

# Assessing Celticity in a Corpus of Irish Standard English

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## *Abstract*

Conventional wisdom since the earliest studies of Irish English has attributed much of what is distinctive about this variety to the influence of the Irish language. From the early philologists (Joyce 1910, van Hamel 1912) through the classic works of Henry (1957, 1958) and Bliss (1979) down to present-day linguistic orientations (e.g. Corrigan 2000 a, Filppula 1999, Fiess 2000, Hickey 2000, Todd 1999, and others), the question of Irish-language influence may be disputed on points of detail, but remains a central focus for most studies in the field. It is not our intention to argue with this consensus, nor to examine specific points of grammar in detail, but, rather, to suggest an approach to this question which (a) takes for its empirical base a sample of the standard language, rather than dialectal material or the sample sentences so beloved of many papers on the subject, and (b) understands Celticity not just in terms of the formal transfer of grammatical features, but as an indexical feature of language use, i.e. one in which English in Ireland is used in such a way as to point to the Irish language as a linguistic and cultural reference point. In this sense, our understanding of Celticity is not entirely grammatical, but relies as well on Pierce's notion of indexicality (see Greenlee 1973), by which semiotic signs 'point to' other signs.

Our focus in assessing Celticity, then, derives in the first instance from an examination of the International Corpus of English (ICE). We have recently completed the publication of the Irish component of ICE (ICE-Ireland), a machine-readable corpus of over 1 million words of speech and writing gathered from a range of contexts determined by the protocols of the global International Corpus of English project. The international nature of this corpus project makes for ready comparisons with other varieties of English, and in this paper we will focus on comparisons with the British corpus, ICE-GB. For references on ICE generally, see Greenbaum 1996; for ICE-GB, see especially Nelson, Wallis and

Aarts 2002; and for ICE-Ireland, see papers such as Kirk, Kallen, Lowry & Rooney (2003), Kirk & Kallen (2005), and Kallen & Kirk (2007). Our first approach will be to look for signs of overt Celticity in those grammatical features of Irish English which have been put forward as evidence of Celtic transfer (or of the reinforcement between Celtic and non-Celtic historical sources); our second approach will be to look at non-grammatical ways in which texts in ICE-Ireland become indexical of Celticity by less structural means such as loanwords, code-switching, and covert reference using 'standard' English in ways that are specific to Irish usage. We argue that, at least within the standard language as we have observed it, Celticity is at once less obvious than a reading of the dialectal literature might suggest and, at the same time, more pervasive than a purely grammatical approach would imply.

### *1. Introduction*

The question of Celticity in Irish English is as old as the interest in Irish English itself. Stanihurst, writing in the 16<sup>th</sup> 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' (Stanihurst 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 & Hartog (1909) and Joyce (1910), all assume a crucial role for Irish in the development of Irish English, with Hayden & Hartog (1909) 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' (id.: 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 the study of Irish English inevitably raises questions of its relations to the Irish language, 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 effects of language transfer among English-language native speakers (suggesting a substratum model); or it may refer not so much to

structural aspects of Irish English, but rather to the indexical features found in metaphorical code-switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972), idiomatic expression, or other ways in which the Irish use of English points to the co-existing use of Irish. The transfer and substrate models tend to write the conscious will of the speaker out of the analysis, as if Celticity were a matter of ‘interference’ (to use the traditional term) which arises more or less involuntarily through the influence of Irish on speakers of English. We suggest, however, that Celticity may well arise from conscious choice, from the desire of a speaker to point towards the Irish language as an act belonging to a particular speech community. In this model, we suggest that evidence of Celticity in a corpus depends not only on the frequency of overt borrowings or structural transfers, but also on the function of particular elements in making a reference to the Irish language and to elements of culture associated with it.<sup>1</sup>

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 evidence of the same structural pattern over a range of data, but analysis of the constraints on the use of the pattern may show affinities with Celtic languages in one type of English, but not in another. Arguments over so-called subordinating *and*, as in *He wouldn't give me a penny an' he rotten with money* (Burke 1896: 787), are of just this type. Ó Siadhail (1984), Filppula (1991), and Häcker (1999) all agree that there are apparent parallels between the Irish English construction and some uses of *and* found in other varieties of English. For Ó Siadhail (1984) and Häcker (1999), these parallels argue against a Celtic source for the Irish English construction. Filppula (1991), on the other hand, divides the Irish data into detailed subcategories, and noting the non-existence of some of these categories outside the Celtic Englishes, argues that the Irish English usage is plausibly derived from Irish.

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. Where a feature is present in Irish English but completely absent from other varieties, a plausible case for Celtic influence can be made to the extent that Irish actually has a corresponding structure which could credibly serve as a source. (To pick a trivial counter-example: the word *maracycle*, denoting a

<sup>1</sup> This position 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’.

long-distance bicycle tour, often for charity, is not in the OED but does arise in ICE-Ireland. Google searches show its use to be overwhelmingly based in Ireland. Even if the word is of Irish provenance, though, we can see no evidence that it is in any way inspired by Irish.) Saliency is a more difficult concept to operationalise, but as Auer, Barden & 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'. As we enter the area of stereotypes and popular representations, we allow for the role of language attitudes and beliefs about language to be taken into account. On this reckoning, what language users themselves believe about language becomes important. If, for example, Irish English speakers believe that the word *craic* is an Irish word and that use of the word indexes a particularly Irish form of social interaction, then the etymological argument that the word historically comes into Irish from the Northern English or Scots word *crack* in an equivalent sense is of secondary importance. If we are to account for usage on the part of real speakers, knowing that a speaker is intending to index Celticity by using the word *craic* has more explanatory power than arguing that the speaker is unknowingly using an English word of Northern origin.

For the study of Irish English, the ICE methodology offers several innovations.<sup>2</sup> ICE does not depend on introspection, casual observation, or questionnaire 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 & Aarts (2002), and the ICE website. When we address 'the Celticity question,' it will be our approach to compare text categories in ICE (NI) and ICE (ROI) with equivalent categories in ICE-GB. Our basic question, then, will be to examine

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<sup>2</sup> 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 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 Tristram, Irene Forsthoffer, Marlies Lofing, Margaret Mannion, Mary Pat O'Malley, and Joel Wallenberg. Funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (formerly Research Board), from the Royal Irish Academy and the British Council Social Sciences Committee has been essential to the development of this project and is gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>3</sup> For further information about ICE-Ireland, see Kallen & Kirk (2001), Kirk et al. (2004), and Kallen & Kirk (2007).

the extent to which putatively Celtic features are shared across identical categories in each corpus.

## 2. Grammatical Features

Our first level of analysis is to consider grammatical features that have been argued to show evidence of substratal transfer from Irish to English. We examine here the occurrence of these features 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.

### 2.1. Perfective Aspect

No single topic in Irish English syntax has inspired more research than that of perfective aspect.<sup>4</sup> From the early commentators such as Hayden & Hartog (1909) and van Hamel (1912), down to the present (e.g. McCafferty 2005), 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 Harris makes for the non-identity of different dialects of English; the different approaches taken by Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991), Filppula (1997 a, 1999), Hickey (2000), McCafferty (2005), Ó Corráin (2005), 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 (Kallen's (1989) 'Accomplishment Perfect,' Filppula's (1999) 'Medial Object Perfect,' and what we refer to here as the pseudo-perfect); (c) a perfect form in which a present-tense form of a stative verb is extended in its temporal

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

reference (the ‘Extended Now’ for Harris (1984) and Filppula (1999), or ‘Extended Present’ in Kallen (1989)); and (d) what Filppula (1999) refers to as the ‘indefinite anterior’ perfect (or IAP), in which the past tense form carries perfective force.

### 2.1.1. *The after-perfect*

The perfect in Irish English has attracted attention since the earliest scientific treatments, e.g. Hume (1877-78), Hayden & 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 English (cf. Kelly 1989), but in recognition of the historical arguments put forward most recently by Ó Sé (2004) and of the uniqueness of Irish English 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, discursal, and sociolinguistic factors. Harris’s (1984, 1993) well-known use of the designation ‘hot news’ for the *after*-perfect emphasises recency and immediacy in the use of this form, and though empirical study in Dublin (Kallen 1991) and Galway (Fiess 2000) shows that the form is not actually restricted to what can reasonably be called ‘hot news,’ it is nevertheless relatively rare in more temporally and referentially remote contexts.<sup>5</sup> 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: Scripted 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 713,369 words) contains seven examples of the *after*-perfect with BE + verb, each of them in southern texts. These examples are given here: (1)-(3) are from Face to face conversations, (4) from a Classroom discussion, (5) from a Business transaction, and (6) from a Sports commentary.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The comprehensive treatment by Ó Sé (2004) 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’ (id.: 232). The possibility raised by Ó Sé of mutual dialectal influences between Irish and English perfect usage has yet to be examined in detail.

<sup>6</sup> All quoted examples from ICE-Ireland are shown in ICE transcription format, starting with the ICE text number and speaker code: example (1) thus shows Speaker A from text S1A-046. For more detail, see Kallen & Kirk (in press).

- (1) <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
- (2) <S1A-055\$E> <#> And his blood sugar was real low <#> They thought he **was after going** into a coma with diabetes
- (3) <S1A-067\$D> <#> The wife and children **are after going** off there the other day
- (4) <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 </[>
- (5) <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
- (6) <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:

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

Filppula (1999: 105-6) notes this form as being rather rare, but we have certainly heard it often enough from a variety of speakers to consider it unremarkable.

The frequency of *after* perfects in ICE-Ireland is, by this count, very low: if we consider HAVE perfects by comparison, we note that 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, leaving *after* perfects as statistically very rare indeed.

This low occurrence of the *after* perfect is also reflected within interviews from the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English* (see Adams, Barry & Tilling (1985)). Harris's (1984: 316-17) analysis of TRS material revealed only 3 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* provide the 'hot news' interpretation which may be lacking in other examples.

- (8) {<I FW>} {And **was** she *only after just coming*, like?} (nitcs.36 CABRAGH, DOWN)
- (9) <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. (nitcs.10, CRANAGH, TYRONE)
- (10) 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 (nitcs14, BALLYCARRY, ANTRIM)
- (11) <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 (nitcs15, SCRAGHEY, TYRONE)
- (12) <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 (nitcs19, 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 3 tokens in 74,000 words), even though a higher level of usage can be found in Dublin, with 12 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. 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 b), 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 salience which corresponds to more vernacular levels of usage in a way that indicates meaningful Celticity.



### 2.1.2. '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 these 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. Harris (1984, 1985 a) discussed this structure in some detail, arguing that it does not represent a simple re-ordering of object and participle relative to the 'standard' English perfect, but is instead 'a looser expression consisting of two underlying subjoined clauses' (Harris 1985 a: 50). In this analysis, the clause with HAVE uses this verb as a full lexical item rather than as an auxiliary, and focuses on state rather than the action referred to by the following lexical verb. Kallen's (1989) use of the term 'accomplishment' focuses on the relationship between the object noun phrase and the main verb and suggests that this 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, noting that the object of the transitive main verb is interposed between the auxiliary and main verb, rather than following it. In all these earlier analyses, there is a general tendency to assume that the agent of the action denoted by the main lexical verb is co-referential to the subject of the clause headed by HAVE, thus distinguishing the Irish English perfect from *inter alia*, causatives such as *I had a dress made* in which the agent of *made* is not the subject of the clause in which *made* occurs.

Though the identification of this type of perfect usage is not as straightforward as with the *after*-perfect, we have identified 34 examples of this construction in ICE-Ireland. 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. In such examples, the subject of the clause is clearly identical with the agent of the main verb. In other cases, however, which illustrate key features of the construction as we understand it, the subject of the main clause with HAVE is not co-referential to the agent of the main verb. These examples are not causatives (as they might superficially appear to be to those unfamiliar with Irish English), but, rather, refer to a possessive or stative state of affairs which results from the action depicted by the main verb. In the discussion which follows, we thus distinguish between (A) those examples where the subject of the main clause is also the agent of the action denoted by the main verb and (B) cases where the subject of the main clause is not co-referential to the agent of the main verb, either because there is an obvious distinction between them or because the relationship is unspecified. To make the discussion easier to follow we further subdivide each category by subject type.

**Group A:** Subject of the main clause = agent of action denoted by main verb:

### First Person

- (13) <S1A-003\$E> <#> <[> No this was on Friday </[> </{> <#> 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
- (14) <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 </&>
- (15) <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** </[> </{>
- (16) <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

### Second Person

- (17) <S1B-017\$C> <#> <[> When </[> </{> 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

### Third Person

- (18) <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 </&>
- (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.
- (20) <S1B-078\$D> <#> I think **she had people lined up** for the four posts but because it was so delayed they 've all since got other jobs
- (21) <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
- (22) <S1A-087\$A> <#> **They probably have him chained** <,> so he won't get out
- (23) <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

**Group B:** Subject of the main clause ≠ agent of action denoted by main verb:First person

- (24) <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
- (25) <S2B-015\$D> <#> Quiet <,> it 's <,> people aren't on the street still <#> **We 've had no post delivered** this morning [from an ICE (ROI) face to face conversation]
- (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.<sup>7</sup>

Second person

- (27) <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  
<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 </[>
- (28) <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

Third person

- (29) <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
- (30) <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
- (31) <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

<sup>7</sup> Grittar won the 1982 Grand National horse race; we assume a humorous reference.

- 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].
- (32) <S1A-047\$A> <#> **My sister has that framed** at home and <{> <[> it 's lovely.
- (33) <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**

In (14)-(16), it is clear that the subject of the clause is also the subject of the main verb. While it is arguable that, in examples such as (13), 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 (24), from an ICE (ROI) Broadcast discussion, goes one step further. Here the subject which precedes the HAVE element is clearly not co-referential with the agent of the main verb of the clause. Reversal into 'standard' perfect order with HAVE + participle + object (thus, *I have married two daughters today*) would change the meaning dramatically. 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 HAVE 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 (25), from an ICE (ROI) News broadcast, and (29), from an ICE (ROI) Broadcast discussion, are typical.

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 & Kirk (2005), the frequency of such constructions in ICE-Ireland appears to be considerably greater than in, for example, ICE-GB.

The small set of second person examples in ICE-Ireland shows considerable variety. Whereas the speaker in (17) is giving instructions to students to evaluate their session plans, the context of (27), 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*. Likewise, the *you* referred to in (28) is clearly not the agent who has *set up* the contrast being referred to; though it is tempting to read (28) as a reduced form of a relative clause in the passive voice, the weight of other

examples considered here suggests a more straightforward analysis as a pseudo-perfect.

With third person examples we have perfect-type examples where the subject of the clause is co-referential to the agent of the main verb, as in (20), (22) and (23). In other cases, though, while the agent of the main verb may not be fully specified, it is quite clear that this agent is not co-referential with the subject of the relevant clause, as in (30) and (31). Example (32), from ICE (ROI) Face to face conversation, is decidedly stative; the subject is not intended as the agent of the main verb. In (33), 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*. While it is possible to read these as reduced relatives, as in *He hadn't the full information [which had been] requested*, this analysis would not tell the full story. The reduced relative analysis would have to ignore the stative parallelism with the semantically very similar form underlined in this text, *he had that information available*; though *requested* uses a verb form and *available* is adjectival, our view of the stative qualities of the pseudo-perfect suggests that these forms have much in common. The reduced relative analysis would also fail to address the very real possibility that such reduced relatives are also more common in Irish English than elsewhere. For both of the cases which we analyse in (33) as pseudo-perfects, just as with the underlined segment, the speaker's focus is on the stative possession of information by the subject which precedes HAVE, not on the verbal process denoted by the main verb. We argue that since this choice of word order contrasts with the order [participle + object], these examples are not simply variants of the English perfect.

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 perfects in the usual sense. Our analysis of these forms as pseudo-perfects is more compatible with the stative analysis of Harris (1985 a) and with Ó Sé's (2004) comments on the stative and possessive nature of comparable forms in Irish than it is with the analysis that puts this form together into a single system with true perfects. Though we have yet to make a detailed comparison of what we call pseudo-perfects in Irish English and their analogues in Irish, our suggestion is that the existence and the frequency of such forms in the ICE-Ireland corpus may well be an example of Celticity of a more covert, but no less important, kind than the better-known *after*-perfect.

### 2.1.3 '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 tensed forms of a limited number of verbs (e.g. BE, KNOW, HAVE) with perfective reference. Though Kallen (1989) concentrated only on present tense uses (thus referring to the 'Extended present'), Filppula (1997 a) points out that a similar effect can also occur with past tense forms and past perfect reference, as in

- (34) 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 perfect form for most non-Irish speakers would be *I hadn't been here long*. Though the Celticity of such structures could be a matter of debate, the distinctiveness of these perfects led us to examine their frequency in the ICE-Ireland subcorpora 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*. A typical example of a present tense form with a durative adverbial is (35), which may be contrasted with *I've been at the money business for twenty-seven years*:

- (35) <S1B-040\$D> <#> 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 perfect form with HAVE. While this distribution may not suggest the overwhelming use of a form considered by some critics to be indicative of Celticity, it does show a level of salience which is sufficient to mark out Irish Standard English as distinctive.

## 2.2 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 & Hartog (1909), Bliss (1979), and Filppula (1997 b, 1999). In a wider geographical and linguistic context, Lange (2006) has also considered the question of Irish English reflexives providing fresh insights into how reflexives relate to focussing and intensification,

suggesting that they carry out functions in contact varieties sometimes performed by intonation in Standard English. 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 Englishes, 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 1.

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

(36) I've committed **myself** to it and must continue [ICE (NI)].

(37) **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:

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

(39) 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:

(40) A bit like **yourself** [ICE (NI)].

(41) 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):

(42) **Mum and myself** are still hoping a separation will not take place [ICE (NI)].

(43) **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 1. 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 1. gives combined totals for the occurrence of reflexive forms within ICE-Ireland as a whole, as well as giving the totals for each subcorpus.

Table 1. Distribution of reflexive pronouns, selected ICE texts

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

The data of Table 1. 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 ex-



amples are found in ICE-GB. Conversely, we note a greater use of true reflexives and anaphora in Face to face conversation in ICE-GB relative to ICE-Ireland. Though we would not argue that subject reflexives are impossible in British Standard English, the data in Table 1. suggest (a) the need to examine functions rather than simple frequency counts in analysing linguistic corpora, and (b) a differentiation of function for reflexives in British and Irish Standard English, pointing towards more putative Celticity in the latter.

### 2.3. *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 & 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 County 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. The data are summarised in Table 2.

ASK. Non-inversion, as in (44) and (45) below, usually follows *if* or *whether* and shows the subject preceding an auxiliary, HAVE, or BE in the embedded clause. Inversion, shown in (46) and (47), lacks *if* and *whether*, but may allow for a *wh-* complementiser; an auxiliary precedes the subject in the embedded clause.

- (44) I was going to **ask** *whether we could* have put the children up here [ICE-GB]
- (45) and **ask** Toni **where it is** [ICE-GB]
- (46) Like Tommy's going to **ask** this printer at work **does he have** any [ICE (ROI)]
- (47) 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 (48) and (49). Inverted examples as in (50) and (51), allow for *wh-* words but only where an inverted auxiliary also occurs.

- (48) I **don't know** *if I'll* live with it [ICE (NI)]  
 (49) I **don't know** *why he's* allowed to stay on the committee [ICE (ROI)]  
 (50) I **don't know are they** getting the lads from the town to do the band [ICE (ROI)]  
 (51) I **don't know is it** dodgy or is it legit [ICE (ROI)]

SEE. 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 embeddings, while inversion is typically bare or may allow for a preceding *wh*-word. The inversion in (54) and (55) thus contrasts with non-inversion in (52) and (53).

- (52) I'll **see** *what the craic is* you know [ICE (NI)]  
 (53) Taste it and **see** *whether it's* going to be sweet enough [ICE (ROI)]  
 (54) to ring her bell to **see was she** there [ICE (ROI)]  
 (55) 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 as in (56) and (57) which do not show auxiliary inversion (and therefore generally require a complementiser of some kind), and those such as (58) and (59) which do. In the latter category, *wh*-complementisers may be possible, but other kinds are not.

- (56) I **wonder** *who the big hunk's* waiting for [ICE (NI)]  
 (57) I **wonder** *if buttermilk* you know **tastes** okay in tea [ICE (ROI)]  
 (58) I **wonder were they** ever able to [ICE (NI)]  
 (59) I **wonder will it** all be worth it [ICE (ROI)]

Table 2. 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 2. 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 *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.

If we take auxiliary inversion in embeddings as a possible sign of Celticity, then, we see several factors at work: a strong preference for inversion with *wonder* in ICE (ROI), a weaker preference for this kind of inversion in ICE (NI), general similarity between ICE (NI) and ICE-GB in other relevant embedded contexts, and evidence of a weak tendency towards the general use of inversion in ICE (ROI). In saying that for this feature, Irish Standard English is somewhat Celticised, we point, to the putative Celtic origins of inversion and to the general tendency within other forms of standard English (at least as seen in ICE-GB) not to use inversion in embedded contexts.

Table 2. Inversion in selected embedded clauses, selected ICE texts

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>
<b>ICE-GB</b>												
<i>non-inversion</i>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>inversion</i>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>ICE (NI)</b>												
<i>non-inversion</i>	2	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	17	2	3
<i>inversion</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>ICE (ROI)</b>												
<i>non-inversion</i>	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	29	4	4
<i>inversion</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	11
<b>ICE-Ireland</b>												
<i>non-inversion</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>inversion</i>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>

### 3. 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. If the two languages are to be treated as entirely separate, as we would treat English and French, the Celticity of standard English in Ireland would arguably not be measured at all by reference to Irish loanwords or code-switching. We do not refer to Irish English as a Russified variety of English when words like *perestroika* or *glasnost* are used by speakers whose frame of reference includes these terms. We would take up the point, however, that generations of scholars and popular writers on Irish English have assumed, which is that Irish English can never be fully understood without reference to the Irish language. The ready availability of Irish as a source of lexical items, whether as part of the bilingual repertoire of everyday speech or the official coinages of the state, make Irish English different from any other type of

English and put the Irish lexicon in Irish English in a qualitatively as well as a quantitatively different category from other cross-linguistic influences. In demonstration of this point, we cite Wigger (2000), who 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 ‘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 that 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. Wigger’s comments are indeed foreshadowed by the observations of Ní Eochaidh (1922: 140), speaking about Irish and English speakers in County Clare: “Is dóigh liom nach raibh fhios ag mórán dóibh ciaca Gaedhilge nó Bearla a bhí dá 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. We see this lack of clear linguistic separation in contemporary lexicography, as well: although Ó Muirthe’s (1996) *Dictionary of Anglo-Irish* and Dolan’s (1998, 2004) *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* ostensibly have a complementary focus on Irish and English words, respectively, in Irish English, even a casual examination of the latter dictionary reveals a great many entries which are orthographically and phonetically presented as words of Irish.

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 (1998, 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; as a language which is widely learned as a second language in the Republic and taught also in Northern Ireland; and as a language which is maintained in broadcasting, print, and a host of more specialised domains on both sides of the bor-

der. 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 further aspect of Celticity.

Our preliminary searches of ICE-Ireland reveal 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). The English described in the classical dialectology of Irish English, heavily laden with interlinguistic lexicon, is thus 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 3. 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). The point we wish to stress is that none of these terms is to be found in the comparable ICE-GB categories.

Table 3. Sample of Irish-language titles and designations in ICE-Ireland

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

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 (60) is from a radio discussion, where the speaker uses an Irish proverb, followed by an English rendition of the same sentiment:

- (60) <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 (61), 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 (62) and (63) demonstrate switches into Irish in the course of conversation. In (62) the speaker emphasises her inability to see into a darkened house; in (63) it appears that the speaker is signalling a shift of conversational topic, asking first if her friends are listening to her.

- (61) <W1B-010> <p> <#> Love from all here – <&Irish> agus mise fos </&Irish> <#> I hope the good Lord will look after you both. </p>
- (62) <S1A-050\$C> <#> You <{> <[> can't see </[>
- <S1A-050\$A> <#> <&Irish> <[> Ni/l me/ </[> </{> in ann e/ a fheicea/il a chaili/ni/ </&Irish>

- (63) <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 significance for our purposes of the Irish-language lexical items in ICE-Ireland and of the code-switching seen in (61)-(63) is not that it demonstrates a high level of structural influence on Irish Standard English. Nor, in this case, does it necessarily indicate that speakers of Irish Standard English are so used to speaking in Irish that they, like the speakers of Ní Eochaidh's account, conflate the two languages into a seamless whole of bilingual communication. In fact, as Mac Mathúna (2006: 123-24) notes, the Irish used by these speakers is not always in keeping with standard (or native speaker) norms. Though Mac Mathúna (2006: 124) puts an emphasis on the non-standard nature of this Irish, regarding it as "unacceptable to competent speakers of the language," our interpretation is rather more descriptive. The speakers in (61)-(63) are fully capable of expressing the literal meanings of their utterances in standard English: that they choose to use Irish, even allowing themselves the loss of face which comes from making 'mistakes' in their second language, suggests that Irish fulfils another function for them. This function can readily be understood in terms of what Blom & Gumperz (1972) refer to as metaphorical code-switching. In semiotic terms, we suggest that the use of Irish here is indexical, i.e. it points to the knowledge of Irish, to positive attitudes towards Irish, and to the shared sense of belonging to a society in which Irish is in use in various formal and informal contexts. Though this kind of usage does not show the structural influence that is usually taken as overt evidence of Celticity, we suggest that the indexical function of Irish must also be accounted for in assessing Celticity in Irish Standard English.

#### 4. Conclusion

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

Although our analyses have demonstrated low frequencies of overtly Celtic elements, 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 many levels, any feature of

one level reinforcing that of another. One use, for 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 speakers 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, to the influence of the standardised written form on individuals represented in those categories under investigation, or to 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.

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