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BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

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Gramatická specifika irské angličtiny
Grammatical features of Irish English

Praha, 15. srpna 2012   **Vedoucí práce**: PhDr. Pavlína Šaldová, Ph.D.

Poděkování

Ráda bych na tomto místě poděkovala vedoucí práce PhDr. Pavlíně Šaldové, Ph.D. za odborné vedení, cenné rady a především trpělivost. Dále děkuji PhDr. Markétě Malé, Ph.D. a doc. Ondřeji Pilnému, Ph.D. za poskytnuté rady a materiály. Za morální a technickou podporu vděčím především Bc. Bořkovi.

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Abstakt

Teoretická část této bakalářské práce se zabývá popisem specifických morfologických a syntaktických rysů irské angličtiny, přičemž výčet rysů je v poměru se současnou literaturou naprosto vyčerpávající. Práce podává synchronní výklad a popis jevů vyskytujících se v dnešním Irsku, a proto jsou jevy vyskytující se pouze v Severním Irsku opomenuty. Stejně tak je práce zaměřená pouze na gramatické rysy a rovinou fonologickou či lexikální se zabývá pouze okrajově. Výskyt jevů a komparace se standardními rysy angličtiny je provedena prostřednictvím Irské části Mezinárodního korpusu angličtiny (*ICE*) a Britského národního korpusu (*BNC*).

V praktické části je pak použití těchto rysů demonstrováno. Specifické rysy jsou vybrány ze tří divadelních her různých současných irských dramatiků. Cílem této části je dokázat a analyzovat použití specifických jevů v dnešní irské angličtině. Specifičnost jevů je ověřována pomocí renomovaných děl zabývajících se gramatikou angličtiny.

Abstract

The theoretical part of this thesis deals with the description of specific morphological and syntactic features of Irish English. The list of non-standard features is based on contemporary literature and is comprehensive in number. The aim of this part is to provide a synchronic account of contemporary non-standard features which occur in the Republic of Ireland. The frequency of selected features is proved via the Irish branch of the *International Corpus of English*. The *British National Corpus* is used occasionally as a means of comparison with British English.

In the practical part the non-standard features are traced in use. The list of specific features found in three plays by contemporary Irish dramatists is provided with a brief commentary. The specificity of these features is verified via works established in the field of the grammar of English.

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List of Abbreviations

BrE British English

ICE International Corpus of English

IrE Irish English

HE Hiberno-English

ROI Republic of Ireland

SIEU A Survey of Irish English Usage

> This survey was conducted by Hickey and was based on a questionnaire containing fifty-seven sample sentences. In each sentence there was a morphological or syntactic feature expected to occur in Irish English (Hickey, 2007: 164).

StE Standard English

= hesitation or pause

* beginning or end of simultaneous talk

I.   INTRODUCTION

There are many aspects to be considered when studying a language variety, including external and internal history or issues dealt with in theoretical and applied linguistics. The aim of the present thesis is to provide an overall description of Irish English in terms of its distinctive grammatical features, which implies comparing it to the existing standard form of British English. This will be done by summarising the body of literature concerned with this issue and using the grammar of English and the *BNC* as a means of comparison. The practical part will survey the features occurring in the language of three contemporary plays by Irish dramatists.

Due to historical, political and sociolinguistic reasons, there is a great difference between the language varieties of Northern Ireland and The Republic of Ireland. To mention one major aspect of this division, the northern variety has been influenced by Ulster Scots, whereas English in the ROI has been aligned with Irish, which has led to several differences. This thesis focuses on the grammar of English spoken in the ROI, where English is currently one of the two official languages, being the more commonly used vernacular than Irish. For the purpose of this study, the terms "Irish English" and "Northern Irish English" will be used henceforth.

English has been spoken on the island for centuries, in fact since the arrival of the first English-speaking settlers in 1169 (Kallen 1994: 148). Thus began the period of anglicising the Irish-speaking inhabitants. To this day, there are bilingual speakers of Irish and English; however, the vast majority would be found in Gaeltachtaí, small Irish-speaking areas in the south and west of the country. In these areas the influence of Irish on English is much greater as there is more interference present with native bilinguals.

As the most prominent features of a variety are phonological, it is important not to forget that specific features of a variety occur on all linguistic levels, including morphology and syntax. Irish English has drawn relatively little attention of linguists and scholars compared to other varieties. "Early linguistic investigations of southern Irish English are less numerous, though there are examples such as Hayden and Hartog (1909) and Hogan (1927)" (Hickey 2007: 2). This started to change a in the latter half of the twentieth century with studies of P. L. Henry, Alan Bliss and more recently with studies by Markku Filppula, Jeffrey Kallen and Raymond Hickey (ibid).

As there are more terms relating to Irish English, the question of terminology arises. Despite being the longest established, the term *Anglo-Irish* is the most problematic because it is not uniquely linguistic, but rather used with literary and political connotations (Hickey 2007: 3). Some authors use the term Hiberno-English, which derives from the Latin *Hibernia* 'Ireland'. Again, Hickey argues that on the one hand it is too technical, and on the other it may imply inappropriate attitude towards English in Ireland (Hickey 2007: 5). The term *Irish English* is the simplest and most appropriate to designate English spoken in Ireland nowadays. *Brogue* is commonly used for "a clearly recognisable Irish accent, frequently of rural origin" (Hickey, Britain ed., 2006: 136). It is used simply to describe the sound of Irish dialect.

It is clear that the Republic of Ireland is a large linguistic area consisting of many dialects the specific features of which differ to various extents. Grammatical features are generally less variable than those existing on the phonological level. For this reason the current thesis attempts to survey the whole of variants of Irish English. Thus the purpose is not to name all minor non-standard features present in the ROI but rather to give an account of the phenomena attested and previously described in the existing literature. The level of acceptance of specific features is likely to vary, and in some cases, non-standard uses are restricted to certain parts of Ireland. *A Survey of Irish English Usage* (Hickey 2007: 164) is a valid data collection carried out by Hickey, and it is a useful tool for comparing occurrences in specific regions. As the focus of this thesis is the present-day Irish English, only examples from recordings or written accounts not older than a few decades were chosen.

Perhaps the most problematic definitions concern the terms *standard* and *non-standard*. The term *non-standard* is used to designate phenomena specific to the variant. The selection of the features considered non-standard has been elaborated by scholars established in the field. However, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* will be used as the main tool for further survey in the theoretical part and for the research in the practical part of the present thesis. The *BNC* is another possible means of further specification of individual features as either standard or non-standard, but it should be noted that the *BNC* also contains features of non-British English, and even the term *British English* is so broad and ambiguous that it can by no means be equal to *Standard English*. The Irish section of the *International Corpus of English*, on the other hand, will be used to verify the occurrence of selected features previously attested in the grammar of Irish English.

II.   THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This part provides an overview of recognized grammatical features varying from Standard English. It is divided into sections on morphology and syntax and as the most comprehensive and up-to-date work concerned with the grammar of Irish English is *Irish English: History and Present-Day Forms* by Raymond Hickey, it will to a great extend serve as a model of the present thesis. As Hickey surveys the language used in the whole island, only the features of English in the ROI were selected. The same rule was also applied when selecting examples. In a few cases the description by Hickey (2007) seemed insufficient; then *The Grammar of Irish English* by Markku Filppula was used.

Morphology

1. Nouns

Nouns carry comparatively more meaning than other word classes such as prepositions or determiners. They thus are not expected to differ from the standard uses to a great extent in dialects of English. Another reason is the low level of inflection in nouns compared to other languages. In this word class there is only one feature mentioned in to date literature, namely the unmarked plural form of a noun after a numeral. As this occurrence is not common in the south-west and west of Ireland, Hickey argues that this may be due to the influence of Irish, where unmarked plurals do not exist (Hickey 2007: 237). This parallel, however, does not explain the occurrence itself.

> (1) That's <u>five *year*</u> ago now. (ibid)
> (2) 'Twas over <u>five *pound*</u>, just for a joint of meat. (ibid)

2. Pronouns

2.1 Personal pronouns

IrE shows a distinction between the singular and plural forms of the personal pronoun *you*. The singular form is most commonly *you* (except for some cases mentioned below) whilst the plural forms vary between ye /jə/ /ji/ /ji:/, *youse* and *yez*. The latter two arose by adding the productive plural suffix. The possessive pronouns in the second person plural are formed

analogically: *yeer* or *yeers*. It is necessary to note that non-standard forms of *you* occur in many dialects of English. Although scholars have not paid much attention to this hypothesis, the non-standard pronunciation of you in plural may be caused by Irish input; the pronoun *daoibh*, which is used when greeting two and more people ('*Dia daoibh*') is pronounced /jiːəv/.

Apart from the generic use of *ye*, it can be used to designate one person only in two types of situations: either in an institutional use (3) or out of politeness (4) (Hickey 2007: 237)

(3) Do *ye* sell fresh milk? (used even if the shop is run by one person) (ibid)

(4) Will *ye* turn off the light when *ye*'re finished? (ibid)

Another example of a non-standard use of a personal pronoun is the use of *them* as a demonstrative, which will be further discussed in the following section.

Hickey recognizes another non-standard use of personal pronouns in the objective case when they are a part of a subject. However, this feature is recognized by Quirk, who claims that it occurs in familiar speech (Quirk et al. 1985: 339).

(5) *Us farmers* have a hard life. (Hickey 2007: 242).

2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Instead of the English demonstrative pronouns *these* and *those* or the determiner *the*, the 3rd person plural of the personal pronoun in the genitive can be used (6, 7). In the south-east of Ireland, *those* can be used in the sense of *these* with elderly rural speakers (8) (Hickey 2007: 242).

(6) But *them* were the old letters. (Filppula 1999: 55)

(7) *Them* things they had to do. (Hickey 2007: 242)

(8) No holly or birch in *those* (=these) parts. (ibid: 246)

Another feature worth mentioning is the pronunciation of the pronoun *my* /miː/, which is thus spelt *me* to correspond with the pronunciation.

(9) *Me* little bush in the front garden is gone now. (Hickey 2007: 243)

2.3 Reflexive pronouns

Irish English is distinguished by the frequent occurrence of reflexive pronouns in neither basic nor emphatic use. What Hickey calls unbound reflexives are in fact optional reflexive

pronouns in 'semi-emphatic' use (Quirk et al. 1985:359). In the following example, the reflexive pronoun could be substituted by a personal pronoun either in subjective or objective case. As Dušková notes, in cleft sentences it is the syntactic role of the co-referential pronoun in the relative clause that determines which form should be used. As the pronoun functions as subject here, *he* would be more common than *him* (Dušková 2006: 103). However, in colloquial English the subjective case is frequently used.

(10) 'Twas *himself* who answered the phone that time. (Hickey 2007: 243)

The following examples are more specific to Irish English. Hickey observes that "the essential function of such elements [reflexive pronouns] is to refer to an individual who has a position of authority in the context of a particular discourse" (ibid). He also comments on the fact that these reflexives are usually used in the third person singular, which follows the common discourse when two or more people focus on a single person in their discussion (ibid 2007: 243).

(11) The following night *himself* went back there. (ibid)
(12) Is *herself* in? ['Is the lady of the house in?'] (Quirk et al. 1985:360)

Hickey also observes non-standard forms of reflexive pronouns *hisself* and *theirself/ theirselves* that exist in some dialects of English. In Irish English, this only applies to the third person plural and therefore the following examples are to be found:

(13) And if they wanted to go out in the night they could go *theirself*.
(Hickey 2007: 244)
(14) They carry *theirselves* decent. (ibid: 243)

2.4 Resumptive pronouns

Resumptive pronouns occur very rarely in standard forms of English. They are pronouns that repeat the antecedent from the main clause and therefore are redundant; there are two pronouns functioning as the same clause element in such a subordinate clause. In IrE they are typically found in adjectival relative clauses.

(15) He was the fella that the others were trying to get *him* to take the offer from the brewery too. (Hickey 2007: 245)

Hickey pays attention to the use of resumptive pronouns in Irish where they are used to "remove ambiguity regarding referents in a sentence" (ibid: 246). He provides an example of

such an ambiguity (16a) and the way a resumptive pronoun is used to clarify which referent has the role of object (16b):

(16a) An fear a mhol na buachaillí.
[the man (SUBJ/OBJ) that praised the boys (SUBJ/OBJ)]
[The man that praised the boys. /The man that the boys praised.]

(16b) An fear ar mhol na buachaillí *é.*
[the man (OBJ) that praised the boys (SUBJ) him]
[The man that the boys praised.] (Hickey 2007: 245)

2.5 *All*

Hickey lists this feature under the adverbials and calls it a *bare quantifier*, but in the following examples *all* is a pronoun functioning as a proform. This particular feature is nowadays considered archaic although some instances have been recorded in the south-east of Ireland. "*...all* is well attested in the early modern period but has been largely replaced by either *everyone* or *everything* (depending on the animacy of the referent)" (Hickey 2007: 257).

(17) He talked to *all* before making his decision to go. (ibid)
(18) He done *all* with his hands. (ibid)

4.5 *Much*

When *much* is used as a quantifier, it is not commonly postponed. Hickey claims that in IrE such an example has been attested, using one example; however, in the following example, *much* could be also understood as an adverbial, as in *I don't have time very often*.

(19) I don't have time *much*. (ibid)

3. Verbs

Verbs in IrE show a great variety of deviations from the standard uses. There are many differences in modal, auxiliary and full verbs.

3.1 Non-standard verb forms in the preterite and past participle

Many strong verbs in IrE have non-standard uses in preterite and past participle. These forms can arise either by forming according the weak paradigm or more often by inventing new and usually shorter forms (20, 21). Irregularities occur with regular verbs as well (22).

> (20) I saw him _lep_ over the wall. (Hickey 2007: 173)
>
> (21) A place where cows was _kep_ by night. (ibid)
>
> (22) I gets blemt on it all. 'I am blamed for everything' (ibid)

Non-standard verb forms can be also found in instances where the number of forms is actually reduced and the past participle is used instead of the preterite form. The reversed situation is less frequent, but there are examples too (25). It should be noted that verbs with a non-standard number of verb forms occur all over the island, predominantly in colloquial speech.

> (23) I _done_ it before the kids come home. (ibid)
>
> (24) I _seen_ him yesterday morning. (ibid)
>
> (25) _I've went_ to mass with the mother. (ibid)

3.2 Deletion of _be_

Hickey observes that although there is no such feature in British dialects, the most noticeable parallel is found in African American English (ibid: 177). The verb _be_ is most frequently omitted in the first person singular, but other examples can be found as well. In the following examples _be_ functions as an auxiliary (26), copular (27, 28) or lexical verb (29).

> (26) I don't know what he going to do. (ibid)
>
> (27) She looking well, isn't she? (ibid)
>
> (28) She not too far up the road. (ibid)
>
> (29) What happened then was there a chap here in Rice Park. (ibid)

3.3 Non-standard uses of _be_ as auxiliary

The following examples are considered non-standard because in StE the auxiliary to be used is _have_. Therefore, in StE the present perfect would be used, which in IrE is comparatively

less frequent than in BrE. The average acceptance in *A Survey of Irish English Usage* was over 85 per cent, giving evidence for its widespread use. Hickey suggests that "this feature can be regarded as a retention from earlier English input" and "the use of *tá* 'is' in Irish to form compound tenses may have also provided support" (Hickey 2007: 177).

(30) The amusements <u>*are* gone</u> quite expensive. (ibid: 178)

(31) They'<u>*re* finished</u> with the repairs now. (ibid)

3.4 Overuse of the conditional

The present conditional in the form of *would* + bare infinitive is frequently overused in IrE, which means that it is not only used to indicate hypothetical meaning but often corresponds to the indicative mood in StE. Hickey goes as far as to claim that this overuse has become a stereotype occurring especially "among native speakers of Irish and people in regions where Irish was spoken in the not too distant past" , which is why many speakers of IrE tend to avoid it today (Hickey 2007: 179). Perhaps a comparison of the *BNC* and the *ICE* searches can indicate the overuse of the conditional; in the latter, *would* is found approximately nine times more often.

(32) <u>*You'd*</u> [you would] have to think about the day <u>*you'd*</u> [you would] have

(i.e. '…what day it is') (ibid)

(33) [Do you have any matches?] <u>*I would*</u>. (ibid)

3.5 *Will/ Shall*

Hickey claims that "for present-day varieties *shall* virtually does not exist" in IrE. It is right to say that in spoken IrE *wil*l is normally used instead; however, for written IrE this statement may seem slightly strong.

3.6 Verbal concord

Generally, verbal concord is governed by two principles: grammatical and proximal. "In essence, the claim is that verbal –*s* is disfavoured by an immediately preceding personal pronoun but that other types of subject can (but must not always) trigger verbal –*s* across the verbal paradigm for the present tense. In addition, the distance between subject and verb form is taken to be relevant, at least in some cases" (Hickey 2007: 179).

3.6.1 Non-standard verbal third person singular forms

This feature is also present in other parts of the British Isles, namely the south of Britain, which is why Hickey draws a conclusion that the English in the south-west of Britain during the early English settlement supplied an input to Ireland and therefore this feature spread all over the Island from the east and south-east of Ireland (ibid: 180). Noun phrases that are followed by a non-standard –s vary from those consisting of the head only to complex noun phrases. In these cases, the subject is normally in the third person plural. However, rarely it can occur in other persons to signify the habitual aspect (40, 41).

(34) *Funerals is* a big thing for travelling people. (ibid: 181)

(35) But Ray, *the years flies*, don't they? (ibid)

(36) *Lots of the girls works*, goes into Letterkenny to work. (ibid)

(37) And *they calls* them small, sure what can you do? (ibid: 182)

(38) *People keeps* and *sells* them. (ibid)

(39) There're *big people* now that *has* a lot of money. (ibid)

(40) *I gets* up early in the morning. (ibid)

(41) *We goes* to bingo every second Saturday of the month. (ibid)

3.6.2 Uninflected forms of third-person-singular present tense

The lack of inflection is a common feature of eastern and south-eastern IrE. In the south-east it does not only concern the area of the verbs *be, have, do, get*, but it concerns other verbs as well. As Hickey proved in *A Survey of Irish English Usage*, this feature is insignificant in the western IrE. We can observe that if there is a question tag, the uninflected form is usually confirmed (44, 45, 48). On the other hand, uninflected verb forms in question tags also occur after an inflected verb (A).

A. Auxiliary verbs

(42) L... has a new car. *Have* she? (Hickey 2007: 175)

(43) The way the time flies, *don't it*? (ibid)

B. Emphatic use

(44) He *do* come out on his own now, *don't* he? (ibid)

C. Causative use

(45) She *get* her hair done and all, *don't* she? (ibid)

D. Lexical verbs

(46) She'*ve* a grand job at the glass. (ibid)

(47) He *own* the place now. (ibid)

(48) And he *carry* the milk, *don't* he? (ibid)

3.7 Infinitives

3.7.1 *For to-* infinitives

Although this feature is more common in NI, it has been attested historically as well as in present-day Irish English. There are two types of *for to-* infinitives: a 'weak' type expressing purpose (50) and a 'strong', non-purposive type (51) (Hickey 2007: 186-8).

(50) Well, A...needed a new car *for to* do the rounds in the new job, you know.
(ibid: 188)
(51) They'll always ask a neighbour *for to* stay there. (ibid)

3.7.2 Unmarked infinitives

In IrE the infinitival marker *to* can be dropped after certain verbs. Although Hickey quotes examples containing the verbs *help*, *allow*, *come* and the past habitual *used (to)*, *help* followed by a bare infinitive has become established in StE, and the last instance will be discussed in section 3.10.6.

(52) She was *allowed* keep the bonus although she left the job. (ibid: 189)
(53) He decided to *come* see the mother that winter. (ibid)

3.8 Non-standard forms of *be*

The use of non-standard forms of the verb *be* varies across Ireland. Apart from the standard *are* in the first person plural, in IrE of the south-east Hickey recognizes two other forms: non-standard inflected *be* (54) and invariant *be* (55). Invariant *be* may either signify a habitual usage or an omission of emphatic *do* (Hickey 2007: 183). Analogically, it could also be the result of an omission of *would*, considering its frequent overuse, or possibly *will*.

(54) We'*s* up to our eyes in work. (ibid)
(55) We *be* there for the 11.20 bus, I'm telling you. (ibid)

3.8.1 Contractions

The only form of the verb *be* in the present tense that does not form a negative contraction in StE is *am*. However, in IrE the contraction *amn't* is a common compensation of this gap. Although the acceptance of the sentence *Amn't I leaving soon anyway?* was in six counties of ROI over fifty per cent in *A Survey of Irish English*, such high occurrence was not confirmed by a search in the *ICE*.

(56) And I'll tell you this much, I *amn't* interested in no loan from them. (ibid: 178)

3.8.2 Regularisation of *be* paradigms

In IrE the dominant type of regularisation is that of *was*-type. *Was* is used in the plural, especially in the third person.

(57) ...an awful job that and those beds *was* terrible. (*ICE*: S1A-029$C)

Verb forms after *there*

Is/was regularisation in existential or existential-locative phrases is a common feature of IrE both in negative and positive sentences. In StE the plural subject proper normally occurs in concordance with the verb are/were, but this non-standard feature is widespread in many areas within and outside the British Isles.

(58) *There's not many people* with that kind of money here. (Hickey 2007: 185)

(59) *There was bad times*, there was. (ibid)

3.9 Modals

3.9.1 *Can*

Hickey lists the perfective use of *can* as one of the features specific to IrE, and he uses the following example:

(60) A... *cannot get* a loan from the corporation for more than six years now.
(Hickey 2007: 191)

The time span for which *cannot* is used, the so-called *extended now* as Hickey names it, is in StE forms expressed by the present perfect simple as it covers a duration of a state leading up to present, and therefore *now* becomes redundant. The same meaning would likely be expressed by the sentence He *hasn't been able to get a loan from the corporation for more than six years*. This use of *can* corresponds to the general tendency in IrE to avoid the present

perfect and use the present simple to denote states leading up to present, which will be discussed bellow.

3.9.2 *Must*

In StE the opposite of epistemic *must* is *can't*. However, Hickey claims that in IrE all over the island *mustn't* is commonly used. This is confirmed by the following sentence which had the mean acceptance of 70 per cent.

> (61) He was born here so he <u>mustn't</u> be Scottish. (Hickey 2007: 191)
>
> (62) I 've already written you a letter but according to your last letter to Aoife you <u>mustn't</u> have got it.(*ICE*: W1B-012$A)

3.10 Tense and aspect

The English temporal system as known from the works of established grammarians such as Quirk et al. (1985) is valid in Irish English as well. However, apart from the standard temporal system, there are a few non-standard features, namely concerning the habitual and perfective aspects.

3.10.1 The indefinite past

In standard forms of English, the indefinite past is expressed by the grammatical means of the present perfect providing there is a relation to the present moment. For what Quirk et al. (1985) calls an example of an "indefinite event in a period leading up to present", Hickey uses the heading of the "indefinite anterior". For example in the sentence *I have never been to London* the time span ends with now and the present perfect is normally used. In some varieties including IrE, there is a tendency to avoid using the present perfect and substitute it by the past simple. In his *A Collection of Contact English* consisting of recording of bilingual speakers in Gaeltachtaí, Hickey did not find any example of *have* forming a present perfect construction. Furthermore, there is no equivalence of auxiliary *have* in Irish. "This would imply that the later use of *have* in supraregional forms of Irish English represents an influence from more standard forms of English" (Hickey 2007: 195).

3.10.2 State leading up to present

Another situation in which the substitution of the present perfect is attested in IrE is what Hickey calls "extended now". The perfective aspect is omitted and the present simple is used instead similarly like in German, as Hickey rightly notes (ibid: 196). The mean acceptance of the sentence *I know her for five years now* within the ROI was over eighty per cent in SIEU, the highest rate being ninety-seven per cent in county Wexford. The lowest rates occurred in

NI counties, which "may be due to the very early settlement of the east coast...before the present perfect had become established in English" (ibid).

3.10.3 *Be* perfects

In some cases the auxiliary verb *have* that forms the present perfect tense in StE is substituted by *be*. Hickey rightly observes that motion verbs in German follow the same paradigm (Hickey 2007: 196). Despite this being a non-standard feature, similar examples can be found in other variants including BrE.

(63) The kids *are* gone to the strand today. (ibid)

(64) They*'re* finished the school exams now. (ibid)

3.10.4 Immediate perfective

Another structure that co-exists alongside the present perfect is the so-called 'immediate perfective' of which there is no parallel in StE. It is one of the best-known features of IrE vernacular speech (Filppula 1999: 99). Formally it consists of the verb *be* + *after* + continuous verb form. "In contemporary Irish English it only has past reference, though it can occur in the future perfect on occasions" (Hickey 2007: 197). Both these uses are demonstrated by Hickey:

(65) I don't know how many pairs of shoes her mammy *is after buying* her. (ibid: 198)

(66) They*'re after finishing* the M50 motorway recently. (ibid)

(67) By the time you get there he*'ll be after drinking* the beer. (ibid)

3.10.5 Resultative perfective

This type of perfective has the structure of *have/get* + object + past participle, which is why it is called 'medial object perfect' by Filppula. It denotes a planned action that has been completed (Hickey 2007: 208). The structure is the same as in *have something done* but the semantic difference is clearly demonstrated in the following examples:

(68) She *had* the soup *made* when the kids came home. (ibid)

(69) The youngest *hasn't* her Leaving *taken* yet. (ibid)

(70) When he had the breakfast got. (ibid)

Hickey explored the semantic difference between the resultative perfective and the present perfect simple using the test sentences *Have you read Ulysses?* and *Have you Ulysses read?*. The vast majority of respondents confirmed the difference, i.e. the first sentence means "I

read this novel sometime in the past" and the latter "I started reading this novel and am now finished" (Hickey 2007: 209).

Filppula further deals with the semantics of the construction. He observes that the subject is usually the agent of the action, but other examples occur in which the subject has the role of an experiencer. These "involve stative verbs of perception or 'inert' perception" (Filppula 1999: 108):

> (71) ...they *hadn't* each other *seen* for four or five years... (ibid)
>
> (72) Heard a lot of it, I'*ve a lot of it *missed*. (ibid)
>
> (73) There's a whole little rhyme about it, and I *have* it *forgot*. (ibid)

3.10.6 Habitual aspect

Apart from the present simple, which is used in StE to denote a repeated action, IrE uses a distinctive way of constituting the habitual aspect. "This aspectual type can be further subdivided into a durative habitual and an iterative habitual" (Hickey 2007: 213). These two categories are formally marked by the simple present and the progressive.

Iterative habitual

Iterative habitual occurs especially in the east coast varieties of IrE and is used to denote a repeated action and formally consists of a suffixal *–s*. In case of *be, have* and *do* this *–s* can be adjoined to the infinitive (74). Suffixal *–s* is most commonly found with the first person (75) but there are also examples of it being used in narrative contexts (78) and of instructional use in the second person (79) (Hickey 2007: 215-6).

> (74) He only *haves* his birthday every four years. (ibid: 215)
>
> (75) I *gets* all mixed up with the buttons on the recorder. (ibid)
>
> (76) That's what we *calls* it. (ibid)
>
> (77) They *says* I'm Mrs Negative, but I never *sees* them much now. (ibid)
>
> (78) I comes back to the house and sees that the door was after being pushed in.
>
> (ibid: 215-6)
>
> (79) You *gets* a piece of rope and you *dips* it in tar. (ibid: 216)

Durative habitual

Although Hickey recognizes two basic ways of forming the durative habitual, namely i. *do(es) be* and ii. *be(es)*, only the formal one will be discussed in the present thesis as the latter in only relevant in NI and County Wexford as a relic area (ibid). The most common pattern is

do(es) + be (+ participle) but Hickey recognizes a few extensions (81-3), the last of which being the past habitual (84).

> (80) They <u>*do be*</u> always lifting the gates and hiding them. (ibid: 216)
>
> (81) The mother <u>*don't be*</u> able for it anymore. (ibid: 217)
>
> (82) I <u>*do have* to</u> go to school with him every morning. (ibid)
>
> (83) When you used be meeting her, she <u>*do be*</u> eating there three or four cakes at a time. (ibid)

"There is also a remnant of unstressed *do* + lexical verb which is found in the south of Ireland in vernacular rural varieties" (ibid: 216). This *do* must be distinguished from the emphatic *do* which is always stressed.

> (84) He <u>*does*</u> play hurling. (ibid)

The negative imperative can be progressive in IrE, which resembles the *do(es) + be* (+ participle) structure of the durative habitual. These two features may be historically related, as Hickey points out. The progressive negative imperative was widely accepted in *SIEU* with the mean acceptance ninety-three per cent for the following test sentence:

> (85) <u>*Don't be teasing*</u> your brother. (ibid: 224)

Apart from the ways of expressing the habitual described above, in south-eastern IrE Hickey recorded instances of inflected *be*.

> (86) A white bird <u>*be's*</u> up there. (ibid: 231)
>
> (87) They <u>*be's*</u> on some wheat too. (ibid)

Past habitual with *were to*

This feature can only be found in the Gaeltacht area in west Connemara (Hickey 2007: 232).

> (88) Well, we <u>*were to*</u> go to Galway once a month or so. (ibid: 233)

Past habitual with *used (to)*

As opposed to StE, *used* can but does not have to be followed by *to* in IrE. Hickey tested the acceptance of *did + use to* in a question *Did you use to cycle to school?* and in nine counties in the ROI the result was zero, which is surprising as it is a grammatically correct question in StE. The question tag in (90) can be considered very rare as the tag questions normally take do-support, nevertheless, it is an attested feature especially in BrE (Quirk et al. 1985:140).

(89) We *used to go* to the Royal Bar of a Saturday, but we've gone off it a bit now, you know it's got very loud. (Hickey 2007: 234)

(90) The park used to be great fun, *usen't it*? (ibid)

4. Adverbs

4.1 *Never*

In standard forms of English, *never* refers to a long time span, for example the sentence *I have never seen that play* covers the time span of the so called indefinite past. Apart from uses like these, in Irish English and other varieties *never* can cover a much shorter period of time. Therefore IrE speakers can use either of the following sentences:

(91a) I didn't call him last night. (StE)

(91b) I *never* called him last night. (IrE)

This is a common feature of IrE, which was proved by Hickey, who tested the narrow time reference with the sentence *She never rang yesterday evening*. The acceptance was higher than eighty per cent in thirteen counties in ROI and NI.

4.2 *But* in the sense of *only*

The most likely explanation of how this feature came into existence is the transfer from Irish: it still occurs in the speech of Irish native speakers and this interpretation "is supported by the fact that the verb is in the negative in both languages" (Hickey 2007: 255).

(92) He wasn't getting *but* five shillings a day.
Ní raibh sé a fháil *ach* cúig scillinge sa lá. (ibid)

4.3 *Galore*

Although Hickey recognizes this adverb as an IrE grammatical feature, it is used by speakers of other forms of English, which is also confirmed by a search into the BNC. *Galore* undoubtedly derives from the Irish *go leor* which means 'enough, sufficient, abundant', and syntactically it remains the same as in Irish, i.e. it only occurs after the noun it quantifies (Hickey 2007: 257).

(93) There was beer *galore* at the party. (ibid)

4.4 Comparatives

A non-standard feature attested in data from Connemara and Munster is the use of a two-word conjunction *than what* instead of *than* only (ibid: 258).

5. Prepositions

Some prepositions in IrE have distinctive uses differing from standard uses in British English. There is a consensus of this generally being due to the influence of Irish and the importance prepositions attain in Irish syntax (example 94a). Hickey recognises another, more general use of prepositions that are not bound to other lexical elements (example 94b) (Hickey 2007: 246). To demonstrate these two types of origin, Hickey provides examples:

> (94a) They look too much <u>on</u> the television.
> Breathnaíonn said an iomarca <u>ar</u> an teilifís. (Hickey 2007: 246)

> (94b) My brothers are gone <u>with</u> years now.
> Tá mo chuid deartháireacha imithe <u>le</u> blianta anois. (ibid)

In the first example, *on* is directly translated from Irish, in which *ar* is a prepositional complement of the verb *breathnaigh* whereas in the latter, le has a broader use than *with* in English, which leads to many non-standard uses in IrE.

5.1 The preposition *with*

This preposition has several non-standard uses. Perhaps the most frequent one is the StE equivalent of *for* when expressing duration of a state or an action, used in the perfect. In IrE not only the preposition but also the tense differ; present and past tenses can be used instead.

> (95) Hugh Curtin is buried <u>with</u> years...
> [...has been buried for years...] (Filppula 1999: 232)

With is also used to express agentive, instrumental or causal semantic roles, and it frequently occurs in passive sentences. Therefore, is expresses the meanings of 'by', 'because of' and 'due to'.

> (96) And it was sold on err = <u>with</u> an auctioneer. (ibid: 234)
> (97) Your man was knocked down <u>with</u> a car last April. (Hickey 2007: 246)
> (98) The mother has been badly this year <u>with</u> the Krohn's. (ibid)

Henry (1957) recognises another type of use of *with* deriving from the Irish possessive use of Irish preposition *le*. It denotes possession and physical attributes. (Filppula 1999: 236)

> (99) The money is *with* them. (Filppula 1999: 236)
> [They have plenty of money]

> (100) The weight was *with* him. (ibid)
> [He was heavy].

5.2 The preposition *on*

Four distinctive non-standard uses of *on* have been recognized. In these, *on* mostly denotes some sort of negative effect on the referent; the most frequent is the case of *dativus incommodi*, which is mostly expressed by the same preposition in StE. However, in the following examples either a different preposition or a completely different construction would be used. The structure can be verb + preposition + pronoun (101) or verb + particle + preposition + pronoun (102).

> (101) …One year * then he took the half of them *on* me. (Filppula 1999: 219)
> […he took a half of them from me, deprived me of a half of them]

> (102)... the fire went out *on* him... (ibid)

Another function of *on* with a generally negative connotation is what Filppula describes as physical and mental sensations, states or processes:

> (103) ...the breath was gettin' short *on* him. (ibid: 220)
> [...he was getting short of breath.]

The third type of occurrence seems similar to the previous one as it can express a sort of physical property or possession.

> (104) All the cattle had the horns *on* them that time. (ibid: 221)
> (105)...But I can´t think the name that was *on* him. (ibid)

As Bliss points out, the latter example may be related to Irish *Cé'n t-ainm atá ort?* 'What name is upon you?' (ibid)

The last of the four examples recognized by Filppula comprises all cases where a different preposition would be used in StE, which distinguishes it from the three groups stated above.

In those the difference is a matter of the whole clausal structure rather than the choice of a preposition. (ibid: 222)

(106) I was just reading it *on* the paper here. (ibid)

5.3 The preposition *of*

There is only one type of use of the preposition *of* to be mentioned here. It is, however, a common feature for many other dialects within and outside the British Isles. In IrE it merely seems much more productive (Filppula 1999: 238). *Of* is a conjoining element of two nouns within a noun phrase. In this construction, which Filppula calls 'attributive *of*', the first noun functions as an attribute to the second noun (ibid).

(107) And by all accounts they were all big giants *o'* men. (ibid)
[All the men were big giants. / All of them were big, giant men.]

The head noun is often substituted by a modifier, and as these constructions are fairly colloquial, modifiers such as *a bit of (a)*, *a hell of (a)* etc can be used.

(108) ...it was a hell *of* a big entry. (ibid)

There are other examples which are more likely to testify the frequent presence of this type of construction in IrE, which may have been influenced by French.

(109) The North's a shock *of* a place. (ibid: 239)
(110) A strong man, great cut *of* man. (ibid: 238)

5.4 The preposition *in*

A few cases of peculiar use of *in* are present in IrE where a different preposition would be used. The cause is not easily recognized, and it is not necessarily the result of Irish interference. Henry recognizes a distinctive use similar use to *on* in IrE, being assigned to psychical sensations (111) (Filppula 1999: 230). The same construction can also express inherent quality or property (112).

(111)...The worry that was *in* him... (ibid)
(112) Well, you do, ah, if it's in a dog he'll train himself, if the goodness is *in* 'im.
(ibid: 229)

In several cases, the presence of a non-standard *in* is neither assigned to the influence of Irish nor sorted into groups aligned with the semantic roles. The exception would be (114) in which there is the corresponding Irish preposition.

(113) But they = they killed a few lads in = *in = that day*. (ibid)

(114) ...when you live *in your own*. (ibid)

... *i* d'aonar

A distinctive use of *in it* is widely recognized by scholars of IrE. It stems from the Irish prepositional pronoun in the third person singular *ann* 'in it' or 'in existence', and thus it is recognized as a calque (Filppula 1999: 227). Filppula (ibid) recognizes four types of non-standard occurrences of *in it* in IrE. In the most literal use, *in it* denotes a location and functions as an adjunct of place. The meaning is simply 'there' or 'in there' and therefore it is sometimes used in existential-locative constructions:

(115) There was acres and miles of land just to live *in it*. (ibid)

(116) Oh, that was * a public-house all right. I remember it. And drank *in it* meself. (ibid)

The next two examples are very similar and show only slight differences in semantics. *In it* expresses existence (117) or presence (118):

(117) But she = learned the deaf and dumb alphabet out of Moore's Almanac, that there used to be *in it* at that time... (ibid)

(118) But eh, there was some island, like, where there was a man living. And he was marooned, like, and there was no one *in it* but himself, like. (ibid: 228)

The last example denotes involvement:

(119) JF: Oh yes, it was a public-house that time

Mrs. F.: And then it sort of died out, and then the man that was *in it*, a certain Defoe that was *in it*, he sold the licence, you see. (ibid: 229)

5.5 *Before*

As the Old English *beforan* had both 'spatial' and 'temporal' meanings, both of them were common in StE until recently. Today, the latter meaning prevails and the first is formal or even rather archaic. Yet Hickey notices that *before* is used in both meanings in IrE, which means that IrE speakers often prefer using it to other prepositions such as 'in front of' or

'ahead of'. Even though *before* can function as a preposition, adverb or conjunction in English, its non-standard use concerns only the meaning 'in front of' , and therefore it should be listed under prepositions and not under adverbs as Hickey places it. To be precise, it should be noted that the non-standard nature of this feature arises only form its frequent occurrence like in other features of IrE. To demonstrate this, one example should be sufficient:

(120) I was right <u>*before*</u> her when she admitted it. (Hickey 2007: 256)

5.6 *Till*

In IrE the preposition *till* can occur in the sense of *to*. This feature is somewhat less frequent; however, Hickey provides three examples from his data collections in which it is attested:

(121) You get used <u>*till*</u> it. (ibid: 266)

(122) Emigration was mostly <u>*till*</u> New York. (ibid)

(123) There's where you come <u>*till*</u>. (ibid)

6. Determiners

The definite article tends to be overused in ROI as well as in Northern Ireland. One of the possible influences is the only Irish article *an* 'the' that often occurs in corresponding non-standard uses in Irish English. However, the highest rates of acceptance of non-standard uses of *the* in *A Survey of Irish English Usage* occurred in NI. Thus two possible explanations arise:

"The first is that the use of the definite article in the contexts listed above [below] spread from varieties to the west and south which had this from the language shift. The second is that the wider range of possible contexts was already present in imported forms of English from Scotland and was maintained in Ulster after the initial settlement" (Hickey 2007: 253).

Irish English shows a significant overuse of the definite article in many kinds of contexts which Hickey categorizes into seven main groups (Hickey 2007: 251-2):

a. <u>Generic reference</u>

(124) You'd need <u>*the*</u> wellies when crossing them fields. (ibid: 251)

In the example above, the definite article would be substituted by the zero article /*a pair of*/ *the*/ possessive pronoun depending on the context.

(125) Do you like sugar in _the_ tea?

"Of the possible combinations of the articles with singular and plural, the one which does not occur with count nouns - that of the zero article with the singular form - is the only possibility which occurs with noncount nouns." (Quirk et al.1985:280) Thus the example above (125) is clearly considered non-standard. Alternatively, it could also be substituted by the possessive pronoun _your_.

    b. <u>Abstract nouns, including languages and objects of study</u>

(126) Well, I think she likes _the_ languages.

(127) If you go out in the world, _the_ Irish is no good to you.

(128) Now the kids have to do _the_ biology from sixth class on.

The latter two examples show abstract non-count nouns, which are used with the zero article in StE unless they are postmodified (Quirk et al. 1985:286)

    c. <u>Parts of the body, diseases, afflictions</u>

(129) There's nothing done by _the_ hand any more.

(130) I was out there and I got _the_ bladder done.

(131) It nearly broke _the_ leg on me.

(132) That was the time she had _the_ cancer.

Body parts are usually preceded by a possessive pronoun in English. However, _by hand_ is an adverbial fixed expression, which suggests a non-referring status of the noun, not a hand of a single person. In the next example, the possessive pronoun _my_ would be used in StE. In (131) _dativus incommodi_ in the form of _on_+personal pronoun in the objective case occurs, therefore it is not possible to use the possessive. Illnesses are usually used with the zero article in standard forms of English.

    d. <u>Relatives, spouses, in-laws</u>

(133) Go in now to see _the_ mother.

(134) He lucky he have _the_ wife there.

With relatives, the possessive pronouns are used in StE. Thus the pronouns *your/his* would be normally used.

e. Days of the week, months, seasons, occasions

(135) So we went into town on *the* Saturday.

(136) Well, how did *the* Christmas go for you?

(137) She does be out all *the* day.

In StE these are used with the zero article, but according to a search in the *BNC*, occurrences exist in British English too.

f. Units of measurement, quantifiers

(138) 'Tis he have to be *the* twenty-one.

(139) Would *the* both of youse get off out of here!

(140) Listen, Ray, I'm telling you, that isn't *the* half of it.

Quirk recognizes a rare use of the definite article in the *of*-constructions preceded by *both* and *half,* nevertheless, he ascribes them especially to dialectal uses (Quirk et al.1985: 260). Based on a search in the *BNC*, both of these examples occur throughout British Isles.

g. Institutions, buildings

(141) The young ones are going to *the* school already.

(142) C. . . started at *the* college last autumn.

In StE, there are expressions such as *go to bed* or *go to hospital* which lack the definite article even though the nouns within these phrases are singular. These *quasi-locative nouns*, as Quirk calls them, frequently complement certain prepositions. "We call them 'quasi-locative' because, although they appear to have locative meaning, their function is rather more abstract**.** In such contexts, nouns such as *college, church, etc* do not refer to actual buildings or places, but to the institutions associated with them" (Quirk et al.1985: 277).

Apart from the names of institutions and buildings, Filppula also points to several other instances of the overuse of the definite article, among those the variations in the names of geographic areas, monuments and streets all of which, being regarded proper nouns, have no article in StE:

(143)... *the County Wicklow*. (Filppula 1999: 60)

(144) We'd a habit of playing football outside *the George's Church*, it being a big

crescent, you know? (ibid)

The latter example differs from (141-2) in that it is not referring to an institution but to a specific building. Names of buildings and institutions whose first parts are proper names are used with no article in StE.

Another area of non-standard occurrences of the definite article is represented by the *–ing* forms denoting trades and (professional) activities (Filppula 1999: 229).

(145) But America = is a better country in that line of *the labouring*... (ibid)

Similarly, the *-ing* form can be followed by an *of*-genitive, which is called *nominalization* or *gerundial formation* in other scholars' works (ibid: 62-3):

(146) ...there was five or six of them at *the = doing* of it,... (ibid: 63)

There are also several instances of the definite article being used before "names of persons when qualified by an adjective or a title" (ibid). Equivalent examples in StE are found with no article.

(147) We had our minister Hillery over there in the army, had a visit there to

Germany, *the President Hillery*. (ibid)

(148) So, I just to = to appease her, I = I went up in any case, and, of course I knew *the Sister Dominica* fairly well. (ibid)

Another instance of overuse of the definite article is a specific use concerning the means of transport. Instead of using the preposition *by* as in *by bus*, Irish English seems to prefer the preposition *on + the*:

(149) They'll come out there on *the bus* to where I'm telling you, down the road. (ibid 1999: 63)

The last group is represented in sentences with 'a strong emotional colour'. Filppula claims that the purpose of the definite article is the rhetorical effect (ibid).

(150) ...'You are _the_ pig!'says I... (ibid: 64)

The non-standard use of the definite article concerns a wide range of contexts and obviously there are instances outside the groups mentioned above.

Syntax

7. Relative clauses

Hickey observes that in IrE there is a preference for using the relative pronoun _that_ with animate antecedents. What is of more importance as to non-standard features of IrE is the occurrence of _what_ as a relative pronoun in adnominal relative clauses. It is, however, "almost a stereotypical feature of Irish English" (Hickey 2007: 260).

(151) That was all _what_ she wanted. (ibid)

Another feature attested especially with older speakers is zero relative pronoun in adnominal relative clauses where the relative pronoun functions as subject. (ibid)

(152) I can handle any job _Θ_ would come in to me. (ibid)

(153) It's nearly all the Wards _Θ_ is up there. (ibid)

8. Subordination

8.1   Subordinating _and_

The model for _and_ introducing a subordinate clause can be found in Irish, where _agus_ 'and' is used before a non-finite clause at the end of a sentence (Hickey 2007: 263).

(154) Tháinig said abhaile _agus_ iad barrthuirseach.

[came they back and they very-tired]

'They came home and they were very tired.'(ibid)

Hickey also provides attestations of subordinating *and* from present day IrE that were found in his data from the east coast. "It would appear to be a means of supplying unexpected or contradictory information which is relevant to the current discourse" (Hickey 2007: 265).

(155) J... gave up the job *and* he near the retiring age.

'...although he was near retiring age' (ibid)

8.2 *Till*

Apart from the standard use of *till* as a preposition or conjunction, in Irish English there seems to have developed a specific use meaning 'so that', which is particularly productive in combination with the verb *come* (Hickey 2007: 266). The occurrence of this feature was also confirmed by high acceptance figures in *SIEU*.

(156) Lookit, come here *till* I tell you. (ibid)

8.3 Indirect questions

In StE indirect yes-no and alternative questions are introduced by *if* or *whethe*r and the SV word order follows. In IrE the conjunction is often left out and the VS word order is used. Similarly, in indirect *wh*-questions the word order remains the same as in a question. The occurrence as well as acceptance of the VS word order is higher with yes-no questions (eighty-five percent on average) than with *wh*-questions (sixty percent on average). This feature may have arisen from the interference of Irish which has no equivalent of *if/whether*, and the word order in direct and indirect questions is the same (Hickey 2007: 276).

(157) I don't know *Ɵ* is there any luck with it. (ibid: 274)

(158) We go out and see what do that man want. (ibid)

9. Focussing

Hickey and Filppula mention focussing devices as one of the features typical of IrE, highlighting clefting and topicalisation via fronting. Although these are legitimate features of standard varieties, there are some non-standard aspects that occur in IrE.

9.1 Fronting

Fronting is a common means of stressing the theme by placing it at the initial position which would be otherwise unusual (Quirk et al.1985:1377). It is commonly used in many varieties including IrE, in which it can occur with resumptive pronouns. (160)

(159) <u>Hay mostly</u>, we grow, and barley. (Hickey 2007: 267)

(160) <u>All our family</u>, '*t*is all reared now. (ibid)

9.2 Clefting

Hickey is right to claim that cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences are salient features in IrE (ibid: 268). In his SIEU, the acceptance of his test sentence *It's to Glasgow he's going tomorrow* was surprisingly low, the mean being twenty per cent. He ascribes this to the fact that clefting has become stereotypical for many speakers of IrE even though there is one more possibility that should be considered. In colloquial forms of English it would be also possible to divide the prepositional phrase and say *It's Glasgow he's going to tomorrow.* It would be interesting to see whether the acceptance figures would rise if the respondents were presented with these two model sentences for clefting.

(161) <u>It's because of the new regulations</u> that I left. (ibid: 266)

10. Negation

10.1 Negative concord

IrE is not the only variant in which the so-called double negative is attested. Negative concord usually includes a negated verb form and any negatable element such as a quantifier, determiner or pronoun which is also negated whereas in StE only one of these can be normally negated. (Hickey 2007: 269-70)

(162) They're *<u>not</u>* giving out *<u>no</u>* loans at the moment. (ibid: 270)

(163) I *<u>wouldn't</u>* recommend a gas heater to *<u>nobody</u>*. (ibid: 266)

10.2 Negative attraction

Negative attraction is a feature of StE and consists in indefinite quantifiers acting as subjects and adverbs like *ever* being shifted into their negative counterparts if there is a negated verb in the sentence (Hickey 2007: 271). In IrE this attraction can be blocked, and therefore where in StE the sentence *Nobody wants to go there* could in IrE be *Anybody doesn't want to go there*.

(164) <u>Anyone</u> <u>couldn't</u> help you then, you know. (ibid)

(165) I <u>don't</u> <u>ever</u> see her now. (ibid)

11. Tag questions

In IrE tag questions can be formed in the same way as in StE, i.e. the polarity is reversed from the one of the main clause. Occasionally negative-negative polarity can occur when the tag is introduced by *sure* (166) (Hickey 2007: 277). Furthermore, IrE is well known for using *is it?* as a question tag, the model for which was the Irish general question tag *an ea?* 'is it?'(ibid).

(166) It's not worth your while, *sure* it isn't? (ibid)

(167) So, he wants to sell the garage, *is it?* (ibid: 278)

(168) Ye're going to Spain for a few weeks, *is it?* (ibid)

III. MATERIAL AND METHOD

The purpose of the following section is to identify features of Irish English described in the theoretical part of this thesis in contemporary Irish literature. It is a fair assumption that dialectal aspects of grammar will be more plentiful in spoken than in written discourse. By that logic the most suitable for the current purpose appears to be drama. Stage directions were in all three cases excluded from the analysis.

The main criterion applied when selecting the dramatists was that they should be born and raised in the Republic of Ireland. As the focus of the present thesis is contemporary Irish English, the plays considered were written in the last two decades. A selection of the works by Conor McPherson, Marina Carr, Thomas Kilroy, Tom Murphy, Michael Harding and Enda Walsh was searched for non-standard grammatical features and eventually the works of the last three authors were chosen for the analysis.

The first play selected for the analysis is *The Last Days of a Reluctant Tyrant* published in 2009. Its author, Tom Murphy, was born in Tuam, County Galway and lives in Dublin.[1] The play is set in a provincial rural area but the time and place are not further specified. Michael Harding was born in County Cavan and lives in Westmeath.[2] In the play there are several moments when one of the characters recites a poem; such parts were not included in the analysis. *Sour Grapes* was published in 1997 and it is set in Ireland in the recent past. Enda Walsh was born in Dublin, moved to Cork in his early twenties and currently lives in London.[3] Although *The Walworth Farce* is set in London, most characters are Irish; nevertheless, one character's lines were excluded because Hayley is likely to be a Londoner. It was published in 2006.

In all three plays the features listed in the practical part were selected from the whole works by the author of the present thesis. The purpose of the practical part is to trace the occurrence of non-standard features. Most grammatical features identified as non-standard can be expected to have been ascribed to Irish English and therefore should correspond to the list provided in the theoretical background. If there are non-standard features the occurrence of which has not been previously attested in Irish English, they will be also listed. Doubtful cases will be checked against *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* and either included or not. Some features typical of Irish English are not specific as such, but it may be

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[1] Irish Writers Online, 2August 2012< http://www.irishwriters-online.com/murphy-tom/>

[2] Irish Writers Online, 2August 2012< http://www.irishwriters-online.com/harding-michael/>

[3] Studio Theatre, 2August 2012< http://www.studiotheatre.org/festival/enda.aspx>

only their overuse by which they are distinguished. In such cases these will be listed too, to demonstrate what was described. It also should be noted that the number of different features is expected to be significantly lower that the number of those described in theory. The reasons are many; it may be caused by the nature of written discourse, various sociolinguistic factors concerning the characters or the authors themselves, and most importantly the fact that most features are not widespread in the whole ROI or their occurrence is only sporadic in some parts of Ireland.

IV. RESEARCH

There were a total of one hundred and thirty-one features selected for the analysis below. The numbers of features in each play do not differ significantly and correspond to the lengths of the works as it can be seen in the following table:

Author	Number of features identified
Tom Murphy	38
Michael Harding	45
Enda Walsh	48
Total	**131**

R 1 - Numbers of features in each play

Some sentences contained two or more different features; in such cases one sentence was listed more than once if relevant. Three phenomena were found abundant, which is why a limit for the total number of occurrences of a single feature listed was set. Thus the number of any feature that occurred more than eight times in one play was designated as 8+ .This concerns the following cases: the use of the past simple instead of the present perfect simple (Murphy), non-standard personal pronoun form in the second person plural (Harding) and fronting (Walsh). All features were then classified and sorted into eleven main categories. Fourteen cases did not correspond to any features listed in the theoretical background. These are listed under relevant categories or labelled as 'others' if they do not fit in any of them. Most specific features identified concerned the verbal area as expected whereas the lowest number of occurrences was two (table R2).

Nouns	2	1.53
Pronouns	22+	16.79
Verbs	61+	46.56
Prepositions	4	3.05
Determiners	10	7.63
Relative clauses	7	5.34
Fronting	12+	9.16
Negation	3	2.29
Cleft sentences	6	4.58
Question tags	2	1.53
Indirect questions	2	1.53
Total	**131**	**100**

R 2 - Categories of features

Further details concerning the distribution of all features divided into the three plays can be seen in the following three tables:

Tom Murphy	Number of features identified	Percentage
Nouns	1	2.63
Pronouns	2	5.26
Verbs	22+	57.89
Prepositions	2	5.26
Determiners	4	10.53
Relative clauses	4	10.53
Fronting	0	0.00
Negation	0	0.00
Cleft sentences	0	0.00
Question tags	1	2.63
Indirect questions	2	5.26
Total	**38**	**100**

R 3 - Features identified in *The Last Days of a Reluctant Tyrant* (M1-38)

Michael Harding	Number of features identified	Percentage
Nouns	1	2.22
Pronouns	10+	22.22
Verbs	20	44.44
Prepositions	0	0.00
Determiners	2	4.44
Relative clauses	3	6.67
Fronting	4	8.89
Negation	1	2.22
Cleft sentences	4	8.89
Question tags	0	0.00
Indirect questions	0	0.00
Total	**45**	**100**

R 4 - Features identified in *Sour Grapes* (H1-45)

Enda Walsh	Number of features identified	Percentage
Nouns	0	0.00
Pronouns	10	20.83
Verbs	19	39.58
Prepositions	2	4.17
Determiners	4	8.33
Relative clauses	0	0.00
Fronting	8+	16.67
Negation	2	4.17
Cleft sentences	2	4.17
Question tags	1	2.08
Indirect questions	0	0.00
Total	**48**	**100**

R 5 - Features identified in *The Walworth Farce* (W1-48)

Nouns

The occurrence of non-standard features in the nominal area was very low as expected. The only feature confirmed concerns the noun phrase as the whole and was in fact listed in the prepositional area as the construction consists of two nouns and the preposition *of*. There were two such cases.

> (r1) I can play the goat for as much and for as long as I like, my old *fool of a mother* will always be here for me. (M1)

The occurrence of unmarked plurals was not confirmed in the analyzed texts even though it is a feature commonly found in contemporary Irish English.

Pronouns

Pronouns	Number of features identified	Percentage
Personal	9+	40.91
Demonstrative	9	40.91
Resumptive	3	13.64
Others	1	4.55
Total	**22**	**100**

R 6 - Categories of identified pronouns

The pronominal area is fairly rich as to the number of non-standard features. The most prominent seems to be the use of *them* as a demonstrative, which was attested in two of the three books surveyed.

(r2) But all *them* pictures have stopped. (W2)

Another frequently attested feature was the non-standard form of a second person plural personal pronoun although this was only found in one book. The forms were *youse* and *yis* and what was of particular interest was the occurrence of different forms in the main clause and the question tag (r3) and even in the main and the subordinate clause (r4).

(r3) …, *yous* certainly made a balls of everything, didn't *yis*? (H4)
(r4) *Yis* are thinking of girls when *yous* are saying Mass,… (H3)

The next sentence (r5) concerns the noun *we* in the objective case when it is in apposition with a noun and functions as a subject. Quirk mentions the use of pronouns in the objective case in case in familiar speech (Quirk et al.1985: 339). In formal discourse the subjective case would be used when the pronouns functions as a subject.

(r5) ... it's right that *us two* leave. (W9)

The following example (r6) is somewhat complicated as *it* resembles a resumptive pronoun, which is a recognized feature of IrE, but after the verb *prefer* it is a common construction even in StE. This sentence, however, can be considered peculiar for another reason. As the past simple is used in the subordinate clause after *if*, the conditional would normally be used in the main clause. Resumptive pronouns were attested twice in the whole analysis.

(r6) I prefer *it*, my dear, if you said something than have you just sit there sticking pins in me. (M2)
(r7) Their skin *it* falls to the ground and *them* bodies running you down and wanting to tear you to shreds. (W4)

The next feature was not listed as one frequent in IrE, but perhaps has to do with the formality of a discourse. In formal StE the form of the pronoun would be *whom*.

(r8) To *who*? (M3)

Verbs

Verbs	Number of features identified	Percentage
Non-standard preterite forms	**2**	3.28
Forms of *be*	2	3.28
Concord + habitual	24	39.34
Conditional	5	8.20
Tense + aspect	21+	34.43
Others	7	11.48
Total	**61**	**100**

R 7 - Categories of identified verbs

The verbal area is clearly one with the most non-standard features. For instance, the negative contraction *amn't* occurred twice in different plays.

(r9) I keep looking at him while he's talking, but I *amn't* here. (M16)

Twenty-four cases of irregularities occurred in the subject-verb concord, which is common in other dialects within and outside Ireland. Especially *is*/ *was* regularisation after *there* in existential or existential-locative clauses is frequently found in spoken English and was also confirmed in two of the selected plays (r10). One of the sentences (r11) is in fact regular in the verb form after *there*, but it is the question tag where the regularisation appears. Similar instances of *is* regularisation occurred in *wh*-questions (r12). The sentence (r14) concerns a non-standard verb-subject complement concord; the standard use would be *Are those cans of beer over there*?.

(r10) There'*s* rumours that you're going to be the next bishop. (H7)
(r11) Not that we were indulged in those days, but once in a blue moon there were certain bought articles from the town, one in particular that you liked, *wasn't* there? (M20)
(r12) Where*'s* your dirty songs? (M17)
(r13) Is *that* cans of beer over there? (W16)

The non-standard verbal –*s* was attested in two plays and it most often occurred with the verb *say*, which corresponds to the use in narrative contexts described in the theoretical part. There

was one example which could not be described as instructional or habitual and which corresponds to Hickey's assumption that such cases of non-standard verbal third person singular mostly appear in the third person plural.

> (r14) Paddy and Vera _knows_ whose house it is, pet. (W14)

Instances of durative habitual formed by the periphrastic _do_ + lexical verb were found as well (r15). However, the periphrastic _do_ may be difficult to distinguish from the emphatic _do_ in the written context.

> (r15) You _do_ often read stories that they _do_ eat their young over there, Paddy and Vera. (W24)

Concerning the past habitual with _used to_, the reluctance of IrE speakers to use _did_ + _use to_ in questions was confirmed as it can be seen in the following sentence:

> (r16) _Didn't_ there _used_ to be a nice little clock standing on the shelf over there? (M21)

Another phenomenon largely attested was the overuse of the conditional. To demonstrate it, only the examples, in which the conditional could be substituted by the present simple without a change in the meaning, were selected.

> (r17) You _wouldn't_ know what goes on in the other one's head. (M13)

Also the tendency to avoid the present perfect in certain situations was attested although the number of occurrences of the present perfect was higher than its omissions. Examples of the past simple used for an event in a period leading up to present can be seen in (r18), whereas the next sentence designates a state leading up to present (r19). The latter is semantically the same as the third example (r20), in which the present simple is used instead of the present perfect.

> (r18) You never _did_ anything to help. (H23)
> (r19) She doesn't know me, never _did_, but I know her. (M11)
> (r20) How long _are you ordained_ now, Ciaran? (H28)

Three instances of the _be_ perfect (r21) and two of the resultative perfective (r22) occurred, but surprisingly there were no examples of the immediate perfective.

> (r21) The bus _is stopped_ so that's me off to the chipper. (W19)
> (r22) So you _got the lunch made_ the way I told ya, Maureen? (W20)

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Regarding irregular verbs, in two examples the past participle was used instead of the preterite form, which supports the assertion that this type of irregularity is more common than the reversed situation.

(r23) Whose hands *done* the deed so, Denis? (W11)

The last seven features concerning the verbal area do not form any group and do not correspond to any features described by Hickey as typical of IrE. In the first of them (M21) it is the predicate of the last clause that is non-standard. In StE *would like* is followed by the infinitive with *to*, not the past participle.

 (r24) Did it never occur to you that some people might like to live their lives other than the particular way you you would like them *lived?*

The next sentence concerns the negative of the modal auxiliary *have to*, which is normally formed with the auxiliary *do*, however, in this case it was formed by the negative contraction *haven't*.

(r25) They *haven't to* answer either before God or the authorities. (M24)

One sentence (r26) was found peculiar because of the ellipsis that would normally be *you always have/did* and the auxiliary *do* would be omitted.

(r26) You talk terrible nonsense —*have* always *done*! (M25)

In two examples there was a non-standard way of forming a question with a full verb; inversion is used instead of the operator *do/ did*.

(r27) So what say you of a reconciliation, oh little brother of mine? (W27)

The very last mention regarding the verbal area is the use of *will/ shall*. Although the claim is that shall does not virtually exist in contemporary IrE, it did occur in the texts of the analyzed plays.

(r28) Shall I get you a cup of tea? (Harding 1997: 52)

Prepositions

Of all the prepositions surveyed in the theoretical part only the non-standard uses of the preposition *on* were found. In all examples *on* denotes *dativus incommodi*, the negative effect on the referent being clear from the meaning of the sentences or from a larger context.

(r29) Always on about my back, what has it <u>done *on* you</u>? (M27)

Determiners

Determiners	Number of features identified
Overuse of *the*	4
Others	
Deletion of *the*	4
Deletion of *a*, *an*	2
Total	**10**

R 8 - Categories of identified determiners

The overuse of the definite article is a feature well attested in IrE and was also found in two plays selected for this analysis. There were two cases in which body parts, which are usually used with possessive pronouns in non-generic contexts, were used with *the* (r31).

(r30) And when they bring him down, they'll be <u>on *the* telly</u> for weeks. (H32)

(r31) Blood stops racing to <u>*the*</u> head. (W31)

Furthermore, four non-standard uses of the zero article were found, which is a feature not attested in the existing literature on IrE so far.

(r32) <u>*Ø*</u> Truth is I haven't worked for six years…(W33)

The use of the definite article before nouns with generic reference occurred in two sentences (r33). On the contrary, in (r34) the reference is clearly specific, but the zero article is used instead of *the*. The definite article is also omitted in (r35), which is a fixed adverbial expression. Two cases of the zero article used instead of an indefinite article were found too (r37).

(r33) But it's me came to ask <u>*the*</u> questions, if you don't mind. (H33)

(r34) <u>*Ø*</u> Doctor says one day I might never wake up. (W32)

(r35) A man told me: you take a living frog, <u>(and at) Ө dead of night</u> place it on (an) anthill. (M31)

(r36) I saw you forking down your plate of spuds tonight and <u>Ө pint of milk.</u> (M28)

Relative clauses

A common feature of relative clauses is the omission of the relative pronoun where it functions as a subject of the subordinate clause. This phenomenon was found in six sentences (r37). In (r38) the relative clause is postponed whereas in StE it would be inserted in the main clause.

(r37) No, sorry, you're the one <u>Ө</u> couldn't forgive. (H34)

(r38) Tell her the paper is ready <u>that she's to take with her</u>.(M32)

Fronting

As it was stated above, fronting itself is a standard focussing device and thus the selected sentences demonstrate the frequent occurrence of this feature as it has been listed by established scholars as one of the common phenomena in IrE.

(r39) From Cork he was. (H38)

Negation

The failure of negative attraction was not attested in the three plays surveyed, but there were three instances of the negative concord. In the first sentence the negative pronoun *no* is repeated. In StE the second pronoun would be substituted by the indefinite article *a*. In the latter sentence (r41), there is a verbal negation (didn't) and a negative quantifier *nothing*.

(r40) <u>*No*</u> place is <u>*no*</u> place for Mars Bars, Vera. (W36)

(r41) I <u>*didn't*</u> accuse you of <u>*nothing*</u>, Bishop, I hope you know that. (H45)

Cleft sentences

Cleft and pseudo cleft sentences are very frequent in both written and spoken IrE. To demonstrate the non-standard aspect of clefting, six sentences were listed. In four of them the focus is the subject and if it is a pronoun, the less formal objective case is used. What is surprising is the non-standard omission of *that*, which Hickey does not mention at all.

(r42) But it's me *Ø* came to ask the questions, if you don't mind. (H41)

Question tags

There were only two occurrence of a question tag *is it?*. This may be because of the written discourse of the texts as it is a common phenomenon in spoken IrE.

(r43) I'm old, *is it*? (M36)

Indirect questions

The omission of *if/ whether* and the non-standard VS word order in embedded questions was confirmed in two examples.

(r44) See *Ø* will he eat anything of that before you take away the plate. (M38)

V.   CONCLUSION

In the theoretical part, a comprehensive synchronic description of non-standard grammatical features of IrE was given. The features and examples were selected to give account of contemporary English spoken in the ROI, and therefore, features present only in NI were excluded. The theoretical part was based mainly on *Irish English: History and Present-Day Forms* by Raymond Hickey, which was found to be the most comprehensive and up to date work on the given issue, but other sources were used as well. The specificity and occurrence of grammatical features of IrE was occasionally surveyed via the *BNC* and the *ICE*. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* and *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* were used to distinguish the standard and non-standard features of English grammar. Although Hickey's research is fairly comprehensive, there is not much attention paid to the sociolinguistic factors that may be relevant in the study of the grammar of Irish English. This remains a subject of potential future studies.

The aim of the practical part of this thesis was to trace the use of features described in the theoretical part in three contemporary Irish plays. It was proved that many features occur even in the written discourse, which in drama mirrors spoken language. The verbal and pronominal areas were especially rich as to the number of specific grammatical phenomena. Fourteen of the features selected for the analysis had not been previously attested in IrE. The occurrence of these features, which could either be accidental or imply new tendencies in Irish English, may be the focus of future studies. It should be noted that the low or zero frequency of certain phenomena may also be caused by stigmatization.

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Résumé

V úvodu této práce je čtenář seznámen s jejím tématem a cílem a je vymezen pojem irská angličtina a související terminologie. Krátce jsou také zmíněni autoři, kteří významně zasáhli do studia specifických gramatických rysů tohoto dialektu. Dále jsou pak vymezeny prostředky a postupy použité v praktické a teoretické části.

Teoretická část je rozdělena na rovinu morfologickou a syntaktickou, přičemž dohromady tvoří jedenáct oblastí, ve kterých se objevují specifické rysy irské angličtiny. Podstatná jména tvoří co do počtu a výskytu jednotlivých jevů skupinu méně významnou, neboť v teoretické části je uveden pouze jeden jev. V praktické části byly nalezeny dva příklady jevu, který se ale týká spíše roviny frázové než podstatných jmen jako takových.

Zájmena tvoří z hlediska počtu jednotlivých jevů druhou nejpočetnější skupinu. Nejvýznamnější odchýlení od standardu bylo shledáno u zájmen osobních a ukazovacích, což bylo v praktické části potvrzeno především u specifických tvarů osobního zájmena druhé osoby singuláru a použití zájmena *them* jako ukazovací. Význačnými irskými gramatickými jevy jsou také nadužívání zvratných sloves a výskyt tzv. resumptivních zájmen.

Skupinou s nejrozmanitějšími a nejpočetnějšími rozdíly oproti britskému standardu jsou bezpochyby slovesa, přičemž nejvíce patrné jsou odchylky u nestandardních slovesných tvarů, nadužívání podmiňovacího způsobu, shody přísudku s podmětem a slovesného času. Stejně jako u ostatních kategorií i zde se frekvence výskytu jevů liší v různých částech Irska a s tím také souvisí jejich vnímání samotnými rodilými mluvčími jako správné či nesprávné. V této oblasti je velmi přínosná studie Raymonda Hickeyho, z které jako nejběžnější vychází specifické jevy perfekta. Ačkoliv jde o rysy hojně se vyskytující v mluvené angličtině, analýza v praktické části prokázala pouze výskyt resultativního perfekta a perfekta tvořeného pomocným slovesem *be*.

U příslovcí se v irské angličtině vyskytují čtyři specifické rysy, z nichž se nejběžněji vyskytuje *galore*, nesoucí význam *mnoho* a distinktivní použití příslovce *never* ve spojení s minulým prostým časem. V teoretické části je uvedeno šest předložek, u kterých se použití

v irské variantě liší od standardu a v praktické části byl doložen výskyt předložky *on*, příznačné pro *dativus incommodi*.

Používání určitého a neurčitého členu se v zásadě neliší od standardu, ale v současné literatuře je popsáno nadužívání určitého členu v několika významových oblastech. Toto bylo v analýze potvrzeno především u názvů částí těla, kterým obyčejně v angličtině předchází přivlastňovací zájmeno. Dále bylo zjištěno několik dalších odchylek, které dosud nebyly popsány jako specifika irské angličtiny.

Distinktivní rysy syntaxe irské angličtiny jsou v poměru s morfologií mnohem méně početné. Ve vztažných větách může být vztažné zájmeno vynecháno, i když má funkci podmětu ve větě vedlejší, což ve standardní angličtině není možné. V další kapitole jsou uvedeny dva specifické případy subordinační funkce spojek *and* a *till* a také specifika nepřímých otázek.

Kapitola 9 se týká aktuálního členění větného, přesněji způsobů zdůraznění tématu. Ačkoliv se jedná o jevy standardně používané, v irské angličtině je specifický právě jejich častý výskyt. V oblasti záporu se v irské angličtině objevují dva fenomény časté i v jiných dialektech. Zejména dvojitý zápor je ale často mluvčími vnímán jako nesprávný. Tázací dovětky mohou být tvořeny stejným způsobem jako ve standardní angličtině, ale specifická je bezesporu forma dovětku *is it?*, jehož výskyt je také doložen v praktické části.

Appendix
Table 1. Selected features from *The Last Days of a Reluctant Tyrant* by Tom Murphy

	Nouns
M1	I can play the goat for as much and for as long as I like, my old *fool of a mother* will always be here for me. (12)
	Pronouns
M2	I prefer *it*, my dear, if you said something than have you just sit there sticking pins in me. (26)
M3	To *who*? (47)
	Verbs
M4	I never once *touched* it in my life, sir. (7)
M5	I *heard* it all before! (13)
M6	Find me guilty, say that everything I *did* in my life was wrong, a mistake, say that property doesn't matter, say that I shouldn't complain ever again about anything, let alone about money being flung on a dung heap. (14)
M7	Who *died* recently, apart from my daddy? (19)
M8	He never *showed* me the slightest affection. (26)
M9	*Did* it never *occur* to you that some people might like to live their lives other than the particular way you would like them lived? (33)
M10	That's all she ever *thought* of. (41)
M11	She doesn't know me, never *did*, but I know her. (41)
M12	You *would* wish that masses and requiem services continue on what basis? (23)
M13	You *wouldn't* know what goes on in the other one's head. (57)
M14	Anna, yes, is soft, but I'*d* still have hopes of her. (57)
M15	You *wouldn't* know what goes on in Paul's head - if anything! (9)
M16	I keep looking at him while he's talking, but I *amn't* here. (61)
M17	Where'*s* your dirty songs? (53)
M18	But you can be, can be sure *there's* people that do. (49)
M19	And *there's* years of work left in me… (53)
M20	Not that we were indulged in those days, but once in a blue moon there were certain bought articles from the town, one in particular that you liked, *wasn't* there?(56)
M21	*Didn't* there *used* to be a nice little clock standing on the shelf over there? (49)
M22	Did it never occur to you that some people might like to live their lives other than the particular way you would like them *lived?* (33)
M23	What age was I, how much money *had* I? (13)
M24	They *haven't to* answer either before God or the authorities.(66)
M25	You talk terrible nonsense —*have* always *done*! (79)
	Prepositions
M26	Do you wish it *on yourself*? (48)
M27	Always on about my back, what has it done *on* you? (55)
	Determiners
M28	I saw you forking down your plate of spuds tonight and *Ø* pint of milk. (67)

M29	ϴ Bag of flour, ϴ bag ϴ oats, ϴ bag ϴ potatoes, bag, bag. (81)
M30	ϴ Thing is: you must first lay a curse on yourself. (21)
M31	A man told me: you take a living frog, (and at) ϴ dead of night place it on (an) anthill. (21)

Relative Clauses

M32	Tell her the paper is ready that she's to take with her. (75)
M33	When a person has it there's always someone round a corner ϴ wants it. (44)
M34	There is nobody ϴ can or is able to stop me! (84)
M35	There are people, people going, people going nowadays, ϴ would laugh at you for, for mentioning the soul. (46)

Question Tags

M36	I'm old, *is it*? (53)

Indirect Questions

M37	…, and I often wonder ϴ is our Paul a member of that select and chosen brotherhood. (9)
M38	See ϴ will he eat anything of that before you take away the plate. (21)

Table 2. Selected features from *Sour Grapes* by Michael Harding

	Nouns
H1	So some <u>creep *of* a therapist</u> is going to make something of that are they? (37)
	Pronouns
H2	Or what do they train *yous* for in the seminary nowadays? (18)
H3	*Yis* are thinking of girls when *yous* are saying Mass,…(31)
H4	…, *yous* certainly made a balls of everything, didn't *yis*?(47)
H5	*Yis*'ll end up at the bottom of the ocean my friend. (49)
H6	You still haven't a clue about the people *yous*… (29)
H7	*Yis* are half men. (31)
H8	I can't stand *yis*, says she. (31)
H9	,…and thinking of Mass when *yous* are…(31)
H10	I love some of <u>*them*</u> soap operas. (48)
H11	Circle <u>*them*</u> wagons and …(22)
	Verbs
H12	There*'s* rumours that you're going to be the next bishop. (26)
H13	'How*'s* the girls?' (43)
H14	How*'s* yourself? (49)
H15	I name someone, and you *would* say don't be ridiculous. (14)
H16	I *turns* to her and I says, Come here Miss. (31)
H17	I turns to her and I *says*, Come here Miss. (31)
H18	Why do you go round in a pink Toyota *says* I. (31)
H19	I *says*, the previous bishop just before he retired, he said I could finish my studies. (42)
H20	And I *says* 'What?' (43)
H21	I was passing these two nurses and I *says*, …(43)
H22	And they *says* Father Nigel is out in the morgue with her now. (43)
H23	You never *did* anything to help. (14)
H24	*Did* you never *hear* of a video? (19)
H25	*Were* you ever in Lourdes, Father? (24)
H26	*Did* I never *tell* you that? (45)
H27	For everything that *was* ever wrong with you. (29)
H28	How long *are you ordained* now, Ciaran? (17)
H29	We*'re* finished all our exams. (23)
H30	Our friendship *is* finished. (39)
H31	Well I *have* everything *done*. (52)
	Determiners
H32	And when they bring him down, they'll be <u>on *the* telly</u> for weeks. (10)
H33	But it's me came to ask *the* questions, if you don't mind. (15)
	Relative clauses
H34	No, sorry, you're the one *Ø* couldn't forgive. (29)
H35	You're the one *Ø* just wanted vengeance. (29)
H36	I'm the one *Ø* ended up with belly cramps so severe I couldn't hold down food. (29)
	Fronting

H37	Peter was his name. (12)
H38	From Cork he was. (16)
H39	If I should walk in the valley of death, no evil would I fear. (23)
H40	An inordinate interest in racing have they? (22)

Cleft sentences	
H41	But it's me Θ came to ask the questions, if you don't mind. (15)
H42	You know it was us Θ was trying for centuries to eradicate sex. (28)
H43	It's not her Θ is stopping you pray. (45)
H44	And it's not just an ordinary priest Θ they've got this time. (9)

Negation	
H45	I *didn't* accuse you of *nothing*, Bishop, I hope you know that. (47)

Table 3. Selected features from *The Walworth Farce* by Enda Walsh

	Pronouns
W1	There'll be no chance of the actin' trophy gathering dust on your shelf if you don't pull up *them* socks, boy. (14)
W2	But all *them* pictures have stopped. (22)
W3	They're feisty boys *them*! (11)
W4	Their skin *it* falls to the ground and *them* bodies running you down and wanting to tear you to shreds. (31)
W5	..., *them* bad people calling you down. (32)
W6	One lie leads to the next and pretty soon *them* bodies from outside be banging down our door and dragging you down below, Blake. (32)
W7	*Them* bodies won't get us if we leave the flat, Sean? (33)
W8	Only *them* two other men know of it. (66)
W9	... it's right that *us two* leave. (33)
W10	Days and nights *they* merge into the one memory. (30)
	Verbs
W11	Whose hands *done* the deed so, Denis? (64)
W12	You'll never tell Blake what you *seen* that last day, Sean? (70)
W13	Sure *amn't* I famished for chicken. (75)
W14	Paddy and Vera *knows* whose house it is, pet. (66)
W15	So I *says* that maybe he should be the tent. (37)
W16	Is *that* cans of beer over there? (8)
W17	I *wasn't* always there for you in the past. (10)
W18	You *were* never there for me. (10)
W19	The bus *is* stopped so that's me off to the chipper. (19)
W20	So you *got* the lunch *made* the way I told ya, Maureen? (75)
W21	And another thing *don't be cutting* corners you! (13)
W22	*Don't be lying* to me and tell me what was said. (60)
W23	Speak up and *don't be hiding* nothing from your daddy. (76)
W24	You *do* often read stories that they *do* eat their young over there, Paddy and Vera. (16)
W25	I often *do* stand here after a long day brain surgeoning and just drink in this wonderful sight with a fine glass of red wine and a packet of those green Pringles. (16)
W26	He's bragging about surviving in the wild, about pissing on snake bites when a snake *does* bite. (37)
W27	So what say you of a reconciliation, oh little brother of mine? (73)
W28	And I'*m stood* on grass. (31)
W29	That *Ø* seen any action has it? (10)
	Determiners
W30	It just missed *the* heart, didn't it. (9)
W31	Blood stops racing to *the* head. (9)
W32	*Ø* Doctor says one day I might never wake up. (9)
W33	*Ø* Truth is I haven't worked for six years…(13)
	Prepositions

W34	A great big bloody arm _on_ him, Eileen. (37)
W35	Are you getting brave _on_ me too? (30)
Negation	
W36	_No_ place is _no_ place for Mars Bars, Vera. (12)
W37	Speak up and _don't_ be hiding _nothing_ from your daddy. (76)
Fronting	
W38	Lies I started to spin. (73)
W39	A million tiny bedsits there are. (16)
W40	So criminal and violent they are that Londoners like nothing more…(16)
W41	From the river they're coming. (31)
W42	The personality of a dead fish, she most certainly has,…(62)
W43	Such a strange expression she has on her face, Denis. (63)
W44	Into the garden shed he runs. (77)
W45	The scene's set and soon on a beach we'll lie, Vera. (79)
Cleft sentences	
W46	And I always thought it would be the drink that would finally kill her. (17)
W47	_It's the money_ you're after and not that slapper, right? (72)
Question tags	
W48	We can go halves, _is it?_(72)

Table 4. The list of specific features

NOUNS	
M1	I can play the goat for as much and for as long as I like, my old _fool of a mother_ will always be here for me. (12)
H1	So some <u>creep</u> _of_ a therapist is going to make something of that are they? (37)
PRONOUNS	
W1	There'll be no chance of the actin' trophy gathering dust on your shelf if you don't pull up _them_ socks, boy. (14)
W2	But all _them_ pictures have stopped. (22)
W3	They're feisty boys _them_! (11)
W4	Their skin _it_ falls to the ground ...(31)
W10	Days and nights _they_ merge into the one memory. (30)
W5	..., _them_ bad people calling you down. (32)
W6	One lie leads to the next and pretty soon _them_ bodies from outside be banging down our door and dragging you down below, Blake. (32)
W7	_Them_ bodies won't get us if we leave the flat, Sean? (33)
W8	Only _them_ two other men know of it. (66)
H10	I love some of _them_ soap operas. (48)
H11	Circle _them_ wagons and …(22)
H2	Or what do they train _yous_ for in the seminary nowadays? (18)
H3	_Yis_ are thinking of girls when _yous_ are saying Mass,…(31)
H4	…, _yous_ certainly made a balls of everything, didn't _yis_? ()
H5	_Yis_'ll end up at the bottom of the ocean my friend. (49)
H6	You still haven't a clue about the people _yous_… (29)
H7	_Yis_ are half men. (31)
H8	I can't stand _yis_, says she. (31)
H9	,…and thinking of Mass when _yous_ are…(31)
W9	… it's right that _us two_ leave. (33)
M2	I prefer _it_, my dear, if you said something than have you just sit there sticking pins in me. (26)
M3	To _who_? (47)
VERBS	
Non-standard preterite forms	
W11	Whose hands _done_ the deed so, Denis? (64)
W12	You'll never tell Blake what you _seen_ that last day, Sean? (70)
The verb to _be_	
W13	Sure _amn't_ I famished for chicken. (75)
M16	I keep looking at him while he's talking, but I _amn't_ here. (61)
S-V concord + habitual	
H12	<u>There'_s_</u> rumours that you're going to be the next bishop. (26)
M18	But you can be, can be sure <u>there'_s_</u> people that do. (49)
M19	And <u>there_'s_</u> years of work left in me… (53)

M20	Not that we were indulged in those days, but once in a blue moon there were certain bought articles from the town, one in particular that you liked, _wasn't_ there?(56)
M17	Where_'s_ your dirty songs? (53)
H13	'How'_s_ the girls?' (43)
H14	How'_s_ yourself? (49)
W14	Paddy and Vera _knows_ whose house it is, pet. (66)
W16	Is that cans of beer over there? (8)
W15	So I _says_ that maybe he should be the tent. (37)
H16	I _turns_ to her and I says, Come here Miss. (31)
H17	I turns to her and I _says_, Come here Miss. (31)
H18	Why do you go round in a pink Toyota _says_ I. (31)
H19	I _says_, the previous bishop just before he retired, he said I could finish my studies. (42)
H20	And I _says_ 'What?' (43)
H21	I was passing these two nurses and I _says_, …(43)
H22	And they _says_ Father Nigel is out in the morgue with her now. (43)
W21	And another thing _don't be cutting_ corners you! (13)
W22	_Don't be lying_ to me and tell me what was said. (60)
W23	Speak up and _don't be hiding_ nothing from your daddy. (76)
W24	You _do_ often read stories that they _do_ eat their young over there, Paddy and Vera. (16)
W25	I often _do_ stand here after a long day brain surgeoning and just drink in this wonderful sight with a fine glass of red wine and a packet of those green Pringles. (16)
W26	He's bragging about surviving in the wild, about pissing on snake bites when a snake _does_ bite. (37)
M21	_Didn't_ there _used_ to be a nice little clock standing on the shelf over there? (49)
Overuse of the conditional	
M12	You _would_ wish that masses and requiem services continue on what basis? (23)
M13	You _wouldn't_ know what goes on in the other one's head. (57)
M14	Anna, yes, is soft, but I_'d_ still have hopes of her. (57)
M15	You _wouldn't_ know what goes on in Paul's head - if anything! (9)
H15	I name someone, and you _would_ say don't be ridiculous. (14)
Tense and aspect	
H23	You never _did_ anything to help. (14)
H24	_Did_ you never _hear_ of a video? (19)
H25	_Were_ you ever in Lourdes, Father? (24)
H26	_Did_ I never _tell_ you that? (45)
H27	For everything that _was_ ever wrong with you. (29)
W17	I _wasn't_ always there for you in the past. (10)
W18	You _were_ never there for me. (10)
H28	How long _are you ordained_ now, Ciaran? (17)
M4	I never once _touched_ it in my life, sir. (7)
M5	I _heard_ it all before! (13)

M6	Find me guilty, say that everything I _did_ in my life was wrong, a mistake, say that property doesn't matter, say that shouldn't complain ever again about anything, let alone about money being flung on a dung heap. (14)
M7	Who _died_ recently, apart form my daddy? (19)
M8	He never showed me the slightest affection. (26)
M9	_Did_ it never _occur_ to you that some people might like to live their lives other than the particular way you would like them lived? (33)
M10	That's all she ever _thought_ of. (41)
M11	She doesn't know me, never _did_, but I know her. (41)
H29	We'_re_ finished all our exams. (23)
W19	The bus _is_ stopped so that's me off to the chipper. (19)
H30	Our friendship _is_ finished. (39)
H31	Well I _have_ everything _done_. (52)
W20	So you _got_ the lunch _made_ the way I told ya, Maureen? (75)
Others	
M22	Did it never occur to you that some people might like to live their lives other than the particular way you you would like them _lived?_ (33)
M24	They _haven't to_ answer either before God or the authorities.(66)
M23	What age was I, how much money _had_ I? (13)
M25	You talk terrible nonsese —_have_ always _done_! (79)
W27	So what say you of a reconciliation, oh little brother of mine? (73)
W28	And I'm _stood_ on grass. (31)
W29	That _Ø_ seen any action has it? (10)
PREPOSITIONS	
W34	A great big bloody arm _on_ him, Eileen. (37)
W35	Are you getting brave _on_ me too? (30)
M26	Do you wish it _on_ yourself? (48)
M27	Always on about my back, what has it done _on_ you? (55)
DETERMINERS	
H32	And when they bring him down, they'll be on _the_ telly for weeks. (10)
H33	But it's me came to ask _the_ questions, if you don't mind. (15)
W30	It just missed _the_ heart, didn't it. (9)
W31	Blood stops racing to _the_ head. (9)
W32	_Ø_ Doctor says one day I might never wake up. (9)
W33	_Ø_ Truth is I haven't worked for six years…(13)
M28	I saw you forking down your plate of spuds tonight and _Ø_ pint of milk. (67)
M29	_Ø_ Bag of flour, _Ø_ bag _Ø_ oats, _Ø_ bag _Ø_ potatoes, bag, bag. (81)
M30	_Ø_ Thing is: you must first lay a curse on yourself. (21)
M31	A man told me: you take a living frog, (and at) _Ø_ dead of night place it on (an) anthill. (21)
RELATIVE CLAUSES	
H34	No, sorry, you're the one _Ø_ couldn't forgive. (29)
H35	You're the one _Ø_ just wanted vengeance. (29)
H36	I'm the one _Ø_ ended up with belly cramps so severe I couldn't hold down food. (29)

M32	Tell her the paper is ready <u>that she's to take with her</u>. (75)
M33	When a person has it there's always someone round a corner <u>*Θ* wants it</u>. (44)
M34	There is nobody <u>*Θ* can or is able to stop me</u>! (84)
M35	There are people, people going, people going nowadays, <u>*Θ* would laugh at you for</u>, for mentioning the soul. (46)
FRONTING	
H37	<u>Peter</u> was his name. (12)
H38	<u>From Cork</u> he was. (16)
H39	If I should walk in the valley of death, <u>no evil would I fear</u>. (23)
H40	<u>An inordinate interest in racing</u> have they? (22)
W38	<u>Lies I</u> started to spin. (73)
W39	<u>A million tiny bedsits</u> there are. (16)
W40	<u>So criminal and violent</u> they are that Londoners like nothing more…(16)
W41	<u>From the river</u> they're coming. (31)
W42	<u>The personality of a dead fish</u>, she most certainly has,…(62)
W43	<u>Such a strange expression</u> she has on her face, Denis. (63)
W44	<u>Into the garden</u> shed he runs. (77)
W45	The scene's set and soon <u>on a beach</u> we'll lie, Vera. (79)
NEGATION	
W36	*<u>No</u>* place is *<u>no</u>* place for Mars Bars, Vera. (12)
W37	Speak up and *<u>don't</u>* be hiding *<u>nothing</u>* from your daddy. (76)
H45	I *<u>didn't</u>* accuse you of *<u>nothing</u>*, Bishop, I hope you know that. (47)
CLEFT SENTENCES	
H41	But it's me <u>*Θ* came to ask the questions</u>, if you don't mind. (15)
H42	You know it was us <u>*Θ* was trying for centuries to eradicate sex</u>. (28)
H43	It's not her <u>*Θ* is stopping you pray</u>. (45)
H44	And <u>it's not just an ordinary priest</u> *Θ* they've got this time. (9)
W46	And I always thought <u>it would be the drink</u> that would finally kill her. (17)
W47	<u>It's the money</u> *Θ* you're after and not that slapper, right? (72)
QUESTION TAGS	
M36	I'm old, *<u>is it</u>*? (53)
W48	We can go halves, *<u>is it?</u>*(72)
INDIRECT QUESTIONS	
M37	…, and I often wonder <u>*Θ* is our Paul</u> a member of that select and chosen brotherhood. (9)
M38	See <u>*Θ* will he eat</u> anything of that before you take away the plate. (21)