On the 'After Perfect' in Irish and Hiberno-English

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1. Introduction

The *after* perfect (AFP), which is one of the most characteristic features of Irish English, has given rise to a certain amount of debate and a great deal of confusion. It is generally accepted that this formation has arisen in Hiberno-English (HE) under the influence of a similar construction in Irish, since there would seem to be no other obvious parallel or model (see, for example, Joyce 1910: 85; van Hamel 1912: 276; Henry 1957: 177-179; Bliss 1979: 302; Greene 1979: 125f.; Filppula 1999: 106). The formation in recent Hiberno-English is similar in function and distribution to the equivalent construction in present-day Irish, where it expresses for the most part a recent perfect. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that in early Hiberno-English texts, the majority of instances refer not as one might expect to the past but rather to the future (or in one or two instances the present). As Filppula remarks:

> these kinds of *after* constructions have become something of a mystery in the history of HE and have so far defied every attempt to explain how they developed their present-day meanings – if, indeed, the present-day AFPs have evolved from the early constructions. (Filppula 1999: 102)

The aim of the present article is to see if it may be possible to unravel some of the mystery.

2. Early Examples of the AFP in Hiberno-English

Examples of the construction in Hiberno-English from the 17th and early 18th centuries have been gathered together in Bliss (1979). Only one example is exactly comparable to present-day usage:

(1)   *you shee here de cause dat is after bringing you to dis plaace*

'which has brought you'
(John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon*, 1698, quoted in Bliss 1979: 133, xviii, 5)

As mentioned above, and as Bliss himself reports: "In every other instance the reference is either certainly or probably to the future, not to the past" (Bliss 1979: 300). A number of examples will suffice:

(2)   *and de Caatholicks do shay, dat you vill be after being damn'd.*
(Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches*, 1681/2, quoted in Bliss 1979: 122, xiv, 36f.)

(3)   *I vill tell you it is a veniall Sinn, and I vill be after absolving you for it.*
(*ibid.*, 122, 62f.)

(4)   *I'll bee after telling dee de Raison.*
(John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved*, 1705, quoted in Bliss 1979: 146, xx, 53f.)

(5)   *but day did ferry fell for demshelves, I fill be after doing fell for my shelf.*
(*ibid.*, 146, 63f.)

3. Assessments of the Evidence

The first impulse of most commentators was to dismiss examples such as these as spurious stage Irishisms. As Bliss says: "Such usages have generally been ridiculed as due to the ignorance of English writers, who have not the sense to understand the construction used by Irishmen" (Bliss 1979: 300). For instance, Bartley (1954: 130) had dismissed them as instances of satire and parody. Greene (1966: 47) dubbed them "laboured Hibernicisms" which "have no basis in the English of Ireland" and in a later work claims that they are "at variance with Hiberno-English usage" (Greene 1979: 126). In defence of his texts, Bliss would say that "not all the writers are English and in other respects they reflect Hiberno-English usage with such accuracy that it seems more profitable to accept their evidence as trustworthy and to seek an explanation for it" (Bliss 1979: 300). Nevertheless, a number of reviews of Bliss's work, without dealing in detail with the construction in question, echoed the general scepticism of earlier commentators about the trustworthiness of the evidence (cf. Canny 1980; Henry 1981; Ó Cuív 1983) and Greene, in dealing particularly with the *after* perfect, was to pronounce:

neither he (Bliss) nor any of those whom he has consulted can offer any explanation of this use of *after*… . Whatever the explanation of this use of *after*, it has no counterpart in recent Hiberno-English, such as the dialect described by Henry, where the status of the construction is that of the Recent Perfect. (Greene 1979: 126)

Now there is no doubt that many of the texts gathered together by Bliss have to be approached with a certain amount of caution, as the elements of parody and caricature are clearly there for all to see. However, as will become apparent,

it would be a mistake to dismiss these enigmatic examples of the AFP in early HE without first examining in detail the distribution and function of this formation, not in current Hiberno-English or current Irish, but in Early Modern Irish (EMI), the language in which the construction originated. First, however, it will be appropriate to look briefly at previous efforts to explain the use of the construction in early HE.

4. Attempts to Explain the Early HE Construction

As we have noted above, the modern Hiberno-English construction functions for the most part as a recent perfect (like its modern Irish equivalent) and examples with the future tense would be unusual in current Hiberno-English or for that matter in current Irish. Bliss therefore drew the conclusion that:

> The origin of the *after writing* and *after write* constructions is far from clear. In the single instance where the *after writing* construction refers to the past, it is no doubt derived from Ir. *iar*, *ar* (ScG. *air*, Manx *er*) 'after,' used with the verbal noun in all dialects of Gaelic, but this *could never refer to the future* (my italics, AÓC). It seems that when it refers to the future the *after writing* construction must have some quite different origin, in which *after* reflects some other preposition. (Bliss 1979: 302)

This statement, and the general dismissiveness of the scholars mentioned above, has led to many more or less tortured attempts to explain the provenance of these early uses of the formation. Bliss himself offered an explanation based on the Irish preposition *ar* 'on' used with verbal nouns in stative expressions such as *ar díol* 'for sale,' arguing that "a bilingual speaker seeking a rendering for *ar* might perhaps choose *after*" (Bliss 1978: 303). Kelly (1989), in an unpublished paper, suggested that these uses originated in British dialects, but as McCafferty (2003: 304) has pointed out, "there is only a minimal amount of evidence anywhere relating to its use in British English, none of it earlier than the late-nineteenth century." Kallen proposed a merger of the anterior and prospective readings of English *after* and conjectured that:

> the merger would have arisen by universally-motivated principles of TMA (tense, mood and aspect, AÓC) categorization. If this latter understanding is correct, the role of 17th century language learning and contact may not have been to affect a transfer of syntactic structures from Irish to English … but to allow universal grammatical principles to re-structure the grammar of English in the context situation. (Kallen 1990: 132)

This somewhat complex speculation is followed by the suggestion that the modern restriction of the construction "to perfective situations without prospective or similar non-actual reference could then be seen as part of a decreolisation process" (*ibid.*, 132). In a somewhat similar if less complicated vein, Filppula was to suggest that:

> One possibility would be to consider the *after* of the early construction as a genuine marker of future time, modeled on related uses of *after* as a preposition denoting intention or imminence of action in other dialects of English. (Filppula 1999: 103)

Hickey was to maintain that these early examples are "combinations of *irrealis* and perfective which have receded in Irish English since" (Hickey 2000: 100). McCafferty, who has examined the HE material statistically and provided useful examples of the construction, has claimed that:

> this situation was the outcome of a process of poly-grammaticalisation by which *be after V-ing* came to be used in two senses, one originating in Irish, the other in British interpretations of the calqued Irish construction as a future gram – and, of course, in the interaction between the structure and semantics of *after*. (McCafferty 2003: 317)

Subsequent to my talk in Potsdam where the points contained in this paper were first made, a well-illustrated article on perfects in Gaelic dialects has appeared (Ó Sé 2004), a section of which is devoted to the *after* perfect in HE. However, as will become apparent from the discussion below, I cannot agree with Ó Sé who concludes that:

> the 'after' perfect has had the same meaning and function in Hiberno-English since it arose. Bliss's counterexamples are therefore most economically explained as due to the unfamiliarity of earlier English authors with genuine Irish speech. (Ó Sé 2004: 243)

Apart from other considerations, many more examples have been identified since those given by Bliss (1979), providing cumulative and convergent evidence which makes the 'silly Englishman' hypothesis less and less tenable. The examples supplied by Bliss for the period 1600-1740 have been more than quadrupled by the searches of McCafferty (2003: 312) who also makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of occurrences refer to the simple future. Moreover, Filppula (1999: 104) has identified "numerous occurrences" of the AFP with future time reference, right up to the middle of the 19th century, in sources which cannot be dismissed as counterfeit. He cites instances from the writings of Irishmen such as Carleton, a native speaker of Irish, and he quotes examples such as those below from a manuscript of about 1830, *Cathal Croibdearg or The Old Nurse's Tale or Tales told in Connaught* (National Library of Ireland MS 4: 696):

(6) '… that's too much for my poor ould heart, *it will be after breaking* outright, so it will, if you be going on at that rate, …' i.e. 'it will break' (Filppula 1999: 104)

(7) '… *I will be after curing* the poor baste, sure enough; - but it will take a power of time, before ye's be able to back him' i.e. 'I will cure' (Filppula 1999: 104)

If this cumulative evidence indicates anything, it demonstrates clearly that the syntactic distribution and functional range of the AFP in current Irish English is very different from that of early HE, and McCafferty's (2003: 312) statistical analysis of the material from 1600 to 1900 indicates what can only be described as a profound functional shift.[1]

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1   McCafferty shows that 93% of examples in the period 1601-1750 are future rather than perfect, while this is down to 34% in texts from 1751-1850 and "from the mid-nineteenth cen-

As we have indicated above and as will become clear below, it would be a mistake to explain the semantics of the AFP in early HE based upon current HE or current Irish. Neither may we dismiss a very substantial amount of evidence (no matter how inconvenient) as simply bogus. Nor, as we hope to demonstrate, will it be necessary to resort to some of the more complex speculations alluded to above. In determining the origins and development of the AFP in combination with future tenses in early Hiberno-English, we must look a little closer at the distribution, functional range and semantic development of the AFP in Early Modern Irish.

5. Distribution and Function of the AFP in EMI and HE

It is clear from an examination of relevant texts that the syntactic distribution and functional range of the *iar/ar*[2] (after) perfect in EMI was greater than its equivalent in the modern Irish dialects. It may seem surprising that a scholar of Greene's accomplishments did not point this out. However, in a number of articles (1979 and 1979/80), Greene was to profess his belief that the *iar/ar* 'after' perfect was not part of normal Irish speech but was, rather, a formation only used by the literati. As I have indicated elsewhere (Ó Corráin fc.), this was certainly not the case (cf. now Ó Sé 2004, who comes to the same conclusion). Indeed, if the *iar/ar* 'after' perfect was not an intrinsic part of spoken EMI, one would be very hard pressed to explain its appearance in any shape or form in 17th century Hiberno-English.

For a number of reasons, the functional range of the construction was to become severely restricted in later modern Irish (as indeed in later HE). The textual evidence clearly demonstrates, however, that the *iar/ar* 'after' perfect in EMI could occur not only with the past but also with a range of tenses and moods involving future or non-actual time reference, including the future tense, the secondary future or conditional, the present subjunctive, the past subjunctive and, as we shall see, it could even be used in collocation with the imperative. It will also be apparent that it occurs in a wide variety of main and subordinate clause types.

We may begin by giving some examples of the *iar + Verbal Noun* (VN) formation involving the future tense (in the interests of economy, only a number of examples will be annotated).[3]

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tury onwards, future usage is negligible" (McCafferty 2003: 312). He has identified only three future perfects and five conditional perfects in texts from 1601-1800 (McCafferty 2004).

2   The vacillation in spelling reflects the fact that in speech *iar* was being reduced to *ar* (/ər/). As we shall see below, it was eventually to be superseded by the compound prepositions *a haithle*, *d'éis*, *tar éis* and *i ndiaidh*, all signifying 'after.'

3   Unfortunately, we have few texts in Irish from the period that explicitly reveal common speech and we are forced to rely upon examples gleaned from a range of disparate and varied source material. In what follows, translations from Latin, Spanish, English and French, mostly of religious material for common consumption, some by the likes of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, who wrote in his own words for "simple people unversed in abstruse Irish,"

5.1. The AFP with the Future Tense in Irish

(8) *bheth   ullamh   do chum   résúin   do   thabhairt   ar son   a gcredmhe*
     SVB-VN   prepared to/for   reason   to   giving VN   for   their faith

   gach   uair   bhias   sé   arna   iaruidh   orro
   each   time   SVB-FUT-REL-3SG   it   after its asking VN   on them

   translating 'to be readye to geue a reason of their faith when they shal be there unto
   required' (lit. '… when it will be after its asking on them') (Ó Cuív 1994: 133)

(9) *do chum   go mbeam*   *arnar*   *bhfollamhnadh   go diágha*
     for   that SVB-FUT-1PL   after our   governing VN   godly

   cumhsgnaighthe   fúithaigh
   quietly   under her

   translating 'that vnder her we maie be godly and quietly gouerned' (lit. 'so that we
   will be after our governing …,' i.e. 'that we will be governed' (Ó Cuív 1994: 117)

(10) *Agus   do bhrigh go   mbía*   *a   néagcóir   arna*
      and   because   SVB-FUT-3SG   their   injustice   after its

   meadughadh   fúairéochuidh   carthannachd   mhóráin
   increasing VN   GET COLD-FUT-SG3   love   many-GEN

   'because of the increase of wickedness, the love of most will grow cold'
   (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Math 24:12, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(11) *bíaidh   an ghrían   arna   dhorchughadh*
      SVB-FUT-3SG   the sun   after its   darkening VN

   'the sun will be darkened,' Vulgate: 'sol obscurabitur'
   (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Math 24:29, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(12) *7 gach ceartuighthe ele bhiás arná chur ar in drém bhús ciontach 7 bhús
      maidnneachdach ann so do chóimhlíonadh*

   translating 'or other cohercion, as shal be imposed upon suche as shall herein make
   default' (lit. 'will be after its putting') (Ó Cuív 1994: 133)

(13) *"go mbia tusa ad Thighearna iar nad h'onórughadh, 7 iarnad ghlórughadh."*

   'so that you as Lord will be honoured and glorified'
   (lit. 'will be after your honouring')
   (*Desiderius*, published 1616, ll. 6947-9, (O'Rahilly 1941: 226))

(14) *'biaidh mé arnam shásadh, an tan bhus léir dhamh do ghlóire-se'*

   translating 'satiabor cum apparuerit Gloria tua'
   (*Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, completed 1631, ll. 3970f., (Bergin 1931: 125))

(15) *biaidh tú arnad chonnlughadh it tomba féin*

   'you will be confined in your own tomb' translating 'colligeris ad sepulcrum tuum'
   (*Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, ll. 6095f., (Bergin 1931: 192))

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are complemented by original compositions, by reference to sermons directed at the popula-
ce and by evidence provided by early grammarians.

(16) *an feadh bhiam arnar bhfolach fá ualach na feóla sa [in]ar ttimcheall*

translating 'dum hac mole carnis tegimur'
(*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, translated from the Latin in 1650 by Bonaveantúr Ó Conchúir, ll. 8264f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 233))

(17) *beidh tú ar do fhliuchadh le drúcht nimhe*

'you will be made moist by the dew of heaven'
(*Stair an Bhíobla III*, Uáitéar Ua Ceallaigh, c. 1726, (Ní Mhuirgheasa 1942: 133))

(18) *béid siad uile ar na dTeagasc le Dia*

translated 'They shall be all taught of (i.e. by) God'
(*An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, pre 1741, (Donlevy 1848: 412)), (cf. *Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 6:45 with *ó Dhia*)

(19) *Iomchraithfidh tu Íosóip oram, a Thighearna, agus biaidh mé air mo ghlanadh*[4]

'Thou shalt sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed'
(*An Teagasg Críosduidhe*, (Donlevy 1848: 390), (cf. *Trompa na bhFlaitheas*, c. 1755, l. 555, (O'Rahilly 1955: 22), translating 'mundabor')

While the above examples are in the passive, the voice in which the majority of examples occur in our texts, *iar + Verbal Noun* (VN) also occurs in active propositions with future or with non-actual time reference:[5]

(20) nuáir bheithí   ar   tteachd   anall tar   Iordan   go tír
     when SBV-FUT-2PL   after   COME-VN   over   Jordan   to land

     Chánaain
     of Canann

'when you cross the Jordan into Canaan'
(*Leabhuir na Seintiomna*, Uimhreacha 35:10, (Uilliam Bedell 1685))

(21) *dénaidh gérchoimét nó biad ar siubal uaib*

'be vigilant or I will be gone from you' (the equivalent of a participle, but literally 'I will be after going/moving from you')
(*Silva Gadelica* 1: 278)

(22) *Beidh me iar do bhualadh*

'I will be after beating you; i.e. I will have beaten you.'
(Neilson 1808 (1990): 124)

(23) *biad iar nglanadh*

'I will be after cleansing'
(O'Donovan 1845: 183)

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4 I have corrected the misprint in the original which has *a hTighearna*.
5 Considering the relative dirth of actives, O'Rahilly (1932: 234, note 2) may well be right when he suggests that the active construction "was a popular one and not favoured by the literary class."

(24) *mar dhíbereadh caora a huan féin uaidhche da bhfaiceadh si cuma, deilbh, no de-anamh madraigh no mic tíre air tteacht air*

'as a sheep would banish its lamb if she were to see the shape, form or appearance of a dog or wolf (after) coming upon it'
(*Seanmónta Chuige Uladh*, l. 100, (Ó Maonaigh 1965: 4))

5.2. The AFP with the Secondary Future or Conditional

(25) *Ar an n-ádhbhar so, a áirdThighearna, do chum go mbeithea iarnad th'aithne agus iarnad ghrádhughodh 7 iarnad h'onórughadh ód chréatúiribh*

'so that you would be known and loved and honoured by your creatures'
(*Desiderius*, 94-97, (O'Rahilly 1941: 4))

(26) *Go mbéimís ... air ar sáoradh ó láimh ar námhad*

'that we would be rescued from the hand of our enemies'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Lúcas 1:74, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(27) *staid fhoírfidh do bheith aige anna mbiadh na mílte maith arna ccomhchruin-niughadh*

'status omnium bonorum aggregatione perfectus'
(*An Bheatha Dhiadha*, 1092-94, (Ó Fachtna 1967: 30))

(28) *an aimsir sin ... ina mbeith féin arna bháthadh i ttobar an doilghis*

'that time … when he himself would be immersed in the well of sorrow (baptismo doloris).'
(*An Bheatha Dhiadha*, 5359-5363, (Ó Fachtna 1967: 145)).

(29) *ní bheithdís arna mealladh ris an mblas mbeag gan tábhacht sin*

'they would not be enticed by that little insignificant taste'
(*An Bheatha Dhiadha*, 5594f., (Ó Fachtna 1967: 151))

(30) *Ná meas gur fearr thú féin ná cách, d'eagla go mbéitheá ar do mheas níos measa i láthair Dé*

'do not think yourself better than others lest, perhaps, you be accounted worse before God,' (Non te reputes aliis meliorem, ne forte coram Deo deterior habearis)
(*Tóraidheacht ar Lorg Chríosta*, translated 1762, (Ua Tuathail 1915 (1951): 32))

5.3. The AFP with the Subjunctive

Without labouring the point, it will be useful to add a few examples of the AFP in collocation with the present subjunctive (31) and past subjunctive (32), (33), the first two examples being passive, the last active:

(31) *Ní héidir lé duine éinnidh do ghlacadh, muna raibh sé arna thabhairt dó ó neamh*

'a man can receive only what may be given him from heaven,'
'non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 3:27, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(32) *muna mbeith* <mark>arna</mark> *chomhchur d'anam 7 do chorp*

> 'si homo non esset aliquid compositum ex anima, et corpore'
> (*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, 1258, (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 37))

(33) *muna mbeithdís* <mark>iar</mark> *ccruadhughadh 7* <mark>iar</mark> *gcalcughadh a bpeacadh an díchreidimh*

> 'nisi ex demerito perfidae suae indurate essent'
> (*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, 7314f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 207))

It should be clear from the above that Bliss was led badly astray, for his contention that *iar/ar* 'after' plus the *Verbal Noun (VN)* construction "could never refer to the future" (Bliss 1979: 302) is patently wrong. On the contrary, the formation exhibits a particularly extensive distribution in tenses and moods with future and non-actual time reference.

5.5. Functions of the AFP in Early Modern Irish and HE

Moreover, apart from exhibiting a greater temporal and modal distribution, it is also evident that the *after* perfect had a wider functional range than its current counterpart. The examples below (in a variety of tenses) will give some indication of its functions.[6]

The primary function of the construction was to signify a simple state or a state resulting from previous action. Here we have some passive examples (34) and (35) followed by active examples (36) and (37):

(34) *óir is mar so atá sé* <mark>arna</mark> *sgríobhadh ag an bhfáidh*

> 'for so is it written (or has been written) by the prophet'
> 'sic enim scriptum est per prophetam' (Vulgate)
> (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Matthew 2:5, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(35) *tar éis na n-argumainteadh atá* <mark>arna</mark> *suidioghadh ar chreideamh Chríost*

> 'after the arguments that are based (or 'have been based') on the faith of Christ,'
> translating 'post argumenta super Christi Fidem extructa.'
> (*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, ll. 1995f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 57))

(36) *Scandlan mor mac Cind Faelad, do bi* <mark>ar</mark> *tuitim a mbraighdenus ag righ Erend*

> 'Scannlan Mor, son of Cennfaelad, that had fallen under the bondage of the King of Erin'
> (*Betha Colaim Chille* § 345, compiled 1532, (O'Kelleher and Schoepperle 1918 (1994): 368))

(37) *atá an saoghal uile* <mark>iarnad</mark> *sheachna 7* <mark>iar</mark> *dteitheamh ód chaidreabh chaoinmhilis*

> 'the whole world has avoided thee and has fled from thy sweet company'
> (*Desiderius*, ll. 90-92, (O'Rahilly 1941: 4))

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[6]　For some active and passive examples in non-future tenses see Ó Corráin (1997: 166).

Although in the modern language, as we noted above, the formation functions mainly as a recent perfect,[7] clear examples of the recent perfect are few and far between in EMI texts. Paradoxically, however, our earliest attested example, from a 12th century translation of the *Thebaid* of Statius (quoted by Greene 1979/80: 88) would appear to be just such a case (38). Further examples from somewhat later Irish are given at (39) and (40).

(38) *Et robai claideb in rig lan d'fhuil ina laim, mar bad ar marbad a hathar robeth* ⁊ *arna adluccun*

'And the king's blood-stained sword was in her hand, as if it were so that she had just slain and buried her father.'
(*Togail na Tebe*, l. 1932, (Calder 1922: 122))

(39) *fear mór … agus sgian lán fola ionna láimh aige … agus é* *tar éis*[8] *a theacht ó fhion-nadh mairt*

lit. 'a big man … with a knife covered in blood in his hand … and he after coming from flaying a cow'
(*Stair Éamoinn Uí Chleire*, circa 1700, (Ó Neachtain 1918: 32))

(40) *Ta me* *iar teacht o hAlbain,*

'I am after coming from Scotland; i.e. I have just come'
(Neilson 1808 (1990): 124)

In keeping with its primary function, the formation could, of course, express a future perfect and it is possible to interpret a number of our future reference examples above as future perfects. However, as is well known, perfects have a recurring tendency to extend their semantic range and this is precisely what has happened with the AFP in Scottish Gaelic (especially in relation to future reference) and also in Manx. As T.F. O'Rahilly has put it in his authorative survey of Gaelic dialects:

> constructions of the latter type (*ar + possessive + verbal-noun*) are sometimes used in Scottish, and very often in Manx, when action rather than state is indicated; thus in a Scottish folk-tale we read: *bidh an rígheachd air a sgrios agus tu féin air do mharbhadh* ('the kingdom will be destroyed and you will be killed,' AOC) where Irish would use the inflected passive *sgriosfar an r. agus muirbhfear (or muireófar,* etc.) *thú féin'.* Similarly one finds in Sc.: *dh'ordaich e a' bhean a bhith air a cur gu bás* 'he ordered the woman to be put to death,' where Irish would say: *d'órda sé an bhean a chur chun báis.* (O'Rahilly 1932: 135) [9]

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7   Ó Sé (2004) has shown how the formation has now extended its meaning beyond the recent perfect, especially in Munster.

8   We have here an early example with *tar éis* rather than *iar*, for the development of which, see our discussion below.

9   Compare: *gum feum Mac an duine moran fhulang, a bhith* *air* *a dhiultadh leis na se-anairean, … 'sa bhith* *air* *a chur gu bas* 'that the Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected by the elders … and that he must be put to death.' (*Gaelic Bible*, Mark 8:31, (Mac-Eachan 1875))

Compare the Scottish Gaelic examples below (41)-(43) and some examples from the Manx Bible (44) and (45):

(41)   *gach dachaidh anns am bi mo ghuth* air *a chluinntinn an nochd*

    'every home in which my voice will be heard tonight'
    (*Am Measg nam Bodach*, 1938: 43)

(42)   *Bha cuid de dhaoine ... nach fuilingeadh sgeulachd idir a bhi* air *a h-aithris 'nan éisdeachd*

    'there were some people … who would not allow any tales to be told in their hearing'
    (MacFadyen (Mac Phaidein), 1913: 68)

(43)   *nach bu chòir sgeòil de'n t-seòrsa a bhi idir* air *an ionnsachadh do chloinn bhig*

    'that stories of that sort should not be taught at all to small children'
    (MacFadyen (Mac Phaidein), 1913: 73)

(44)   *son*   *nagh*   *bee*   *leigh*   *Voses*   er *ny vrishey*
       so that   not   SVB-FUT-SSG   law   of Moses   after its breaking VN

    'so that the law of Moses will not be broken'
    (*Yn Conaat Noa*, John 7:23)

(45)   *Bee shiu* er *nyn yannoo seyr*

    'you shall be set free' (lit. 'you will be after your making free')
    (*ibid.*, John 8:33)

Now it is clear from the Irish examples quoted above that, before its demise, the Irish *iar + VN* formation had (in a similar manner to Scottish Gaelic and Manx) begun to extend its range and in certain contexts could indicate, especially in relation to the future, action rather than state. It is significant that it often translates the Latin simple future rather than the future perfect (cf., for instance, examples (14), (15) and (16) above). Similarly, it may also translate English simple futures rather than future perfects (cf. examples (8), (9), (12), (18) and (19)). Indeed, of the instances quoted above, many simply do not admit of a future perfect interpretation. Consider again a cross-section of our examples:

Ná meas gur fearr thú féin ná cách, d'eagla go mbéitheá ar *do mheas níos measa i lathair Dé*

which means 'do not think yourself better than others lest you be accounted worse before God' (clearly 'lest you will/would have been accounted worse' is impossible)

gach uair bhias sé arna *iaruidh orro*

means quite simply 'each time it will be asked of them'

go mbia tusa ad Thighearna iarnad *h'onórughadh,* 7 iarnad *ghlórughadh*

means 'so that you as Lord will be honoured and glorified' (certainly not 'will have been honoured etc.')

beidh tú ar *do fhliuchadh le drúcht nimhe*

'you will be moistened by the dew of heaven'

Iomchraithfidh tu Íosóip oram, a Thighearna, agus biaidh mé air mo ghlanadh

translating 'asperges me hyssopo et mundabor'
lit. 'I will be after my cleansing'

béidh siad uile arna dTeagasc le Dia

is translated into English as 'they shall be all taught of (i.e. by) God'

Compare also the instances below of the present tense with prospective or non-actual reference:

(46) *atá ós gach maith, & gurab fiu é bheith iar n-a ghrádhughadh go síordhoidhi*

'He is greater than every good and deserves to be loved eternally'
(*Desiderius*, 5474f., (O'Rahilly 1941: 178))
(again, 'to have been loved' is impossible)

(47) *As romhaith iomorró stiúradh na hiomadamhlachta madh bhíonn arna stiúradh 7 arna riaghladh ré haon*

translating 'multitudinis autem regimen optimum est, si per unum regatur'
(*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, ll. 7674f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 217))

(48) *ba mian leis é féin do bheith arna iodhbairt i n-éinfheacht léithe*

'he wished to be sacrificed along with her'
(*Stair an Bhíobla II*, Uáitéar Ua Ceallaigh, c. 1726, (Ní Mhuirgheasa 1942: 133))

Compare, further, the following future tense example from c. 1610 with *d'éis* rather than *iar/ar*:

(49) *gach rogha seoch láneascar | nó biaidh tú d'éis do chéasta,*

which we may render roughly as 'choose wisely rather than utter ruination, or you will be tormented'
(*Dánta Mhuiris Mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt*, 8, l. 168, (Williams 1979: 53))

The fact that these Irish examples function as simple futures rather than future perfects is of key significance in relation to the much discussed HE examples, as one of the most puzzling features of these for scholars of Irish English is that most, as we have seen above, signify the simple future rather than the future perfect.

It is not my intention to provide a detailed analysis of the functions of the AFP in early Hiberno-English. However, it is worth pointing out that a similar range of uses to that which we have delineated for EMI also appears in our early HE examples. As in Early Modern Irish (EMI), the formation could function as a *stative/resultative* (this is particularly evident in hybrid examples):

(50) *Barrels of de Money, dat have been after hid*
(John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved*, 1705, (Bliss 1979: 147))

(51) *I have not been after breaking any Thing of his that I know ...*
(Fielding 1750: 9, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

(52) *the young gentleman has been after going out of hearing it all along*
(Sterne 1760, VII: 25, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

Again, in keeping with our Irish material, the *recent perfect*, while clearly an-
other function of the construction, is only sparsely represented before the mid
19th century although a few examples can be identified:

(53)   *You shee here de cause dat is after bringing you to dis plaace*

'which has brought you'
(John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon*, 1698, quoted in Bliss 1979: 133, xviii, 5), (exam-
ple 1, above)

(54)   *Why, friend, my master is Mr. Delamour, who is just after coming from Paris …*
(O'Keefe 1767: 23, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

(55)   *"I'm after travelling the half of the parish for that poor bag of oats that you see
standing against the ditch."*
(Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1842-44 (1990): 74)
'I have just travelled' (quoted by Filppula 1999: 105)

As we have seen, the AFP commonly appears in early HE texts in reference to
future time and in a number of cases, these are clearly future perfects or condi-
tional perfects: [10]

(56)   *when you and Master Patrick O'Burke are after settling with their pious majesties*,

i.e. 'will have settled' (John Banim, *The Denounced*, 1830, vol. I: 287)

(57)   *when both are after making some settlement* (*ibid.*, 287)

(58)   *for if they were left all night in the bog, your Honor, they'd be after getting the crup-
pan in respect of eating the keebduh*
(Lady Morgan, *O'Donnel*, 1814: 276)

and they are comparable to equivalent propositions in Irish such as:

(59)   *Beidh me iar do bhualadh*

'I will be after beating you; i.e. I will have beaten you'
(Neilson 1808 (1990): 124)

(60)   *muna mbeithdís iar ccruadhughadh 7 iar gcalcughadh a bpeacadh an díchreidimh*

'nisi ex demerito perfidae suae indurate essent'
(*Buaidh na Naomhchroiche*, 7314f., (Ó Súilleabháin 1972: 207))[11]

In most such cases in early HE, however, the AFP expresses action rather
than state and, as I have demonstrated, there is no lack of similar examples with
future time reference from earlier stages of Irish. While in both languages the
formation could be used both actively and passively, it is particularly prevalent
in our Irish texts as a passive and it is there that we must look for the source of
'after' referring to the simple future in HE. We may remind ourselves of some
examples:

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[10] I would like to thank Kevin McCafferty for providing me with these examples.
[11] The substantive verb is in the past subjunctive here.

(61) *you vill be after being damn'd*,

   i.e. 'you will be damned'[12]
   (Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches*, 1681/2, xiv, 37)

(62) *when I do go home, I vill be after being absolv'd for it*,

   i.e. 'I will be absolved' (*ibid.*, 174)

(63) *if you don't go to dinner this instant every thing will be after being spoil'd*
   (Stephens, *The Fair Orphan*, LOL, 1771, quoted in McCafferty 2003: 314)

(64) *and had like to have bin after being slain upon a Gibbet*
   (Shadwell 1690: 21, quoted in McCafferty 2004)

The syntactic, functional and semantic congruence between this and the Irish construction is patently obvious. We need do no more than point to the correspondence between, for instance, *You vill be after being damn'd* and *beidh tú ar do fhliuchadh* (examples 17 above) or between *I vill be after being absolv'd* and *biaidh mé air mo ghlanadh* (19 above).

Furthermore, it is clear that other apparently mysterious uses of the formation in HE can without difficulty be derived from the substrate language. McCafferty, draws attention to the occurrence of the HE formation in the imperative (66), seeing there evidence that the early Hiberno-English AFP had become a "highly developed future gram" (McCafferty 2003: 314):

(65) *be after going before me*
   (Garrick, *The Irish Widow*, LOL, 1772: 26, quoted by McCafferty 2003: 314)

But compare Irish examples with the imperative such as the following from a 17th century manuscript:

(66) *"Agus bí-se air siubhal anois," air sí*

   literally '"and be after going now," said she'
   (*Dhá Sgéal Artúraíochta*, Mhac an tSaoi 1984: 14)[13]

Note also the following passive examples with the imperative from 17th century Irish:

(67) *bí arnad ghlanadh ód pheacadhaibh*

   'ablue peccata tua,' 'be cleansed from your sins,'
   lit. 'be after your cleansing from your sins'
   (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Gníomhartha 22:16, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

and these examples of the AFP with the imperative from Manx and Scottish Gaelic:

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[12] Ó Sé (2004) sees this as a future perfect, but it is clear from the context that this is not the case.
[13] The manuscript would appear to have *bhise*, but the editorial emendation is quite acceptable; compare *bíom ar siobhal* 'let us depart' (*Desiderius*, l. 3410, (O'Rahilly 1941: 112)).

(68) *bee er dty ghlenney*

     'be clean,' lit. 'be after your cleansing'
     (*Yn Conaat Noa*, Luke 5:13)

(69) *falbh ann an sith, is bi air do leigheas bho d' eucail*

     'go in peace and be freed from your suffering'
     (*Gaelic Bible*, Mark 5:34, (MacEachan 1875)).

Finally, Filppula (1999: 105) directs our attention to the appearance in 19th century emigrant letters of *after* followed by a noun phrase rather than a participle and asserts that he has been informed that no parallel construction exists in Irish. He draws the conclusion that "the HE usage has here 'overgeneralised' the substratal model" (Filppula 1999: 302, note 12). However, rather like Bliss before him, Filppula has been led astray by faulty information. Below is just one example from a 17th century text of *after* (here *tar éis*) followed by a noun: [14]

(70) *Ní bhfachtar sochar ná somhaoin ón muic nó go mbí sí tar éis bháis*

     'no profit is derived from the pig until after it has died,'
     lit. 'until she bees after death.'
     (*Párliament na mBan*, probably composed 1697, ll. 1123f., (Ó Cuív 1970: 36))

It should be clear from this brief survey that the various functions assignable to the early Hiberno-English AFP may be derived from attestable uses in earlier stages of Irish. The mistake of previous scholars was to attempt to explain 17th century HE in the light of present day HE or present day Irish, rather than from the evidence of 16th and 17th century Irish.

6. The Restriction of the AFP to the Recent Perfect

However, this does not completely solve our mystery for it raises another question. If at earlier stages of both Irish and HE, the formation could refer to the future and could in future contexts express action rather than state, why in both languages was the construction restricted to having the status of a recent perfect (and referring normally only to the past)? Again, we have to look at what was happening in Irish for the answer. The detailed analysis of developments in Irish is given in Ó Corráin (fc.) but a summary for Hiberno-English scholars may be given here.

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[14] Filppula (1999: 105) quotes the example *I am after my breakfast* from Hayden and Hartog (1909: 933), but says "for some reason or other it does not appear to survive in modern HE usage." His note reads: "Dónall Ó Baoill (pc.) points out to me that Irish has no parallel construction in which the preposition would be followed by a noun, instead of the usual verbal noun" (Filppula 1999: 302, note 12). But sentences such as *I'm only after my dinner* are frequent in my dialect of HE (AÓC) and the equivalent *Níl mé ach i ndiaidh mo dhinnéara* (literally 'I am not but after my dinner') is also common in Irish.

It is demonstrably clear that the preposition *iar/ar* 'after,' gradually became phonetically indistinguishable from the preposition *ar* 'on' and was consequently becoming ambiguous. For instance, in the following examples, *iar/ar* plus Verbal Noun means 'while' or 'when' rather than 'after:'

(71) *Agus iar mbeith ag teitheadh do Absolon*

   'and while Absolon was fleeing'
   (*Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an Bháis*, l. 999, (Bergin 1931: 34))

(72) *agus ar dtriall san dturus soin do Cheallachán*

   'and when Ceallachán was going'
   (Bergin 1930: 50)

Presumably as a consequence, we find *iar/ar* being substituted in the AFP construction by less ambiguous perfect markers such as *a haithle* and *d'éis* (compound prepositions meaning 'after,' subsequently superseded by *tar éis*, *i ndiaidh*, etc.). This occurs as early as the 15th century:

(73) *dá mbia nech a haili fola do c[h]ur amach*
   (an example from 1459, quoted by O'Rahilly 1932: 235)

(74) *d'eis a sgagtha do bhi in bhen*

   'the woman had been proved'
   (Irish Texts 109 § 49, an example from 1551, quoted by Greene 1979)

Furthermore, in the following century we can discern the expansion of a rival formation based on the substantive verb + verbal adjective + preposition (*tá sé déanta agam*, etc.). This is the equivalent of the HE 'I have it done,' (Retrospective II (Henry 1957), the 'medial-object' perfect (Filppula 1999)). We will refer to it simply as (Periphrastic) Perfect 2.[15] This formation is already apparent in texts from the 16th century and we have evidence that it was frowned upon at that stage by the learned. Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa in his *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* which was written in Louvain between 1607 and 1614, after dealing with the *iar/ar* plus verbal noun construction, states explicitly that there is a tendency for this to be substituted by a newer formation with the verbal adjective:

> Pro participio activo praeterito, verbale et[iam] nomen cum praepositione *ar* vel *iar* accipiunt, ut *atā Tadhg ar mb[u]aladh* < *nō iar mbualadh* > *Bhriain*. E[a]dem illa etiam accipiuntur pro participijs passivis praesentis et praeteriti quando nomen ponitur expresse vel implicite cum praepositione *le* vel *ó*, ut *atā Brian gā b[h]ualadh nó ar na bhualadh le nó ó Thadhg*. Pro isto praeterito saepe dicitur *atā Brian buailte*, sed hoc reprobatur a peritis, … (*Rudimenta Gramaticae Hibernicae*, 64, caput xxxiii, (Mac Aogáin 1968: 64))

The tendency for the AFP to be superseded by the new formation is also apparent in our sample of texts. The change is neatly captured in separate versions of the New Testament. In the original 1603 version (as noted above) we find:

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[15] The Irish construction is referred to as PII by Greene (1979).

(75) *óir   is   mar so   atá sé   **arna** **sgríobhadh**   ag an bhfáidh*
      for   it is   like this   that it is   after its writing   at the prophet

'for so is it written by the prophet'
'sic enim scriptum est per prophetam' (Vulgate)
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Matha 2:5, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

Whereas by the time of the 1837 edition this has been updated to:

(76) *oir   is   mar so   atá sé   **sgríobhtha**   ag an bhfáidh*
      for   it is   like this   that it is   written   at the prophet

(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Matha 2:5, (O'Domhnaill 1837 edition))

A similar relationship holds between (78) and (79):

(77) *Ataíd na huile neithe **arna ndéunamh** trí san mbréithirsi: agus ní fhuil ní ar bioth dá ndéarnadh **arna dhéunamh** na féugmais* (as below)
      (*Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 1:3, (O'Domhnaill 1603))

(78) *Leisean a táid na huile neithe **déunta**; 7 gan é ní bhfuil éinnídh **déunta**, da ndéarnadh*

'All things were made by him and without him was not anything made that was made'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Eoin 1:3, (O'Domhnaill 1837 edition))

The range of functions of Periphrastic Perfect 2, at an earlier stage of Irish and its rather complicated if fascinating development is detailed in Ó Corráin (fc.). Suffice to say here that like the *after* perfect, it could function as a stative/resultative (80) and like the AFP it could occur in the context of future time reference (81):

(79) *an ní atá **toirmisgthe** ó aithne na heaglaise*[16]

'that which is prohibited by the precepts of the church'
(*Rialachas San Froinsias*, § 66, (Ó Súilleabháin 1953: 32))

(80) *chuir an tighearna meisi, ... dochum aisig do radharc dhfaghail dhuit agus do bheith **líonta** ón spiorad náomh*

'the Lord sent me … so that you may see again and be filled with the Holy Spirit'
(*Tiomna Nuadh*, Gníomhartha 9:17, (O'Domhnaill 1603)) [17]

With the rise of Periphrastic Perfect 2 we get the concomitant demise of Periphrastic Perfect 1 (the AFP). Furthermore, it happens in accordance with sound linguistic principles: in conformation with Kuryłowicz's fourth law of analogy (Kuryłowicz 1947), the new formation takes over the core functions of the older construction and the latter is left with a subsidiary function (in this case the

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[16] For the early use of the prepositions *ó* and *le* rather than *ag* to mark the agent, see Ó Corráin (fc.).
[17] The original has *liónta*.

marking of the recent perfect).[18] What is particularly remarkable is that the evolution of the AFP in Irish (now with *tar éis*, *i ndiaidh*) is mirrored by the evolution of the AFP in HE. In Irish, by the middle of the 19th century, as a result of the developments outlined above, the AFP (Perfect 1) occurs predominantly as a recent perfect and Perfect 2 becomes progressively productive. From his study of the relevant data in Hiberno-English, Filppula suggests that the older uses of the AFP in HE had become "almost obsolete" by about the mid 19th century and the older type does not seem to occur in the latter half of that century (although Carlton, a native speaker of Irish writing in the 1840s, provides examples of both the older and newer uses of the formation) (Filppula 1999: 104ff). Furthermore, the equivalent of Perfect 2 ('I have it done' etc.) emerges late in HE. There are no examples in the Bliss collection of texts, but Visser gives an example from Farquhar's *Twin Rivals* (1702/3) (see Kallen 1990: 129; Filppula 1999: 111). Once again, this concurs rather well with the evidence from Irish.[19]

7. Conclusions

It is clear, then, that the mystery of the early Hiberno-English AFP is amenable to rational resolution. The use of the AFP with future time reference in HE has undoubtedly been calqued on equivalent uses of the AFP formation in Irish. Rather than being "mere stupid errors committed by Englishmen who failed to understand the construction," the earliest Hiberno-English examples reflect the fact that the Irish formation had a wider syntactic distribution and a greater functional range than its current counterpart: it could act as a stative/resultative perfect as well as a recent perfect and, particularly in reference to the future, it could express an action rather than a state. The syntactic distribution and functional range of the formation in Early Modern Irish is replicated in early Hiberno-English.

For a variety of reasons, the *iar/ar + VN* formation was becoming progressively ambiguous and, perhaps as a consequence, a rival construction developed. This newer formation took over the core functions of the earlier formation and the latter was limited to the subsidiary function of marking the recent perfect. What is particularly striking is how faithfully HE reflects developments in Irish. As the parent formation in Irish contracts in syntactic distribution and functional range, the calqued formation in HE also contracts, becoming likewise a marker

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[18] Kuryłowicz's fourth is a particularly dependable 'law' and has validity not only for phonology and morphology but also within the areas of syntax and semantics.

[19] It is noteworthy that the AFP is resilient in earlier functions in Manx and in Scottish Gaelic. It is most likely that Perfect 2 developed in the south west of Ireland (see Greene 1979: 141) and it is entirely possible that the *iar* perfect was most resilient in the eastern parts of Ireland (where of course the language has now disappeared). Without wishing to read too much into it, it is interesting that the AFP in Filppula's data from HE is much more common in eastern HE (Dublin and Wexford) than in the south west (Clare and Kerry) and, conversely, that the equivalent of Irish Perfect 2 is more commonly used in the south west than in the east (see Filppula 1999: 101 and 109).

of the recent perfect. In Irish, by the 19th century the older functions of the AFP appear but seldom. In HE, the older functions of the AFP do not occur in texts from about the 1840s on. There could hardly be a clearer indication of how inextricably intertwined Irish and Irish-English are and a more emphatic demonstration of the necessity to fully explore the former in attempting to elucidate the latter.

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