Spoken Irish English in Galway

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Preamble

Admittedly, it has taken me a long time to publish this work. Personal circumstances and health have caused unexpected twists and turns in my life. Therefore, I am very happy and relieved finally to be able to publish these pages. I want to remark that I carried out the field study in 2007 and I have not been able to revise the thesis substantially or to include all relevant recent research because of health reasons. Furthermore, I want to apologise to all those researchers who have published in the past years for not having considered their certainly insightful and promising surveys. I had the choice not to publish my results at all or to publish them with the shortcomings in up-to-date-ness present in the following pages. I decided for the latter, since I had spent many years diving into Irish English. In addition, my informants have dedicated quite an amount of time for my interviews – I do not want them to have wasted their time.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on research carried out at the University of Bamberg and I would like to sincerely thank all those who have contributed to its completion. Unfortunately, it is impossible to name everyone involved, but I would like to take advantage of the opportunity to mention at least some.

First and foremost, I wish to thank Manfred Krug, whose enthusiasm combined with his unwavering support encouraged me to complete this book. He surely was the best and most humane supervisor I could wish for, never rejecting me seeking academic guidance. I will always be grateful for his encouragement and his faith in me. I also want to express my deep gratitude to Julia Schlüter, who patiently gave advice and who noted irregularities and inconsistencies. This book would not be the same without Manfred Krug's and Julia Schlüter's feedback and their considerations.

Furthermore, I want to thank the entire team of the Chair of English Linguistics at the University of Bamberg. It has been a pleasure working there and conducting my study with the support of so many dedicated people. I will always keep the discussions in the *Oberseminar,* a regular forum for academic debate, in good memory, including comments by Gabriele Knappe and Heinrich Ramisch, amongst others.

Heartfelt thanks specifically go to my former colleagues Anna Rosen, Shane Walshe and Ole Schützler for providing helpful comments on different parts of earlier drafts and for their general support while I was working on this project. Shane Walshe also aided me when I needed a native speaker at hand. The long hours spent together while working on our projects are among my very fond memories.

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Very special thanks go to all participants in my study for their kind cooperation and their willingness to share their experiences and attitudes with me in long interviews.

Needless to say, despite the wonderful support I received, I alone am responsible for any inaccuracies and shortcomings which remain.

Furthermore, I gratefully acknowledge funding of this work by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and funding of conference attendances from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and the European Regional Development Fund (under CONSOLIDER grant HUM2007-60706 for the research project Variation, Linguistic Change and Grammaticalization). Thanks are also due to the University of Galway, Ireland, for permitting me access to their resources during my fieldwork, and to the communication agency TEXT & KONTEXT, which kindly assisted me in the final layout stage.

Finally, I want to thank all my friends and my wonderful family for their constant and continuous encouragement to begin and, importantly, to finish this project. My deepest heartfelt thanks go to my mother Brigitte, my father Karlheinz and my sister Veronika. Your support throughout the writing process and beyond kept me going. Sadly, my father did not live to see the publication of this book anymore. Special thanks also go to my children. I could not be more grateful for your patience during the long hours I devoted to this study and for brightening my days with your love and laughter. You bring such joy to my life, and I could not be prouder of you. I dedicate this book to my family.

Outline

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List of abbreviations

AmE	American English
BE	British English
GB	Great Britain
GenAm	General American
HE	Hiberno-English
ICE	International Corpus of Ireland
IE	Irish English
NI	Northern Ireland
NIE	Northern Irish English
RoI	Republic of Ireland
RP	Received Pronunciation
RTÉ	Radió Telefís Éireann, Ireland's national television and radio broadcaster
SIE	Southern Irish English
SSBE	Standard Southern British English
SSIE	Supraregional Southern Irish English
StBE	Standard British English

1 Introduction

1.1 General introduction

Studies on linguistic variation and change have become a major focus of linguistic attention. In this context, the varieties of English spoken in Ireland are of particular interest. The southern varieties are spoken by approximately four million people in the Republic of Ireland (RoI). Although Ireland's geographical situation as an island produces a certain amount of isolation, Great Britain (GB) is an economically and culturally powerful neighbour which seems to exercise some influence over Irish English. Furthermore, as Ireland is increasingly involved in international communications, this may lead to British (or American) language norms increasingly being adopted in the spoken language of Ireland, and foreign media, especially Hollywood films and British television and radio, are likely to exert some influence on Irish people's speech (Filppula 1999: 19; Hansen/Carls/Lucko 1996: 86; Hickey 2005b: 33; Quirk et al. 1985: 21; van Ryckeghem 1997: 172). Yet, Pietsch (2010: 118) suggests that "of all the dialects spoken in the British Isles (…) [Irish English] shows the highest degree of grammatical divergence from standard English and the most visible, salient marks of structural impact of contact". As such, it is an interesting variety for sociolinguistic fieldwork.

Trudgill also sees the possibility that "because of demographic and communications developments in the modern world, dialects with complex and unusual phonetic developments may increasingly become a thing of the past, as external contacts increase and societies become more fluid" (Trudgill 1996: 19). Supporting this hypothesis to a certain degree, Quirk et al. (1985: 21) stated in the 1980s:

> Hiberno-English, or Irish English, may also be considered as a national standard, for though we lack descriptions of this longstanding variety of English it is consciously and explicitly regarded as independent of BrE [British English, K.S.] by educational and broadcasting services. The proximity of Great Britain, the easy movement of population, the pervasive influence of AmE [American English, K.S.], and like factors mean however that there is little room for the assertion and development of a separate grammar and vocabulary.

Based on this quote, one can assume that social and geographic mobility might function as linguistically levelling factors (Chambers 1995: 57ff). Furthermore, economic and social changes such as immigration, emigration, returning emigrants and tourism are factors which affect the status and the appearance of Irish English (Hansen/Carls/Lucko 1996: 84). Ireland had a booming economy with considerable real economic growth and subsequently rising property prices and was known as the 'Celtic Tiger' from approximately 1995 to 2008. However, from 2008 on, the economy experienced a dramatic decline, leading to increasing unemployment rates and high levels of child poverty.[1] This economic shift has also affected migration patterns: Emigration mainly to English-speaking countries was seen as an important option for many Irish people at least since the Great Famine in the mid-19th century, but from the mid-1990s onwards, immigration numbers have exceeded emigration numbers and contact between Irish English and other languages has increased, which might induce change.[2] Immigration has affected mainly urban areas, including Galway, the epicentre of the west. From 2008 onwards, due to the economic recession, the number of Irish emigrants once again exceeded the number of immigrants; in 2014, 81,900 people left the country and 60,600 migrated to Ireland. It is estimated that in the year to April 2019[3], the number of immigrants had increased to 88,600, while emigration declined to 54,900. These developments are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.[4]

[1] Irish Times, 29.10.2014: http://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/decade-lost-as-children-in-ireland-bear-brunt-of-recession-1.1979612 <20.01.2015>

[2] http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/population/2003/popmig_2003.pdf. In recent years, there have been a number of studies on the acquisition of Irish English by immigrants, see e.g. Diskin (2013; 2016); Diskin & Levey (2019); Migge (2012; 2015).

[3] "The reference period for the population estimates is mid-April of each year". Central Statistics Office Ireland, https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2019/ <01.12.2019>

[4] About half of the emigrants were Irish nationals. Central Statistics Office Ireland, http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2014/ <20.01.2015>

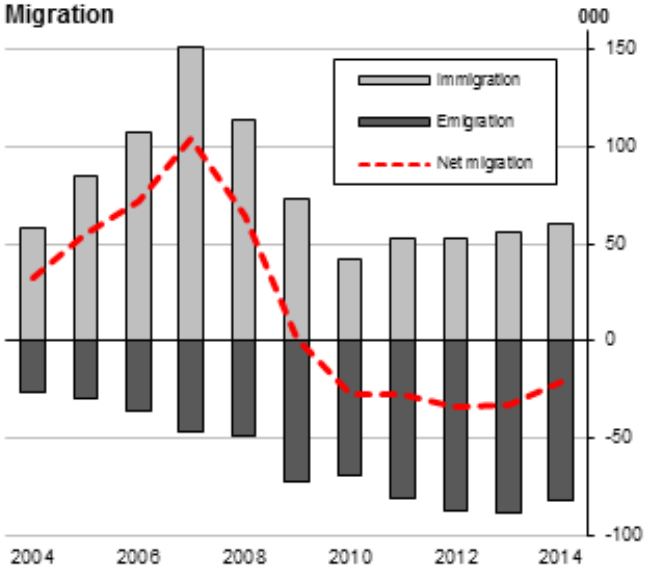


Figure 1: Migration figures (absolute numbers) in the Republic of Ireland, 2004 to 2014 (Central Statistics Office Ireland 2014) [5]

[5] Central Statistics Office Ireland, http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2014/ <20.01.2015>

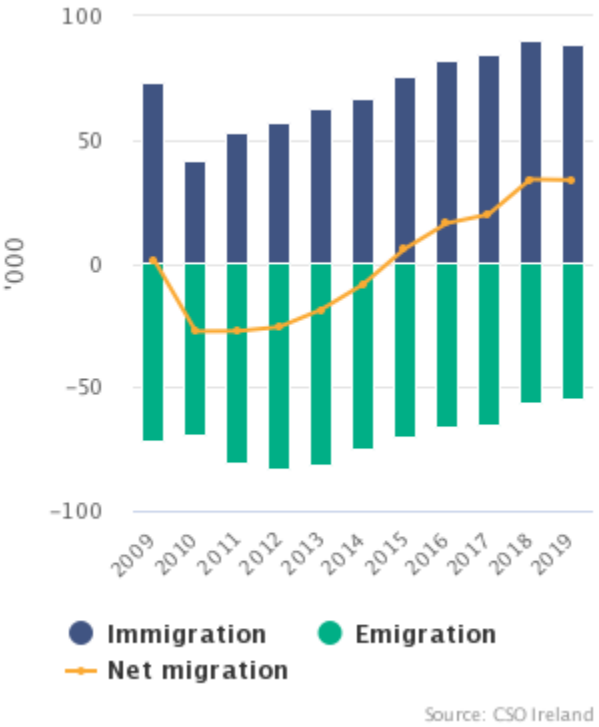


Figure 2: Migration figures (absolute numbers) in the Republic of Ireland 2009 to 2019 (Central Statistics Office Ireland 2019)[6]

However, the Irish language itself, which has the status of the first official language in the Republic of Ireland and is seen as a reinforcing factor for several characteristic features of Irish English, has increasingly lost its influence during the last few decades (see chapters 2.2 and 2.3).

All the aspects described above seem to make an investigation into the direction and the degree of variation and change within present-day Irish English very promising. I decided to study an urban dialect, since there has been "large-scale migration from the countryside to the Dublin area and other urban centres" (Filppula 1999: 272), particularly since the beginning

[6]Central Statistics Office Ireland, www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2019/ <01.12.2019>

of the 20th century. This drift has led to de-population in rural areas and to a certain degree to dialect levelling. Consequently, some of the most distinctive features of various dialects of Irish English might be expected to be fading away. The present study is also an attempt to find out whether this is the case for Irish English as spoken in Galway City.

Filppula (1999: 2) has observed that "despite the general rise of interest in HE [Hiberno-English, K.S.] studies, there has been a noticeable lack (…) of studies which would be based on authentic materials and would cover a wide range of the distinctive features of HE grammar". To date, hardly any research has been conducted for urban Galway English, whereas the capital of Ireland, Dublin, has attracted a great deal of linguistic attention (see e.g. Bertz 1975; Corrigan, Edge & Lonargan 2012; Hickey 1999, 2005a, 2007a, 2007b; Jones & Llamas 2008; Lonergan 2013). This gap shall be bridged with the present study, which is a sociolinguistic apparent-time study with a transcribed corpus of the speech of 35 native speakers of Galway English recorded during a fieldwork stay on-site in 2007. Besides analysing several phonological and morpho-syntactic features in detail, an overview of the dialect will be given.

1.2 Aims and outline of the study

This study has two overall objectives. The first aim is to assess and elaborate on previous findings and claims about (supraregional southern and other varieties of) Irish English by contrasting them with up-to-date urban dialect data. Secondly, this study aims to generate insights into processes of language variation and change in progress. Based on an in-depth analysis of selected features, tentative suggestions will be made about the future of urban Galway English.

In order to achieve these two overall objectives, the present study is divided into the following parts: A literature review on Irish English and Galway English, in particular, is provided in the next section; Chapter 2 considers theoretical aspects relevant for sociolinguistic approaches to Irish English. After a definition of the term *Irish English* and the introduction of other terminology used in the literature (2.1), an overview of the history of Irish English is given (2.2). This is subdivided into the time span reaching up

to 1619, the period between 1619 and 1845, and the time after the Great Famine, which witnessed a massive language shift from Irish to English. Chapter 2.3 sketches the appearance of languages in present-day Ireland by looking at policies and geographical distribution in Ireland in general and Galway, in particular, as well as raising the question as to how far one can speak of Standard Irish English. In this context, the role of Irish will be highlighted, before the strata model and the notion of language universals (2.4) are addressed. In Chapter 2.5., sociolinguistic methodology will be discussed on a rather theoretical basis.

Chapter 3 introduces the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. First, methods and data will be explicated by addressing the research design (3.1), considering the representativeness of the sample (3.2), and illuminating details regarding data collection and the characteristics of the 35 sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Galway City (3.3). The following section 3.4 deals with the transcription process and mark-ups. Chapter 3.5 comments on the apparent time approach and Chapter 3.6 on the external variables age, social class and education, gender and style. Afterwards, the statistical logit model used for some corpus analyses is sketched (3.7).

The subsequent sections analyse in detail selected features of Galway English. The discussion of phonology explores schwa epenthesis (4.1) and the raising of low velar vowels in order to gauge the extent of the possible spread of the 'Dublin vowel shift' (Hickey 2005a: 49ff) to Galway English (4.2). The phonetic transcription uses the IPA in its revised form of 1979 as presented by Wells (1996b).[7] In the domain of morpho-syntax, singular concord with existential *there* is scrutinized (5.1) and use of the *after*-perfect is discussed with a brief look at other perfect markers in Irish English (5.2). Where appropriate, attitudes towards certain linguistic features are discussed, as these attitudes can also provide information on possible directions of linguistic change. Short concluding sections summarize the results.

Chapter 6 gives an overview of further prominent phonological (6.1) and morpho-syntactic (6.2) features of Irish English, illustrated by examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. A brief summary (6.3) concludes this overview. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the study and

[7] The phonetic symbols may deviate in quotations from other linguists.

gives an outlook on possible future research. It is followed by the appendix and the list of references. The former not only includes the interview modules and the questions of the survey-style questionnaire used for the interviews, but also contains passages of interview transcripts and further maps.

1.3 Literature review

Irish English has piqued the interest of many linguists in recent years. Before the 20th century, hardly any scholars dealt with the English language as spoken in Ireland. Among the first scholars to describe certain aspects of Irish English were Hayden and Hartog (1909), who noticed that there were significant differences between this variety and Standard British English and were the first to systematically describe the grammar of Irish English. Another early scholar dealing with Irish English was Joyce, who in 1910 published a collection of sayings and Irish-Englishisms. However, his work is riddled with random references and unscholarly anecdotes. In his 1927 publication, Hogan describes the history of the English language in Ireland, including its use in literature, and the development of what he terms Anglo-Irish. One chapter is devoted specifically to the phonology of Modern Anglo-Irish. Hogan, however, did not gather his own data, but attempted a synopsis of the state of research on the topic.

The first comprehensive study of a rural Irish English dialect was published in 1957 by P.L. Henry, a traditional dialectologist, who analysed phonology, morphology (or, as he calls it, accidence) and syntax in the dialect of North Roscommon. He attributes most non-standard features of Irish English to the influence of Irish, i.e. the substratum. The importance of the study of dialect and local accents in Irish English was stressed by Ó Muirithe (1977a: 8), as strongly regional-flavoured dialects tended to be in decline. He singled out the education system and the mass media as factors that "do not favour the preservation of local speech". Furthermore, he mentioned a social cleavage which he called "snobbishness" (Ó Muirithe 1977a: 8), noting that "there are a great many people who consider dialect and local accent something to be ashamed of". In the 1970s, several Irish universities organized the *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech*

(TRS), which was supposed to serve as a basis for the production of a phonological atlas,[8] which as such has not been published so far. In the late 1970s, a collection of papers on The English Language in Ireland was edited by Ó Muirithe (1977a). The papers were originally broadcast on the national station Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ) in 1973. Topics include the influence of Irish (Henry 1977), the dialects of Northern Ireland (Adams 1977), the language shift in Ireland (de Fréine 1977) and the emergence of modern English dialects in Ireland (Bliss 1977).

More and more scholars have become interested in Irish English ever since. For example, Harris (1984a, 1984b, 1991) conducted a number of empirical surveys, while other modern linguists who have pursued or are pursuing influential research on Irish English (IE) are Barry (1981, 1982), Bliss (1977, 1979, 1984), Kallen (e.g. 1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1997b, 2005), and Lass (1990). Kirk (e.g. 1992: 65) in 1989/1990 compiled the *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech*, which is based on the Northern Irish TRS tape recordings. The *Transcribed Corpus* consists of 240,322 informant word tokens. This example shows that, although the topic of Northern Irish English will generally be excluded from this thesis, it is necessary to mention that there has been quite a lot of research dealing with this variety. The dialect of Belfast has been widely studied mainly by the Milroys (1978), who came up with the influential social network approach when investigating the speech of Catholic and Protestant school children from different areas of the capital of Northern Ireland and who have published in the field of sociolinguistics and language variation ever since (e.g. 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Milroy & Gordon 2003). A. Henry (1997) investigated the syntax of Belfast English, while Corrigan (2010; 2011) also analysed Northern Irish English with a focus on the sociolinguistic outcome of historical contact between Irish, English and Scottish settlers. Another scholar dealing with Northern Irish English with regard to such aspects as language change and ethnicity in Derry (2001), but also to historical developments in Irish English (2004), is McCafferty.

The major awakening in the (data-driven) study of Irish English happened in the 1990s. Hickey has sampled extensive empirical language material. One of his focuses is on Dublin English (1999, 2005a), but he has also

[8] Cf. Barry (1981: 23). The material of the TRS is stored in the archives of the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

collected speech samples and questionnaires dealing with morpho-syntactic features throughout the island of Ireland (2004a, 2004b, 2007a, 2007b). The first Dublin data were collected in the late 1980s and the early 1990s and dealt with the (ai) and (oi) variables, aiming to elicit the items *five, ninety nine, Ireland, Irish* and *toy*, first uttered in rather spontaneous and then in a more careful style by employees in four different shopping centres. The short stretches of speech were not audio recorded. The sampling method was based on Labov's (1966) rapid and anonymous interviews (Hickey 2004a: 1-9). Hickey (2004a: 6) stresses that "those speakers with the raised realisation of (ɔi) also had a retracted realisation of (ai) which would suggest that the former was caused by the retraction evident in the latter."[9]

Hickey collected more Dublin data in 1996 and 1997 in jewellery shops in Dublin's upmarket Grafton Street. The lexeme *design* was of particular interest (among other words that contained the (ai) variable), and the researcher asked for earrings with a Celtic design. This might have caused phonetic accommodation by some shop assistants, but Hickey (2004a: 8) noticed that "(b)y employing a popular Dublin pronunciation – design [dəˈzəɪn] – the investigator was able to provoke the use of the shifted vowel – design [dəˈzɑɪn]." The data collected in the mid-1990s add up to some 140 recordings.

Further data with speakers from all over Ireland, this time aware of the observation, were collected from the late 1990s to 2002. The informants were asked to read a list of 54 short sentences, a text passage or a list of words aloud, with the latter being used particularly in Dublin (Hickey 2004a: 9). The corpus adds up to more than 1,517 recordings of 1,194 speakers ranging in age from children to senior citizens (Hickey 2004a: 10-11). As Hickey (2004a: 10) stresses, the sound atlas should "provide a representative snapshot of contemporary Irish English with particular emphasis on the language of the younger generation." Since a considerable number of the recordings were made in public, there may be background noise in many of them. First analyses of the data were published in the

[9] Hickey (2004a: 6) stresses that the retraction of (ai) has since become recessive and is now regarded as rather dated. He (2004a: 7) also notices that (ai) retraction is not attested as occurring before voiceless consonants, since (ai) retraction stems from a relaxed diphthong onset.

Sound Atlas of Irish English (2004a, including a DVD), which analysed some of the most salient pronunciation characteristics of contemporary Southern Irish English. The DVD can also be searched for acceptance rates of certain morpho-syntactic features covered by the *Survey of Irish English Usage*, which is based on 1,000 written questionnaires with acceptance ratings for various grammatical features represented in 57 sentences. The relevant question asked was "How do you find the following sentences (in casual speech among your friends)?" (Hickey 2004a: 20). Hickey's later publication (2007a) also briefly presents the results and puts them into historical context, although the phonological and phonetic section section still seemingly lacks thorough quantitative analysis.

Hickey also digitised some 80 older recordings of rural Irish English from the *Tape Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech (TRS)* initiated in the 1970s. The data are accessible on the Sound Atlas DVD. Furthermore, Hickey has published a comprehensive bibliography on Irish English in the form of the *Source Book for Irish English* (2002), which is constantly updated on the website of the Irish English Resource Centre (www.uni-due.de/IERC), which also contains a comprehensive sample of Hickey's work. The IERC is a useful tool for anyone embarking on a study of Irish English. It introduces different topics and areas of research briefly and gives information on the urban dialects of Dublin, Derry and Belfast. It is also designed as a popular work with a section addressing "misconceptions" such as "The Irish pronounce the *th* in *thinker* like the *t* in *tinker".*

Another useful source for anyone embarking on a study of Irish English is Amador-Moreno's *An Introduction to Irish English* from 2010, designed as a textbook on the topic and illustrated with examples from the author's research and observations.

Dictionaries have been compiled by Moylan (1996; fieldwork during the 1970s) on the *Language of Kilkenny* (over 2000 lemmata with additional information on phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax and history) and by Dolan (1998[1]/2004[2]), whose *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* contains 293 pages.

Other linguists have studied Irish English in the wider context of *Celtic Englishes*. Tristram has edited four publications on this topic (1997b, 2000, 2003, 2006). Filppula's research has mainly explored the field of dialect grammar, with his comprehensive *Grammar of Irish English* having been

published in 1999. His analyses are based on a corpus consisting of the transcribed speech (158,000 words) of 24 elderly speakers (21 of them males) from Clare, Kerry, Wicklow and Dublin, i.e. from the (south-)west and east of Ireland, collected in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 2013, Kallen published *Irish English Volume 2: The Republic of Ireland*, designed to follow the first volume by Corrigan (2010) on Northern Ireland. Kallen's work is based mainly on material from other publications or unpublished original theses, literary representations (mainly for illustrations), linguistic corpora (especially ICE-Ireland) and Kallen's notes (Kallen 2013: viii).

In recent years, the trend towards sociolinguistic methodology has influenced research on Irish English to a great extent. For example, parts of Hickey's *Sound Atlas* (2004a) data deal particularly with sound changes in Dublin, and the first steps in data collection were based on Labov's (1966) department store methodology. Different shopping areas were selected to gather data reflecting social stratification from lower-class, mainstream and fashionable customers. Hickey's monograph *Dublin English* (2005a) is based mainly on data from 300 sound files, more than 200 questionnaires, and speakers' maps, and in 2016, he edited *Sociolinguistics in Ireland* with contributions based on variationist and socio-historical approaches, also including corpus studies.

The *electronic World Atlas of English* (eWave)[10], edited by Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2013), allows for comparison between Irish English and other varieties of English. In total, the atlas investigates 76 varieties of English, ranging from traditional L1 varieties via high contact L1 varieties to indigenized L2 varieties. The atlas is based on expert views on the distribution of 235 different grammatical features with attestations ranging from A ("feature is pervasive or obligatory") to D ("attested absence of feature"). For Irish English, Filppula (2013) was the contributor.

It is evident that research has focused chiefly on phonetic/phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical variation. In 2005, Barron and Schneider filled a gap by dealing with *The Pragmatics of Irish English*. The individual papers provide descriptive data on language use in the private, official and public spheres of life in the Republic and in Northern Ireland. The volume contains,

[10] Kortmann, Bernd & Lunkenheimer, Kerstin (eds.) 2013. *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology; http://ewave-atlas.org <08.01.2015>

for example, a section on politeness strategies in Irish English (Kallen 2005), a paper on responses to thanks in Irish English as compared to British and American English (Schneider 2005) and a section on politeness strategies in the field of offering and re-offering in Irish English and English English (Barron 2005). In 2015, Amador-Moreno, McCafferty and Vaughan edited *Pragmatic Markers in Irish English*, including papers on the use of vocatives as pragmatic markers in traveller and settled family discourse (Clancy 2015) and tag questions (Barron 2015), among various others.

Furthermore, Siemund (2004, 2006, 2008) and Pietsch (2009, 2010) focus on historical data taken from a corpus of late 17th to early 20th century written Irish English (1,000 texts and 600,000 words), the *Hamburg Corpus of Irish Emigrant letters* (HCIEL).

Another milestone is the Irish section of the ICE-family: The International Corpus of English (ICE-)Ireland. Around the year 2000, Kirk and Kallen and their research teams at Queen's University Belfast and Trinity College Dublin sampled data for the ICE-Ireland Corpus, which contains 1 million words and is subdivided into a Northern Ireland and a Republic of Ireland half. Here, one should bear in mind that the division is based on political rather than linguistic boundaries (see Chapter 2.3). Explaining their methodology of compiling ICE-Ireland in detail, Kirk, Kallen, Lowry and Rooney (2003: 27) state that it makes more sense to treat the island of Ireland as one entity when investigating standard English usage, "[c]onsidering (…) the relative recency of the political border in Ireland, and considering Ireland's geographical unity as well as the degree of cross-border activity which takes place on a daily basis." The corpus is made up of written and spoken language, with speakers usually having completed secondary education.[11] The speech found in the corpus can thus be regarded as fairly standardised Irish English. ICE-Ireland is currently being analysed, and a variety of papers have been published and presented at conferences. Areas investigated so far include the use of traditional Irish English or English dialect words, notions of Celticity and standardness, code-switching between Irish and English, patterns in the structure of subordinate clauses or pragmatic discourse markers (see e.g. Kallen 2005; Kirk/Kallen 2006, 2007; Kirk 2015).

[11] For further information on the ICE-Ireland project, see e.g. Kirk/Kallen/Lowry/Rooney (2003) and the website of Queen's University Belfast, http://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/ICE-Ireland/

As a sub-corpus, SPICE-Ireland[12] is based on the spoken material of ICE-Ireland, comprising text samples of approximately 2000 words each, from different discourse types, adding up to 626,597 words uttered by 945 speakers.

In 2010, the conference *New Perspectives of Irish English* (NPIE) was held in Dublin and a collection of papers was published, edited by Migge & Ní Chiosáin (2012). This collection also contains two papers on Galway English, namely on phonological change in the district of Bóthar Mór by Peters (2012), based on 40-minute interviews with four female speakers aged 26 to 59 plus one group interview. Two vowel variables (/e/-raising and /ʌ/-raising and -lowering) and the realisation of dental plosives were analysed on an auditory basis with numbers of frequency. The second paper is a statistical analysis of schwa epenthesis conducted by the present author (Sell 2012) that is based on the *Corpus of Spoken Galway English*. Many of the papers in this volume are also concerned with empirical (corpus) analyses of grammatical features, such as the ones by Clarke (2012), Filppula (2012) or Beal (2012). Corrigan, Edge and Lonergan (2012) investigate some claims about the development of Dublin English put forward by Hickey (2005a). Further features and phenomena analysed are located in other domains such as variational pragmatics (Clancy and Vaughan 2012; Murphy and Farr 2012; Diamant 2012). The symposium series has since had several follow-up sessions in Dublin (2013, with a focus on language corpora), Limerick (2015), Bergen (2016), Potsdam (2018), Vienna (2020) and Cork (2022).[13] A collection of papers on *Irish identities – sociolinguistic perspectives* has been edited by Amador-Moreno and Hickey (2020).

Publications on Irish-English literary dialects also exist, such as Kirk's (1997) "Irish English and Contemporary Literary Writing" and Carolina Amador-Moreno's (2006) "An Analysis of Hiberno-English in the Early Novels of Patrick MacGill. Bilingualism and Language Shift from Irish to English in County Donegal". Focusing on artistic dialect representation, Walshe (2009) analysed Irish English as used in films.

[12] SPICE-Ireland stands for "Systems of Pragmatic Annotation in the Spoken Component of ICE-Ireland", for more detail see Kirk's website www.johnmkirk.co.uk/cgi-bin/generic?instanceID=11.

[13] https://www.irish-english.net/conferences-prior-to-2021/ <05.07.2022>

Research on Galway English has proven rather scarce, apart from Peters (2012, 2016), Sell (2009a, 2009b, 2012) and parts of Hickey (2004a).[14] Two surveys on a few selected features of Irish English in the region of Galway were conducted by Collins (1997) and Fieß (2000). Collins (1997) took a closer look at the diphthongisation of (o) in words of the GOAT-type among speakers from the Claddagh, a former fishing village now part of Galway City. She suggests that social networks rather than age, sex or phonological environment are the decisive factors for monophthongal or diphthongal realisations of the vowel. Fieß (2000: 209) analysed the speech of five family members of three generations and concluded her study of 92 tokens of present perfect markers in rural Galway English by stating that no striking age-difference was evident, with the exception of the youngest speakers' tending slightly more towards standard perfect forms; she did, however, detect some evidence for gender-related differences (Fieß 2000: 203). Hughes et al. (2005: 117-118), in their introduction to *English accents and dialects*, also included an analysis of the speech of a Galway man in his sixties.

The present state of research shows the need for sociolinguistic studies based on empirical data, especially those dealing with urban dialects in the southern part of Ireland. Although several corpora have been compiled and some of them are based on transcribed data and texts, they represent either rather traditional speech (e.g. Filppula's corpus) or rather standardised speech (e.g. ICE-Ireland). This is where the present study fills a gap for Galway City with informal interview-style speech, but also with more formal speech styles based on a reading passage, word list and minimal pair readings. Furthermore, to the knowledge of the author, probabilistic statistical models have not, to date, been applied to analyse Irish English. In this study, statistical logistic regression (logit) models will be applied in order to quantify the influence of linguistic and social variables on linguistic variation and change and to test their significance. Generally, this study will apply binary logit models. In one case, new territory will be explored by applying a multinomial logit model (see Chapter 3).

[14] Galway has been included in Hickey's (2004a) *Sound Atlas*. There are 19 sound files for Galway City, and a few questionnaires for Galway City and County. The acceptability ratings for Galway do not differentiate between Galway City and County, which stretches well out into the Connemara Gaeltacht area.

2 A sociolinguistic approach to Irish English: Theoretical aspects

2.1 Irish English – a definition

Various terms have been in use to describe the variety of English spoken in Ireland. Many labels not only bear a certain linguistic denotation, but also a political connotation. It follows that the terminology used in this study must be defined and the contexts and limitations of terms used by other authors outlined.

Colloquially, the English language spoken in Ireland is referred to as a *brogue*, which according to Wells (1982b: 434) broadly defines "an Irish accent or the exaggerated stereotype of such an accent" and thus has somewhat negative connotations. The term *brogue* has also made its way into the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED, s.v. *brogue*), which defines it as a "strongly-marked dialectal pronunciation or accent; now particularly used of the peculiarities that generally mark the English speech of Ireland, which is treated *spec.* as *the brogue*", first found in 1705.[15] Bliss (1977: 15) even dates the first record back to 1689. The origin of this usage is unknown. It has been suggested that it may be derived from "the speech of those who wear brogues", or "who call their shoes *brogues*"[16], but there is no evidence for this etymology (OED Online 2009).

Another early researcher of Irish English, Henry (1977), sees three different forms of English as prevalent in Ireland: In his estimation, the term *Anglo-Irish* refers to the rural variety of English compounded of Irish and English or of Irish and Scots which is mainly found in areas where speakers

[15] Still, *brogue* is also used in the media to denote Scottish accents, as in the following *USA Today* articles: "And singer James Allan, in a wrenching Scottish *brogue*, unleashes his inner abandoned child in Daddy's Gone." (Gardner/Gundersen/Mansfield 2009: 6d). The association with a Scottish accent can also be found in the *New York Times:* "The room was full of guest-listed industry professionals, all trying their best to decipher his Scottish brogue." (Sanneh 2007: 7). It does not seem to be used for any other than the "Gaelic English accents", though.

[16] Another meaning of *brogue* is a "rude kind of shoe, generally made of untanned hide, worn by the inhabitants of the wilder parts of Ireland and the Scotch Highlands" (OED, s.v. *brogue*). This usage was first recorded in 1586.

have switched from Irish to English in rather recent times. Thus, the morpho-syntactic structures are largely based on Irish, whereas the lexicon is mainly derived from English. The terms *Standard English* or *Hiberno-English,* on the other hand, represent the urban standard variety that can be traced back to 17th century British settlers. Filppula (1999: 33) suggests that this terminology hints at a rural (Anglo-Irish) vs. urban (Hiberno-English) divide. As for the third strand, Henry (1977: 20) mentions *Ulster Scots*, which is mainly restricted to the northern part of the island of Ireland.

Henry's terminology and especially his use of the term *Anglo-Irish* is not unproblematic because the term *Anglo-Irish* is not always associated with the language, but is often connected with the people of Ireland or with socio-political issues. It is part of the name of the *Anglo-Irish Agreements* between the British and the Irish government in 1985 and 1998, which deal with the political situation in Northern Ireland, and it also occurs in the *Anglo-Irish Treaty* of 1921 (officially known as the *Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland)*. The historian and journalist Tanner (2006: 70), for example, writes about the "Anglo-Irish, descendants of the English conquerors" and about the "Anglo-Irish writer and critic Cyril Connolly".[17] According to Kallen (1994: 148f), *Anglo-Irish* also commonly refers to the variety of English spoken in Ireland in the Middle Ages, while *Hiberno-English* often denotes both the English language in Ireland and the field of research into this variety.

Besides various cultural and political connotations, the semantics of the term *Anglo-Irish* is misleading when talking about a variety of English. According to the most frequent word-formation pattern for English compounds, a modifier-head-pattern, the determinans or modifier is "Anglo-", and "Irish" is the determinatum or the head. It thus describes a certain form of Irish rather than a variety of English, as the majority of English compounds inherit most of their semantic and syntactic information from their heads (Hickey 2007a: 3; Plag 2003: 135f; Tristram 1997a: 19). Of course, *Anglo-Irish* could also be regarded as a coordinative copulative compound with two semantic heads, formed in analogy with *doctor-patient gap* (Plag 2003: 145ff). This analysis would certainly be justified for the *Anglo-Irish Treaty*, but less so for the English language spoken in Ireland.

[17] In the literary field, one frequently encounters the terms "Anglo-Irish literature" and "Anglo-Irish literary heritage" (see e.g. Bramsbäck 1988; Moynahan 1995; Ryan 2002).

While Moylan (1996) adopts the same terminology as Henry (1977), the usage of other terms to refer to the English language spoken in Ireland has become more common.[18] *Hiberno-English* came into use as a general term for English spoken in Ireland and was mainly propagated by Bliss from the 1970s onwards.[19] This term was subsequently adopted by many scholars working on Irish English, some of whom later on preferred the term *Irish English* (see e.g. Lass 1990; van Ryckegham 1997; Filppula 1999, 2008a; Ó hÚrdail 1997; Dolan 2004; Pietsch 2009, 2010). Tristram (1997: 19) does not value the term *Hiberno-English* highly: "The problems with hyphenated forms generally is that the *determinans* and *determinatum* relationship may suggest dependency and the idea of dependency, as indicated by the use of the hyphen, may indicate second-quality and inferior status, to which some may take offence." Walshe (2009: 16) also points out the problematic etymology of the source of the first element of the compound, *Hibernia*: Many people seem to have problems with the Latin origin of the word and do not connect it with Ireland.

Filppula uses *Irish English* and *Hiberno-English* interchangeably, which is already indicated by the title of his 1999 publication, which reads *The grammar of Irish English. Language in Hibernian style*. Yet, he ultimately prefers the term *Hiberno-English* (1999: 35). However, *Irish English* is now used by the majority of linguists as an umbrella term for the English language spoken in Ireland.[20] The advantages are obvious. It is not burdened with cultural or political connotations and can be used as a linguistic term without any further implications. The compound is formed in analogy with other national varieties of English, such as American English, Australian English, British English and South-African English. Kallen (1994: 148) thus concludes that Irish English "is used (…) simply to denote the English language as spoken in Ireland".[21] For these reasons, I will also use the term

[18] Hogan (1927/1970) refers to the English language spoken in Ireland in general as *Anglo-Irish*.

[19] Although the term saw its peak after the 1970s, other scholars had used it before then. O'Rahilly (1932) and Hutson (1947) are two early scholars referring to the English language in Ireland as Hiberno-English (from Hickey 2007a: 4).

[20] It should be mentioned, though, that Hayden and Hartog used the term *Irish English* as early as 1909. Still, it was not the favoured expression for several decades afterwards.

[21] See also McArthur (2002: 117).

Irish English throughout this study except when citing sources which use divergent terminology.

Frequently, Irish English then is subdivided into Northern Irish English and Southern Irish English. Mainly due to historical reasons, a linguistic boundary stretching roughly from Dundalk and Drogheda in the East to Bundoran and Sligo in the West runs between the northern and the southern varieties of Irish English (see Map 1), with a transition zone where the two varieties overlap (Tilling 1985: 20; Viereck/Viereck/Ramisch 2002: 143; Filppula 2013). Border counties such as Monaghan, Cavan and Louth incorporate both northern and southern features in their accents (Hickey 2004a: 30). Thus, whilst the political and the linguistic borders are not identical, they run rather parallel to each other. Some scholars prefer not to talk about discrete northern and southern varieties of Irish English, but argue for a dialect continuum instead (e.g. Harris 1984b: 115f; Kallen 1994: 175) or emphasize the "permeability of any North-South linguistic border" (Kallen 2015: vi) and suggest that such a linguistic border should rather be considered a "research agenda" (ibid). According to Hickey (2008: 72), the term *Contact English* is also used occasionally when speaking more specifically about English in the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue for Irish English as a language shift variety, and in the electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English (*eWAVE)*, Irish English in general is classified as a high-contact L1 variety.

Map 1. Ireland

Map 1: The four provinces of Ireland and the linguistic border between Southern and Northern Irish English that stretches roughly from Sligo & Bundoran to Drogheda & Dundalk. Map taken from Barry (1982: 91).

2.2 The History of Irish English

When the study of Irish English became a field of linguistic research in its own right at the beginning of the 20th century (Adams 1981: 8), it was soon recognised that there are three major elements that distinguish Irish English from other varieties of English. Hartog and Hayden (1909: 776, quoted in Filppula 1999: 12f) outline these special features as follows: Firstly, they

mention the "[s]urvivals of Tudor and Stuart English words that have disappeared from standard English, as well as of ancient meanings and constructions, besides such transformations of meaning and metaphor as have arisen from a development isolated from England, and not necessarily due to Gaelic [i.e. Irish, K.S.] influence." These historical survivals will be discussed in greater detail later on. Secondly, they discovered "[p]eculiarities due to Gaelic influence", i.e. "borrowings of Gaelic words, often more or less altered in the transfer" and "borrowings of Gaelic idioms." Their last point is "[s]olecisms that have arisen from imperfect assimilation of the alien tongue", also known as malapropisms.[22] All these features are related to the special history of English in Ireland. In the following paragraphs, the historical influence on present day Irish English and Irish language policy will be briefly outlined in its three stages.

2.2.1 The English Language in Ireland up to 1619

The English language first arrived in Ireland in the 12th century. In 1169, approximately 400 Norman soldiers landed on the coast of Wexford (Kallen 1997a: 6). Although the Norman Lords themselves spoke French, most of their tenants and followers were English-speaking English, Welsh and Flemish settlers who mainly spoke the southwestern and western Midland dialect of English (Barry 1982: 84; Hickey 2008: 72). English gained some ground during the 13th century, but it did not become the major language in Ireland. It was pushed into decline in the following decades and centuries; Irish thus remained the major language on the island. By the same token, the prestigious Norman French could not replace the native *Gaeilge* (Barry 1982: 84; Filppula 1999: 4). Hogan (1927/1970: 23) explains the linguistic situation of the 13th and 14th century in Ireland as follows:

> Irish came down again into the plains and up to the walls of the towns. With the exception of those who carried on the Dublin government, or lived in or near the Pale, the great Norman families, never having been English, now became thoroughly Irish. The

[22] The term "malapropism" stems from the character Mrs Malaprop in Sheridan's 18th century play *The Rivals*. Hickey (2007a: 19) describes malapropisms as "phonological near-hits", like calling an *ulcer* an *ulster*.

> English yeomen and small freeholders steadily forsook the land, going to England or the Pale.[23]

Kallen (1997a) describes two nearly parallel diglot social systems for the 14th century: In traditional Gaelic society, Latin and literary Irish occupied the high prestige level and vernacular Irish was the low prestige language. The native social system co-existed with the Anglo-Norman one. There, Latin and French were the languages used in high prestige domains, and vernacular English occupied the low prestige position. Back then, literary English "had only started to make inroads into the H [i.e. high prestige, K.S.] domains" (Kallen 1997a: 10; cf. also Barry 1982: 85).

With the linguistic situation looking dire for the English language, the Anglo-Norman rulers made various attempts to keep the English language and English habits alive in Ireland. Probably the best-known document of this period is the 'Statutes of Kilkenny'. Like many legal and official documents, it was originally written in Norman French. The preamble of the document clearly supports Hogan's (1927/1970) assumption that the English people in the Irish colony had assimilated:

> Whereas at the conquest of the land of Ireland, and for a long time after, the English of the said land used the English language, mode of riding and apparel, and were governed and ruled, both they and their subjects called Betaghes, according to the English law, in which time God and holy Church, and their franchises according to their condition were maintained and themselves lived in due subjection; but now many English of the said land, forsaking the English language, manners, mode of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies; and also have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid; whereby the said land, and the liege people thereof, the English language, the allagiance (sic) due to our lord the king, and the English laws there, are put in subjection and decayed, and the Irish enemies exalted and raised up, contrary to reason. (1367, in O'Brien: 2009)

Trying to change the situation, the English rulers attempted to enforce social boundaries between the English and the Irish communities and to prescribe certain rules to halt the process of Gaelicisation. These included the use of the English language and English names, as laid down in Article 3:

[23] For a map showing the Pale (the area around Dublin), see Appendix: Map 1.

> (E)very Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish; and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate; and if any English, or Irish living amongst the English, use the Irish language amongst themselves, contrary to the ordinance, and therof (sic) be attainted, his lands and tenements, if he have any, shall be seized into the hands of his immediate lord, until he shall come to one of the places of our lord the king, and find sufficient surety to adopt and use the English language, and then he shall have restitution of his said lands or tenements, his body shall be taken by any of the officers of our lord the king, and commited (sic) to the next gaol, there to remain until he, or some other in his name, shall find sufficient surety in the manner aforesaid (...). (1367, in O'Brien: 2009)

These early forms of language policy had no effect on the linguistic situation of that time. A common view is that the decline of English was also pushed forward by the Reformation from the 16th century onwards. Bliss (1977: 7) remarks that the "Irish language became the symbol of the Catholic religion", which was the religion of the native Irish and the Anglo-Norman settlers. Indeed, the view that Catholicism united the Anglo-Norman settlers and the native Irish religiously and linguistically against the Protestant English is widely supported (see e.g. de Fréine 1977: 71; Barry 1982: 86; Filppula 1999: 5).

Despite the decline of the English language, it seems likely that some forms of older English, i.e. medieval Irish English, survived in the towns throughout most of the 17th century. Bliss (1977: 8), for example, concludes that by about 1600, medieval Irish English only survived in towns and in the two rural areas of the baronies of Forth and Bargy in Co. Wexford and of the district of Fingal north of Dublin.[24] Kallen (1994: 155f), however, is among the linguists who assume that there was no rigorous linguistic break between the medieval and modern dialects or varieties of Irish English. Many scholars emphasise the precarious situation of English by the end of the 16th century (Adams 1981: 13; Bliss 1977: 8; Filppula 1999: 5; Hickey 2007a: 121ff). This holds particularly true for the rural areas. Irish was the predominant language in the countryside, whereas English was restricted to certain towns and to some parts of Leinster, including the area around Dublin which was called 'the Pale'. Among the urban population, there were

[24] For a more detailed analysis of the dialects of Forth and Bargy and Fingal, where the old dialect was spoken until the 18th (in Forth even until the mid-19th) century, see Ó Muirithe (1977b: 37ff) and Hickey (2007a: 66-84). See also Appendix: Map 1.

significantly more Irish-English bilinguals than among the rural population (Wigger 2000: 160). From the 17th century onwards, the linguistic situation changed utterly due to the Ulster plantation and the Cromwellian settlements.[25] As Hickey (2007a: 122) points out: "The shift in Ireland must have involved considerable bilingualism over several centuries."

2.2.2 The English language in Ireland from 1619 up to 1845

In the second half of the 16th century, new plantations were introduced in Laois (also spelled Leix), Offaly and Munster. The Laois and Offaly plantations were the first settlements, followed by the Munster plantation in the South of Ireland. It is hard to ascertain precise numbers of English settlers at that time, but estimates go up to 12,000 in the province of Munster by 1620 (Barnard 2000: 1). These early plantations, however, did not affect the linguistic situation in the province strongly.

The part that was most heavily affected by the English settlement policies was the northern province of Ulster (Filppula 1999: 6f). Ulster was mainly settled by Scottish Presbyterians in the early 17th century. Although the percentage of Scottish Presbyterians was higher there than elsewhere, they were still surrounded by a Catholic majority. Even though Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, took an interest in the settlements in the western province of Connacht, the area was still very much Irish: "little had been achieved by 1641 except to create a feeling of insecurity among the native Irish" (Barnard 2000: 1).

The most influential settlements in the South were the Cromwellian plantations in the 1650s. Irish land was distributed among English soldiers in Ireland to compensate them for military service, and many former soldiers (ca. 33000 to 35000 according to Barnard (2000: 10) were entitled to such remuneration. Thus, landowners that did not appear to be loyal to Cromwell's policies were re-settled from the north to the south and from the east to the west. The large-scale "plantations" envisaged could not be completed, as there were not enough Protestant tenants and labourers to replace the Catholics (Barnard 2000: 11). But land owned by Catholics was confiscated and distributed to Protestants. Hickey (2007a: 39) estimates

[25] See Appendix: Map 1 for a map showing the Pale and the periods of settlement.

that as a result, up to several hundred thousand people were transplanted. While 59 percent of the land was owned by Catholics in 1641, this share decreased sharply to a mere 20 percent within 20 years, and a good portion of this was in the comparatively barren province of Connacht (Barnard 2000: 11). Cromwell's soldiers laid siege to Galway City and, in the end, defeated it. Under Cromwell, several thousand Irish people were also transported to the Carribbean – soldiers, but mainly prisoners and indentured servants (Silke 1991: 603; Hickey 2007a: 39).

The imported planter English was distinct from the Middle Irish English spoken hitherto and from the standard form that had developed in England. At that time, one finds the sources of what was to diversify into Southern and Northern Irish English. The following regional bases can be identified: In the South, i.e. in Leinster and Munster, English as it was spoken in the West and the northwestern Midlands of England was the most influential, and in the northern part of Ulster, the dominant superstratum was southwestern Scots (Hansen/Carls/Lucko 1996: 80; Hickey 2008: 72). While the richer and more fertile provinces of Leinster and Munster were occupied by new English planters, the former Irish and Anglo-Irish landowners were displaced onto poor land in Connacht, especially its southeastern parts, which include the modern county of Galway (Bliss 1977: 12; Barry 1982: 89). Despite the new influx of English settlers and the rigid policy of plantations, Irish remained very strong throughout the 17th century (Hindley 1990: 8).

Hickey (2007a: 38) also emphasises that it is impossible to say whether the accents of the planters were so homogeneous that one English accent surrounding the Irish people acquiring English was serving as a role-model. Therefore, he concludes:

> The phonology of Irish English, certainly in the rural south-west where settlements took place in the late sixteenth century (see above), is determined by the sound system of Irish, as one might expect of a language acquired in a non-prescriptive environment by adults, so that a linguistic influence of English settlers on the shape of later southern Irish English is not discernible.

Still, the English that was introduced to Ireland in the 17th century proved to be quite influential and a shift from Irish to English started to take place. Kelly (2000: 278) describes the linguistic situation at that time:

> It is likely that initially, in areas where change was most gradual and least violent, a phase of bilingual equilibrium obtained, during which some Irish-speakers who had acquired English moved comfortably and capably for a time between two social and linguistic worlds. Others, in regions which experienced more sudden and far-reaching social change, will have had to adjust quickly and perhaps on occasion fashion themselves impromptu linguistic tools for survival in a new environment.

One must assume that there was no rigorous break between the older English forms and the 17th century dialects brought to Ireland. Hickey (2008: 72) emphasises that "on the east coast, in Dublin and other locations down to Waterford, there is a definite continuation of south-west English features which stem from the imported varieties of the first period."

Still, the isolated planters' speech became very conservative and was "increasingly subject to the influence of Irish speech habits" (Bliss 1977: 12; cf. also Hansen/Carls/Lucko 1996: 80). The gap between British English and Irish English grew wider and wider; several 17th century expressions are preserved in Irish English. Irish also influenced the English language in Ireland more directly. This related not only to single loanwords, but also to Irish idioms which had no equivalent English usage (Bliss 1977: 13). The socio-economic situation can be described as follows: The outcome of the civil war in the 17th century, following the Catholic rebellion against Strafford's heavy-handed rule in 1641, had led to a split society in the 18th century. There was a "rule of privilege versus deprivation and disability" (Henry 1977: 20). The Penal Laws included severe restrictions for the Irish on land ownership and excluded them from many political decisions. The situation turned out to be particularly dire for the rural population, remote from the Protestant areas and the sphere of commerce. Several crop failures and famines, such as the one in 1740-1741, did nothing to improve the situation (Hickey 2007a: 41). Also, there was no state-controlled education provided for Catholics. Up to 1831, Irish pupils were taught English (and educated in general) in so-called hedge schools which dated back to the end of the 17th century. The hedge schoolmasters were probably partly self-taught. One can assume that this produced semantic changes and invented pronunciations of unknown lexical items, including differing stress patterns – two features that are noteworthy in modern Irish English

(Bliss 1977: 18).[26] One also must bear in mind that a strong oral tradition in Irish continued to exist. Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 21) states that "it seems that this oral tradition was extensively shared by the ordinary people and this particular group never seems to have been able to join the ranks of the literate, even in the period of the modern language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." One reason for this situation might have been the strong Catholic tradition in Ireland of not relying on scripture reading in mass and in private as in the Protestant tradition. Furthermore, Irish poets relied more on memorising poems and prose than on writing stories down. Thus, literacy had to struggle against the force of an oral tradition.

During the 18th century, English became the language of politics, public service, trade and education. The social status of the English language played an important role for the major language shift in the 19th century. Numbers regarding the size of the population of Irish speakers in the 17th and 18th centuries must be treated with caution. Adams (1981: 13) suggests that, based on the Petty's Census of poll-tax payers from 1659, 82% of the population were Irish-speaking and 18% English-speaking. For 1799, Protestant missionaries and sources from the educational system estimated that there were 2.4 million Irish speakers (Ó Dochartaigh 2000: 7). For 1812, missionaries give the number of 2 million; by 1835, this number seems to have dropped to 1.5 million. Ó Dochartaigh (2000: 7) assumes that monoglots represent about 1/3, bilinguals about 2/3 of the total number of speakers.

De Fréine (1977) attempted to draw a detailed linguistic map of Ireland for the year 1800 despite lacking statistics and documents. He states that there were six distinct speech communities, the major languages being Irish and English. Besides that, one could find the dialect of Yola in Bargy and Forth, as well as French, German and Lowland Scots in other parts of the island. One can summarize the linguistic distribution of English and Irish as follows: The provinces of Connacht and Munster were almost entirely or mainly Irish speaking. The situation was similar in north Leinster. The

[26] Hickey (2007a: 45; 2008: 74) emphasises, in contrast, that non-standard stress patterns are restricted to words such as *exaggerate, distribute, realise* (frequently final stress) and that British English also shows variant stress patterns for these words. Thus, he suggests that the deviant emphasis should not be traced back to Irish hedge schools pre-1831. But he assumes that the fact that some Latin-derived words such as *data* or *status* trigger a spelling pronunciation in Irish English might have its origin in the speech of English L2 users.

population of south Leinster, i.e. in counties Dublin, Wicklow, Kildare, Carlow and south Wexford, were presumably English speakers. Co. Kilkenny and the remaining parts of Wexford were likely to have been substantially Irish speaking. In Laois and Offaly, a mix of both languages prevailed. Certain parts of Ulster, including north-east Antrim, south Armagh, south Derry, north Tyrone and west Fermanagh, were also predominantly Irish speaking; the same held true for most of Co. Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan. De Fréine (1977: 79f) assumes that around the year 1800 less than one third of the population, i.e. approximately 1.5 million people, were English-speaking monolinguals, while another two million were Irish speaking and about 1.5 million were bilingual.

In 1800, the Act of Union established the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and led to extended travel and more direct communication between the two islands (Bliss 1977: 16). In addition, this Act led to the establishment of National Schools in Ireland in the 1830s. There, English was the privileged language, and Irish was excluded by means of various penalties (Filppula 1999: 9).

But language shift in Ireland was not purely driven by the education system and by economic factors. Daniel O'Connell, the most prominent Catholic leader (1775-1847), favoured the English language on grounds of pragmatism (Crowley 2000: 153):

> A diversity of tongues is no benefit; (…) It would be of vast advantage to mankind if all the inhabitants spoke the same language. Therefore though the Irish language is connected with many recollections that twine around the hearts of Irishmen, yet the superior utility of the English tongue, as the medium of all modern communication, is so great that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of the Irish.

2.2.3 The English language in Ireland after the Great Famine

In the second half of the 19th century, the hedge schools disappeared completely. Irish suddenly appeared useless because of the dire economic condition of Ireland and the implications and consequences of the Great Famine (1845-1849), during which one million people died of starvation and another million fled the country, most of them emigrating to English speaking countries (de Fréine 1977: 86). This caused a huge reduction in the

Irish population[27] that affected speakers of the Irish language particularly dramatically, as the language had been strongest among those parts of the population that were most affected by death and emigration. These were people who lived in poverty and especially the inhabitants of Connacht. In accordance with these figures, Odlin (1994: 137f) states that in the western and southern provinces of Connacht and Munster, the shift from Irish to English obviously proceeded most intensely in the first half of the 19th century. Speaking the native Gaeilge was seen as an obstacle to progress (Odlin 1994: 144; McArthur 2002: 115).[28] Irish was "increasingly associated with rural backwardness, poverty and an unsophisticated peasantry" (Edwards 1984: 494). Obviously, the mass rejection of Irish in the 19th century was mainly based on the social status of the language. Hindley (1990: 12) explains the phenomenon of the vast language shift on the basis of quantitive and qualitative changes:

> The suddenness of Irish language collapse around and after 1800 may be understood in terms of the Marxian model of quantitative changes slowly building up to the major qualitative change. The desire for English built up slowly because opportunities for the masses through English built up only slowly. The steady increase in bilingualism was the quantitative change which led around 1800 to qualitative change represented by the mass abandonment of Irish. This is hardly surprising, for a necessary precondition of adjudging Irish unnecessary or "useless" would be the achievement of very wide-spread near-universal fluency in English. That is to say, universal bilingualism was the essential transitional stage on the way from an Irish-speaking to an English-speaking Ireland. By 1800 bilingualism was well advanced and the ultimative fate of the native language was near to a final extinction.

Wigger (2000: 160) also sees social elements as causing the language shift from Irish to English. He states that the Irish people probably "adopted the dominant language of the 'others' by way of a process of socially upward movement rather than as a consequence of an explicit and powerful

[27] The census data for 1841 shows a population of over 6.5 million. This number fell to barely 4 million in 1871 and showed a constant, though slower, decline up to 1961 (2.8 million). It must be mentioned that the decline between 1911 and 1936 was comparatively marginal, see http://beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/TableViewer/tableView.aspx, <12.02.2010>

[28] Similarly, Viereck (2000: 382) describes motivation as an important factor regarding the history of language.

language policy".[29] De Fréine (1977: 82ff) even describes the shift from Irish to English as a kind of utopian, collective movement.

With the Intermediate Education Act of 1878, secondary level education expanded. By the end of the century, roughly 750,000 pupils attended 8,600 national schools and 490 secondary or superior schools throughout the country (Ó Buachalla 1984: 75). Despite the inclusion of the Irish language in the national school curriculum, it was treated as a marginal extra subject. Secondary schools did not foster Irish either. English remained the language of instruction, also for children from the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas. Only from 1897 onwards were optional Irish language courses offered in teacher training colleges; none of the colleges had instructors for Irish before 1900 (Ó Buachalla 1984: 78f).

In the late 19th century, the cultural situation started to change. The foundation of the Gaelic League in 1893 led to a revival of values regarded as typically Irish, including Gaeilge. Educational reform was at the centre of the campaigns. Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the Gaelic League, stated in the editorial of the weekly bilingual newspaper *An Claidheumh Soluis* of 13th August 1904: "Had the education of the country been sane and national for the last hundred years there would never have been a necessity for the language movement; when it is thoroughly sane and national again in all its branches, the necessity for the language movement will have ceased" (cited in Ó Buachalla 1984: 80). Around the same time, a bilingual programme for primary schools was introduced and developed further. The census of 1901 suggests that 85% of the population of 3.22 million were monoglot English speakers, 15% spoke Irish, among them approximately 21,000 Irish monoglots, "concentrated in the poorest and remotest parts of the country" (de Fréine 1977: 86).[30]

In 1922, the Irish Free State was founded. Southern Ireland was granted dominion status while Northern Ireland remained in the UK. The new Free State consisted of 26 counties, a territory that had never before been seen as a unit and was now cut off from the industrial heart of Ireland in Northern Ireland, leaving the southern part economically weak

[29] For further information on causes of the decline of the Irish language in Ireland see Hindley (1990: 179ff) and Kelly (2000: 266f).

[30] Hickey (2007a: 48) points out that it is difficult to give exact figures for speakers of Irish "because government statistics today exaggerate in favour of Irish."

(Breen/Hannan/Rottman/Whelan 1990: 2). The educational policies introduced in the Irish Free State "sought to accord the Irish language, Irish history and the associated cultural tradition a significant place in the curriculum of national and secondary schools" (Ó Buachalla 1984: 84; see also O'Donoghue 1999).[31]

In 1937, Ireland became a republic, and in 1949 it left the Commonwealth. Because of growing nationalism, Irish was introduced as a compulsory subject in schools and it became the first official language in the state even though the language shift from Irish to English had been almost complete by 1900 (de Fréine 1977: 86). Today, Irish is a mandatory subject (exceptions exist) for most students taking the Leaving Certificate Examination.

This overview has shown that English was brought over to Ireland on many occasions and at different times and that Irish and English have been competing languages for centuries. Hickey (2007a: 21) summarizes the situation as follows:

Hence there is no historically continuous variety of English in Ireland which is anywhere close to south-eastern British English. Given this fact, the attitude in Ireland to the latter type of English plays a role which is quite different from that in other colonies whose English is much closer to standard forms of British English.

Nevertheless, language is constantly subject to change. It is interesting to dig into the dynamics of contemporary Irish English, as there are "increased pressures for linguistic change in the present day", namely

[31] During the time the Free State lasted, only approximately 5% of each cohort of primary school pupils obtained secondary education (Ó Buachalla 1984: 85). Pupils taking the Intermediate or Leaving Examinations had to take Irish as a subject from 1928 onwards (ibid). By the mid-1930s, Irish was taught as an obligatory subject in the national, vocational and secondary schools, and sometimes pupils were even instructed through Irish (Ó Buachalla 1984: 86). In the 1950s, schools started to withdraw from Irish-medium teaching again. There were 420 Irish-speaking national schools in 1960. Many teachers rejected the focus on Irish in the educational policy of Ireland. The primary curriculum of 1971 suggested that the minimum weekly time allocation for Irish should range from 3 ½ to 5 hours (Ó Buachalla 1984: 88). There was a shift in emphasis from the written language to oral competence. When investigating the role of the church in the Irish educational system, O'Donoghue (1999) stresses that the church was not opposed to the government's efforts to focus on the Irish language, as "a curriculum which emphasised a 'glorious' past rather than future progress also appealed to a Church opposed to liberalism, material progress and modernity."

"through increased travel, education, and the widespread availability and influence of the media", as Tilling (1985: 16) observed already in the 1980s.

2.3 The languages of Ireland today

2.3.1 Background information Ireland and Galway

The island of Ireland is subdivided into 32 counties of various sizes and population numbers. Six counties make up Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the remaining 26 counties constitute the Republic of Ireland. Geographically, the largest counties are Cork in the South and Galway in the West, and the smallest are Louth and Carlow in the East. The status of Ireland as an island implies a clear geographical separation of Irish English from other varieties of English, with one possible exception, namely "the Ulster-West Scotland which because of continued contact and demographic movement over many centuries have come to share certain features which are not found in central and southern Ireland" (Hickey 2012b: 79; see also Map 2; Map 3). As mentioned before, the linguistic border between Northern and Southern Irish English is not identical with the political border, but runs approximately parallel to it. It has been discovered that some salient features of Northern Irish English, such as mid front vowel breaking and *u*-fronting can be found further down the east coast outside the original Northern Irish English region (see Chapter 4 on Phonology). *U*-fronting extends almost to Co. Dublin. Other features that are used in the inner-Irish transition zone are the ambidental fricatives [θ] and [ð] for dental stops in the south, fronted allophones of /u:/ and /u/, i.e. [ʉ·], reduced vowel length distinctions, retroflex [ɻ] in syllable-final position, a greater pitch range between stressed and unstressed syllables, a greater allophony of /æ/ and the recessive use of glides after velars and before front vowels as in *Cavan* [ˈkjævən] (Hickey 2004a: 30-31).

According to the 2016 Census, the Republic of Ireland (henceforth: RoI) had a population of slightly fewer than 4.8 million (2006: 4.2 million) spread

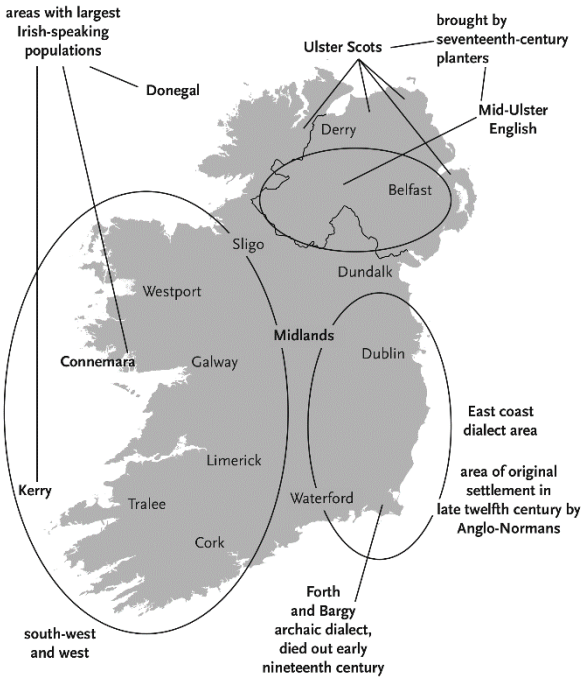
out over the four provinces of Leinster, Munster, Ulster[32] and Connacht, with almost 1.2 million living in Dublin City and County.

Dublin is part of the East Coast, which is one of the main dialect regions of Ireland, as can be seen in Map 2 (Hickey 2004a: 25). The east stretches from Dundalk to Waterford and includes the area historically known as the Pale (see Chapter 2.2). Galway City, in contrast, is the capital of the West and thus poses a counterpart to Dublin, although it is considerably smaller.

Although there are said to be differences between urban and rural areas, Southern Irish English has been said to be rather homogenous (see also Adams 1977: 56; Bliss 1977; Barry 1982: 110): "Of course there are regional differences; it is usually possible to recognise from a man's accent what part of the country he comes from. Yet in the three southern provinces, at least, there are fewer basic differences than one might expect." (Bliss 1977: 18f).

Hickey (2004a: 24-25) attempts to show dialect divisions in a map (Map 2). For the southern part, he differentiates between the east coast, the west and south-west and as a third rather diffuse and dialectally not fixed area, the Midlands.

[32] 6 of the 9 counties of Ulster form Northern Ireland, while the 3 counties of Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan are part of the RoI. Northern Ireland had a population of roughly 1.8 million in 2011 (CSO Census 2011: 10).



Map 2: Major dialect divisions of Irish English (map own graphic according to source Hickey 2004a: 25)[33]

Galway City is a fast-growing university town in the West of Ireland, roughly 200 kilometres from the Irish capital Dublin (see Map 1). In 2016, Galway city and county had a combined population of 258,058, of whom 79,934 were living in Galway City and the suburbs, the third largest city in the RoI after Dublin and Cork (CSO Census 2016).[34] Galway City had the highest proportion of residents born in another country, namely 25% in the 2011 and 18.6% in the 2016 census (CSO Census 2011: 37; CSO Census

[33] Many thanks are due to Raymond Hickey for kindly providing me with a high resolution version of the map.

[34] In 2002, there were less than 66,000 people living in Galway, http://beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=77116, <12.02.2010>.

2016). In 2006, roughly 17% of Galway's citizens were non-nationals (Galway City Development Board 2009). The town is situated near Ireland's largest and most populous Irish-speaking region, the western Gaeltacht. But Galway City also has areas within the designated (historical) Gaeltacht borders, namely parts of Knocknacarra, Menlo, Castlegar, Tirellan and Ballinfoyle. Considerable contact between English and Irish takes place, but the great majority of Galwegians converse and conduct most of their business in English: The 2006 census shows that of the reported 6,878 speakers, only 474 (less than 7%) reported using Irish on a daily basis.[35] On his website "Discover Irish", Hickey also suggests that the majority of the speakers in the "Galway City Gaeltacht" are migrants from the Gaeltacht area moving to Galway City for work.

The University of Galway (NUIG) is part of the National University of Ireland with over 18,000 students in 2018.[36] It offers a bilingual environment with regular use of the Irish language both in academia and on campus in general. The Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology (GMIT) with about 9,000 students also has its largest campus in Galway. In 2018, it committed to ensuring better bilingual services.

2.3.2 Standard Irish English?

For historical reasons, the English language has a rather complex status in present-day Ireland. Although English serves as the dominant means of communication at all levels for most people, Irish – which is spoken as a native language by approximately 3% of the population as a whole – has the status of first official language in the Republic of Ireland and as a "national language of literature and culture regardless of its formal status" (Kallen 1997a: 18). The contradiction between the de jure and the de facto status of Irish English seems to have a considerable impact on its social status and on the development of a national standard (cf. also Kallen 1997a: 1; Hickey 2007a: 26f), with the present situation of English still being only the second official language. Hickey (2007a: 26) emphasises that a non-local,

[35] For more details on the Gaeltachts and Irish, see Hickey's website "Discover Irish", www.uni-due.de/DI.

[36] www.nuigalway.ie/about-us/, <09.11.2019>

supraregional form was accepted as a standard variety by Irish society in the 20th century, but this process did not contain any codified or elaborated standard as common for other national varieties[37]. Therefore one has to ask: What role does Irish English play in Ireland today? Has there been any development (de jure and de facto) in the position of Irish and Irish English?

In the 21st century, there are no monoglot Irish speakers and the great majority of Irish citizens do not speak Irish in everyday life at all. A networked communications study among schoolchildren from the Gaeltacht, from Irish-medium schools and from English-medium schools by Fleming and Debski (2007) shows that the level of exposure to Irish is crucial for the level of communication in Irish. In the West, more specifically in Co. Galway, where the Irish language is still relatively prevalent, the 1996 census came to the conclusion that less than 20% of the population over three years of age spoke Irish daily.[38] Although the Irish language is spoken by the minority of the population of the RoI, it functions as the first official language and is stated to be the "national language"[39] in Article 8 of the Constitution of Ireland of 1937. English is only recognised as "a second official language"[40]. Nevertheless, the Constitution also provides the possibility for exceptions: "Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or in any part thereof."[41]

Irish language policy has aimed at reversing the trend to become an only English-speaking nation, for example by supporting designated Irish-

[37] This question has been extensively discussed and led to the publication of *Standards of English. Codified Varieties around the World*, published in 2012 and edited by Hickey (2012a). For British English, for example, codification in grammar books and (pronunciation) dictionaries such as the OED, the OALD or the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary exist; for American English, the same holds true with e.g. Webster's or the Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary or the OAAD.

[38] Cf. http://www.galway.ie/bfcg/bfcg_atlases/atlas_p133.htm. The 1991 Census concluded that only 32.5 % of all Irish people aged over two were able to speak Irish. Those people were almost exclusively bilingual with English as their first language, cf. Hansen/Carls/Lucko (1996: 86).

[39] http://www.coimisineir.ie/index.php?page=cearta_bunreachtula&tid=10&lang=english#

[40] http://www.coimisineir.ie/index.php?page=cearta_bunreachtula&tid=10&lang=english#

[41] http://www.coimisineir.ie/index.php?page=cearta_bunreachtula&tid=10&lang=english#; similar provisions were set out in the first Constitution, the Constitution of Saorstát Éireann.

speaking Gaeltacht areas (including swathes in Co. Galway)[42] and by making the learning of Irish at school compulsory. [43] The number of Irish-medium schools has been steadily increasing within and outside the Gaeltachtaí since the 1970s.[44] In the 1970s, an Irish-speaking radio channel, called *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, was established in Connacht (Hindley 1990: 173).[45] The national broadcaster, RTÉ, has parts of its programming in Irish, and an Irish-language channel, TG 4*,* also exists.

The official attitude towards the Irish language is reflected in the comments of a White Paper of 1965:

> The Irish language is an integral part of our culture (…) Down the centuries it has moulded and given expression to the thoughts and feelings of the Irish people. English, of course, has also contributed to our national heritage but the English we speak still bears the imprint of the attitudes of mind and modes of expression which prevailed when Irish was the language of general use. It is through Irish as a living language that we and those who come after us can most surely retain a lively sense and understanding of the unique and essential elements of the Irish character.[46]

Here it becomes evident that modern Irish language policy and the status attached to Irish and English are closely linked to Ireland's political history. In this context, Kallen (1997a: 19) mentions the "lack of a symbolic or unifying function (of Irish English, K.S.) in society"[47].

In spite of the political concentration on the Irish language, Barry describes the development of an 'Educated Standard' of Irish English in the region of Dublin particularly for official use and for the broadcasting sector.

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[42] The *Gaeltachtaí* are isolated Irish-speaking areas in counties Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Mayo, Meath and Waterford. See also Appendix 3: Map 2.

[43] Currently, the language rights are specified under the Official Languages Act 2003 which supports the constitutional provision regarding Irish and the common law. This act places rather onerous obligations and duties on state bodies in relation to the Irish language. Among the specified rights are the right to receive replies in Irish to correspondence in Irish from every public body, and the right to use Irish before the Houses of the Oireachtas (=Parliament) and the orders dealing with Irish placenames.

[44] Cf. Fás ar an nGaelscolaíocht sa Ghalltacht: http://www.gaelscoileanna.ie/about/statistics/?lang=en <09.01.2015> In 1972, there were fewer than 20 Irish-speaking primary and secondary schools outside the Gaeltachtaí. In 2012/13, their number had increased to approximately 180 in the Republic of Ireland.

[45] Cf. Hindley (1990: 173).

[46] Extracts of the White Paper of 1965 cited in Kallen 1994: 186.

[47] Kallen 1997a: 19.

He (1982: 90) states that this variety is "based on the speech of Radió Telefís Éireann (RTÉ) national newsreaders, national leaders, and school teachers trained in colleges in the Dublin area". Hansen, Carls and Lucko see the linguistic differences to Standard British English mainly in the field of phonetics and phonology. They suggest that this educated variety might serve as the basis for an Irish national spoken standard. The written standard is generally based on Standard British English. Nevertheless, because of the political focus on the Irish language, there seem to have been no attempts by successive governments and state agencies to recognize or even codify a form of Irish English as a national standard.

Hickey (2005a; 2008: 186) maintains that supraregional Irish English as a non-local dialect developed out of middle-class Dublin English during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He (2007a: 26f) insists that a standard variety "does not enjoy the consciousness of standard languages in other countries" and suggests that "scales of standardness" with vernacularity and standardness as the two ends of the continuum might help to determine the notion of standard Irish English (see Figure 3). These scales could also have "cut-off points" (Hickey 2007a: 27) which single out speakers of other varieties of English.

Syntax		
standard		• resultative perfective (O+PP word order) • inversion with embedded questions • lack of *do* in *have* questions • punctual use of *never* • lack of *to* with infinitives after *ask, help, allow, use* • use of present in present perfect contexts • moderate fronting for topicalisation purposes • *mustn't* as negative epistemic modal • *be* as auxiliary with verbs like *go, finish* • immediate perfective (*after* V-*ing*) • generic use of article
vernacular		• *for to* with infinitives of purpose • subordinating *and* • unmarked plurals after numerals • zero subject relative pronoun • non-standard subject concord • habitual (*do(es) be*) • negative concord • failure of negative attraction
Morphology		
standard		• *ye* as a second-person-plural pronoun
vernacular		• *them* as demonstrative • *youse, yeez* (rather than *ye*) • unbound reflexives • *seen* and *done* as preterites • *learn* for *teach* • *went* as past participle
Phonology		
standard		• *t*-lenition to apico-alveolar fricative [t̺] • dental stops for ambidental fricatives • central [a:] in BATH lexical set • vowel epenthesis in *film, helm* • monophthongs in FACE and GOAT lexical sets
vernacular		• alveolar stops for ambidental fricatives • *t*-lenition beyond [t̺] to [ʔ, h] or zero

Figure 3: Approximate scales of standardness in Irish English (adapted from Hickey 2007a: 28)

The notion of Standard English is a difficult one. Beyond doubt, a common international perception of a standard norm of written English exists, but, on closer inspection, one finds various preferences and differing idiomatic usage between the major varieties of English even in written language – and this is not restricted to the lexicon.

Still, the abstraction of Standard English as a reference category can be useful. Standard English is a variety, or rather a set of varieties, that is used for international communication, serves as the target reference for language teaching, and is used by newscasters and several people in public office (Kortmann/Upton 2008: 2). It certainly is the most prestigious variety of English. Yet, it must be seen as one variety among other, non-standard varieties. Unless one wants to adopt a prescriptive stance, no variety (regional, national, social, contact, ethnic, …) can be seen as better or worse. Furthermore, there are no clear-cut boundaries between different dialects or varieties. Rather, one should talk about a dialect continuum, both for regional and social varieties, and both for phonology and for morphosyntax (Kortmann/Upton 2008: 25). For more details on areal features and a comparison of varieties, see e.g. Kortmann/Upton 2008; Hickey 2012b).

Additionally, salient features of one variety need not be restricted to this variety. Frequently, they occur in several other varieties and may even be linguistic universals. Therefore, it is the combination of certain features rather than their unique appearance that determines a certain variety. Inter- and frequently intrapersonal variation are also important factors: Not all speakers in a particular region use features typical of this dialect to the same extent. Also, the majority of speakers may display more or less local features depending on aspects like formality, familiarity, or social status differences in the speech situation; even the conversational topic can be an important factor here. Language usage is determined both by language internal and external, i.e. social factors. These can be quantified and their influence measured. This means that language variation and change is by no means arbitrary; one can detect underlying patterns (Tagliamonte 2006; Kortmann/Upton: 2008: 24-25).

Hickey (1999: 265) emphasises that Irish people do not regard Received Pronunciation (RP) as their prestige form.[48] The prestigious role is occupied rather by an educated, non-local south Dublin accent. Also in other regions within the British Isles, RP plays a less important role. For example in Scotland, the standard spoken variety is Scottish Standard English. It basically shares its grammar with standard English English but shows a distinct Scottish accent (Stuart-Smith 1999: 203). At least for the Glasgow region, Stuart-Smith (1999: 204) states that "RP has little status in Glasgow, and is regarded with hostility in some quarters. The position of other accents of English is less clear."

2.3.3 Irish

Since Irish is not the focus of this thesis, this chapter does not set out to deal with the subject of Irish in any depth, but merely to locate the debate about language contact (see e.g. Pietsch 2009; 2010), substratum accounts and code-switching.

Furthermore, since parts of Galway are officially in the Gaeltacht area, it is important to describe the role of Irish, the major dialect divisions in Ireland and some striking features. This part is mainly based on Ó Dochartaigh (1992) and Hickey (2018).

It is only in the Gaeltacht areas (or Gaeltachtaí) that one finds significant numbers of native Irish speakers. The Gaeltachtaí are fragmented areas surrounded by a predominantly English-speaking area. Because of the isolation of the individual dialects of Irish, "no accepted koine has emerged to replace the standardised variety which held sway in the medieval period" (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 29). Wagner's *Linguistic atlas and survey of Irish dialects* in four volumes (1958-1969) is probably the most comprehensive work dealing with the different dialects of Irish. It contains linguistic maps

[48] Furthermore, unionists and nationalists in Northern Ireland tend to have different prestige forms of English: "The impression that strikes anyone who is familiar with the sociolinguistic situation in the North [of Ireland, K.S.] is that, for some nationalists, linguistic targets dictating the direction of standardisation appear to be defined at least in part by southern norms" (Harris 1991: 46 quoted in McCafferty 1999: 251). Yet, McCafferty's findings (1999: 264) somewhat restrict this view for certain sound changes.

created on the basis of traditional dialectological fieldwork conducted in the 1950s. The speech analysed was thus the speech of older people.

Today, most Irish people with secondary education have some knowledge of Irish, "though few would be capable of holding a sustained conversation in it", as Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 27) observes. The census data from 2016 show that a mere 4.2% of the Irish population use Irish on a daily basis outside the education system, whereas 23.8% never speak Irish.

Comparing the three major dialects of Modern Irish, namely those of Munster, Connacht and Ulster (the Donegal Gaeltacht),[49] the greatest differences are found in the field of phonetics and phonology. Diachronically, Munster Irish maintains the most conservative morphological system, but its pronunciation has progressed farthest from Classical Irish. Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 30) suggests that just the reverse obtains for the Northern dialects, which boast a more conservative phonological system but more divergent morphology.

Given the reception of the Irish language, it can be assumed that the number of fluent Irish speakers was underestimated in the 19th century censuses, whereas census data trends have tended to exaggerate the usage of Irish in more recent years, now that public and political attitudes towards Irish are more positive (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 26). Although most people who have completed secondary education should have some Irish, not all of them would be able to communicate in Irish fluently. Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 27) suggests that "only those who regard themselves as revivalists and as committed to the preservation of the language will actually make any sustained use of it." The pronunciation of the non-native speakers usually has an Irish English accent, being a form of Learner Irish. They also seem to use less code-switching than native speakers (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 27).

Most native Irish speakers with the fullest scope are found in the Gaeltacht in south-west Connacht. Yet, the Irish language is currently changing considerably, simply because its usage is declining. This accounts for stark generational differences, manifested in "lexical impoverishment, a

[49] The official Gaeltacht areas today are found in 7 of the 26 counties, the most populated ones being the Galway Gaeltacht, the Donegal and the Mayo Gaeltacht. 96,092 people live in the designated Gaeltacht areas (CSO 2017: Census 2016), of whom 63,664 or 66.3% can speak Irish.

simplification of the traditional morphological system of the noun and various influences from the syntax of English" (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 30).

There are some dialectal differences in the vocabulary of Irish. Most common words are the same all over the island, but some words, of course, occur only in individual dialects. Because of the decline of oral literacy, most speakers of Irish have a much more comprehensive passive than active vocabulary and some terms appear to be disappearing. Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 31) remarks that "even words which one might have thought to be essential for normal everyday living are being lost." Syntactically, the dialects are rather similar, with Irish being a post-specifying language. For instance, adjectives follow the nouns qualified as in *leabhar spéisiúl* [book interesting] 'an interesting book' (Hickey 2018).[50]

This thesis introduces only a very few features of the Irish language to give some basic background for the retention vs. substratum debate introduced in chapter 2.4 and referred to in several further sections[51].

As for syntax, in Irish sentences, the verbal element comes first and is followed by the subject (verb-subject-object structure, V-S-O); sometimes the subject is synthesised with the verb. Then, complements and adjuncts follow.

Chuaigh Síle go Sasana anuraidh.
[went Sheila to England last-year]
'Sheila went to England last year.' (Hickey 2018)
Thug mé an leabhar do Shéan inné.
[gave I the book to John yesterday.]
'I gave the book to John yesterday.'

Direct objects precede the indirect objects, except when the direct object is a pronoun, which is then put into sentence-final position, as in:

Thug mé do Shéan inné é.
[gave I to John yesterday it.]
'I gave it to John yesterday' (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 37)

If elements in a declarative sentence are moved to the front for emphasis, this is done via clefting[52], as in

[50] For more information on Irish, see e.g. Hickey's website "Discover Irish" (www.uni-due.de/DI; last updated 2018)

[51] E.g. in chapters 5.2 and 6.2.

[52] For clefting in Irish English, see Chapter 6.2.

Is go Sasana a chuaigh Síle anuraidh.

[is to England that went Sheila last-year]

'It's to England that Sheila went last year.' (Hickey 2018)

The sentence structure is the same in interrogative and negative sentences, the only difference being the preverbal article:

Chonnaic mé an t-eitleán.

[saw I the plane]

'I saw the plane.'

An bhfáca tú é?

[QUESTION saw you it?]

'Did you see it?'

Ní fháca mé é.

[not saw I it]

'I didn't see it.'

Regarding the verbal system, there is no infinitive in Irish. Instead, a non-finite verb form is used, usually referred to as a "verbal noun", which can represent an English infinitive complement or a progressive form, as in

Ba mhaith leis dul (verbal noun) amach.

[would like with-him going out]

'He wants to go out.'

Tá Brian ag foghlaim (verbal noun) na Fraincise.

[is Brian at learning French-GENITIVE]

'Brian is learning French.' (Hickey 2018)

Irish also uses the substantive verb *bí*, which mainly reflects existence, position or state. It can also be used as an inflected auxiliary to indicate aspect, with the aspect marker being a preposition and the verb being in non-finite form, or it can express habituality, as in

Bíonn sí ag scríobh go luath gach maidin.

[is-HABITUAL she at write [early every morning]

'She is always writing early in the morning.' (Hickey 2018)[53]

Word stress and vowel quantity in unstressed syllables form the major dialectal differences in the field of phonetics and phonology.[54] In the period of the Ogam inscriptions, it is assumed that Irish developed initial stress, causing a reduction of formerly long vowels in unstressed syllables. Later,

[53] For tense-aspect marking in Galway English see Chapter 6.2.1.

[54] For word stress in Irish English, see Chapter 6.1.

this development was reversed due to the Late Middle or Early Classical Irish vocalisation of voiced fricatives in unstressed syllables, which were subsequently lengthened. Also, several loanwords derived from Anglo-Norman nouns were interpreted as having long vowels in unstressed position, such as *garsún* (French *garçon*), or *buidéal* (English *bottle*) (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 32).

The modern dialect of west Connacht Irish has largely preserved this stress pattern with initial word stress and long vowels in unstressed syllables. The Munster and, to a lesser extent, the east Connacht dialects have undergone deep changes. Here, long vowels only co-occur with stressed syllables. So the word *bradán*, meaning 'salmon', 'swelling of the skin' or a 'metal ridge', would be /brˈda:n/ in Munster and /ˈbruda:n/ in Connacht. In Ulster dialects, word initial stress has been retained, but vowels in unstressed syllables are short and sometimes reduced, mainly in east Ulster (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 33).

The Munster dialects use a homorganic plosive instead of the Classical Irish voiced fricative in some word endings, which may be related to these stress patterns. The northern dialects prefer vocalising the fricative. So the word *marcaigh* 'horsemen' is pronounced /ˈmarkig'/[55] in Munster, /ˈmarki:/ in Connacht and /ˈmarki/ with a short unstressed vowel in Ulster (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 33). It should be noticed, though, that the three major dialect areas are not uniform by any means but show a certain degree of phonetic variation. The presentation in this chapter is an idealised one.

Reflexives are used more widely in Irish than in Standard English. The element *féin* is attached to the nominal head, directly following the determiner. It can also be attached to pronouns or to conjugated pronominals, e.g. *an fear féin* 'the man himself', *sinn féin* 'we ourselves' (*Sinn Féin* is also the name of a political party) (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 54).[56]

In the weak plural formation, often the final consonant or consonant cluster is changed by palatalising a neutral phoneme, e.g. 'cat' is *cat* /kat/ in the singular and *cait* /kat'/ in the plural. The forms for 'salmon', *bradán* /brada:n/ and *bradáin* /brada:n'/ and 'bull' *tarbh* /tarv/ and *tairbh* /tir'v'/ are modelled analogously (Ó Dochartaigh 1992: 62). The phonemes /s/ and /s'/ are realised as [s] and [ʃ].

[55] The accent ˈ signifies the palatal phonemes.

[56] For the pronominal system of Irish English, see chapter 6.2.4.

Ó Dochartaigh (1992: 83) points out that alveolar /t, d/, the affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ and the voiced fricatives /z, ʒ/ are unassimilated loans from English. Generally, all elements of consonant clusters are either neutral or palatalised. The rule for the distribution of palatal ('slender') and non-palatal ('broad') consonants are as follows: A consonant or group of consonants is broad if the neighbouring vowel is a velar, e.g. *doras* 'door' (*d*, *r*, and *s* are all broad), *focal* 'word' (*f, c* and *l* are broad). A consonant or group of consonants is slender if the neighbouring vowel is a palatal, e.g. *mín* 'smooth' (*m* and *n* are both slender), *deifir* 'haste' (*d, f* and *r* are all slender) (McGonagle 2001: 2). Of course, there are minimal pairs showing the distribution of broad and slender consonants, often differentiated by spelling, for example *bí* 'to be' with a palatal consonant and *buí* 'yellow' with a broad one with a velar offglide.

When the English language gained dominance in Ireland, the Irish phonemic system consisted of plosives, fricatives, nasals and laterals with pairs of palatal and non-palatal phonemes, e.g. /p', p/ and /k', k/ (the accent ' signifying the palatal phonemes; non-palatals are not marked).[57] Yet, one has to mention that this system is idealised and simplified. In reality, a great deal of intra- and interdialectal variation exists.[58]

2.4 The strata model and language universals

Much of the study of Irish English historically, but also at present centres around two questions (e.g. Siemund 2013; Pietsch 2009; Hickey 2008: 85f; Filppula 1991, 1999, 2008b; Henry 1977): To what degree does Irish English reflect the effects of language contact between Irish and English stretching over a period of more than 800 years? And to what degree does Irish English show other characteristics of historical change and variation? These questions are beyond the scope of this thesis, therefore only a short

[57] Bliss (1984: 137) assumes that English was first adapted to the Munster Irish phonemic system and then spread into other dialects.

[58] Wagner's (1958-1969) *Linguistic Atlas of and Survey of Irish Dialects* presents a detailed analysis of the variation present during the first half of the 20th century. Volume III of the atlas deals with Connacht Irish in depth.

presentation of the strata theory will be given. Where pertinent information is available, it will be mentioned in the relevant chapters of this thesis.

The strata model is a linguistic approach referring to languages in a contact situation with the terms *substratum*, specified as the linguistic variety "which has influenced the structure or use of a more dominant variety or language within a community" (Crystal 2008: 463-464); *superstratum*, i.e. the linguistic variety "which has influenced the structure or use of a less dominant variety or language within a community" (Crystal 2008: 465); and *adstratum* (features in a language resulting from contact with another language with the possibility of convergence, Crystal 2008: 13-14). The strata model is often used as the theoretical basis of contact linguistics and especially so in the study of Irish English.

One of the linguists who has criticised the model in connection with the study of Irish English is Filppula. He (2000: 315) questions the strata model from a variationist's point of view because "the Layer Cake Model tends to overlook the intricate patterns of variation which exist in contact vernaculars both at the inter- and intraindividual levels". He describes the strata model as a less successful variant of the River and Lake Model proposed by Uriel Weinreich in 1953 in his publication *Languages in Contact*, where Weinreich (1953/1979: 11) draws a distinction between *interference in speech*, which is "like sand carried by a stream" and *interference in language*, which he describes as "sedimented sand deposited on the bottom of a lake". Weinreich (1953/1979: 11) states that "[i]n language, we find interference phenomena which, having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established".

Nevertheless, linguists hold differing opinions regarding the influence of substratum and superstratum, respectively, on the features of contemporary Irish English. Kallen (1994: 191) puts it thus: "Arguments concerning the origins of IE features such as the phonology of the dental/alveolar group of consonants, perfective forms in syntax, and various aspects of the lexicon have tended to be framed in either substratumist or retentionist terms. Substratumist explanations rely largely on the notions of 'transfer' or 'interference' from Irish to English (…), while a retentionist position seeks support from the history or dialectal distribution of English

itself." More detailed accounts will be given, e.g., on the origin of the perfect markers in Chapter 5.2.

Harris (1984a, 1984b, 1991), who was among the first scholars to criticize the heavy reliance on substratumist positions, suggests that the debate about strata vs. language universals should be included in the debate about creole genesis. He (1991: 209) argues that "[r]ather than seeking a unique substratal or superstratal source for a particular linguistic feature, it is often more illuminating to regard the two as mutually reinforcing."

Another possible source for at least some distinctive features of IE which arise from neither substratum nor superstratum influences is language universals or contact features which are based on the language contact situation in Ireland (cf. Kallen 1994: 193; 1997a: 4; see also Filppula 1999: 24ff; Hickey 2012b; Pietsch 2009). The rather recent universalist approach can be regarded as a possibility to "update early suggestions that there is something significant about the contact process itself in the development of IrE and similar varieties" (Kallen 1997a: 4, see also e.g. Siemund 2006; Pietsch 2009). As Hickey (2008: 85) summarizes the debate about the origin of Irish English features, "[c]onvergence became the new standard wisdom with contact and retention occupying places of equal standing in the history of Irish English."

2.5 Sociolinguistic methodology: social variables

2.5.1 Developments in sociolinguistics

In this chapter, major developments in sociolinguistics will be outlined. Details and evaluation related to the present study are found in Chapters 2.5 and 3. The study of language has seen many different approaches. While generativists and structuralists are mainly interested in formal theoretical structures of language, sociolinguists investigate patterns of variation and changes. Sociolinguistics has been heavily influenced by traditional dialectology and descriptive linguistic studies, and it is now linked to several other fields within linguistics. Indeed, the boundaries are blurred. Siemund (2013: 11), for example, sees dialectology as the "precursor" of sociolinguistics. While in older dialectological studies, the NORM speakers

(non-mobile, older rural males) were the focus of (questionnaire- or interview-based) research and the results, i.e. the geographic distribution of certain features, were frequently presented in maps or linguistic atlases (see e.g. Wagner 1958-1969), social factors and language change have been in the centre of interest during the last few decades. Yet, dialectology and sociolinguistics are strongly intertwined, as publications and contributions such as *Dialectology* by Chambers & Trudgill (1998) and *Social Dialectology* by Mesthrie (2000) and by Britain & Cheshire (2003) show. Milroy & Gordon (2003: 21) suggest that "current dialectological research (…) bridges the gap between dialect geography and variationist sociolinguistics." For an overview, see also Krug (2000: 18-20).

William Labov with his landmark publication *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966) is one of the founding fathers of quantitative research taking social variables into account (see Chapter 2.5). This approach is known as the variationist method. Linguists such as Chambers, Tagliamonte, the Milroys and Gordon, just to name a few, have followed and developed this tradition. Sociolinguistics and dialectology are now strongly intertwined. Developments include the focus on aspects of language change and of social stratification: "Social dialectology differs from traditional dialectology in its shift of focus from rural, settled communities to communities characterised by immigration and mobility" (Britain & Cheshire 2003: 2).

Contact linguistics and language typology have also come to play an important role in the sociolinguistic discussion, see e.g. Kortmann (2004, 2008); Kortmann & Lunkenheimer (2013). In this context, the notion of *vernacular universals* or *angloversals* has gained some prominence (see e.g. Hickey 2012b). These different, yet interwoven strands of linguistics will form the basis of the current study.

Sociolinguistic methodology also shows various facets, yet one axiom is shared by the different approaches, namely the reliance on real data, i.e. the strictly empirical nature of the discipline, although the focus might be on rather impressionistic descriptions of features or on quantitative and qualitative research.

One central aspect of sociolinguistic research on variation and change is the investigation of the influence of different social variables on the actual use of language. Therefore, major social, i.e. external, variables will be

outlined in the following passages and their importance for new insights into the development of language highlighted. Chapter 3 will discuss issues dealing with the present study and data collection.

2.5.2 Social variables

2.5.2.1 Age

Age is probably the least controversial of all social factors. While societies might become more or less socially mobile and gender roles have been subject to profound changes during the past centuries and even decades, a person is 10 or 30 or 80 years old, regardless of the political system.[59]

Yet, Coupland (2001a: 185) regards age as "sociolinguistics' under-developed social dimension. Sociolinguistics has, for example, made an outstanding contribution to gender research" but has shown less interest in social experiences of adulthood.

It is evident that language usage evolves in certain stages, yet the classification of these stages has been the subject of debate for many years. The interaction of age and gender has also been discussed: Romaine (1984: 113) claimed that social differences in language usage occur during childhood, since she "found some evidence for sex-differentiation in the use of certain variables by children as young as six years old" in her Edinburgh data. Already at this young age, boys used non-standard variants more often than girls, which is in line with current gender-related hypotheses (see the following chapter for further remarks on this social variable).

Chambers (1995: 158) concludes that "[w]hen children acquire their mother tongues, they evidently acquire the local variants and the norms of their usage too. The content of language acquisition is socially determined, though its schedule is biologically determined." He (1995: 158ff) therefore establishes the following model of formative periods for the acquisition of sociolects: First, family and friends exert a major influence on the child with their vernacular. Peers tend to have more influence on the language use of

[59] Of course, life expectancy also depends on political actions, nutrition and socio-economic conditions, but this does not refer to the metric number of age itself, which is used for linguistic analyses.

schoolchildren than do their parents or teachers. Then, dense networks during adolescence often have the effect that vernacular norms exceed the norms established by the older speakers. The third phase is constituted by young adulthood, where standardisation increases, "at least for the sub-set of speakers involved in language-sensitive occupations in the broadest sense of the term" (Chambers 1995: 159).

Generally, one can say that from a sociolinguistic point of view, speakers of the same age, social class and gender influence people's speech and language habits more than do older generations (Chambers 1995: 167-168). It should be noted that linguistic markers, such as accent and dialect, are socially more telling than the superficial, fast-changing slang lexicon of adolescents (Chambers 1995: 172).

The importance of the variable age in sociolinguistic analyses can be summarized as follows: Not all variation indicates change in progress, but all linguistic change involves variation.

2.5.2.2 Gender

I will also analyse the speech of females in contrast to males, since "women use fewer stigmatized and non-standard variants than do men of the same social group in the same circumstances" (Chambers 1995: 102). Cameron & Coates (1988: 13) found as early as the 1980s that "women on average deviate less from the prestige standard than men" and "in modern urban societies it is typically true for every social class." Labov (2001a: 501) also observes that "in the good majority of linguistic changes, women are a full generation ahead of men" and therefore can serve as indicators of linguistic change.[60]

Some linguists talk about 'sex differences' regarding language, which denotes biological differences. In this study, generally the term *gender* is used for a binary distinction, which refers to postnatal and cultural differences. Although *sex* and *gender* are interwoven, one must bear in

[60] This sociolinguistic phenomenon is known as the "gender paradox". The reasons for this have also been the subject of controversial debates in the field of gender studies, see e.g. Pedersen (1995), Christie (2000).

mind that most linguistic features are based on social roles rather than biology.

2.5.2.3 Socio-economic background and social class

Another variable occurring in many sociolinguistic studies is social class or some factor related to socio-economic background. Chambers (1995: 7) emphasises that "[t]he social class to which we belong imposes some norms of behaviour on us and reinforces them by the strength of the example of the people with whom we associate most closely". Decisive factors mentioned are education, occupations and housing type. He sees the prime class distinction as running between manual and non-manual workers. Thus, Chambers (1995: 37) proposes a distinction between manual workers (working class), pencil- and service-workers (middle class) and people with inherited wealth and privileges (upper class). He acknowledges that class should be regarded as a continuum rather than as broken into discrete ranks. This view is supported by Hudson (1996: 143), who sees social variables as continuous rather than as discrete, e.g. people are more or less affluent; more or less educated, etc.

Since (perceived) class distinctions vary in different countries and since the coding for social class and related aspects is by no means undisputed in sociolinguistics and is sometimes addressed rather hesitantly, it appears pertinent to delve deeper into terminology and sociological concepts here. The term *class* was coined by thinkers of the early labour movement in the 19th century, one of the most prominent being Karl Marx. He (1848) proposed a class categorization as part of his broader socio-historical theory. His main concern was with the distribution of the means of production, and its effects on the formation of different social classes.

Largely in reaction to this Marxist model, a liberal theory postulating that industrial societies operate along a strictly utilitarian model was presented,[61] one in which mobility between classes is assumed to increase over time, and class-based injustices, inequalities and class struggles to decrease as a result. As economic competition in industry creates a demand

[61] The focus here is indeed rather on industrialism than on capitalism, see e.g. Goldthorpe (1996: 482).

for a more highly educated workforce, higher education is provided for more people; consequently, personal achievement rather than inherited advantages should increasingly be considered as the sole valid criterion for success (Goldthorpe 1996: 483). These contrasting approaches have certainly received a great deal of attention, but Goldthorpe (1996: 483) regards both of them as "essentially spurious" and stresses that neither of the predicted outcomes has been realised: Capitalist society has not been permanently overthrown by Marx's proletariat, and "the general 'withering away' of class, to the explanation of which liberal theory is addressed, is also a historical outcome that, while often scheduled, has yet to be observed."

Goldthorpe (1996: 484) consequently set out to establish a new class model, one geared towards accounting for "the stability of class, or at all events, for the very powerful resistance to change that class relations and associated life-chances and patterns of social action would appear to display." His basic assumption is that the individual is the basis of all action and interaction. Furthermore, Goldthorpe (1996: 485) relies on rational action theory (RAT): "I assume that actors have goals, have usually alternative means of pursuing these goals and, in choosing their courses of action, tend in some degree to assess probable costs and benefits rather than, say, unthinkingly following social norms or giving unreflecting expression to cultural values." Still, he acknowledges that deviation from the "standard" or "optimal" rational option is frequent. So acting rationally serves as the common, albeit relatively weak, basis for individuals. In quantitative studies, the large numbers of participants will then ensure that the overall trend is towards rational actions.

Goldthorpe assigns a certain class to people based on their employment status and the regulation of employment ('labour contract' or 'service relationship'). He (1996: 486) states that "by virtue of the employment relations in which they are involved, members of the service class are typically advantaged over members of the working class, not just in their current incomes, but further through their incremental salaries and career prospects, their more favourable chances of maintaining continuity of employment, and the greater security that they can expect in sickness or old age." Goldthorpe thus does not refer to immaterial values such as class culture, morals, or whatever might be taken into consideration by other sociologists, as he finds them inapt and hard to prove empirically.

Although educational levels have risen significantly in advanced societies during the 20th century, class differences have in general hardly changed between successive age cohorts, which contradicts the expectations of the liberal class theory: "[C]hildren of less advantaged class origins have remained, to much the same extent, more likely than children of more advantaged origins to leave the educational system rather than to continue in it; or, if they do continue, to follow courses that, through the kinds of qualification to which they lead, reduce their chances of continuing further" (Goldthorpe 1996: 487).[62]

In Ireland, popular wisdom often maintains that sharply delineated social class boundaries have been overcome since the Anglo-Irish ascendancy lost power and landlord structures were broken up. However, Breen and Whelan (1996: 1) do not support this view: "In Ireland class distinctions are thought of as a typically English phenomenon," yet they are even "substantially more rigid than in other countries" (for an evaluation see also Tovey & Share 2003: 160ff). Their class concept includes the notion of 'life chances', i.e. that class structures do not only denote differences in income and wealth. Whelan (1999: 138) presents a class composition of 20 to 64-year-old men in the Republic of Ireland in 1994, including their class origins, thus showing mobility (see Table 1). The classification is based on Goldthorpe's class schema as presented in the following paragraphs. The Goldthorpe class schema has been designed for international comparative studies; for example, it has been the basis for the social classification in the PISA study (Ehmke 2008:136). Therefore, it seems suitable for consideration for the analytical sections of an empirical sociolinguistic study such as the one on *Spoken Irish English in Galway City*.

[62] Only in Sweden have class differentials proven to be in decline. Goldthorpe (1996: 499) suggests that "in Sweden highly developed social policies, 'active' labour market policies and powerful trade unions together reduced to a greater degree than in most other advanced societies the differences in economic security that exist as between wage-workers and salaried staff."

Table 1: *Class Composition for Men aged 20-64 in 1994 in the Republic of Ireland (Percentage by Column)*

	Current Class						
Class Origins	*Professional and Managerial (I + II)*	*Routine Non-Manual (III)*	*Petty Bourgeoisie (IV a+b)*	*Farmers (IVc)*	*Skilled Manual (V/VI)*	*Non-Skilled Manual (VIIa)*	*Agricultural Workers (VIIb)*
Professional and Managerial (I+II)	26.6	12.9	2.8	1.2	5.6	3.0	1.9
Routine Non-Manual (III)	14.7	14.8	5.9	1.6	8.2	5.7	3.1
Petty Bourgeoisie (IV a+b)	9.9	8.8	17.7	1.8	5.6	5.4	7.6
Farmers (IVc)	16.8	14.0	28.7	88.0	14.4	16.5	47.5
Skilled Manual (V/VI)	16.9	23.1	15.7	1.5	33.1	23.6	10.7
Non-skilled Manual (VIIa)	14.4	24.7	23.8	5.3	29.8	41.3	12.6
Agricultural Workers (VIIb)	0.8	1.8	5.4	0.6	3.3	12.1	17.1
Total in Current Class	19.8	15.7	8.3	9.5	25.7	18.0	2.9

Table 1: Class composition for men aged 20 to 64 in 1994 in the Republic of Ireland (taken from Whelan 1999: 138)[63]

In his classification, also known as the Erikson-Goldthorpe-, the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero- or the CASMIN Comparative Study of Social Mobility in Industrialised Nations schema, first used for data from 1972, Goldthorpe (1980/87: 40-43) describes Class I as "all higher-grade professionals, self-employed or salaried; higher-grade administrators and officials in central and local government and in public and private enterprises (including company directors); managers in large industrial establishments; and large proprietors" (covering about 10 to 15 % of the then active male population). Class II covers "lower-grade professionals and higher-grade technicians; lower-grade administrators and officials; managers in small business and industrial establishments and in services; and supervisors of nonmanual employees. (…) Class II could (…) be seen as complementing Class I of our schema in representing the subaltern or *cadet* levels of the service class." Class III is made up of "routine nonmanual – largely clerical – employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; and other rank-and-file employees in services", Class IV ('petty bourgeoisie') of "small proprietors, including farmers and smallholders; self-employed artisans; and all other 'own account' workers apart from

[63] The class of origin is based on the class of the "main breadwinner in the family" (Whelan 1999: 136).

professionals", Class V of "lower-grade technicians whose work is to some extent of a manual character; and supervisors of manual workers". Classes III-V are termed "intermediate class" with various income levels and are structurally located between the service class and the working class. Class VI consists of "skilled manual wage-workers in all branches of industry, including all who have served apprenticeships and also those who have acquired a relatively high degree of skill through other forms of training". Class VII encompasses "all manual wage-workers in industry in semi- and unskilled grades; and agricultural workers". Classes VI and VII constitute the working class and "sell their labour power in more or less discrete amounts (…) in return for wage" (Goldthorpe 1980/1987: 42-43).

However, Goldthorpe (1980/87: 43) suggests that the class schema does not have a strictly hierachical order, but that upward mobility can certainly be seen in movements from the intermediate and the working classes into the service class and downward mobility from the service into the two other classes. Whelan (1999: 139) emphasises that "the classes with the highest risk of deprivation and marginalisation form a substantial self-recruiting block. The buffers against downward mobility are a great deal more impressive than the barriers to upward mobility."

Breen & Whelan (1996: 20) propose that class assignment in the Goldthorpe schema contains three steps: 1. Grouping the informants according to the content of their jobs, 2. Assigning an employment status, (for these steps, the categories and definitions are those adapted in GB by the Registrar General for the analysis of official statistics), and 3. Cross-classifying occupational and employment status.

In Ireland, absolute mobility increased significantly in the 1970s and 1980s. Interestingly, there was a high influx of men with a farming background into the service class. Self-recruitment was much higher among the industrial working class, and almost exclusive within the agricultural sector (Breen & Whelan 1996: 25f). Thus, while absolute social mobility increased in Ireland, the working class proved intergenerationally stable.

A central question for any scientific study is how to assign a certain class to an individual. Certainly, there is no solution that does justice to every single member of society but, still, it is important to try. There are two major opposing strands. One can assign a certain class to an entire family. In this "conventional" approach (Breen & Whelan 1996: 67), men are regarded as

the main breadwinners in the family, and women are assigned the same class as their husbands. An alternative approach is that every individual is allocated a certain class, if necessary based on previous employment status. One of the disadvantages of this approach is that a nurse married to an unskilled labourer is treated in the same way as a nurse married to a dentist, which might not represent the differences in lifestyle between the two couples appropriately.

On the other hand, one can allocate a joint class to a family based on a combination of the husband's and wife's characteristics (Britten & Heath 1983). This way one can distinguish between dual and single income families. But this method causes problems by being very volatile and creating an "artefactual mobility" (Breen & Whelan 1996: 68). This approach is assumed rather to describe life cycles.

The "dominance approach" assumes that the partner with the dominant job determines the lifestyle and class membership of a family. Two factors are decisive in determining the dominant partner as far as class is concerned: work time and work position. The underlying assumption is that employment relationships determine factors such as "experiences of affluence or hardship, of economic security or insecurity, of prospects of continuing material advance, or of unyielding material constraints" (Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992b: 236). Investigating data according to different approaches, Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992b: 235) come to the conclusion that "the lines of class division run between but not through families", and they prefer the traditional approach over the individual approach (Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992a).

Labov's (1966: 170-174, 211-220) socio-economic background index for his New York City study was based on the three factors of occupation, education and family income. On this basis, he assigned scores between 0 and 9 to his informants, ending up with lower class (score 0-2), working class (3-5), lower middle class (6-8) and upper middle class (9). In his analyses, he clusters the groups in various ways. Speakers with a score of 2 or 6 were sometimes grouped with people scoring below, sometimes with subjects scoring above them (Labov 1966: 244, 304ff). Thus, he did account for the social continuum, but it shows that one cannot assign consistent class scores to speakers easily. For his telephone survey and the neighbourhood study in Philadelphia, Labov assigned lower working class (LWC) speakers

scores ranging from 0-3, middle working class (MWC) 4-6, upper working class 7-9 and middle class as a whole 10-15. Upper class speakers were not included (Labov 2001a: 72). Trudgill (1974: Chapter 3) used a social index scale for his study in Norwich that took six factors into account: occupation, father's occupation, income, education, locality and housing type.

As has been shown, the handling of socio-economic scores in variationist studies has by no means hewn to a standard procedure allowing easily for comparison. Therefore, the Goldthorpe schema has been introduced to this study to allow perhaps for future comparison between studies from different varieties.

2.5.2.4 Education

Another social factor common in the study of linguistic variation is education. Here, one immediately confronts the problem that it is dynamic and tends to change, particularly during the earlier stages in life.[64] Therefore, Labov (2001a: 115) assigned two educational scores to the participants in his Language Change and Variation Study (LCV), which was conducted in the 1970s in Philadelphia.[65] He (2001a: 115) concludes that "[c]hildren's use of linguistic variables is determined by how much schooling they have received, not the general educational milieu of the family." Nevertheless, this is of no relevance to the present study since only adults were interviewed in Galway.

In the following passage, the school system in Ireland will be briefly outlined. While primary and post-primary education in vocational schools has always been free in Ireland, secondary schools only abolished fees in 1967. In addition, free school transport was introduced, thus facilitating access to educational institutions. In the 1990s, more than three quarters of each age cohort completed full-time post-primary education (Breen & Whelan 1996: 98). The increase in third level qualifications was enormous: While only 18,127 full-time students were attending third level

[64] However, the concept of lifelong learning seems to be becoming more important and has affected some of my informants.

[65] Some people were re-interviewed in 1989 to 1991 in order to test ageing processes in a longitudinal study.

institutions[66] in 1965/66, this number had risen to 133,887 by 2003/04 (Higher Education Authority, www.hea.ie). Data from 2006/07 shows that the trend of growing student numbers continued (Higher Education Authority 2008: 13-18), and the number had risen to 183,696 in 2017/18[67].

Breen and Whelan (1996: 100) thus differentiate between four qualification levels:

i) Primary Certificate (the exam formerly taken at the end of primary education with an average graduation age of about 12 years) or no qualifications
ii) Group or Intermediate Certificate (Junior Cycle with an average graduation age of about 15 years)[68]
iii) Leaving Certificate or Matriculation (Senior Cycle with an average graduation age of 18 or 19 years)
iv) Any Post-second level qualification at sub-degree, primary or higher degree level

Breen and Whelan (1996) find that there is a high degree of standardisation, and that educational success and employment prospects are closely linked.

[66] These numbers include Higher Education Authority (HEA) institutions, Institutes of Technology, Killibegs H.T.C., Tipperary Institute National College of Ireland, Mater Dei Institute and Pontifical College and Primary Teacher Training (HEA and Non-HEA, Home Economics and PE/Vocational, the latter only for the 1960s figures). All these institutions are aided by the Department of Education and Science (www.hea.ie/files/files/file/statistics/DESTrend66_04.xls).

[67] This number includes full-time enrolments in all HEA-funded institutions, including universities, colleges and institutes of technology (https://hea.ie/statistics-archive/ <04.11.2019>).

[68] This was replaced by the Junior Certificate in 1992.

3 The Corpus of Spoken Galway English: Methods and Data

This chapter contains a description of the methods applied and the data used for the analyses in the main part of this study. [69] The methods underlying linguistic studies are crucial for the understanding and the evaluation of data. In recent years, several linguists have dealt in depth with the progress and also the problems arising with certain methods in (socio-)linguistic data collection and -interpretation (see e.g. Milroy & Gordon 2003; Tagliamonte 2006; Chambers 2003, 2009; Krug & Schlüter 2013). As this study is sociolinguistic in nature, the design has been modelled on Labov's (1966; 1972; 1984; 2001a) paradigms and the developments proposed mainly by Milroy & Gordon (2003) and Tagliamonte (2006). The following passages provide details about the research design and about the data sampling and transcription process. They then present sociolinguistic aspects such as the apparent time approach of this study and external variables under investigation. Subsequent passages sketch characteristics of statistical logit models.

3.1 Research design

The design of an empirical study obviously depends on the research questions one intends to answer as well as on the type of data one wants to analyse. Thus, formulating research questions or hypotheses can guide the design of the study and the data analysis.[70] If a sociolinguistic approach is applied and the influence of social factors such as age, gender, education etc. on people's language use are investigated, several issues have to be considered prior to data collection, such as the linguistic and external

[69] Many theoretical and methodological considerations of this chapter have been published in Krug & Sell (2013: 69-79).

[70] For more details on sociolinguistic interviews and research questions, see Tagliamonte (2006: Appendix) or its companion website at www.cambridge.org/resources/0521771153/2846_APPENDIX%20B.pdf; see furthermore Sunderland (2010: 9-28).

variables that are of interest, or the compilation of speakers (e.g. children, speakers from different cohorts, older rural people, only one gender or a gender balance, speakers belonging to certain social classes, native locals). If the objective is to analyse spoken language, interviews might be suitable. For an acoustic analysis, interfering background noise should be kept to a minimum. For sociolinguistic interviews with the aim of obtaining vernacular speech, a relaxed and familiar setting can be an advantage. Tagliamonte (2006: 45) suggests that "the ideal room in the house for interviewing is the living room", with the TV and other noisy electrical gadgets turned off.

This study analyses a) phonetic and phonological features, b) morpho-syntactic phenomena and c) lexical peculiarities, taking into account different external variables. 35 speakers, 19 males and 16 females of different cohorts, raised in Galway City and living there in 2007 were interviewed. No laboratory settings were needed, as all phonological features are analysed on an auditory rather than acoustic basis. As the vernacular was the target of investigation, the interview settings chosen were as casual as possible. In the Labovian tradition, the interviews contained a word list, a minimal pair list and a short reading passage (see Appendix sections 4 and 5). A short oral questionnaire-style survey part at the end of the interview also triggered and rated infrequent grammatical features (see Appendix section 3). Personal data such as age, knowledge of Irish, attitudes towards Galway and the Irish language were also recorded. An overview of the resulting sample is represented in Table 2; a more detailed version of this table with further information can be found in the Appendix (Section 7).

3.2 Representativeness of the sample

There are various ways of obtaining data for a sociolinguistic study. If it aims at a *random sample*, then each person in the total population sampled must have the same chance of being selected (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 25). A modified version of random sampling adapted to linguists' needs is *stratified random sampling* or *judgement sampling*, also known as quota sampling. Here, as Tagliamonte (2006: 23) puts it, "the researcher (1)

identifies in advance the types of speakers to be studied; and (2) seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the categories." She furthermore points out that "a minimum requirement for any sample is that it have a degree of representativeness on the bases of age, sex, and (some way of determining) social class, education level, or both" (Tagliamonte 2006: 23).

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 25) observe that "linguistic samples are usually too small to ensure representativeness in a strict statistical sense". Practical considerations (such as time for transcribing interviews, finding informants, time and money for data collection, etc) often limit the sample size. There is, therefore, a trade-off between applying random sampling methods and having a balanced and stratified sample of speakers that is suitable for linguistic analysis (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 30; Tagliamonte 2006: 32f). Quota or judgement sampling has therefore become common in sociolinguistic research. However, this does not prohibit interpretation in any way since language usage is in fact more homogeneous than many other phenomena because the requirement for mutual intelligibility in a society or speech community restricts the extent of variation (Labov 1966: 180-181; Sankoff 1980: 51-52; Milroy & Gordon 2003: 29; Tagliamonte 2006: 32-33).

Nevertheless, the existing variation in language must not be underestimated since subtle differences in usage patterns contribute to identity marking and group membership. The *ethnographic approach*, on the other hand, is closely connected with participant observation (see e.g. Schreier 2013; Clark/Trousdale 2013), whereby the researcher or observer is integrated into the speech community. Representativeness of the sample is less important, rather pre-existing and pre-selected social groups with certain common characteristics are the focus of social network studies.

As Galway is one of the fastest-growing towns in Ireland (see Chapter 2.3), I was not looking for a random sample of inhabitants of Galway, but for a sample consisting of people raised in Galway and living there at the time of the interview in order to avoid having migrants from both within Ireland and from other countries in my sample, which would have led to a data sample that would not have allowed an analysis along the lines of the overall objectives of this study. The language analysed here is Galway English as spoken by people who have lived all or at least most of their lives in the city of Galway and its immediate suburbs.

Therefore, judgement sampling with partly ethnographic aspects was the method of choice. The criteria for the speakers were as follows:

- They had to have been raised in Galway City or its immediate surroundings and be native speakers of Galway English[71].
- They had to be resident in Galway at the time of the recordings.
- Gender, age and social background had to be relatively balanced in the sample.
- They had to be willing to make themselves available for an interview of at least 30 minutes and ideally 60 minutes or longer.

For this study, a friend-of-a-friend (or snowball) technique was applied, i.e. I was introduced to the speakers by another person as a friend, thus decreasing social distance and increasing a sense of familiarity (Labov 1984: 30; Tagliamonte 2006: 17-28; Diekmann 2009: 380-433). Since I had lived in Galway for quite some time, I knew many Galwegians and could refer to them as friends. In order to acquire the balanced sample intended, people in the street who appeared to fit the categories were also approached and organisations such as a retirement association, a nursing home, a major trade union, and student organisations were contacted in order to identify Galwegians within the categories specified.

The sample was rather balanced in terms of age, gender and socio-economic background, as shown in Figure 4 and Table 2. The informants included sixteen women and nineteen men and were aged between 18 and 94. Fourteen speakers were under 30 years of age, twelve were between 30 and 59 and nine informants were 60 years and older. The average socio-economic score for all female speakers was 5.6, and the figure for males was slightly higher at 6.5 (for more information on the socio-economic scores, which were based on a combination of education and occupation/employment, see Chapters 2.5.2 and 3.6.2). This slight difference was not expected to cause any problems, however, as logistic regression model algorithms can deal with differences such as these. Moreover, the younger informants tended to score slightly higher, as was

[71] For a discussion of the linguistically and socially rather complicated concept of native speaker see e.g. Kerswill (1993) and Milroy & Gordon (2003: 26ff).

to be expected given that today more people have the opportunity to complete third level education.[72]

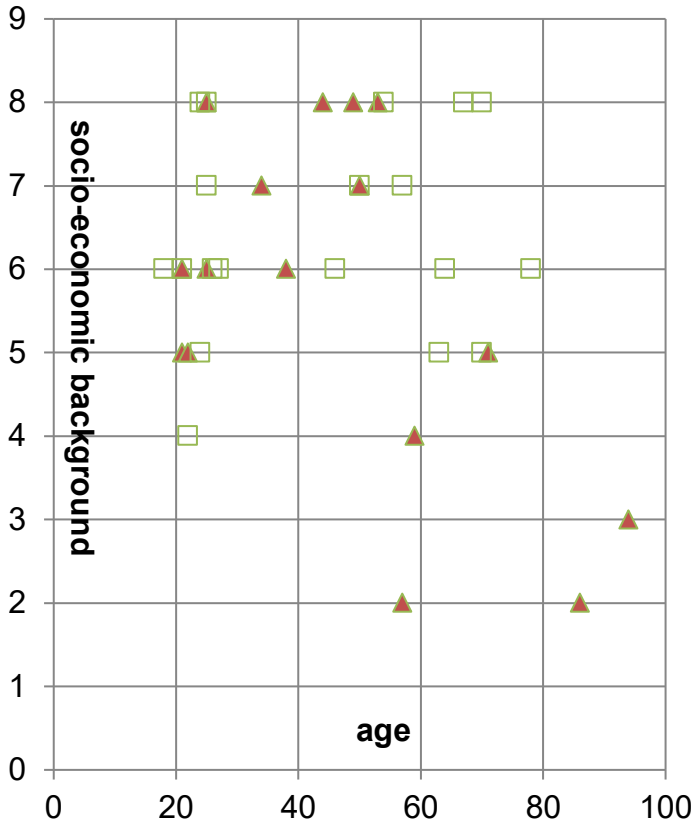


Figure 4: Distribution of female speakers (represented by filled triangles) and males (outlined squares) according to age and socio-economic background

[72] According to the Central Statistics Office CSO, about 32% (114,344 out of a given total of 361,122 for the educational investigation) of 25- to 29-year-olds in the RoI had completed a third level degree or higher in 2011, but only about 12% of the seniors aged 65 to 69 (20,937 out of a total of 173,638), see interactive tables on http://www.cso.ie/px/pxeirestat/Statire/SelectVarVal/Define.asp?maintable=CD901&PLanguage=0 <10.01.2015>.

The social characteristics and the geographical distribution of participants within Galway City are shown in Table 2 for each informant. For most statistical analyses, the speakers were not grouped according to cohorts; instead, their scale ages were used in order to avoid losing information.

speaker #	gender	age	socio-ec. score[73]	speaker #	gender	age	socio-ec. score
1	female	59	4	17	male	27	6
2	female	34	7	18	male	63	5
3	female	25	8	19	male	22	4
4	female	21	6	20	male	26	6
5	female	21	5	21	male	64	6
6	female	57	2	22	male	25	8
7	female	86	2	23	male	54	8
8	female	25	6	24	male	24	8
9	female	71	5	25	male	57	7
10	female	50	7	26	male	70	8
11	female	94	3	27	male	24	5
12	female	22	5	28	male	46	6
13	female	38	6	29	male	70	5
14	female	49	8	30	male	25	7
15	female	53	8	31	male	67	8
16	female	44	8	32	male	18	6
				33	male	50	7
				34	male	21	6
				35	male	78	6

Table 2: Informants according to their assigned speaker ID#, gender, age and socio-economic background score

[73] i.e. education score + score based on Goldthorpe schema

3.3 Data collection – the interviews

The speakers were interviewed in different settings based on their preferences. Some were interviewed in their homes, others in pubs or cafés, and others in their offices during breaks. The aim was to create a relaxed atmosphere, as "audio-monitoring is likely to decrease when we're having fun being ourselves, when we take control of the discourse and talk about the things we care about, etc." (Eckert 2001: 122-123). However, this also meant that some of the recordings unavoidably contain background noise. The interviews were recorded with an IM-DR 420H(S) minidisc recorder. The audio data were subsequently digitised into MP3 format.[74] During the one-to-one face-to-face interviews, aspects relevant to several external factors were mentioned, e.g. in which parts of the city the informants had lived, their knowledge and their use of Irish, and their perception of certain linguistic phenomena. Furthermore, first-hand impressions of the surroundings such as housing, family etc. could be noted. Where suitable, these constraints were used for data interpretation.

The interview schedule (see Appendix section 2) for the sociolinguistic interviews on Galway English followed Labov's (1972) original modules and Tagliamonte's revised version (2005, 2006). Since the interview modules serve as structuring guidelines for the interview (Tagliamonte 2006), they were adapted to the Irish context and also included questions focusing on Irish society and life and on Galway in particular, such as the question "Were you in Galway when you first heard about the polluted water?" and follow-up questions, which referred to the water pollution crisis in Galway during the period of the interviews in 2007, when the cryptosporidium parasite was found in water reservoirs and treatment plants in March. Intra-human transmission was possible, and all water had to be boiled before it was safe to drink. Several hundred people were ill with a gastrointestinal illness, approximately 90,000 households and businesses had to take special measures for five months.[75] This topic was thought to be good for eliciting

[74] On technological considerations for interviewers, see e.g Schreier (2013: 24).

[75] All information on the water pollution crisis is taken from the national broadcaster *RTÉ* (http://www.rte.ie/news/2007/0328/87249-water/, <10.08.2014>) and the supraregional newspaper *The Independent* (http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/third-water-crisis-hits-galway-homes-26329712.html, <10.08.2014>)

narratives of personal experience, as everyone in Galway was affected by the issue in some way. Labov (1972: 93) stresses that so called "danger of death" questions evoke emotional engagement and make people forget about the interview situation and the monitored speech. Therefore, they function as prime triggers of informal speech styles and as a gateway to the vernacular.

Further questions relating to life in Ireland were, e.g., "Has the Celtic Tiger made a big difference to life in Ireland? Did it affect you and your family's life?", and "Do you think that Ireland has become more expensive?"[76] These efforts led to a relaxed interview setting and a rather informal speech style. Tagliamonte (2005) points out that

> [t]he modules are ordered more or less in the order of a typical interview; however, modules are suggestive rather than obligatory. Wherever possible the questions have been worded with ethic, gender and other sensitivities in mind and the wording is somewhat generic so as to be modifiable for the relevant age group and neighbourhood. It is important to mention that cultures and settings differ dramatically from one another. The analyst must be supremely sensitive to the selection and wording of interview questions.[77]

In order to prompt the use of lexical items or structures that potentially involve certain phonological or morpho-syntactic features, the study also incorporated more guided activities. The interviewees were asked to read a word list, minimal pairs and a text passage (Appendix sections 4 and 5). Finally, a short questionnaire-style survey was administered, which elicited oral information about certain lexical items and morpho-syntactic features such as the use of the *after*-perfect and embedded inversion in indirect questions (see Appendix section 3).

As a researcher who is familiar with Galway and Ireland, the author took an insider's point of view during the interview whenever possible, e.g. when talking about changes brought about by the Irish smoking ban or the Galway water crisis in the summer of 2007. Furthermore, having spent a considerable amount of time in several regions of Ireland (as a pupil in Navan, Co. Meath; as a student in Galway City and during a work placement in Dublin), I was familiar with cultural and political idiosyncrasies and with

[76] On the Celtic Tiger, see the Introduction.

[77] www.cambridge.org/resources/0521771153/2846_APPENDIX%20B.pdf <12.04.2007>

group and regional identities. By the same token, being German also enabled me to play the role of a learner at times and ask for explanations of certain habits, traditions or vocabulary without it appearing contrived (see e.g. Tagliamonte 2006: 47–48; Hall-Lew 2009: 36–37).

The interviews varied in length, depending on the time the informants were willing or able to dedicate to the study. Some lasted about half an hour (the shortest interview was with a 21-year-old female and took 27 minutes) while the longest continued for more than two hours (with a 44-year-old female, 129 minutes). However, the majority of recordings lasted about an hour, resulting in a corpus of almost 35 hours of recorded material.

The recorded material for the 16 female speakers comprises 973 minutes, i.e. almost 16½ hours of speech, with an average interview length of 61 minutes. One middle-aged and two older female speakers did not contribute any reading material, and two middle-aged females did not read the text passage. Two middle-aged females and one elderly woman did not complete or completed very little of the questionnaire-style survey part.

The recorded material for the male speakers comprises 1109 minutes, i.e. approximately 18½ hours of speech, with an average interview length of 58 minutes per speaker. Three males aged between 57 and 70 did not read the text passage and three males (two younger speakers and one older one) contributed no or hardly any data to the questionnaire-style survey part. The sample can thus be regarded as fairly balanced in terms of data quantity from female and male speakers, age and socio-economic background, although some outliers are present (see also Figure 4), which can be levelled in the quantitative analyses by the logit model.

3.4 Transcription of the interviews

The interviews were all transcribed by myself using the software f4. This took a considerable amount of time and was a challenging project. As Tagliamonte (2006: 54) emphasises, "even a one-hour interview might require an investment of anywhere from a day's worth of work to an entire week or more."[78] This is probably the reason why several sociolinguistic

[78] For a detailed account of transcription procedures, see Poplack (1989).

researchers (see e.g. Jansen 2012; Ramisch 1989) have omitted the transcription process and preferred to rely on an analysis of the spoken interview data without machine-readable text. Yet, complete transcriptions contribute greatly to identifying variation and enable frequency analyses and the analysis of a great number of features (cf. Smith 2007: 29; Rosen 2014: 59).

In the transcription protocols, each word of the informants was transcribed. Moreover, features exclusive to spontaneous speech were represented, including false starts, the reformulation of phrases, interruptions such as [laughter], pauses, hesitations, hedges and the like (see e.g. Tagliamonte 2006: 55-63).[79] Speaker turns were indicated and time tracks were set after each turn. In the transcriptions, the interviewer's speech and other markup such as coughing, laughter, the ordering of beverages in a café etc. is marked by brackets and thus distinguished from the running text. This way, it can be disregarded by searches in the corpus search software *WordSmith*. Furthermore, punctuation symbols were represented differently compared to the standard in writing and also put in brackets. The end of a sentence was, for example, symbolized by <#> to make clear that this does not represent a grammatical full stop, but rather the end of a thought or the semantic end of an utterance. If speaker turns were taken before the semantic end of an utterance or the sentence were reached, <&> was inserted. Longer pauses were indicated by a full stop. For the insertion of material from the transcription protocols in the study, standard punctuation was inserted, but markup was retained. Each example from the corpus appearing in the running text of the thesis is coded with speaker number, age, gender, and the time mark-up that appears at the end of the speaker turn which contains the cited sentence or phrase.

Unclear passages or words were cross-checked by a native speaker of Irish English, especially if they were crucial to the study.[80] Otherwise unclear passages or words, for example stemming from background noise, were indicated as such in the transcription protocol. With clitics, a space was

[79] For excerpts of transcription protocols of the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, see Appendix section 6.

[80] Many thanks go to Catherine and Sarah Swift and to Shane Walshe for their invaluable help. The importance of native speaker consultants in the transcription process and the analysis of text is also highlighted by Milroy & Gordon (2003: 11).

inserted before the apostrophe or before the new word as in *she 's* or *do n't* to indicate an abbreviated semantic word. However, this transcription convention has not been preserved in the representation of corpus data in the present running text.

In total, the corpus consists of 315,654 words. 134,950 words were uttered by female speakers; the males contributed 180,704 words. These numbers exclude any utterances by the fieldworker, i.e. myself, and they also exclude the markup initials of the informants at the beginning of each speaker turn. Markup such as [laughter] is included. The ICE-Ireland face-to-face conversation data comprise 200,000 words. The *Corpus of Spoken Galway English* is thus larger than the comparable ICE-section. This transcribed corpus was then tagged with parts of speech (POS). POS tagging was conducted with the free CLAWS WWW tagger.[81] The tagged corpus was the basis for searches of some perfect markers (see Chapter 5.2.).

3.5 Apparent time approach

For the present study, the apparent time approach was chosen. Labov (1994: 45) states that the apparent time method is "[t]he first and most straightforward approach to studying linguistic change in progress". While Bloomfield (1933/1984: 347) claimed in the 1930s that "[t]he process of linguistic change has never been directly observed; we shall see that such observation, with our present facilities, is inconceivable", this has changed with the application of sociolinguistic methodology, particularly the apparent time approach, where categoricity is not the focus, but rather variability and contextuality (Chambers 2009: 199). Bloomfield (1933/1984: 364) also refers to variation when he suggests that

> [w]e must suppose that, no matter how minute and accurate our observation, we should always find deviant forms, because, from the very outset of a sound-change, and during its entire course, and after it is over, the forms of language are subject to the incessant working of other factors of change, such as, especially, borrowing and analogic combination of new complex forms.

It is exactly this (systematic) variation and ongoing change that sociolinguists are interested in. The differentiation between stable variables

[81] Thanks are due to Valentin Werner for introducing me to the free CLAWS WWW tagger.

and change in progress is frequently investigated with the apparent time approach, which means comparing the speech of older people with that of younger informants. The hypothesis is that, in the event of differentiation, younger speakers tend to use newer, incoming forms, and older people use more traditional, older variants. Thus, systematic differences between younger and older speakers if all other social factors are held constant tend to be interpreted as linguistic change in progress (Trudgill 1988: 33; Milroy & Gordon 2003: 35).

Still, some differences might not be caused by change in progress, but rather by a phenomenon called age-grading. Some features tend to show regular changes over generations, depending on the age of the speakers, such as teenage slang, the elimination of baby's 'nursery words', or the stigmatization of glottal stops in Glasgow speech during youth (see e.g. Chambers 2009: 182ff, 201, 204ff; Milroy & Gordon 2003: 36). In order to exclude age-grading as a likely source of differing language patterns between younger and older speakers, linguists tend to consult previous research, e.g. that conducted by traditional dialectologists.

What can be identified as a quantitative or qualitative change from a historical perspective appears as more or less free variation between different forms in the synchronic study. Chambers (1995: 193; cf. also Cheshire 1982: 10f.) therefore sees great advantages in the apparent-time method: "[I]nformation about temporal developments is made available in a shorter time than the developments themselves take." It is obvious that apparent time studies have many advantages over real time or longitudinal studies, where the informants are recorded over many years, even decades. Still, when applying the apparent time method, one cannot be absolutely certain that a change detected is actually a long-term change and not simply a short-term difference in usage. Therefore, several sociolinguists have conducted follow-up studies, several years after the original studies, in order to rule out age-grading effects or ephemeral variation (see e.g. Trudgill 1988).

Generally, in modern western societies, social class (including education, occupation and type of housing), gender and age can be regarded as crucial determinants of social roles and therefore also of speech. They are the primary variables of sociolinguistics (see also Chapters 2.5 and 3.6). As transmitted from traditional dialectology, geographical factors also

influence language.[82] Since the geographical background is set for all informants as Galway City, the data of the *Corpus of Spoken Galway English* have been coded for gender, age, style and social background of the speakers, as outlined in the following passages.

3.6 Independent variables

3.6.1 Age as a social variable

As sketched in Chapter 2.5, childhood and adolescence are regarded as formative years of people's speech. During adulthood, a certain standardisation is said to take place and from middle age onwards, no large-scale or regular changes take place; speakers tend to have rather fixed their sociolects (Chambers 1995: 158f). This is why, for the present study, only adults have been included. The youngest speaker was 18 years of age, the eldest 94. Age was treated in absolute numbers rather than cohorts in the analysis where suitable in order not to lose any information in the statistical models. For the distribution of the informants, see Table 2 and Figure 4.

3.6.2 Socio-economic background and education

The socio-economic background scores employed in this study are based on a combination of education and occupation. The individual scores are based on a fourfold classification of Goldthorpe's (Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992a, 1992b) class schema and on Breen and Whelan (1996: 100), who differentiate between four levels of qualification in Ireland as sketched in chapter 2.5.2.4 above: (a) Primary Certificate (the exam formerly taken at the end of primary education) or no qualifications (for my scores: 1), (b) Group or Intermediate Certificate (Junior Cycle) (score: 2), (c) Leaving Certificate or Matriculation (Senior Cycle) (score: 3) and (d) any Post-second level qualification at sub-degree, primary or higher degree level (score: 4).

[82] A widely studied field in sociolinguistics is also based on social networks and social mobility (cf. Chambers 1995: 7 & 66ff; Labov 2001a: 325ff.).

The original Goldthorpe schema (Goldthorpe 1980/87: 40–43) differentiates between seven classes plus subclasses, and groups individuals according to occupational and employment status. For the present analysis, the schema was reduced to four different classes, as it is not possible to produce reliable statistical results with very low numbers of subjects in each individual class. Therefore, informants were classified into the following occupational-employment classes: score 4 – professional and managerial or service class (similar to Goldthorpe's categories I + II); score 3 – intermediate non-manual group, the petite bourgeoisie (III, IV); score 2 – skilled workers; lower grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers; skilled manual workers (V, VI); score 1 – semi- and unskilled manual workers (VII). The category "farmers and related job descriptions" does not figure in since there were no farmers among the urban informants. Combining education and occupation/employment, for this data, 2 is the lowest possible and 8 the highest possible socio-economic score (see Figure 4).

3.6.3 Gender

The socially constructed category of gender will be treated as a purely binary variable for the data analysis. Although this approach has been criticized (see, e.g. Eckert 1998; Meyerhoff 2011)[83], it appears to promise the best quantitative descriptive insights into variation in the case of this study, which did not systematically investigate the nature of gender groups in Galway as, for instance, in the case of Schilling-Estes' (1999) study on variation on Okracoke island. 16 speakers contributing to the Corpus of Spoken Galway English were classified as female, 19 as male (for the distribution of the informants, see Figure 4).

3.6.4 Style

The study follows Labov's (1972, 2001b) approach to style. Labov argues that style can be defined as attention paid to speech, and that stylistic variation can be seen as a linear continuum ranging from very casual to very

[83] See also the development with the rise of the LGBTIQ+-movement.

careful speech. In this approach, reading is assumed to require more attention than conversation, with minimal pair list readings representing the most careful style of the traditional Labovian sociolinguistic interview. Labov's notion of style is by no means unanimously accepted by all sociolinguists. Bell's (2001) model of audience design argues that speakers adapt their language to that of their audience. Style shifts can therefore be described as a "reflex of inter-speaker variation" (Bell 2001: 142), while Coupland (2001b) sees style as a dynamic representation of speaker identity. Coupland (2001b: 185) criticizes the notion of style as "a single quantifiable dimension of sociolinguistic variation in Labovian surveys" and suggests that the focus should be more on the speakers themselves and on their communicative purposes. Milroy (1980: 100–107) points out that speech and reading sections are not necessarily located on the same continuum. In the case of her own data for working class Belfast English she suggests that "when they [i.e. the speakers] read aloud they do not necessarily continue to modify their speech in the direction of the prestige norm […], unless they are able to use the spelling system as a reliable guide" (Milroy 1980: 106). However, she acknowledges that "the linear continuum model may well be valid for speakers with a clear knowledge of the linguistic norms of the community, who also place a high value on reading skills than conversational skills [*sic*]" (Milroy 1980: 107). It should be stressed that Labov does not see his approach as a fundamental theory of style shifting. Rather, the attention paid to speech approach appears to be largely methodological, as he (2001b: 87) explains:

> The organization of contextual styles along the axis of attention paid to speech […] was not intended as a general description of how style-shifting is produced and organized in every-day speech, but rather as a way of organizing and using the intra-speaker variation that occurs in the interview.

Despite its restrictions, Labov's approach can be effectively applied to the elicitation of different styles of speaking in an interview setting. In this study, conversational and rather informal speech during the interview could indeed be distinguished from the more careful and formal styles as used in word list and text passage readings and during the oral survey-style questionnaire part as presented in Chapter 4.1 on schwa epenthesis.

3.7 Statistical analysis: logit models

Traditionally, mainly univariate statistics have been applied in quantitative linguistics. Descriptive statistics were also used for this study, but not exclusively. Instead, this study follows Tse (2003: 287) in her argument for multivariate analyses:

As more and more research questions involve investigating complex grammatical constructions, it would not be possible to use simple exploratory analysis such as cross-tabulations and chi-square tests to handle designs with more than two explanatory variables (i.e. linguistic features).

Logistic regression can help to validate the influence of a great number of factors on the use of certain linguistic features. Statistical tests of significance are provided. Therefore, the data of the present study were coded in Excel and then, wherever possible, analysed statistically on the basis of logistic regression, also known as the logit model (for more details on the statistics software used, SPSS, see Bühl 2006).[84] Logistic regression is a probabilistic model closely related to linear regression but is based on binary dependent variables (for instance, an informant uses either epenthetic schwa [ə], which is coded as 1, or no schwa, coded as 0). Paolillo (2002: 158) points out that the linear probability model "predicts proportions that are greater than one or less than zero. […] Such predictions are uninterpretable because a proportion can only fall between zero and one" (see also Gries 2008: 284f). In contrast to the linear regression model, which is based on the least squares method, the logit model uses the maximum likelihood method. Here, the model algorithm estimates the

[84] The Varbrul (Variable Rule Analysis) programme, developed by Cedergren and Sankoff in 1974, is a form of logistic regression model. Varbrul and its current version Goldvarb is popular in variationist research, yet it has recently come under attack as being outdated, such as by Johnson (2009: 359), who states that Goldvarb "lacks flexibility and also isolates its users from the wider community of quantitative linguists." Therefore, the mainstream statistics package SPSS was used for the analysis of the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. Other options which are also able to deal with advanced mixed-effects models are R (see e.g. Gries 2008, 2013) and Rbrul (Johnson 2009).

parameters in such a way that the probabilities for correct predictions are maximised.[85]

The equation for the logit model is as follows:
Logit-Function:

$$P(y_i = 1) = \frac{\exp(b_0 + b_1 X_{1i} + b_2 x_{2i} + \ldots + b_k x_{ki})}{1 + \exp(b_0 + b_1 X_{1i} + b_2 x_{2i} + \ldots + b_k x_{ki})}$$

P represents probability, *y* is the binary or multinomial dependent variable, *exp* is *e* raised to the power of the argument in brackets, *b*0 is the constant, *b1* represents the parameter of the first independent variable, *b2* the parameter of the second independent variable etc. If two realisations of the independent variable are analysed, binary logistic regression is applied. For the three realisations of the CHOICE lexical set (Chapter 4.2), a multinomial logistic regression was applied first. The two extremes (traditional, unrounded velar realisation of the first element of the diphthong and new, rounded and raised realisation) were then contrasted against the other two variants using binary logistic regression. New insights are expected to be gained by applying a quantitative statistical approach as well as by offering more traditional dialectological and qualitative views on selected features of Irish English.

[85] For more details on logistic regression and the different values presented in the following analyses, see e.g. Ludwig-Mayerhofer (2017); Schwarz & Bruderer Enzler (2018); UCLA Statistical Consulting Group (2019).

4 Analyses of phonological features of spoken Galway English

In this chapter, an in-depth analysis of two phonological features based on the data of the Corpus of Spoken Galway English will be provided. The first section deals with the phonological phenomenon of schwa epenthesis in words such as *film* ['fɪləm] and its sociolinguistic distribution. The question of schwa insertion functioning as a marker of identity will also be addressed. Then, the possible spread of the raising of low back vowels in the THOUGHT, LOT and CHOICE lexical sets as observed in Dublin (Hickey 2004a: 47, 2005a: 49) to the urban centre of the west will be investigated.

4.1 Epenthetic schwa[86]

When talking about cinematic productions, a young female from County Galway uttered the following metalinguistic statement about the item *film*:

> [laughter] Because it, we know it's, to pronounce it properly it's *film*. But we, Galway, Irish people, I don't even know if it's all Irish people, but definitely Galway people say *fillim* like as if there's an *i* [*sic*]. Where there where we know that there isn't, we still say it. […] We know that it's wrong. […] I never even noticed it until I went to America and they were like, what are you saying like, it's a film or a movie like. So when I came back from America, then I was saying movie, but I got slaps, so.
>
> (female, 26 years, recorded in 2004).

This quote shows that the speaker only became aware that the Irish – or Galway – pronunciation of *film* differs from some unspecified standard during her stay in the US. This suggests a certain salience of this feature, commonly referred to as schwa epenthesis, in Irish English. Generally, "[e]penthesis is the insertion of a sound in the middle of a word, for example, *arithmetic* is occasionally pronounced with the medial [-θm-] cluster broken up by an inserted schwa [ə]" (Ohala 2006: 521). Referring to

[86] This chapter has in large parts been published in Sell (2012).

Irish English, Hickey (2004a: 41; 2007a: 307-308) sees heavy coda clusters consisting of two sonorants as the possible basis of schwa insertion and thus defines schwa epenthesis as a "process by which an unstressed short vowel is inserted in a cluster of sonorants to resyllabify the cluster in question such that the sonorants belong to different syllables after epenthesis" (Hickey 2007a: 307).

Obviously, schwa epenthesis is by no means restricted to Irish English. It is common in Scottish English as well (Hickey 1985a; Carnie 1994). In Dutch, a schwa sound can be inserted "(i)n non-homorganic consonant clusters in coda position" (Booij 1995: 127). Hickey (1985a) also mentions epenthetic schwa in North Rhenish German, e.g. in *Kalb* ('calf') [kɑłəp]. But it is obvious that the distribution of schwa in Dutch and in North Rhenish German is different from that of Irish English. For example, schwa cannot be inserted before plosives in Irish English. In the context of the historical development of Irish English, Kallen (1994: 175) also remarks that "[t]his feature [i.e. schwa epenthesis] is not unique to Ireland, though the lexical incidence of it may differ from that found elsewhere." Epenthesis processes in Irish English – including schwa insertion – are seen as "striking" by Wells (1982a: 435). This might explain why schwa epenthesis has been of great interest to researchers (see e.g. Bliss 1984: 139; Kallen 1994: 175; Hickey 1996: 227; Moylan 1996: 297). However, researchers' findings as to its frequency and its distribution are by no means unanimous.

Schwa insertion has figured prominently in research on Irish English. Even though approaches to the topic vary and the findings show slight differences with regard to linguistic and social constraints, it is commonly accepted that epenthetic schwa occurs in clusters of /lm/ and /rm/ as in *film* [ˈfɪləm] and *farm* [ˈfarəm] (Wells 1982a: 435; Bliss 1984: 139; Kallen 1994: 175; Hickey 2007a: 28, 307-308; Walshe 2009: 231-233), since Irish English is rhotic with some exceptions in working-class Dublin English (Wells 1982a: 431-432; Hickey 2004a: 42, 2005a: 28). [87]

[87]In his description of the traditional rural dialect of Cloongreghan, Co. Roscommon, Henry (1957: 29-30) mentions the pronunciation /ˈterəm/ for *term*, but no epenthetic schwa in *fern* and *learn* in the context of "the *e*-Phoneme". He suggests the following for his traditional dialect data: "When the homorganic half-consonants r, l, l̩, n, n̩ occur together in pairs, they are fortes. Strongly-rolled (R) seems to be the causative factor. The combinations found are: RN, RN̩, RL, RʌL. The second consonant is usually syllabic" (1957: 39).

Some linguists suggest further options for schwa insertion: Wells (1982a: 435) has ascertained that it occurs in environments where the preceding consonant is a plosive,[88] a liquid or a nasal, and the following consonant is a liquid or a nasal, as in *petrol* [ˈpɛt̪əɹəl], *Dublin* [ˈdʊbəlɪn], *Kathleen* [ˈkæt̪əliːn], *film* [ˈfɪləm], *form* [ˈfɔɹəm], *Drimnagh* [ˈdɹɪmənə] or *tavern* [ˈtævəɹən]. Kallen (1994: 175) points out that clusters consisting of a liquid followed by a nasal are susceptible to schwa insertion, including words like *Lincoln* [ˈlɪŋkɑlən]. Hickey (2007a: 307-308) suggests that the linguistic constraints are in fact governed by social constraints. He regards schwa epenthesis in /lm/ as universal and as a rather standard feature of Irish English in the lexemes *film* and *helm*, but states that in vernacular Irish English, epenthetic schwa is found in more environments, namely in /ln/, e.g. *kiln* /ˈkɪlən/; /rl/, e.g. *girl* /ˈgɛɹəl/; /rn/, e.g. *earn* /ˈɛɹən/; /rm/, e.g. *farm* /ˈfaːɹəm/, and medially in clusters consisting of a plosive followed by a sonorant as in *arthritis* /ærtəˈraɪtɪs/, *children* /ˈʧɪldərən/ or *petrol* /ˈpɛtəɹəl/.

Several scholars have suggested that there is a social dimension to schwa epenthesis. Wells (1982a: 435), for example, sees the insertion of schwa as restricted to popular speech. Bliss (1984: 139), on the other hand, does not see such a stylistic restriction, arguing that "this type of pronunciation is common in all words, and in the word /filəm/ *film* it is universal, even among educated speakers". Hickey (2007a: 27) goes a step further and suggests that "if an individual has neither epenthesis in *film* nor fricative *t* nor dental stops for ambidental fricatives, then there is a very real sense in which that individual is not a speaker of (southern) Irish English."

Researchers also do not agree on the position of the consonant clusters that are susceptible to schwa epenthesis. While Kallen (1994: 175) points out that only word-final clusters are eligible, other linguists have found examples of schwa insertion in Irish English that are clearly not in word-final clusters and, due to the principle of maximisation of onsets (see e.g. Roger 2000: 92), not in coda clusters either (as in e.g. *arthritis* or *petrol*). Examples of schwa epenthesis into heterosyllabic clusters in vernacular Irish English are given, for example, by Hickey (2007a: 308).

[88] This includes the Irish English dental stop realisation of /θ/ (Wells 1982a: 435).

The results of Walshe's (2009: 231-233) study of Irish English as represented in films support the perception that epenthetic schwa is typical of this variety: It occurs several times in his film corpus, in, for instance, the words *film*, *arm*, *worm*, *turn* and *kiln*. Hickey (2007a: 60-61, 308) also emphasises the fact that epenthesis is a common process of Irish, particularly of Munster Irish. For instance, *dorcha* ('dark') is pronounced [ˈdʌɹəxə] and *an-mhaith* ('very good') [ˈanəva]. As English in Ireland has had extensive contact with Irish, this might have influenced the extent of schwa insertion in Irish English.

The range of possible environments for schwa insertion in modern Irish, however, seems to exceed that of Irish English. Carnie's study (1994) shows that epenthesis occurs in a sonorant plus voiced stop/fricative/sonorant environment in codas, e.g. *bolb* ('caterpillar') [ˈboləb]. He (1994: 88-89) traces this back to the minimal distance constraint for Irish codas, which is also true between codas and onsets, allowing schwa insertion into heterosyllabic clusters in Irish, as in *seirbhís* ('service') [ʃe:rəvi:ʃ], *confadh* ('anger') [konəfə] or *Alba* ('Scotland') [aləbə]. If the requirements outlined in more detail in Carnie (1994) are met, an epenthetic schwa can occur in a wide range of morphological contexts, such as within morphemes, between compounds, between affixes and stems, word-finally, before inflectional suffixes, in borrowed lexical items and word-medially (Carnie 1994: 95). But this does not apply to clusters with the same primary place of articulation, as in *bord* ('table') [bord] or *calra* ('calorie') [kalrə], before voiceless stops as in *corca* ('people') [korkə], or when there is a long nucleus before the sonorant (Carnie 1994: 88-95).

The slight differences in the findings for schwa insertion in Irish English are likely to be due to research conducted at different times and to the types of research methods and data sets used by previous researchers. To date, research on Irish English phonology has mainly followed a non-quantitative approach, relying on observational data and qualitative approaches, elicitation tasks and older dialectological studies (see, e.g., Bliss 1984; Henry 1957; Hickey 2004a, 2007a; Kallen 1994; Wells 1982a). This chapter aims to contribute new insights by carrying out a quantitative analysis of natural spoken data from a western urban variety of Irish English. It also intends to show the influence of linguistic and social variables on schwa epenthesis.

In order to prompt the use of lexical items that potentially involve schwa epenthesis, there were also more guided activities in the data elicitation process. First, in order to prompt the use of the word *film* during the conversational component, the interviews incorporated questions on films set in Ireland and on non-Irish actors playing Irish characters. Second, in order to ensure a comprehensive dataset, interviewees were asked to read a word list, minimal pairs and a text passage. Finally, a short questionnaire was administered which elicited oral information about certain lexical items and morpho-syntactic features containing items that might potentially show schwa epenthesis. Of course, the interviews were not conducted solely to elicit data on schwa epenthesis, but ranged over a wide variety of topics. Therefore, there are some minor gaps in the data as mentioned further below.

The interviews were cut into separate sound files, each consisting of a token with potential schwa insertion.[89] 806 tokens in total were analysed auditorily, and the data cross-checked by another linguist. The results were then analysed statistically with logistic regression in SPSS (for further details see Fromm 2005; Bühl 2006; Sell 2009a, 2009b).

The transcriptions were searched for tokens containing the consonant clusters /lm/ and /rm/, as these clusters are commonly judged to be susceptible to schwa epenthesis. This meant that heterosyllabic clusters were also included. The corpus was also searched for additional items that have been shown to be susceptible to schwa insertion such as *petrol* with the cluster /tr/, *girl(-s)* with /rl/ and *Dublin* with /bl/. *Charles, Lincoln, Kathleen, tavern* and *helm,* which were given as illustrations for epenthesis by other linguists and which are all very specific items of vocabulary, did not occur in the transcriptions. The search results for /lm/ were *film, almost, helmet, Coleman, coalman, Kilmacduagh, almighty*. The types *salmon* and *calm* were not included in the analysis as the <l> is silent. The name *Colm/Colum* and the diminutive *Colmeen* were also not considered since they are derived from *Columba* and thus etymologically contain a vowel. /rm/ was found in the items *form, norm, farm, harm, term, alarm, arm, army, chairman, Birmingham, German(-y, -s), normal(-ly), confirm(-s, -ed),*

[89] At the point of this analysis, some interviews had been transcribed manually in their entirety, while others were only transcribed in part in order to conduct the analyses on schwa epenthesis.

former(-ly), supermarkets, uniform, pharmacist, permit(-s), enormous(-ly), Dermot, formality, Lettermullen, transform(-ed), harmless, buttermilk, Gorman, Bohermore, firm, warm, kermit, terminology, information, permission, uniform, Supermac's, permanently, Diarmaid, perform, Thermoking, worms, intermixed, murmur, format, tarmacs, Armagh, dorm, charms, storm, farmers, Tourmakeady, sperm, endearment, Carmel, barman. Suitable lexical items from the word list, the reading passage and the oral questionnaire component were also analysed. In the analysis, /lm/ and /rm/ were treated separately, as they have been mentioned as being prone to schwa epenthesis by several linguists (see e.g. Wells 1982a: 435; Bliss 1984: 139; Kallen 1994: 175; Hickey 2007a: 28, 307-308; Walshe 2009: 231-233). The study also investigates the impact of factors such as position of the cluster, i.e. coda or word-final, and the lexeme *film(-s)* as epenthetic schwa seems to be particularly frequent with this item.

As mentioned above, this analysis furthermore investigates three independent social variables: age, gender and socio-economic background. To investigate the variable of style, Labov's (2001b) approach of attention paid to speech was taken as a basis (see Chapter 3.6.4), so that in this analysis, conversational and rather informal speech during the interview were distinguished from the more careful and formal styles as used in word list and text passage readings and during the oral questionnaire part.

Results

A total of 806 tokens were analysed, 96 of which had epenthetic schwa, which constitutes 11.9%. The lexical item *film(-ed, -s, -ing)* involved a very high level of schwa epenthesis. The corpus included a total of 94 such tokens of which 72 or 76.6% involved schwa epenthesis. This item was therefore investigated separately. For all tokens excluding *film(-ed, -s, -ing)*, the percentage of schwa insertion was only 3.37% (see Table 3). In fact, there were only 24 instances of schwa insertion that occurred in lexemes other than *film(-ed, -s, -ing).* The amount of epenthesis in the corpus of present-day urban Galway English does not seem very striking. Nevertheless, schwa insertion certainly is a feature that does occur in western urban Irish English. Note, however, that there are some gaps in the data: *film(-s, -ed)* is the only type that falls in the category of potential schwa in an /lm/ coda cluster. These two factors are therefore correlated.

	schwa	no schwa	total	% schwa
all tokens	96	710	806	11.90%
tokens excluding *film**	24	688	712	3.37%
*film**	72	22	94	76.60%

Table 3: Numbers and percentages of schwa in the data for Galway English

While 424 tokens potentially could have schwa insertion into coda clusters, 92 actually had a schwa inserted. There are only 4 instances where insertion is not into a syllable-final cluster, one of which, *filming,* is a morphologically complex form where the /lm/ cluster is tautosyllabic in the base word *film*. The remaining three heterosyllabic clusters are Irish names used in conversation (*Diarmaid* and its vocative form *Dhiarmaid*). As shown in Table 4, 374 tokens (10.7% with epenthetic schwa) were uttered by females, 432 (12.96% schwa) by males. The speakers under 30 years of age contributed 288 tokens, the speakers between 30 and 60 years 268 tokens and the speakers aged over 60 years 240 instances. As such, the sample can be considered balanced. As individual tokens were analysed independently for the study, the influence of individual speakers on the data set was examined. Only 3 of the 35 speakers influenced the data set significantly, i.e. speakers #12 (a 22-year-old female), #13 (a 38-year-old female) and #28 (a 46-year-old male). The remaining 32 speakers did not play a significant role. There was a considerable amount of intrapersonal variation. Schwa insertion in all tokens analysed ranged from 0% to 43% for the individual speakers.

	tokens in total	tokens with schwa	% schwa	tokens without schwa	% no schwa
females	374	40	10.70%	334	89.30%
males	432	56	12.96%	376	97.04%

Table 4: Distribution of tokens with and without schwa according to gender of speakers in the data for Galway English

As frequency often plays a role in linguistic patterns (cf. Bybee 2002a, 2002b), the most frequent types in the data were investigated to see whether they showed a distribution of schwa different from less frequent types. However, the data indicate that frequency does not play a role. The most frequent types are *girl(-s)* with 126 tokens, of which only 5% involved schwa insertion, *Dublin* with 116 tokens and 0% schwa and *film(-ed, -ing, -s)* with 94 tokens involving 77% schwa epenthesis. Frequent *German(-s, -y)* with heterosyllabic /rm/ did not have any schwa inserted (72 tokens, 0% schwa), *confirm(-ed, -s)* with tautosyllabic /rm/ had schwa in one out of 58 tokens (2% schwa), the 38 tokens of *term(-s)* also had only one instance involving schwa (3% schwa). There were several hapax legomena, i.e. words that occur only once in the corpus, including *warm* (no schwa), *storm* (no schwa) and *sperm* (schwa). Again, frequency did not seem to affect schwa epenthesis.

As /lm/ and /rm/ have been mentioned by several linguists to be susceptible to schwa epenthesis (see e.g. Wells 1982a: 435; Bliss 1984: 139; Kallen 1994: 175; Hickey 2007a: 28, 307-308; Walshe 2009: 231-233), they were also examined separately (see Table 5). There were 133 instances of /lm/ clusters with a ratio of schwa insertion of 54%. /lm/ in coda position triggered schwa epenthesis in 76% of all 93 potential cases – but, as stated before, all of these instances are represented by the lexeme *film(-s, -ed)*. 396 instances of /rm/ clusters were analysed with roughly 5% showing schwa. The types of /rm/ clusters with schwa insertion were *alarm, arms, confirmed, Dhiarmaid, Diarmaid, farm, firm, sperm, terms*. Because of the low absolute numbers of tokens per type, it is hard to make reliable statements about whether any /rm/ cluster words behave in a special manner: *arm(-s, -ed)* occurred ten times in the corpus with epenthetic schwa in six tokens (equalling 60 percent), but the ten tokens were uttered by only four speakers, and all six schwa tokens belonged to one speaker.

	schwa	no schwa	total	% schwa
/lm/	72	61	133	54%
/rm/	19	377	396	5%
/lm/ in coda	71	22	93	76%
/rm/ in coda	16	176	192	8%

Table 5: Schwa insertion in /lm/ and /rm/ clusters with a subdivision into coda /lm/ and /rm/

Again, the percentage of schwa insertion increases to 8% for /rm/ in coda position (see Table 5). But it must be mentioned that there are only five instances of epenthetic schwa in coda position in clusters other than /lm/ and /rm/, all of which are in the item *girl(-s)*. The variables /lm/, /rm/ and 'in coda position' are included in the statistical analysis.

Several statistical tests were run with the software SPSS, all of which were based on binary logit models. The variables gender (with the binary distinction male/female) and socio-economic background did not influence the probability for schwa insertion significantly. Since the model fitted the data very well with a Nagelkerke R^2 of 0.64, the non-significant variables were eliminated from the analysis and the logit model was run for the remaining variables.

	coefficient	standard error	significance
in coda	4.29	0.60	0.000
conversation	1.13	0.38	0.003
age	0.04	0.01	0.000
/lm/	5.43	0.60	0.000
/rm/	1.62	0.54	0.003
Constant	-10.77	1.12	0000

Table 6: Significance of variables in coda, conversation, age, /lm/ and /rm/

- The model has a very good fit with a Nagelkerke's R^2 value of 0.63. The results show that coda position, conversational vs. less formal speech style, age, and both /lm/ and /rm/ clusters proved to be highly significant.
- The fact that the consonant cluster in question is at the end of a syllable increases the probability for schwa insertion in a highly significant way ($p<0.001$).
- Table 6 also shows that schwa is more likely to be inserted in less formal speech ($p=0.003$).
- Schwa is also more likely to be inserted in /lm/ and /rm/ clusters ($p<0.001$ and $p=0.003$, respectively).
- The speech of older people is also more prone to schwa epenthesis ($p<0.001$).

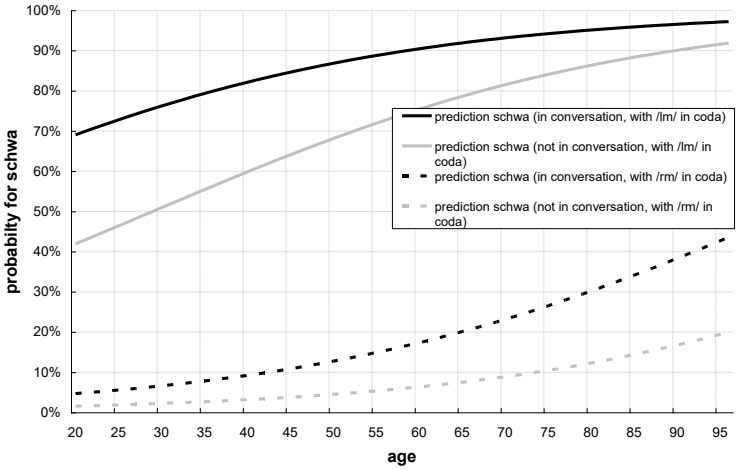


Figure 5: Calculated probabilities for schwa epenthesis in /lm/ and /rm/ clusters depending on formality of speech

Based on the logit function, probabilities for the insertion of a schwa in different scenarios can be estimated. Figure 5 illustrates the calculated probabilities for schwa epenthesis in syllable-final /lm/ clusters in conversational speech (black line) as opposed to more formal styles (grey line) depending on the age of the speakers. It is evident that the estimated probabilities for schwa insertion increase with age and that epenthetic schwa is more likely to occur in less formal speech. The probabilities for schwa insertion in /lm/ clusters in coda position are always quite high, with almost 70% for a 20-year-old speaker in less formal speech. The probabilities for syllable-final /rm/ clusters are represented by the black dotted line for conversational speech style and by the grey dotted line for more formal situations. Compared to /lm/, the likelihood for epenthesis is lower. But it has to be pointed out once again that the coda/non coda distinction for /lm/ clusters is not as reliable as one might wish, as *film(-ed, -s)* is the only type that contains the /lm/ cluster in the syllable coda in the corpus.

The model output indicates that epenthetic schwa is more likely to occur in interview-style conversation than in more formal speech styles, which suggests that schwa epenthesis is not generally accepted as a standard form

in Irish English. Furthermore, schwa is more likely to be inserted in coda clusters. The fact that schwa insertion is also more likely to occur in older people's speech hints at change in progress. Lexical items with /lm/ and /rm/ clusters might be more susceptible to schwa insertion than other lexemes, but this cannot be validated with the current data set since not all clusters have been investigated to the same extent. The question of whether coda position or word-final position is the decisive factor for schwa epenthesis cannot be answered on the basis of the current data set as there is only one type (*harmless*) with potential schwa in a coda that is not at the end of a word, and even here the consonant cluster is actually at the end of the base and before the suffix. Therefore, the overlap between these two variables is too high to allow for any reliable conclusions to be reached.

The analysis so far suggests that the item *film* has a special status regarding schwa epenthesis and should be given special consideration. Schwa occurred in 76.6% of all *film** tokens as opposed to a schwa rate of 11.9% for all tokens. There were no gender differences concerning epenthetic schwa, as women inserted the vowel in 77% and men in 76% of all cases (see Table 7).

The statistical analysis for *film* with logit models supports the notion that *film* does indeed behave differently. The testing of the different independent variables mentioned before revealed that only the variable conversation vs. more formal speech styles is important to explain the variation in the *film* data subset as the results of the logit model show that solely the variable conversation is highly significant for the *film* subset (p=0.001). The fit of the model is sufficient with a Nagelkerke's R^2 value of 0.18.

	***film** tokens total**	schwa	% schwa
females	31	24	77%
males	63	48	76%

Table 7: Epenthetic schwa in the *film subset according to gender**

This value is not worse than in other scenarios tested for *film**. As the item *film* did not occur in the questionnaire part or the reading passage of the interviews, formality in this case only refers to conversation vs. word list style. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether formality derived from differences in attention to speech or whether the difference between the acts of speaking vs. reading aloud plays a decisive role. If the latter is the case, then the spelling might have guided the speakers' pronunciation (Milroy 1980: 106).

The calculated probability for schwa in conversational, fairly free-flowing speech is 87.3%. The likelihood decreases to 54.8% in the more formal setting (see Table 8). This might suggest that, although epenthetic schwa is common in the case of the item *film*, it is not the standard form, as the likelihood for schwa insertion shows discrepancies between settings of different formality. Nevertheless, even in the very formal word-list style, the likelihood for schwa insertion is still over 50%. As the result also indicates that none of the social variables considered (age, gender, social class) influences the likelihood for the insertion of a schwa in *film**, there does not seem to be any change in progress here.

The fact that schwa is even inserted in *filming*, a hapax legomenon in the corpus and a morphologically complex form with heterosyllabic /lm/, suggests that schwa is indeed connected to *film* and might serve as a local (or maybe even national) identity marker in this word.

	probability schwa in *film**
in conversation	87.3%
in more formal setting	54.8%

Table 8: Calculated probabilities for schwa epenthesis in *film depending on the formality of speech**

Summary and outlook

Epenthetic schwa is clearly a feature of spoken Galway English, but it is not extremely frequent. In the corpus consisting of transcriptions of natural speech recordings obtained from 35 speakers from Galway City, it occurred in only 12% of all tokens analysed. Overall, epenthetic schwa seems to be used less by younger people. This possible change in progress should be further analysed in future studies, especially since not all types appear to be equally affected by this change. For the frequent type *film*, which shows a very high epenthesis rate of almost 77%, only the variable formality of speech, i.e. conversational style vs. word list style, is statistically significant. The fact that schwa is even inserted in *filming* suggests that epenthetic schwa might serve as a local (or maybe even national) identity marker in this word, an assumption that partly supports Hickey's (2007a: 307-308) statement that schwa insertion is a rather standard feature in *film* and that it is regarded as a marker of Irish English in this word. But the results also indicate that, even though schwa is frequently inserted in *film**, it is nonetheless not considered the standard pronunciation by all speakers of Galway English as the likelihood for epenthesis is lower in more formal speech such as reading a word list. This supports the speaker quoted in the introduction of this chapter who suggests that *film* is generally pronounced with a schwa in Galway, even though she and obviously other Galwegians are (maybe in some cases only subconsciously) aware of a so-called "proper" pronunciation without schwa.

The notion of epenthetic schwa serving as an identity marker of Galway English or Irish English ties in with general sociolinguistic findings: "Speakers show some subconscious awareness of markers, and this is made evident in the fact that they consistently use more of one variant in formal styles of speech and more of another variant in informal styles of speech" (Meyerhoff 2011: 26). The output of logistic regression models shows that schwa epenthesis in Galway English is generally favoured by consonant clusters in coda position or in word-final position – indeed, there are hardly any heterosyllabic cases. While less formal speech styles do seem to be more likely to trigger schwa epenthesis, it is not restricted to popular speech, as Wells (1996a: 435) suggests.

4.2 The raising of low back vowels

Over the last 20 years, there has been a major sound change in Dublin, and according to Hickey (2005a: 72-73, 2007b), this 'New Pronunciation', which involves mainly altered realisations of vowels and of the liquids /l/ and /r/ (Hickey 2005a: 73-78), is spreading rapidly to other areas of Ireland. In this chapter, I will focus on changes affecting vowels in the CHOICE, LOT and THOUGHT lexical sets. In traditional Southern Irish English, these vowels tend to have a lower or somewhat unrounded realisation compared to those in Standard British English (see Table 9, see also Wells 1996a: 419-427; Hickey 2004a: 47). In what Hickey calls the 'Dublin vowel shift,' the low back vowels are raised, for example *cot* [kɒt̪] becomes [kɔt̪], *caught* [kɒːt̪] becomes [kɔ˞ːt̪] or [koːt̪] and diphthongs with a low back starting point as in *toy* tend to be raised, thus [tɒɪ] becomes [tɔ˞ɪ] or [toɪ] (Hickey 2004a: 47-48).[90] Hickey goes as far as suggesting that this process in Southern Irish English has the characteristics of a chain shift.[91]

The current chapter concerns itself with the following questions: Has the 'Dublin vowel shift' spread as far as Galway City in the west of Ireland? If so, who is affected? What role do different social variables such as age and gender play? The assumption is that the 'New Pronunciation' is the incoming form. Therefore, young people and females should be more affected by the change. In this context, Chambers (1995: 8) states: "Linguistic differences between groups of people that differ from one another only in age can signal either a regular, maturational change […] or, more likely, a linguistic change in progress in the community."

Discussing the role of gender, Labov (2001a: 293) observes that female speakers conform more closely than males to sociolinguistic norms that are

[90] Hickey (2004b: 85) also uses the transcriptions [kɔːt̪] and [tɔɪ] when talking about the vowel changes, without indicating vowel lowering.

[91] (ai) retraction is also mentioned as part of the vowel shift in Dublin English. It was a prevalent feature of the 'Dublin 4' accent in the 1980s, but its status is unclear now (Hickey 2004a: 46). 4 is the postal code for a well-to-do Dublin district where the national broadcasting media and University College Dublin are located. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether one should really talk about an actual shift or, as I do in this chapter (other than when quoting Hickey) simply about changes in the realisation. Hickey (2005a: 55) also suggests that the diphthongisation of the long mid back vowel /oː/ in the GOAT lexical set has an "internal motivation stemming from the raising of the THOUGHT vowel as part of the Dublin vowel shift."

overtly prescribed. Labov (2001a: 266) formulates the following principles: "For stable sociolinguistic variables, women show a lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men." Furthermore, "[i]n linguistic change from above, women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men" (Labov 2001a: 274), while "[i]n linguistic change from below, women use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men do" (Labov 2001a: 292). Hickey (2005a: 72-73) also notes that the new Dublin English features are widespread among younger people, in particular among female speakers under 25, and that these features are adopted mainly by younger speakers in Southern Ireland. Age and gender, then, will be important social variables for my analysis here (see also Chambers 1995; Coupland 2001a; Labov 2001a).

This chapter is rather exploratory in character in that it uses a sub-corpus of only conversational speech styles of 20 informants randomly representing the categories, the tokens taken from the rather central interview minutes 15 to 25. The statistical analysis used is also innovative and advanced somewhat tentatively: A multinomial logit model has been utilised in addition to the binary logit model, the independent variables being age and gender. Of the twenty speakers, ten were male and ten female, with ages ranging from 18 to 94. The realisations of the vowels in the THOUGHT, LOT and CHOICE lexical sets were defined as dependent variables.

This section presents a brief summary of the current state of research. After this, the results for the THOUGHT, LOT and CHOICE lexical sets will be laid out, in an attempt to shed new light on change in progress in Irish English. Finally, the conclusion summarizes these results and indicates areas of interest for future analyses.

Given the scant literature on the urban Galway dialect, it will be necessary to take more general findings about Irish English into account when discussing these vowel realisations in the English of Galway City. Most research has concluded that the vowels in the LOT, THOUGHT and CHOICE lexical sets tend to have a lower or a somewhat unrounded realisation in traditional Irish English than in British English. Bliss, for example, states that /ɑ/ in educated Irish English is found in the lexeme *pot*, /ɑː/ in *paw*, *talk* or *port*, but he uses the Standard British phonemic transcription /ɔɪ/ for the

diphthong in *boy* (Bliss 1984: 135-150).[92] Trudgill & Hannah (1985: 92-93) detect /ɒ/ realised as [ɑ] in Southern Irish English *pot* and /ɔː/ realised as [ɑː] in *paw* and *talk*. They see a tendency to neutralize the opposition between the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/, so that *oil* might be pronounced [aɪl].

Referring to a 'typical Irish accent of English', Wells (1982a: 419) uses the following IPA symbols for the relevant phonemes: /ɒ/ in the LOT lexical set, /ɔː/ in THOUGHT, /ɔɪ/ in CHOICE. He specifies the realisation of these phonemes and states that /ɒ, ɔː/ are unrounded in most Irish English accents, i.e. [ɑ, ɑː] (Wells 1982a: 419). Referring to Bertz (1975), he notes that realisations for /ɒ/ range from [ɑ] through [ɒ] to [ɔ] in Dublin,[93] "with the more educated speakers sometimes using even closer qualities" (Wells 1982a: 422). Regarding /ɔː/ as in THOUGHT, he says that the variant [ɑː] can also be found in Dublin, "but there more English-like realizations are more usual: […] /ɔː/ as [ɔː] (or even closer). The [oː] quality used by some university-educated Dublin women is widely judged to be an affectation" (Wells 1982a: 424).

[92] The phonemes have various allophones depending on the Irish English dialect. Nevertheless, most realisations should not differ greatly from the phonetic value of the given symbols. For RP pronunciation see, for example, Wells (2000).

[93] Wells (1982a: 422) notes that even an [ɑ+] variant can be found, but that it is restricted to females categorised as 'progressive working-class' and occurs before a /t/ as in *not* [nɑ+t]. Wells cites Bertz, who states that [ɑ] can be found [among progressive female speakers of PDE in colloquial speech before /t/, translation K.S.] (original: "bei progressiven weiblichen PDE-Sprechern [Popular Dublin English] in zwangloser Umgangssprache vor /t/", Bertz 1975: 171).

Vocalic sets	Rural Southwest-West	Popular Dublin	Supraregional Southern	Fashionable Dublin[94]
LOT	ɑ	ɑ	ɑ	ɒ
THOUGHT	ɑ:	ɒ:	ɒ:	ɔˠ:, o:
CHOICE	ɑɪ	ɑɪ	ɒɪ	ɔɪ, oɪ

Table 9: Selected varieties of Irish English, realisations of the LOT, THOUGHT and CHOICE lexical sets (adapted from Hickey 2004a: 57; see also Wells 1982; Bliss 1984)

Nevertheless, these attitudes and realisations are subject to change. Realisations of the vowels in the LOT, THOUGHT and CHOICE lexical sets differ in different dialects of Irish English, as presented in Table 9. In rural southwest-west Ireland, the unrounded and lowered realisations are seen by Hickey as dominant.[95] In 'popular Dublin English'[96] only the long back vowel in THOUGHT is of a low and somewhat rounded quality, whereas Hickey additionally allocates a rounded, lowered onset to the CHOICE diphthong in supraregional Southern Irish English.

The variety that displays the most recent incoming forms has been termed 'fashionable Dublin English' or 'new Dublin English' by Hickey (2004a: 44, 2005: 8). 'Fashionable Dublin English' denotes the accent of people who would not want to be associated with traditional or low-prestige Dublin people. He emphasises that "the pronunciations which are typical of this variety are shifting into the mainstream as more and more speakers adopt the new pronunciation" (Hickey 2004a: 44). Many features

[94] The realisations suggested for Fashionable Dublin English are close to Standard Southern British English and, for the CHOICE set, also to General American English.

[95] The Southwest and West here stretches from County Cork in the South to County Mayo. This area was the stronghold of Irish. There was "no survival of English from the first period with the possible exception of very small pockets in the major cities Cork, Limerick and Galway" (Hickey 2004a: 32).

[96] Hickey uses this term for an accent which displays the inherited popular form of English in the Irish capital. The speakers of popular Dublin English identify with traditional Dublin life, hence also the term 'local Dublin English' (Hickey 2004a: 44).

which were classified as fashionable Dublin English in the late 1980s and early 1990s are now characteristic of the mainstream variety, particularly among younger people, and can show even more retracted and closer vowel values in the case of the THOUGHT monophthong and the CHOICE diphthong onset than the retracted realisations which are typical of Southern British English (Hickey 2004a: 47-48, 2005a: 57). Table 9 shows that there seems to be a development from the traditional, conservative unrounded and lowered realisations to the non-local raised realisations.

In his monograph *Irish English* (2007a), Hickey even classifies the open back vowel [ɒ:] in the THOUGHT lexical set as recessive, the new pronunciation in mainstream Irish English being [t̪ɔ:t̪̊]. According to him (2007a: 29), the low starting point [ɒ] for the CHOICE diphthong is also used less in mainstream Irish English and the incoming form is [tʃɔɪs]. Hickey (2007a: 29) further states that

> [f]or non-local speakers under 25 it is already the case that they do not generally show the features in table 1.5 [i.e. recessive features in mainstream Irish English, such as the low open back realisation in THOUGHT and CHOICE, K.S.]. This means that features traditionally associated with (southern) Irish English will become increasingly rare and eventually disappear as speakers with the conservative mainstream pronunciation become fewer and fewer.

Since the development has apparently progressed farthest in Dublin and seems to have originated in fashionable Dublin English, Hickey refers to it as the 'vowel shift in Dublin English' (2004a: 47), for an illustration see Figure 3.

Summary of the present-day vowel shift

Retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point

time	[taɪm]	→	[tɑɪm]
toy	[tɒɪ]	→	[tɔˣɪ], [toɪ]

Raising of low back vowels

cot	[kɒt̪]	→	[kɔt̪]
caught	[kɒːt̪]	→	[kɔˣːt̪], [koːt̪]
Cork	[kɒːɻk]	→	[kɔˣːɻk], [koːɻk]

(ai) retraction	aɪ	→	ɑɪ
Low back vowel raising	ɒɪ		oː
	↑		↑
	ɔɪ	ɔ	ɔː
	↑	↑	↑
	ɒɪ	ɒ	ɒː

Figure 3: The 'Dublin vowel shift' (Hickey 2004a: 47)

As outlined in Chapter 2.3, Galway City is a fast-growing university town near the Irish-speaking Connemara Gaeltacht in the West of Ireland, roughly 200 kilometres from the capital Dublin, and the third largest town in the Republic. These factors promise interesting results in terms of whether the new Dublin English pronunciation has spread throughout Ireland, particularly considering that Hickey (2005a: 61) stresses the role of urbanites outside of Dublin: "There is a strong tendency on the part of urban dwellers outside Dublin to imitate features of the capital city."

The pronunciation of words belonging to the LOT, THOUGHT and CHOICE lexical sets was analysed on an auditory basis, by the current author and two other linguists independently. In order to achieve statistically reliable results, the realisations were coded. The traditional variant was given a 0 coding; with other realisations, the higher and/or more rounded a realisation was, the higher the code number it received. In cases of disagreement, the majority opinion was used. For example, for THOUGHT, the suggested realisations were [ɑ:] coded as 0, [ɒ:] coded as 1, [ɔ:] coded as 2, and [o:] coded as 3. On only one occasion was there disagreement by a factor of more than 1, and this token was excluded from the analysis.

The results were then analysed statistically with logistic regression, i.e. logit models. The output of the models helps to clarify whether certain independent variables are statistically significant. An independent variable is significant if the probability for the null hypothesis (for example, "[a]ge does not influence the way people pronounce the vowel in *lot*") is less than 5 percent. The models also estimate probabilities for the use or non-use of a certain variant depending on the independent variables such as age and gender.

Statistical analysis was conducted on the basis of logistic regression, also known as the logit model (see Chapter 3.1). In this analysis, the independent variables tested were age and gender. As for the LOT and THOUGHT lexical sets, two realisations of the velar vowels were analysed, and binary logistic regression was applied. For the three realisations of the CHOICE lexical set, a multinomial logistic regression was applied first. The two extremes (traditional, unrounded velar realisation of the first element of the diphthong and new, rounded and raised realisation) were then contrasted against the other two variants using binary logistic regression.

Results: Galway English THOUGHT lexical set

For the THOUGHT lexical set, 92 tokens were analysed. Table 10 shows the cross-tabulation for the use of the different realisations broken down by the age and gender of the speakers.

			[ɑː]	[ɒː]	[ɔː]	Total
male	age	18	0	1	0	1
		21	0	3	0	3
		24	0	2	5	7
		26	0	3	0	3
		46	0	4	1	5
		50	0	4	0	4
		57	0	9	0	9
		67	0	3	0	3
		70	0	5	0	5
	Total		**0**	**34**	**6**	**40**
female	age	21	0	0	2	2
		22	0	1	0	1
		25	0	5	0	5
		34	0	7	0	7
		44	1	4	0	5
		49	0	6	0	6
		53	1	3	0	4
		71	1	6	0	7
		94	0	14	1	15
	Total		**3**	**46**	**3**	**52**

Table 10: Cross-tabulation for the THOUGHT lexical set, realisation of the vowel according to gender and age

While [ɑː], [ɒː] and [ɔː] appeared in the corpus, the closer realisation [oː] did not occur. The majority of tokens of the THOUGHT lexical set showed the low, rounded variant of the vowel, but nine instances of step one of the new pronunciation did occur, mainly among younger speakers. Unrounded [ɑː] only occurred three times (3.2 percent of all cases). Therefore, it was excluded from the statistical analysis.[97] For the remaining 89 tokens, a binary logit model was applied. Again, the independent variables were age

[97] It has to be mentioned that the most conservative variants have been excluded from the statistical analysis due to very low numbers. This might have influenced the results.

and gender. Figure 6 illustrates the estimated realisations of the vowel in the THOUGHT lexical set, based on gender and age.

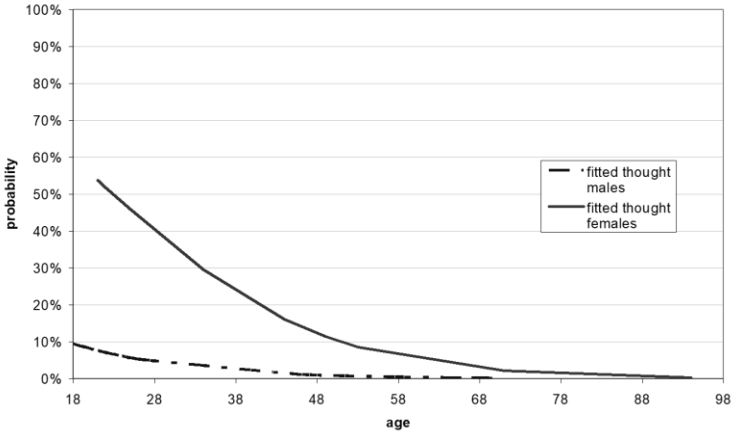


Figure 6: Estimated probability for the realisation of the vowel in the THOUGHT lexical set as [ɔ:] (versus [ɒ:])

Figure 6 shows that the first step of the Dublin vowel shift regarding THOUGHT seems to have reached Galway. The probability on the y-axis for the rounded and raised realisation (for what might be considered step one of the new pronunciation, closer to Standard Southern British English) is higher for females and younger people. The continuous line represents the estimated values for females, the dotted line the fitted probability for males. These two graphs show that the variables age and gender are important. A 21-year-old female uses the raised and rounded realisation with an estimated probability of 54 percent, whereas an 18-year-old male has an estimated probability of barely 10 percent.

The model output also supports the assumption that age and gender are important variables. Nagelkerke's Pseudo R Square, indicating the goodness of fit of the model, was 0.37, which is good. As can be seen in Table 11, both age and gender as external variables are highly significant, with a p-value of 0.01 for age and 0.02 for gender. Both values are below 5 percent and so the null hypothesis, that age and gender do not influence the pronunciation of the THOUGHT lexical set, can be rejected. The output also shows a negative coefficient for age. This means that the older people are, the less likely they

are to use the new, incoming pronunciation. Gender has a positive coefficient, which in this case means that females tend to use the incoming variant more often than males.

These results support the hypothesis that the new form is being adopted more readily by younger speakers and by females. However, one should also bear in mind that the new variant only occurred in nine out of 89 tokens, and that the female speakers only used the new form in three cases. These were found in the speech of the youngest and the eldest female informant, which might have distorted the statistical results. Therefore, more data need to be analysed in order to obtain valid results.

	coefficient	standard error	significance
age	-0.07846166	0.0310415	0.01148327
gender	2.64098162	1.15162829	0.02183311
constant	-0.84302325	1.33390771	0.52739002

Table 11: Model output for the THOUGHT lexical set

Different approaches exist for investigating whether all lexemes in the THOUGHT set are being equally affected, or whether the change prefers certain items. One can look at the phonetic environment. Do certain surroundings favour the change towards a rounded and/or lowered realisation?

One can also separate high frequency words from low frequency words in the analysis. Some sound changes show lexical diffusion, for example Labov (1994: 542) differentiates between a) 'regular sound change' which is independent from lexeme and grammatical environment, graded and phonetically motivated, and b) 'lexical diffusion change', which is "the result of the abrupt substitution of one phoneme for another in words that contain that phoneme" (Labov 1994: 542). Bybee (2002b: 263) in this context states: "Ongoing changes cannot be designated as regular or not, since they are not complete." She (2002a: 67) suggests that word frequency can help to understand the spread of different types of change.

> [H]igh-frequency words tend to change before low-frequency words when the change is the deletion of stops (English t/d-deletion), the deletion of fricatives (Spanish ð-deletion), some vowel shifts (Labov 1994; Moonwomon 1992), the reduction of vowels to schwa (in American English). One might therefore predict that in general reductive changes tend to occur earlier and to a greater extent in words and phrases of high frequency.

While I am not dealing with reductive changes in this study, Bybee (2002b: 270) also suggests: "[L]exical diffusion is much more common than previously supposed. It may be that all sound change diffuses gradually through the lexicon". Bybee (2002b: 271) explains that "changes that affect high-frequency words first are the result of the automation of production, while low-frequency words change first when the change makes the words conform to the stronger patterns of the language".

In this light, the question arises whether high frequency words are affected more by the 'new' pronunciation in the THOUGHT set. This frequency analysis is presented in detail in Sell (2009b), therefore only the results will be mentioned here. For highly frequent *walk**, the probabilities for a more closed and more fronted vowel are higher than for the complete THOUGHT set. Yet for highly frequent *thought*, this does not hold true, and the coding of *walk** and *thought* as highly frequent and the other types as less frequent did not render frequency as a significant variable in the model output (Sell 2009b: 113f). Since token numbers were rather low, this result must be taken with caution.

Results: Galway English LOT lexical set

For the LOT lexical set, 159 tokens were analysed. Only [ɑ] and [ɒ] were found in the corpus of 20 Galwegians, and [ɔ] did not occur. Thus, the new raised Dublin realisation does not seem to have been adopted in Galway (yet). The cross-tabulation in Table 12 also illustrates that the majority of speakers prefer the traditional variant (in 99 out of 159 tokens). Nevertheless, the rounded realisation is also used relatively frequently, in 60 of the 159 tokens. There was also a considerable degree of intrapersonal

variation among most speakers, which would itself provide an interesting subject for further analysis.[98]

			[ɑ]	[ɒ]	Total
Male	age	18	2	2	4
		21	7	3	10
		24	2	6	8
		25	1	4	5
		26	7	7	14
		46	4	1	5
		50	4	1	5
		57	9	5	14
		67	9	3	12
		70	8	5	13
	Total		**53**	**37**	**90**
Female	age	21	10	6	16
		22	0	7	7
		25	1	4	5
		34	7	2	9
		44	6	1	7
		49	13	1	14
		53	3	2	5
		71	4	0	4
		94	2	0	2
	Total		**46**	**23**	**69**

Table 12: Cross-tabulation for the LOT lexical set, realisation of the vowel according to gender and age

[98] Hickey (2005a: 46) also noticed a certain degree of accent mixing in his data: "Such speakers can be assumed to have picked up the new pronunciation […] but not for all possible instances in which it could occur."

Once again, the logit model was used for the statistical analysis. The results indicate that age, again, is an important factor. Younger people tend to use the [ɒ] realisation, which is closer to fashionable Dublin English and Standard Southern British English (see Table 12), whereas older people generally use the traditional unrounded [ɑ] realisation. Males tend to use the rounded form more than females, which seems to be counter-intuitive. An 18-year-old man, for instance, uses the rounded realisation with an estimated probability of more than 60 percent (see Figure 7).

As illustrated in Table 13, the external variable age is highly significant, with a p-value of 0.06 percent. This means that older people use the rounded realisation [ɒ] in LOT less often than younger people. Females tend to use the traditional pronunciation more often than men, but gender is not statistically significant (p-value 0.13).[99] The goodness of fit of the model is not as good as in the THOUGHT model (Nagelkerke R Square 0.12), and it appears to be the case that other variables, such as social class, might also play a role here. Nevertheless, the data indicates that change is in progress in the speech of Galway people.

	coefficient	standard error	significance
gender	-0.54042974	0.352434	0.12517213
age	-0.03366964	0.00977118	0.00056935
constant	1.07907037	0.46346759	0.01989861

Table 13: Model output for the LOT lexical set

A separate analysis for highly frequent *lot (lot, lots)* does not render any clear results. Very tentatively, one could say that *lot* triggers the traditional pronunciation more than the total set, see Figure 8. When coding the data for high frequency tokens and low frequency tokens and adding frequency as an independent variable in a logit model in addition to age and gender,

[99] For the analysis, males were coded as 0 and females as 1.

only age is significant for the LOT lexical set, whereas gender and frequency are not (see Sell 2009b: 120ff).

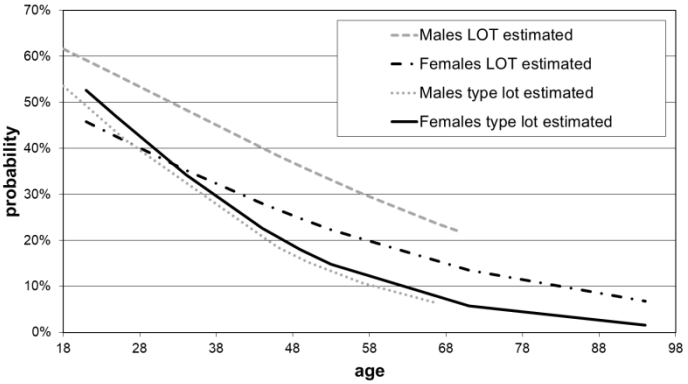


Figure 7: Estimated probabilities for the more rounded vowel pronunciation in the lexical set LOT and the type *lot*, males and females (adapted from Sell 2009b: 122).

Results: Galway English CHOICE lexical set

For the CHOICE lexical set, 82 tokens were analysed. The realisations [ɑɪ], [ɒɪ] and [ɔɪ] were used; [oɪ] as the last step of the vowel change did not occur in the corpus, which echoes the findings from the data on THOUGHT. The distribution of the tokens according to age and gender can be seen in Table 14. Both [ɒɪ] and [ɔɪ] were used frequently, in 43 and 30 cases respectively. The traditional variant [ɑɪ] occurred in nine out of 82 cases and was only used by speakers in their forties and above.

			[ɑɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɔɪ]	total
male	age	18	0	5	1	6
		21	0	4	3	7
		24	0	0	5	5
		25	0	2	2	4
		26	0	4	0	4
		46	2	1	0	3
		50	0	3	1	4
		57	2	0	0	2
		70	1	4	0	5
	total		**5**	**23**	**12**	**40**
female	age	21	0	3	5	8
		22	0	1	0	1
		25	0	2	5	7
		34	0	0	5	5
		44	1	1	0	2
		49	0	5	1	6
		53	0	2	2	4
		71	2	6	0	8
		94	1	0	0	1
	total		**4**	**20**	**18**	**42**

Table 14: Cross-tabulation for the CHOICE lexical set, realisation of the first element of the (*oi)* diphthong

Since there are three realisations for the starting point of the diphthong, the multinomial logistic regression model was used. Table 15 shows that the overall percentage of correctly predicted pronunciation is 61 percent and the model goodness of fit is very good (Nagelkerke Pseudo R Square 0.36). Results for the multinomial logit model also indicate that both age and gender are significant, the only exception being that gender is not significant for the preference of [ɑɪ] versus [ɒɪ]. In accordance with my hypothesis, younger people and females tend to use the rounded (and raised) realisations as starting points more often, as illustrated in Figure 8.

Observed	Predicted			
	[ɑɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɔɪ]	Percent correct
[ɑɪ]	2	7	0	22.2%
[ɒɪ]	4	33	6	76.7%
[ɔɪ]	0	15	15	50.0%
Overall percentage	7.3%	67.1%	25.6%	61.0%

Table 15: Observed and predicted realisations of the first element of the (*oi)* diphthong

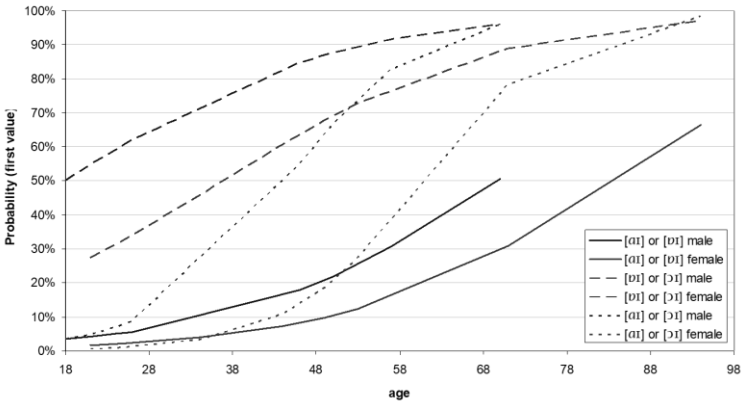


Figure 8: Estimated probability for the pronunciation of the (*oi)* diphthong in the CHOICE lexical set

It is also possible to compare the realisations at the end of the scale to the other realisations, by using a binary logit for traditional [ɑɪ] versus [ɒɪ] and [ɔɪ] in a first step and for the new [ɔɪ] versus [ɑɪ] and [ɒɪ] in a second step. This helps to understand the distribution and the probabilities for the two 'extreme' realisations. When using the binary logit for the traditional [ɑɪ] pronunciation versus the other two realisations with a rounded first element, it becomes evident that the younger speakers prefer the rounded

realisations (see Figure 9). Even the estimated probability for females in their mid-fifties to use a rounded first element is around 90 percent. The male speakers, on the other hand, have a higher probability of using the low and unrounded realisation.[100]

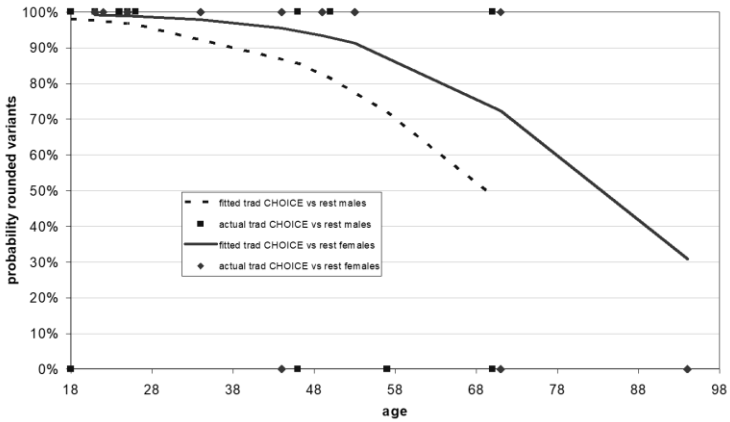


Figure 9: Probability for the pronunciation of the (*oi)* diphthong, rounded realisations as opposed to [ɑɪ]

The model has good fit, with a value of 0.34 on Nagelkerke's Pseudo R Square. Age is a highly significant factor. As expected, the older people are, the more they tend to use the traditional variant. Gender does not prove to be significant from a statistical point of view (see Table 16). This indicates that other factors should also be taken into account in future analyses.

[100] The traditional unrounded realisation of the first element is coded as 0, the rounded realisations are represented by 1.

	coefficient	standard error	significance
age	-0.077	0.024	0.001
gender	1.095	0.848	0.196
constant	5.329	1.359	0.000

Table 16: Model output for binary CHOICE, traditional versus rounded realisations

The binary distinction was also made for the new, incoming [ɔɪ] variant versus the two lowered realisations. Predictably, Figure 10 shows that, once again, younger speakers use the new, incoming variant more often than older speakers, which supports my hypothesis. The intercept of the male graph with the y-axis is higher than the intercept of the graph representing estimated probabilities for the lowered realisations for female speakers. This supports the hypothesis that female speakers adopt incoming forms more readily than males.

The goodness of fit of the model is good, with a Nagelkerke Pseudo R Square value of 0.3. Both age and gender – females use the new, raised variant more often than males – are statistically significant (see Table 17).

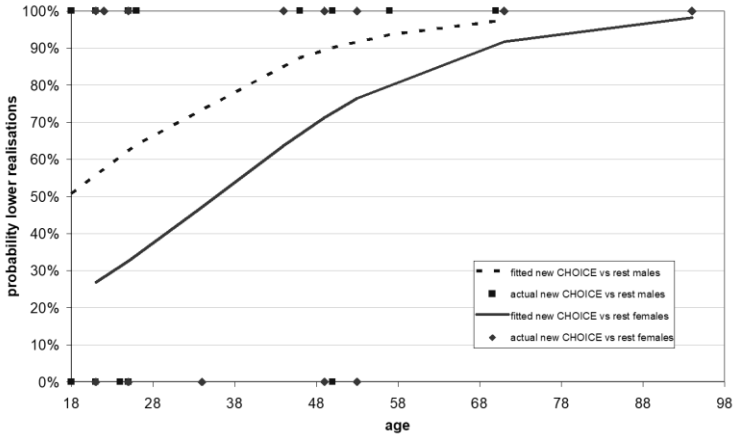


Figure 10: Probability for the pronunciation of the *oi* diphthong, binary lower realisations versus new [ɔɪ]

	coefficient	standard error	significance
age	0.068	0.019	0.000
sex	-1.233	0.561	0.028
constant	-1.197	0.627	0.056

Table 17: Model output for binary CHOICE, new [ɔɪ] versus [ɑɪ] and [ɒɪ] realisations

Summary

Hickey (2004a, 2005a) expects the 'New Pronunciation,' which has its origins in Dublin, to spread across Southern Ireland. In order to test this hypothesis, data from Galway City in the west of Ireland were analysed. This 'New Pronunciation' involves retracted diphthongs with a low or back onset and a raising of low back vowels. Hickey (2004a: 47, 2005a: 49) sums up these vowel changes under the term 'Dublin vowel shift.' For the current chapter, 92 tokens belonging to the THOUGHT lexical set, 159 tokens to the LOT lexical set and 82 tokens to the CHOICE lexical set were analysed. These were taken from the speech of ten males and ten females of various ages. The results show that, while change has occurred, the last stages of the individual changes, that is, [ɔ] in LOT, [o:] in THOUGHT and [oɪ] in CHOICE, could not be detected in the speech of the twenty speakers from Galway.

There was considerable variation between the traditional, unrounded realisations and the rounded or/and raised realisations for all lexical sets investigated. Age proved to be a highly significant factor. Young people use the more rounded or/and raised realisations more often than older people do, which indicates linguistic change in progress (Chambers 1995: 8). These results also partly confirm Hickey's (2005a, 2007a) findings that the 'New Pronunciation,' which includes the features analysed, affects the younger generation in particular. Hickey (2005a: 72) has already highlighted the role of young females when talking about linguistic changes in Dublin English. Looking at my data here, gender was indeed often statistically significant, with females tending to lead the trend, echoing Labov's (2001a) findings.

4.3 Conclusion

The in-depth analyses of two processes in the field of phonology, namely schwa insertion and the raising of low velar vowels in the THOUGHT, LOT and CHOICE lexical sets show that there is considerable change in progress in Galway English. The more traditional epenthetic schwa is generally less likely to be used by younger speakers, with the exception of the high frequency item *film*, where the results indicate that it might serve as an identity marker of Irish English, although it is used less in the more formal speech styles. For *film*, style was indeed the only statistically significant

variable. In the THOUGHT, LOT and CHOICE lexical sets, whose raised vowels are part of what Hickey (2004a: 47, 2005a: 49) calls the 'New Pronunciation', age of the speakers is also highly significant, which indicates ongoing change. The younger speakers are more likely to use the incoming forms than the older speakers, who prefer the more traditional variants.

5 Analyses of morpho-syntactic features of spoken Galway English

The following chapter analyses morpho-syntactic features of Irish English. First, I investigate existential *there* with plural notional subject but singular verb form, i.e. a lack of subject-verb-agreement. This feature is found in many varieties of English. The next feature investigated is typical of Irish English and related varieties, namely the *after* perfect as in *I'm after buying a house* 'I have (just) bought a house'. In this context, the other Irish English perfect markers (including the standard English *have* present perfect) will also be taken into consideration.

5.1 Existential *there* with plural notional subject

This chapter investigates the use and the distribution of existential *there* constructions in Galway English. The first paragraphs shed light on the geographical distribution and on previous literature on the possible origin of non-agreement in such patterns. Relevant variables are highlighted. The data analysis, based on descriptive statistics and a probabilistic logit model, and data interpretation follow.

Geographical distribution

Variation in usage for subject-verb agreement has been widely attested in different varieties and dialects of English and is by no means restricted to Irish English. Number agreement between subject and verb does not always exist, as the following examples from various varieties of English demonstrate:

1) **They was alright** but they were nae great big herring. (Northern Ireland; Tagliamonte 2009: 103)
2) There are secret rooms … **there's lots of places**. (Canada; Tagliamonte 2009: 103).

3) Yes, well, you're talking of greenhouse tomatoes. Yes, yes. Because the outdoor tomatoes- **there's quite a few years** now that there's not much growing. (Jersey; Rosen 2014: 138)

Nonconcord has been attested to occur variably for BE in affirmative and negative sentences in dialects of English all over the world (see e.g. Krug 2007) as in Australia (Eisikovits 1991), England/Britain (Tagliamonte 1998; Cheshire 1999; Britain 2002; Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003), Canada (Meechan & Foley 1994), USA (Feagin 1979; Riordan 2007), Tristan da Cunha (Schreier 2002), Jersey (Rosen 2014) and New Zealand (Hay & Schreier 2004). A well-visualized overview of the frequency of attestations of existential *there* + singular BE + plural subject all over the world is given in the *electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English eWAVE* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013) as feature #172. It is attested for 71% of all varieties investigated and it is classified as *A – pervasive or obligatory* for Irish English.

Despite its spread all over the English-speaking world, this is regarded as a default feature since all standard varieties and dialects of English require number agreement between subject and the verb *be* (Chambers 2004: 131, but see Krug 2007 for an alternative syntactic analysis).[101] Usage guides tend to prescribe concord constructions. One prominent if not the most remarkable case of this syntactic variation is represented in existential *there* constructions as in (4), where *there* functions as a non-locative, non-stressed and non-deictic expletive syntactic subject, as opposed to stressed, locative *there* as in (5) (see e.g. Insua & Martinez 2003: 262). The notional subject in existential *there* constructions is usually found in postverbal position (see 6).

4) There are children.
5) The children are there.
6) *There's ahm **there's two or three city accents** in Galway and then there's a couple of rural accents in County Galway.* <speaker #22, m25, #12>[102]

[101] Riordan (2007: 234) goes so far as to emphasize that "nonconcord in existentials may be a universal feature of spoken English".

[102] The sentence numbers, here #12, as shown in the excel file used for quantitative analysis are given here after the indication of the speaker by #, gender and age.

Origin and spread

Nonconcord is particularly prominent in existential *there* constructions. The high frequency of nonconcord in existential *there* constructions is not surprising, as Chambers (2004: 141) suggests:

> "*[T]here* itself is inherently numberless, and thus dictates nothing at all for agreement marking. Concord in *there*-sentences comes from the following subject NP, which requires a look-ahead processor, but other concords require looking back. On both counts – inherent numberlessness of *there*, and the unique look-ahead processor to the logical subject – *there* promotes nonconcord."

In addition, Martinez Insua and Palacios Martinez (2003: 262) point out that spoken language also seems to promote the lack of number agreement because of its spontaneity, its higher speed and its interactive character, which makes look-ahead processing more difficult and the use of pre-fabricated chunks preferable. Quirk et al. (1985: 1405) state that expletive *there* with singular concord and plural referent can be found in informal styles, but some researchers such as Cheshire (1999: 138) even argue that *there* plus clitic *'s* is stored in the mental lexicon as a single, unanalyzed unit or a kind of "prefabricated phrase", comparable to the French *il y a,* the Spanish *hay* or the German *es gibt*, thus functioning as a "presentative formula for both singular and plural subjects" (Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003: 264) or "lexified presentative signals" (Riordan 2007: 272). If *there's* is seen as one unit, one could also say that speakers choose this unit instead of processing the structure of the sentence including all the variables investigated in the context of existential *there* constructions (such as polarity, type of determiner, NP plural with *–s*, …) and thus computing agreement. Riordan (2007: 272) suggests that "forms such as *there's a lot …* may be better viewed as quasi-collocations, each separately stored by speakers for reasons of processing efficiency." Along these lines, *there's* can be described as a construction that has an important communicative function: taking the floor in an instant in conversation and preparing the ground for the introduction of new information (Cheshire 1999: 137f.). This view, however, is not undisputed since it reduces the importance of syntactic constraints in existential *there* constructions. Cheshire (1999: 138) assumes that grammatical agreement might be more important in more formal speech styles, suggesting the option of neglecting the use of *there's* as an unanalyzed unit in more formal settings.

But these are not the only theories about the origin of default singulars. One approach suggests that this feature should be seen as part of a regularization process (see e.g. Fries 1940 referred to in Tagliamonte 2009: 103), in which the verb *be* is developing in a parallel way with other verbs with a regular paradigm. Yet, as Tagliamonte (2009: 103f) argues, this theory does not seem to hold water, since variation was already reported in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Walker (2007: 150) even reports variable agreement with plural existentials in late Old English (7a), as well as in Middle English (7b) and Early Modern English (7c).

(7) a. *þar was syx hund manna*. (The Blickling Homilies 203, 27 [971 A.D.]) 'There was six hundred men.' (Visser 1963: 73)

(7) b. *And so þer is no mo briddes of þat kynde in all the world.* (Mandev. 30, 30 [ca. 1400]; Visser 1963: 74)

(7) c. *There's two crowns for thee, play.* (Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta* IV, v [1592]; Visser 1963: 74), all cited from Walker (2007: 150).

Should variation have indicated change in progress, then the process should have been finished by the twentieth century. Variation would have disappeared, but this could not be further from current empirical proof. Yet, the question as to why default singulars are present all over the world and why there is considerable variation has not been clarified yet. Krug (2007: 7) argues for an alternative analysis considering markedness agreement: "*[T]here's* with plural complements is in actual fact a case of (un)markedness agreement rather than of 'non-concord', because unmarked *there* agrees with an unmarked verb-form, clitic *'s*."

Chambers (2004: 127ff) regards default singulars in general, as in *They was too sick to travel,* as one of the most prominent features of vernacular roots. He (2003: 254) sees the central idea of vernacular roots in the assumption that "the standard dialect differs from other dialects by resisting certain natural tendencies in the grammar and phonology". Kortmann (e.g. in Anderwald & Kortmann 2013: 327ff) generally proposes a typological approach for vernacular universals. Since English is on its way from a synthetic to an analytic language, inflections are decreasing (Görlach 2002: 47f). Furthermore, *-s* in third person singular forms is typologically marked, which makes it prone to change (see e.g. Tagliamonte 2009: 104). The widespread study of existential *there* constructions across various

varieties will hopefully shed some light on the nature of this linguistic phenomenon.

So far, several linguistic constraints have been formulated regarding the distribution of concord and nonconcord. Standard number agreement and nonstandard default singulars can be seen as two poles at either end of a continuum (Chambers 2004: 133). In between, several rules seem to exist relating to the tendency towards one pole or the other. For example, the rather strong existential constraint suggests that nonconcord *was* is most frequent after *there*, and the 'northern subject rule' suggests that *was* occurs less frequently after plural pronouns than after non-pronominal plural nouns in Northern English dialects (Britain 2002: 19f).

Several further hypotheses have been set up in order to predict or explain the ample variation found with existentials across varieties. Walker (2007: 157) sums up by noting that frequent collocations will influence the occurrence of (non-) agreement according to the lexicalization hypothesis, while the processing hypothesis states that the presence of overt plural *-s* in the subject noun phrase will favour concord. The default agreement hypothesis suggests that the presence of intervening material between the verb and the subject NP will trigger non-concord, whereas the definiteness hypothesis says that strong or definite modifiers favour concord. These hypotheses have been tested in several studies, as briefly summarized below.

An extensive statistical analysis was conducted by Riordan (2007). He investigated 1520 existential *there* constructions from 332 speakers in the MICASE corpus, consisting of American English speech from academic settings, thus the corpus data do not feature a specific dialect predominantly. Looking at present tense *there*-existentials, he uses first a fixed effects logit model and then a mixed effects model, where speakers are included as random effects in the model input, thus incorporating inter-speaker variation as a random factor. His model output shows that the mixed effects model is better suited to explain the variation in his data set than the fixed effects model (Riordan 2007: 261ff). His data suggest that age and discourse play important roles in shaping concord choice. The structure of the postcopular NP, particularly the type of determiner, is also a major factor regarding nonconcord.

Meechan & Foley (1994) analysed the speech of 31 speakers of standard Canadian English aged 55-95. The data showed a strong preference for singular agreement, linked to the form of the copula (full/clitic) and to the speaker's level of education. Walker (2007) analysed Canadian English of Quebec based on recordings from 2002. 66 speakers uttered 1814 *there* constructions with plural subjects. Walker (2007: 153) suggests that there is a certain degree of social stratification in some speech communities and summarizes: "Across most studies, *no* and numbers tend to favour singular agreement, while quantifiers, adjectives and bare forms tend to disfavour." The database for Martinez Insua and Palacios Martinez (2003) was a BNC subcorpus (500 000 spoken and 500 000 written words from 1989 onwards). *There* constructions showed concord in 87%, and non-concord in 13% of all spoken tokens; for the written language, concord was found in 97%, and non-concord in 3% of all cases (Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003: 268).

While in standard Canadian English, non-concord was the norm (Meechan & Foley 1994), this does not hold true for the BNC. Martinez Insua and Palacios Martinez (2003: 270) conclude for their BNC data that "negative polarity does not favour the existence of concord in TCs [existential *there* constructions, K.S.]". They term the contraction *there's* an "effort-saving device" (2003: 273) and see "a connection between lack of number agreement and the use of the contracted form *there's*" (2003: 273). Tagliamonte (2009) focuses on existential constructions with past tense forms of BE in Canadian, Scottish, British and Carribbean dialects.

Relevant factors

These and other sociolinguistic analyses and corpus studies indeed suggest that different variables influence the occurrence of non-concord, including both linguistic and social factors, even though they have come to different results as to what are really significant variables (see e.g. Eisikovits 1991; Meechan & Foley 1994; Hay & Schreier 2004; Riordan 2007; Tagliamonte 2009). The following factors have either proven significant or, if statistical significance was not tested, seemed to be important because of frequency counts:

- Cliticised copula (Meechan & Foley 1994; Hay & Schreier 2004; Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003)

- Speaker's level of education or social status (Eisikovits 1991; Meechan & Foley 1994; Tagliamonte 1998; Britain & Sudbury 2002; Rosen 2014)
- Gender/sex (Eisikovits 1991; Hay & Schreier 2004; Rosen 2014)
- Age (Hay & Schreier 2004; Riordan 2007; Rosen 2014)
- Overt plural marking with *–s* (Meechan & Foley 1994)
- Type of determiner (Meechan & Foley 1994: no vs. other determiners; Tagliamonte 1998; Britain & Sudbury 2002; Hay & Schreier 2004)
- Polarity (positive polarity – higher frequency of non-concord, see e.g. Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003; Tagliamonte 1998; Rosen 2014)
- Postverbal extension (Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003[103]; Rosen 2014)
- Intervening material (Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003)
- Co-ordination of postverbal NP (Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez 2003)

These findings determined the selection of variables to be tested in the present study on existential *there* constructions with plural subjects in Galway English.

Preparing the Galway Corpus Data for analysis

When preparing the dataset for the analysis of existential *there* constructions, the Wordsmith file including all *there* tokens was first searched for locative adverbials, e.g.{<KS> *Did you go to NUIG here*? 00:31:40-0 } *No no they don't do art. That's what they do* ***there is*** *arts as in languages and.* <speaker #14, f49, 00:31:45-1> to exclude them from the analysis. Furthermore, *there* + auxiliary without number distinction (*there will be, there would, there might, there ain't no, there won't, there didn't*), incomplete sentences/clauses or false starts, e.g. *You can get a flight for twenty Euro return to London or Berlin or Paris or,* ***there's****, like,* ***there's****, it's not as expensive as it would have been before.* <speaker #8, f25, 00:12:18-0> were not taken into consideration. Additionally, instances of *there're/there's* + [*s*] were generally omitted due to auditory ambiguity (see

[103] Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez (2003: 275) define extension as "locative or adverbial elements, relative clauses, participial *–ing* clauses, and *to*-infinitival clauses".

also Meechan & Foley 1994: 70; Walker 2007: 154; Rosen 2014: 128), as in *In my street,* ***there's sixteen*** *houses*. <speaker #20, m26, 00:01:22-5>; *Because* ***there's so*** *many and I mean this is just my own pure ignorance, the eastern European languages sound all the same to me.* <speaker #2, f34, 00:48:41-6>

It should be noted that these ambiguous forms were retained in other studies (e.g. Britain & Sudbury 2002). The deletion of these forms, however, has the advantage of being sure of counting solely singular forms and not mistaking *there're some* or the like as non-concord constructions, but of course this also means deleting certain determiners such as *some* or cardinal numbers such as *six*, *seven*, etc. which might have influenced the ranking of the determiners in the present study. If the full form of *is/are* was uttered in an unambiguous way, the form was retained for analysis. This distinction was possible since the original sound files could be accessed any time. Duplicates such as *There's there's a lot of people* were counted only once. Less clear-cut cases involving lists were also omitted, as in *there was rugby, then* ***there was hurling and football****, you know* <speaker #23, m54, 00:38:06-1> as the question arises as to whether this should be counted as an omitted *there was* before football or as singular agreement in a list. Nouns such as *politics*, which can take either singular or plural verbs, were also deleted as in *The thing is . there's so much politics involved with it, it's just it's it's very very hard for ah a beginning student to really find out where they should go* <speaker #27, m24, 00:31:23-4>.

An interesting side note here is the presence of default plurals in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English as in *The contracep... think contraception . When there were no need at all for it.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:53:30-2> No systematic analysis was conducted for this feature with singular notional subject, but it seems to be particularly frequent with one older female speaker especially in negative declarative clauses, e.g. *Three times they tried to start it and it failed them.* ***There were no race*** *that year.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:45:19-9>, ***There were no such thing*** *as secondary schools all around the place, which is great now.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:49:17-1>, ***There were no such thing*** *as discussin' sex.* ***There were no such thing*** *as an ad like that on the on the television.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:55:54-9> Although these constructions were not analysed in any detail, they seemed to occur mainly with one elderly female speaker who appeared to be rather conscious of

her appearance, a former preschool teacher in her nineties. One can therefore tentatively say that these instances might be cases of hypercorrection.

It should also be noted that there were several instances of default singular *there* + verb other than *be*, like *there* + *seem* in the corpus, as in {<KS> *And is it mainly rented houses there?* 00:06:58-9} *Ahm well where we are, we're up the back and I think there's some families which are, there's rented ones as well, but* ***there seems to be a lot of families*** *around.* <speaker #12, f22, 00:07:07-1> or in *But language in as such . yeah* ***there just seems to be a lot of groups*** *in the country …* <speaker #27, m24, 00:41:42-6>.

There were several instances of what Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 379, 384, 414) call a "fused determiner-head" construction, i.e. the head noun itself functions as the determiner (see also Riordan 2007: 249), as in ***There was two*** *when I went there* <speaker #34, m21, 00:34:13-6>. What is interesting here is that even the fact that the numeral which is a plural per se does not trigger subject-verb-number-agreement.

After these introductory remarks, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of existential *there* in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English follows. Both descriptive statistical results and logit results are given.

Quantitative Analysis

A concordance search within the corpus showed 3,004 instances of the word *there*. Of these, 590 tokens of existential *there* with plural notional subject were found relevant for the analysis of existential *there* constructions in Galway English. Of the 590 tokens, 203 (34%) showed concord and 387 (66%) non-concord, making the non-concord forms the more frequent ones, see Table 18. This ties in with the tag of "pervasive or obligatory" occurrence of feature #172 *existential/presentational there's/there is/there was with plural subjects* in Irish English in *eWAVE* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013).

concord	non-concord	total
203 (34%)	387 (66%)	590 (100%)

Table 18: Tokens of existential *there* with plural reference, subject-verb concord and non-concord

297 tokens (50%) were in the present tense, 277 (47%) in the simple past and 16 (3%) in other tenses (present perfect *have/has been*, 3 *is/are/was* + *going to* with future reference), see Table 19.[104]

Present tense	Past tense	Other tense
297 (50%)	277 (47%)	16 (3%)

Table 19: Tokens of existential *there* with plural referent, differentiated in present tense, past tense and other tense

Since there were only a marginal number of "other" tenses, they were then analysed according to the tense of the first constituent of the copula, i.e. present (312 tokens or 53% of all tokens) or past (278 tokens, equalling 47%).

Non-concord was used more frequently with present-tense forms. Of the 312 tokens, 233 equalling 75% showed non-concord and only 25% were used with subject-verb agreement. For the past tense tokens, the ratio was almost one to one: 154 tokens equalling 55% showed non-concord and 124 out of 278 tokens, i.e. 45% showed concord, see Tables 20 to 22. This difference is highly significant with $p<0.001$ in the logit output.

The speaker differentiation between present tense and past tense number concord is exemplified by the following sequence:

{<KS> *Did many of your family emigrate?* 00:17:29-4}

[104] All "other tenses" contained the full verb BE after the auxiliary except for one, i.e. *There have been more houses built* <speaker #15, f53>. As constructions such as *There's houses built* were included in the analysis, the cited sentence was also taken into account, as a singular/plural distinction was evident.

Yes, yeah. Ahm of my family, my eldest sister emigrated to England to teach, the next sister to nurse ah my brother to, he who's since returned, to London to work in a accounting f... firm, my next sister to also do nursing in England, all of them in England. Ahm and then, how many people have I gone through? ***There's eight of us, there were eight of us*** *in the family then.* <speaker #15, f53, 00:18:02-8>

The tendency of non-concord to occur more frequently in present-tense contexts ties in with other findings on existential *there* constructions, such as Rosen (2014: 129), Britain & Sudbury (2002: 221ff), Walshe (2009: 73). Yet, several studies focused either on constructions in the present tense (e.g. Riordan 2007) or in the past tense (Tagliamonte 1998), thus not allowing for comparison between tenses.

Present tense concord	Present tense non-concord	Present tense total
79 (25%)	233 (75%)	312

Table 20: Present tense tokens showing concord and non-concord

Past tense concord	Past tense non-concord	Past tense total
124 (45%)	154 (55%)	278

Table 21: Past tense tokens showing concord and non-concord

	All tokens of existential *there* constructions with plural notional subject	***There* + plural form of BE (concord)**	***There* + singular form of BE (non-concord)**
Present tense	297 (50%)	75 (25%)	222 (75%)
Simple past	277 (37%)	124 (45%)	153 (55%)
Other	16 (3%)	4 (25%)	12 (75%)
Total	590 (100%)	203 (34%)	387 (66%)

Table 22: Distribution of concord and non-concord according to tenses

The rate of non-concord in the Galway English corpus is, at 66%, rather high compared with other studies, for example Riordan's (2007: 252) data based on the MICASE Corpus[105] with roughly 40%, or the mere 13.25% identified in the spoken BNC subcorpus of Martinez Insua & Palacios Martinez (2003: 268f). Yet, some other studies report percentages of number-non-agreement that are about as high as or even higher than the Galway English results. Eisikovits' (1991) data showed almost 98% non-concord in present tense contexts and 89% for past tense among Sydney teenage speakers of Australian English. Tagliamonte (1998) studied past tense non-concord in York British English and found 62% past tense non-concord in York British English, Meechan and Foley (1994: 75) reported 72% non-concord for present and past tense. Rosen (2013: 129) reports 85% non-concord in present tense contexts and 71% for past tense *BE* in her corpus of Jersey English.

The male speakers used non-concord more frequently than female speakers: In 237 of all 341 cases, i.e. 70%, non-agreement was found among males. For the female speakers, this was true for 150 out of 249 cases, i.e. the incidence of non-agreement was 60%, see Table 23. Once again, this overview corresponds with other findings on existential *there* in New Zealand (Britain & Sudbury 2002: 220) or Jersey (Rosen 2014: 134f). This also ties in with Labov's (2001a: 266) findings that women tend to use "a lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than

[105] Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English

men." The variable gender proves highly significant with p<0.001 in the logit output.

	Male speakers	Female speakers	total
Concord	104 (30%)	99 (40%)	203
Non-concord	237 (70%)	150 (60%)	387
Total	341	249	590

Table 23: Concord and non-concord male and female speakers

Younger females aged under 40 used concord in 19 cases equating to 22% and singular agreement in 67 cases, equating to 78% (total number of tokens 86). A strong tendency to use more agreement is manifest among older speakers in the Galway data, and this is especially true of female speakers: Females over 40 years of age use concord in 80 cases (49%) and non-concord in 83 cases (51%), i.e. the ratio is almost fifty-fifty. This tendency is less pronounced for male speakers. Younger male speakers under 40 years of age use concord in 21 cases or 16% and non-agreement in 114 cases or 84% (total number of tokens 135). Older males aged over 40 use agreement in 83 cases equaling 40% and non-agreement in 123 cases equaling 60%, see Table 24.

	Male speakers <40	Male speakers >40	Female speakers <40	Female speakers >40	Total
Concord	21 (16%)	83 (40%)	19 (22%)	80 (49%)	203
Non-concord	114 (84%)	123 (60%)	67 (78%)	83 (51%)	387
total	135	206	86	163	590

Table 24: Concord and non-concord differentiated by dichtomous age and gender

My data clearly suggest that non-agreement is on the rise among younger Galway speakers, but it is also present among older speakers. This

is in line with other studies (e.g. Meechan & Foley 1994; Tagliamonte 1998; Britain & Sudbury 2002; Riordan 2007).

406 (69%) tokens show overt plural marking, which, in this case, following Walker's (2007: 155) categorization, refers to a plural *-s* either on the head noun of the NP or on the modifier, e.g. *lots of*. The remaining 184 tokens (31%) did not have overt plural marking, see Tables 25 and 26.

Overt plural marking displaying concord	Overt plural marking displaying non-concord	Overt plural marking total
129 (32%)	277 (68%)	406

Table 25: Concord and non-concord with overt plural marking

Non-overt plural marking displaying concord	Non-overt plural marking displaying non-concord	Non-overt plural marking total
74 (40%)	110 (60%)	184

Table 26: Concord and non-concord with non-overt plural marking

220 tokens had a cliticised *-s* attached to the word *there*. Naturally, none of these tokens had concord since they all contained singular forms, i.e. *-s*.

Head noun with postmodification/extension concord	Head noun with postmodification/extension non-concord	total
117 (33%)	240 (67%)	357

Table 27: Concord and non-concord with postmodification/extension

357 (61%) tokens had a head noun which was postmodified or had an extension: of these, 117 (33%) had concord and 240 (67%) showed singular agreement with a plural head noun, see Table 27.

In 312 (53%) of all cases, the distance between the copula *BE* and the head noun was greater than one. The "no determiner" option would have been the only cell with a possible zero distance, therefore the coding with a

distance greater than one was chosen to avoid structural zeros (Riordan 2007: 249f). Consequently, distance was always coded as less than or equal to 1 and greater than 1.

521 tokens (88%) were positive utterances, thus leaving a minority of 69 tokens (12%) with negative polarity. Of the latter, 22 (32%) showed concord, the remaining 47 (68%) showed non-agreement with negative polarity. The numbers are very similar to those with positive polarity with 35% concord and 65% non-concord, see Tables 28 and 29. This contrasts with some studies by Tagliamonte (1998); Britain (2002), Britain & Sudbury (2002), Rosen (2014), all of which showed a preference of negative polarity for concord.

Positive polarity concord	Positive polarity non-concord	Positive polarity total
181 (35%)	340 (65%)	521

Table 28: Concord and non-concord with positive polarity

Negative polarity concord	Negative polarity non-concord	Negative polarity total
22 (32%)	47 (68%)	69

Table 29: Concord and non-concord with negative polarity

27 tokens (5%) have a definite determiner, e.g. *the, that, these, those, all*,… 128 (22%) tokens contain a cardinal number as determiner, 41 (7%) the determiner *no*, 122 (21%) some other indefinite determiner such as *more, enough, a few, some, less*. 131 (22%) have a non-count quantificational noun such as *a couple of, a number of, a lot of*; and 140 (24%) take no determiner at all.[106]

[106] It has to be mentioned, though, that several tokens with *some, sixteen, seven* and the like were deleted and not included in the analysis if preceded by *'s*.

Type of determiner	Frequency of occurrence (absolute number)
No determiner	24% (140)
Non-count quantificational noun	22% (131)
Cardinal number	22% (128)
Indefinite determiner	21% (122)
No	7% (41)
Definite determiner	5% (27)

Table 30: Type of determiner and frequency of occurrence

The ranking of the frequency of determiners is as follows:
no determiner > non-count quantificational noun > cardinal number > other indefinite determiner > no > definite determiner[107]

Type of determiner in plural existentials + singular verb form	Frequency non-concord
non-count quantificational noun	79%
definite determiner	78%
no	71%
cardinal number	70%
other indefinite determiner	57%
no determiner	53%

Table 31: Type of determiner in plural existentials + singular verb forms and the frequency of non-concord

The frequency of determiners with co-occurring non-concord in percentages is as follows (plural existentials with singular verb forms):

[107] Classification according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Riordan (2007) – only one token with "hundreds", which would have been coded as non-count-quantificational noun there, was coded in my dataset as belonging to the group of numerals.

non-count quantificational noun (with 79% of all tokens showing non-concord) > definite determiner (78%) > determiner *no* (71%) > cardinal number (70%) > other indefinite determiner (57%) > no determiner at all (53%).

As shown above, the divide of roughly two thirds vs. one third seems to account for many different variables when looked at individually. Therefore, a statistical model which takes into account several variables at the same time seems promising in order to discover more about the significance of individual factors and the likelihood of the occurrence of concord in relation to different variables.

The output of the logit model with several variables as described below shows that the exact type of determiner does not play a significant role, but that the presence of a determiner decreases the probability for concord significantly ($p<0.001$). The presence of a determiner frequently co-occurs with non-concord, i.e. in 70% of cases.

Generally, the determiner order seems to vary across varieties of English. For example, in Riordan's (2007: 252) data, the order was definite > cardinal numeral > NCQN > indefinite > *no* > no determiner, but the percentages were lower, for example, 'no determiner' corresponded with 34% non-concord in Riordan's (2007: 253) data and 53% in the Galway English data. The category 'numeric' tended to rank quite highly in other studies (e.g. Riordan 2007: 252; Rosen 2014: 131) and it is also among those determiners with at least 70% non-concord for Galway English.

A higher level of education is also assumed to be linked with a higher percentage of concord. Meechan and Foley's (1994: 78ff) data show that more or less than eleven years of schooling proves significant as a factor. They (1994: 82) suggest that "(t)he selection of level of education (…) shows that concord in existentials may be linked to grammatical rules encountered during the later stages of formal education. They further claim that prescriptive grammar teaching in school influences the use of non-concord, which "serve(s) to obscure the fact that nonconcord is the norm" (Meechan and Foley 1994: 82). Therefore, socio-economic background was also considered for the Galway data set.

Logit model results

To check whether variables that seem to matter in the Galway data set are statistically significant, logistic regression with the statistics software SPSS was run. When analysing the data set, one has to bear in mind that some of these factors might run co-linearly, i.e. they are not independent of each other. Some factors by nature overlap, such as *there's* as contracted singular form always takes singular agreement and present tense; if there is a determiner, the distance between the copula and the NP is always >0. Therefore, some factors cannot be analysed in the same statistical run.

The following linguistic variables were tested: cliticised *-s*, presence of extension or postmodification, distance between the copula and the head noun[108], tense, the presence and type of determiner, overt plural marking, polarity. Age, gender, education and occupational status were the social variables tested. All variables that were not significant were eliminated successively, thus leaving the following significant variables: Age, gender, socio-economic background, tense of the copula, and the presence (or absence) of a determiner. These variables were highly significant with p of less than or equal to 0.001, see Table 32. Nagelkerke R^2 was sufficient with 0.24, and the correctly predicted percentage was 74.2%.

[108] Inserted discourse markers such as *you know*, *so* etc. were not counted as intervening (premodifiying or postmodifying) material, e.g. *Ahm there's you know church groups* <speaker #34, m21, #22>; *Well there were students, you see* <speaker #35, m78, #42>.

	Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance	Exp(B)
age	0.042	0.006	0.000	1.043
gender	0.865	0.216	0.000	2.374
socio-economic background 4	2.328	0.589	0.000	10.262
socio-economic background 5	1.815	0.510	0.000	6.142
socio-economic background 6	2.598	0.549	0.000	13.442
socio-economic background 7	2.325	0.548	0.000	10.223
socio-economic background 8	1.632	0.488	0.001	5.113
tenseCOPAUXpresent	-0.768	0.196	0.000	0.464
determiner	-0.777	0.221	0.000	0.460
constant	-4.107	0.737	0.000	0.016

Table 32: Model output for age, gender, socio-economic background, tense and presence of determiner

The results as presented in Table 32 are as follows:

- Older people use concord more frequently than younger people.
- Female speakers use concord more frequently than male speakers.
- Higher social standing (based on education and occupational status, see chapters 2.5.2 and 3.6.2) produces more subject-verb agreement in existential *there* constructions.[109]
- If the copula is in the present tense, non-agreement is significantly more frequent than in past-tense constructions, as in most other studies.

[109] This ties in with Meechan and Foley's (1994: 78ff) assumption that prescriptive grammar teaching might play a role in spreading concord. This would be an interesting feature to investigate in a real time study with speakers starting or attending school at the beginning of the study.

- If there is no determiner in the construction, agreement is more likely than in constructions with determiners of some kind. It is hard to find a convincing explanation for this result. One possible explanation might be that without a determiner, there is less need for advance planning in spontaneous speech and thus it is not necessary to rely on fixed chunks. However, distance as such is not a significant variable, which leaves room for further research.[110]

To keep the model even simpler, the variables were reduced further. The model fit deteriorated down to a Nagelkerke's R^2 value of 0.176, but the correct prediction was still 72.7%. The variables age, gender, tense, and presence of determiner all remained highly significant with $p<0.02$.

The different estimated values for males and females according to the various ages can be seen in the graph below (Figure 11).[111] Females (represented by the black broken line) tend to use concord more frequently than males (represented by the grey line). The younger the speakers are, the more likely they are to use non-concord. The actual values (indicated by the triangles for females and squares for males) show either one for concord or zero for non-concord. A twenty-year-old male uses concord only with an estimated probability of roughly 15%, whereas a twenty-year-old female uses concord with more than 20% likelihood. The estimated likelihood increases to over 70% for concord among elderly women.

[110] Distance was tested in another run as an alternative to the presence of a determiner, since the two variables largely run co-linearly. Distance was coded as less than or equal to 1 or >1, as outlined above.

[111] The only independent variables taken into account for the graph were age and gender, since further variables, albeit significant, would have detracted from the focus of the viewer: Too many variables in one graphic representation obscure more than they reveal.

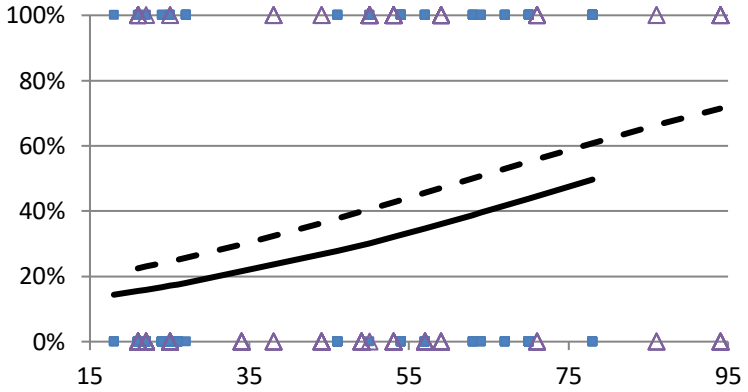


Figure 11: Estimated use of concord in existential *there* constructions with plural notional subject, according to speaker age and gender (female speakers represented by broken line, male speakers by complete line) and real use of concord and non-concord (tokens represented as contoured triangles for tokens by females, filled squares for tokens by males)

Non-concord in existential *there* constructions with plural referents seems to be not only widely used, but also widely accepted, as Hickey's (2004a) acceptability ratings for the sentence *There was two men on the road* (singular concord with past tense) suggest: The majority, namely 26 out of 54 informants from Galway, i.e. 48%, stated they had "no problem" with the sentence, while 17 out of 54, or 31%, rated it as "unacceptable", and 11 (20%) as "a bit strange". There is no remarkable difference between the ratings of the genders of Hickey's informants. Yet, the ratings also show that, since the 'inacceptability rating' amounts to roughly 1/3, the non-concord construction is not seen as the standard form. Interestingly, singular existential forms with plural reference are also regarded as part of Irish English as presented in film dialogues; this construction occurs in two thirds of all the films analysed by Walshe (2009: 73), with forms in the present tense being more frequent than past tense forms.

Intrapersonal variation

There was a considerable amount of intrapersonal variation among the Galway speakers. Three females aged 25, 34 and 57 (speakers #3, #2 and #6) and two males aged 26 and 49 (#20 and #14) used non-concord consistently. All other speakers showed variation in usage. One 50-year-old female speaker (#10) used concord almost exclusively, namely in 18 out of 19 cases (95%). Several speakers used non-concord and concord in roughly equal shares, e.g. speakers #11 (a 94-year-old female, non-concord in 9 out of 19 cases), #13 (a 38-year-old female, 4/8), #31 (a 67-year-old male, 8/14) etc.[112]

Summary

Non-concord in existential *there* constructions with plural notional subject is certainly a feature of Galway English. It is used more by males and by younger speakers, which indicates change in progress and also supports gender-related findings suggesting that females use prestige forms more frequently than males. Of all possible factors influencing non-concord in existential *there* constructions presented in this chapter, only age, gender, socio-economic background, tense of the copula, and the presence (or absence) of a determiner were statistically significant. The variables age, gender, tense, and presence of determiner remained highly significant even if socio-economic background was removed from the model.

Table 33 below shows a summary of variables analysed in different quantitative studies on existential *there* in various varieties of English. The results based on the analysis of the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, which are presented in this chapter, are also included (final column, Table 33). It becomes evident that the Galway data tie in with the tendencies of plural *–s* not playing an important role for non-agreement in existential *there* constructions, whereas tense and age seem to be rather influential factors in several varieties. However, no uniform pattern can be detected.

[112] For a detailed presentation of intrapersonal variation, see Table 41 in Section 7 in the Appendix.

Table 33: Variables investigated in different quantitative studies on existential *there* in various varieties of English, based on Riordan's (2007: 239) overview, extended by K.S.

		Meechan & Foley (1994)	Taglia-monte (1998)	Britain & Sudbury (2002): NZE	Britain & Sudbury (2002): FIE	Hay & Schreier (2004)	Pietsch (2005): NITCS	Riordan (2007)	Rosen (2014)	Sell: Galway English
linguistic	clause structure						sig.			
	clitic/full copula	sig.				sig.				n.s.
	determiner type	sig.	sig.	sig.	sig.	sig.				
	determiner type/distance							sig.		sig.
	inversion		n.s.	n.s.						
	lexical noun		n.s.							
	NP-type		n.s.			n.s.				
	plural -s	n.s.			n.s.			n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	polarity		sig.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	sig.	n.s.	sig.	n.s.
	quantifier type			sig.	n.s.					
	region						sig.			
	region/age						sig.			
	region/age/sex						sig.			
	small clauses	n.s.								
	specificity	n.s.								
	tense	n.s.			sig.	sig.	sig.		sig.	sig.
	tense/polarity			sig.						
processing	distance	n.s.	sig.	sig.	sig.	n.s.				n.s.
	disfluency							n.s.		
	postmodification/ extension								sig.	n.s.
social	age		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	sig.		sig.	sig.	sig.
	education	sig.	sig.	sig.						
	employment ranking			sig.						
	ethnicity			n.s.						
	gender	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	sig.		n.s.	n.s.	sig.
	social status					sig.				sig.
	social status/tense								sig.	
	urban/rural	n.s.			sig.					
	age/gender			sig.	sig.					
	gender/ethnicity			sig.						
discourse	topic of conversation	n.s.								
	primary discourse mode							sig.		
	age/primary discourse mode									

5.2 Irish English perfect markers

This study will investigate another feature which is typical mainly of Irish English. The tense-aspect system of Irish English has attracted the interest of many scholars (see e.g. Fieß 2000; Filppula 1999, 2008a, 2008b; Harris 1991; Pietsch 2009; Ronan 2005; Siemund 2013; Hickey 2000b, 2005a, 2007a). Filppula (1999: 89) suggests that "tense and aspect are among those areas of grammar in which HE [Hiberno-English] dialects clearly distinguish themselves from other dialects of English."

Comrie (1985: 86ff) points out that generally, past, present and future are called 'absolute tenses', since there is a direct relation between the time of the situation and the time of the utterance. These tenses contrast with the English past perfect, the future perfect and the present perfect, which are called 'relative tenses' and which require an additional point of reference. However, Siemund (2013: 112-113, 123) emphasises that the present perfect is a less than clear-cut case in this regard: Neither unambiguously 'absolute', nor clearly 'relative', the situation expressed by the verb is relevant for the moment of the utterance. Furthermore, it shows aspectual features and is treated as aspect rather than tense by e.g. Quirk et al. (1985), whereas Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 51, 139ff) treat it as tense. As will be shown in this chapter, what is covered by the present perfect in Standard English is represented by various tenses and constructions in Irish English.

In Standard British English, McCawley (1976: 263) distinguishes between four semantic categories of the present perfect[113]: a) the 'universal' perfect indicates that a situation or state of affairs commenced in the past and is still valid at the moment of speaking, e.g. *I've known Mac since 1960*, b) the 'existential' perfect, conveying that past events still hold true, e.g. *I have read Principia Mathematica 5 times*, c) the 'stative' perfect, which is used to express that a past event has direct effects up to the moment of speaking,

[113] Differences in spelling, e.g. hyphenated or not, are due to the representation of other authors' spellings and print in italics in quotes and in listing their terminology. In the remaining text, a uniform spelling is used by the author K.S.

e.g. *I can't come to your party tonight – I've caught the flu*[114] and d) the 'hot news' perfect, which refers to recent events, e.g. *Malcolm X has just been assassinated*.

For Irish English, different terms have been coined to describe the several perfect markers (see Table 34). The following paragraphs briefly sketch them and highlight the differences and similarities among them. Harris (1991: 202) distinguishes four semantic categories: a) the 'indefinite present anterior' category (cf. 'existential' perfect), which occurs with the past tense, b) the '*after*-perfect', c) the 'resultative' (comparable with McCawley's 'stative') refers to an event in the past which is relevant at present. The latter is represented by two structures in Irish English: According to Harris (1991: 202) the 'split' construction (*have* + object NP + past participle; Filppula (1999: 90), Siemund (2004, 2013) and Pietsch (2009) call it 'medial-object' perfect MOP)[115] occurs with transitive verbs, whereas the *be*-perfect, an intransitive construction[116] and restricted to mutative verbs, is constructed with the auxiliary *be* and a past participle. Harris' fourth category, d) the 'extended-now' tense – represented with a present tense verb form – can be compared with McCawley's 'universal' perfect and is used for states of affairs which commenced in the past and prevail up to the present.

Kallen (1991) distinguishes five different perfect markers in Irish English, including StE *have*: the *have*-perfect, the *after*-perfect, the 'extended present' perfect with a present verb form and the 'accomplishment' perfect (comparable to Harris's split perfect and Filppula's (1999) and Pietsch's medial object perfect), and finally perfect forms with *be* (comparable with Harris's intransitive *be* construction). In the analysis of his Dublin corpus, Kallen (1991: 68ff) notices a decreasing use of the *after*-perfect among speakers with a higher socio-economic background and in more formal conversations.

[114] This is also referred to as the resultative meaning of the present perfect by other authors, see e.g. Siemund (2004: 420).

[115] According to Filppula (1999), the MOP is more frequently used in the south-western parts of Ireland.

[116] The claim of intransitivity regarding the *be*-perfect is supported by several linguists such as Filppula (1999), Kallen (1989), Siemund (2004).

Filppula's (1999: 90ff) sixfold categorization is based on previous terminology but is extended to a certain degree. His terminology refers either to the form of the structure or to its semantics: 'indefinite anterior' perfect (as in *Were you ever in Kenmare?*); *after* perfect (*You're after ruinin' me*); 'medial-object' perfect (*I have it forgot*); *be* perfect (*All the tourists are gone back now*); 'extended-now' perfect (*I'm not in this [caravan] long*); 'standard' *have* perfect (*And we haven't seen one for years round here*).

Hickey (2000b: 111) regards Prototype Theory as the most flexible semantic approach to Irish English perfect markers:

> It sees certain elements of aspectual types as central and others as peripheral, e.g. the element of immediacy is central to the immediate perfective with *after* and the element of intention/goal is central to the resultative perfective aspect with O + PP word order.

In her study on spoken Irish English in East Galway, Fieß (2000) relies on six perfect categories which are based on a mixture of Harris' and Kallen's categorizations. She (2000: 203) sums up that for her 92 perfect tokens analysed, personal style seems to play a role and that "(t)he use of the present perfect markers does not seem to be age-related, except for a slight tendency of the speakers of the youngest generation to use more standard than non-standard forms". Fieß (2000: 209) also detects no obvious connection with the gender of her informants except for the variety of present perfect markers used: all female speakers used a greater variety of markers and also a greater variety of semantic categories.

Clarke (2012: 102) summarizes the Irish English equivalents of the Standard English present perfect in a table which is reproduced below (see Table 34). Of course, the standard English perfect formed with *have* also occurs in Irish English. It was the most frequent way of perfect marking in Fieß' (2000) and Ronan's (2005) study. The distribution of the different ways of Irish English perfect marking as found in various corpus-based studies can be seen in Table 34. In my analysis, I adopted Filppula's (1999) terminology for a sixfold categorization, which is a straightforward approach based on structure or form and semantic connotations (Filppula 1999: 90).

Irish English example	**Standard English equivalent**	**Irish English form**	**Names in (Irish English) literature**	**"Core" semantic function (and verbal distribution)**
I'm (just) after doing it.	*I've (just) done it*.	*Be after* + V-*ing*	*After*-perfect	Recent past/ "hot news" (often, dynamic verbs, e.g. *take, happen, get, come*, along with dynamic *be* and *have*)
I've my meal eaten.	*I've eaten my meal*.	*Have* + object + past participle	Medial-object/ accomplishment/ conclusive perfect/ split construction	Stative/ resultative (transitive) (dynamic verbs with agentive subject, resulting in a state of some duration, e.g. *do, make, build, drink, finish, write*)
I'm already moved in.	*I've already moved in*.	*Be* + past parti-ciple	*Be*-perfect	Stative/ resultative (intransitive) (dynamic verbs of change of state, e.g. *go, leave, change, come*)
I'm here a long time (now); She wasn't there long when it fell.	*I've been here a long time (now). She hadn't been there long…*	Simple present (or past) tense	Continuative/ extended-now/ extended present/ universal perfect	"persistent situation" – representation of event begun prior to point of temporal reference, but persisting through it (most frequently, *be*, but also stative *have, know* …)
Were you ever in New York?	*Have you ever been in New York?*	Simple past, i.e. preterite	Experiential/ existential/ indefinite anterior perfect	Representation of event occurring at (an) unspecified times(s) in the period prior to point of temporal reference (frequent with *hear, see, have*, etc. plus adverbs like *(n)ever, always, often*)

Table 34: Irish English equivalents of Standard English *have* perfect (taken from Clarke 2012: 102, slightly amended by K.S.)

The origin of the Irish English constructions corresponding to Standard English present perfect has been debated by retentionists and substratumists. Siemund (2004: 421) argues that "[h]owever plausible the borrowing scenario is rendered through the external history of Irish English – after all widespread and intense contact between Irish and English only started in the seventeenth century (Kallen 1994), by which time English had acquired (or lost) most of the properties which now distinguish it from IrE – it also remains to be explained why the borrowing from a relatively distant and structurally different language like Irish could succeed in practically restoring the situation found in earlier Englishes as well as its closest relatives." He (2004: 427) concludes that the role of the Irish substratum has frequently been overestimated for the area of Irish English constructions conveying perfect meaning.[117] Filppula (1994: 54) sees a "more direct, and not merely 'reinforcing', influence of the Irish substratum". While mainly substratum advocates dominated the debate until roughly the 1980s, the view that older forms of English were the origin of present-day Irish English constructions conveying a perfect meaning has gained ground in recent decades.

An exception is the much-cited *after*-perfect, which is generally said to derive from the substratal Irish construction *tar éis* (*after*), without an English equivalent. Harris (1985: 48ff), for example, concludes after having studied possible Irish sources for the 'split construction', also known as the 'medial object perfect', that the English old perfect seems to be the form on which the Irish English split construction was modelled. Nevertheless, he also states that there may have been a "reinforcing or preservative" (Harris 1985: 50) influence from Irish. This view has been elaborated so that what Clarke (2012: 103) calls a "compromise" view emerged in recent years: Irish English constructions conveying the perfect meaning are the result of "contact-induced change" (Clarke 2012: 103), i.e. they are based on English origins, but developed in a way that has been influenced by corresponding Irish forms due to intensive contact between the two languages (see e.g. Filppula 1999; Siemund 2006; Pietsch 2009).

[117] For an incisive article summarizing different aspects on the topic such as (psycho-)linguistic factors, frequency of occurrence, diachronic developments, regional distribution, various Celtic varieties of Englishes, conservative English dialects, transfer, language typology etc. see Siemund (2004).

This is in line with Thomason (2003: 688), who states that linguistic change can be based on language contact if the change would have been unlikely or less likely without the contact situation. Pietsch (2009) slightly weakens the likelihood aspect, referring to Heine and Kuteva's (2005) concept of 'contact-induced grammaticalisation', "a development which, while drawing upon an existing input construction in the receiving language (English), as well as on universally available pathways of linguistic change, was nevertheless helped and triggered crucially by the presence of a functionally and formally related construction in the model language, Irish" (Pietsch 2009: 531). The language shifting situation itself including "imperfect learning, overgeneralisation, speaker creativity, pressure from linguistic universals" (Siemund 2006: 284) has led to typical Irish English features.

Clarke (2012) summarized all noteworthy empirical, corpus-based results on the analysis of Irish English forms conveying the meaning of Standard English *have*-perfects. As can be seen in Table 35, the frequency of the individual markers in the different data sets varies considerably. In a number of studies, only a selection of perfect markers was investigated.

It has to be mentioned, though, that the frequency of English perfect forms depends heavily on the linguistic setting. Perfect forms do not occur frequently in narratives and, as a consequence, in sociolinguistic interviews (see e.g. Kirk & Kallen 2006: 96; van Herk 2008: 51).

study	Data source	Total tokens	Standard *have*-perfect	*After*-perfect	Medial-object-perfect	*Be*-perfect	continuative	Simple past
Filppula (1999)	20 hrs of recorded interviews, 24 elderly speakers	703	57 (8%)	25 (4%)	40 (6%)	70 (incl. gone) (10%)	81 (12%)	430 (61%)
Fieß (2000)	Recorded interviews, five family members, rural East Galway	92	43 (47%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	4 (4%)	8 (9%)	32 (35%)
Ronan (2005)	Published transcripts of recorded interviews, elderly Dublin residents	311	(59%)	37 (12%)	15 (5%)	28 (9%)	14 (5%)	35 (11%)
Kirk & Kallen (2007)	623,350-word spoken ICE-Ireland corpus	(NA)	(Majority)	7	34	7	(NA)	(NA)
O'Keeffe and Amador-Moreno (2009)	One million word recorded Limerick Corpus of IE	(NA)	(NA)	95	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Kallen (1989)	Participant observation, Dublin area	210	(NA, but extensive)	140 (70%)	19 (10%)	11 (esp. *be gone*) (6%)	31 (15%)	(NA)

Table 35: Distribution of perfect types in contemporary (Southern) Irish English (taken from Clarke 2012: 104, slightly adapted by K.S.)[118]

5.2.1 *After*-Perfect

Origin of the *after*-perfect

The *after*-perfect, also called "immediate perfective" (Hickey 2007a: 197f), "hot news" perfect (Harris 1984a: 208, 1985: 19, 1991: 201; Kallen 1989) or – less common in the recent literature – PI (Greene 1979: 122ff; Harris 1984a: 308, 1985: 38) has the form *to be after* + V-*ing* and is strongly associated with Irish English. It is agreed that this syntactic structure was transferred from the corresponding Irish construction with *tar éis* 'after'

[118] Numbers = token counts; bracketed percentages = usage ratios of perfect type per study, rounded to the nearest whole number; NA = no counts available

(e.g. Harris 1984a: 319; Filppula 1990: 185; Odlin 1994: 143, Siemund 2004: 411f, 2013: 117). For example Irish *Tá sé tar éis imeacht* (lit. 'He's after going') means 'He has just gone' (cf. Filppula 1999: 101). There are no corresponding structures in older forms of English.

Sabban (1982: 161) also notices this distinctive Irish English feature in Scottish Gaelic Contact English in the Hebrides and thus draws the following conclusion: "Die Konstruktion BE + after + Verb-ing im KE [Kontaktenglischen, K.S.] ist eindeutig eine Übernahme aus dem G [Gälischen, K.S.]. (…) [Es gibt] keine Anhaltspunkte für eine Verbreitung außerhalb keltischen Sprachgebiets."[119] The only occurrences are found in varieties that have had substantial input by Irish English such as Newfoundland English (Clarke 2012).

A problem for the substratum-account of the *after*-perfect might lie in the fact that in early Irish English texts, it was also used with future-time reference (Bliss 1979: 300; Filppula 1999: 102ff). This line of argument is taken up by McCafferty (2004), who suggests that the prospective meaning of desire and goalward movement was borrowed into English by English speakers simultaneously with the establishment of the *after*-perfect in English by Gaelic speakers. Future uses were more frequent until the mid-eighteenth century, while after the massive language shift the *after*-perfect gained ground (McCafferty 2004: 113). Yet, this perceived contradiction to the transfer account is resolved by Hickey's (2007a: 199) reporting that "at the beginning of the early modern period of Irish English, i.e. from *c.* 1600 onwards, the Irish language had a structure *(i)ar* 'after' + verbal noun which could refer to the past and future and to both state and action." The Irish structure then developed towards conveying actions of the recent past.[120]

Siemund (2006: 285) emphasizes that the traditional substratum vs. superstratum debate has focused on the surface structure of language, which can be problematic. Based on the *after*-perfect, he (2006: 285) suggests that "what has been transferred from Irish to Irish English is not a linguistic form, i.e. a morpheme, per se, but rather the function of a morpheme in Irish has been projected on an English morpheme." He (2006: 286) even states that he has not found "a single instance of a direct loan

[119] Translates: "The construction *be* + *after* + V-*ing* in contact English is doubtlessly a transfer from Gaelic. (…) There are no hints at its distribution outside the Celtic language area."

[120] *(I)ar* + verbal noun has been replaced by *tar éis* or *i ndiaidh* for 'after' (Hickey 2007a: 200).

from Irish to IrE [Irish English, K.S.]", whereas the influence of Irish on Irish English grammar is certainly present in several features. As Filppula (2008a: 76) points out, "the after perfect is clearly the most stereotypical and is avoided by educated speakers at least in formal contexts; on the other hand, it is freely used in informal contexts and by working-class and rural speakers in all parts of the country."

Function of the *after*-perfect

The function of the *after*-perfect is a matter of debate. According to some (Harris 1991: 202; Hickey 2007a: 192; Moylan 1996: 15) it is used to report hot news. Hickey (2007a: 192) emphasises that the news aspect not only refers to the aspect of recency, which is stressed by Moylan (1996: 15), but also to unexpectedness or new information.

Filppula (1999: 99) adds that it can also serve as an equivalent to StE past perfects, and researchers such as Ronan (2005: 261ff) mention the stative or resultative function as a second important function of the *after*-perfect. Kallen (1989) detected for his corpus also uses of the *after*-perfect functioning as a "perfect of persistent situation", "existential perfect" and "perfect of result". Ronan (2005: 263) even suggests that the distribution of the *after*-perfect is parallel to the functions of the Standard English *have*-perfect.

Analysis of corpus data

Because of the low number of occurrences in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, the construction of the *after*-perfect was not analysed with logistic regression. In the Galway English data, there were seven occurrences of the *after*-perfect in natural interview speech as shown in examples (1) to (7), one of them actually representing a parallel form for standard English past perfect constructions, see (7). This analogous formation suggests that the form of the *after*-perfect is grammaticalised to a high degree and that the structure BE + *after* + V-*ing* can be transferred to past perfect situations. Sentence (6) was actually slightly prompted by the interviewer due to the interrogative with a 'hot-news' setting preceding the speaker's sentence.

1) ***I'm just after buying*** *a house out in Barna, you know.* <speaker #23, m54, 00:01:22-1>

2) *And you wouldn't really, you only come to the fact when you left, you'd go,* ***I'm after speaking to the man*** *who was in 'Apocalypse Now'. [laughter]* <speaker #5, f21, 00:34:13-4>
3) *Or put them in a year before their age so that they could pick up on because we're bound to do maths different, we're bound to do geography different and history different than* ***what they're after comin' from****.* <speaker #13, f38 00:27:47-0>
4) *So, rather delighted, after forty-two or forty-three years* ***he's after comin' back****. [laughter]* <speaker #31, m67, 00:36:54-6>
5) *… and did you know* ***something new's after coming into town*** *and I've been there and I heard of the talk.* <speaker #1, f59, 00:42:53-0>
6) {<KS> *Or just imagine your daughter is giving birth to another baby and this has just happened, what would you tell your friends?*} *If* ***my daughter's after giving birth****?* <speaker #6, f57, 00:40:37-5>[121]
7) *And* ***he was after doin' my hedge*** *and I said thanks a thousand. [laughter]* <speaker#11, f94, 01:11:37-7>

The token number of 7 in free-flowing, informal speech seems rather low, yet the spoken component of ICE-Ireland with 623,350 words also yielded only 7 instances of the *after*-perfect (Kirk & Kallen 2006: 96f) and Fieß's (2000: 197) Galway corpus contained only 3 instances of the *after*-perfect out of a total of 106 sentences with present perfect markers. Kirk & Kallen (2006: 96) emphasise that while empirical studies by Kallen (1991) and Fieß (2000) show that *after*-perfects are not exclusively used in hot-news contexts, they are "nevertheless relatively rare in more temporally and referentially remote contexts", which makes their frequent occurrence in narratives and interview data rather unlikely.

Furthermore, in Filppula's (1999: 101) corpus, the *after*-perfect is used less in western than in eastern varieties (Clare: 3 tokens, Kerry: 1 token vs. Wicklow 9 tokens, Dublin 12 tokens), which is exactly the opposite of the MOP, which is used more in the west than in the east. In the western tokens,

[121] It is debatable whether this example should rather be included in the section on prompted use. Yet, the speaker in this case obviously wanted to clarify the situation and had not thought about any reply to the question yet. Therefore, it was added to the informal, spontaneous section.

Filppula (1999) only detected the 'hot-news' context. It is rather remarkable that the *after*-perfect occurs less in western (represented by Clare and Kerry) than in eastern dialects (Wicklow, Dublin) since the Irish language as a substratum influence has stronger roots in the west. Yet, as Filppula (1999: 102) points out, Ó Sé mentioned in personal communication that the parallel Irish PI construction is less common in Munster and Connacht dialects. This might explain the declining frequencies from east to west.

Despite its low frequencies in interview data, the *after*-perfect is accepted widely among speakers of Irish English, as the general acceptability rating of 90% in Hickey's *Survey of Irish English Usage* shows, with an acceptability of 80% for Galway (Hickey 2007a: 207).

All tokens in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English can be considered to convey the hot news meaning either in the sense of recency or new information and unexpectedness, except (3) and (7), which are not as clear and could be classified as hot news, but also as resultative (Harris 1991) or, in McCawley's (1976) terms, stative, (7) with a transitive verb. In (1), the recency-aspect is even emphasized by an additional *just*.

Prompted uses of the *after*-perfect

There was an oral questionnaire part towards the end of the interviews (see Chapter 3.1 and Appendix section 3 for a detailed description). The intention was to prompt certain words or certain grammatical structures that were expected to show a low frequency in the interviews. I asked my informants to report the following situation: *Imagine that a young man is getting stabbed out there. This has just happened the very minute. What would you tell the guards?*, thus conveying the 'hot-news sense'. Harris (1991: 202) noticed the *after*-construction in this context: *A young man is after getting shot.*

I was also expecting replies such as *Come quickly. A young lad is after getting stabbed.* Of course, the use of the Standard English *have*-perfect was also expected. If the *after*-perfect construction was not mentioned by the speakers as a rapid response to the situation, I directly asked whether they would also use the sentence *A young lad is after getting stabbed* (or similar). The data thus show prompted use and stated/repeated use. In some cases, the initial proposed situation was altered slightly to fit the flow of the interview, leading to dialogues such as the following:

{<KS> *And just imagine a young man is getting stabbed out there and you're witnessing this and you call the guards. What would you say?* 00:55:57-7} *[laughter] Ahm* ***I'm after seeing*** *somebody getting stabbed. Please help.* <speaker #30, m25, 00:56:03-2>

In the survey-style oral questionnaire part, 19 out of 23 speakers, equalling 82%, who replied to this scenario used the *after*-perfect or accepted the suggested usage for themselves. This shows that it is certainly a common feature in spoken Galway English in the hot-news context. It was not only used by speakers having a lower class score, but nine out of 19 speakers, i.e. 47%, belonged to the group with the highest class scores 7 and 8. Six out of 19 (32%) reported to have almost no Irish or to speak it very seldom. Nine of the speakers, i.e. 47%, were aged under 40, eight speakers, i.e. 42%, were aged between 40 and 60, and two speakers, i.e. 11%, were over 60. Ten females, i.e. 53%, stated that they would use the *after*-perfect in the scenario given, and nine males, i.e. 47%, did so. As shown in Table 36, five female speakers and four male speakers using the *after*-perfect in this context were aged under 49, four females and no male between 40 and 60, and one woman and one man were aged over 60. No female informant attested a non-use of the *after*-perfect here, but one young male and three older males did.

	Prompted/stated use	Stated non-use	Total
Females <40	5	0	5
Females 40-60	4	0	4
Females >60	1	0	1
Total females	10	0	10
Males <40	4	1	5
Males 40-60	4	0	4
Males >60	1	3	4
Total males	9	4	13
Total all speakers	19	4	23

Table 36: Prompted or stated use or non-use of *A young lad is after getting stabbed.*

However, it must be remarked that not all speakers participated in the oral questionnaire part. Therefore, the stated non-use must be contrasted. The four tokens of stated non-use all belong to males, three of whom were aged over 60. Only one of them was a young man aged 24, who stated that he doesn't use the *after*-perfect construction frequently but knows that it is used. Although those very low numbers only allow for a very tentative conclusion, females seem to use the *after*-perfect construction more frequently than males.

This also holds true for the 7 tokens in the narrative, free-flowing speech part of the interviews (see (1) to (7)). Here, 5 instances of the *after*-perfect were uttered by females and only 2 by males. For the 7 tokens, the age distribution was fairly balanced with two speakers under 40 years of age, 3 speakers aged between 40 and 60, and 2 speakers aged over 60. These results might indicate that the *after*-perfect indeed has a certain kind of (possibly local?) prestige, according to one of Labov's (2001a: 266) gender principles: "For stable sociolinguistic variables, women show a lower rate of

stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men." However, any such interpretation can only be advanced very tentatively given the low token numbers involved. The analysis of the next representation of the *after*-perfect in the survey presented in the following passage also refutes any gender-based hypothesis regarding the *after*-perfect.

After the stabbing scene, a similar situation was suggested with a friend/daughter/niece of the interviewee giving birth to a baby and the interviewee telling friends or family about this: *Your daughter/sister/wife is giving birth to a baby. This has just happened. What do you say when you want to tell your friends about this?* Once again, the interviewer was interested in discovering whether a structure such as *she's after having a baby* or another perfect construction would be used. Again, if the prompting did not trigger any use of the *after*-perfect, I asked whether the speakers might also use an *after*-perfect construction in this situation. This second scenario only implies a hot-news meaning in the sense of recency. The news would not be unexpected, since pregnancy is usually known for several months to family and friends. As such, it can be classified as belonging to McCawley's (1976) existential group or to the hot-news category, depending on the focus of the speaker.

The distribution of the speakers replying to this scenario is as follows: 29 speakers replied to the question. Of these, 21, equalling 72%, used the *after*-perfect construction or stated they would do so. Gender was balanced: 10 speakers attesting the *after*-perfect in this context were females, 11 were males. 12 speakers were aged under 40, 5 between 40 and 60, and 4 speakers over 60, see Table 37. Once again, it appears that the *after*-perfect construction cannot be classified as working-class speech, since 7 of the 21 informants using the *after*-perfect scored 7 or 8 for socio-economic background.

	Prompted/ stated use	Stated non-use	Total
Females <40	6	1	7
Females 40-60	4	1	5
Females >60	0	1	1
Total females	10	3	13
Males <40	6	2	8
Males 40-60	1	1	2
Males >60	4	2	6
Total males	11	5	16
Total all speakers	**21**	**8**	**29**

Table 37: Prompted and stated use or non-use of *She's after having a baby*.

Most informants obviously used the *after*-perfect synonymously with the *have*-perfect in the scenarios given in the questionnaire part, but some speakers added an extra dimension, such as speaker #24, who emphasised the missing factor of unexpectedness in the scenario given and therefore rejected the use of the *after*-perfect:

It [i.e. she's after having a baby, K.S.] *doesn't mean the same thing as she's having a baby. Or she's had a baby. She's after having a baby kind of implies shock or surprise. I think. Myself. You know, like, oh you wouldn't believe it but she's after having a baby. Then you might say it. But you wouldn't just say she's after having a baby.* <speaker #24, m24, 00:44:14-3>

Speaker #31, a 67-year old male, also emphasised the surprise aspect.

Not all interviewees had enough time to spare for the questionnaire part, though, and some informants indicated that they would use another similar grammatical structure, such as the following with V-*ing* omitted and replaced by a noun phrase.

8) *Oh I'd say* ***my daughter is after a beautiful little girl or little boy*** *yeah. Had a baby girl or a baby boy.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:40:55-6>

This construction is also mentioned by Moylan (1996: 357) for Kilkenny in *I'm after my dinner* and by Kirk & Kallen (2006: 97) for the Northern Ireland section of ICE-Ireland in *I'm not that long after my dinner.* Yet, it is remarkable that this structure occurs in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, since this calque on *tar éis* + verbal noun "could be one of the steps in the development of the AFP [*after*-perfect, K.S.], but for some reason or other it does not seem to survive in modern HE [Hiberno-English, K.S.] usage, or at least it has not been recorded in the recent studies of HE perfects with the exception of Moylan (…)" (Filppula 1999: 105f). The utterance in (8) shows that the structure *after* + NP does survive in modern Irish English, at least in Galway speech. Since speaker #6 is a 57-year old female with a distinctively working-class background (with the lowest class score possible in my categorization), it might be added that this feature is at least not extinct in Galway working-class speech. This might also explain why it has not been found in the ICE-(ROI) section consisting of mainly educated and middle-class speech.

The remainder of this chapter briefly introduces the other Irish English perfect markers and illustrates them with examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English.

5.2.2 Other Irish English perfect markers

The resultative or stative perfect can be represented in Irish English by two structures, the first being the 'medial-object' perfect (MOP[122], see e.g. Filppula 1999; Siemund 2013), also called PII by Greene (1979: 125ff) and Harris (1985: 45ff), 'split construction' by Harris (1991) and Fieß (2000), 'accomplishment' perfect by Kallen (1989), and pseudo-perfect by Kirk & Kallen (2006: 98ff). The second structure is the *be*-perfect. The MOP is said to be used in transitive sentences, whereas the *be*-perfect is its intransitive

[122] MOPs can also be found in Scottish English, Newfoundland English and in the English spoken in the Appalachians, i.e. mainly in the Celtic Englishes and their descendents. But a substratum account is disputed, since older forms of English show similar constructions (Siemund 2013: 119).

counterpart (Filppula 1999: 117). In the following passages, both constructions are briefly described and exemplified with occurrences in the data collected for the present study.

Medial-object perfect

For the medial-object perfect, Harris (1985: 49) suggests that the Irish English "PII can be viewed as a continuation of the English old perfect, with lexical **have**, preserving the original statal, possessive connotations that are now absent from the StE new, actional perfect." The direct object and the past participle change their positions, while the meaning of the standard present perfect construction is retained, thus rendering the form *have* + object NP. MOPs usually occur with dynamic accomplishment or activity verbs. The most common verbs with the MOP in Filppula's (1999: 108) corpus were *do*, *make*, *build*, *get* and *forget*, but other verbs were also used. It is widely accepted, as the acceptability rating of 93% in Hickey's (2004a) *Survey of Irish English Usage* shows.

MOPs were considerably more frequent than the *after*-perfect in Filppula's (1999: 109) corpus with 40 instances in total; ICE-Ireland contains 34 examples (Kirk & Kallen 2006: 98). MOPs are also attested in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. Some examples are (9) to (11):

9) *And they **had my door pulled out*** <speaker #14, f49, 01:12:29-2>
10) *See that's where my grandmother comes in. She **had it drilled into us as kids**, speak like this, so.* <speaker #8, f25, 00:34:30-4>
11) *He **has it all booked for me**. So I have no choice.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:19:34-5>

Another instance (12) shows the auxiliary *would* with the MOP:

12) *So like I was well into, you know, most people **would have a family reared at twenty-six**, but that was kind of the norm.* <speaker #1, f59, 00:51:31-0>

BE-perfect

The *be*-perfect is similar to the MOP in that it occurs mainly with dynamic verbs and focuses on the final state or result of an action or an event, but here the verbs are intransitive (Filppula 1999: 117). It occurs mainly with

mutative verbs like *leave, change, die, go* (Kallen 1989: 18f). While a stative perfect meaning can also be expressed in Standard English by *be* + past participle, this is a rather marginal phenomenon and is restricted to certain words, among them the most frequent and prominent *go*, as in *He is gone now* (Ronan 2005: 254). In Irish English, the *be*-perfect allows for a greater variety of verbs.

In total, 70 instances of the *be*-perfect were found in Filppula's (1999: 119) corpus. Fieß (2000: 197) encountered 4 tokens of the *be*-perfect, three belonging to the extended-now category, and one resultative in character. This marker was not analysed by Kirk & Kallen (2006).

In the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, the POS-tagged version was searched for instances of the *be*-perfect.[123] Since the machine-based search did not find all instances of the *be*-perfect, further instances were added manually to the results. Because of these insecurities, no statistical statements will be given for this feature. The examples should be seen, rather, as proof of the existence of the *be*-perfect in Galway English. It is not always easy to differentiate between *be*-perfects and *be* + past participle functioning as an adjective, as Walshe (2009: 55) points out. Examples of the *be*-perfect with intransitive *go* in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are:

13) *I mean you... nearly every single person* ***was gone out of Middle Street****.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:10:57-0>
14) *He'd have to drive 'cause sometimes he'd have to pick up boxes but with the arrival of the Celtic Tiger everyone gets a car, so traffic in the city* ***is gone to hellish proportions****.* <speaker #5, f21, 00:15:26-6>
15) *Now your day* ***is gone with me****.* <speaker #7, f86, 00:24:22-4>
16) *There was probably a few more rhymes but Jesus they****'re gone from me****.* <speaker #2, f34, 00:44:48-7>

[123] *Have*-perfects and *be*-perfects were searched with Wordsmith using the CLAWS POS-tagged data. The following concordances were searched for: _NN* *_VB* (OR *_VH*) *_VVN: nouns + forms of BE (OR forms of HAVE) + past participle form of lex. verb; _NN* *_VB* (OR *_VH*) *_VHN: nouns + forms of BE (OR forms of HAVE) + past participle of the verb "HAVE"; _NN* *_VB* (OR *_VH*) *_VDN: nouns + forms of BE (OR forms of HAVE) + past participle of the verb "DO"; _NN* *_VB* (OR *_VH*) *_VBN: nouns + forms of BE (OR forms of HAVE) + past participle of the verb "BE"

17) *I ahm every year there's the arts festival, which is a great time for being in Galway, between the . July to August, a great time to be in Galway. Ahm plenty of tourists and the students, the students* ***are all gone home****, so there's only really the tourists who come in and they bring they bring a good life [unintelligible, waiter interrupts talk].* <speaker #19, m22, 00:15:46-0>

Other verbs occurring with the *be*-perfect include, for example, *get*, *build, change,* and *grow*.

18) *But traffic in the whole in the whole country* ***is gotten*** *worse so. We're all experiencing it.* <speaker #5, f21, 00:16:28-3>
19) *Actually, the Eyre Square Shopping Centre* ***is built there now*** *at the back of you know the Skeffington Arms Hotel.* <speaker #28, m46, 00:13:24-3>
20) *Yeah, ha... it isn't changing at all, it* ***is changed****.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:53:19-0>

All examples can be classified as resultative, and example (19) clearly shows the resultative function of the *be*-perfect by contrasting it with a present continuous. The *be*-perfect also occurs in negative sentences, see (21).

21) *The cabbage* ***is not grown enough****. But I said the cabbage is awful big…* <speaker #6, f57, 00:13:18-4>

Interestingly, the *be*-perfect also occurred with a mutative transitive verb, namely *turn something,* see (22).

22) *And I don't know where it came from, this is this* ***is turned my whole religious belief****, I think it was divine intervention of some form…* <speaker #16, f44, 00:48:03-8>

As the transitive verb in (22) does not fit the stated quality of intransitivity of the *be*-perfect, and as this is the only token featuring an object NP, it has to be questioned whether this should really be included in the list of *be*-perfects or whether the perceived *is* might actually be a case of weakly pronounced *has*. Yet, the oral questionnaire-style survey section contains a further instance substantiating the claim that the *be*-perfect can

actually occur with transitive verbs. Here, a 25 year old female (speaker #8) stated she would use *She is nearly finished her course*, which is clearly a resultative *be*-perfect with an object.

Furthermore, the *be*-perfect in Hickey's example *They're finished the work now* is accepted by 84% of all speakers of Irish English in Hickey's (2004a) *Survey of Irish English Usage*. This makes it plausible that the structure is indeed attested in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English and that the examples provided are not slips of the tongue or imprecisely transcribed passages.

Extended-now perfect

The 'extended-now' perfect (Filppula 1999: 123; Hickey 2007a: 196), or 'extended present' (Hickey 2004a: 124) applies a present verb form where Standard English uses *have* + past participle. Usually, it refers to "events of states initiated in the past but continuing in the moment of utterance" (Filppula 2008a: 75) and represents mainly universal contexts established by state verbs with temporal adverbials (see e.g. Siemund 2013: 115; Filppula 1999: 123), as in *I'm not in this [caravan] long* (Filppula 1999: 90).[124] As Walshe (2009: 55f) points out, it is not always easy to differentiate between *be*-perfects and extended-now perfects, but the obligatory temporal adverbial expressing duration can serve as a guideline. It is nevertheless debatable whether examples (23) and (24) from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English should be classified as *be*-perfects or as extended-now perfects: Their mutative verb quality suggests a classification as *be*-perfects, whereas the durative time adverbial suggests the category of extended-now.

Extended-now perfects occurred 81 times in Filppula's (1999: 126) corpus, with a higher frequency in the south-western dialects. Fieß (2000: 198f) has 8 present verb forms in her set of Irish present perfects, most of them with an extended-now meaning. The structure is widely accepted in Ireland with a mean of 76% (Galway: 74%; Hickey 2007a: 197).

Examples for the extended-now perfect in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are shown in (23) through (30).

[124] The present tense in present perfect contexts is found in other post-colonial varieties of English, too, e.g. in Indian English, Hong Kong English and South African English (Siemund 2013: 115).

23) *Ahm I'**m gone out of Shantalla** ... wait 'n I see...* [thinking out loud] ***about thirty years** in* [name of the area omitted for publication, K.S]. <speaker #6, f57, 00:07:44-2>
24) *No no no no that law in the Catholic Church **is gone for a long time**.* <speaker #1, f59, 00:36:51-5>
25) *Yeah it's ah it's* [a part of Galway City, K.S.] *a very quiet area and **I'm there eight years now**. I've never had the slightest bit of ah what you will say, hassle.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:11:57-0>
26) *But anyway I just thought it was so nice and ah at the music and the singin' and I says ahm, ye sound so lovely, do ye mind if I join ye? And they says, not at all, they says, you'd be quite welcome. And they gave me a book and a chair and **I'm with them since.*** <speaker #11, f94, 01:04:12-0>
27) *I mean the Euro **is in now is it seven years**?* <speaker #6, f57, 00:18:18-5>
28) ***I'm livin' there since I was four**, so.* <speaker #27, m24, 00:00:50-5>
29) *Now my wife is from the out the country, she's from County* [name of the county omitted for publication, K.S.]*, so when we got married I says to her would she where you know where would we like to go. I don't wanna go I wanna stay in here, she says. (…) So **we're here since**.* <speaker #31, m67, 00: 19:16-9>

There is also one instance of the extended-now perfect in (30) with a present progressive, probably emphasizing the duration of retirement.

30) *Having been retired, **I'm being retired the last number of years**, I came out as two fully out as two zero two, **that's f... five years gone.*** <speaker #29, m70, 00:55:56-7>

The data show that the extended-now perfect is clearly a feature of spoken Galway English.

Indefinite anterior perfect

The simple past tense also occurs in present perfect contexts in Irish English, mainly in existential settings occurring with event verbs, used for "events or states of affairs which take place at an unspecified point in a

period leading up to the moment of utterance" (Filppula 2008a: 74).[125] It is therefore also known as 'indefinite anterior' perfect. Filppula (1999: 95) counted 430 occurrences of the indefinite anterior perfect in his corpus and emphasizes that the indefinite anterior perfect is "extremely common" in Irish English. It frequently occurs with time adverbials or adverbs of frequency like *never* and *ever.* In Filppula's (1999: 94) data, this accounts for approximately two thirds of the tokens. In Fieß' (2000: 199) data, it occurs 32 times and is also the most frequent non-standard perfect form. It occurs in all semantic categories, but prefers the indefinite present anterior. Filppula (1999: 92) emphasizes that "it is not always easy to decide whether the time reference is, indeed, intended to 'lead up to the present', and hence, to distinguish between the definite past (…) and the IAP [indefinite anterior perfect, K.S.]." Contextual knowledge is necessary for the interpretation of the data. Since past forms are very frequent in the informal speech data of the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, for feasibility, this feature is analysed by looking solely at tokens that occur with the adverb *never,* which is likely to trigger the semantic notion of indefinite anterior (Filppula 1999: 93).

There were 497 hits for *never* in the Wordsmith concord search, yet many tokens were in past contexts, since perfect contexts are rather rare in narratives, especially if large parts of the narratives are dealing with past events during childhood, school, etc. as suggested by the interview modules.[126]

Other contexts suggest present use as in: ***I never read out loud*** *for anyone normally. No no no give me a look at it and I see, give me a look.* <speaker #14, f49, 01:05:16-1> These instances were also discarded. Furthermore, all instances of prompted use were not counted here, such as the questionnaire-style survey passages on *I never saw a gun in my life*. There were also some instances of temporal future deixis (like *"I'll never…",*

[125] This feature is also frequent in Standard American English. Therefore, Siemund (2013: 116) rejects the notion of it being a non-standard phenomenon.

[126] The following passage is an example of a past context for the 57 year old male speaker #25 when asked about childhood experiences: *Well, funnily enough ah I don't think I c… I don't ever recall getting' into trouble with my parents as such you know. So* ***I never really had the occasion*** *to . have a talk to them about that. Ah and again you have to remember too that Irish parents in those days, you know, talkin' wasn't always easy for them either.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:38:52-0>

"I will never ever…"). Furthermore, examples with habitual *would* + *never* + *have* + past participle were also discounted.

Finally, there were 111 tokens for the indefinite anterior perfect with *never* in perfect contexts, i.e. with present reference, left for analysis. Of these, 43 were standard English present perfect constructions formed with *have*, whereas the remaining 68 tokens contained a past verb form. These numbers show that the Irish English construction is actually the preferred form in this context.

Verbs that occur with never + indefinite anterior perfect can be stative and dynamic and include a variety of verbs such as go, be, like, work, move, miss, live, learn, want, see, affect, smoke, get, bother, experience, change, damage, hear, happen, come, etc. Examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English can be seen in (31) to (32):

31) {<KS> *When did he emigrate?* 00:19:31-7} *Nineteen-sixty my brother oh he went to, my bro... the other lad went in sixty-one. You know. So they* ***they never came back****. They came back on holidays lots of times. But they never, they'll never come back for, you know.* <speaker #26, m70, 00:19:45-7>

32) *Like* ***it*** [the Celtic Tiger, K.S.] ***never really affected me****, to be honest. Maths doesn't . really get a sure benefit out of it. I don't think so.* <speaker #30, m25, 00:30:37-6>

Filppula (1999: 95) suggests that there is a certain amount of variation, almost free variation, between the indefinite anterior perfect and the *have*-perfect. This can be supported by instances such as (33), where the speaker switches between the indefinite anterior perfect and the *have*-perfect for the same scenario.

33) {<KS> *Were you into sports?* 00:10:07-2} *No* ***I was never really into sport****. It wasn't really my kind of scene. Just m... my brother like my brother* [name omitted] *was. But ahm* ***it's never really been*** *for me.* <speaker #32, m18, 00:10:19-3>

There are no results in Hickey's survey questionnaire, but when I asked my informants in the oral questionnaire-style survey part of my study whether they would use *I have never seen a gun in my life* or *I never saw a gun in my life*, 17 out of the 21 informants who addressed the tense section

stated that they would use the *have*-perfect in this context. No-one explicitly rejected this option. 9 speakers accepted the indefinite anterior perfect, but 7 informants explicitly rejected the past verb form in this context. One speaker classified it as "bad English", another one suggested that the *have*-perfect was "more appropriate". Only one speaker suggested that the past verb form "would probably be grammatically more correct." 5 speakers stated to use both options.

Although this estimation is based on very low numbers, it shows that the indefinite anterior perfect is certainly present and used in spoken Galway English. Nevertheless, when thinking about the structure in a meta-linguistic context and a raised level of awareness, the *have*-perfect seems to be the preferred option. This might indicate that more formal speech styles with higher language awareness prefer the *have*-perfect. Yet, this is a hypothesis that cannot be verified or falsified on the basis of the data in the present study.

The standard *have*-perfect

In general, the *have*-perfect has been found to be the most frequent perfect structure in Irish English in most studies with the exception of Filppula's (1999: 128ff.).[127] Kirk & Kallen (2006: 103) do not give any numbers, but they state that for ICE-Ireland, "reputedly Irish realisations of the perfect are low relative to perfects with HAVE + participle." Yet, in older descriptions of Irish English, the 'standard' *have* perfect was not included in accounts of the perfect markers (for a discussion, see Filppula 1999: 128).

Fieß (2000: 200) counts a relative majority of 43 tokens for the *have*-perfect. She emphasizes that it covers all semantic categories with the exception of hot news. Filppula (1999: 129) also suggests that in hot news contexts, the *after*-perfect is preferred to *have*: In his corpus, only one token featured *have* + *just* with a hot news meaning. In the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, there were two instances (34) and (35), with one of them appearing adjacent to an *after*-perfect, see (34). This tends to support Filppula's findings that hot news and recency contexts are covered by the *after*-perfect, although the incidence of the *after*-perfect was also low in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English.

[127] Filppula (1999: 128ff) however, does not give any figures for the occurrence of the *have*-perfect in his corpus.

34) {<KS> *OK OK. And do you live in the city centre now?* 00:01:12-5} *No no, I live ah I live out...* ***I'm just after buying a house just out in*** [name of the place omitted for publication, K.S.]*, you know. Ah you know, so* ***I have just moved there during the summer****, you know.* <speaker #23, m54, 00:01:22-1>
35) {<KS> *And do you know your neighbours in* [name of the street omitted for publication] *now as well?* 00:05:52-2 *} Ahm I would know . on my s...* ***I have just been there*** *since June and generally, there's about ten houses on my road.* <speaker #20, m26, 00:06:06-4>

Filppula (1999: 129) warns of direct comparisons between the *have*-perfect and other Irish English perfect markers: "[I]t is possible, and in some cases evident, that they represent distinct aspectual or other semantic choices for speakers of HE [Hiberno-English, K.S.] and do not necessarily represent variants of the same 'linguistic variable'." Filppula (1999: 129) suggests that the *have*-perfect is infrequent in indefinite anterior time contexts, yet the results presented above from the Galway oral questionnaire-style survey part on *I've never seen a gun in my life* vs. *I never saw a gun in my life* – clearly an indefinite anterior time setting – suggest the opposite, although low token numbers do not promise high validity.

The Wordsmith search in the POS-tagged corpus data resulted in 184 valid present perfect tokens for the structure N + HAVE + past participle. That means that the resulting number of 184 does not feature any structures with pronouns before *have,* nor any structures with intervening material between *have* and the past participle and is thus lower than the actual number of *have*-perfect occurrences.

Examples are seen in (36) to (38), conveying a resultative meaning as in (36), indefinite anterior reference as in (37), and an extended-now meaning as in (38). Two examples for the hot-news context have been cited before.

36) *It's not that* ***people have changed*** *their caring. It's there's barriers to them to do that, I think.* <speaker #16, f44, 00:55:00-6>
37) *In fact, some* ***neighbours have done*** *that already.* <speaker #17, m27, 00:07:44-1>

38) *Then again,* ***my dad has been smokin'*** *for you know the best part of sixty years, so I mean I mean it doesn't affect him, no, I mean like it's his privilege.* <speaker #34, m21, 00:18:36-6>

5.3 Conclusion

All Irish English perfect markers feature in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. While the *after*-perfect is not frequent in the informal interview style, this ties in with other findings (Kirk & Kallen 2006, van Herk 2008) which suggest that narratives are not likely to yield hot news present perfect contexts. A noteworthy feature of the Galway data is the presence of an example of *after* + NP (see (8)), which is thought to be almost extinct in Irish English. Furthermore, the survey data suggests that the *after*-perfect is generally widely used by Galway speakers, particularly in the 'hot news' context, denoting recency and – crucially at least for some speakers – surprise.

While comprehensive quantitative analyses encompassing all tokens could not be carried out for all the other perfect markers, the data did confirm the existence and common use of all markers. Nevertheless, the standard *have*-perfect seems to be more widely used in present-day Galway English than it was in use among Filppula's (1999) older rural (mainly male) dialect speakers. The former practice of not including the *have*-perfect in the description of Irish English perfect markers (e.g. Henry 1957; Bliss 1984) is certainly not justified.

6 Further prominent features of Irish English in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English

This chapter will provide an overview of several prominent features of (Southern) Irish English with examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. Of course, several individual features do not occur solely in Irish English – the *eWAVE* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013) gives an impressive insight into this – but the combination of these features in addition to some unique ones defines the variety of Irish English. As described in Chapter 2.4., Irish English is characterised by features based on a) the retention of older forms of earlier English which are now archaic, extinguished or only found in conservative British regional dialects, i.e. the superstratum, b) dialect contact with other varieties of English of the British Isles, c) language contact with Irish, i.e. the substratum[128], and d) universal features related to the language shift situation and in this context group second language acquisition (Filppula 2008a: 73). The following will outline several salient features of Irish English, explain their origin wherever suitable and make reference to the Corpus of Spoken Galway English.

The outline of phonological characteristics follows particularly Hickey's (2008), Bliss' (1984) and Wells' (1996a) accounts. These accounts also provide more complete overviews than the selection presented here. The account of grammatical features relies mainly on Filppula's (2004) descriptions, but of course other sources have been consulted as well. These accounts are compared with the data of the Corpus of Spoken Galway English.

[128] Filppula (2008a: 73) points out that the influences based on Irish-English language contact "are better preserved in those dialects which are spoken in, or close to, the earlier and present-day Irish-speaking areas".

6.1 Phonological features

As shown in Map 2, Hickey (2004a; 2008) argues for a differentiation between three dialect regions of Southern Irish English[129], namely the east coast including Dublin, the west and south-west including Galway, and a rather diffuse Midlands region, although, as mentioned previously, Southern Irish English is said to be rather homogenous (e.g. Bliss 1977: 18-19). The following will sketch prominent features of 'general' Irish English and the western dialect area that are also attested in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English and will highlight their possible origins, moving from vowels to consonants to word stress.

/ɛ/-raising

In the south and the west, the dialect area stretches from Co. Cork in the south to Co. Mayo north of Galway. This was and still is the stronghold of the Irish language. Language contact is intense, and the majority of Gaeltacht areas are found in this region.[130] Hickey (2004a: 38; 2007a: 305; 2008: 78) emphasises the raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ in pre-nasal position, a retention of the raising that was previously found in more surroundings. Although he (2004a: 38; 2007a: 305) restricts it to a mainly rural phenomenon, it is also found in the speech of my Galway informants, e.g. in (39) to (43).

39) *Well the dance were, well if you* ***w[ɪ]nt*** *during the n... week now say the occa..., the students used to have a dance on Thursday nights …* <speaker #9, f71, 00:20:00-4>

[129] Delahunty (1977: 127-149) differentiates between five generally recognised accents of Southern Irish English, namely Dublin, the Midlands, Cork, Kerry and Standard Hiberno-English with Northern Ireland and Donegal establishing another distinctive accent. In terms of grammar, it seems that most features occur in different dialect areas, with differences in the frequency of usage (see Filppula 1999).

[130] The small Meath Gaeltacht is an exception. Located in the east of Ireland, it has a population of 1,771 (1.7% of the total population in Gaeltacht areas, http://www.udaras.ie/en/an-ghaeilge-an-ghaeltacht/an-ghaeltacht/an-mhi/ <10.01.2015>) and consists of two communities that were resettled with Connemara Irish speakers in the 1930s.

40) *… And then another terrible occasion was the KLM crash, you know where the airplane came down and they're all there're a lot of them buried in the new* ***c[ɪ]m[ɪ]tery.*** <speaker #9, f71, 00:16:17-5>
41) {<KS> *OK but why were you not allowed to go to the pictures?* 00:29:02-9} *Well* ***ag[ɪ]n*** *and it was only poor Laurel and Hardy, I'll never forget they were singin' the Lonesome Pine, ah well again they were supposed to be decadent and ya might see somethin' you shouldn't 'cause I'm sure the poor nun was never at a picture herself you know.* <speaker #9, f71, 00:29:36-5>
42) *No I had the best of everythin'* ***th[ɪ]n*** *where my sister only got soap dolls and things like that where I could get l... rubber dolls well well brilliant.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:02:25-3>
43) *So but we all seem to have come to an* ***[ɪ]nd*** *now like in terms of the city centre.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:04:28-6>

/ɛ/-raising could also be found in pre-lateral position in Galway English, as in (44).

44) *Well, I used to like English. And* ***sp[ɪ]lling****.* <speaker #7, f86, 00:09:06-7>

/t/-lenition

Wells describes the use of the voiceless alveolar slit fricative [t̠] as "one of the most conspicuous features of Irish English" (Wells 1982a: 429), i.e. the plosive force of /t/ is lenited, the plosive thus receiving a spirant quality[131]. Tilling (1985: 22) describes this distinctive sound as the "southern affricated /t/" (cf. also Hickey 1985b: 325, 1996: 224ff). It is said to be common in all social classes and "perhaps in all parts of the country" (Wells 1982a: 429) excluding Ulster. The allophone [t̠] does not occur in preconsonantal position, including preconsonantal position across words. It does, however, occur in intervocalic and pre-pausal position (Hickey 2008: 85). Examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are seen in (45) through (48)

45) *You know, her* ***daugh[t̠]ers****, they're nice …* <speaker #2, f34, 00:15:04-9>

[131] Note that the degree of lenition varies, which is not rendered in the examples below.

46) {<KS> *And did you enjoy growing up in a big family?* 00:26:48-5 } *Yeah it was **grea[ț].** All my brothers and sisters were in school with me.* <speaker #20, m26, 00:27:01-8>
47) Word list: ***hi[ț]*** - *hid* <speaker #30, m25, 00:50:09-6>[132]
48) Word list*:* ***ha[ț]e*** - ***bai[ț]*** <speaker #30, m25, 00:50:29-7>

As illustrated by examples (47) and (48), this feature was also prominent in some items from the reading passage and the word list and minimal pair list, see Appendix Sections 3 to 5. Hickey (2008: 85) sees the origin of lenition in the Irish substratum. One scholar who emphasises the role of long-lasting contact between Irish and English when talking about the phoneme inventory of present-day Irish English is Moylan (1996: 292):

> The sound-system of our dialect(s), like that of A-I [Anglo-Irish; K.S.] generally, represents an accommodation arrived at in the course of continuous language contact over several centuries. The outcome is a makeshift but vital compromise in which both contributory systems are modified and synthesized.[133]

Bliss (1984: 135) explains the present-day features with the help of a substratum approach: "Irish speakers learning the variety of English used in Ireland interpreted and reproduced the sounds they heard in terms of their own phonemic system, and the resulting pronunciation has been handed down, more or less intact, to the present day."

[132] For the word list and the minimal pair list, time markup was set after each item or each pair in the transcribed corpus to facilitate the search for specific items.

[133] Irish palatal-velar oppositions occur in some Irish-English dialects, but do not form a meaningful opposition anymore, rendering this phenomenon semantically irrelevant. Palatalisation is also found in consonant + /j/ structures, e.g. /diD'ə/ *did you*, /wuD'ə/ *would you*, /resk'ə/ rescue, /nɛv'ə/ *nephew* (Moylan 1996: 292). Moylan (1996) uses the capital letters T, D, L, N for the Irish dentals and the diacritic ' indicates palatalization. Probably due to the contact with English, not everyone uses the velar-palatal opposition in Irish according to the rules. For example in /bɑTˈiːn/ *baitín* ('stick-fighter, bully boy' – diminutive form of *bata*) and /Duk/ *diuc* ('hunch, stoop'), the palatal quality is lost. Furthermore, Moylan (1996: 293) asserts that velar consonant quality is basically lost in Irish, /bʷl/ *buí* ('yellow') being one of the rare exceptions.

Only partial application of the FLEECE-merger and Long Mid Diphthongization

Other peculiar features of the Irish English vowel systems are thought to be based on 17th century English variants. Those pronunciations might indeed have been reinforced by similar phonemes in Irish. Those Early Modern English pronunciations are retained in Irish English /e:/ instead of /i:/ in words such as *sea*, *meat*, *receive*, i.e. the FLEECE-merger has only applied partially. Those pronunciations occur mainly in rural or conservative working-class urban accents and have been thought of as recessive for quite some time (Wells 1996b: 194f, 1996a: 425; Bliss 1984: 139).

Furthermore, Long Mid Diphthongization has generally not applied in the Republic of Ireland (except Dublin): *Face* is said to be [feːs] in the provinces, *goat* is realized with [oː]. Lass (1990: 144f) also suggests that monophthongal realisations of the Standard English FACE and GOAT diphthongs are the norm in Irish English (except Dublin). Collins (1997: 153) concludes her study on the diphthongization of (o) in Galway Claddagh English with the suggestion that "diphthongs are in fact being used by all speakers from three different generations. While monophthongs are still more prevalent, the use of diphthongs is common in both casual and formal speech styles". Age and gender did not play a role, but she suggests that networks contribute to variation in the Claddagh community.

Examples for monophthongal (e) and (o) from the Galway speakers can also be found, as shown in (49) to (53).

49) *Readin' and spelling I should* ***s[e**ː**]***[134] *…* <speaker #7, f86, 00:09:06-7>

50) {<KS> *And what do you personally think about the smoking ban?* <00:21:28-2>} *Ahm personally I think it's* ***gr[e**ː**]t***[135]*. I'm I'm a I'm a smoker myself but ahm I absolutely adore it.* <speaker #19, m22, 00:22:11-6>

51) *Irish, they just like . that was just like, they just keep speaking it to you and they* ***h[o**ː**]pe** that you'd eventually . soak it up or somethin' like that.* <speaker #30, m25, 00:35:58-3>

[134] Reads <say>.

[135] Reads <great>.

52) *But what was wonderful about this guy, he was a great brilliant talker. And he had a whole lot of* ***j[o*****ː****]kes****.* <speaker #26, m70, 00:18:42-0>

53) *Ahm and then sometimes we used to get* ***r[o*****ː****]pes** *and we'd tie them up to a lamppole and people'd swing around the lamppole on the ropes. [laughter]* <speaker #18, m63, 00:25:43-8>

Wells (1996a: 427) notices that there is "one characteristically Irish oddity of lexical incidence whereby /aʊ/ rather than /oː/ occurs before /-ld/ in certain words, particularly *old* and *bold*". There is only one token in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English for this feature as represented in (54).

54) *Jeez you have a big house to go to and they were lovely dressed, beautiful clothes on them where we might have the* ***[aʊ]ld*** *big shoes on us and they'd have lovely ... I 'll always remember lovely neat shoes and ... oh they used to always look lovely and we used to always say, God they're a bigshot, and we used to often copy them.* <speaker#6, f57, 00:32:47-3>

D-epenthesis

Besides schwa epenthesis, which is analysed in detail in Chapter 4.1, D-epenthesis processes in two environments are described by Wells (1996a: 435). Here, after /l/ or /n/ and before /z/, a plosive /d/ is inserted, leading to items like *bills* and *builds* becoming homophones /bɪldz/. The other possible environment is after /r/ and before /n/ or /l/, as in *turned* [tʌɹdn̩d] or *girls* [gɛɹdl̩z]. Wells (1996b: 435) suggests that "D Epenthesis may make the following sonorant syllabic, so that for example *aren't* becomes a homophone of *ardent* [aːɹdn̩t]". Just as this feature is described in film speech by Walshe (2009: 233), it is also present in Galway speech in various lexical items, as shown in (55) to (64).

55) *Well you'll find that either a* ***par[d]ent*** *or a grandparent is from Ireland.* <speaker #13, f38, 00:38:33-8>

56) *A friend ahm bought her* [the dog, K.S.] *for her* ***par[d]ents*** (…) <speaker #1, f59, 01:26:37-0>

57) *So the money was good that time and I had to hand up all my money to my m...* ***par[d]ents*** *like they needed the money.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:03:21-4>

58) *And there's holes inside where you can't see and they put an **ir[d]on**, a little **ir[d]on** grip about that size and they, so that the stones don't shift. They stick it into one and then they add the stone and so there's this **ir[d]on** thing, like a little chain thing, just holdin' them all together.* <speaker #14, f49, 00:18:57-4>
59) *You had to **lear[d]n** for yourself like. You did **lear[d]n** everything yeah for yourself. …* <speaker #6, f57, 00:13:18-4>
60) *But you didn't mind because ahm I mean it was part of life, you'd come home and your dinner'd be ready and then you'd wash up and then at night then, mother'd give you the socks to **dar[d]n** or a pair of knitneedles to knit a jumper for one of the boys or ahm, you know, we were serious, we were.* <speaker #9, f71, 00:26:19-1>
61) *Oh yeah they're very bad with the **swear[d]in'** today.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:36:06-9>
62) *So it's and the Euro bein' . **curr[d]ency** bein' different and everythin'.* <speaker #7, f86, 00:17:31-3>
63) *And ah I used to get to know the words from the **gir[d]ls** by them 'cause I was interested.* <speaker #7, f86, 00:09:06-7>
64) *Now it's changing because all these Gaelscoils which are **par[d]ent** led to get their kids speakin' Irish.* <speaker #14, f49, 00:42:06-7>

Homophonous *witch* and *which*

The consonant system of Early Modern English was not very different from that of present-day English. But Irish had – and still has – a greater number of consonant phonemes in its dialects[136], as every phoneme except /h/ has a palatal and a non-palatal form. Irish thus had 31 consonant phonemes, English only 23 (Bliss 1984: 136). In general, Irish phonemes resembled the English phonemes and vice versa. In cases where the Irish phonemes did not suffice for the English language, the two forms of a pair of phonemes were equated with different English phonemes: Ir. /f, f'/ were equated with /ʍ, f/, Ir. /v, v'/ with /w, v/, Ir. /t, t'/ with /θ ,t/, Ir. /d, d'/ with /ð, d/, Ir. /s, s'/ with /s, ʃ/. In other cases, one member of a pair of phonemes was dropped and only one member survived in the Irish English phonemic system as with /n, l, r, j/. Some members of phonemic pairs were equated

[136] Bliss (1984: 137) supposes that English was first adapted to the Munster Irish phonemic system and then spread into other dialects.

with English allophones as with the plosives /k, g/. Some new neutral sounds were also introduced, which were not part of a pair of Irish phonemes, such as English /p, b, m, ŋ/. English /z, ʒ/ could be articulated by Irish speakers as they are simply the voiced phonemes corresponding to /s, ʃ/.[137] The Irish English consonant system thus consists of plosives /p, b, t̪, d̪, t, d, k, g/[138], fricatives /ʍ, f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h/, approximants /w, j, r/, lateral /l/ and nasals /m, n, ŋ/ (Bliss 1984: 137ff; Wells 1996a: 428ff).

/w/ is traditionally realized as the historically widespread voiceless labio-velar /ʍ/ in words with initial <wh->. This leads to distinct pronunciations for *which* and *witch* in traditional Irish English, although Hickey has observed levelling on /w/ in supraregional Irish English (Hickey 2004a: 41, 50). The traditional pronunciation is (still) audible in Galway English among older and younger speakers, as shown in the representations in (65) to (67).[139]

65) ***[ʍ]en*** *did you move to Galway City?* <speaker #30, m25, 00:57:46-9>

66) *Ahm* ***[ʍ]en*** *I started off ahm strangely enough ahm I started off as ahm ahm simply ahm well in English it would be general subjects teacher.* <speaker #31, m67, 00:26:54-9>

67) *And ah you know* ***[ʍ]en*** *I go away now I'm off now to [place omitted for publication, K.S.] next month to visit my daughter and the grandchildren, and you know when I come home and . I just get this beautiful feeling.* <speaker #9, f71, 00:14:01-0>

In the realm of consonantal features, an overview is not complete without mentioning that non-prevocalic /r/, as in *star* or *nurse*, is preserved in Irish English, which is generally a firmly rhotic variety of English. Another distinctive feature is the clear /l/ in non-prevocalic environments as in *fill* or *fields* (Bliss 1984: 138; Ó Baoill 1997: 83f). These two features are clearly and pervasively present in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English.

[137] For more details on equation and accommodation see Bliss (1984: 137).

[138] According to Wells (1996a: 429), many middle-class speakers from the south fluctuate between plosive /t̪/ and /d̪/ and fricative realizations /θ/ and /ð/.

[139] *Witch* and *which* were also used as a minimal pair for the design of the Galway interviews, see Appendix Section 5.

Palatalisation of /tr, dr/ and /s/

Bliss (1984: 138f) mentions the English groups /tr, dr/, which in Irish English can be realized as /t̪r, d̪r/, as in /t̪rɪk/; the same replacement can occur where /r/ is syllabic, e.g. in *ladder* or *daughter*. This equal-quality rule of Irish as described in Chapter 2.3.3 also leads to the replacement of the English alveolar fricative /s/ by the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ before an Irish palatal consonant, e.g. /t, n, l/ or before final /t/ or vocalic /n, l/. In the west, this produces pronunciations such as */ʃ/top, /ʃ/now, /ʃ/low, be/ʃ/t* (cf. also Wells 1996a: 433, Ó Baoill 1997: 80f, Hickey 2007a: 306).

Both for /tr, dr/ and for pre-palatal /s/, Irish English replacements can be found in the speech of the Galway speakers, as shown in examples (68) to (80). Speaker #25, a 57-year old male, used both T/D-dentalisation and /s/-palatalisation to a rather great extent. Hickey (2007: 306) suggests that T/D-dentalisation before /r/ occurs only in vernacular varieties all over Ireland. The presence of this feature in the data suggests that the speakers for the Corpus of Spoken Galway English lapsed into their vernacular during the interviews, which is exactly the intention of relaxed interview settings.

68) *So we go back quite a long time, my, you know I haven't done that much research into my family family tree if you like but ah, now our grandfather came in from* ***Le[t̪]ermullen***[140] *in Connemara.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:01:41-6>

69) *But again as I say, I wasn't* ***[d̪]rinkin'*** <speaker #25, m57, 00:46:02-7>

70) *I mean you don't know about . see I don't know like . I mean I didn't start* ***[d̪]rinkin'*** *'til I was in my mid-twenties and you know the the pub culture was, like, wasn't part of that scene like you know.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:07:54-2>

71) *But in as regards the smokin' ban, or we can go back to it now, if they said tomorrow mornin', you can smoke away again in here, you'll find myself* ***[ʃ]till*** *goin' outside. (…) I was in a small kind of little bar one night, just went out, slipped away for a quiet* ***[d̪]rink*** *but it would have been any, you know a lot of these little places in Spain, they're small, you know they're little, kinda small little bars, kinda*

[140] Reads <Lettermullen>

semi... you will... can get a coffee and all that. <speaker #25, m57, 00:28:22-9>

72) {<KS> *Would you speak it* [i.e. Irish, K.S.] *to any of your friends* <?> 00:52:46-8 } *I wouldn't really ah Catherine, because I don't have the confidence. Most of my friends wouldn't have Irish anyway. I really wouldn't ahm but I'd have the* ***[ʃ]mithereen****.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:53:09-5>
73) *The youngest kind of got a little bit of a* ***[ʃ]tick*** *from the others, you know.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:32:18-4>
74) *It was torturous in a way seein' you know seein' it was a* ***[ʃ]low*** *death if you like.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:41:53-5>
75) *You know, I mean, in a language you barely* ***under[ʃ]tood****.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:50:54-6>
76) *Now maybe they can* ***under[ʃ]tand*** *each other but, you know [laughter] (…)* <speaker #25, m57, 00:55:49-4>
77) *And every every summer then you'd have the* ***[ʃ]tudents'*** *play scheme is on ev... ah when school finishes.* <speaker #18, m63, 00:10:20-3>
78) *And that gave you ah your* ***[ʃ]core*** *…* <speaker #18, m63, 00:25:41-4>
79) *But I mean they* [some teachers, K.S.] *had things like the the guy'd* ***[ʃ]tand*** *in front of you, with his back to you here, and catch you by the hand like this.* <speaker #18, m63, 01:00:24-7 >
80) *These guys that hit you with their canes or* ***[ʃ]ticks*** *or the edge of a of a ruler or whatever, these guys were frustrated . that you weren't pickin' up what they were tryin' to deliver.* <speaker #18, m63, 01:01:36-6>

/s/-palatalisation is not restricted to older speakers, as the following examples (81) and (82) by speaker #19, a 22-year old male, show:

81) *How are ye getting' on? Ahm what's the craic? Are you well? What's the story? You know. What's the scale?* ***[ʃ]candal*** *and* ***[ʃ]candal****?* <speaker #19, m22, 01:14:06-1>

82) *I'd go f... would I call anybody? I'd go fuckin' hell your man is getting **[ʃ]tabbed** over there.*[141] <speaker #19, m22, 01:15:10-4>

Intrapersonal variation is for example represented in the following sentences:

83) *I mean, to take up the phone and ring the guards sayin', look, somebody is after being **[ʃ]tabbed** here. Possibly you could use that. Or you could you could say, look, will you get down here as quick as you can, somebody ah somebody is bein' **[s]tabbed**. You mightn't use the word after bein' **[s]tabbed**. You might and then again you mightn't.* <speaker #25, m57, 01:03:59-0>

It might be due to the self-education of hedge schoolmasters in the 18th and early 19th century that word stress in polysyllabic lexemes in Irish English is sometimes different from that of Standard British English. In some words, one can detect traces from older English stress patterns, whereas in other cases there seem to be no historical models. Generally, in Irish English word stress is put one syllable later than in Standard British English, e.g. *deˈficit*, *disˈcipline*, *orˈchestra*. If there is a secondary stress in Standard British English, the main stress in Irish English is said to fall on that syllable, e.g. *paraˈlyse*, *architecture* (Bliss 1984: 139, Moylan 1996: 306). Once again, a glance at Irish phonology might be of help. In Southern Irish, the stress falls on the second syllable of a word if that syllable is long, e.g. *cuileá:n* ('whelp', 'pup'), *ógá:nach* ('adolescent'). The third syllable, if long, is stressed when the preceding syllables are short, e.g. *spealadói:r* ('mower'). Yet, Hickey (2004a: 27f) argues that English input might be the source for late word stress in verbs with final long vowels as in *distriˈbute* or *eduˈcate*, since it is not a feature of western and northern Irish, "and so influence due to contact with Irish could only be posited for the south of Ireland."

Non-standard British English word stress is also found among the Galway informants. Examples of postponed stress are illustrated by (84) to (87).

84) *And they're more **edu'cated**, you see …* <speaker #11, f94, 00:52:46-1>

[141] Swear language in the examples shows that the language of the informants can indeed be considered informal, although the interviews represent monitored speech in the presence of a stranger.

85) *It was very **in'teresting** like you know.* <speaker #18, m63, 00:15:10-6>
86) *I mean, when you look at the situation for every cause of **in'dustry** or whatever, the river Rhine was totally ah ah polluted and brought to a ridiculous level that it was almost like an open sewer, with all that was goin' down in it.* <speaker #18, m63, 00:22:36-4>
87) *There's some guys I know from County Galway say **dis'cipline** …* <speaker #28, m46, 00:57:57-4>

6.2 Morpho-syntactic features

Whereas supraregional or educated Irish English is rather standardised in terms of British English morpho-syntactic features, regional dialects and working-class urban Irish English distinguish themselves from other British dialects (Filppula 2008a: 73). This chapter will give a brief summary of some of the most salient features which also occur in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. For more detailed accounts, see e.g. Filppula (1999; 2008a) and Hickey (2007a).

6.2.1 Tense-aspect marking

Probably the most notable distinctive syntactic field is found in the tense-aspect marking of Irish English. Where the present perfect tense with the modal verb *have* is used in Standard British English, Irish English offers a variety of constructions, as has been shown in Chapter 5.2 (see e.g. Filppula 1996: 33ff; 1999: 90ff; 2008a: 74ff; Hickey 2007a: 192ff; Kallen 1990: 124ff; 1991: 68ff; Fieß 2000).

Another striking feature of Irish English is the frequent and relatively free use of progressive forms. Not only do they mark progressive aspect, but they can also other occur in other contexts such as those representing "intellectual states" or "cognition", "states of emotion or attitude", other states of "being" and "having" and "stance" (Filppula 2008a: 76), as in *There was a lot about fairies long ago … but **I'm thinkin'** that most of 'em are*

vanished; or *There was a school in Ballynew, and **they were wantin'** to build a new school*.[142]

Progressives of 'intellectual states' are also found in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, as in (88).

88) *It really rea... 'cause it, to me it indicates, it's bad enough the actual doing of it, but to me it indicates a lack of respect for other people and lack of courtesy and **I'm thinking** you know, if they're if they're like this now, which they are, you know a few years time you know. I think it's bad for the society to be honest.* <speaker #33, m50, 00:14:09-3>

Furthermore, the idea of being in a certain state is clearly emphasised here:

89) *Having been retired, **I'm being retired the last number of years**, I came out as two fully out as two zero two, that's f... five years gone.* <speaker #29, m70, 00:55:56-7>

Progressive forms can also denote habitual activity, as in {Yeah. And do people go up there to cut turf?} **They were going** there long ago (…); or after the auxiliaries would or used (to), as in But they, I heard my father and uncle saying **they used be dancing** there long ago, like, you know.

Habitual progressive is also found in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English as in

90) *Ahm muppet is, I I've **I'm never using it**, so, no and I wouldn't think of any ah more. Yeah.* <speaker #30, m25, 00:55:00-2>

The progressive also co-occurs with other auxiliaries such as DO and WILL. The former represents the habitual aspect and is in this form unique to Irish English, e.g. (…) ***They do be shooting** there couple of times a week or so*, and …*this fellow now, Jack Lynch, that's going to come into power now, that he'll, **he'll be forgetting** the North*.

Besides the perfect markers and the progressive forms, the habitual, which also co-occurs with progressive forms, represents an important element of the Irish English aspect system. Habitual aspect denotes "iterative, frequentative, and generic states or activities", which "involve

[142] All examples on Irish English progressive forms are taken from Filppula (2008a: 76f) unless stated otherwise. Bold print is my emphasis.

situations which are viewed as being characteristic of an extended period of time rather than incidental properties of any given moment" (Filppula 2008a: 78). Apart from examples cited in the above section on progressive forms, Irish English makes use of habitual aspect markers formed with invariant *be* or derivatives of *do* or a combination of both, e.g. *They do be out fishing often* or *She does come over to our place after dark* (Harris 1991: 192). A certain stigma is said to be attached to these forms, therefore they are infrequent in educated speech, but they are commonly used by urban working class speakers and in rural dialects of Southern Irish English (Filppula 2008a: 79).

Examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English gained from a Wordsmith search for *do be* and *don't be* are rather scarce, but nevertheless present, see (91) to (94).

91) *I didn't know, I didn't, sure and I I used to drink loads of water, you know. And now I boil it. My sons* ***do be laughin',*** *they do say I have old people's water in the fridge.* <speaker #9, f71, 00:21:59-9>

The habitual with *do be* also exists in the negative. Interestingly, all three tokens found are in indirect speech with the informant only repeating statements by another agent.

92) *Then my mother runs into the room. She sees me there with the brush, so she thinks, my mother thought I was hittin' her with the brush. So she takes the brush off me, like, and said,* ***don't be hittin'*** *your sister with the brush.* <speaker #19, m22, 00:24:46-2>

93) *Of course my brothers being the way they are said,* ***don't be goin'*** *into that darkroom now too many times [imitates her brothers].* <speaker #16, f44, 00:21:47-2>

94) *But someb... of our friends, my daughter's friends, said,* ***don't be waitin'*** *for them, she says, she'd send her a brochure, a couple of them, send her loads of brochures. She would pick any hospital. And they said, come on over,* ***don't be waitin'*** *for them to [unintelligible].* <speaker #11, f94, 00:44:22-5>

Hickey (2000b: 111f.) detects two sources for such habitual constructions. Firstly, there is a parallel structure in Irish which is expressed by the verb *bí* '*be*-habitual', e.g. *Bíonn siad amuigh ag iascaireacht go minic*

(literally: *be*-habitual *they out at fishing often*) 'They are out fishing very often'. Secondly, periphrastic *do*-forms were semantically empty in Early Modern English superstratal varieties, so this structure could have been adopted to express the habitual.

6.2.2 Auxiliaries

Regarding the use of auxiliaries in Irish English, it is noteworthy that *shall* is not used in vernacular speech. By the same token, *should* is only used when denoting obligation. In all other contexts, *would* is preferred. *Ought to* is also restricted to written, formal styles. The interrogative *amn't I* is possible as a tag and in regular questions, and *have* is frequently used without *got* and without periphrastic *do* as in *{What kind of farms do they have, mostly?} They* ***haven't*** *all that much*. (…) (Filppula 2008a: 81).

Shall occurred four times (uttered by three speakers in total) in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, and only in the collocations *shall we say* and *shall I say*. *Ought to* did not occur at all. There is one token for *amn't I*, uttered by a 71-year-old female speaker, as shown in (95).

95) *I'm talkin' too much,* ***amn't I****, love?* <speaker #9, f71, 00:50:46-4>

6.2.3 Word order and information structure

Embedded inversion

In Irish English, inversion is frequently retained in indirect speech when questions are embedded (Filppula 1999: 167ff, Bliss 1984: 148). This "embedded inversion" (Filppula 2008a: 94) is also found in other Celtic Englishes. As Barry (1982: 108) states: "English indirect questions preceded by *whether* or *if* have to be represented in Irish by a direct question." The same is true for Irish equivalents of WH-questions. Filppula (1999: 179; 2008a: 94f) also sees a strong influence of the Irish substratum on Irish English indirect questions, particularly since it is a feature of the Celtic Englishes in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Bliss (1984) distinguishes between 'simple' and 'complex' questions. The former can be answered with *yes* or *no* and require *if* or *whether* in indirect speech. The latter are introduced by an interrogative. In Standard English, there is no inversion in indirect

questions. In Irish English, *if* and *whether* are sometimes not used and inversion is retained, although Filppula (2008a: 94) points out that embedded inversion is "nowadays primarily a feature of informal spoken language", but it was commonly used even in the written mode in earlier forms of Irish English.

Several instances of embedded inversion occurred in the corpus data. Examples of embedded simple indirect questions without the insertion of *if* or *whether* and their complex counterparts are given in (96) and (97).

96) *Well,* ***I don't know had we snakes****.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:19:21-8>

97) *And then there was ship on in the harbour and* ***he asked the captain could he sail*** *and he'd work his way.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:17:35-5>

An embedded complex question is shown in (98).

98) *And I says, you asked me* ***why would my son come*** *out of the priesthood. [laughter]* <speaker #11, f94, 00:33:57-9>

In the questionnaire-style survey part of the study, one of the tasks was to reformulate the question *Is the weather nice?* starting with the introductory clause *I wonder*, thus rendering an indirect simple question. Of the ten informants who performed the task, six (60%), retained inversion as in *I wonder is the weather nice*. The remaining four speakers, i.e. 40%, inserted *if* or *whether* and used the standard structure. For the complex indirect question based on the direct question *When will he be back?*, only three out of 20 tokens, i.e. 15%, retained inversion.[143] Although the numbers are very low and do not allow for statistical analysis, this indicates that simple and complex questions behave differently when being turned into indirect questions with simple questions retaining inversion in indirect speech more often. Furthermore, the results show that inversion in indirect questions is certainly a feature of present-day spoken Galway English. Although the sample for this questionnaire-style feature is by no means representative, a first glance does not allow for an indication of age- or gender-based differences, as shown in Tables 38 and 39.

[143] The 20 tokens were uttered by 17 speakers, since some speakers reformulated the simple question. This task was based on an indirect complex question such as *I wonder what's it doin' outside*, as in the example uttered by <speaker #34, m21>

	Females inversion	Females no inversion	Males inversion	Males no inversion	Total
aged <40	2	2	1	2	7
aged 40-60			1		1
aged >60			2		2
total	2	2	4	2	10

Table 38: Inversion in indirect questions based on results of oral questionnaire-style, simple question *I wonder is the weather nice* (or similar).

	Females inversion	Females no inversion	Males inversion	Males no inversion	Total
aged <40	0	6	1	5	12
aged 40-60	1	2		1	4
aged >60			1	1	2
total	1	8	2	7	18

Table 39: Inversion in indirect questions based on results of oral questionnaire-style, complex question *I wonder when will he be back* (or similar)

Cleft-sentences

In the field of focusing devices, another striking feature of vernacular Irish English is the frequent usage and, compared to other English varieties, the wider syntactic distribution of cleft-sentences, as in the VP-clefting.[144]

[144] *It*-clefting is not unique to Irish English, as Quirk et al. (1985: 504) describe its presence for spoken and written Standard English, but the frequency in Irish English is said to be considerably higher.

It's doing his lessons that Tim is.
'Is ag déanamh a chuid ceachtannaí atá Tadgh.'
[copula at doing his portion lessons rel-be Tim.]
(Harris 1991: 197)[145]

Certain adjectives and adverbials can also be found in front position, as in *It's flat it was* (Filppula 2008a: 95f). Furthermore, cleft-constructions can be found to introduce new information in responses. Frequency was not investigated in the present study, but examples of cleft-sentences are present in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, e.g. in (99) and (100).

99) {<KS> *And do you think the city council has made enough efforts to change or to solve the problem?* 00:09:11-5} *Ahm I don't think the council have any power. They're just a talking house. They don't have any power.* ***It's the officials*** *that have all the power and no, they didn't make any effort.* <speaker #22, m25, 00:09:25-8>

100) *Ahm I think* ***it's the the influx of tourists*** *that gives it that and they expect it so it just persists.* <speaker #34, m21, 00:14:31-4>

Though less frequent than clefting, fronting is also preferred in Irish English compared to normal sentence stress, especially in areas with close contact between Irish and Irish English. Fronting can be seen in *Indeed, I walked it myself when I young… all the way from here to Cahirciveen with cattle and with sheep. Oh,* ***about a distance of twenty and three or four miles it were***. Filppula (2008a: 95) states that

> like the other Celtic languages, Irish uses almost exclusively structural means such as clefting (…) or simple fronting instead of sentence stress for marking prominence, e.g. contrast or emphasis. Their functions are not, however, restricted to these special contexts: they are also used for introducing answers to specific questions, and more generally, for distinguishing between 'new' and 'old' information.

Examples of fronting from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are shown in (101) and (102).

[145] For more aspects on clefting, see e.g. Filppula (1986: 87f; 1999: 243ff), Odlin (1991: 183), or Moylan (1996: 334ff).

101) {<KS> *Yeah, that's true. Are there many families livin' here in* [name of the community deleted, K.S.], *the area?* 00:09:13-2} *Oh,* ***plenty there are****.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:09:24-2>

102) *But ahm yeah it was it was kinda tough at work as well 'cause we, I work in the local* [shop description delected, K.S.] *down the road for a part-time job and so like* ***all our water we have to boil*** *and everythin' that we needed to clean was, had to be boiled, water had to be boiled.* <speaker #19, m22, 00:19:03-3>

6.2.4 Pronominal systems

Personal pronouns

The pronominal system of Irish English also differs from Standard British English. As in other vernacular dialects, *them* is frequently used as a determiner or a demonstrative adjective in informal speech styles, as in … *that time the people were rich that used to live in* ***them houses***; or on its own as a subject, as in ***Them*** *was cornstacks*… (Filppula 2008a: 92). The feature 'Them instead of demonstrative those' is also attested for 62% of all varieties of English listed in the eWAVE atlas (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). Filppula there rates it as *A – feature is pervasive or obligatory* for Irish English.

Them as a determiner or a demonstrative pronoun is also found in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. The Wordsmith search in the POS-tagged data for them_* *_N* produced 25 suitable hits, e.g. as a demonstrative in (103) to (107).

103) *I mean* ***them Euros*** *goes nowhere*. <speaker #6, f49, 00:18:02-7>

104) *Now there wasn't as many houses up there,* ***none of them houses*** *along were up there, but there was other houses further on (…)* <speaker #6, f49, 00:31:52-1>

105) *Oh I have a whole lot of pictures of* ***them children****. Well, anyway that that ah that* ***them children*** *were like my children (…) Because* ***them children*** *were like mine, they were lovely.* <speaker #11, f94, 00:48:19-5>

106) *Oh yeah, there's a lot of* ***them baby care places*** *settin' up.* <speaker #30, m25, 00:26:39-4>

107) *You know, so we'd be on the bog then turnin' turf and doin'* ***all them things****. Helpin' my grandfather out. So.* <speaker #13, f38, 00:33:35-6>

Them is also used as a subject standing on its own, as in (108).

108) *And* ***them could be brought up*** *all their life there.* <speaker #6, f49, 00:30:26-2>

Another prominent feature is the use of *ye* [ji:] instead of *you* in a plural sense, sometimes also *youse* or *yez/yiz,* the latter pronouns being associated particularly with Dublin English (Moylan 1996: 310ff; Filppula 2008a: 92; Hickey 2005a: 116). The feature 'Forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun other than you' is also listed in the eWAVE atlas (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013) with an attestation in 91% of all varieties investigated. Irish English once again has an *A*-rating suggesting this feature to be *pervasive or obligatory.* Neither *youse* nor *yez/yiz*, however, occurred in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, whereas *ye* occurred 73 times, frequently in the questionnaire-based survey style where a task was designed to trigger plural *you* forms, but also in free narratives as in (109).

109) *And we were riveted there and then we had to go up and try and get some sleep. [laughter] What st... what story did your grandfather tell* ***ye*** *today? Ahm 'bout the black dog, mam. We couldn't tell her, it was about the banshee, mam.* <speaker #16, f44, 00:13:21-6>

Yet, *ye* can also be used as a polite form in a clearly singular context (Hickey 2007a: 237f), as in (110).

110) *She says, I'm older than you, and I said, how old are* ***ye [ji:]****? And she said, I'm eighty. Well, I says, I'm ninety-four. [laughter]* <speaker #11, f94, 00:32:14-4>

In the oral questionnaire-style survey part, only two out of 28 informants stated that they would not use *How are ye?* Or *Howye?* to say 'hello' to two friends of theirs, i.e. 93% stated that they would use the salutation with *ye*. However, it is not clear whether the negation of usage actually referred to the plural personal pronoun, as one elderly informant added that this

salutation was “just what they say now”, hinting at a certain uneasiness with the construction. A younger male speaker preferred other salutations such as *How are things? How is everything goin’?*. One elderly male speaker explicitly confirmed a difference in usage between singular *How are ya?* and plural *How are ye?,* whereas a younger male suggested that there was no real number differentiation and stresses the aspect of spontaneity in spoken language:

> *Ahm usually they* [greetings, K.S.] *are all encompassing whatever the mood strikes you like. Whatever hits into your, whatever is in your brain first thing really. Yeah you’d use all encompassing one person singular. I don’t think it really matters. So the plural doesn’t really matter. How ye goin’, you even say that, howye, how ye getting’ on or how ye getting’ on when it is like it could be just one person like you know.* <speaker #19, m22>

Absolute use of reflexives

A further distinctive feature of Irish English is the use of reflexives instead of personal pronouns in a non-emphatic way as in *And d’you hear me, you didn’t know the minute they’d burn* ***yourself*** *an’ the house* (Ó hÚrdail 1997: 194; Filppula 2008a: 92f). Filppula (1999: 80) prefers to talk about “unbound reflexives” (UBRs): “(T)hey are not locally bound by an antecedent, and it is this property which distinguishes them from StE reflexives”. He suggests that Irish English UBRs reflect input both from earlier English and from Irish *féin*. This feature is also found in Scottish English, e.g. in *Herself is a teacher*. Sabban (1982: 359) states in this context that *herself* “ist also nicht-emphatisch und tritt einfach an die Stelle des [standardsprachlichen, K.S.] she“. Filppula (1999: 81) emphasises that absolute reflexives are mainly, but not exclusively, found in informal styles, and also to a lesser degree in ‘educated’ varieties and in writing. Hickey (2007a: 244) even found *theirself/theirselves* as an analogical formation as in *They carry theirselves decent*. This particular form does not occur in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, but other non-emphatic reflexives are present in Galway speech, as in (111) and (112).

111) *But in as regards the smokin’ ban, or we can go back to it now, if they said tomorrow mornin’, you can smoke away again in here, you’ll find* ***myself*** *still goin’ outside.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:28:22-9>

112) *Years afterwards he said to me that **himself** and Robert really were watchin' somethin' on television and left me there to to stay quiet.* <speaker #16, f44, 00:26:58-3>

6.2.5 The Irish English noun phrase

As in other Celtic Englishes, the definite article is used more frequently and in more surroundings in Irish English than in Standard English (Bliss 1984: 149; Filppula 1999: 56ff; 2008a: 90; Walshe 2009: 76ff). Hickey (2007a: 251ff) notes a higher acceptance for the non-standard frequent use of the definite article in the north of Ireland. Nevertheless, it is also a widespread feature in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, as examples (113) to (118) demonstrate.

113) ***The** mother used to beat us, **the** father never did.* <speaker #28, m46, 00:40:33-4>

114) *Ahm I do **the** Irish, he does **the** Polish…* <speaker #1, f59, 01:20:16-2

115) *And I think that **the** Irish is the most natural progression for these kids and ano... another friend, his two kids are the same way, they speak Irish as their first language but they have no fear of other languages because they have Irish.* <speaker #2, f34, 00:50:59-3>

116) *Did **the** Irish dancing, I was crap at that.* <speaker #2, f34, 00:44:22-9>

117) *And then we were taught other subjects through Irish. Like **the** science and maths.* <speaker #25, m57, 00:50:54-6>

118) *Yeah he works with **the** nephew.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:16:25-2>

6.2.6 Subject-verb concord

By no means restricted to Irish English, non-agreement between subject and verb is a prominent feature of non-standard dialects (see e.g. Cheshire 1999: 138f). For Northern Irish English, which is not investigated in this thesis, the terms "Northern Subject Rule", "Singular Concord Rule", or "Subject-Type-Constraint" have been coined (Filppula 2008a: 88; Milroy 1980: 12f). This describes the state in which "the verbal *–s* suffix can be used

with plural noun subjects as well as with demonstrative pronoun subjects, but not with a plural personal pronoun, unless there are some other sentence elements between the subject and the verb" (Filppula 2008a: 88).

For Southern Irish English, Filppula (2008a: 89ff) gives the following examples for lack of number agreement: With subjects consisting of conjoined NPs as in *Oh, my mother and father was born and reared in Dublin*; in existential *there* constructions (for a detailed analysis of non-concord in existential *there* constructions in Galway English, see Chapter 5.1.) as in *There was four boys of us, and there's three of them dead*; with subjects consisting of collective NPs as in *…and I think, at the pace the people is going they are not going to stick it*; with other NPs as in *'Course he signed the Treaty, and some was for it and some again' it*; with *they* (as opposed to the Northern Subject Rule) as in *…when they was about three months old, or four, like…*; with *them* as in *Them is all reclaimed [land]*; with other personal pronouns as in *We keeps about ten cows that way, you know, and few cattle*. Nevertheless, Filppula (2008a: 90) points out that the majority of S-V-constructions in Irish English show standard agreement.

Lack of number agreement was seen in a number of tokens in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, for example *I says* occurred 19 times. 8 tokens were uttered by two male speakers, and 11 tokens were uttered by three female speakers. There was only one token by a 44-year-old, all other tokens were uttered by speakers aged over 60. *You says* occurred twice, *they says* four times, all tokens by older speakers. There was no instance of *we says*. Examples of non-concord are shown in (119) and (120).

119) *Lookin... **I says**, is it me or them?* <speaker #9, f71, 00:42:03-6>

120) *But anyway I just thought it was so nice and ah at the music and the singin' and **I says** ahm, ye sound so lovely, do ye mind if I join ye? And **they says**, not at all, **they says**, you'd be quite welcome.* <speaker #11, f94, 01:04:12-0>

Number of verb forms

Hickey (2007a: 173) points out that the number of verb forms is frequently reduced in Irish English. Often, the past participle replaces the standard simple past form (see Anderwald 2009 for a detailed treatment of English dialects). This is also found in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English,

as in (121) to (125). Similar to other varieties, highly frequent verbs such as *see, go, be, do* seem to be particularly affected.

121) ***I never seen*** *him 'cause I used to cry, I said, don't kill them. [laughter] But* ***I never seen*** *him doin' it.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:12:28-1>

122) {<KS> *And just imagine a young man is getting stabbed out there. What would you do?* 00:42:33-9} *If* ***I seen*** *it?* <speaker #6, f57, 00:42:55-9>

123) *But yeah I have one grandchild.* ***She only gone*** *a year like.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:08:57-1>

124) {<KS> *Mhm OK and what do you think about the way Irish was taught in school? Did your grandparents speak Irish and so…* 00:44:01-6} *Ahm actually my grandparents, my grandmother knew a fair bit of Irish. My grandfather didn't but ahm Irish as a language I* ***I never been*** *good at it.* <speaker #5, f21, 00:44:54-7>

125) *Well when you ring nine nine nine in Ireland, I'm not sure if* ***you ever done*** *it …* <speaker #34, m21, 00:50:38-5>

The preterite form also occurs where standard English has a past participle, as in (126) and (127).

126) *… because none of my family* ***had did*** *their leavin' cert.* <speaker #18, m63, 00:28:49-9>

127) *And ah so I yeah from listenin' to people, I I found* ***I'd became****, I had a sharp ear for different accents as to what they were sayin'…* <speaker #18, m63, 00:41:57-7>

6.2.7 Complementation

For to-infinitives

For to-infinitives commonly replace Standard English *to* + infinitive or *in order to* + infinitive constructions in Irish English.[146] A Dublin example is *I*

[146] *For to*-infinitives are by no means restricted to Irish English. Indeed, the eWAVE-atlas lists it as feature #202 for 32% of all varieties analysed. Among them, only two had the attestation *A* with the feature being *pervasive* or *obligatory*, one of them being Irish English, the other one Tristan da Cunha English (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013; <10.12.2015>). For an account of this feature in the Northern Irish English dialect in Belfast, see Henry (1997).

think it was a penny or halfpenny we used to bring to school for to see the Punch an' Judy Show (Filppula 2008a: 85). This construction is probably retained from earlier forms of English. Examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are shown in (128) and (129).

128) {<KS> *Do you believe in hot whisky?* 00:35:58-9} *Ahm not really. Actually some... I remember some person* ***for to*** *give me that, but I hated the taste of it, so I think I only drank half it.* <speaker #17, m27, 00:36:14-5>

129) *I don't think there's a need* ***for to*** *be so dear and stuff. So yeah, and also like when you go out in the night, like, like, the drink and stuff is very expensive as well, like.* <speaker #12, f22, 00:22:26-5>

Omission of prepositions

Lack of *to* after verbs like *be allowed* and *help* are reported to be increasing in several varieties of English, and this is also noticed for Irish English. Furthermore, prepositions are sometimes omitted with prepositional verbs, thus rendering e.g. *to agree a deal* (Filppula 2008a: 87). Examples are also found in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, as in (130).

130) *Now as well as that when I was young ahm the teachers* ***were allowed slap*** *the children, you know.* <speaker #10, f50, 00:17:34-3>

6.2.8 Suffixation

Kallen (1994: 183) stresses that the Irish diminutive suffix *–ín* (Anglicised *–een*) can attach to a variety of English nouns, resulting in hybrid words such as *maneen*, *girleen*, or *houseen*. The term *hybrid* is used here as a neutral technical term without any positive or negative connotations concurring with Sand's (2000: 40) statement that in linguistics, "the term 'hybrid' is used in the study of word formation to denote lexical items that consist of morphemes taken from two or more different languages". Dolan (1998: 99) points out in his *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* that *–een* can denote smallness, affection and endearment, but also belittlement. In Irish, *-ín* can also be used for the suffixes *-ing*, *-on*, and *-y* in English loanwords.

The spoken Galway English data show that *-ín* or *-een* can also attach to proper names as in *Seáneen, Colmeen, Padraigeen, Noreen, Jimmeen,*

Mickeleen, Tommeen, Billeen, Mickeen, Paddeen, although they were given as examples for *-ín* suffixation and not uttered in free-flowing conversation. Yet, suffixation of *-een* was also found in the dialogue part of the corpus such as in (131).

131) {<KS> *Did you have a lot of snow here?* 00:09:35-1} *Sorry lov**een**?* <speaker #9, f71, 00:09:33-8>

Further examples with *-een* in the corpus data are *gomb**een***[147] as a synonym of 'fool', *coll**een*** or *cáil**ín*** for 'little girl', *mac**een*** ('little son', obviously endearing as in *a great mac**een***), *smither**een(s)*** meaning 'small broken fragments'; 'little pieces', derived from Irish *smidiríní* 'fragments' (Dolan 1998: 247)[148], (*little) on**een*** (here: endearing for 'little girl'), *bor**een*** ('country lane; small seldom-used road', cf. Dolan 1998: 37)[149].

Yet, comments by the informants indicate that this feature is decreasingly used in urban Galway speech, as statement (132) by a 67-year-old male shows.

132) {<KS> *Mhm would you say that the accent is changing in Galway City?* 00:50:26-2 } *Oh yeah yeah. The old mac**een**, Jam**een**, where you goin'?* [imitates Galway accent and intonation] *That's the way we used to talk one time. Ah now you meet a person, you might say, James are you goin' downtown? You know it'd become more sophisticated, more the world. For whereas the mac**een**, Jam**een**, you know, there was lovely a lilt to the voice, you know. And everything was **een**, mac**een**, Jam**een**, you know, Nor**een**. Nobody was ever spelt in ah ah and her name might be Nora but it would always end up Nor**een**. We'd add on the eens, E. E. N., you know.* <speaker #31, m67, 00:51:52-5>

[147] Moylan (1996: 125) notes: *gaimbín* (...) n. A-I [Anglo-Irish, K.S.] *gombeen*. (…) (among other meanings, K.S.) An inexperienced, gullible man; a greenhorn or "Johnny Raw" (…)

[148] *Most of my friends wouldn't have Irish anyway. I really wouldn't ahm but I'd have the smither**een**. I'd be able to use phrases and ah things like that…* <speaker #25, m57, 00:53:09-5>

[149] {<KS> *Were there many cars or were you able to play in the street? Was it a quiet cul de sac?* 00:05:39-6} *Ahm it was kind of, it was just kind of a quiet road, we call it bor**een** kind of, have you heard that term before?* <speaker #3, f25, 00:05:48-0>

In the oral questionnaire-style survey data, the notion of the suffix *–een* being decreasingly used is supported by an analysis of the hybrid form *girleen*. Only 6 out of 24 speakers, i.e. 25%, who replied to the question "What would you call a little girl" stated that they would use the item *girleen*. They were all males, 5 were aged 50 and over, only one was aged 24. To the remaining informants, *girleen* seems to be dying out, since the speakers suggested that mainly older people used it (suggested by 12 speakers), that it was formerly used (stated by 2 speakers), or that it was mainly a rural term (4 speakers). Particularly the Claddagh as a former fishing village (see Collins 1997) and now part of Galway City was mentioned by 3 speakers as an area where *girleen* can be heard.

6.2.9 Negation

As Hickey (2007a: 191) points out, epistemic *must* can be used in the negative in Irish English. Whereas the negation of epistemic *must* is paraphrased by *cannot/can't* in Standard English, *mustn't* can actually mean Standard English 'can't' in Irish English.

There is only one token of epistemic *mustn't* in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, which is uttered by a 94-year-old woman:

133) *But you're, now you're only training, they didn't seem to think that you needed money then or I don't know what. What they thought then. So it* ***mustn't*** *be a good life then either, when you think of it. …* <speaker #11, f94, 00:44:22-5>

Many dialects of English show negative concord or multiple negation. Indeed, it is attested for 80% of all varieties listed in eWAVE, Irish English showing a *B* rating, i.e. multiple negation as in *You've not heard of that nothing?* is *neither pervasive nor extremely rare* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). Filppula (2008a: 82) suggests that multiple negation should be considered a linguistic universal. Examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are given in (135) and (136).

134) *But I find now like, when you go to town, you* ***don't know nobody*** *anymore.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:20:44-8>

135) *No oh I* ***don't do neither****.* <speaker #6, f57, 00:33:45-6>

6.2.10 Prepositions

Irish English has an extensive variety of non-Standard English prepositional usages, which can mostly be explained by substratum influence. One of these is the prepositional phrase *in it.* The structural and semantic features of the preposition *in* resemble those of Irish *i* and *ann*. The structure *to be in it* thus means 'to be there, to be present or existent' (Moylan 1996: 334f; Joyce 1910/ 1979: 25; Odlin 1997: 38f; Filppula 1999: 226ff.). This semantic structure can be seen in the idiom *There's no word of a lie in it*. The phrase reflects the Irish V-S-O syntax: *Níl aon fhocal bréige ann,* 'This is very true' (Henry 1977: 35). This kind of syntactic transfer, or sometimes even direct translation, of prepositional constructions from Irish into English can make meanings unpredictable to non-Irish speakers.

In the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, there are 22 cases of *in it* meaning 'to be there, to be present or existent'. Some examples are given below.

136) *Oh it's just ah I was scratching a table in our in our house and ahm I still don't know how it actually happened because I certainly don't remember doing it but my parents insist as well, there wasn't anybody else* ***in it****, it must have been you, but ah I do remember getting rather upset about it and ah but I do... to this day I maintain my innocence, but . anyway.* <speaker #17, m27, 00:19:54-2>

137) {<KS> *When did you come here?* 00:09:25-5} *Ah, thirty six. Anyway ahm when ahm the people that were here now are dead and gone. And their families are gone. And they have changed the houses into apartments, so there's no family house being left* ***in it.*** <speaker #11, f94, 00:12:06-3>

138) {<KS> *Was it really common when you had your children that mothers went to work? Was that common?* 00:03:58-7} *No no no 'twasn't. Well the jobs weren't* ***in it*** *for a start.* <speaker #9, f71, 00:04:30-1>

6.3 Conclusion

While the majority of the phonological and morpho-syntactic features mentioned in this overview were not analysed quantitatively, it could be shown that a great deal of general Southern Irish English features are also attested in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. At times consultations of the oral questionnaire-style survey data and metalinguistic statements reflecting the speaker's attitudes have helped to illuminate features of Galway English and speakers' attitudes towards them. This overview of general features of Southern Irish English which also occur in the city of Galway, though by no means exhaustive, shows that urban Galway English certainly links in with other accounts of spoken Irish English. It is interesting, and for a researcher certainly reassuring, to note that features that are thought to be restricted to the vernacular, such as T/D-dentalisation (Hickey 2007a: 306), occur in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English, which suggests that one of the main aims of sociolinguistic interviews, i.e. to monitor and investigate the vernacular of the speakers, has been reached.

7 Conclusion

As a sociolinguistic study with additional traditional dialectological aspects (the latter mainly represented in Chapter 6), this study offers new insights into both variation and change in the urban dialect of Galway City. It also provides a detailed description of several typical features of Irish English as found in Galway. One aim of this thesis was to assess and qualify previous findings and claims about Irish English by comparing them with present-day Galway English data. This has been achieved by analysing four phonological and morpho-syntactic features in detail (Chapters 4 and 5) and by sketching other features and supporting them with examples from the Corpus of Spoken Galway English (Chapter 6). Speaker attitudes were highlighted where possible and appropriate.

Furthermore, this thesis aimed at gaining insights into processes of language variation and change in progress. Based on an in-depth analysis with the help of more elaborate statistical methods than have hitherto been used for the investigation of phonological and morpho-syntactic features in Irish English, trends and possible developments of Galway English have been identified and described. In what follows, the principal research findings are briefly summarized. Then, an outlook is given and further interesting fields of research based on the Corpus of Spoken Galway English are suggested.

Summary of research findings

Urban Galway English clearly positions itself in the domain of southern Irish English, which is characterized by unique features, but also by features that figure commonly across many or even most varieties of English. The in-depth investigation of the four features of schwa epenthesis, the raising of low velar vowels in the LOT, THOUGHT and CHOICE lexical sets, existential *there* constructions and the various perfect markers in Irish English brought to light a complex of various trends, sometimes pulling in opposite directions. These can be summarized as follows:

Although schwa epenthesis is (still) a feature of spoken Galway English, it is not particularly frequent, except in the lexical item *film*. For the overall dataset, epenthetic schwa appears to be used less by younger people, which suggests change in progress. The output of logistic regression models shows that schwa epenthesis in Galway English is generally favoured by consonant clusters in coda position or in word-final and in less formal speech styles. For the frequent type *film*, only the variable formality of speech was statistically significant and the epenthesis rate proved to be very high. This indicates that the item *film* might serve as a local or even national identity marker, which ties in with Hickey's (2007a) findings.

The investigation of the low back vowels in the THOUGHT, LOT and CHOICE lexical sets also indicates that the "New Pronunciation" of Dublin (Hickey 2004a, 2005a) is making its way to Galway. There is considerable variation between the more traditional, unrounded realisations and the rounded or/and raised realisations for all lexical sets investigated, but the logit output indicated age to be a highly significant variable, which, again, indicates change in progress. Gender was also often statistically significant, with females tending to lead the trend, echoing Labov's (2001a) findings and principles.

Change in progress is also observed for non-concord in existential *there* constructions with plural referents, which is clearly a feature of spoken Galway English. The statistical logit analysis showed that the variables age, gender, class/education (based on the combined socio-economic score), tense of the copula, and the presence (or absence) of a determiner were statistically significant. Females tend to use concord more than males, i.e. women are more likely to make use of the standard prestige variant. Younger speakers are more likely to use non-concord than older speakers, which hints at ongoing change.

It is striking that even features that were thought to be almost extinct in Irish English were found in the Corpus of Spoken Galway English. An important example is the structure *after* + NP for the *after*-perfect, which generally has an *after* + V-*ing* structure. Seven instances of the *after*-perfect were found in the informal speech section of the interviews, and several more instances of prompted use were noted in the oral survey-section of the interviews. All other Irish English perfect markers, mentioned in the literature on Irish English, were also present in the Corpus of Spoken Galway

English. Interestingly, the standard *have*-perfect seems to be used considerably more frequently in present-day urban Galway English than in Filppula's (1999) data, which were based on older rural speakers. Thus, the trend seems to hint towards an increasing use of standard *have*-perfects, at least in urban speech, with the traditional Irish English perfect markers also holding their own.

A broad variety of phonological and morpho-syntactic features of spoken Galway English were briefly investigated, some quantitatively, but the majority qualitatively with illustrations from the corpus. These data analyses clearly showed that at least some speakers lapsed into their vernacular during the interviews, as was the goal of the empirical design: Features such as T/D-palatalisation before /r/ were observed in the corpus data, which according to Hickey (2007a) only occur in vernacular varieties. Other features such as the habitual *do be*, which is said to bear a certain stigma (Filppula 2008a), or the frequent usage of the definite article in positions where Standard English features a zero article, were also used by Galwegians. For some features, speaker statements and quantitative data from the oral questionnaire-style survey part helped to indicate a development of the feature or to assess the frequency of usage, albeit often based on very low numbers. Therefore, these descriptive statistics have to be interpreted cautiously.

The retention of distinctive Irish English features also among younger urban speakers, such as the *after*-perfect, might point to their covert prestige within the Galwegian speech community. Sociolinguists including Chambers (1995: 221) claim that "[i]f there are social pressures that promote standard dialects, there must also be counter-pressures favoring the local, the informal and the vernacular in speech." Whereas the spoken standard stresses qualities attached to status such as intelligence, education, ambition and success, regional and non-standard speech contrastingly transmits qualities connected with solidarity, e.g. kindness, likeability, friendliness and goodness (Chambers 1995: 225). As Chambers (1995: 226) puts it, "the local accent goes right to the heart". This distinction between (national and regional or local) solidarity-stressing and status-stressing might help to explain why some distinctive features of Irish English are retained in the speech of almost all informants whereas others have been dispensed with by the younger speakers.

Remarks on methodology

The sociolinguistic interviews have proven to be a valuable source for language analysis. Moreover, the transcribed corpus offers an easily accessible urban dialect database which can be searched for occurrences and also for non-occurrences of a certain feature (Schreier 2013: 21). The fieldwork itself including data collection was very fruitful and the informants generally seemed to be at ease during the interviews. In total, 79 interviews were conducted. This facilitated the creation of a rather balanced speaker sample according to the judgement sample method with 35 speakers. Such sample sizes are common in variationist studies (see e.g. Jansen 2012; Rosen 2014) and also reduce the time-consuming task of transcription to a manageable proportion.

The fact that I had lived in Galway for some time before embarking on the study and had been to the city several times between 1996 and 2007 was a decisive advantage during the data collection process. As Schreier (2013: 24) points out, fieldworkers "need to have as much information as possible on the community investigated". Moreover, spending a comparably generous amount of time with the speakers and sometimes getting to know their housing situation and becoming acquainted with their families allows insights into their habits and attitudes, which can inform the interpretation of language use to a significant degree. This qualitative aspect is certainly a benefit for any linguistic study: Getting to know the participants opens up new perspectives on data interpretation, such as ascribing socio-economic background scores or detecting possible traces of hypercorrection (see e.g. Chapter 6). After data collection, a minimax strategy is advisable. Data from balanced gender, age, and socio-economic subsets should be transcribed successively before venturing to higher numbers of interviews. New technology with improved speech recognition software is certainly a promising development for future sociolinguistic research.

The data analysis and interpretation charted new territory by applying advanced statistics with multivariate logit models, which allowed the influence of several variables to be considered simultaneously and made it possible to pinpoint precisely which factors are statistically significant for the feature under investigation. The statistical approach is today valued

highly by many linguists. For example, Gries (2013: 361) states that the use of quantitative methods "situates the field of linguistics more firmly in the domain of social sciences and cognitive science to which, I think, it belongs." For future studies, the mixed effects model with speakers as random effects seems promising and likely to generate still more reliable and falsifiable results.

Outlook

The overview in Chapter 6 shows that the Corpus of Spoken Galway English offers an Eldorado for further sociolinguistic research on the urban dialect of Galway. Lexical features, for instance, have not been analysed at all in this study. The speech of the informants was laced with Gaelicisms, words that are archaic or obsolete in Standard English (see e.g. Bliss 1984; Dolan 1998; Moylan 1996) and examples of code-switching, which might be an interesting field to look at in future studies, as passages such as the following indicate:

> *… but he started shoutin' in the swimmin' pool, I see a* ***féileacán*** *mammy. I see a* ***féileacán****. And I was, where where where? And all the the children were goin', what's he talkin' about. And I was goin', he sees a butterfly. And they were all, that's not a* ***féileacán****, that's a butterfly. I said, but it's* ***féileacán*** *in Irish* <speaker #13, f38, 00:22:04-6>.

Considering the fact that parts of Galway City are officially located in the Gaeltacht and that rural areas of the Connemara Gaeltacht are located immediately adjacent to the City, the question of current language contact in Galway would certainly merit further investigation. Whereas for the present study limited knowledge of Irish grammar categories and vocabulary was sufficient, such a task would require a fieldworker with (near-)native competence in Connemara Irish.

The question as to what constitutes Standard Irish English seems also promising for a more thorough investigation. An analysis of the interview section in which informants discussed the role of Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) newsreaders and their language, i.e. the presenters on the Irish national broadcasting channel, might shed light on attitudes towards a perceived standard of Irish English. In this context, an analysis of individual speakers in terms of Hickey's vernacular vs. standard continuum and a comparison with their personal background should also prove useful. The spread of

other features of the Dublin "New Pronunciation" is also an interesting area for future research. Transcription and subsequent analysis of the remaining interviews that were recorded in Galway in the summer of 2007 would enlarge the corpus, which would lead to more reliable statistical results and to an even broader representation of Galway speakers.

One final note

Conducting sociolinguistic interviews in Galway was actually a great adventure, and the participants were incredibly nice. I am very grateful to the Galwegians who contributed to the Corpus of Spoken Galway English and who provided me so kindly with insights into their lives and into their attitudes. The final scenes of two interviews sum up the friendliness and the politeness of the informants. After an interview in her own house lasting for more than two hours, speaker #16, a 44-year-old woman, asked:

Is that it? 02:08:10-4

{<KS> *Yes. Why, do you have more things to tell?* 02:08:15-1}

I can talk, no, I I explain it to you this way, I can talk forever. Ever and ever. 02:08:32-8

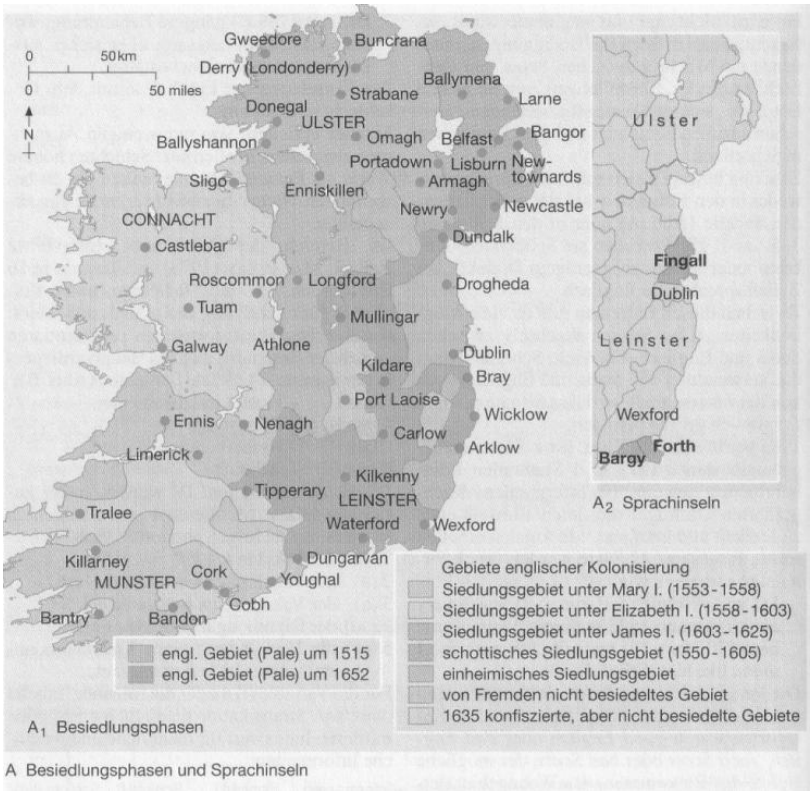
And after a spontaneous interview that lasted almost an hour in a café in the city centre, speaker #35, a 78-year-old male, concluded:

Well I enjoyed, I enjoyed havin' a chat as well as to meet a nice pleasant woman. 00:55:22-1

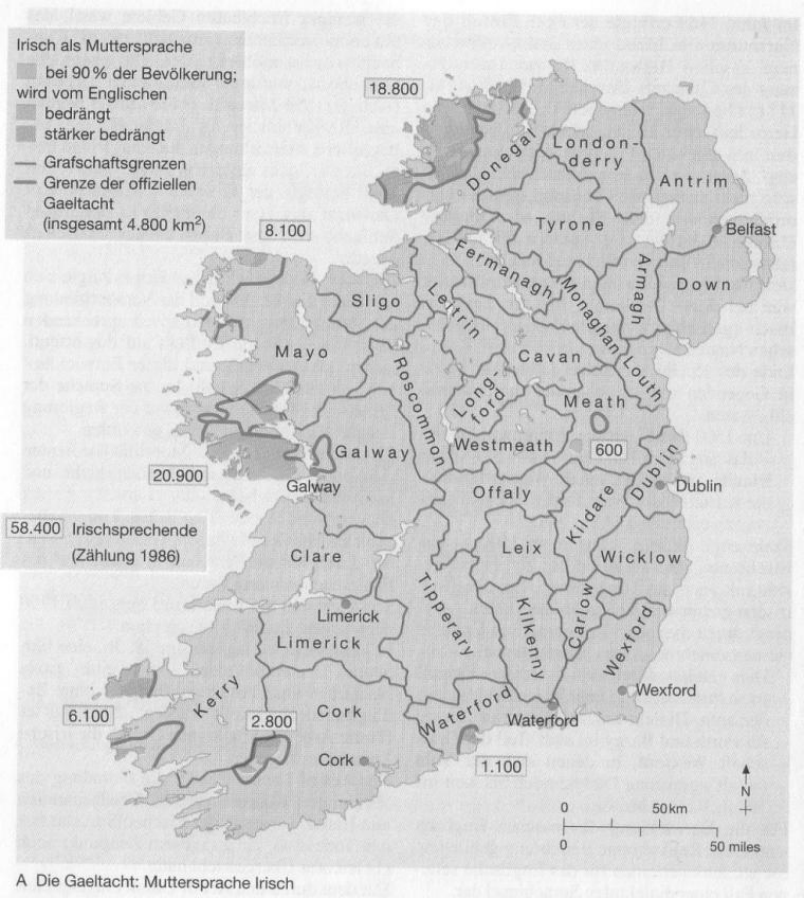
Today, I am still in contact with several of my informants and I surely will pop in for a cup of tea during my next stay in Galway.

8 Appendix

Section 1 Maps



Map 1: Periods of settlement in Ireland, the area around Dublin called the Pale' and the baronies of Bargy, Forth and Fingall. Map taken from Viereck/ Viereck/ Ramisch (2002: 136; graphic designer Werner Wildermuth).



A Die Gaeltacht: Muttersprache Irisch

Map 2: The Irish Gaeltachtaí. Map taken from Viereck/ Viereck/ Ramisch (2002: 138; graphic designer Werner Wildermuth).

Section 2 Interview schedule: Guideline questions

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Guideline Questions

A Sociolinguistic Approach to Irish English

(Adapted from Labov 1973 and Tagliamonte 2005)

Revised Bamberg, June 2007

This interview schedule is adapted from the original (Labov 1973) and is mainly based on Tagliamonte's revised version (2005). Tagliamonte's original interview schedule has been subject to a series of subsequent revisions (Poplack 1989, Poplack & Tagliamonte 1991, Tagliamonte 1997, Tagliamonte 1999, 2005). Furthermore, the interview schedule has been adapted to Irish conditions.

As Tagliamonte states, "(t)he modules are ordered more or less in the order of a typical interview; however, modules are suggestive rather than obligatory. Wherever possible the questions have been worded with ethic, gender and other sensitivities in mind and the wording is somewhat generic so as to be modifiable for the relevant age group and neighbourhood. It is important to mention that cultures and settings differ dramatically from one another. The analyst must be supremely sensitive to the selection and wording of interview questions.

Double starred questions are those that have a history of being particularly good for eliciting narratives of personal experience, stories about a person's life."

(www.cambridge.org/resources/0521771153/ 2846_APPENDIX%20B.pdf, 12.04.07)

Some of Tagliamonte's questions have been omitted, others have been added or adapted to Irish cultural and political conditions.

OBLIGATORY PART:

DEMOGRAPHICS

Remark Tagliamonte: "Note: Although this module comes first in the Interview Schedule, I have found that these questions are best interwoven into the interview situation rather than asked at the outset. Once the interview is drawing to completion, use this module to fill in information that has not been elicited naturally in the course of conversation."

- Your name is?
- And your address is?
- How long have you lived at that address?
- Where were you born?
- Where did you grow up?
- Where else have you lived?
- Where were your parents born and raised?
- Your grand parents?
- Your spouse?
- Are you working now? Where? Full time or part time?
- What did/do your parents do?
- Your husband/wife? Full time or part time?
- How many years of school did you have a chance to finish?
- Do you have any degrees?
- What was the first job you had when you left school?
- If you are not at the informant's home:
- Can you tell me about your home/apartment?
- What kind of place is it? How is it laid out?
- Can you speak Irish?
- Do you speak Irish daily within the educational system? Daily outside the educational system? Weekly? Less often? Never? (cf. Census)

NEIGHBOURHOOD

- This is such a nice/interesting neighbourhood! How long have you been living here?
- What kind of people live on your street? In this area?
- What made your parents [you] move here? Because of work?
- Does your father [mother] work far away? How long does it take them to get there?
- How has your neighbourhood changed in your lifetime?
- Do you feel that your neighbourhood is as safe as it was when you were growing up? Why or why not?
- Do you lock the front door nowadays? Have you always locked the door?
- Is this the kind of neighbourhood where people talk to each other?
- Do you know any of your neighbours? What are they like?
- Some people say that nowadays everybody's just too busy to just stop by to chat. What do you think?
- Why do you think that has changed?
- Is there anyone around here you know well enough, just to walk in?
- Who would invite you in for coffee, just for a chat?
- Do people from around here drop by to visit?
- Is there any neighbourhood place where people get together?
- Are there people you'd like to spend more time with but can't?
- Why don't you see them so much anymore?
- What do you like best about your neighbourhood? What are the things that make you feel good/bad about your neighbourhood?
- Do you have anyone you can go to for help around here? If you need help, who do you go to?
- Do you have anyone who you help around here? What do you do?
- Do you ever get fruit or vegetables from your neighbours? Do you ever give fruit or vegetables to your neighbours?
- If you're sick who can you ask to look after the family?
- Do you have to ask? Or do people just offer?
- Have your children ever stayed with anyone else in the community?

* GALWAY

- Is there anything that you particularly like about Galway?
- Did anything really big ever happen around here that you remember?
- Like a big fire? Or a house burned down? Or a murder?
- Where? Did you see it?
- Did people in the neighbourhood help out? With food, clothes, place to stay?
- What about accidents or police investigations?
- ** Were you in Galway when you first heard about the polluted water?
- How did you hear about it?
- How did it affect you and your family? Your neighbourhood? Was anybody sick and sent to hospital?
- Did the local council pay for the bottled water that had to replace tap water? Or did you receive any refunds?
- Did the shops have enough water supply?
- What do you think about the smoking ban? How has it changed going out?
- Do you prefer smoke-free pubs or do you miss the smokey atmosphere?
- Did you stop smoking yourself? How about friends or family members?
- Have you heard that they are thinking about introducing the ban in other European countries as well? Would you support that?

PARENTS AND FAMILY

- Do you have any idea how long your family has been living in this town?
- Where did they come from?
- ** Do you remember coming to this neighbourhood? Tell me about it.
- What kind of upbringing did you have?
- What kind of child were you when you were growing up?

- Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?
- Did you have any rules about when you had to be in at night?
- What happened when you stayed out late?
- Did you ever get caught sneaking out of the house? Why?
    - What did you do then? Did you go to the dances?
- If you got into trouble with your parents could you talk to them?
- Which parent would you choose to talk to? Why?
- What sort of person is your father?
- What is your mother like?
- What bothers you most about your mother/father?
- Did your parents have any ideas about what they wanted you to be?
- How far did they want you to go in school?
- How far did you get a chance to complete?
- Do you have siblings? How many?
- How did being the youngest/oldest/in the middle affect the way you were treated?
- Do you feel that your siblings got away with things that you never did or did you get away with things that they didn't?
    - What kind of things?
- Did you get on well with your brothers and sisters or did you fight a lot?
    - How about now?
- **Do/Did you ever play tricks on your sister/brother?
- What's the worst thing you ever did? Funniest thing you ever did?
- Did you ever go on holidays as a family?
    - Where would you go? How would you get there?
- Did you get on well with each other while you were on holidays?
- **Have you ever been really embarrassed by something your parents/siblings said or did?
    - What happened? How did you react?
    - How would you comment the situation looking back now?

WORK LIFE

- What was your very first job?
- How old were you when you started to work?
    - Can you remember how much you earned? Was that a lot then? How much would it be in Euros?
    - Do you remember what you wanted to spend your hard-earned money on? Were you excited?
- What did your parents do to earn a living?
- Do young people feel the same way about working as they did in your day?
- What did your parents want you to do for a living?
- What do you do? Do you work full-time?
- What would you like to do?
- If you're married, what does your partner do to earn a living? Does he work a lot?
- Has the Celtic Tiger made a big difference to life in Ireland? Did it affect your and your family's life?
- Do you think that Ireland has become more expensive?
    - Is it still manageable?
- How about house prices or rents in Galway? In the countryside?

FOLK REMEDIES

- Did people go to doctors in the olden days? Do you go to the doctor when you're sick?
- I've heard people say that in the olden days, people relied on traditional medicines and natural remedies, do you remember that?
- What kinds of remedies do you remember/have you heard of?
- Did you put *capógs* on nettle stings? Do you know about *the 7th son of a 7th son*? Do you know anyone with a cure for something, e.g. burns? Holy wells?
- What do you do to prevent colds/flu? Do you believe in Hot Whiskey? Is that what you call it? (*Hot Toddy*) What do you do when you get sick? Are you into homeopathy?

SCHOOL DAYS

- Did you go to one of the schools around here?
- How far is/was it from your house?
- How did you get to school?
- What was the school house like when you went to school?
- Was it a Catholic school? With single sex education? What did you think about that?
- How many students used to go?
- When did schools finish in the afternoon?
- Did you have lunch at school? Was it provided for free or did you have to pay? Did you like the food?
- What subjects did you take?
- What was your favourite subject? Least favourite subject? Why?
- What were teachers like when you were at school?
- Were they very strict?
- Were the teachers then better than the teachers today?
- Can you remember any trouble-makers at school? What did they do?
    - How about you, were you a trouble-maker in school?
- What kinds of things did you do?
- How were trouble-makers disciplined?
- Did you wear a uniform for school?
- If yes, what did it look like? What did the boys/girls wear?
    - If no, what did you wear? How does that compare to how children dress for school now?
- Did you ever pass notes in school?
- Did a teacher ever catch you passing notes? What happened?
- Did you have any teachers that were really tough?
- Have you ever had a teacher who was a real weirdo? A strange lad? Crazy?
- Have you ever had a teacher who was really fair? Who you liked?
- What was the worst thing you ever saw a teacher do to a kid? Or a kid do to a teacher?
- Did you ever cog in an exam?
- **Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?
- How have schools changed?

- Do you have mixed schools rather than single sex education in Galway? When did that change/ will it change?

BIRTHDAYS

- When is your birthday?
- Are there any down sides to having your birthday when it is? e.g. too close to Christmas, school is out for summer, weather tends to be bad
- ** What was the best birthday party you've ever had? What happened?
- Has anyone ever held a surprise birthday party for you? Who did it? Were you really surprised or did you pretend?
- Has anyone ever forgotten your birthday?
- Did you ever have sleep-over parties?
- Did you get in trouble for talking all night?
- What did your parents do when you wouldn't go to sleep?
- ** What's the most fun you ever had at a sleep over?

TRAVEL

- Have you had the opportunity to travel?
- Where did you go? How long? Did anything interesting happen?
- Many people experience problems when they are at airports, has this ever happened to you? *e.g. missing bags, delays/cancellations, missing a flight, communication problems etc*
- Have you ever had any funny moments in any of your travels because of language?
- Did you ever lose your luggage? Miss a plane?
- Where would you like to go that you've never been to? Why?
- **What's the funniest/scariest thing that ever happened to you when you were travelling?

UNCOMMON EXPERIENCES

- When people think back on their lives, there's always something that sticks out as being really unusual … did you ever have anything like that happen to you?
- Have you ever witnessed a terrible accident or tragic event? What happened? Did you try to help?
- Have you ever been to the hospital? How long? What for?
- Sometimes in families there's someone who gets a feeling that something is going to happen, and it does happen. Is there anybody like that in your family?
- Are you superstitious? Are there things you would/wouldn't give as a present? E.g. knives (separates friendship), bread and salt, entering and leaving through the same door#
- Would you ever use a Ouija board?
- Was there ever something that happened that you couldn't explain?
- Were there any spooky places you wouldn't go at night?
- Does it bother you when people talk about ghosts?
- **Do you know anyone who has seen a ghost?
- Have you ever had a 'near death' experience?
- What happened?
- Did it change you?

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS

- **Where were you when you heard that _____? What did you do?
- How did _____ affect you and your family?
- e.g. World War II ended; Bloody Sunday; Ireland beat England in Euro88 in Stuttgart/ in 1990 in Italy (quarter final); Diana's death; 9/11

LANGUAGE

- Have you noticed any interesting things about the way people speak around here?
- A lot of people think that English has changed a lot/is changing a lot, do you think so?
- Have you noticed any changes in the way people talk and sound around here?
- Can you tell by the way people talk whether they come from here?
- Do people in this neighbourhood sound different?
- How about the difference between old and young speakers? Do you sound the same as your parents? Do your parents sound the same as you? Do your children?
- Do you think that your background plays a role in how people sound? How? Why?
- Do you speak the same way as your friends? What kinds of differences do you notice?
- Has anyone ever told you, you sound different? Why?
- Do you sound different from your parents? Why? What kinds of words do you use that other people don't use?
- Have you ever tried to change the way you talk? Why? What did you do?
- What do you think about, let's say, RTÈ-speakers? Do they sound very Irish to you?
- Have you ever seen a film set in Ireland in which a foreign actor uses an Irish accent? Do you remember the best and the worst accent? What makes it good or bad?
- Has anyone ever given you a hard time about the way you talk? What did they say? What did you think about that? What did you do about it?
- Do you think that how you sound plays a role in how others perceive you?
- Do you think that you try to change how you sound when you are in certain environments? Which ones? Why?
- What do you think about the way that young people today sound?
- What has changed? What hasn't?

OPTIONALS:

FIGHTS/ARGUMENTS

- Have you ever witnessed a fight? Where was it? What was it about?
- Do you ever have fights around here? How do they start?
- Do girls fight around here?
- Did you ever get into a fight with a girl/guy?
- Do you remember getting into an argument with someone? Who was it with? What was it about?
- How did you resolve your differences? How did it all turn out?

MARRIAGE/PARTNERS

- How did you meet your wife/husband/partner?
- How long do you know her/him?
- Why did you decide to get married?
- How did the marriage proposal happen?
- Can you remember what you said?
- Can you remember how your wife/husband reacted?
- There must have been a time when you didn't know you were going to get married, and then a time when you did? How did that happen?
- What was your wedding like? Did anything funny/interesting happen?
- [What would be your dream wedding? Who would you invite/ not invite? Would you hire a wedding planner?]
- Did her [his] parents approve of you? [If so] Why? [If not] Why not?
- Did you ever live with your in-laws after you got married?
- How did that work out?
- Tell me about your first house/flat together?
- Who chose it? Where was it?
- Were you excited? How long did you live there?

GAMES

- Going back to the time when you were a child, ten, twelve years old, what were some of the games you used to play?
- What did you do after school to keep yourself occupied?
- Did you play sports? Were you on any sports teams?
- What were your favourite games?
- How do you play them here? What are the rules? e.g. hide-and-seek, blind man's buff, chasing, tag/tig, Red Rover, murder in the dark, red lights
- Is there a game where everybody lines up and runs past one guy and that guy tries to catch them?
- What did you call that? How did you play? *e.g. Red Rover, British Bulldog*
- How do you decide who's IT?
- Did boys and girls play different types of games?
- How about adults, did they ever play any games? *e.g. whist, poker, bridge*
- Did you ever play a game where somebody stands on a hill and you have to rush up and push them off?
- Was there a rhyme you used to sing? e.g. I'm the king of the castle and you're the dirty rascal
- Did/Do you skip?
- What rhymes did you use? Do you remember any? *e.g. tinker, tailor…all in together…*
- Did you play any clapping games?
- Did you have a favourite toy?
- Who gave it to you?
- What was the occasion?

Section 3 Questions of the survey-style questionnaire part

- What do you call a little girl? >> ***girleen*** / do you use this in a positive or negative sense? What is the difference to little girl?
- "Your daughter/sister/wife is giving birth to a baby." This has just happened. What do you say when you want to tell your friends about this? >> ***She's after having a baby***.
- Can you count up to ten, please?
- Do you know another word for fool or idiot? >> ***eejit, omadán***
- What would you say if you wanted to say hello to two friends of yours? >> ***How are ye/ youse?***
- "A young man is getting shot out there." This has just happened. What do you say when you want to tell your friends about this?
- You finish your dinner when a friend comes in. What would you say if she asked you what you've been doing?
- Please put the following questions into indirect speech, i.e. starting the sentence with 'I wonder …'
- Is the weather nice? >> I wonder is the weather nice. / past tense: I wondered was the weather nice.
- When will you be back? >> I wonder when will you be back.

Section 4 Reading passage

Ahern confirms plan to increase number of junior ministers

by Patrick Logue

Taoiseach Bertie Ahern has confirmed he will increase the number of junior ministries by up to three when he announces the posts this week.

Speaking during a radio interview this afternoon Mr Ahern said he would not be appointing any independent TDs to Minister of State positions, which are

expected to be announced on Tuesday. He did, however, confirm that acting Green Party leader Trevor Sargent would be given a junior ministry. …

Mr Ahern said there would be “two or three” new junior ministries created. “I am going to designate people to functions. It is my view we get far better value and far better functioning and far better progress like this.” …

http://www.ireland.com/newspaper/breaking/2007/0617/breaking23.htm,m; slightly adapted (some passages have been omitted / some sentences have been transformed into indirect speech)

Section 5 Word list and minimal pair list

milk

hill

farm

film

pen

bus

cow

nut

seven

eight

nine

ten

day

Monday

Tuesday

say

discipline

committee

the hospital

hit – hid

ant – aunt

bull – ball

which – witch

goat – boat

silly – hilly

press – dress

pen – pin

hate – bait

grand – grant

luck – look

witch – which

stock – stuck

three – tree

faiths – fates

go – showed

way – wave

fate – laid

Section 6 Excerpts of interview transcripts

Speaker #2, female, 34 years of age

(…)

{<&> <KS> Would it be possible to work full time with a child at home or is that still really difficult because I think that the creche facilities are are becoming better but they 're not perfect in any way <#> 00:29:02-7 }

<&> <#2> I... no no it 's not no no it 's not you <#> The . I when I decided to go back to college as I said [name of child omitted for publication, K.S.] was five months when the college year was starting <#> So I did what every other mother does <,> ring around the creches <#> I either got hit with waiting lists and you have to remember I 'm not allowed drive because of my diabetes <#> So it had to be within a walking distance of the college and I rang different creches and I ... even a woman that my father and brother do work for I rang her but she did n't take children into her creche until they were two <#> Ahm now she 's since changed that but was no good to me <#> I was in tears and I the only offer that I had got was from a nutcase that looked after kids and I certainly wasn 't puttin' my child into her care <#> But that was the only option I had at one point <#> Until my mother got on the whole because we 're living in Galway so long we know a lot of people and word of mouth went around and I got a child minder <#> You know that 's ho... that was how I got it <#> But I would n't like to be from outside Galway trying to find childcare because you either get hit with waiting lists <,> astronomical prices ahm one childminder I interviewed told me that I would have to pick my child up at five o 'clock because she was finished at five o 'clock and the child would not be kept past five o 'clock and I went <,> well I have a lecture on a Wednesday 'til six o 'clock <,> what am I goin' to do <?> And my childminder the when I she 's actually down the road from my childminder and now when I went up to my childminder she went <,> well if you 're there 'til six o 'clock there 's nothing we can do about that <#> So I 'll keep your child and I 'll look after her <#> And she has been fantastic <#> I

mean she 's been so accommodating and then but it works both ways <#> But it 's slowly improving but I think personally at a snail 's pace <#> But then again I suppose you can 't rush these things either <#> Ahm there definitely isn 't enough childcare places ah I definitely think that as a single parent to go back into the workforce the government do n't make it easy <#>They make it very difficult because while you they all... all goes back to <,> oh you get the childcare allowance <#> Are you not happy with that <?> 00:31:47-4

Speaker #11, female, aged 94

(…)

<&> <#11> Get money <,> yeah <#> But you 're <,> now you 're only training <,> they didn 't seem to think that you needed money then or I don 't know what <#> What they thought then <#> So it must n't be a good life then either <,> when you think of it <#> Doin' that wrong <#> To expect just to pay money to start to work and then get little wages and pay something back to them <,> us too <#> That was wrong <,> too <,> now so life wasn 't all that great then either <#> So <,> they had to go because if they didn 't go they 'd have bad wage and ah long hours like my husband had and like every other husband had <#> Long hours and hard work and all that type of thing <#> But <,> like <,> they did it and there was no end in sight <#> But now that we have our own way of going <,> we should have a better method <#> But however <,> they 're calling for nurses now here like they were calling for them in England then <#> But someb... of our friends <,> my daughter's friends <,> said <,> don 't be waitin' for them <,> she says <,> she 'd send her a brochure <,> a couple of them <,> send her loads of brochures <#> She would pick any hospital <#> And they said <,> come on over <,> don 't be waitin' for them to [unintelligible] <#> So come on over <,> and she got the job right away <#> She started <#> So this was it <,> you see <,> it was easier you got there <#> So when she went the next moment <,> the next moment

and even though bec... <,> and I didn 't mind <,> honestly <#> Now while I love Ireland but I didn 't mind them going because if they 're only treated badly and get a poor wage and be strugglin' all their time <,> I didn 't like it here <#> I said <,> I don 't mind you goin' if you do better and they did <#> And they did <,> they 're great <#> Every one of them <#> So <,> two of them went nursing <,> one is doing accountancy <,> and one is <,> has a homoeopathy shop <,> alternative medicine <#> 00:44:22-5

{<&> <KS> Yeah <#> 00:44:23-9 }

<&> <#11> Business clients and [name omitted for publication, K.S.] <,> the boy that was the priest <,> he 's a teacher <#> That 's it <#> 00:44:31-2

{<&> <KS> They 're all doing grand <#> 00:44:29-4 }

<&> <#11> They 're doing grand <,> yeah <#> 00:44:31-6

{<&> <KS> Do you see your grandchildren often <?> 00:44:33-7 }

<&> <#11> Oh <,> I do <#> And ah I went over for my eightieth <#> Do you remember the time that they couldn 't start the grand national <,> that 's the grand national race in England <#> You don 't have that same feeling about the grand national that we do <#> Well ahm the grand national is the race <,> the horse racing of the year <,> that race <,> the grand national <#> Anyway ahm I was in the house <,> in my son 's house <,> [name of son omitted for publication, K.S.]'s house <,> when [name omitted for publication, K.S.] 's husband came <,> [name omitted for publication, K.S.] <,> and he said <,> come on [name omitted for publication, K.S.] <,> we have to go <,> [name omitted for publication, K.S.] 's at the hotel <#> And I said <,> I want to see this race <,> they couldn 't start <#> Three times they tried to start it and it failed them <#> There were no race that year <#> 00:45:19-9

Section 7 Background information informants

speaker #	gender	age	socio-economic score[150]	knowledge of Irish[151]
1	female	59	4	1
2	female	34	7	0.5
3	female	25	8	2
4	female	21	6	1
5	female	21	5	1
6	female	57	2	0
7	female	86	2	1.5
8	female	25	6	1
9	female	71	5	1
10	female	50	7	1.5
11	female	94	3	1.5
12	female	22	5	1
13	female	38	6	1
14	female	49	8	0
15	female	53	8	1
16	female	44	8	0
17	male	27	6	1
18	male	63	5	0.5
19	male	22	4	2
20	male	26	6	1.5
21	male	64	6	2
22	male	25	8	1
23	male	54	8	1
24	male	24	8	1
25	male	57	7	1

[150] i.e. education score + score base on Goldthorpe schema

[151] 0=(almost) no Irish, hardly ever spoken; 1=a bit, sometimes; 2=fluent, often; based on speaker's self-assessment

26	male	70	8	1.5
27	male	24	5	0
28	male	46	6	1
29	male	70	5	2
30	male	25	7	0
31	male	67	8	1.5
32	male	18	6	0.5
33	male	50	7	1
34	male	21	6	1
35	male	78	6	1

Table 40: Background information on and classification of the informants

Female speakers	Total number of tokens	Number of tokens with concord	Male speakers	Total number of tokens	Number of tokens with concord
speaker #1 f59	25	18	speaker #17 m27	10	9
speaker #2 f34	11	0	speaker #18 m63	15	7
speaker #3 f25	11	0	speaker #19 m22	29	2
speaker #4 f21	11	3	speaker #20 m26	11	0
speaker #5 f21	23	9	speaker #21 m64	8	4
speaker #6 f57	9	0	speaker #22 m25	15	3
speaker #7 f86	5	2	speaker #23 m54	27	16
speaker #8 f25	9	2	speaker #24 m24	12	2
speaker #9 f71	17	12	speaker #25 m57	22	6
speaker #10 f50	19	18	speaker #26 m70	36	7
speaker #11 f94	19	10	speaker #27 m24	16	1
speaker #12 f22	13	1	speaker #28 m46	20	4
speaker #13 f38	8	4	speaker #29 m70	32	8
speaker #14 f49	21	0	speaker #30 m25	17	1
speaker #15 f53	29	17	speaker #31 m67	14	6
speaker #16 f44	19	3	speaker #32 m18	5	1
			speaker #33 m50	4	3
			speaker #34 m21	20	2
			speaker #35 m78	28	22

Table 41: Speakers and their use of concord in existential *there* constructions.

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