A CORPUS-BASED LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LIMERICK CORPUS OF IRISH ENGLISH (L-CIE): SOME NOMINAL AND VERBAL FEATURES.

by

Kieran Forde

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English Language Teaching, University of Limerick.

Supervisor: Dr. Fiona Farr

External Examiner: Gwyneth Fox, University of Birmingham.

This work is the original work of the author and has not, in full or in part, been previously submitted to this or any other institution.

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Abstract

This study proposes to use a corpus-based approach to identify and evaluate some of the discrete features of spoken Southern Irish English. The features to be analysed were chosen on the basis that they were identified in the secondary literature, predominantly Harris (1993) and Filppula (1999) and are considered by those working in the field to be representative of the forms that make SIE a distinct variety of English.

The study is corpus-based. This allows the researcher to use actual incidences of speech from contemporary speakers of Southern Irish English, thus allowing for an empirical approach to the research whereby physical evidence rather than intuition is the basis for the findings. The corpus to be used, The Limerick Corpus of Irish English, containing one million words of transcribed contemporary Southern Irish English casual conversation, is sufficiently large to verify the contemporary usage of most of the patterns of Southern Irish English.

The study is limited to certain non-standard forms occurring in the verb phrase, the noun phrase, the complex sentence, and in indirect questions. The research finds that, to differing degrees, these forms are all to be found in L-CIE and thus can be said to be in current usage in the genre of casual conversation in IE. The forms analysed are as follows:

3.2 The Noun Phrase
3.2.1 The definite article (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.2 Demonstratives (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.3 Plural of quantity nouns (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.4 Pronouns (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

3.3 The Verb Group
3.3.1 Strong verbs (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.2 Subject-verb agreement (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.3 Imperatives (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.4 The perfect aspect (Kallen 1990; Harris 1991, 1993; Filppula 1997, 1999).
3.3.5 Habitual aspect (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

3.4 The Complex Sentence and Indirect Questions
3.4.1 Subordinating and (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.4.2 Verb complement clauses (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.4.3 Indirect questions (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

Word Count: 16,987
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CHAPTER 1

AIMS, HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
1.1 INTRODUCTION

In *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English Language* David Crystal (2003: 336) notes that ‘it is sometimes forgotten that Ireland was the first of the overseas English-speaking colonies, and that there has been some 800 years of continuous contact between the two nations’. This long period of contact, along with the influence of the Gaelic substrate, has created the form of English used in Ireland today, which differs in phonology, morphology, and syntax to other members of the family of World Englishes.

This study aims to examine some of the more distinctive features of present–day Southern Irish English (hereafter SIE) speech. Professor Higgins boasted in Act I of Pygmalion that he could place any man in London to within two miles, ‘sometimes within two streets’ (Pygmalion by G. B. Shaw: Act I), and the same claim could be made by many with reference to speakers of SIE. This study, however, deals with speech in the Republic of Ireland as a whole, while recognising that variance exists from provincial to parish level in the forms and pronunciation of English (e.g. Collins 1997: 153-169).

The dissertation is organised as follows:

Chapter I outlines the problem and its settings. Chapter II is a review of the related literature looking at the emergence of corpus linguistics and the corpus-based approach. This is followed by an attempt to situate the variety of SIE with reference to other varieties of English. Lastly, there is an overview of studies in SIE in the areas of lexis and grammar. Chapter III is the analysis section where the lexico-grammar of SIE, as found in the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (Farr and O'Keeffe 2005) (hereafter L-CIE), is examined. Features such as the definite article, pronouns, irregular verbs, and the perfect and habitual aspects are examined. Chapter IV presents the summary and conclusions.

1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Much research has been carried out in the area of SIE, but a great deal of this has been based on compilations of occurrences based on folklore, anecdotal evidence, solecisms, intuition, and personal idiosyncrasies of the speakers, (Joyce 1910; Ó
Muirithe 1977; O’Farrell 1980; Ó Muirithe 1996; Dolan 2004). These occurrences have been entered into the body of literature in the area and continue to be held as examples of how SIE differs from other varieties. However, given the origin of a lot of the information, it is quite possible that many of the usages were confined to a specific number of speakers in a particular geographical region, a particular class or background of people. Furthermore, these patterns may well have fallen out of use as Ireland continues to develop so rapidly and life, both urban and rural, change so fundamentally in areas such as family life, mobility of the population, education, religion and affluence. Corpus-based research in the area of IE has been on the increase for a number of years, with many publications coming from researchers in Mary Immaculate College and the University of Limerick, Ireland (Farr and O’Keeffe 2002; O’Keeffe and Farr 2003; O’Keeffe and Binchy 2003; Farr 2003). Others who opted for this more empirical approach include Kallen (1989), Filppula (1999), and John Kirk and Jeffrey Kallen in their research and work on the Irish component of the International Corpus of English (see section 2.1).

It is the intention of this study to undertake a corpus-based examination of L-CIE for patterns of SIE and provide empirical evidence that these patterns are in current usage. Of corpus linguistics, McCarthy (2001: 125) writes ‘it is based on the notion that external evidence, i.e. evidence of actual use, is a better primary source than internal evidence, i.e. the intuition of the native speaker’, thus the use of a corpus frees the linguist from ‘the subjectivity of intuition’ and allows for an empirical approach. It is hoped that the results of this study will provide a synchronic evaluation of English as it is currently being spoken in Ireland.

1.3 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
This study proposes to use a corpus-based approach to identify and evaluate some of the nominal and verbal features of spoken SIE.

1.4 THE STATEMENT OF THE SUBPROBLEMS
1. The first sub-problem is to identify from the secondary data the lexico-grammatical patterns that are considered to mark SIE as different from other varieties.
2. The second sub-problem is to verify, using L-CIE, synchronic usage of these lexico-grammatical patterns.

1.5 THE HYPOTHESES
1. The first hypothesis is that SIE has discrete lexico-grammatical patterns of speech that are different from those of other varieties.

2. The second hypothesis is that some of these lexico-grammatical patterns will occur in L-CIE, thus allowing for an empirical approach to the study.

1.6 THE DELIMITATIONS
1. The study does not aim to be exhaustive or conclusive. It is intended to identify and evaluate some of the more frequent (more than five occurrences per million words) lexico-grammatical features that make SIE a distinct variety.

2. The study will be limited to SIE and will not take into account the lexico-grammar of Ulster-English.

3. The study will be limited to occurrences in L-CIE.

1.7 THE ASSUMPTIONS
1. The use of L-CIE will enable this to be an empirical approach to the study of spoken SIE.

2. L-CIE is a sample representation of casual SIE spoken conversations.

3. There are differences between spoken and written SIE.

4. Some of the lexico-grammatical patterns of SIE, as identified from the secondary data, may not be found in L-CIE due to elements of language change. Equally, some of the patterns found in L-CIE may not be commented upon in the secondary data.
1.8 THE DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.8.1 Corpus

A corpus is a principled collection of texts, spoken or written, stored on a computer and available for quantitative and qualitative analysis using computational tools (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998: 4). The main purpose of a corpus is to verify a hypothesis about language - for example, to determine how the usage of a particular sound, word, or syntactic construction varies (Crystal 1992: 85).

1.8.2 Corpus Linguistics

An analytical and computer-based linguistic approach to language use based on consideration of the relevant ‘association patterns’ (Biber et al 1998: 5) between words. The essential characteristics of a corpus-based analysis of discourse, as outlined by Biber et al (1998: 4) are:

- it is empirical, analysing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
- it utilises a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a “corpus” as the basis for analysis;
- it makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques; it depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.

1.8.3 Lexico-grammar

Biber et al (1998) define lexico-grammar as the association between words and grammatical structures. Thus with lexico-grammar, rather than looking at lexis or grammatical structures as separate entities, one looks at how meaning is constructed systematically through certain types of lexico-grammatical choices (O’Keeffe 2003: 62). McCarthy (2001) notes that this approach extends the understanding of forms that were traditionally problematic or neglected. On The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, and Finegan 1999), chosen as one of the major reference books for this study as it is corpus based, Antenberg and Granger (1996: 5) note that pride of place is given to lexico-grammatical associations – both grammatical associations of lexical words and lexical associations of grammatical structures. This study aims to take a lexico-grammatical approach to the analysis of IE in L-CIE.
1.8.4 L-CIE

The Limerick Corpus of Irish English (L-CIE) has been developed by the University of Limerick in conjunction with Mary Immaculate College, Limerick. This one-million word spoken corpus of Irish English discourse includes conversations recorded in a wide variety of mostly informal settings throughout Ireland. The corpus is a collection of naturally occurring spoken data from everyday Irish contexts. There are currently 375 transcripts (totalling over 1,000,000 words). It includes conversations recorded across a wide variety of predominantly informal settings throughout Ireland (excluding Northern Ireland). While the corpus consists mainly of casual conversation, there are also over 200,000 words of professional, transactional and pedagogic Irish English included which, along with the casual conversation data, were carefully collected with reference to a range of different speech genres (L-CIE Homepage). The composition of L-CIE is outlined below.

Table 1.1: The composition of L-CIE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Information-provision</th>
<th>Collaborative idea</th>
<th>Collaborative task</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogic</td>
<td>80,253 words e.g. linguistics lecture</td>
<td>60,473 words e.g. English poetry tutorial</td>
<td>10,000 words e.g. one-to-one computer lesson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>145,000 words e.g. real-estate office talk</td>
<td>100,000 words e.g. team meeting</td>
<td>60,000 words e.g. waitresses washing dishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialising</td>
<td>50,000 words e.g. describing a new bar</td>
<td>54,356 words e.g. friends discussing college</td>
<td>30,000 words e.g. friends assembling a bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimate</td>
<td>60,000 words e.g. mother storytelling</td>
<td>266,000 words e.g. partners making holiday plans</td>
<td>60,000 word e.g. family preparing dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transactional</td>
<td>5,000 words e.g. product presentation</td>
<td>10,000 words e.g. chatting in a taxi</td>
<td>1,000 words e.g. eye examination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8.5 Southern Irish English

The form of English used by the majority of speakers in the Republic of Ireland. This distinction is not coterminous with the political division of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Some areas of the Republic of Ireland, e.g. Donegal, speak Northern Irish English (Trudgill and Hannah 2002: 99). The term Irish English is favoured over the term Hiberno-English as it is in line with the contemporary international terminology in corpus-based studies of language varieties, e.g. South African English, Kenyan English, Australian English, British English and so on (Barker and O’Keeffe 1999). In some places in the text, the researcher has had to use
the abbreviation IE (Irish English) as, in describing the work of others in the area who included Northern Ireland in their studies, the researcher was unable to use the term SIE as it excludes Northern Ireland.

### 1.8.6 Gaelic

The term Gaelic, taken to be ‘the English name for the Celtic language of Ireland’ (McArthur 1998: 246), will be used in the study in order to make explicit the difference between the Irish language and Irish English.

### 1.9 THE DATA AND THE TREATEMENT OF THE DATA

#### 1.9.1 The Data

The primary data consists of the Limerick Corpus of Irish English. The secondary data will consist of the works in the area of SIE included in the accompanying bibliography.

#### 1.9.2 The Research Methodology

The aim of the study is to ascertain to what extent the features of SIE lexico-grammar, as identified in the secondary data, are in use in contemporary SIE. The use of L-CIE in this study is invaluable in that it allows for a corpus-based approach to the analysis. ‘Corpus work can be seen as an empirical approach in that, like all types of scientific enquiry, the starting point is the actual data’ (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 99). In this study, the starting point is L-CIE, which is taken to be a representative sample of synchronic spoken SIE of the casual conversation genre (see Table 1.1, page 6, for the composition of L-CIE). This being the case, the approach is inductive, in that it will ‘create statements of a theoretical nature about the language or the culture which are arrived at from observations of the actual incidences’ (ibid). These actual incidences will empirically verify that those lexico-grammatical features which are considered to mark SIE as different from other varieties are in current usage. Should these incidences not occur, it could be inferred that the pattern has fallen out of usage, has evolved into a new pattern, is used only in written language (or other genres) or is used so infrequently that there are no instances of it in a one-million word corpus of casual conversation.
This study is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis as, due to the scope of the thesis and to space limitations, it would not be possible to analyse in depth all the occurrences of SIE lexico-grammar therein. The framework for the patterns of usage to be analysed is based primarily on the SIE constructions outlined in Harris (1993) and Filppula (1999). The former work gives a concise account of the ‘more saliently non-standard grammatical characteristics of English usage in Ireland’ (Harris 1993: 139), while the latter is similarly descriptive but also ‘provides an explanatory account of the distinctive nature of HE grammar in a historical and contact linguistic perspective’ (Filppula 1999: 3).

The software used was WordSmith Tools 4.0 (Scott 2005). The researcher was able to avail of a new function in this version which was not a part of version 3.0, namely the reduce to N entries function. This new function enables the user to do the following:

> With a very large word-list, concordance etc., you may wish to reduce it randomly (eg. for sampling). This menu option allows you to specify how many entries you want to have in the list. If you reduce the data, entries will be randomly zapped until there are only the number you want.

(WordSmith Tools Help (c) Mike Scott [version 4.0])

Thus, when concordance searches returned concordance lists consisting of thousands of lines of data, the reduce to N entries function was used to create a smaller, randomised sample.

Concordance lists were run for patterns of SIE using suitable search words. Due to the varying frequency of these patterns, the searches returned concord lists of varying sizes. The definite article for example (section 3.2.1), returned a total of 35,000 hits, which is far too many to be analysed in this study. Thus, the results of this and many of the other concordance lists had to be randomised and a sample of the results taken. The randomisation of samples was conducted using the following criteria:

- With concordances that returned less than 5000 hits, a random sample of 100 instances were analysed. Where none of the patterns being searched for were found, the search was conducted again with the results extended to 200 random instances. These results were then analysed with the patterns of non-standard usage, or lack of occurrences of such, being commented on.
• With concordances that returned more than 5000 hits, the random sample was extended beyond 200 to an extent where the researcher found sufficient examples to illustrate the non-standard usages being analysed.

The sample results were then analysed line by line in order to identify the non-standard SIE usages. Examples given in the analysis section (chapter III) labelled (1) to (90), and those in Tables 1-8, are those which were found in L-CIE. The size of the sample analysed varied according to the different features being analysed. A brief description of the sampling procedure for each pattern is outlined at the beginning of each section.

1.10 Abbreviations

L-CIE: The Limerick Corpus of Irish English
SIE: Southern Irish English
IE: Irish English
StE: Standard English
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE
2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into four parts:

I. Corpora and their history: as this study is corpus-based, the emergence of corpora from the pre-computer era right up to the present-day digitised corpora will be looked at.

II. Varieties of English and Standard English: here, there is an outline of the different varieties of English in the world today and attempt to situate SIE among these.

III. Lexis in Southern Irish English: the studies of the distinct lexis of SIE will be examined here.

IV. Grammar in Southern English: lastly, some of the more detailed studies of the distinct grammatical patterns of SIE will be outlined.

2.2 Corpora and their history

McEnery and Wilson (1996: 1) clarify that although corpus linguistics has a long and interesting history, the term itself is quite modern. Kennedy (1998: 1) defines a corpus as ‘a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description’. This definition is somewhat ambiguous as it could refer to corpora that were collected hundreds of years ago in ways that are methodologically inconsistent to what we today refer to as a corpus. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 21) make the distinction clearer by explaining:

The term “corpus” when used in the context of modern linguistics tends most frequently to have more specific connotations than this simple definition provides for. These may be considered under four main headings: sampling and representativeness, finite size, machine-readable form, a standard reference.

It is, perhaps, the third criterion, machine-readable form, that makes the distinction clearest in that people working with corpora today do not engage in large-scale manual analysis and manipulation of words or texts. Kennedy (1998: 5) notes:

although manual analysis has made important contribution over the centuries, especially in lexicography, it was the availability of digital computers from the middle of the twentieth century which brought about a radical change in text-based scholarship.
Thus, it is possible to look at the history of corpora in terms of three stages of their development as outlined in Kennedy (ibid: 13-56). The following are the three stages:

A. Pre-electronic corpora

As mentioned earlier, the term *corpus* is today synonymous with *digitised text*. However, as Kennedy notes (ibid: 13):

> corpus-based research is often assumed to have begun in the early 1960s with the availability of electronic, machine-readable corpora. However, before then there was a considerable tradition of corpus-based linguistic analysis of various kinds.

Pre-electronic corpora were constructed for research in areas such as lexicography, dialectology and biblical studies (Francis 1992). Examples of this type include:

Samuel Johnson’s *A Dictionary of the English Language*: Published in 1755, this was one of the most influential dictionaries in the history of the English language. In the pre-electronic era, Johnson manually compiled wordlists and arranged them alphabetically. He noted of the tedious nature of the process:

> I knew, that the work in which I engaged is generally considered as drudgery for the blind, as the propped toil of artless industry, a task that requires neither the light of learning, nor the activity of genius, but may be successfully performed without any higher quality than of bearing burthens [sic] with dull patience, and beating the track of the alphabet with sluggish resolution.
>

(from Johnson’s *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* (1747) in Landau 2001: 57)

The Survey of English Usage (SEU) Corpus: The million-word Survey of English Usage was founded in 1959 by Professor Randolph Quirk (UCL Survey of English Usage). It is interesting to note that, coming over 200 years after Johnson completed his dictionary, the compilers of the SEU were still reliant on the pen-and-paper method for compiling their wordlists: ‘the Survey Corpus was originally compiled on paper, in the form of many thousands of slips, with detailed grammatical annotations’ (UCL Survey of English Usage). The spoken component of the SEU was later published in electronic form in the 1980s as the London-Lund Corpus.
B. First generation Major Corpora

These types of corpora were made possible by the development of computer hardware and accompanying applications during the 1970s and 1980s. The first of these was the Brown Corpus (1964), which Kennedy (1998: 23) notes was significant:

not only because it was the first computer corpus compiled for language research, but also because it was compiled in the face of massive indifference if not outright hostility.

This scepticism about the validity of corpora as research tools came about as a result of criticisms of the method/approach by ‘those who espoused the conventional wisdom of the new and increasingly dominant paradigm in US linguistics led by Noam Chomsky’ (ibid). In spite of this scepticism, corpora modelled on the Brown corpus continued to be developed, such as The Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English (Shastri 1985), The London-Lund Corpus (LLC) (Greenbaum and Svartvik 1990) and The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB).

C. Second generation mega-corpora

While the one-million-word SEU, LOB and Brown corpora made significant steps in the large-scale analysis of language, Kennedy (1998: 45) notes that though one million words was ‘a lot of text to capture, store, manage and analyse’ at the time ‘it became obvious they were too small for most kinds of lexical and semantic analysis’. With the advent of more powerful technology at the disposal of linguists, the 1990s saw the development of corpora of significantly larger size than those that had come before such as:

The COBUILD Project (*Bank of English*)

Launched in 1991, this was the first ‘monitor corpus’, where texts are added continually. In January 2002 the latest release of the corpus amounted to 450 million words and it continues to grow with the constant addition of new material.

*The British National Corpus (BNC)*

This is a 100 million-word collection of samples of written (90 million words) and spoken language (10 million words) from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of current British English.
**The International Corpus of English (ICE)** (see Greenbaum 1992)

The official website for the project tells us:

ICE began in 1990 with the primary aim of providing material for comparative studies of varieties of English throughout the world. Twenty centres around the world are preparing corpora of their own national or regional variety of English, following a common corpus design, as well as a common scheme for grammatical annotation.

(ICE Ireland)

Each of these corpora are comprised of both written and spoken English amounting to one million words in size. The Irish component of the project (which is nearing completion), ICE Ireland, is headed by Dr John Kirk (The Queen's University Belfast) and Dr Jeffrey Kallen (Trinity College Dublin), both of whom have published extensively in the area of Irish English.

**The corpus-based approach**

Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 65) explains that the term corpus-based is ‘used to refer to a methodology that avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study’. The features of SIE that the researcher investigated have long been known to be discrete features of the SIE variety. That this study is corpus-based makes it different from other commentaries on SIE in that L-CIE makes it possible for the researcher to study language based on current ‘real life’ language. Hunston (2002: 43) notes that ‘although speakers of a language may have intuitions about typicality, these intuitions do not always accord with the evidence of frequency’. Thus, it is important to be able to empirically verify statements about the actual frequency of use of a form thought to be commonly used. Using L-CIE as the primary data allows for a more scientific approach as:

> empirical data enables the linguist to make statements which are objective and based on language as it is really used rather than on statements which are subjective and based on the individual’s own internalized cognitive perception of the language.

(McEnery and Wilson 1996: 87)

The corpus-based approach also allows for both a quantitative and qualitative approach to research. Using concordances and wordlists in WordSmith tools, the researcher was able to quantitatively analyse L-CIE in order to ascertain to what extent the forms of SIE mentioned in 2.3.3 are in current usage in casual conversation.
in Ireland. The data were then analysed in order to provide examples of those forms the researcher found to be in current usage.

Whereas in quantitative research we classify features, count them and even construct more complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed, in qualitative research the data are used only as a basis for identifying and describing aspects of usage in the language and to provide “real” examples of particular phenomenon.

(ibid: 62)

**Corpora of Irish English**

This study aims to take advantage of L-CIE as representing the spoken casual conversation genre of SIE (for a description of L-CIE see 1.8.4). L-CIE is unique in that it is currently, as far as the researcher knows, the largest corpora of contemporary spoken Irish English. Other corpora of SIE include:

- Filppula (1982): For his L. Phil thesis, Filppula created a corpus of 150,000 words from 24 participants from 4 counties in The Republic Of Ireland (also see section 2.4).
- Kallen (1989): For his study of the syntax of Dublin English, Kallen created a corpus through the use of participant-observation ‘in which the utterances of speakers were noted surreptitiously in a notebook immediately after the time of speaking’ (Kallen 1989: 2). Based on nearly 200 speakers, this would not constitute a corpus as we referred to it above, as it was not a digitised record of speech but rather a record of non-standard tokens which the author noted while engaged in conversation with the participants.
- Hickey (1993): ‘A corpus of Irish English’, (in Kytö, Merja, Matti Rissanen and Susan Wright). This is a corpus of written IE containing texts from the 14th to the 20th century.
- Kirk and Kallen (forthcoming): The Irish component of the International Corpus of Irish English (see above).

**2.3 Varieties of English and Standard English**

It is interesting to note that, when you are entering the regional settings on the Windows programme, one can now choose from thirteen varieties of English, including Trinidad, Zimbabwe, Philippines, Belize and Irish English. Indeed, Jenkins (2003: 2) estimates that there are between 1.5 and 2 billion speakers of English in the
world. However, very few of these people speak ‘The Queen’s English’, but rather they speak a collection of different varieties, each influenced by the substrate language that it either replaced or now-coexists with. This has created the term ‘World Englishes’ (*ibid*), where each variety, though based on the same language, is often close to being mutually unintelligible.

In the introduction to *International English Usage* (1986: IV), Todd and Hancock comment:

> English belongs to all those who have learnt to speak it, and [that] established regional varieties, whether spoken natively or not have as much legitimacy as British, American or Australian dialects of the same language.

It is this question of *legitimacy* that is central to the idea of different Englishes. The idea that there is a Standard English (StE) poses many questions regarding the legitimacy of different Englishes. Jenkins’ (2003) work *World Englishes* is divided into four different strands, the first of which, ‘key topics in World Englishes’, is the most important for this study. In this chapter Jenkins looks at the historical, social and political contexts in which English developed from pidgins and creoles into the dozens of varieties spoken in the world today.

Jenkins (*ibid*: 30-31) addresses the question of what constitutes ‘a standard variety’ by giving some of the more recent definitions postulated by the main writers in the field. Quoting from Jenkins (*ibid*), where she cites various authors, the first two definitions refer only to British English, while the others refer to Standard Englishes in general:

- The dialect of educated people throughout the British Isles. It is the dialect normally used in writing, for teaching in schools and universities, and heard on radio and television (Hughes and Trudgill 1979).

- Standard English can be characterized by saying that it is that set of grammatical and lexical forms which is typically used in speech and writing by educated native speakers. It includes the use of colloquial and slang vocabulary as well as swearing and taboo expressions (Trudgill 1984).

- (The term) Standard English is potentially misleading for at least two reasons. First, in order to be self-explanatory, it really ought to be called ‘the grammar and the core vocabulary of educated usage in English’. That would make plain the fact that it is not the whole of English, and above all, it is not the pronunciation that can be labelled Standard, but only one part of English: its grammar and vocabulary (Strevens 1985: 7).
• The variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by ‘educated’ speakers of the language. It is also, of course, the variety of the language that students of English as a Foreign or Second Language (EFL / ESL) are taught when receiving formal instruction. The term Standard English refers to grammar and vocabulary (dialect) but not to pronunciation (accent) (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 1).

• Since the 1980s, the notion of there being a ‘standard’ has come to the fore in public debate about the English language…. We may define the Standard English of an English-speaking country as a minority variety (identified chiefly by its vocabulary, grammar and orthography) which carries most prestige and is most widely understood (Crystal 1995: 110).

Jenkins also looks at the contrasting tag of ‘non-standard’ commenting that with those varieties that are deemed non-standard there is also the implication of them being sub-standard, and hence incorrect (2003: 32). She goes on to use Australia as an example where, what she refers to as ‘educated Australian English’ (ibid) only joined the ranks of StE in the 1970s and that this was aided by the appearance in 1976 of the first dictionary of Australian English to be edited within Australian shores rather than in Britain. Since then, notes Jenkins,

educated Australians have developed a new confidence in their own identity which has translated linguistically into the celebration of their own ways of speaking and a new reluctance to hark back on their British roots and ape Standard English (ibid).

Perhaps then, it is important to note at this point that the publication of T.P. Dolan’s *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English* in 1998 answered the call of scholars in the field by providing the first ‘national dictionary’ (Paulin 1998: foreword) of Hiberno-English (see section 2.3). It could be argued that this will aid greatly in the acknowledgement of those words which, up to now, have merely been described as non-standard and now can be more accurately and proudly referred to as (Standard) Irish English. Trudgill posits that the process of standardisation goes through three stages:

1. *Determination* of which forms are deemed to be “standard”.
2. The *codification* of those norms.
3. The *stabilization* through prescriptive methods in the education system.

(Trudgill 1999: 117)

Trudgill argues that StE is ‘not a “language” in any meaningful sense’ as it is ‘only one variety of English among many’ (Trudgill 1999: 118). He does concede that it
may well be the most important variety as it is used in writing and the printing of publications, in the chosen variety of the educational system, and as the variety of English being taught around the world to non-native learners (ibid: 118).

In order to explain what StE is, Trudgill first points out what StE is not. He notes that StE is not an accent, arguing that StE speakers can be found in all English-speaking countries with different non-RP accents. This assertion, that there is no one accent associated with StE, is challenged in the same publication in contributions by James Milroy (1999) and Leslie Milroy (1999). Lastly, Trudgill claims that StE is not a style, illustrating this with the following examples showing that sentences can have ‘more or less the same referential meaning’ with ‘stylistic differences indicated by lexical choice’ (Trudgill 1999: 120):

Father was exceedingly fatigued subsequent to his extensive peregrination.
Dad was very tired after his lengthy journey.
The old man was bloody knackered after his long trip.

(ibid: 120).

In this work, Trudgill concludes by saying that StE is a sub-variety of English, the same as any dialect is a sub-variety of English, however the dialect of StE is not geographically bound. Furthermore, as a dialect, like Scouse, Yorkshire or Cockney, we should spell StE with a capital S (ibid: 123). If there is no standard spoken English, as pronunciation and accent don’t allow a widespread common standard accent, then StE is the dialect of English used in writing.

2.4 Lexis in Southern Irish English

In the past, lexical surveys have been confined to distinct geographical locations and regional speech communities (see Hickey 2002: 186-194). The first systematic studies of SIE lexis began in the late eighteenth century, focusing on the vocabulary of the baronies of Forth and Bargy in Co. Wexford. This dialect existed as a sort of an anachronism as the dialect remained practically intact from its introduction at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion to the middle of the nineteenth century. Studies on this archaic variety and the history of the peoples of the area continued through the nineteenth century. A description of these studies and of some of the features of the
dialect is to be found in Ó Muirithe (1977) and a more detailed description in Ó Muirithe and Dolan (1996).

The publication of P.W. Joyce’s *English as We Speak It in Ireland* in 1910, marked the first book ‘to deal in any comprehensive way with the English of (the south of) Ireland’ (Hickey 2002: 74). It is based on folklore, anecdotal evidence, solecisms, intuition, and personal idiosyncrasies of the speakers and cannot, in Hickey’s opinion, ‘be viewed as a linguistic work, no matter how favourably one chooses to view the author’ (*ibid*: 36). In the 1979 Wolfhound Press reprint, Terence P. Dolan comments that the ‘scholarly value of the book suffers from the haphazard nature of his references, and also form the constant anecdotes arising from his extraordinarily associative mind’ (Dolan 1979: xiii). In any case, this publication constituted the first entry into the body of work in this area and began the journey that would legitimise research in the area of Irish English as a worthy pursuit. Chapter XIII, focusing on vocabulary, makes up almost fifty percent of the book. Here Joyce traces the origins of most of the lexical items he lists to the Gaelic substrate e.g. ‘gob; the mouth including the lips: “shut your gob” Irish *gob*’ (*ibid*: 263) and ‘bonnive, a sucking pig. Irish *banbh*’ (*ibid*: 219).

James Hogan’s (1927) *The English Language in Ireland* came as a bridge between the work of Joyce and the later works of Bliss and Henry in the late 1950s and 1960s. Hogan’s work focused on the history of medieval Ireland and the grammatical features of medieval Anglo-Irish and continued on to give an account of the phonology of modern Anglo-Irish including a section of Forth and Bargy. Quite different from the layman’s approach of Joyce, Hickey (2002: 72) comments that Hogan’s study offered something ‘unique in the overview [offered] of the early phase of Irish English, and also marked the beginnings of the renewed interest in the area of Irish English’ (*ibid*: 72).

Traynor’s *The English Dialect of Donegal* (1953) brought the study of English in Ireland back to a regional level. Here the author outlines the lexis specific to that region in glossary form. The wordlist was based on literature from Donegal authors (from 1800) and on the collection of dialect words made by one Henry Chichester Hall (1847 – 1908). Following from this, Henry’s acclaimed *An Anglo-Irish dialect*
of North Roscommon (1957) ‘received broad recognition and served as a starting point for many later investigations’ (Hickey 2002: 93). In this work, Henry looks at the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect of the area. Hickey (ibid) notes that in his analysis on the area of aspect Henry sees Gaelic as the only possible source for the aspectual categories of Irish English and that this position has been much criticised by a later generation of scholars including Filppula (1990), Harris (1991), Kallen (1990) and Filppula (1999).

Since then there has been a number of publications of dictionaries of Hiberno-English including:

- Todd (1989) *The Language of Irish Literature*. Here, Todd discusses Irish Literature in terms of the history of Ireland and the linguistic contexts in which it is found. It outlines the history of Gaelic in Ireland, English in Ireland and the emergence of IE. The purpose of the work is to make the cannon of Irish literature written in English more accessible to those unfamiliar with Gaelic or SIE.

- Christensen (1996) *A First Glossary of Hiberno-English*. Christensen states in the preface that the book was designed for ‘those approaching for the first time, texts written in the Irish variety of English’. The entries consist of words that are of Gaelic origin, familiar English words that have a different meaning in Irish English, or words that have dropped out of use in English but are preserved in IE. Christensen claims that the entries are ‘what every Irish schoolchild knows’ (ibid: 7).

- Share (1997, 2005) *Slanguage: a dictionary of Irish slang and popular usage*. Hickey (2002: 227) comments that this publication was ‘by far and away the most comprehensive treatment of specifically Irish vocabulary of English before 1998’ (see Dolan (1998) below). The second edition (2005) is 25% larger than its predecessor but keeps the same non-linguistic approach to the area listing words that are used every day in Ireland but may not be found in
regular dictionaries. (Also in this area, see McCarthy (2004) *Downtcha Boy: an anthology of Cork slang*).

- Ó Muirithe (1999) *A Dictionary of Words and Phrases from Gaelic in The English of Ireland*. This work gives an account of the influence of the Gaelic substrate on the lexis of IE. The entries were collected during the life of the author from a long list of informants from all over Ireland and from nineteenth century literary sources.

Arguably, it was the publication of T.P. Dolan’s *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English* in 1998, with the revised and expanded edition appearing in 2004, which provided the first comprehensive dictionary of Hiberno-English. On the dust jacket of the book, Paulin comments that he saw this publication as ‘one of the foundation stones of a new civic culture in the island’ (Paulin 2004: dust jacket). The entries are compiled from interviews, letters from correspondents and local word lists. In the introduction to the second edition, Dolan notes how some comments on the first edition expressed reservations about the number of Irish words it contained (2004: xix). He defends these entries by stating that they were what his sources showed the language to be. In any case, the work is unique as it takes into account, various influences on the formation of IE, including the influence of Gaelic, local words and colloquial words taken from occurrences all over Ireland. Dolan claims that ‘an appreciable proportion of the word stock of the Irish people is not standard and may be misunderstood or not understood at all by speakers of standard or near-standard English’ (2004: xxii). This may or may not be so, but to whatever degree IE is understandable to non-nationals, the dictionary is an invaluable source of information both to them and to Irish people alike as a record of diachronic usage. It must be noted, however, that the dictionary is not corpus-based, but a collection of entries taken from sources both literary and non-literary sources. Some of these literary sources, e.g. Edmund Spencer’s *The Faerie Queene* (1596), have great historical and literary value but may example words which, though a part of the culture of Ireland, may be quite specific to that work and may never be used in a modern-day context.
2.5 Grammar in Southern Irish English

On another linguistic level, much work has been done in the areas of phonology, morphology, syntax and in the areas of tense, mood and aspect (see Hickey 2002: 171-185). In order to prepare taxonomy of discrete features of IE, the author has looked at the major works available in these areas.

Brief accounts of the more salient grammatical features of IE are found, amongst others, in Todd (1986) and Trudgill and Hannah (1994) and on various sources on the Internet (listed in Appendix A). These works give a general overview of the forms which have come to be generally recognised as belonging to, though not necessarily exclusively so, to IE.

A concise, but nonetheless thorough account of IE grammar is presented by Harris (1993), where he devotes sections to dealing with the elements of the noun phrase, the verb group and the expression of time in IE. Though the chapter aims only to outline ‘the more saliently non-standard grammatical characteristics of English usage in Ireland’ (ibid: 139), it nevertheless goes into significant detail in describing these. The examples given are drawn from actual recordings of natural speech, the majority of which were recorded between the mid 1950s – mid 1970s (ibid: 143).

Coming more than fifteen years after Filppula completed his corpus-based doctoral thesis in the area of spoken Hiberno-English (Filppula 1982), the publication in 1999 of The Grammar of Irish English: Language in a Hibernian style examines the most distinctive grammatical features of the variety. The data analysed come from a corpus of spoken IE of over 150,000 words gathered for his unpublished L. Phil thesis in 1982. The participants were 24 elderly people from 4 counties (Clare, Kerry, Wicklow, and Dublin) of which 21 were female. The work has chapters devoted to the noun phrase, verb phrase, questions, responses and negation, the complex sentence, prepositional usage, and focusing devices.

As Filppula (1999) and Harris (1993) are the more comprehensive works available to me on the subject, taxonomy for the study of the lexico-g grammatical features in L-CIE will be based on these. The taxonomy is as follows:
3.2 The Noun Phrase
3.2.1 The definite article (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.2 Demonstratives (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.3 Plural of quantity nouns (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.4 Pronouns (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

3.3 The Verb Group
3.3.1 Irregular verbs (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.2 Subject-verb agreement (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.3 Imperatives (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.4 The perfect aspect (Kallen 1990; Harris 1991, 1993; Filppula 1997, 1999).
3.3.5 Habitual aspect (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

3.4 The Complex Sentence and Indirect Questions
3.4.1 Subordinating and (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.4.2 Verb complement clauses (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.4.3 Indirect questions (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

Areas not dealt with, either because the topic is too broad to be adequately covered in this dissertation or due to space restrictions, include:

- Negation (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
- Prepositional usage (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
- Discourse devices, including clefting (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines some of the more saliently non-standard grammatical characteristics of English usage in Ireland. In his analysis of non-standard features of SIE, Harris (1993: 139) notes that the term non-standard should not ‘carry any implications of inferiority’. A similar caveat is given in Kallen (1985: 65) when the author writes that:

any variety of speech must be seen not only in contrast to a “standard” or to any other variety, but both (a) in its own terms as a set of rules which generate the speech corpus of the native speaker and (b) as one set of interrelated rules which may all have an effect on the multidialectal native speaker.

Similarly, this study acknowledges that where forms are described as non-standard, this should not be taken to mean incorrect, merely that they differ from the prescriptive description of usage in some way and that, as Harris (1993: 139) explains, ‘non-standard speech is no less systematic or rule-governed than standard speech’.

This chapter is divided into three parts:

I. The Noun Phrase: The four areas dealt with here are the use of the definite article, the use of demonstratives (specifically them), the plural of quantity nouns such as mile, foot and pound, and pronouns, specifically the second person personal pronoun, and reflexive pronouns.

II. The Verb Group: Irregular verbs, subject-verb agreement, the habitual aspect and the perfect aspect, and imperatives will be dealt with here.

III. The Complex Sentence and Indirect Questions: Subordinating and, verb complement clauses, and indirect questions will be dealt with here.

Areas that will not be dealt with in this chapter are outlined in section 2.4.

3.2 The Noun Phrase

It is noted by Filppula that IE noun phrases ‘do not display particularly salient departures from their counterparts in other dialects of English’ and that ‘some of the most often mentioned features are attested in other non-standard varieties, too’ (Filppula 1999: 55). While it is not claimed that the non-standard features examined
below belong solely to IE, they do however represent some of the more frequently occurring non-standard features of this variety.

### 3.2.1 The definite article in Irish English

The use of the non-standard definite article in IE, most noticeably the use of *the* where it is not used in StE, is regarded by many commentators as one of the more distinguishing features of the variety (Filppula 1999: 56). In his analysis of the non-standard definite article in IE, Filppula (*ibid*) categorises the non-standard usages into 17 different groups based around certain categories, groups of words, and expressions. Harris (1993: 144-45) presents a more concise framework, grouping the occurrences into five different categories, with many of Filppula’s categories being merged into broader groupings. The framework for describing the results in the present study is based on a combination of both of these analyses. Given that *the* accounts for a proportionally huge amount of the entire corpus (almost 4%), a concordance list for *the* was run and the results randomised and reduced to 500 using the *reduce to N function* in WordSmith. These were then analysed for non-standard usages, of which fourteen were found. These were then divided into the following categories:

1. **Plural count-nouns with generic reference** (from Filppula 1999: 56)
2. **Non-count concrete nouns and concrete mass nouns** (*ibid*)
3. **Quantifying expressions involving *most* and *both* (*ibid*)**
4. **The numerals *one* and *two* used in the sense of *same* and *both* respectively (*ibid*)**
5. **In place of a possessive adjective** (Harris 1993: 145).

**Plural count-nouns with generic reference** returned two out of the fourteen non-standard usages in the random searches. In these instances, the definite article is used where the zero article would be used in StE (Biber *et al* 1999: 261). In (1) below *the* would normally not be used as there is no mention preceding this of any place to which *the toilets* could be referring to, thus the speaker is referring to toilets in general and not *the toilets* in a specific place. In (2), the speakers are discussing infidelity in marriage and whether men or women are more likely to cheat on their partners. The speaker is referring to man and women in general but still uses the definite article.
(1) <$1>$ Did you ever see Noel?
<$2>$ Who is Noel?
<$4>$ Is she still with Noel?
<$1>$ This fella that's engaged and they shag each other in the toilets.
(2) it's not just the men that are doing it the women are doing it too.

(b) Non-count concrete nouns and concrete mass nouns accounted for more than a third of the non-standard uses in the analysed samples, with five of the fourteen non-standard uses occurring in this category. Pattern (3) – mad for the N- is known to be quite common to the researcher though there was only one other example of this type in L-CIE: Is he mad for the whiskey? The pattern in example (4) – the bit of – is also quite common in IE where a bit of might be more standard (Quirk et al 1985: 249). Example (5) shows speaker 2, in response to being told that Dublin were playing Offaly in a match, asking if it was going to be in football or hurling. The researcher supposes the speaker would not have asked in the rugby? or in the soccer? if they had been told that Italy were playing France in a match. It should be noted that in example (6) the speaker is asking if tea (to drink) has been brewed as opposed to made (to eat). Example (7) is interesting in that the speaker doesn’t refer to the bread but does use the to refer to milk and the butter; here a pint of milk and a pound of butter would be used in StE.

(3) She's mad for the drink and then she goes out of control.
(4) You can't beat the bit of tomato soup.
(5) <$2>$ In the football?
<$1>$ No in the hurling.
(6) I asked you did you make the tea.
(7) …in spite of the fact that the price of bread the pint of milk or the pound of butter is no dearer for the fella on top outside in Monaleen or Castletroy wherever it is than in some of the poorer parts of the country.

(c) Quantifying expressions involving most and both (Biber et al 1999: 275-76) usually occur without the definite article but there are many examples in L-CIE of non-standard patterns. Only one example of this type was found in the random sample but, as this is a relatively easy pattern to search for, the researcher ran a separate concordance list for the most of and the both of. The results are shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.
Expanding sentence 2 from Figure 3.1, it is interesting to note that the same speaker uses the standard *the majority of burglaries* just two sentences before using the non-standard *the most of the*:

(8) Well the major findings were that London would account for the **majority of burglaries** with about forty per cent. Some of the key finds was the time of burglaries. Ah the report would indicate **the most of the** burglaries would take place during the school run from twelve o'clock to four o'clock in the afternoon.

**D** The numerals one and two used in the sense of same and both respectively.

Filppula (1999: 72) comments that ‘the pattern of *the one* N in the sense “same” apparently represents a usage which is unique to HE’. Only one occurrence of this type was found in the random search but there are 36 other occurrences of this pattern in L-CIE. Some of the better explicit are:

(9) No but they can't they won't change it unless you have three on the one day if you have two on the one day.

(10) They’re using the one name but they're not they're not brothers.

(11) Three women in the one car.

**E** Using the in place of possessive adjectives is another very common non-standard pattern, particularly when describing a person’s relationship to another such as the wife, the brother, the girlfriend etc. where my or his/her could be substituted (Filppula 1999: 61). Example (14) was the only one found in the random searches, the other examples from the corpus have been included to further illustrate usage. In (13) the colloquial ‘auld one’ is used to mean ‘mother’ so, in StE, the sentence would read
yeah my mother told me off. In (14) ‘the husband’ is taken to mean ‘her husband’ and in (15) ‘the girlfriend’ would mean ‘his girlfriend’.

(12) I thought they were only visiting the mother.
(13) Yeah the auld one gave out to me.
(14) Herself and the husband.
(15) <$1> Am have you discussed this with the girlfriend?
 <$2> No am I haven't met his girlfriend yet.

The use of non-standard the in 12 of the 500 occurrences in the random searches represents a total of 2.74%. If this were representative of the corpus as a whole, and it is possible that it may be, this would mean that of the 35,166 occurrences of the in L-CIE, a total of 611 of these would be non-standard uses. The author imagines that the figure would actually be higher as some of the more frequent expressions categorised by Filppula (1999: 56) were not evidenced in the random searches.

3.2.2 Demonstratives

The demonstrative determiners this/these and that/those specify whether the referent is singular or plural and also how far the referent is from the speaker (Biber et al 1999: 274-75). Harris (1993: 145) notes that in IE ‘as in many types of non-standard English, the plural form of that is regularly them as opposed to the standard those’.

This occurs where that is functioning as a demonstrative determiner e.g.:

(16) You don't fasten them jackets.
(17) I'll give her them five tapes and I'll post them to her.

Of the 3,361 occurrences of them in L-CIE, this kind of non-standard usage is evident in 80 cases, representing 2.3% of the total (see Table 3.1). Another measurement of the significance of the frequency of non-standard them is to measure it against occurrences of those; the meaning non-standard them takes the function of. The 80 occurrences of non-standard them in L-CIE have the same semantic function as those acting as a standard determiner. This being the case, combining the uses of these two forms would show that non-standard them accounts for 11% of the total occurrences where the semantic function is those (see Table 3.2).
Table 3.1: Usage of standard versus non-standard them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total occurrences of them</th>
<th>Occurrences of them as a demonstrative determiner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3361</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.7%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Well you're better off to cook them hot.</td>
<td>e.g. I've got some of them lamb chops.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Occurrences of those versus occurrences of non-standard them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total occurrences of those</th>
<th>Occurrences of them as a demonstrative determiner</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>662</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Those silver present boxes.</td>
<td>e.g. I never see them boxes anywhere.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Harris (1993: 146) states that the forms yon and thon, which signal a greater degree of distance form the speaker, are found in IE. There were, however, no records of these in L-CIE. This could perhaps be due to the fact that L-CIE is comprised only of SIE and has no NIE content. Perhaps these forms are currently evident in NIE or, more likely, they may have declined to the point that they are not very frequently used.

3.2.3 Plural of quantity nouns

In StE, when writing words indicating quantity, the plurality is expressed twice when these co-occur with numerals, once in the numeral itself and again in the plural s-ending, e.g. two miles, five years (Harris 1993: 146). In IE, the redundancy is avoided by omitting the plural ending. While Harris (ibid) includes numeral + foot in this type, e.g. he's six foot two, it is accepted StE to express measurements using either foot or feet (Quirk et al 1985: 309). It is quite difficult to find examples of this type using a corpus, as there are not many words with which one usually specifically associates this phenomenon. This being the case, a concordance list was run for mile, year, and pound, finding only one occurrence of this non-standard usage for mile and year but 40 occurrences with pound:

(18) That's like a hundred mile away from us.
(19) You know sixty seventy year ago what Mags probably cut turf.
(20) I get about 150 to 200 pound a week depending on my hours.

Of the 40 occurrences of pound in L-CIE, all but one referred to the now defunct Irish Punt. It is interesting to note the confusion and debate that coincided with the introduction of the currency that replaced the Punt, the Euro, when people argued the merits of having Euro or Euros as the plural form. Eventually it was decided, in Ireland’s case at least, by the Department of Finance to use the word euro as both the singular and plural forms of the currency (Linguistic Issues Concerning the Euro).

3.2.4 Pronouns

(A) Second person personal pronoun: you

The use of the second person personal pronoun you can be ambiguous in all varieties as it is not always clear whether it refers to one person or more than one. In the case of Irish English, the different forms of you for singular and ye or youse for plural, often make the distinction clearer (Harris 1993: 146, Quirk et al 1985: 344). L-CIE has occurrences of both of these non-standard plural forms:

(21) Do any of ye want anything?
(22) Thank you and I'll see youse all soon.

Ye is by far the most frequent non-standard plural form in L-CIE, with 619 occurrences, while youse with 29 occurrences account for a much smaller proportion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3 Non-standard you-plurals.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an attempt to ascertain how many standard you-plurals there are in L-CIE, the researcher ran a concordance list for you. The search returned 23,000 hits (more than 2.5% of the corpus), and so the researcher decided that, partly due to the huge number of hits but, more importantly, due to the difficulty often encountered in identifying if a speaker is using you-plural or you-singular when reading a transcript, it would not be feasible to conduct a manual analysis of these.
An AmE equivalent of SIE *ye/youse* would be *y’all*, which always has a plural meaning, and is usually associated with Southern AmE. Quirk *et al* (ibid: 344) note that there also exists there the colloquial genitive *y’all’s* as in ‘I really like *y’all’s* new car [your family’s new car]’.

(B) Nominative and accusative cases
Another non-standard usage of pronouns, though not unique to IE, is common enough to warrant comment. Nominative personal pronouns (*I, you, he, she, it, we, you, they*) are correctly collocated with accusative personal pronouns / oblique forms (*me, you, him, her, it, us, them*) in sentences such as *I love *her* and she loves me* (Biber *et al* 1999: 335). Harris (1993: 147) notes that the general tendency in non-standard English (IE included) is for the oblique form to be used as a subject pronoun when it is conjoined with another subject. This is evidenced in L-CIE in sentences such as:

(23) **Me** and Una were giggling in the corner.
(24) **Him** and Ben Laden joining up together.

Though (23) and (24) represent non-standard usage, and prescriptive grammar dictates that they should read (23) *Una and I* and (24) *He and Ben Laden*, there ‘is a tendency for the accusative form to spread in popular usage into contexts traditionally reserved for the nominative form’ Biber *et al* (1999: 335).

(C) Reflexive pronouns
In StE, each personal pronoun has a corresponding reflexive pronoun (Biber *et al* 1999: 342) as in *I hurt myself*, where *I* is coreferential with *myself*. In IE, reflexives are often used with an exophoric function where the reflexive form can be used to refer to persons not mentioned in the same sentence; the ‘implicit reference’ contained in the reflexive allows the hearer to identify the person(s) in question (Harris 1993: 147). A detailed examination of reflexives in IE is to be found in Filppula (1999: 77-88). Here, Filppula describes what he terms the ‘unbound’ use of reflexive pronouns where the ‘local binding’ of reflexives, which means that the antecedent of a reflexive occurs within the same clause, is circumvented by the ‘shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer’ (*ibid*).
The researcher has identified at 15 instances in L-CIE where the reflexives himself/herself appear to be used with exophoric function i.e. without a corresponding personal pronoun in the same sentence. It is quite difficult, however, to give explicit examples of this feature from L-CIE without including a large part of the transcript to show clearly that the reflexive pronouns are being used in an exophoric way. This being the case, the researcher has decided to include the following two examples which illustrate the feature well.

In example (25), we can see Speaker 2 (<$2$>) introducing her best friend and her best friend’s fiancé into the conversation. After both speakers express their amazement at the couple going to look at wedding rings, Speaker 2 refers back to the couple using the reflexive pronouns herself and himself while there is no corresponding personal pronoun in the same sentence. Both speakers know who herself and himself are due to the implicit reference mentioned above.

(25) <$2$> My best friend like you know I met her when I first went into secondary school and we've been best buddies the whole time and she's going out with this guy a year now and <$O1$> Oh <$O1$> they're engaged they're going off today to look at rings.
<$1$> God.
<$2$> Yeah.
<$1$> Crazy.
<$2$> I know.
<$1$> Freaky.
<$2$> So I stayed over with them last night it's herself and himself I'm going on holidays with…

Similarly, in the following example (26), we can clearly see that the same shared knowledge exists between the speaker and the hearer which allows both to clearly understand the antecedent of the reflexive herself.

(26) He was going to school with herself.

3.3 The Verb Group

In this section some of the non-standard features in the IE verb phrase will be looked at. Firstly, irregular verb forms in IE will be examined, and how the retention of the Old English forms of these are evidenced in L-CIE. Secondly the area of subject-verb agreement will be looked at - this term has been chosen over ‘subject-verb concord’
as the term ‘concord/concordance’ is used throughout the study to refer to corpus techniques. Thirdly, the special imperative forms in IE will be examined. The last two sections here look at the area of the expression of time in IE. Of this, Filppula (1999: 89) notes:

it is common knowledge that tense and aspect are among those areas of grammar in which HE [IE] dialects clearly distinguish themselves from other dialects of grammar.

The perfect aspect in IE is examined here in a little more detail than other areas as it is a particularly noticeable feature of IE and has attracted much comment

3.3.1 Irregular verbs

In the past, irregular verbs were referred to as strong verbs. A strong verb is a term used in ‘the description of Germanic languages for a verb that indicates such differences as tense by modifying its vowels: ring, rang, rung.’ (McArthur (ed.) 1998: 581). The term strong verb is used in Harris (1993: 151-52), presumably for the reason that it is a term associated with Old English, the influence of which is thought to be one of the factors which has lead to some of the non-standard usages of contemporary IE. The term irregular verb will be used in this study.

Most verbs are regular and use inflections to mark person, tense, aspect and voice (Biber et al 1999: 392). The construction of these forms is predictable as they are formed by the same combination of base form + suffix: jump, jumps, jumping, jumped. Strong verbs, on the other hand, can be classified according to the three categories of basic stem, past tense and past participle:

(a) verbs with three different forms: give/gave/given
(b) verbs with two different forms: buy/bought/bought
(c) verbs with identical forms for all three categories: hit/hit/hit

(Harris 1993: 151-52)

Harris (ibid) notes that the strong verb system was much more complex in Old English and that, though there was a progressive erosion of these forms until the eighteenth century, there was a partial reversal of the change in the standard language. This reversal did not occur in non-standard dialects. The result of this is that non-
standard dialects ‘tend to have simpler strong verb systems than the modern standard’ (ibid).

Harris (1993: 151-52) states that

where modern StE has do/did/done and go/went/gone, most non-standard dialects (including IE) have do/done/done and go/went/went (just as in the earlier stages of the language).

An analysis L-CIE shows that this non-standard use is present, with seven examples of done (Figure 3.3) and one of went (27).

Figure 3.3: done as past simple form in L-CIE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concorance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 the first time I've been able to tie up my hair, since he done it. &lt;$5&gt;Shure he was in a competition for hairstyles and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 I love that colour. &lt;$2&gt; So do I. &lt;$1&gt; See the way they done it out. &lt;$2&gt; Yeah. &lt;$1&gt; You know it won't be as bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 I would imagine+ &lt;$1&gt; Yeah. &lt;$2&gt; +and that's why they done it but this guy he'll go on to the next hostels and he do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 got on very very well. &lt;$3c&gt; Yes and twas she twas she done it herself. &lt;$4c&gt; I know. &lt;$3c&gt; Like she said Cathal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 him and eat him and he said like I'm really sorry but Charlie done it to my house and he said yeah Seamus done it but I'm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 but Charlie done it to my house and he said yeah Seamus done it but I'm the one that may &lt;$X&gt; fucken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 scummy auld bollocks. &lt;$2&gt; &lt;$E&gt; laughing &lt;$E&gt; So he done it out of spite for &lt;$O2&gt; &lt;$X&gt; yer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &lt;$E&gt; laughter &lt;$E&gt;. &lt;$3&gt; Oh isn't it yeah god they done it right+ &lt;$4&gt; They did. &lt;$3&gt; +definitely. &lt;$4&gt; &lt;$G4&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(27) I should have went into that with the whole class.

Other verbs in IE with identical past-tense and past-participle forms corresponding to the StE three-form format include are illustrated in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Some English English verbs with identical past-tense and past-participle forms (English 1993: 153).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish English</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bite</td>
<td>bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>hid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>broke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grow</td>
<td>grew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>fell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite</td>
<td>bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>hid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>did</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>broke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grow</td>
<td>grew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>fell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>saw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb see was chosen for closer analysis as the researcher had noticed many examples in L-CIE where seen was used as the past simple form, where in StE saw
would be used. The analysis found that this was the case in twenty-two instances (remaining examples to be found in Appendix II), e.g.

(28) I seen her yesterday.
(29) I seen it the day I was up in Galway.
(30) I seen an advertisement in the local paper.

Table 3.5 shows the total occurrences of *saw* in L-CIE along with occurrences of *seen* as a past simple form. From this we can see that the non-standard uses account for over six percent of the total. This shows, at least in the case of *see*, that non-standard strong verb forms are still commonly used in Ireland today.

Table 3.5: *saw* and *seen* as past simple forms in L-CIE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saw as past simple form</th>
<th>Seen as past simple form</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.7%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.2 Subject-verb agreement (SVA)

Harris (1993: 154) begins to address the issue of SVA by explaining that:

[SVA] refers to the relationship between a subject and its verb whereby the number and person of the former determines the shape of the latter.

This is the case in all verbs, except *be*, where the [SVA] is limited to the present tense, and to the choice between the base form and the s-form of the finite verb (Biber *et al* 1999: 180).

The non-standard form in IE is evident when the *s*-ending is applied not only to the singular, as is the case in StE, but in the plural as well e.g.

(31) Not in here because we *eats* in here.

Filppula (1999: 150), citing Henry (1958: 130-31), notes that in IE the *–s* suffix is also added to ‘collective’ nouns, as in *people goes*, ‘ordinary’ plural nouns, as in *the wee things {children} catches*, and personal pronouns, as in *they learns it/*we brakes it.*
Due to space limitations, the researcher decided to conduct an analysis of L-CIE (similar to Filppula 1999: 153-56) based on SVA occurring with the plural subjects *there + BE, they + BE, and them + BE*, in order to be able to give a more detailed account of these (as opposed to general SVA in L-CIE). Separate concordance lists were conducted for *there / they / them*, the results were reduced to occurrences of *there / they/ them + BE (is/are/was/were)* and then reduced to a random sample of 100 entries using the *reduce to N* function in WordSmith. The first 100 entries were then analysed for patterns of SVA. The results are displayed in Table 3.6.

**Table 3.6 Plural subject-verb agreement in L-CIE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>There</th>
<th>They</th>
<th>Them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BE present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Is / are non-agreement</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Is / are agreement</em></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% Non-agreement</strong></td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BE Past</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Was / were non-agreement</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Was / were agreement</em></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% Non-agreement</strong></td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results from the analysis of L-CIE are only consistent with those Filppula found in his analysis of his IE corpus (Filppula 1999: 156) in that the non-agreement was most common in *there + BE* sentences. However, in L-CIE the following differed from Filppula’s results (*ibid*):

(a) The bias in the non-agreement *there + BE* sentences was towards the past tense rather than the present tense.

(b) The percentage figures for *they +BE* and *them +BE* were almost entirely *agreement*, as opposed to results of between 10% and 25% in Filppula’s study.

The researcher can only conclude that Filppula’s IE corpus, based as it is on primarily ‘elderly’ informants speaking ‘rural dialects’ representing the ‘traditional vernacular’ of their respective localities (Filppula 1999: 37), is more representative of these non-
standard SVA forms than L-CIE, which is based on conversational English recorded from informants of all ages and from both urban and rural areas.

In any case, there were sufficient examples in L-CIE of the there + BE sentences to establish that this non-agreement form is still in current use in casual conversation in Ireland. Explicit examples include:

(32) There **is** careful policies of sentencing involved.
(33) There **was** no windows left.
(34) **Was** there any other extras that he ordered?
(35) Well there **is** a load of factories closed because of it.

### 3.3.3 Imperatives

The imperative mood of the verb is used for requests or giving commands, as in *Shut the window* or *Come here!* Biber *et al* (1999: 219) define the imperative construction by noting that ‘most imperative clauses are characterised by the lack of a subject and the use of the bare infinitive form’. In IE, however, the use of the continuous form is quite common (Harris 1993: 157). The writer was unable to find any examples of the positive BE + V + -ing form in L-CIE, such as the example of ‘Be peeling them there’ given in Harris (ibid: 157). There were however 20 examples of the negative ‘**don’t** BE + V + -ing’ form such as:

(36) **Don't** be scaring her now.
(37) Yeah Mam **don't be sayin** things like that.

It is interesting to note that, of the 20 occurrences (remaining examples to be found in Appendix II), 17 different verbs are used so there is no real indication which, if any, verbs are most commonly used in this type of non-standard IE construction. There is also another form occurring in IE, namely **don’t you** BE + V + -ing, one example of which was found in L-CIE:

(38) **Don't you be** looking for that for me now.

In StE the second-person pronoun is implicit in imperatives (Harris: *ibid*). In the above example (38) the pronoun is given explicit expression:
3.3.4 Habitual Aspect

In StE, phrases such as *used to* can show habitual behaviour or action in the past (Biber *et al.* 1999: 218). However, the standard verb group has no non-past form which expresses habitual aspect exclusively (Harris 1993: 162). Thus, in StE it is often necessary to use the simple present form with time adverbials such as *I study English every day*. In IE, there are a number of different devices used for expressing habitually. Let us first consider the expression of habitually in Gaelic.

Gaelic verbs have two present tenses, one indicating what is occurring at this instant and another used for continuous/habitual actions. For example, *you are now* is *tá tú anois*, but *you are every day* is *bionn tú gach lá*. This idea of continual/habitual action, as expressed in Gaelic, translates into the Irish English construction *do/does be*, where the aspectual difference between the habitual and non-habitual actions or states are signalled by placing *do*, inflected for tense and person, before the habitual verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Non-Habitual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I do be drunk</td>
<td>I am drunk (now)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He does be watching</td>
<td>He is watching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *do* in expressions such as the above are not stressed and so ‘the usage is quite unrelated to the stressed auxiliary *do* which is employed for emphatic purposes in English generally’ (Harris 1993: 163). Corpus analysis of the habitual *do* can be problematic as, when reading a transcription of a conversation, it is not always clear if the speaker is speaking in the emphatic or referring to a habitual action. Comparing example (39) and (40) below. It is clear in (39) that *do* is emphatic as it is a simple affirmative answer to the question. In (40) however, the usage is slightly less clear as the speaker could either be using the stressed emphatic *do* or the unstressed habitual *do*.

(39) <$1>$ Do you eat cabbage or *do* you want beans?
     <$2>$ *I do* eat cabbage yeah.
(40) <$4>$ I'm so bad when my granny was in there I used to go in and run out seriously chicken shit like.
     <$3>$ *You do* get a feeling in a hospital the feeling of death like.
Analysis of habitual do in L-CIE found occurrences of many different types. The results are presented in Figure 3.4 with examples of each type below it (remaining examples to be found in Appendix II).

**Figure 3.4 Habitual DO in L-CIE**

![Bar Chart]

Interestingly, the results from the corpus show that the do is not always correctly inflected for person as in example (41). Also example (45), illustrates that the use of the habitual do + verb construction is not limited to do + be.

(41) She **do be** there every weekend.
(42) Ah we **don't be** hitting each other hard.
(43) It **does be** after seven o'clock when he gets home like.
(44) He **doesn't be** there only at night-time.
(45) I **does be rising** him there every day and **I does catch** him out.

### 3.3.5 The perfect aspect in IE

The following is a brief account of the perfect aspect in IE (IEP). This is an area which has drawn significant attention from scholars, particularly those exploring the Gaelic substrate influence on the formation of IE, as it is here, in the area of tense and aspect, where the influence of the Gaelic substratum on IE has traditionally been argued to be at its strongest (Filppula 1997: 51; Harris 1991: 201-208).

The researcher has decided to focus on the following four exponents of the IEP, the categories and terminology for which are taken from Filppula (1999: 90-129):

(a) the ‘after’ perfect, hereafter AFP
(a) The *after* perfect (AFP)

Filppula (1999: 99) notes that the *after* perfect is one of the best-known features of IE. Referred to as the ‘hot-news’ perfect by Harris (1993: 160), the *after* perfect refers to an event or activity which has taken place in the more or less recent past but the effects of which persist some way or other into the present moment or into a secondary point of time orientation in the past, which makes them equivalent to StE past perfects.

(Filppula 1999: 99)

A concordance list for *after* was run on L-CIE returning 825 hits. Of these, 167 occurred with the *after* + *V*-ing pattern, with 125 of these showing non-standard usage. These 125 non-standard usages occurred with 52 different verbs, by far the most common of which was *get* with 19 occurrences. Table 3.4 shows the frequency of the other more common (6 or more occurrences) verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46) He's <strong>after getin'</strong> a point.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(47) He's <strong>after doing</strong> his leaving cert.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48) They're <strong>after finding</strong> some sheep.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(49) I'm <strong>after going</strong> too far.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50) I'm only <strong>after having</strong> my breakfast.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his investigation of *after* tokens in his Dublin corpus, Kallen (1990: 34) found that 10 verbal uses, accounting for some 68 tokens of *after*, represented 49% of the total, while the same verbs in L-CIE account for only 26% of the total. Interestingly co-occurrence with *get* is the most frequent in both corpora: Kallen (ibid) gives a number
of 13 tokens, representing 19% of the total, while L-CIE shows 19 tokens representing 14.4% of the total.

The researcher carried out an analysis of clusters within the 125 usages of the after + V-ing pattern. ‘Clusters are words which are found repeatedly together in each others' company’ (Scott 2005: Single Words v. Clusters). In corpus linguistics, clusters are considered to be ‘multi-word units’ (ibid) with each element being bound to the other through some semantic or syntactic property. The analysis of 2-word clusters returned 22 occurrences of only after and just after. This usage would correspond directly with StE had/have just + V indicating the recency of a completed action, and is one of the reasons that the AFP is also referred to as hot-news perfect, as in Harris (1993). Some examples of this type are shown below.

(51) I'm only after having my breakfast.
(52) Your tart is just after falling down your lap.

(b) The ‘extended-now’ perfect (ENP)
The ‘extended-now’ perfect, detailed by Filppula (1999: 122-28), describes a situation initiated in the past and persisting into the present. It is considered a type of perfect despite its occurrence with present tense form of verbs, which in StE normally refers to present time; e.g. I know his family all my life (‘I’ve known his family all my life’) (from Harris 1993: 161).

It is difficult to do a quantitative analysis of form, as there are no particular lexical patterns with which it commonly occurs and which could be searched for in the corpus using the concord function. It is only from a detailed manual analysis of the corpus or from qualitative observation that examples of this type can be collected. However, Filppula (1999: 123) notes that the ENP requires ‘the obligatory presence of a time adverbial expressing duration’, and cited examples, all of which occur in close proximity to year(s). This being the case, a concordance was run of year(s). The 1623 results were randomly reduced to 200, using the reduce to N entries function, and analysed for co-occurrence of the ENP.
Five results showed a clear use of the ENP with several other examples, while not entirely clear, seeming to follow the same pattern. The five clear examples are as follows:

(53) **I'm driving** for practically forty years.
(54) **I'm actually involved** in the cold face of tourism now for twenty-three years.
(55) **I'm married** twenty-five years and I still cannot bear to spend a night away on my own.
(56) **I'm only involved** in the club for the last three years I'm a blow in to the area.
(57) I know isn't the year after flying.

Example (57) is interesting in that is exhibits a double non-standard perfect usage formed as it is by a combination of the ENP and the AFP. In StE, it might read ‘I know, hasn't the year flown’. While not an explicitly quantitative analysis, the results nonetheless show that the ENP is in current usage in conversational IE.

(c) The ‘medial-object’ perfect
The term ‘resultative’ refers to a verb-form which describes a past event with present relevance (e.g. Peggy has broken her leg) (Harris 1993: 160). In IE, this construction occurs as a ‘split perfect’, described as the ‘medial object’ perfect in Filppula (1999: 90, 107-116), consisting of have plus a past participle placed after the object (e.g. I’ve it pronounced wrong) (Harris 1993: 160). The result of placing the past participle before the object in this was acts to focus ‘on the end-point, result, or resulting state, of the action rather than the action itself’ Filppula (1999: 108).

It was quite difficult to find examples of this type in L-CIE. Filppula (ibid) comments that, in his corpus, the five most common verbs occurring in the MOP were do, make, build, get, and forget. A concordance list was run for if and occurrences of the aforementioned verbs analysed. The researcher found no examples of these verbs being used in the MOP in L-CIE. However, qualitative analysis of the corpus during the course of research for this dissertation did reveal the following examples

(58) we knew the house because we had a photo of it seen.
(59) I had a kitchen towel and now I don't know where I've it left.
The seeming paucity of examples in L-CIE would lead the researcher to believe that the MOP usage may have declined in Ireland to the extent that only ‘elderly’ speakers of IE, such as those used in Filppula’s corpus, still use it. It is also possible, though unlikely, that the MOP usage currently occurs with verbs different to those mentioned by Filppula.

(d) The ‘indefinite anterior’ perfect

Harris labels this IE perfect ‘indefinite since-time’ in that it ‘refers an event or events occurring at (an) unspecified point(s) in a period leading up to the present’ (1993: 161). The researcher has chosen to use the term ‘indefinite anterior’ perfect (IAP) in keeping with the more recent terminology of Filppula (1999: 90).

The IE IAP is the equivalent of StE present perfect as shown by the example of Harris (1993: 161) ‘I never saw a gun in my life nor never saw one fired’ corresponding with StE ‘I’ve never seen a gun in my life…’. The IAP is similar to the ENP in that it is difficult to do a quantitative analysis the form, as there are few particular lexical patterns with which it commonly occurs but also in that it does habitually co-occur with an adverb of time (Filppula 1999: 93). In his study of the IAP, Filppula (ibid) noted that the IAP most frequently co-occurred with never. This being the case, the researcher decided run a concord lists for never, limiting the return to 100 results, as it was found that 100 returns provided sufficient examples.

Of the sample of 100 uses of never, 23 showed usage with the IAP. Consistent with the results in Filppula (1999: 93), hear was most frequently used in the IAP form with never in L-CIE accounting for 5 of the 23 occurrences. Examples of the most illustrative usages are as follows (remaining examples to be found in Appendix II):

(60) I don't know. I never heard of it.
(61) <$5> He was a good actor.
    <$1> Ya I know he was an actor but what was he in that I'd know?
    <$5> He was in "To kill a mockingbird".
    <$1> Ya well I read the book but I never saw the film.
(62) When I started philosophy I never even heard of Macedonia.

In Kallen (1990), ‘The Hiberno-English perfect: grammaticalisation revisited’, the author postulates on a possible ‘grammaticalisation hypothesis’:

50
If, for example, the Hiberno-English perfect with after (e.g., I’m after breaking the window) is a grammatical marker of recency, while the ‘Extended Present’ form (e.g., I know him for a long time) marks the state of affairs as continuing from the past into the present, then it may be that there exists a one-to-one relationship between the form of perfect marking and the type of use intended by the speaker. (ibid: 21)

This would mean that, with different types of perfect marking in IE (including the four mentioned above), the speaker may use one form above another to express the type of relationship that exists between the action and how complete or recent the action is. However, the author goes on to point out that:

close scrutiny of a corpus of utterances collected over several years from nearly 200 speakers (see Kallen 1986, 1989) shows that a direct matching between form and use of the perfect is not to be found. (Kallen 1990: 21)

Thus, it is possible to say that speakers choose subconsciously which form of the IE perfect they use but that this choice is not based on any innate or internalised set of rules.

3.4 The Complex Sentence and Indirect Questions

In this section, some features which belong neither in the category of verb phrase nor noun phrase, but occur at a supra-clausal level, will be looked at. Firstly, the subordinating and feature of IE where and is used to introduce a subordinating structure and not with the usual co-ordinate function. Next, verb complement clauses, particularly those using the for to + infinitive construction, will be analysed. Lastly, the form of indirect questions in IE, specifically where verb-subject inversion is retained, will be examined.

3.4.1 Subordinating and

Subordinating and (Harris 1993: 165-66) is a ‘well-known feature of HE [IE] syntax which has been traditionally considered to have an Irish origin’ (Filppula 1999: 196). One of the main coordinators, and, is used to join two units of language which have ‘the same syntactic role and are at the same level in the syntactic hierarchy’ (Biber et al 1999: 79). However, in IE, and can be used ‘with a subject pronoun to introduce a non-finite subordinating clause’ (Harris 1993: 165). Similar to the definite article, an
analysis of undifferentiated and, both as a coordinating and subordinating conjunction, was hampered by the sheer number of examples. Thus, a concordance was run and the results reduced to 500 using the reduce to N function. These 500 examples revealed no uses of subordinating and so the researcher is not able to give any frequency counts for its occurrence. This being the case, the researcher was forced to rely on examples noticed during the manual analysis of other forms. In this way, examples of the following predicate types occurring with subordinating and were found in L-CIE:

As a non-finite verb phrase, with present participle form (63-66) or past participle form (67):

(63) Timmy Nolan was at the corner last night and we coming from cards.
(64) They were playing on the Saturday afternoon and straight to the club house and drinks for everyone and big session and they playing the following day.
(65) You know and about em this woman and she looking out the window and her daughter was stealing knickers off another woman's line next door.
(66) <$1>$ He won't salute you and he sitting outside the wall.
<$2>$ I don't want him saluting me.
(67) The torture of that and he not ready.

As a prepositional phrase, such as:

(68) When she came back from wherever she was he went off shopping and went off for a pint and had a couple of whiskeys and he on morphine.
(69) Fuck sake and he out in the middle of the road.

As an adjective phrase:

(70) She was and her hands all greasy her hands on the towel and the cushions.

Example (71) is particularly interesting as it not only contains subordinating and but also the phrase ‘a scream out of her’ which is a calque from Gaelic. In Gaelic, this phrase would read lig si beic aisti or she let a scream out of herself.

(71) Do you know what she did yesterday in the back of the car? A scream out of her and then she got sick all over me and the lads laughing their head off.
In his section on subordination that Harris comments briefly on the use of *till* in IE, stating that it is ‘a widely used device for introducing clauses of purpose’ (Harris 1993: 165). Generally speaking, *till* is used as the informal spoken version of *until* ‘in spoken texts and is predominantly a preposition’ (Quirk *et al* 1985: 534). In IE the usage can be quite different. Consider the difference in usage between examples (72) and (73) found in L-CIE.

(72) You could be there **till** all hours in the morning.
(73) Mammy come in here **till** you meet Fergal Hegarty the hero of the Clare team.

Example (72) illustrates the StE usage whereby *till* is used as a preposition introducing the idiomatic time adverb *all hours*. This is generally the case in StE, where *till* occurs with time adverbs such as *recently*, *now*, or *later* (Quirk *et al* 1985: 455). Example (73) shows *till* (you) being used as a coordinator. It could be replaced by *and* just as, in example (74) *till we look* could be replaced by *and show us*.

(74) Oh come in **till** we look at the boots and everything.

### 3.4.2 Verb complement clauses

Biber *et al* (1999: 658) distinguish between four major types of complement clauses (examples from L-CIE):

(A) **That-clauses** e.g. (75) *we told him that* we were looking for the doors of Jury's.

(B) **Wh-clauses** e.g. (76) *as you had laid out in your lesson plan what* you wanted it to do.

(C) **To-clauses** e.g. (77) *She tried to explain over the phone.*

(D) **Ing-clauses** e.g. (78) *I got a pen and started drawing* the outline of his hair.

The main clause verb controls which complement clause will follow it. Each of these clause types completes the meaning of a verb, noun or adjective. In the analysis of IE, it is the *to*-clause which is of interest as it is here that ‘an archaic characteristic of IE’ is preserved in the use of ‘an older English non-finite complementing structure introduced by *for to*’ (Harris 1993: 167). In the example for *to*-clauses above, the infinitive *to explain* follows the main clause verb *try* as it is one of many verbs, such as *want*, *need* etc, that require that the complement clause be in the infinitive. In IE
however, the *for to* complement clause is often used, though not exclusively so, to introduce clauses of purpose.

Analysis of L-CIE showed that 6 of the 15 occurrences of *for to* introduced clauses of purpose such as in the following examples where StE may simply require *to* or *in order to*:

(79) She stayed above last night *for to* clean up the house.
(80) We hadn't much *for to* live on or anything else.
(81) I turn off the heating *for to* put on the fire.
(82) They asked him for the for the taxi fare *for to* take him out to the police station.

The examples above are included as they best show the use of the non-standard form. Other examples have been excluded as they are ambiguous or they are difficult to understand without including a large section of the transcript.

3.4.3 Indirect questions

In dealing with interrogative clauses, Biber *et al* (1999: 204) outline three major types:

(A) Wh-questions: to elicit missing information.
(B) Yes/no-questions: to ask whether a proposition is true or false.
(C) Alternative questions: to ask which of two or more alternatives in the case.

This section will look at types (A) and (B) in the context of expressing these in indirect form. Harris (1993: 168) explains that, in the formation of indirect questions two operations are necessary. Firstly, ‘the verb-subject inversion of the original question has to be undone (so, *How can you think that?* becomes *He asked me how I could think that*)’ and secondly, that indirect versions of yes/no questions ‘must be introduced by *whether* or *if* so “*did you see her*” becomes “*he asked me if I had seen her*”’ (ibid).

Filppula (1999: 167), citing Bliss (1984: 148), notes that in IE inversion is retained in both types of indirect question and that indirect yes/no questions in IE lack the subordinators *if* or *whether*. Filppula (1999: 167) notes that these questions are typically introduced by the verbs *ask, wonder, know* (in the negative), *tell* and *see.*
Filppula’s analysis of his IE corpus (ibid) showed occurrences with all of these verbs except that wonder and tell were rather infrequent as compared with know, ask or see (no numbers were given). An analysis of L-CIE found examples of this type with all verbs mentioned, except tell e.g.:

(83) I wonder is it in.
(84) I don't know is he a year younger or a year older than James?
(85) Three times I asked where's that game being played.
(86) I'll come with you and see would she have a go at mine as well.

As these verbs are so frequently used in L-CIE, the researcher decided to limit the analysis to the verb wonder. A concordance for wonder in L-CIE was run returning 142 results. These results were analysed in order to determine how many of these occur in the non-standard pattern where inversion is retained. Based on the usage in L-CIE, the results, shown in Figure 3.5 were divided into four categories:

(a) inversion retained
(b) inversion not retained
(c) wonder not used in indirect question
(d) usage unclear

**Figure 3.5 wonder in indirect questions in L-CIE**

Examples of these include:

**Inversion retained:** (87) I wonder where was he going?
**No inversion:** (88) I wonder if I could find that piece again now.
**Not ‘indirect’:** (89) No wonder I've no socks.
Unclear usage: (90) A person who delivers a speech of this sort you know is not terribly sophisticated or you might wonder on the slow side of retarded might be suffering from depression.

From this figure we can see that the non-standard retention of inversion is slightly more common than the StE no inversion. The most frequent of these non-standard patterns were with would and where, with seven occurrences and is with twelve occurrences.

3.5 Summary of analysis

In this chapter, patterns from 12 non-standard features of SIE were analysed. It was found that, in all of the patterns analysed, the non-standard features outlined in the secondary literature were present in L-CIE.

Table 3.8 outlines the patterns analysed and gives an example of one of the non-standard usages form each of those patterns to illustrate the usage. It also gives a number indicating the occurrences of those non-standard patterns in L-CIE. In some cases, where it was not possible to give definitive figures, the term undetermined is used to indicate that the researcher was unable to quantitatively analyse all the occurrences of these patterns.

This study has attempted, using L-CIE, to analyse contemporary spoken SIE and to ascertain if the non-standard features of SIE, as outlined in the secondary literature, are still in use today. The results indicate that contemporary SIE, as a variety, does indeed display non-standard features in the genre of conversation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Occurrences in L-CIE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Definite Article in Irish English</td>
<td>14/500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: Three women in the one car.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>80/3361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: You don't fasten them jackets.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural of Quantity Nouns</td>
<td>Undetermined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: That's like a hundred mile away from us.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: Thank you and I'll see youse all soon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Verbs</td>
<td>22/347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: I seen her yesterday.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject-verb Agreement</td>
<td>14/300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: Not in here because we eats in here.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperatives</td>
<td>Undetermined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: Don't be scaring her now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Habitual Aspect</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: He doesn't be there only at night-time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Perfect Aspect</td>
<td>Undetermined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: He's after doing his leaving cert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinating and</td>
<td>0/500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: He won't salute you and he sitting outside the wall.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Complement Clauses</td>
<td>6/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: We hadn't much for to live on or anything else.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Questions</td>
<td>52/142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.: I wonder is it in.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV

CLOSING
4.0 Summary of the study

This study proposed to use a corpus-based approach to identify and evaluate the discrete features of spoken SIE. The features to be analysed were chosen on the basis that they were identified from the secondary literature, predominantly Harris (1993) and Filppula (1999) and are considered by those working in the field to be representative of the forms that make SIE a distinct variety of English.

The study was corpus-based. This allowed the researcher to use actual incidences of speech from contemporary speakers of SIE, thus allowing for an empirical approach to the research whereby physical evidence rather than intuition was the basis for the findings. The corpus used, L-CIE, containing one million words of transcribed contemporary SIE casual conversation, was sufficiently large to verify the contemporary usage of most of the patterns of SIE.

The study was limited to certain non-standard forms occurring in the verb phrase, the noun phrase, the complex sentence, and in indirect questions. These were as follows:

3.2 The Noun Phrase

3.2.1 The definite article (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.2 Demonstratives (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.3 Plural of quantity nouns (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.2.4 Pronouns (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

3.3 The Verb Group

3.3.1 Strong verbs (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.2 Subject-verb agreement (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.3. Imperatives (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.3.4 The perfect aspect (Kallen 1990; Harris 1991, 1993; Filppula 1997, 1999).
3.3.5 Habitual aspect (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

3.4 The Complex Sentence and Indirect Questions

3.4.1 Subordinating and (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.4.2 Verb complement clauses (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).
3.4.3 Indirect questions (Harris 1993; Filppula 1999).

The research found that, to differing degrees, these forms were all to be found in L-CIE and thus can be said to be in current usage in the genre of casual conversation in IE.

**Examination of the hypotheses.**

1. The first hypothesis was that SIE has discrete lexico-grammatical patterns of speech that are different from those of other varieties.
   The first hypothesis was supported in the research. A reading of the secondary literature provided the researcher with a clear taxonomy of those lexico-grammatical features that are considered to define SIE as a distinct variety. The features chosen for analysis were grouped into The Noun Phrase (section 3.2), The Verb Group (section 3.3), and the Complex Sentence and Indirect Questions (section 3.4). Within these groups, there were a total of 12 areas of SIE which were identified as non-standard and, as such, were suitable for further analysis.

2. The second hypothesis was that some of these lexico-grammatical patterns would occur in L-CIE, thus allowing for an empirical approach to the study.
   The second hypothesis was supported in the research. An analysis of L-CIE for the lexico-grammatical features that are considered to define SIE as a distinct variety found examples of these. The research into the different groups mentioned above found features which were identified as non-standard.

**4.1 Suggestions for further research**

As the study was limited to spoken SIE, further research could be conducted to see if those features identified in this study are in use in contemporary written SIE. It is quite likely that speaker do not use many of these forms in written English as, when writing, they are more likely to prescribe to the norms of Standard English.

Where non-standard SIE features occur, information about the speakers could be analysed to see which factors might cause a speaker to use more non-standard forms
than another speaker. It might be the case that gender, age, or educational background may be factors in the likelihood of people using more non-standard forms.

It may be possible to determine in another study, if there is a difference in the propensity for speakers to use non-standard features of SIE based on their urban or rural background. It is quite possible that the analysed features are moving from popular usage in urban areas due to the influence of the media.

As the study was limited to SIE, further research could be conducted to see if these features are in use in contemporary spoken Northern Irish English.

5.3 Pedagogical Implications

In the teaching of English, the vast majority of textbooks used up to the present day have not been corpus-based. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 103) note: ‘many textbooks contain only invented examples and their descriptions are based apparently upon intuition or second-hand accounts’. These days, with the profusion of English language corpora, it would be possible to produce textbooks, such as those produced by the Collins COBUILD project, that are ‘explicitly empirical and rely for their examples and descriptions upon corpora or other sources of real life language data’ (ibid).

This facility of corpora, to illustrate actual use, is what should be of concern to the language teacher and student alike. Kennedy (1998: 282) notes: ‘by concentrating on the usual rather than the exceptions, in the use of linguistic items or processes’, teachers can better assist learners acquire a language. It is often the case that textbooks concentrate on forms that the teacher knows to be quite uncommon but must nonetheless be dealt with. Noting shall, ought to and need as examples, Kennedy claims ‘some of the English verb forms covered in syllabuses do not justify the considerable pedagogical attention they typically receive’ (ibid: 283). This may well be the case, but sometimes teachers cannot neglect the teaching of these forms, as the language learner often needs to be well versed in their use, and indeed the use of more esoteric forms, in order to properly prepare for an exam such as the Cambridge
Certificate in Advanced English, or the IELTS (International English Language Testing System) exams

It is important to expose learners to real language and ‘the kinds of sentences and vocabulary which they will encounter in reading genuine texts in the language or using the language in real communicative situations’ (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 104). Furthermore, it is true to say that the teaching of English for Specific Purposes has been greatly aided by the building of corpora specific to an area of interest or ‘domain-specific corpora’ (ibid: 105).

With reference to the variety of SIE, there are two points worth noting. Firstly, learners very rarely, if ever, seek to be taught specifically the variety of SIE and generally presume that they are being taught one of the ‘Standard’ varieties; i.e. British or American English. This is the norm as textbooks are generally a product of either Britain or America and people generally presume that these are the correct varieties to aspire to. However, learners studying English in Ireland will be exposed to SIE in the classroom and, to a much larger extend, outside the classroom. There is then, a case to be made for teaching, or just illustrating, some of the more common features of SIE. This could be done by explaining some of the more common non-standard features, not as a grammar exercise, but merely to point out that SIE does have some grammatical patterns which they may see or hear, and that these patterns are not to be considered wrong or linguistically inferior, but merely as belonging to a different variety of English; namely SIE.

Secondly, though L-CIE does display many non-standard features of English, it nevertheless remains predominantly standard when taken as a whole. Thus L-CIE could be used as a tool for language teaching and learning, regardless of the fact that it is composed of SIE. There are many ways corpus activities can be brought into the classroom (see Farr, Murphy and O’Keeffe 2004: Appendix 2, for a detailed example) in order that learners can learn deductively and teachers and learners alike are becoming more and more aware of the benefits in teaching/learning in this way.
5.4 Conclusion

Many of the discrete features of lexico-grammar that make SIE a distinct variety are present in contemporary spoken language in Ireland. Though these features are labelled non-standard, it must be noted that this term does not mean *incorrect*. The non-standard features of SIE are, in fact, a valuable part of the rich cultural heritage of the country and should not be thought of as evidence of *poor* English usage. Irish people often employ these features sub-consciously and are sometimes both embarrassed and amused to find that they have used them. However, speakers of SIE should not be abashed when using these non-standard features, as these add partly to the uniqueness of being truly Irish.
References


Harris, J., 1983. ‘The Hiberno-English “I’ve it eaten” construction: what is it and where does it come from?’ *TEANGA* 3: 30-43.


L-CIE Homepage
http://www.ul.ie/~lcie/homepage.htm (accessed 16/07/05)


Pygmalion by G. B. Shaw: Act I
http://www.online-literature.com/george_bernard_shaw/pygmalion/1/
(accessed 06/08/05)


UCL (University College London) Survey of English Usage
http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/about/history/htm (accessed 08/08/05)
Appendix I

Sources for Irish English on the Internet
Appendix A

➢ Sources for Irish English on the Internet


This Wikipedia encyclopedia entry contains quite a lot of information on Hiberno/Irish-English in the following areas:
1 Pronunciation
2 Grammar derived from Irish
3 Preservation of older English usage
4 Turns of phrase
5 Lexicon

The same information is reproduced on several other sites, e.g.:

http://www.algebra.com/algebra/about/history/Hiberno-English.wikipedia
http://encyclopedia.laborlawtalk.com/Hiberno-English
http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/encyclopedia/H/Hi/Hiberno-English1.htm,

and it is not known to the researcher who actually wrote the article. Nevertheless, it gives a good overview of the field.


III. A glossary of Dublin slang;
http://www.dublinpeople.com/interact/dublindictionary/a-d.shtml

IV A glossary of Cavanese; http://www.iol.ie/~cparker/cavanese.htm

V A glossary of Cork slang;

VI L-CIE Homepage; http://www.ul.ie/~lcie/homepage.htm

VII ICE Ireland Homepage; http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/iceire.htm
Appendix II

Supplementary Examples
Appendix II

- Supplementary Examples

3.2.4 Himself/herself
1. he was going to school with herself
2. herself and the other girl
3. herself and the kids and the husband is comin back next week
4. Herself and the husband
5. Will you go down on holidays for a week or a few days with herself and sj
6. Do you know that the hedge south between Michael and herself was nearly the height of the house
7. It’s herself and Paul but it's massive it's Hugh like
8. She was thinking of going to limerick on Wednesday <$1> right <$5> maybe herself and Eileen
9. She said Padraig and herself were having a laugh the whole time
10. No himself and your man had
11. There’s some mare Tommy and himself have a mare between them
12. Himself now and MX and they'd have a wonderful conversation about sailing and golf
13. Look at himself
14. Ya himself and David Ainsworth
15. Himself and Kieran had a conversation for about half an hour on it

3.3.1 Seen as a past simple form
1. I went around and seen a few countries
2. seen an advertisement in the local paper
3. I seen an add in the Lenister Leader.
4. the I C A is the biggest crowd of crooks I ever in all my life seen.
5. Yeah well she would have <$X> saw | seen </$X> it.
6. cause I seen her she
7. I seen her baby.
8. I seen her she looks
9. I seen her yesterday.
10. And em never seen her before in your life?
11. I never seen him before
12. Ah I only seen it from the R T E Guide like
13. I seen it the day I was up in Galway.
14. It's on the board I seen it
15. Yeah I seen it.
16. So they seen this guy and
17. I looked over and I <$X> seen | saw </$X> two I <$X> seen | saw </$X> one
   with a knife
18. How old are they like I know I seen them
19. Or if you ever seen the ad don't call me
3.3.3 don’t + BE + V -ing

1. Don’t be scaring her now.
2. don’t be dragging someone else down
3. Don’t be pulling faces.
4. "Don’t be talking to me don’t be talking to me"
5. "Don’t be talking to me don’t be talking to me"
6. don’t be nagging at him.
7. "don’t be making a fool of yourself"
8. Don’t be lying now Sean
9. don’t be having that damn thing on while I’m near you
10. Don’t be pointin’.
11. Don’t be giving away frees.
12. don’t be wasting my time.
13. don’t be worrying too much
14. Don’t be watching him at all
15. don’t be talking to me
16. don’t be talking to me
17. don’t be sayin things like that.
18. we don’t be hitting each other hard
19. Don’t be coming to me with a hangover
20. Don’t be embarrassing me now

3.3.4 Habitual Do in L-CIE: Do be

N Concordance
1 ah she’d say yeah his ma never goes out she do be there every weekend+ <$1> Yeah right she
2 I got that in a table quiz once. <$1> You do be so proud. <$5> What quiz did you get that
3 home with bruises and I don’t know where I do be getting them. <$2> Ya it’d be the right one
4 <$2> +oh was it. <$1> I don’t know what you do be thinking about at all over there. <$5> Do
5 I’m a devil for travelling in junk shops. The lads do be giving out. When I see a junk shop I’m
6 the night he was west he says that he he he do be raving about her and about visa cards and
7 she isn’t on the wrong track at all. <$3cf> I do be sorry for him for he do be very upset
8 track at all. <$3cf> I do be sorry for him for he do be very upset sometimes and then more times
9 tell you the truth I love it but I can’t+ <$2cm> I do be mortified with Hannah Hannah’d go into a
10 <$X> talk to him. <$3> He’s the one that do be telling me he’s bankrupt and <$X>
11 ah sh’d say yeah his ma never goes out she do be there every weekend+ <$1> Yeah right she
12 <$O3> Smoke <$O3>. <$3> +<$O3> so I do be delighted then <$O3>. <$2> <$O3> <$X>
13 say on a Saturday morning I wake up and I do be craving Baileys. <$2> Oh really? <$3> Ah
3.3.4 Habitual Do in L-CIE: Does be

N Concordance
1   It's a rotten old drive. Now you can see why I does be so tired at the weekends. <$2> I'd be
2   Daly one of the ould ones from up the road she does be walkin' up and down the road the whole
3   You see I don't tell her nothing and Deirdre does be saying you don't tell her nothing but
4   yesterday evening that does the plastering. I does be rising him there every day and I does
5   only works in Meath? <$2> I don't know. <$1> It does be after seven o'clock when he gets home
6   There's jeans and shirts and stuff there. <$2> I does be going around. I don't know where in the
7   be going around. I don't know where in the fuck I does be going. <$1> Helena gave me that. <$2>
8   Oh yeah. <$2> Do you know Commane that does be over with Harry? <$1> Yeah. <$2> It's
9   and I got cold. That's the way I am. The sweat does be pouring out of me and then I get
10  fast I don't think either am as the men's football does be. <$1> So how do you feel about coming
11  It's not just that its sickness with it too she does be very sick with it. <$1> But even what
12  <$2> <$O4> But am yeah <$1$O4> Carla does be half asleep <$E> scraping sound <$E>

3.3.4 Habitual Do in L-CIE: Doesn’t be

N Concordance
1   Yeah? <$2> + and am your man wasn't there. He doesn't be there only at night-time. <$1> F

3.3.4 Habitual Do in L-CIE: Don’t be

N Concordance
1   it's so much responsibility. <$5>I really don't be able for it. <$6>Shure all of my friend,
2   <$E>. <$2> Isn't it? <$4> Grand. <$2> Or they don't be worried about much. <$4> No do you see
3.3.5 The ‘indefinite anterior’ perfect with never

N Concordance

1 Cross examination</$03> <$1> Yes <$3> I would never advise have advised the woman who was raped to go
2 <$G?> so I bought a top. <$F> Oh <$X> ya | you <$X> never bought me a top yet. <$1> <$G?> I must yeah I still
3 me one and Bernie is drinking Peach Schnapps. <$4> She never bought me a Peach Schnapps. She bought me a
4 her iyears. <$1> + I haven't talked to her= she rang= she never even text me or anything for my birthday rang me
5 know where Macedonia is. When I started philosophy I never even heard of Macedonia. And even now <$G?>
6 these ones are cancelled. <$2> Okay tear it up. <$3> I never ever checked a statement when we get it back
7 the roof isn't he stupid? <$1> Thick as bricks. <$2> You never finished the story about your grandfather. <$1> No I
8 Bono <$E> laughter <$E> Bono. <$3> Some fella you never heard of probably. <$2> Oh. <$4> I'm just reading
9 whole time anyway in the end he wouldn't believe me he never heard it I took the bloody thing out and tis out for
10 Oh yeah I know. <$1bf> Well we don't know because we never heard and noone= <$2cm> But I don't ever believe
11 It's part of the Revenue Commissions. <$6> I don't know. I never heard of it. <$1> Oh but Jesus isn't that awful. <$6>
12 that's what I say to Eileen all the time but. <$3cf> I never knew it John I never knew what a bag of coal was
13 Colman's? <$3> He was boarding in Colman's one of them never mentioned it anywhere now like but I know that.
14 Carina one you were with. <$6> Oh ya ya <$6> Darragh? I never met him did I? does he have red hair does he? <$5>
15 the eldest larn is fishing. <$4cf> Right. <$1bf> larn is was never really academic minded or but this guy loves he
16 got a bottle of water for me. <$2> And <$SG?> <$1> You never said where is the bottle then? <$2> What bottle?
17 "To kill a mockingbird". <$1> Ya well I read the book but I never saw the film. <$5> He was in ahm well what else
18 said wanted whatever she wanted by yesterday and Ciara never sent her the stuff or neither has her cousin or neither
19 pound notes all over the garden. He'd he. <$1> Well I never though I'd see that in me own house. <$3> His
20 else now and or he had someone else or something oh I never thought. <$2> Oh Carla. <$1> I know but you know
21 Give it to me til I answer it. Hello. Yeah. Oh heavens I never thought about it. I'll get it now. Yes. I'll get it now
22 Tim went in for Jimmy. Jenny never knew that. She was never told that. The funeral was in Mill that evening. Tim's
23 For employment wise I don't know to be honest because I never tried all I did is when I got my residence I just set