

Irish Standard English: How Celticised? How Standardised?

John M. Kirk and Jeffrey L. Kallen
(*Queen's University Belfast and Trinity College Dublin*)

1. Introduction

In this paper, we will identify ‘standardisation’ and ‘Celticity’ empirically on the basis of the evidence provided by the British and Irish components of the International Corpus of English (ICE). With this approach, ‘Celticity’ amounts to those features of lexis, grammar, and discourse which appear in ICE-corpora and for which there exists a plausible case of transfer or reinforcing influence from Irish. We will show that such features, by appearing across a range of spoken texts from both the Republic of Ireland and from Northern Ireland, make those texts unmistakably Celticised. Despite this salient level of Celticisation, ICE-Ireland texts remain essentially standard, sharing features with standard English globally and showing few of the features historically associated with traditional dialects of Irish English. It is in this sense that we discuss the dual nature of Irish standard English, showing both the effects of the standardisation process common to all standard Englishes and the effects of Celticisation arising from a variety of circumstances. First, however, we feel it necessary briefly to describe the ICE methodology upon which our results and conclusions are based.

For the study of Irish English, the ICE methodology offers several innovations.¹ ICE does not depend on introspection, casual observation or question-

¹ We are grateful to the many students from Trinity College Dublin and Queen's University Belfast who assisted in data collection and to the host of speakers, writers, and broadcasters who have kindly given permission for their contributions to be included in ICE-Ireland. Our assistants in the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRB)-funded project on the sociolinguistics of standard English in Ireland, Orla Lowry and Anne Rooney, have been of invaluable assistance to us. We also wish to thank others who have been involved in the project at different stages, notably Goodith White, Francisco Gonzalez Garcia, the late Ciaran Laffey, Tom Norton, Hildegard L.C. Tristram, Irene Forsthofer, Marlies Lofing, Margaret Mannion, Mary Pat O'Malley, and Joel Wallenberg. Funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (formerly Research Board) and from the Royal Irish Acad-

naire elicitation. It is based on a collection of texts (each of 2,000 words) in 15 different situational categories of the spoken language and in 11 functional types or domains of the written language. Together, these categories generate 300 spoken texts and 200 written texts, totalling one million words in machine-readable form.² The categories and the number of texts in each are identical across national components, so that each text category may be directly and systematically compared across corpora: for details see Greenbaum (1996), Nelson, Wallis and Aarts (2002), and the ICE website. When we address ‘the Celticity question,’ it will be our approach to compare equivalent categories of spoken texts in ICE Northern Ireland (NI) and ICE Republic of Ireland (ROI) with the same category in ICE-GB. Though this paper can only sample the available data, our basic method will be to examine the extent to which putatively Celtic features are shared across identical categories in each corpus.

The question of ‘Celticity’ in Irish English is as old as the interest in Irish English itself. Stanyhurst, writing in the 16th century, was not a linguist or a historian in the modern sense, but his note concerning speakers in Wexford who “have so acquainted themselves with the Irishe, as they have made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both the languages ... as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neyther good English nor good Irishe” (Stanyhurst 1577: 2v) sets a tone – both in recognising the fact of language contact and in a prescriptivist antipathy towards it – which has continued down to the present day. Early writers such as Hume (1877-78), Burke (1896), and most notably Hayden and Hartog (1909) and Joyce (1910) all assume a crucial role for Irish in the development of Irish English, with Hayden and Hartog making a clear distinction between the transfer of features from Irish into English by Irish-speakers and the retention of Irish-influenced features by English speakers for whom Irish “is an unknown tongue” (1909: 941). In phonology, syntax, and lexicon, the themes of historical retention from British English and transfer from Irish have remained as the foundation on which much of the study of English in Ireland has been based, regardless of whether the focus is historical (Hogan 1927; Bliss 1979; Harris 1993), dialectological (Henry 1957, 1958; see also Adams 1986), theoretical (Corrigan 2000 a, b), or otherwise (e.g. Lass 1987; Filppula 1986, 1991, 1999; Hickey 1986, 2000, 2004; Moylan 1996; Todd 1999; Kallen 1996, 2000, 2005) and so on (see also Kirk 1997 and Kallen 1999 for reviews).

Accepting, then, the conventional view that Irish English – whether dialectal or reflecting the normative pressures of standardisation – inevitably raises questions of its relations to Irish, we point out that Celticity is not a uniform phenomenon. It may refer to processes in which the English of native Irish speakers is influenced by language transfer or by convergence with English-language interlocutors (suggesting a transfer model); it may refer to the remote historical

emy and the British Council Social Sciences Committee has been essential to the development of this project and is gratefully acknowledged.

² For further information about ICE-Ireland, see Kallen and Kirk (2001), Kirk, et al. (2004), and Kallen and Kirk (fc.).

effects of language transfer among English-language native speakers (suggesting a substratum model); or it may refer not to structural aspects of Irish English at all, but rather to psycholinguistic orientations as found in metaphorical code-switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972) or other ways in which the Irish use of English points to the co-existing use of Irish.³

Though space limitations preclude a full discussion of these three models of Celticity in Irish English, we also suggest three ways in which Celticity could be measured empirically, relying on structure, frequency, and salience. We presume that where a structure is found only in a supposedly Celtic English, but not found in other types of English, and where that structure matches one found in a historically relevant Celtic language, there is a *prima facie* case for Celticity. Structural comparison requires subtle analysis: two Englishes may show similar structures over a range of data, but analysis of the constraints on the use of some structure may show affinities with Celtic languages in one type of English, but not in another. One advantage of corpus methodology is that it allows for calculation beyond simple structural comparison: frequencies of use can also be compared. Though our discussion here lacks comparative corpus data with Irish, we find that comparisons across varieties of English have at least suggestive value for determining Celticity. Salience is a more difficult concept to operationalise, but as Auer, Barden, and Grosskopf (1998) demonstrate, a mixture of structural and perceptual features (which include stereotyping and representation in lay dialect literature) may provide vital insights into the factors which promote or inhibit what they refer to as “long-term dialect accommodation.” The discussion which follows concentrates on structures and frequencies within ICE corpora, since these are the topics which our material is best designed to illustrate. We suggest, however, that further research across a wider range of topics – including the use of Irish-language corpora – will prove valuable for further investigations of Celtic English.

2. ICE-Ireland and the Irish Language

It is not obvious how to view the question of the Celticity of Irish standard English in relation to uses of the Irish language. Wigger (2000) gives one of the few ethnographically-based treatments of code-switching between Irish and English in the contemporary language. Analysing the use of etymologically English words in Irish and the use of Irish words in Irish English dialects, Wigger (2000: 187) makes the point that “a question of deciding whether a word used in a given context and in some form belongs to L1 or L2” is “irrelevant in many common instances.” Instead, he proposes the existence of an entire category of

³ This third orientation is anticipated in the review by Vendryes (1958-59) of Henry (1957), in which Vendryes rejected terms such as ‘substrat,’ ‘superstrat,’ and ‘adstrat,’ and observed instead that “le fait essentiel du bilinguisme n’est pas à chercher sur le terrain, mais dans le cerveau et dans la volonté de ceux qui parlent.”

‘interlingual lexemes’ which, rather than calling for a definite analysis in terms of borrowing or code-switching, allow for a more realistic account of the “coexistence and mutual infiltration of the two spoken languages,” Irish and English. In the setting of the Connemara Gaeltacht which Wigger (2000) describes, the easy interplay between the two languages gives credibility to this concept of ‘interlingual lexemes.’ Wigger makes the point that similar kinds of bilingualism – which would be part of a transfer model as we suggest above – have held at various times and places in Ireland over the last two centuries, and, indeed, his comments are foreshadowed by the observations of Ní Eochaidh (1922: 140), speaking about Irish and English speakers in Co. Clare: “is dóigh liom nach raibh fhios ag mórán dóibh ciaca Gaedhilge nó Béarla a bí labhairt aca” (‘I think that not many of them knew whether it was Irish or English they were speaking’). Kallen (1996) also discusses the non-exclusive etymology of a considerable number of words of Irish and Irish English (e.g. *blather/bladar*, *crack/ craic*, *gombeen/gaimbín*, and a host of others), making the point that words may cycle back and forth between the two languages, sometimes being adapted from English into Irish, then from Irish back into English at another time and place, and so on.

The bilingual situations which give rise to the interlingual phenomena cited above, whether in the relatively recent past as described by Wigger or in more remote times, give clear evidence of Celticity in Irish English. During the societal transition from Irish to English as the majority first language, it would appear only natural for large numbers of words to be brought from one language to another in the process of relexification and informal learning. Allsopp (1980) applies the term *apports* to such transfers in creole situations, and it is suggested in Kallen (1996) that this concept is also apt for this level of lexical transfer in Irish English dialects. Yet the very notion of a standard language, and indeed that of standard English, usually presupposes the enforcement of definite boundaries between one language and another: arguments for purity and the elimination of loanwords and influences from other languages as opposed to words of ‘native’ derivation are very common in the standardisation process. Standard English in general allows for the use of non-English lexicon in controlled circumstances: examples of words and phrases of Latin in education, law, art, etc. or French loanwords in the cultural domain show the permeability of English, yet they also show the resistance of the language to structural changes coming as the result of such loanwords. Prescriptive attempts to impose aspects of Latin grammar on English have met with limited success, and loanwords, whether the Latin plural *data* or the Italian plural *panini*, follow a path of incorporation into native English morphology. In short, while the importation of words from one language into another may co-occur with radical restructuring of the language (as in the influence of Norman French in Middle English), and while periods of productive bilingualism and language shift in informal situations may lead to complex interlanguage phenomena and restructurings of the type generally hypothesised for Ireland in the 18th to 20th centuries, they may also – especially where the standard language is concerned – have relatively little structural impact in themselves.

These observations bring us to assess the Celticity of the lexicon in ICE-Ireland in a complex way. First, we may be inclined to look for evidence of the Irish-based or interlingual dialect lexicon as documented by research focused on Irish English dialects (see, for example, Clark 1917; Traynor 1953; Henry 1958; Ó hAnnracháin 1964; Todd 1990; Montgomery 1993; Moylan 1996; Macafee 1996; Kallen 1999, 1997, and Dolan 2004; for review see also Görlach 1995 and van Ryckeghem 1997). Secondly, and with special relevance to the question of standard English, we might look for the use of Irish which reflects its status as the first official language in the Republic of Ireland, and as a language which is widely learned as a second language in the Republic, taught also in Northern Ireland, and maintained in broadcasting, print, and a host of more specialised domains. The existence of Irish as a living language for at least one third of the population in the Republic, albeit a second language when compared to English, thus puts Irish lexicon at this level in a different position from, say, legal Latin, scientific Greek, or restaurant Italian – it represents a window on another linguistic code which co-exists with English, even though it may not exert a deep structural influence on the English of speakers for whom it is a second (or third) language. Finally, though ICE protocols exclude non-English material from consideration, it would be overlooking a major difference between standard English usage in Ireland and that in other countries to ignore examples of code-switching which occur within the ICE-Ireland corpus. The availability of Irish as a language for code-switching, its cultural and historical significance, and its official role in the Republic of Ireland all put Irish on a different level from other non-English languages that may show up in ICE-Ireland and reflect one potential aspect of Celticity.

Our preliminary searches of ICE-Ireland reveal virtually little of the Irish-based dialect lexicon which has been commented upon elsewhere. From the spoken texts, we may cite words such as Irish *poitín* ‘illicit spirits;’ *craic* ‘fun, enjoyment, conversation;’ *fáinne*, literally Irish ‘ring,’ but in this context a specific type of lapel ring worn in association with the speaking of Irish; *féile*, literally a festival, but used in ICE (ROI) to refer to a specific annual music festival; *fleadh*, a traditional music festival; *Gaeltacht*, a designated area where Irish is retained as a community language; *uaigneas* ‘loneliness;’ and *scór* ‘tally.’ *Fleadh* occurs in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI), but the other Irish words given here all occur only in ICE (ROI). Thus, the English described in the classical dialectology of Irish English, heavily laden with apports and interlinguistic lexicon, is largely absent from the ICE-Ireland corpus. We have no evidence to say that this vocabulary is lost in general, or that it could not arise from the right speakers in the right contexts. What we do observe is that, given the topics and discourse contexts of ICE, and given the status of the language found in ICE corpora as ‘standard’ English, very little of this lexicon is in evidence.

Consideration of the official terminology in ICE-Ireland (cf. also Share 2001) yields a somewhat different picture. A lexical search of the text categories of Administrative prose, Learned natural science, Parliamentary debates, Broadcast

news, Legal presentations, and Face to face conversation (categories which include both the informal and more formal domains), reveals that, as expected, terminology from Irish is much more commonly used in ICE (ROI) than in ICE (NI). This difference reflects the different governmental, administrative, and economic environments of the two subcorpora and gives ample opportunity to support the hypothesis that governments affect the development of standard language. The occurrence of terminology arising from official activity in the Republic of Ireland within ICE (NI), however, shows that the two language zones are by no means isolated from each other, but, instead, share features that are not found in other ICE corpora. Though terminology of this kind may not have deeper structural consequences, our argument is that it represents a distinctive kind of cross-linguistic influence, since it provides a ready reference to productive use of the Irish language. Table 1 presents the results of the search indicated above, showing terms used in both ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI), as well as those found only in ICE (ROI). Note that none of these terms is to be found in the comparable ICE-GB categories.

Name	Reference
Aer Lingus Radio Telefís Éireann Gardaí Taoiseach	<u>Found in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI)</u> Irish national (state-supported) airline RTÉ; Irish public service broadcasting organisation Refers to <i>Garda Síochána</i> (plural of <i>Garda</i>) Head of parliamentary government, prime minister
An Bord Pleanála Ceann Comhairle Cultúrlann na hÉireann Dáil Fianna Fáil Garda Síochána Oireachtas Seanad Tánaiste Taoisigh TD	<u>Found only in ICE (ROI)</u> The Irish planning appeals board Presiding officer of the <i>Dáil</i> Irish cultural center <i>Dáil Éireann</i> ; the main Irish legislative body Irish political party Irish national police force National parliament of Ireland (combined houses) The Senate (upper house) of the <i>Oireachtas</i> Deputy head of parliamentary government Plural of <i>Taoiseach</i> Member of <i>Dáil</i> , from Irish <i>Teachta Dála</i>

Table 1 Sample of Irish-language titles and designations in ICE-Ireland

Finally, let us note some examples of code-switching that help to differentiate ICE-Ireland from other ICE corpora: these are given in their ICE markup form, and all come from ICE (ROI). Example (1) is from a radio discussion, where the speaker uses an Irish proverb, followed by an English rendition of the same sentiment:

- (1) <S1B-040\$C> <#> Yeah there is obviously like it gets back to probably you know </&Irish> ar sca/th a ce/ile a mhaireann na daoine </&Irish> <,> in everybody 's shadow everybody else lives basically and if 'twas over 'twould be very sad for Ireland

In (2), the writer signs off a letter with the use of Irish which, while not grammatically standard, can be interpreted in this context to mean 'and (from) me too.' Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate switches into Irish in the course of conversation. In (3) the speaker emphasises her inability to see into a darkened house; in (4) it appears that the speaker is signalling a shift of conversational topic, asking first if her friends are listening to her.

- (2) <W1B-010> <p> <#> Love from all here – </&Irish> agus mise fos. </&Irish> <#> I hope the good Lord will look after you both. </p>
- (3) <S1A-050\$C> <#> You <{> <[> can't see <[> <S1A-050\$A> <#> </&Irish> <[> Ni/l me/ <[> </{> in ann e/ a fheicea/il a chaili/ni/ </&Irish>
- (4) <S1A-066\$C> <#> </&Irish> An bhfuil sibh ag e/isteacht liomsa </&Irish> <S1A-066\$B> <#> </&Irish> Ta/im </&Irish> <S1A-066\$C> <#> Rock band Van Halen who once <unclear> </unclear> <#> Stop <#> Had an M&M supply waiting back stage right <#> They want M&Ms every place they stopped okay <#> Van Halen are a band <#> You know Jump <#> Okay

The availability of Irish as a second language for speakers as in (1)-(4) above, and the way in which such speakers are able to switch in and out of Irish for various conversational purposes, demonstrate that even at the standard level as defined by ICE, there is a link between Irish and English that cannot be ignored. This kind of usage is not the same as that described for traditional dialects of Irish and English, nor is it the same as it might have been in earlier times. We do not see evidence that this code-switching exerts a strong structural influence on the contemporary standard language. Yet we do see that these usages make ICE-Ireland different from ICE elsewhere, and they show that because of the Celtic dimension, the linguistic experience for the speaker of Irish standard English, especially in the Republic of Ireland, will be different from the experience of speakers elsewhere.

3. Grammatical Features

Our treatment of grammatical features here is based primarily on their occurrence in selected ICE text categories which range across formal and informal contexts; we have only occasionally analysed data from the corpus as a whole.

Our preference at this point for preferring such small-scale analyses recognises their role in the consideration of text-type specific patterns that may be lost in the wealth of data found within the larger corpus: a feature may be rare in the corpus overall, but common within a given category, and it strikes us as unwise to overlook the details in such cases. The number of grammatical features that could be analysed for potential Celticity is extensive; what follows is a selection of variables which have received particular attention in previous studies.

3.1. *Perfective Aspect*

No single topic in Irish English syntax has inspired more research than that of perfective aspect.⁴ From the early commentators such as Hayden and Hartog (1909) and van Hamel (1912), down to the present (e.g. McCafferty, this volume), one form or another of what can loosely be termed perfective aspect has attracted the attention of substratumist, retentionist, theoretical, and other approaches alike. The contrast between the perfect in Irish English and in ‘standard’ English as put forward by Harris (1984) has remained influential, not only for its categorisation of types (or uses) of the perfect, but for the strong case put for the non-identity of different dialects of English; approaches suggested by Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991), Filppula (1997 a, 1999), Hickey (2000), and others have all to be considered as well. All the types found in typologies such as those of Harris (1984) and Filppula (1999) are to be found in ICE-Ireland; without discussing whether typologies should be based on form, meaning, or discourse status, we concentrate here on four categories which are particularly relevant due to their salience in ICE-Ireland and their potential as a mark of Celticity: (a) the perfect with *after*, (b) the form which typically uses auxiliary *have* followed by an object NP and a perfect participle (the ‘Accomplishment Perfect’ in Kallen 1989 or the ‘Medial Object Perfect’ for Filppula 1999), (c) what Harris (1984) termed the ‘Extended Now’ perfect in which a present-tense form of a stative verb is extended in its temporal reference, and (d) what Filppula (1999) refers to as the ‘indefinite anterior’ perfect (or IAP), in which the past tense form carries perfective force.

3.1.1. *The After-perfect*

The perfect in Irish English has attracted attention since the earliest scientific treatments, e.g. Hume (1877-78), Hayden and Hartog (1909), and van Hamel (1912). It has long been asserted that the use of *after* as a marker of the perfect in Irish English owes its origins to transfer from an Irish-language substratum. The issue is somewhat complicated because of other uses of *after* in British Eng-

⁴ Our discussion does not distinguish grammatically between perfect and perfective; we simply use the former as a noun and the latter as a modifier.

lish, but recognising the historical arguments put forward most recently by Ó Sé (2004) and pointing out the uniqueness of perfective *after* within ICE corpora, we test the use of perfective *after* as evidence of Celtic influence in the standard language in Ireland.

As pointed out in previous research (e.g. Kallen 1989), the use of the *after*-perfect is sensitive to a variety of semantic, discursual, and sociolinguistic factors. Harris's (1993) well-known use of the designation 'hot news' for the *after*-perfect emphasises recency and immediacy in the use of this form, and while empirical study in Dublin (Kallen 1991) and Galway (Fieß 2000) shows that the form is not restricted to what can reasonably be called 'hot news,' it is nevertheless relatively rare in more temporally and referentially remote contexts.⁵ The social class factors identified in Kallen (1991) also suggest that middle-class speakers are less liable to use the form in public contexts than are working-class speakers. Given these conditioning factors, *after*-perfects could not be expected to be equally prominent in all ICE categories: speeches and parliamentary debates, for example, are far less likely to contain such forms than Face to face conversations.

The entire spoken component of the ICE-Ireland corpus (comprising approximately 623,350 words) contains seven examples of the *after*-perfect with BE + verb, each of them in southern texts. These examples are given here: (5)-(7) are from Face to face conversations, (8) from a classroom discussion, (9) from a business transaction, and (10) from a sports commentary.

- (5) <S1A-046\$A> <#> Yeah <#> Lads <#> A new fella **is after taking over** uhm one of the pubs at home <#> And he '**s after coming back** from England you <{}> <[]> know <[]> <#> And he 's an old family friend of ours <#> And he 's a howl
- (6) <S1A-055\$E> <#> And his blood sugar was real low <#> They thought he **was after going** into a coma with diabetes
- (7) <S1A-067\$D> <#> The wife and children **are after going** off there the other day
- (8) <S1B-017\$A> <#> <[]> But I think <[]> <{}> you were saying all the copies are out <{}> <[]> in the libraries <[]>
<S1B-017\$D> <#> <[]> Yeah all the copies <[]> <{}> are out when I was looking <#> <{}> <[]> I '**m after booking** one <[]>
- (9) <S1B-077\$A> <#> No <.> pro <./> No <.> Jesus you 're not <#> That 's no problem <#> There '**s nothing new after coming** in anyway so <#> Try again in another couple of days
- (10) <S2A-012\$A> <#> There 's a comeback from Barrett ... <#> In the opening round I thought for a while that Walsh was going to win inside the distance but he '**s after running** into a couple of hard ones here from Barrett <.> <#> And Barrett the sort of

Although there are no examples in ICE (NI) of the verbal *-ing* construction with *after*, there is at least one example with a noun phrase which is interpretable as a perfect:

⁵ The comprehensive treatment by Ó Sé points out that, especially in Munster Irish, many attested examples of the Irish perfect with *tar éis* or *tréis* 'after' "cannot sensibly be translated as recent perfects" (2004: 232). The possibility that dialectal variation in the use of the perfect in Irish maps on to variation in the use of the Irish English perfect has yet to be explored in detail.

- (11) I'm not that long **after** my dinner.

Filppula (1999: 105f.) notes this form as being rather rare, but we have certainly heard it often enough from a variety of speakers to consider it unremarkable.

This low occurrence of the *after*-perfect is also reflected within interviews from the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English* (TRS; Adams, Barry and Tilling 1985). Harris's (1984: 316f.) analysis of TRS material revealed only three examples of the *after*-perfect, each of which had been spoken by 'urban speakers' – no rural speakers in the sample used the construction at all. In contrast, the speakers identified by Harris as urban use 50 examples of the 'standard' perfect with *have*, while the rural speakers show 48 such uses.

Also based on TRS material, the *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech* (Kirk 1991; see also Kirk 1992) yields five examples of the *after*-perfect from approximately 240,000 words, as seen in (12)–(16) below. In these examples, the co-occurrence of *only* and *just* with *after* lends support to the 'hot news' interpretation which may be lacking in other examples.

- (12) {<I FW>} {And **was** she **only after just coming**, like?} (nitsc.36, CABRAGH, DOWN)
- (13) <I NG3> And she was just home, and she hear(d), heard the news {ahah}, and she said, she done the 11-plus too, she's the same age as me, and she said that she'd **just after hearing** that somebody seen the papers in Derry, and we would have to do it again {oh, my, mm}. And I didn't believe her, really, and I, and I went home, and I heard it on the news. (nitsc.10, CRANAGH, TYRONE)
- (14) And they couldn't get a middle-aged person, and the girl that was doing the, the recording at that time, left the project. And so they just, she left it without ever having got a person in the middle category, and we're **only just after finding** you, you see [LAUGHS], to do it (nitsc.14, BALLYCARRY, ANTRIM)
- (15) <I OM53> No, aye, it's the second day you go to bed at nine o'clock {mm} And when the bell goes at six you just think you **were** **only after going over**, and you get out and up again. Get to mass, make another station, and then scramble then for home, and you get in, on your shoes you would think that you were lifted into the clouds (nitsc.15, SCRAGHEY, TYRONE)
- (16) <I DF63> They're just, they call them IQ tests {ahah} They're just questions, like the ones that you **were** **only after asking** me there {ahah}, only a little harder {mm} And that's what we've got to answer, and we've to get 83 out of 100 (nitsc.19, CRUMLIN, ANTRIM)

Filppula (1999: 101) describes the occurrence of *after*-perfects in his corpus of recorded interviews as being "generally low," noting that 25 *after*-perfects in a sample of 158,000 words show the construction to be virtually absent in material from Clare and Kerry (accounting for only three tokens in 74,000 words), even though a higher level of usage can be found in Dublin, with twelve tokens in 42,000 words.

How should we view such data as evidence for the Celticisation of Irish standard English? From the amount of interest generated in the *after*-perfect in Ireland, it might appear that this form is used consistently instead of the 'standard' international perfect with HAVE; indeed, Harris's (1984) approach excluded the

HAVE perfect from the Irish English system. By this logic, the low occurrence of *after*-perfects in ICE-Ireland would appear anomalous. The possible anomaly is underscored by further searching of the corpus, where HAVE perfects are plentiful: within the ICE (NI) Face to face conversation files alone, there are some 44 tokens of the present perfect (using auxiliary HAVE) with the main verb form *been* alone. Counting other main verbs and other tenses of HAVE would multiply the number of ‘standard’ perfects in the corpus greatly. From this perspective, it might appear that the perfect in standard Irish English is mostly ‘standard’ and shows only residual use of the Irish-influenced *after*-perfect.

Comparisons between ICE-Ireland and the more dialectal material of the TRS and Filppula’s corpus, however, suggest that the *after* construction is not as pervasive generally as the amount of scholarly attention devoted to it would suggest. When we consider the sociolinguistic and discourse constraints on the use of the *after*-perfect which have been noted in other studies cited here, it is fair to say that Irish standard English, in displaying the *after*-perfect, does stand out from other standard Englishes in ways that are salient to language users, and that may contribute to the cross-dialectal breakdowns in communication or other such effects referred to, for example, by Milroy (1984), Harris (1985), and Wall (1990). In this sense, despite the low statistical occurrence of *after* relative to HAVE perfects in the ICE-Ireland corpus, we are satisfied that it reaches a level of frequency which gives it salience and corresponds to more vernacular levels of usage in a way that indicates meaningful Celticity.

3.1.2. ‘I have my dinner eaten’: The Pseudo-Perfect

The labels ‘Accomplishment Perfect’ (Kallen 1989) and ‘Medial Object Perfect’ (Filppula 1999) have been applied to our second category of perfect, but we refrain from using such labels here. The structure in question is transitive and includes a form of HAVE plus an associated noun phrase, followed by a perfect-marked verb form. Kallen’s (1989) term focuses on the relationship between the noun phrase and the verb, suggesting that the main verb refers to a dynamic state of affairs in which the noun phrase represents a culmination of activity (as in *I have half the grass now cut*). Filppula’s term is more purely structural, suggesting that the object of the transitive main verb is simply interposed between the auxiliary and main verb, rather than following it. Though neither analysis goes into great detail, it is assumed in both that the agent of the action denoted by the main verb is co-referential to the subject of the clause, thus ruling out, *inter alia*, causatives such as *I had a dress made* in which the agent of *made* is not the subject of the clause. Though the identification of this type of perfect usage is not as straightforward as with the *after*-perfect, we have identified 34 examples of such a construction in ICE-Ireland. As exemplified by (17)–(19), all taken from ICE (NI) Face to face conversations, many tokens of this form could be seen as simple structural reversals, in which reversing the order of

the noun phrase and the perfect participle would make no difference to the meaning, at least as far as literal truth value is concerned:

- (17) <S1A-001\$B> <#> She 's very pleased with it so she is <,> very pleased <#> So **she has her schoolbag packed** with her pencil case and that and her <,> bits and pieces that she 'll never have out for the first six months you know <&> laughs </&>
- (18) <S1A-003\$E> <#> <[/> </{/> <#> You see **I have Jonathan 's number written** on his card <#> **I have his home number written** on it which I 'd taken and that was the only phone number in the wallet
- (19) <S1A-006\$C> <#> But he cos I cos when he said last night then I was saying I was thinking och no maybe **he has something organised** cos he was saying aw you know.

While it is even arguable that in examples such as (18), the subject of the clause in bold is not necessarily the agent of the action denoted by the main verb (thus making the form non-equivalent to the ‘standard’ English perfect), example (20), from an ICE (ROI) broadcast discussion, goes one step further: the agent of the main verb of the clause is clearly not the subject of the clause. Reversal into ‘standard’ perfect order [HAVE + participle + object] would change the meaning dramatically.

- (20) <S1B-035\$E> <#> Oh I 've fantastic memories of Christmas Tom ... <#> And up till in my time I I have own family myself two boys and two girls and I carried on that tradition <,> <#> And my daughters <,> **I 've two daughters married today** <,> and they are carrying on that tradition still that the sitting room door is locked until Christmas morning and then in and presents are opened

In some cases, it is not entirely clear who the agent of the main verb is, or if the main verb should be read as an agentless passive form. Either way, the subject of the clause is not the agent of the action denoted by the main verb, calling into question the status of such tokens as equivalents to the ‘standard’ perfect. Examples (21), from an ICE (ROI) broadcast discussion, and (22), from an ICE (ROI) news broadcast, are typical:

- (21) <S1B-035\$D> <#> Yeah obviously it 's slightly different probably from the picture painted now in Alice Taylor 's recent book ... <#> Uh obviously you 've had lot of changes in farming practice now <#> Personally we 're not in winter milk <,> I still have a few cows milking but obviously you 've **a lot of people who 've cows calved already** at this time of the year
- (22) <S2B-015\$D> <#> Quiet <,> it 's <,> people aren't on the street still <#> **We 've had no post delivered** this morning

These examples raise questions about Celticity. Perfect forms which denote an outcome representing a present state of affairs – what is sometimes referred to as the resultative stative perfect – are not restricted to Ireland: we doubt that *she has her schoolbag packed* will strike anyone as distinctively Irish. Yet as we stray into examples where the clausal subject and the agent of the main verb differ, we show examples that we do expect to be considerably less common outside of Irish English. At the very least, as we have suggested in Kallen and Kirk (2005), the frequency of such constructions in ICE-Ireland appears to be consid-

erably greater than in, for example, ICE-GB. In order to come to some conclusions considering the status of this construction, let us consider some further data.

3.1.2.1. First Person Subjects

In (23)-(25), it is clear that the subject of the clause is also the subject of the main verb.

- (23) <S1A-029\$B> <#> And uhm <,> sweets were rationed and not that I bought many of them but they were <,> ra <./> rationed and we had to give coupons for them <#> And of course when I went into the shop to get some sweets <,> and handed in the coupons I thought **I had them paid for** <&> laughs </&> [ICE (NI) Face to face]
- (24) <S1A-049\$A> <#> Can you imagine <,> if Eamonn found out
<S1A-049\$B> <#> I had you
<S1A-049\$A> <#> <{> <[> I know yeah yeah </[>
<S1A-049\$B> <#> <[> **I had you decked** </[> </{> [ICE (ROI) Face to face]
- (25) <S2A-058\$A> ... <#> And what I have actually done is <,> I won't draw it out for you because **I have it already drawn** on a piece of yellow crepe paper this time

Other first person examples, however, do not involve the same co-reference between agent and subject: (21) and (22) have already been cited, and we may add (26), from the same speaker as in (21):

- (26) <S1B-035\$D> <#> Yeah like we we would still have a <,> sh <./> uh names on a share of them like you 'd have Cronin 's Black and you 'd have Polly and there was a horse won the Grand National there a few years ago **we had a cow calved that day** I think it was Grit Arse I would have a cow of that name.⁶

3.1.2.2. Second Person Examples

The small set of second person examples in ICE-Ireland shows considerable variety. Whereas the speaker in (27), taken from the same text as (8) above, is giving instructions to students to evaluate their session plans, the context of (28), from ICE (NI) Face to face conversation, shows that the subject of the clause in bold is not expected to perform the action denoted by *done*. It is tempting to read (29), from a broadcast talk in ICE (ROI), as a reduced form of a relative clause in the passive voice.

- (27) <S1B-017\$C> <#> <[> </{> when do you want them for sorry
<S1B-017\$A> <#> Uhm today is it <,> <#> Well I suppose if **you can have them done** by this afternoon yeah great <,> <#> Is that possible
- (28) <S1A-007\$A> <#> Oh look at your nails Oh my God <{> <[> They 're absolutely </[> gorgeous
<S1A-007\$B> <#> <[> Oh I got the gel thing <,> do you know the gel tips you can get </[> </{> <#> They 're great

⁶ Grittar won the 1982 Grand National horse race; we assume a humorous reference.

- <S1A-007\$F> <#> Apparently they do all sorts of weird and wonderful things
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> They do <,> they do sort of like silk tips and fibreglass and you know <#> I think you start off with gel <{1> <[1> and </[1> then you can sort of <{2> <[2> <,> </[2> work your way up ...
 <S1A-007\$F> <#> Once **you have them done** then do you sort of do you need to always like you 'll probably have those for like ten years or something will you <#> <{> <[> You know do you keep getting topped up </[>
 (29) <S2B-033\$A> ... <#> So for instance in Gulliver's Travels <,> **you have a tremendous contrast set up** between the massive Brobdingnagians on the one hand and the pygmy-like Lilliputians on the other

3.1.2.3. Third Person Examples

Again, we have perfect-type examples where the subject of the clause is co-referential to the agent of the main verb:

- (30) <S1A-087\$A> <#> **They probably have him chained** <,> so he won't get out [ICE (ROI) Face to face]
 (31) <S1B-078\$D> <#> I think **she had people lined up** for the four posts <#> because it was so delayed they 've all since got other jobs [ICE (ROI) Business transactions]
 (32) <S2A-042\$A> ... <#> So <,> if a company are using a spreadsheet to uh budget <,> we 'll say for the coming six months <,> and they think that they **they have their spreadsheet done** <,> then they hear that the price of petrol is going to go up [ICE (ROI) Unscripted speech]

Other cases, though, suggest third party or unspecified agents of the main verb, not equivalent to the subject of the relevant clause:

- (33) <S1A-058\$D> ... <#> But she 's was saying about the magnets that this guy <,> who she met at this conference had he goes around he travels around to all these conferences <#> I think he was American <,> but **he had a rucksack specially made** with a magnetic strip in the back so that when he had it the magnet was directly on his spine [ICE (ROI) Face to face conversation]
 (34) <S1B-007\$A> ... <#> Can you tell us what a primary victim is then <S1B-007\$C> <#> Uhm that was <,> that 's somebody **who has had the actual harm done** to them <,> no in fact was actually at the accident or the incident personally there [ICE (NI) Classroom discussion]
 (35) <S2B-027\$A> <#> Last night here in Sebastapol Street as we were leaving my Dad 's house <,> we saw a man being arrested ... <#> They got the guy here near the bottom of the street and they ran him up the street to some jeeps waiting up at the top <#> And **he had a gun held to his neck** with the hammer cocked <,> running full pace up this street [ICE (NI) Broadcast talk]

Example (36), from ICE (ROI) Face to face conversation, is decidedly stative; the subject is not intended as the agent of the main verb:

- (36) <S1A-047\$A> <#> **My sister has that framed** at home and <{> <[> it 's lovely

In (37), from ICE (ROI) Parliamentary debates, the surface similarity to a perfect is deceptive, since the subject of the clauses in bold is not the agent of the verb forms *requested* or *sought*; again it is possible to read these as reduced rela-

tives, as in *He hadn't the full information (which had been) requested*. This analysis, however, would not tell the full story, (a) because it overlooks the possibility that such reduced relatives are also more common in Irish English than elsewhere, perhaps supported by the popularity of the related forms under discussion here, and (b) because it ignores the stative parallelism with the non-verbal, but semantically very similar, form underlined in this text, *he had that information available*.

- (37) <S1B-058\$F> <#> Ceann Comhairle just on a point of <{> <[> information </> for the House and for Deputy de Rossa ... <#> Uhm I outlined <> t </> two options to two of the whips ... that that we would start almost immediately when we got the mechanics of this out of the way <,> that we would start almost immediately but because **the Taoiseach hadn't the full information requested** in the House earlier this morning that the Minister for Finance would lead on <,> and that the Taoiseach would come into the House when he had that information available but no later than ten o'clock tomorrow or half ten tomorrow morning to explain to the House whether or not **he had the information sought**

Because so many examples in the ICE corpus (and indeed in other Irish English material) share the surface form [HAVE + NP + participle] and yet do not function like 'medial object perfects,' or indeed any perfects where clausal subject and verbal agent are equivalent, we feel justified in calling them 'pseudo-perfects.' They resemble the perfect, and frequently overlap with well-known uses in historical English (cf. *Have you the lion's part written?* from Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream"), but they are not necessarily perfects in any rigorous sense. Their apparent focus on state and possession, rather than on activity, appears compatible with Ó Sé's (2004) analysis of many comparable forms in Irish, and invites further comparison to the non-verbal *had that information available* form in (37). Full consideration of the syntax and semantics of the closely-related forms we would label as pseudo-perfects in ICE-Ireland and elsewhere, will, however, need to wait for another day.

3.1.3. 'Are you here long?': Simple Tense Forms, Perfect Reference

Another feature of Irish English perfect marking which has often been treated as characteristic is the use of the present tense with perfective reference, i.e., reference to a point in the past with current relevance for the present. As Filppula (1997 a) points out, a similar effect can occur with past tense forms and past perfect reference, as in:

- (38) After I coming here, **I wasn't long here**, and an old woman died down here in the cottage. (Filppula 1997 a: 56)

where the 'standard' English rendering would be *I hadn't been here long*. Though the Celticity of such structures could be a matter of debate, the distinctiveness of the 'Extended now' (Harris 1984; Filppula 1997 a, 1999) or 'Extended present' (Kallen 1989) perfects led us to examine its frequency in the ICE-Ireland sub-

corpora of Business transactions, Classroom discussion, Broadcast discussion, and Parliamentary debate. For this preliminary investigation, we examined occurrences of the present or past tense with perfect reference as demonstrated by the co-occurrence of durative temporal adverbials such as *for*, *since*, *days*, *months*, and *years*. Example (39) comes from ICE (ROI) Broadcast discussion:

- (39) <S1B-040SD> <#> Yeah I think Tom <&> 2 sylls </&> that the giving aspect here in this country fascinates me always you know I 'm what I 'm **twenty-seven years at at the money business now** and uh always at Christmas time especially

In this preliminary investigation of ICE-Ireland, 82 tokens were identified as having adverbials that were indicative of perfective reference relative to the moment of speaking: 8.5% of these used the simple past or present tense, while the remainder used the 'standard' perfect form. Again, this distribution suggests not an overwhelming use of a form considered by some critics to be indicative of Celticity, but a sufficient level to mark out Irish standard English as distinctive.

3.1.4. *Standard English Have-perfects and Celticity*

All our investigations, whether of selected text types or of the entire spoken component of ICE-Ireland, show that reputedly Irish realisations of the perfect are low relative to perfects with HAVE + participle. Nevertheless, we argue that the presence of those instances of other forms of the perfect as do occur in ICE-Ireland make Irish English distinct – linking Irish standard English both to distinctive vernacular forms and to elements of the Irish language. In these ways, Irish standard English can be seen as 'Celticised.'

3.2. *Reflexive Pronouns*

It has also long been noted that, relative to other dialects of English, Irish English allows for the use of pronouns which are morphologically marked as reflexives (*myself*, *herself*, *himself*, etc.), but which do not have the syntax associated with reflexivity: see, for example, Hayden and Hartog (1909), Bliss (1979), and Filppula (1997 b, 1999). In a wider geographical and linguistic context, Claudia Lange (see this volume) has also considered the question of Irish English reflexives. While Filppula, Lange, and others have gone into some detail on the question of the putative Celticity of so-called unbound reflexives in Irish English, we will not examine the question in detail here. Earlier treatments give us enough evidence for at least a *prima facie* case that the use of relative pronouns in subject positions may go back to an Irish-language substratum. What we test here is whether or not the rules that govern the distribution of reflexive-marked pronouns in standard English differ between the ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI) subcorpora, and differ from other standard Englishes. If the use of reflexive pronouns in Irish standard English differs from other standard Eng-

lishes, and if that difference is shown by independent evidence to be derived from Irish influence, then we have further evidence of Celticity in Irish standard English. If not, mindful of Miller's (2003: 101) claim about Scottish English that "the reflexive pronoun *myself* is frequently used in speech and writing where Standard English requires just *me* or *I*," we can suggest that variation at the level of local dialects has been minimalised at the standard level.

This section is based on data from the Face to face conversation, Unscripted speeches, and Social letter text categories of ICE-Ireland. We divide the reflexive data into four categories, as shown below: data are summarised in Table 2.

1. True reflexives (R), in which the subject and object of the clause are co-referential:

(40) I've committed **myself** to it and must continue (ICE (NI))

(41) **He** has to present **himself** as a good prospect. (ICE (ROI))

2. Anaphora (A), a broad category involving other forms of co-reference between a noun phrase and a pronoun:

(42) So it's like **life itself** really one minute you're on cloud nine (ICE (ROI))

(43) How are **you** getting on **yourself** down in Belfast. (ICE (NI))

3. Object (O), in which the reflexive pronoun is in object position but not co-referential to another noun:

(44) A bit like **yourself** (ICE (NI))

(45) Again it's up to **yourself** which type of pricing policy you use. (ICE (ROI))

4. Subject (S), usually conjoined as in (46) and (47):

(46) **Mum and myself** are still hoping a separation will not take place (ICE (NI))

(47) **Myself and Tom** were locked ('drunk') anyway. (ICE (ROI))

Our examination of the data shows that reflexive pronouns in subject position are certainly a feature of ICE-Ireland. Our preliminary searches show no such occurrences in ICE-GB. While the use of reflexive pronouns as subjects is still far less than the use of internationally-standard subject forms, it is nevertheless a hallmark of distinctiveness within Irish standard English. Note, too, that while subject *myself* is especially robust in Face to face conversations in ICE (ROI), it is absent within this category in ICE (NI); conversely, the main use of subject *myself* in ICE (NI) is in Social letters, a category where the form does not occur in ICE (ROI). Although further research will be needed to account for such variation within ICE-Ireland, we think the evidence shows clearly that Irish usage differs from that found in ICE-GB.

Table 2 illustrates the relevant patterns for ICE-Ireland: note that since each ICE corpus contains approximately the same number of words, each subcorpus of ICE-Ireland contains only half as many words as a full ICE corpus. For this

reason, Table 2 gives combined totals for the occurrence of reflexive forms within ICE-Ireland as a whole, as well as giving the totals for each subcorpus.

Corpus	Social letters				Unscripted speeches				Face to face			
	R	A	O	S	R	A	O	S	R	A	O	S
ICE-GB												
<i>herself</i>	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	4	4	1	-
<i>himself</i>	1	-	1	-	1	4	-	-	13	11	-	-
<i>itself</i>	1	-	-	-	5	16	-	-	1	4	-	-
<i>myself</i>	12	3	5	-	4	5	2	1	21	20	3	-
<i>yourself</i>	7	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	24	5	4	-
GB TOTAL	21	3	9	0	11	29	3	1	63	44	8	0
ICE (NI)												
<i>herself</i>	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-
<i>himself</i>	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	2	-	-
<i>itself</i>	1	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	4	-	-
<i>myself</i>	7	1	1	5	-	1	-	-	10	4	3	-
<i>yourself</i>	10	2	3	-	3	-	3	-	7	5	3	-
NI TOTAL	21	4	4	6	6	6	3	0	20	20	6	0
ICE (ROI)												
<i>herself</i>	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	1	-	1
<i>himself</i>	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	7	-	4	1
<i>itself</i>	-	1	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>myself</i>	6	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	12	6	3	11
<i>yourself</i>	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3	3	1
ROI TOTAL	13	5	0	2	4	7	2	0	30	10	10	14
ICE-Ireland	34	9	4	8	10	13	5	0	50	30	18	14

Table 2 Distribution of reflexive pronouns, selected ICE texts

The data of Table 2 are based on partial sampling and do not include contrasts with non-reflexive pronoun forms, yet they indicate important differences between the two corpora. In particular, we note in ICE-Ireland 8 subject reflexives in Social Letters and 14 in Face to face conversations, where no such examples are found in ICE-GB. Though subject reflexives are not impossible in British standard English, their frequency and distribution suggest a real difference from Irish standard English, pointing towards more possible Celticity in the latter.

3.3. Inversion and Embedded Clauses

The use of Auxiliary inversion without complementisers has also long been noted as a feature of Irish English: Shee (1882: 372), for example, cites *You would wonder what colour was the horse*, while Hayden and Hartog (1909: 938) comment on *I wonder was the horse well bred*. Both these examples involve clauses introduced by *wonder*. Filppula (1999: 168), however, also cites *I don't know was it a priest or who went in there one time* from Co. Kerry and *Ehm = oh, how long, wait till I see how long would it be* from a Dublin speaker. We acknowledge that the case for inversion in embedded clauses as a further marker for Celtic substratum influence is disputed; howsoever, we consider the treatment in Filppula (1999) to give ample evidence that the Celtic derivation is at least worth exploring as a credible hypothesis. To give an illustration of the frequency of such constructions in ICE-Ireland, we focus on four syntactic frames into which embedded clauses are inserted with or without Auxiliary inversion: we will refer to them as ASK, DON'T KNOW, SEE, and WONDER. Definitions of inversion and non-inversion are given below, with examples from ICE-Ireland and ICE-GB: data are summarised in Table 3.

ASK. Non-inversion, as in (48) and (49) below, usually follows *if* or *whether* and shows the subject preceding an auxiliary, HAVE, or BE in the embedded clause. Inversion, shown in (50) and (51), lacks *if* and *whether*, but may allow for a *wh*-complementiser; an auxiliary precedes the subject in the embedded clause.

- (48) I was going to **ask whether we could** have put the children up here. (ICE-GB)
 (49) and **ask Toni where it is** (ICE-GB)
 (50) Like Tommy's going to **ask** this printer at work **does he have** any. (ICE (ROI))
 (51) Could you **ask** Marion **could you get** a babysitter for the Saturday night. (ICE (ROI))

DON'T KNOW (abbreviated as 'dk'). Non-inversion typically involves *if*, a related complementiser, or a *wh*-word, as in (52) and (53). Inverted examples as in (54)-(55), allow for *wh*-words but only where an inverted auxiliary also occurs.

- (52) I **don't know if I'll** live with it. (ICE (NI))
 (53) I **don't know why he's** allowed to stay on the committee. (ICE (ROI))
 (54) I **don't know are they** getting the lads from the town to do the band. (ICE (ROI))
 (55) I **don't know is it** dodgy or is it legit. (ICE (ROI))

SEE. Very common uses of *see*, as with simple transitive verbs or embeddings such as *I see that George is wrong* are, of course, not included in this analysis. The semantics involved here usually express doubt or lack of evidence on the part of the speaker. As with the other types under consideration, *if*, *whether*, and *wh*-words are common complementisers in non-inverted embed-

dings, while inversion is typically bare or may allow for a preceding *wh*-word. Types are exemplified in (56)-(59) below.

- (56) I'll **see** *what the craic is* you know. (ICE (NI))
- (57) Taste it and **see** *whether it's* going to be sweet enough. (ICE (ROI))
- (58) to ring her bell to **see** *was she* there. (ICE (ROI))
- (59) down to Parson's and **see** *would I* go down. (ICE (ROI))

WONDER (abbreviated as 'wo'). As with the preceding examples, the choice for *wonder* is between embeddings which do not show Auxiliary inversion (and therefore generally require a complementiser of some kind) and those which do. In the latter category, *wh*-complementisers may be possible, but other kinds are not. Types are illustrated in (60)-(63) below.

- (60) I **wonder** *who the big hunk's* waiting for. (ICE (NI))
- (61) I **wonder** *if buttermilk* you know **tastes** okay in tea. (ICE (ROI))
- (62) I **wonder** *were they* ever able to. (ICE (NI))
- (63) I **wonder** *will it* all be worth it. (ICE (ROI))

Table 3 offers comparative insight into the use of inversion in embeddings of this type: this table is based on results from the categories of Creative Writing, Demonstrations, and Face to face conversation. Table 3 shows that inversion in the relevant syntactic contexts is not entirely absent from ICE-GB, though the amount of inversion in ICE-GB is small compared to that in ICE (ROI). The uses of inversion within this sample are not evenly distributed: examples with *wonder* in ICE (ROI) far outweigh the use of inversion in other contexts, although inversion is always a possibility in the ROI texts. ICE (NI) lies somewhere between the norms of ICE-GB and those of ICE (ROI): inversion is equal to non-inversion with *wonder*, but is not found elsewhere. Small numbers of relevant examples in some text types call for fuller investigation, both in the search for more examples of variation within the syntax and for factors which determine the occurrence or non-occurrence of the syntactic frames in question. We note, for example, that much of the data considered here consists of sentences in which the speaker refers to a lack of evidence for a particular state of affairs: speakers may *ask* if something is true, may state that they *do not know* if it is true, may wish to *see* if something is true, or may even *wonder* if something is the case. It may be that such lack of evidence is absent from Demonstrations just because they are designed to demonstrate things taken to be true by the speaker. The high British use of *see* relative to Irish use in the same sense within Face to face conversations also calls for further investigation. Overall, though, if we take Auxiliary inversion in embeddings as a possible sign of Celticity, we see both factors at work: a strong preference for inversion with *wonder* in ICE (ROI), a weaker preference for inversion in ICE (NI), general convergence between ICE (NI) and ICE-GB in other relevant embedded contexts, and weaker evidence for the use of inversion in ICE (ROI). In saying that for this feature, Irish standard English is somewhat Celticised and somewhat stan-

dardised, we point, respectively, to the putative Celtic origins of inversion and to the general tendency within standard English (at least as seen in ICE-GB) not to use inversion in embedded contexts.

Corpus	Creative writing				Demonstrations				Face to face			
	<i>ask</i>	<i>dk</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>ask</i>	<i>dk</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>ask</i>	<i>dk</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>wo</i>
ICE-GB												
<i>non-inversion</i>	2	6	6	3	0	0	6	0	8	61	43	12
<i>inversion</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
ICE (NI)												
<i>non-inversion</i>	2	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	17	2	3
<i>inversion</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
ICE (ROI)												
<i>non-inversion</i>	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	29	4	4
<i>inversion</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	11
ICE-Ireland												
<i>non-inversion</i>	4	1	5	1	0	0	3	0	0	46	6	7
<i>inversion</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	2	14

Table 3 Inversion in selected embedded clauses, selected ICE texts

4. Conclusion

If, as we have shown, Celticity in standard English is demonstrated on the basis of contact phenomena in the form of lexical borrowings and syntactic transfers, together with the salience of such features in corpus texts, how many features or how much salience would be required to demonstrate Celticity? We believe our preliminary investigation into code-switching, lexical borrowing, and grammatical transfer (perfects, reflexives, and inversion in embedded clauses) to be sufficient to demonstrate the case for Celticity in Irish standard English.

Although our analyses have demonstrated low frequencies of Celticisms, we do not believe that frequencies or other quantitative answers are decisive on their own. Tempting though it might be for some to write off Celticity on the grounds of the high percentages of non-Celtic features in ICE-Ireland, we suggest that Celticity manifests accumulatively at more than one level, any feature of one level reinforcing that of another: one example of a Celtic-type perfect in close proximity to an Irish lexical item or a Celtic-type reflexive pattern may give a flavour of Celticity which is more than the sum of its parts. Moreover, we point out that lexical and syntactic markers have more than referential or propositional value alone, since they serve both to point to wider cultural values associated with Ireland and the Irish people and to create solidarity between spea-

kers who share these values. Such Celtic features in discourse have the function of establishing and defining a speech community, no matter whether the speaker is on the radio or talking to a single addressee. In a particular context, the use of one token of a salient feature may be enough to define the speech community.

If the standard language is that variety which most strongly suppresses variation, then we have shown both how strong that pressure towards standardisation in Ireland is and yet also how resistance to that pressure persists. Standardising pressure may be due to education, the influence of the standardised written form on individuals represented in those categories under investigation, or the prescriptivising ideology of an invariant standard language. Our present results for ICE-Ireland show that, in all instances, standardisation is never quite fully achieved and that elements of variation – indeed we might suggest necessary elements of variation – persevere in standard contexts.

References

- Adams, G.B.**, 1986, *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech* by G.B. Adams, Cultra Manor: Ulster Folk and Transport Museum (M. Barry and P. Tilling, eds.).
- Adams, G.B., M.V. Barry & P.M. Tilling**, 1985, “The Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech: A Reappraisal of the Techniques of Traditional Dialect Geography,” in: Kirk, J.M., S. Sanderson & J.D.A. Widdowson, *Studies in Linguistic Geography: The Dialects of English in Britain and Ireland*, London: Croom Helm, 67-80.
- Allsopp, R.**, 1980, “How Does the Creole Lexicon Expand?,” in: Valdman, A. & A. Highfield, eds., *Theoretical Orientations in Creole Studies*, London & New York: Academic Press, 89-107.
- Auer, P., B. Barden & B. Grosskopf**, 1998, “Subjective and Objective Parameters in Determining ‘Salience’ in Long-term Dialect Accommodation,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2: 163-187.
- Barry, M.V. & P. Tilling**, eds., 1986, *The English Dialects of Ulster. An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech* by G.B. Adams, Holywood: Irish Association for Applied Linguistics.
- Bliss, A.**, 1979, *Spoken English in Ireland 1600-1740: Twenty-seven Representative Texts Assembled and Analysed*, Dublin: Cadenus Press.
- Blom, J-P. & J.J. Gumperz**, 1972, “Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code-Switching in Norway,” in: Gumperz, J. & D. Hymes, eds., *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, New York & London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 407-434.
- Burke, W.**, 1896, “The Anglo-Irish Dialect,” *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 3rd series/17: 694-704, 777-789.

- Clark, J.M.**, 1917, *The Vocabulary of Anglo-Irish*, St. Gallen: Zollikofer.
- Corrigan, K.P.**, 2000 a, "What Are 'Small Clauses' Doing in South Armagh English, Irish and Planter English?," in: Tristram, ed., 75-96.
- Corrigan, K.P.**, 2000 b, "'What Bees to Be Maun Be': Aspects of Deontic and Epistemic Modality in a Northern Dialect of Irish English," *English World-Wide* 21: 25-62.
- Dolan, T.P.**, 2004, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan (2nd ed.).
- Fieß, A.**, 2000, "Age-group Differentiation in the Spoken Language of Rural East Galway?," in: Tristram, ed., 188-209.
- Filppula, M.**, 1986, *Some Aspects of Hiberno-English in a Functional Sentence Perspective*, (University of Joensuu Publications in the Humanities 7), Joensuu: University of Joensuu.
- Filppula, M.**, 1991, "Subordinating 'and' in Hiberno-English Syntax: Irishor English Origin?," in: Ureland, P. & G. Broderick, eds., *Language Contact in the British Isles*, (Linguistische Arbeiten 238), Tübingen: Niemeyer, 617-631.
- Filppula, M.**, 1997 a, "The Influence of Irish on Perfect Marking in Hiberno-English: The Case of the 'Extended-now' Perfect," in: Kallen, ed., 51-71.
- Filppula, M.**, 1997 b, "Unbound Reflexives in Hiberno-English," in: Ahlqvist, A. & V. Capková, eds., *Dán do Oide: Essays in Memory of Conn R. Ó Cléirigh*, Dublin: The Linguistics Institute of Ireland, 149-155.
- Filppula, M.**, 1999, *The Grammar of Irish English: Language in Hibernian Style*, London & New York: Routledge.
- Görlach, M.**, 1995, "Irish English and Irish Culture in Dictionaries of English," in: Görlach, M., ed., *More Englishes*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 164-191.
- Greenbaum, S.**, ed., 1996, *Comparing English Worldwide: The International Corpus of English*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Harris, J.**, 1984, "Syntactic Variation and Dialect Divergence," *Journal of Linguistics* 20: 303-327.
- Harris, J.**, 1985, "The Polylectal Grammar Stops Here," *Centre for Language and Communication Studies (CLCS) Occasional Paper* 13, Dublin: Trinity College.
- Harris, J.**, 1993, "The Grammar of Irish English," in: Milroy, J. & L. Milroy, eds., *Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*, London: Longman, 139-186.
- Hayden, M. & M. Hartog**, 1909, "The Irish Dialect of English: Its Origins and Vocabulary," *The Fortnightly Review* New Series 85: 775-785, 933-947.
- Henry, P.L.**, 1957, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon*, Dublin: Department of English, University College Dublin.

- Henry, P.L.**, 1958, "A Linguistic Survey of Ireland: Preliminary Report," *Loch-lann* 1: 49-208.
- Hickey, R.**, 1986, "Possible Phonological Parallels between Irish and Irish English," *English World-Wide* 7: 1-21.
- Hickey, R.**, 2000, "Models for Describing Aspect in Irish English," in: Tristram, ed., 97-116.
- Hickey, R.**, 2004, "Irish English: Phonology," in: Schneider, E.W., et al., eds., *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, vol. 1, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 68-97.
- Hogan, J.**, 1927, *The English Language in Ireland*, Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland.
- Hume, A.**, 1877-78, "Remarks on the Irish Dialect of the English Language," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 3rd series/6: 93-140.
- ICE-GB**, 1998, *ICE-GB: The International Corpus of English: The British Component*, CD-ROM, London.
- ICE website**, International Corpus of English homepage at <<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/index.htm>>, accessed 18 August 2004.
- Joyce, P.W.**, 1988 (1979, 1910), *English As We Speak It in Ireland*, Dublin: Wolfhound Press, (Portmarnock: Wolfhound Press; London: Longmans, Green & Co.).
- Kallen, J.L.**, 1989, "Tense and Aspect Categories in Irish English," *English World-Wide* 10: 1-39.
- Kallen, J.L.**, 1990, "The Hiberno-English Perfect: Grammaticalisation Revisited," *Irish University Review* 20: 120-136.
- Kallen, J.L.**, 1991, "Sociolinguistic Variation and Methodology: 'After' as a Dublin Variable," in: Cheshire, J., ed., *English around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 61-74.
- Kallen, J.L.**, 1996, "Entering Lexical Fields in Irish English," in: Klemola, J., M. Kytö & M. Rissanen, eds., *Speech Past and Present: Studies in English Dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen*, Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 101-129.
- Kallen, J.L.**, 1997, "Irish English and World English: Lexical Perspectives," in: Schneider, E.W., ed., *Englishes around the World: Studies in Honour of Manfred Görlach*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 139-157.
- Kallen, J.L.**, 1999, "Irish English and the Ulster Scots Controversy," *Ulster Folklife* 45: 70-85.
- Kallen, J.L.**, 2000, "Two Languages, Two Borders, One Island: Some Linguistic and Political Borders in Ireland," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 145: 29-63.

Kallen, J.L., 2005, "Internal and External Factors in Phonological Convergence: The Case of English /t/ Lenition," in: Auer, P., F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill, eds., *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 51-80.

Kallen, J.L., ed., 1997, *Focus on Ireland*, (Varieties of English around the World (VEAW) General Series 21), Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, 2001, "Aspects of the Verb Phrase in Standard Irish English: A Corpus-based Approach," in: Kirk, J.M. & D.P. Ó Baoill, eds., *Language Links: The Languages of Scotland and Ireland*, (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 2), Belfast: Queen's University Press, 59-79.

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, 2005, "Translating the Dynamics of *Have* and *Take*: How Can ICE-Ireland Help?," paper presented to the International Conference on Practical Applications in Language and Computers (PALC), Łódź.

Kallen, J.L. & J.M. Kirk, fc., "ICE-Ireland: Local Variations on Global Standards," in: Beal, J.C., K.P. Corrigan & H. Moisl, eds., *Using Unconventional Digital Language Corpora: Synchronic Corpora*, vol. 1, London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Kirk, J.M., 1991, *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech*, Colchester: Economic and Social Research Council Data Archive, University of Essex (revised version).

Kirk, J.M., 1992, "The Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech," in: Leitner, G., ed., *New Directions in English Language Corpora*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 65-73.

Kirk, J.M., 1997, "Ulster English: The State of the Art," in: Tristram, ed., 135-179.

Kirk, J.M., et al., 2004, "Issues Arising from the Compilation of ICE-Ireland," *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 16: 23-41.

Lange, C., this volume.

Lass, R., 1987, "Early Mainland Residues in Southern Hiberno-English," *Irish University Review* 20: 137-148.

Macafee, C.I., ed., 1996, *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCafferty, K., this volume.

Miller, J., 2003, "Syntax and Discourse in Modern Scots," in: Corbett, J., J.D. McClure & J. Stuart-Smith, eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 72-109.

Milroy, L., 1984, "Comprehension and Context: Successful Communication and Communicative Breakdown," in: Trudgill, P., ed., *Applied Sociolinguistics*, London: Academic Press, 7-31.

Montgomery, M., 1993, "The Lexicography of Hiberno-English," *Working Papers in Irish Studies* 93: 20-35.

Moylan, S., 1996, *The Language of Kilkenny: Lexicon, Semantics, Structures*, Dublin: Geography Publications.

Nelson, G., S. Wallis & B. Aarts, 2002, *Exploring Natural Language: Working with the British Component of the International Corpus of English*, (Varieties of English around the World (VEAW) General Series 29), Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ní Eochaidh, C., 1922, "Focla Gaedhilge i mBéal an Bhéarlóra: Irish Words in English Speech. (And a Letter from An Craoibhín)," *The Gaelic Churchman* 3: 140-141.

Ó hAnnracháin, S., 1964, *Caint an Bhaile Dhuibh*, Dublin: An Clóchomhar Tta.

Ó Sé, D., 2004, "The 'After' Perfect and Related Constructions in Gaelic Dialects," *Ériu* 54: 179-248.

Share, B., 2001, *Naming Names: Who, What, Where in Irish Nomenclature*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Shee, G., 1882, "The Irish 'Brogue' in Fiction: A Protest," *The Month* 45: 363-375.

Stanyhurst, R., 1577, "A Treatise Contayning a Playne and Perfect Description of Irelande," in: Holinshed, R., ed., *The Historie of Irelande from the First Inhabitation therof, unto the Yeare 1509*, London: Hunne, 1-28v.

Todd, L., 1990, *Words Apart: A Dictionary of Northern Ireland English*, Gerrards Cross: Smythe.

Todd, L., 1999, *Green English: Ireland's Influence on the English Language*, Dublin: O'Brien Press.

Traynor, M., 1953, *The English Dialect of Donegal: A Glossary*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 1997, *The Celtic Englishes*, Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2000, *The Celtic Englishes II*, Heidelberg: C. Winter.

van Hamel, A.G., 1912, "On Anglo-Irish Syntax," *Englische Studien* 45: 272-292.

van Ryckeghem, B., 1997, "The Lexicon of Hiberno-English," in: Kallen, ed., 189-205.

Vendryes, J., 1958-59, Review of Henry 1957, *Études celtiques* 8: 215-219.

Wall, R., 1990, "Dialect in Irish Literature: The Hermetic Core," *Irish University Review* 20: 8-18.

Wigger, A., 2000, "Language Contact, Language Awareness, and the History of Hiberno-English," in: Tristram, ed., 159-187.