go there often?

3. What do you like/dislike the most about living here?

4. What is your first language? Can you speak any other languages?

5. How much English did you know when you came here? Did you have any English classes before coming to Ireland? For how long and where? (e.g. public school, language school, private classes)

6. How did you learn English while in Ireland?

7. How would you rate your ability to read in English and write in English?

8. What is most difficult about English in Ireland?

9. How much English do you speak everyday? With whom? (e.g. at home/work/school, with friends/work colleagues/family).

10. Do you think that speaking good English is important if you want to succeed in Ireland?

11. Do you think English in Ireland is hard to understand? Is it the same all over the country or are there any differences?

12. Do you like the way English sounds in Ireland?

13. What do you think your English sounds like when you speak?

14. Do you think the way we pronounce words in English is important?

15. How do you like to spend your free time? Are you a member of any club or association? Polish or Irish?

16. How often do you go to Poland? Do you like it there?

17. Do you read/watch mainly Polish or Irish books/magazines/movies/news/TV?

18. Do you think it is important to preserve Polish language and customs while living here?

19. Do you think it is important to preserve Irish customs while living here?

20. Is the knowledge of Polish an advantage or disadvantage in Ireland?

21. Do you like the place where you currently live? What is good/bad about it?

22. Is there a Polish community in your town/country? Do you consider yourself a member of this community?

23. Is it important is it for you to be recognised as a person of Polish origin?

24. Do you think that nationality has influenced your experience in Ireland in any way? Where do you see yourself in the next few years? Are you thinking about staying in Ireland?

Appendix 2. Carrier sentences used for the purpose of Study One.

1.	I'm saying house again.	13.	I'm saying water now.
2.	I'm saying tea again.	14.	I'm saying thirty-three again.
3.	I'm saying what again.	15.	I'm saying feet again.
4.	I'm saying quarter now.	16.	I'm saying there now.
5.	I'm saying this again.	17.	I'm saying butter now.
6.	I'm saying but again.	18.	I'm saying hat again.
7.	I'm saying think again.	19.	I'm saying beer now.
8.	I'm saying hair now.	20.	I'm saying then again.
9.	I'm saying they again.	21.	I'm saying thin again.
10.	I'm saying letter now.	22.	I'm saying meter now.
11.	I'm saying eight again.	23.	I'm saying trees again.
12.	I'm saying car now.	24.	I'm saying coffee again.

Appendix 3. Questionnaire used for the purpose of Study Two.

1. When and where were you born? What is your nationality?

2. What is your first language? Can you speak any other languages?

3. When did you come to Ireland? Have you moved around Ireland or have you stayed in one area? Which area? (town/county)

4. How much English did you know when you came here? Did you have any English classes before coming to Ireland? For how long and where? (e.g. public school, language school, private classes)

5. How did you learn English while in Ireland?

6. How would you rate your ability to read, write and speak in English and write in English?

7. How much English/Polish do you speak every day and with whom? (percentage)

8. Do you find English in Ireland difficult to understand? Is it the same all over the country? In what way?

9. Do you like the way English sounds here?

10. What do you think you sound like when you speak English?

11. Do you think that speaking good English is important if you want to succeed in Ireland?

12. Is knowledge of Polish an advantage or disadvantage in Ireland?

13. Do you read/watch mainly Polish or Irish books/magazines/movies/news/TV?

14. Do you like the place where you currently live? What's good/bad about it?

15. Who do you get on better with? Irish/Polish/other nationality?

16. Do you go to any Irish/Polish gatherings? Who do you socialize with? Who do you spend most of your free time with? (nationality-wise)

17. What is the nationality of your closest friends?

18. How important is it for you to be recognised as a Polish person?

19. Are you a member of any association? Polish or Irish?

20. Is there a Polish community in your town? Do you consider yourself a member of this community?

21. Do you think that nationality has affected your experience in Ireland in any way?

22. How often do you go to Poland? What's the purpose of the visit?

23. Do you think it is important to preserve Polish language and customs while living here? Do you think it is important to preserve Irish customs while living here? How do you celebrate different holidays.

24. Where do you see yourself in the next few years? Are you thinking about staying in Ireland?

Appendix 4. Carrier sentences used for the purpose of Study Two.

1.	I'm saying water now.	12.	I'm saying hat again.
2.	I'm saying met again.	13.	I'm saying eight again.
3.	I'm saying better now.	14.	I'm saying that again.
4.	I'm saying bus again.	15.	I'm saying sitting again.
5.	I'm saying butter now.	16.	I'm saying bucket again.
6.	I'm saying but again.	17.	I'm saying money again.
7.	I'm saying letter now.	18.	I'm saying wet again.
8.	I'm saying what again.	19.	I'm saying club again.
9.	I'm saying meter now.	20.	I'm saying repeat again.
10.	I'm saying neat again.	21.	I'm saying delete again.
11.	I'm saying swing again.	22.	I'm saying let again.