What grammatical features are more marked in Hiberno-English?: a survey of speakers’ awareness and its primary details

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1. Introduction

There are a series of grammatical features that characterise Hiberno-English (HE) and Irish varieties of English, as distinct from Standard English (StE). Some of these features seem to be becoming obsolescent while others seem to be maintained in contemporary vernaculars. This paper starts with my basic assumption that HE speakers are aware of the extra-linguistic meanings of certain morphosyntactic forms and that this awareness may be a motivating force for contemporary changes in HE; this assumption gives the reason for and the design of the survey to be presented in this paper.

Speakers of Southwest Hiberno-English (SwHE), which refers to the southwest varieties of HE spoken in the counties Cork and Kerry, are in many cases aware of what are supposed to be Standard patterns of speech and of linguistic characteristics that may represent Irishness. The former is called ‘awareness of “Standard”’, and the latter ‘awareness of “Irishness”’. The awareness of “Irishness” and “Standard” is partly discussed by Shimada (2007b) while the awareness has not been fully described with the substantial data. In the present paper, speakers’ socio-linguistic awareness of certain grammatical features and lexical items will be described by the data mainly taken from the survey that I conducted in 2006 in Cork and Listowel, County Kerry, along with general introductions of the respective salient grammatical features in SwHE and the speakers’ comments obtained during my fieldwork sessions.

2. A survey: method and design

Respondents were asked to choose the sentences, from twenty six sentences listed in the opposite page, that applied to the five statements: <1> which they would use themselves; <2> which they would not use on any occasion including when they are talking with their family and friends; <3> which they cannot

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\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) This paper is a revised version of Chapter 5 in my dissertation (Shimada 2007a).

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Elisabeth Okasha in University College Cork for her encouragement and practical comments, which I received on a number of occasions before and after conducting the survey in 2006. The present study has been supported by respondents to my interviews and all those who filled in the questionnaire in Cork and Listowel. I am thankful for all the co-operation that I have gained in the field and especially acknowledge my Irish friends, Elsie Harris, Emmet Stones, Patricia and David Clifford, Mary Keane, and Mary, Ger, Brian and Laurie O’Connour. The survey could not have been achieved without their extraordinary support. This paper is part of the project entitled the Study of Hiberno-English in the Context of World Englishes, which is supported by JSPS (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research B.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) This assumption, presented primarily in Shimada (2006b) has been obtained from my fieldwork since 2002, especially through participant observation. The observation captures “Irishness” and “Standard” as socio-linguistically significant categories. Shimada (2007b: 302-3) addresses the interface between “Irishness” and “Standard”, considering what kind of emotions and experiences these categories are associated with.
understand the meaning of; <4> which they think contain “bad grammar”; and <5> which they think show “Irishness”. This method was adopted, since we can then see the markedness of the listed features in the speakers’ awareness, compared with the counter-method where they would have to judge each sentence under the given five indexes. This method actually has the secondary benefit of revealing the speakers’ attitudes. For example, some respondents chose more numbers in <1> than in <2> and other respondents did the reverse.

The twenty six sentences listed in the questionnaire were chosen to contain a selection of the salient grammatical feature of SwHE. In the questionnaire the sentences are presented in randomly order. The categorised version is given below. See Appendix I for the sheet.

A. Unmarked sentence
   a. She takes three plates from the cupboard.
B. Non-canonical constituent order
   b1. From the cupboard she takes three plates.
   b2. Taking three plates she is.
C. Cleft-like sentence
   c1. It is from the cupboard that I take three plates.
   c2. 'Tis lovely she is.
   c3. It is lovely that she is.
D. There... sentence
   d1. There's no one can deny it.
   d2. I knew there was good news in you.
   d3. There was a great housekeeper lost in you.
E. Do be V-ing/ AdjP form
   e1. I do be taking three plates from the cupboard.
   e2. She does be lovely with her long hair.
F. Be after V-ing/ NP sentence
   f1. I am after taking three plates from the cupboard.
   f2. Tom is after his supper.
G. So-called perfect sentences
   g1. They are visiting here many years.
   g2. My sons have visited there for many years.
H. Cliticisation
   h1. We’ll visit here tomorrow.
   h2. The two of us’ll take three plates from the cupboard.
   h3. You’ve the name of a good employer.
   h4. Amn't I like a scarecrow?
   h5. Twouldn’t be a good thing.
I. “Non-standard” usage
   i1. She take three plates from the cupboard.
   i2. She been taking them home ever since.
   i3. I asked for today’s special and she putting plates on the table.
J. Lexical items
   j1. How’s the craic?
   j2. That amadán put eggs in my bag.
   j3. Don’t be cnamhshealing!

The feature-based categories for examination were based on the Keane corpus, and with general reference to Filppula 1999 for grammatical features of the southern HE dialect and to Dolan ed. 1999 for the lexical items. The individual sentences were carefully constructed, with particular attention to the num-

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(3) The Keane corpus, made by the present author, consists of the examples from John B. Keane’s 1928-2002 playscripts and letter series. He is known as a major Irish writer who has written many successful plays and books (Smith and Hickey 2002). The following is the list of his woks cited in this paper, headed with their abbreviations: SIV Sive 1959, SRG Sharon’s Grave 1960, HHM The Highest House on the Mountain 1961, MYM Many Young Men of Twenty 1961, FLD The Field 1966, STD Letters of a Successful TD 1967, RES The Rain at the End of Summer 1968, CHT The Chastitute 1981.
bering of the sentences in the questionnaire. They had to be not very idiomatic but imaginable or producible so that the morphosyntactic aspects could be highlighted by the respondents when they give their judgements. A couple of sentences were replaced and altered after the pilot survey in order to avoid factors that might interfere with their straight judgement of the morphosyntactic features being examined. For instance, the pilot version included an unmarked sentence "a‘

"a‘ She takes three plates from the dresser.

This sentence, however, was judged by informants as “Irish”, contrary to my expectation, because of the use of the word “dresser”. This word sounded “Irish” to some speakers. The sentence "a‘ was then altered into "a

"a She takes three plates from the cupboard.

The main concern in making use of this example was how this syntactic form is recognised by speakers, not the lexicon. Thus, the neutral or less-culture-oriented word “cupboard” was employed instead of “dresser” or “press”. Actually, one respondent gave the following sentence “a” in his note of “what we would say”:

“a” She took three plates off the press. [Listowel, born in 1950s, male]

His answer to the “use” question Q1 nevertheless, included "a As far as the results of the questionnaire are concerned, the aim of having respondents pay attention to the syntactic respect seemed to have been attained.

Besides the selection of the words, minimal pairs such as c3 and c2 for the ‘tis/it is alternation and the presence/absence of that, h1 we’ll and h2 the two of us’ll, g2 and g1 for be V-ing vs. have V-ed were included, although the pairs had to be limited. Of these, c3 was a “dummy” sentence, in that the Keane corpus does not include such a pattern, but it seemed to be useful to see speakers’ attitudes toward correctness. The lexical example j1, though not from Keane’s work, was adopted from my previous survey in 1999 concerning expressions which speakers themselves regard as “Irish English”.

The arrangement of sentences in the list was also considered. The unmarked sentence "a was numbered as 2 following its counterpart 1 the minimal pair differing in the third-person singular present-tense marking -s. As to the ordering of the sentences, syntactic variations having common words were listed in the first half.

This survey of speakers’ socio-linguistic awareness was part of the questionnaire. It contained eight pages in total, including the cover letter, one face sheet of the respondent’s information, two pages concerning the present

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(4) This might remind one of the Labov’s 1973 example illustrating the difficulty that can beset attempts to tap native speaker institution on syntactic structure, in this case about the so-called “positive anymore”.

Interviewer: Can people say round here We go to the movies anymore?
Subject: We say show, not movies.


This kind of dialogue also occurred in my elicitation concerning syntax. In passing, I got to know in one session with an informant that speakers of SwHE say pictures, not show or movies.

(5) The previous survey refers to an open-ended questionnaire N=103 which was undertaken in 1999 in Cork for the purpose of discussing languages and identity.
topic, and four pages asking about speakers’ socio-linguistic attitudes and social orientations. This questionnaire was time-consuming for respondents, but priority was given to the quality of information at the cost of efficiency in conducting the survey. All anonymous respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire after instruction beforehand by the present author and key supporters, namely local people who co-operated with my work as informants/consultants. The survey, being completed by supplemental interviews with informants, produced not only data but also meaningful comments produced by speakers’ intuition, sometimes with their hesitation, in a way that anonymous surveys could not do. Feedback from the speakers offered qualitative support to the result of this survey.

Data was collected from thirty-eight speakers from Listowel and twenty-six speakers from Cork. From Listowel were twenty men and eighteen women, their ages ranging between fifteen and seventy-eight. From Cork, there were nine men and seventeen women, their ages ranging from thirteen to eighty. Seven respondents cooperated in this survey by interview, and others filled in the form which ensured anonymity. The numbers of respondents were relatively even across the age ranges. In terms of occupation, they included students, retired people, managers, shopkeepers, sales assistants, teachers and housewives. Other jobs that a minor number of the respondents held included factory workers, drivers, self-employed, childminders, caretakers, secretaries, volunteer workers, librarians, actors, train conductors, therapists and painters. All except one had received secondary school education and approximately half of the respondents aged 30 years and over marked University/College/Institute for their most recent academic institution.

3. Results

To give the overview, the lexical items, in general, gained more marks than morphosyntactic features in terms of “use”, “non-use”, “incomprehensibility”, “bad-grammar”, and “Irishness”. Of the morphosyntactic features, the do be form, including e1 and e2 named “the E group”, is highly conspicuous. The less marked feature was the G group, so-called perfect sentence.

3.1. Speakers’ judgement: “Use” vs. “Non-use”

There is an obvious division between “use” and “non-use” judgements depending on the featured groups. See Figure 1. The majority of the respondents reported their “use” in the D group. There... sentences the F group Be after V-ing/NP sentence the G group “perfect” sentence the H group dititisation...
to some extent the J group [lexical items]. By contrast, the B group [non-canonical constituent order] the C group [left- like sentence] the E group [the do be V-ing/ AdjP form] and the I group [“Non-standard” usage] were regarded as “non-use”. It is noted that the E group e1: I do be taking three plates from the cupboard. e2: She does be lovely with her long hair. were judged as “non-use”, far more often than the other groups. The numbers of the obtained marks for “non-use” vs. “use” were respectively: e1 32 vs. 2 and e2 31 vs. 0. The comparatively high mark of “non-use” of the B group is noteworthy when we see, on the other hand, that the D group [there... sentence] especially in d1 and d3 tends to be reported as “use”. In these examples, speakers’ judgement of “use” overtakes that of “non-use”. The sentence j1 [which has a representative “trendy” lexical item, significantly obtained a high mark of “use” (“non-use” vs. “use”)=40:4] It has to be noted that there were certain dialectal differences, which will be mentioned in the description of the individual features.

3.2. Speakers’ judgement: “Don’t understand”

The lexical example j3 [“cnamhshealing” was outstanding in the respect of incomprehensibility, although this word tended to be understood by the majority of the Listowel respondents who were born before 1960. The survey confirmed that h4 [amn’t I ...?] failed to be understood by younger Cork respondents.

3.3. Speakers’ judgement: “Bad Grammar”

The lack of the third-person singular present-tense marker -s, exemplified in i1 may give the first good reference to the speakers’ judgements. Notably, the E group e1 and e2 i.e. the do be form, were exceedingly marked in “non-use” and “bad grammar”, compared to the lack of the -s marker. It was clear that the do be forms are associated with non-standardness in the language today. It was very often the case especially in interviews, that the respondents revealed the overwhelming bad-grammarhood of the do be form. A written comment from a Listowel respondent attests this clearly:

We never say “do be” or “does be”... considered very bad grammar.

Listowel, born in 1980s, female
Secondly, it is significant to note that the non-canonical constituent order 2 1 Taking three plates she is, but not 1 2 From the cupboard she takes three plates, obtained higher marks in terms of the “bad grammar” than other morphosyntactic features. Lexical items and “have perfect” sentences were the last characteristics of which speakers made the judgement “bad grammar”. The list of the top five and the last five may be useful to illustrate the tendency of the speakers’ judgement (Table 1).

3.4. Speakers’ judgement: “Irishness”

The J group of the lexical items was considerably more marked than the other groups in respect of “Irishness” (See Figure 4). It became obvious from the questionnaire that speakers are readily aware of “Irishness” in lexical items. Of the morphosyntactic features, 2 2 ‘Tis lovely she is, was highly marked, which was followed by 5 1 having ‘twouldn’t in the sentence initial position. The significant difference among components of the same group was noted especially in the B and C groups. This will be discussed in the description of the respective feature groups in 5.1 and 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Top and last 5 items of the “bad grammar” judgement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Judges sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 1 I do be taking three plates from the cupboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 2 She does be lovely with her long hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 1 She take three plates from the cupboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 2 I taking three plates she is &lt; VP fronting &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 1 I asked for today’s special and she putting plates on the table &lt; Subordinating and &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAST</td>
<td>5 1 She takes three plates from the cupboard &lt; Unmarked present &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 1 There’s no one can deny it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 1 We’ll visit here tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 2 That amadan put eggs in my bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 2 My sons have visited there for many years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 1 How’s the craic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What grammatical features are more marked in Hiberno-English? : a survey of speakers' awareness and its primary details (Tamami Shimada)

in the answer, were in most cases reported in addition to the lexical items. The tendency of speakers’ judgement of “Irishness” is shown in Table 2.

4. Speakers’ attitude towards Hiberno-English and its characteristics

Generally speaking, concerning the “use” and “non-use” judgements, generational difference was not obvious from the data, while the regional difference was noticeable. Listowel respondents tended to report “use” more than “non-use”, while Cork respondents reported “non-use” than “use”. The following table shows this tendency. Remember that Q1 is concerned with the “use” judgement; Q2 is “non-use”; Q3 is “cannot understand”; Q4 is “bad grammar”; Q5 is “Irishness” and that the respondents are asked to list as many as they like in the answer to each question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOP Position</th>
<th>Judged Sentence</th>
<th>Number of Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>That <em>amadan</em> put eggs in my bag</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Don’t be <em>cnamhshealing</em>!</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How’s the <em>craic</em>?</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Tis</em> lovely she is <em>&lt;Cleft-like ‘tis= sentence&gt;</em>&gt;</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>There was a great housekeeper lost in you</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship of the speakers’ subjective judgements between “use”/“non-use” and “Irishness” and between “Irishness” and “bad grammar” raises an intriguing topic for discussion, although there is less to say about the more predictable link between “non-use” and “bad grammar”. A brief sketch of the relationship between the two categories with particular reference to “Irishness” is made, but without nothing further statistical and itemised details.

Certain types of distributional tendencies were observed in the questionnaire. It would be fair to say at first that majority of the respondents’ answers to the “Irishness” question contained both of the items “use” and “non-use”. As noted in 3.4, the lexical items were in many cases listed for the answer of “Irishness”, which most of the respondents commonly included as the answer to their “use”, especially so for the craic example. Besides this, a certain attitudinal grouping is possible; the group which can be tagged tentatively with “Use of Irishness”, for example when a respondent commented as to the question of “Irishness” with “We use these expressions in everyday talk” (2006, Cork, born in 1950s, male). There were a few numbers of answers where the listed items in “Irishness” closely overlapped with the ones
in “bad grammar”, which the respondent would not use.

Dominant comments to the “Irishness” question were “They have Irish words”, sometimes with a meaningful remark such as:

“Craic” is a uniquely Irish word which we have incorporated into the English language. Also amadan is used in English speaking even though it is an Irish word.

*Craic*, which will be discussed in 5.9, is not a word of Irish origin. However, this word is recognised as an “Irish word” by speakers. What can be an effective force in the actual use of language is not so much what it is as what speakers themselves find in the language and in a particular linguistic form or its components. This item \( \mathcal{J}_{1} \) gained the most points in the answer to “use”; the highly marked as having “Irishness” almost as equal to the other two lexical items of the Irish origin. \( \mathcal{J}_{1} \) tended to be cross-reported in “use” and “Irishness”, that is, most of the respondents who reported their “use” of \( \mathcal{J}_{1} \) marked this item in the “Irishness” judgement, and vice versa.

Besides awareness of “Irishness” in lexical items, speakers were sometimes conscious of some stereotypical expressions, which they describe as “Stage Irish”, a represented image of what Irish people might say. The “Stage Irish” is commented in the questionnaire, for example as follows:

Some of these expressions are “Stage Irish” and not used in everyday life. \( \mathcal{J}_{2} \)

Also in the interviews, speakers present their consciousness of syntactic replications in HE. The replications are often described as “direct translation”, perceived favourable to some speakers and unfavourable to others. In many cases, speakers seem to be unconsciously aware of the Irish Gaelic stem, having good knowledge of Irish and syntactic differences between Irish and English. These speakers’ attitudes concerning how they relate “bad grammar” with what are perceived as “direct translations” and who associates the direct translations from Irish Gaelic with “bad grammar” are important as they are; these issues should be closely addressed in further studies. \(^{(7)}\)

5. Speakers’ awareness of the lexical and morphosyntactic forms

Speakers’ awareness of the respective grammatical features of HE will be described based on results of the questionnaire. Their awareness towards lexical items will be also appended, as it provides a good comparative reference. Examples from works by John B. Keane and data taken from my eliciting session will be given when needed.

5.1. Non-canonical constituent order

The marked constituent order is a significant syntactic device for marking informational saliency in SwHE, as is illustrated in \( \mathcal{J}_{1} \)

\( \mathcal{J}_{1} \)  Mike: Entering What were you doing, then, around the house?

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\(^{(7)}\) The interface between “Irishness” and “bad grammar” is considered by Shimada (2007b) from a postcolonial viewpoint. Some recent examination which revisits the data to consider if these two indexes have positive correlation or not is forthcoming.
Looking here and there and walking on your toes!
Pats: Thinking to steal a few eggs I was, but I changed my mind and said to myself that I would ask first before I went stealing. [SIV35]

In the underlined clause of 1, a higher value of information is placed on the first minimal constituent ‘thinking to steal a few eggs’, which means that this constituent is salient in the information structure. Saliency, sometimes in conjunction with phonological prominence, is syntactically expressed by marked constituent order Shimada 2010: 100-1. Non-finite VP, Pred-NP, Obj-NP, PP can be in the sentence initial position, as in 2 3 4 5.

2 \text{Non-f.VP} Gone to buy the wedding clothes they are. [SIV34]
3 \text{NP-Pred} Bloody good firing it was, too! [STD10]
4 \text{NP-Obj} Fifty pounds Dota gave to buy the clothes and the drink for the wedding. [SIV34]
5 \text{PP} Into jail ye should be put, a brace of dirty beggars. [SIV24]

In the questionnaire, two sentences were included.

b1 \text{From the cupboard she takes three plates.} [StE]
b2 \text{Non-f.VP} Taking three plates she is.

The non-canonical constituent order, or this fronting pattern, was judged as “non-use” in general. It may be that the respondents found it difficult to picture a scene for its actual use in their mind when only a sentence without the context was given, since this syntactic pattern is closely related to the mapping of the informational saliency.

It is important to note that the VP fronting sentence b2 is a marked feature in terms of speakers’ awareness, which means that more respondents reported b2 for their “non-use”, “bad-grammar”, and “Irishness” answers than they did b1. There were some comments that revealed the speakers’ awareness of the Irish-Gaelic syntax, with one comment on b2 given in the interview being cited below.

You wouldn’t say it in English. That’s the way you speak in Gaelic. [...] It’s correct in Irish, bad in English. If it is translated in back way, it would be wrong. [2006, Listowel, 1930s, male]

Needless to say, this speaker’s comment is well-directed if we have Irish on one hand and StE on the other. The Irish sentences, which correspond to the two HE sentences judged in the survey, are given in 6 and 7.

6 \text{From the cupboard she takes three plates.} [= b1]
Ok. Ön gcóhra a thógann sí from the cupboard PRT takes she trí phláta. [Irish] three plates

Acceptable. From the cupboard she takes three plates. [StE]

7 \text{Taking three plates she is.} [= b2]
Ok. Ag tógant tri phláta át sí. [Irish]
áit taking three plates bi.REL she

Unacceptable *Taking three plates she is. [StE]
The speakers’ insights into language revealed a lot about the syntactic difference between English and Irish. Remarkable were significant discrepancies of the speakers’ judgement between VP and PP fronting sentences. Table 4 highlights these discrepancies.

In addition, the VP fronting type as in \(\text{c2}\) ranked as fourth in the “bad grammar” judgement, while \(\text{c6}\) ranked among the last five in the judgement of “Irishness”, as shown in Table 1 and Table 2. It seems a fair conclusion that the judgemental difference between \(\text{b1}\) and \(\text{b2}\) is caused by the acceptability, which may be formed in reference to StE and respondents’ knowledge of the Irish language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>Judgement of non-canonical constituent order: obtained marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP fronting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-use</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad grammar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irishness</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2. Cleft-like sentence

The survey included the three sentences \(\text{c1}, \text{c2}, \text{c3}\).

\(\text{c1}\) It is from the cupboard that I take three plates. [StE cleft model]
\(\text{c2}\) ‘Tis lovely she is. [from Keane]
\(\text{c3}\) It is lovely that she is. [dummy cleftic]

In general, respondents tended to report their “non-use”, although the Keane corpus found frequent use of certain patterns, for example the \(\text{c2}\) type. This may be because the respondents had difficulty in picturing a scene in their mind due to the absence of the context, as with the case of con-canonical constituent order. The \(\text{c1}\) sentence is a cleft sentence made on the model of StE, having a PP in focus with the presence of that. The sentence \(\text{c2}\) was based on an example from a playscript written by John B. Keane; \(\text{c3}\) was a dummy sentence, that is, in both StE and Keane’s language it is unacceptable, ‘It is lovely that she is. The sentences given in the questionnaire are tagged here by the nicknames: \(\text{c1}\) StE cleft model, \(\text{c2}\) from Keane, \(\text{c3}\) dummy cleftic.

There were significant regional differences observed in the judgements, especially of \(\text{c2}\). While the Cork results showed that \(\text{c2}\) was the most unlikely to be used among the three in this cleft-like group, the Listowel results suggested that \(\text{c2}\) was least unlikely to be used. To the Listowel respondents, the StE cleft type \(\text{c1}\) was the most unlikely to be used and the dummy cleftic \(\text{c3}\) followed this. The ‘tis pattern \(\text{c2}\) was distinctively marked from the other two sentences by both Listowel and Cork speakers in terms of “Irishness”. This may be caused by the existence of the ‘tis form, its following constituent having AdjP fronted, and the absence of that.

As for the cleft-like sentence, careful examination is required in detail concerning types of the fronted constituent, the difference between ‘tis and it is, and the occurrence of that. It should be taken into account that the construction exhibits a formal similarity with the StE cleft although their function is not the same, which was demonstrated in my earlier study based mainly on the Keane corpus [Shimada 2010: Chapter 4]. This is, importantly, reinforced by the present Listowel speakers’ intuitions. It has nevertheless become clear from the questionnaire that \(\text{c2}\) has an
extra-linguistic connotation of “Irishness”, which is not admitted in formally similar examples of a cleft and a dummy cleftic sentence.

5.3. There... sentence

HE has the speech pattern in the contexts where StE does not employ the there sentences. In particular, the Keane corpus includes such non-StE patterns as: 

ii. There‘s [comp Subj-NP VP], with a Subj-NP quantifier or modified with an adjective quantifier, and

iii. There’s [comp Subj-NP VP].

The underlined sentence in (ii) can be translated as ‘Many gay soldiers could tell you the same.’ in StE. (i-iii) are examples for this type.

9. You know what they can do as well as I do and there’s nothing in the world will buy them off. [STD 41]

10. You’re a fine moral woman, ma’am. There’s no one can deny it. [HHM 23]

There’s [comp Subj-NP VP] in Pron-Obj.

11. I knew there was good news in you when you walked in the door with Patrick. [HHM 31]

It is noted that the HE sentence There was good news in you is expressed in StE as ‘You had good news.’ (12 & 13) are the examples for this type from the Keane Corpus.

12. There’s a big change in you from the day you left. You were stinkin’ cryin’ that mornin’! [MYM 29]

13. Poor Sive! What are ye doing to her? Is there no heart in you at all? [SIV 33]

The following 14 is an idiomatic sentence in HE. The underlined sentence expresses a compliment, which means ‘You would be a great housekeeper’.

14. There was a great housekeeper lost in you. You have the games and the antics of a woman the way you handle the brush. [SIV 37]

This type of phrase has not attracted scholars of HE, but this is one of the important forms that characterise HE. 15 is another example from speakers in Cork.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5</th>
<th>Cleft-like sentences: Cork &amp; Listowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Cork&gt; cleft-like sentences</td>
<td>c1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-use</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;Listowel&gt; cleft-like sentences</td>
<td>c1</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What grammatical features are more marked in Hiberno-English? A survey of speakers’ awareness and its primary details. [Tamami Shimada]

15. [Context: Mary is in her garden. Neighbour passes and admires the garden. He talks to Mary:] These flowers are so beautiful. There’s a great gardener lost in you.

There’s a great gardener lost in you. ‘You would be a great gardener.’ Mary is not a gardener by profession, but she could have been a gardener.

In the survey, the following three sentences were included:

- d1: There’s no one can deny it.
- d2: I knew there was good news in you.
- d3: There was a great housekeeper lost in you.

All sentences in this group are cited from Keane’s work. They are, however, different from the two characteristic groups introduced before this, namely the non-canonical constituent order and cleft-like sentences. Concerning the there... sentence, respondents tended to judge the examples in this category as “use”. The sentence d1 is an example of the there’s [comp. Subj-NP VP] construction; d2 is a construction where the experiencer/possessor is expressed in the PP of in: d3 is a similar construction but is regarded as an idiomatic saying which means “you would be a great housekeeper”.

It is noted that d1 was not markedly recognised in terms of “Irishness”, although it is also one of the characteristics of HE. On the other hand, d2 being competitive to d3 was associated with “Irishness”. Importantly, the generational difference was obvious especially in the “use” judgement of d1. Older respondents, regardless of whether from Cork or Listowel, reported their “use” in the questionnaire, but not so with the younger respondents. In addition, it is interesting to see that d3 compared with other two, tended to be judged as “use” in Cork. The idiomatic d3 was popular in Cork, as far as this survey is concerned.

5.4. Do be V-ing/AdjP form

In SwHE, do be ~ing functions as a habitual marker that does not receive prosodic prominence in this do and be sequence. The do be form, where do and be are joined together as a phrasal compound, seems to be fossilised, though keeping the meaning of habitual, in contemporary varieties of SwHE. [Shimada 2006a]

16. We do be praying for you in our prayers, whenever we get the notion to kneel. ‘We usually/always pray for you in our prayers, whenever...’

In the Keane corpus, the most dominant pattern of the do be sentences is do be V-ing, while there are other patterns in the SwHE play texts, such as do be AdjP, AdvP—AdvRelP do be, as in 17–19.

17. They do be lovely with their long hair jumping up and down on their shoulders... [SRG 27]

18. Have you no knowledge of the way a woman do be the night before? [SIV 38]

19. Will you open it or you’ll drive me to
Gleann na nGealt where your own equals do be. [SIV 39]

In the results from the questionnaire, as mentioned, the *do be* form gained the highest marks for “non-use” and “bad grammar”. Their respondents’ judgements of the following two sentences in the five categories were almost identical. It follows that the *do be* pattern itself, regardless of the class of the constituent complementing *do be*, is regarded as “bad grammar” which they would not say.

-1 I *do be* taking three plates from the cupboard.
-2 She *do be* lovely with her long hair.

This grammatical form is sociolinguistically stigmatised, which was testified by speakers in my eliciting sessions. They illustrated the speakers’ socio-linguistic awareness.

Not everybody knows that it is wrong. So accepted. Many people who use it don’t realise it’s incorrect. 2004, Cork, age group: 30s, male □

Small amount of people would say...It’s wrong, bad, obsolete...
□2004, Listowel, 50s, male □

No, no. ‘Tis bad grammar. You don’t say it. □2004, Listowel, 50s, female□

The impression I would have is, yes, the person is... The age of the person is important. If ‘tis an old person, I would smile and ‘tis condescending smile. [...] I feel superior. [...] but if ‘tis the things when my pupils in the school said to me, I would correct them, you know, and would say ‘no, that is not correct’. □2004, Cork, 50s, male □

People who say it mostly got very little chance to go to school through poverty in the past. Now in 2004 Ireland is a rich country and you will not hear it at all. □2004, Listowel, 70s, female□

These comments indicate the use of *do be* with reference to the knowledge of the StE grammar learned in school. It may be that this linguistic form has in a way served as a criterion of education and thereby socio-economic status. A linguistic feature that was once labelled as “bad grammar”, and what is more, as “not-well-educated” or “for poor people”, draws speakers’ excessive attention, which may have hindered the speakers from using that “stigmatised” form. (8)

The *do be* form, generally speaking, seems to be moving into disuse, if we look at the contemporary situation. It is true, however, that the majority of the HE speakers, both urban and rural, even including the younger generations, have certain recognition or competent knowledge of the relationship between the *do be* form and its linguistic function. Speakers’ knowledge about this HE construction, moreover, is formed by reference to the Irish language, as was indicated,

□ 13 □

(8) It is not intended to imply that the *do be* form is and will be entirely lost in this dialect. There are SwHE speakers/consultants who internalise this component in their grammar. The characteristic where speakers are aware of its unfavourable social connotations may come to obtain covert prestige [cf. Labov 2001 “The nonconformity hypothesis” □]
The phrase “I do be...” is a direct translation from Irish. In the Irish language there are 2 present tenses—“I am” and “I do be...”, but in English there’s only one. But this direct translation isn’t used in all parts of the country. [2006, Listowel, born in 1980s, female]

This respondent listed only the do be examples in her answering to the question of “Irishness”. Interestingly, it was not regarded as “bad grammar” by this respondent. It may be that younger speakers are today more generous to this form in term of judgement of grammaticality, though the data was too small to demonstrate the generational tendency. It is assumed that this construction was in active use until the 1950-1960s, but today is in relative decline, taking on unfavourable social connotations associated with its conspicuous non-standardness. Furthermore, such bad connotations may be disappearing over time due to disuse, which is slightly indicated from the generational analysis of the results.

5.5. Be after V-ing/NP construction

The be after V-ing/NP construction is a well-known characteristic of HE. The form of be after NP is common in BrE, but there is an apparent mismatch of its meanings between HE and BrE. E.g. Harris 1985. The basic property of this construction in HE is to denote the present status where a certain activity or event has been and is completed.

The be after V-ing construction in HE overlaps the aspectual domain of have just V-ed in StE, and they are thus translated as in [20] [see Harris 1984, 1985, Kallen 1990, Filppula 1999]

[20] I was asleep an’ I woke up. [...] ‘Twas gallin’ to be woke up out of it, and I was just after going to sleep too. [HHM 49]

I was just after going to sleep too.
‘I had just gone to sleep, too.’

There are two patterns concerning the phrasal categories of the be after predicates, though is less frequent than .

NP-Subj be after V-ing
[21] I am after having tea.
‘I have just had tea.’

NP-Subj be after NP
[22] Brian is after his lunch.
‘Brian has just had lunch.’

Adverbs such as just and only often occur in the be after V-ing/ NP construction so as to stress the recentness of an accomplished activity or event. Besides the cited examples,

[23] We’re only just after rising from the table. [SIV 14]

[24] I’m only after the supper Mister McLaine. [CHT 13]

In the questionnaire, the two types of this category, be after V-ing and be after NP, were included.
I am after taking three plates from the cupboard.
Tom is after his supper.

The former was slightly more marked in terms of the speakers’ awareness, but they were both judged as “use”. The be after V-ing/NP construction gained the highest mark of the “use” judgement in morphosyntactic features in the survey, with the exceptions of such unmarked sentence as She takes three plates from the cupboard and the example of NP+clitic will seen in the sentence We’ll visit here tomorrow. The data suggested that the feature be after V-ing/NP was favoured and that “Irishness”, rather than grammatical infelicity in terms of the standard norm, was recognised by speakers.

5.6. Be V-ing AdvP “perfect” sentence

Two examples which express meanings of perfect in HE were included in the questionnaire. The example represented a HE distinctive type, while was the StE version.

They are visiting here many years.
My sons have visited there for many years.

HE has the be V-ing AdvP pattern, which denotes “perfect” meaning. The term “perfect” is here used according to the tradition of HE studies. Traditionally, it has been said that in vernaculars of HE means “They have visited here for many years” (Harris 1993, Kallen 1990, Filppula 1997, 1999 etc.) However, in my examination, has the implication that they will keep visiting there, in addition to the meaning of perfect, which the StE have perfect form denotes. Thus, in SwHE, a type of the StE have perfect, can have different semantic range from although is often replaced by in natural speech of HE.

a. They are visiting here many years.
   ‘They have visited here for many years and will keep doing so.’

b. They’ve visited here for many years.
   ‘They have visited here for many years but not any more.’

b. They visited here many years.
   ‘They have visited here for many years.’

Back in the survey, results from the questionnaire revealed that this “perfect” group was the most unmarked in terms of speakers’ awareness. The following were both likely to be used, displaying similar judgemental tendencies. It is important to note the generational gradation of the “use” judgement: The older generation of the Listowel respondents, who were born before 1950, reported their “use” of but not those in 1950s reported use of both and When younger generations marked either form, it was .

In the Keane corpus, there is a sentence where with is used for the expression of the duration of the activity of ‘visiting’ with a HE-specific phrase many a year. This use of with is one of the characteristics of HE (see also Filppula 1999: 232).
In HE, the preposition with can be used in reference to the past, while for is used with no reference to an activity or event in the past. Present-day speakers of SwHE in general, as far as I have examined, are unlikely to use with, which was taken into account in the questionnaire. It is noteworthy that one respondent presented the following sentence as his own use in the questionnaire, answering to the question: 'What expressions or phrases do you regard as Irish English [Hiberno-English]?'

27 I am living here with ten years. [2005, Cork, born in 1920s, male]

Again, it is important to note the semantic range of the so-called be perfect in HE. This is called “extended-now perfect” by Harris [1984, 1993] and Filippula [1990, 1999] and “extended present perfect” by Kallen [1990]. I use the term, “be perfect continuous” pattern, for the usage of the be V-ing form adjoined by an AdvP of duration [see Shimada 2010: 165-176 for the semantics and distribution]. The respondents were likely to report their “use” of this pattern. In HE, the have perfect has limited distribution, and speakers consider it normative [see Table 1 for its low “bad grammar” judgement]. Given that the be perfect continuous and have perfect forms refer to incongruent semantic ranges, it is reasonable to conceive that be V-ing, which forms a part of the be perfect continuous pattern [be V-ing + time-AdvP], yields its established semantic distribution in HE and that it is retained as unmarked in terms of speakers’ socio-linguistic awareness. The usage of the be perfective continuous is not common in StE and other varieties of English. It is, however, not regarded by HE speakers as unique to their variety, as seen in the low “Irishness” judgement obtained in both g1 and g2 in the same extent.

5.7. Cliticisation: Amn’t I ~?, Twouldn’t etc.

Cliticisation is one of the important characteristics of HE. Five sentences in this category were employed in the survey:

h1 We’ll visit here tomorrow.

h2 The two of us’ll take three plates from the cupboard.

h3 You’ve the name of a good employer.

h4 Amn’t I like a scarecrow?

h5 Twouldn’t be a good thing.

Two sentences from the cliticisation category, the amn’t I ~? example h4 and the ‘twouldn’t example h5 are focused on here, since they particularly highlight significant aspects of speakers’ awareness. In the Keane corpus, there are sentences of amn’t I ~ as in 28-30 and phonological words formed by the clitics ‘twouldn’t, ’tis and ‘tisn’t as in 31-32. They frequently occur in his plays and letter series.

28 Amn’t I the same as any other man? [HHM66]

29 God help us, amn’t I like a scarecrow always... [SIV 4]

30 Amn’t I supposed to have a fortune or something? [HHM 7]

31 Twouldn’t do your heart good to see them two young fellows going’. [MYM17]
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[32] ‘Tis inclined to be a bit showery, but all in all, ’tisn’t bad for the time of year. [FLD 32]

In the results, there were obvious local differences between Listowel and Cork. The amn’t I ~? example [h4] was highly marked in terms of speakers’ awareness in Cork, being distanced from other items in the category of cliticisation. On the other hand, in Listowel, [h4] was not so marked as [h2] the Two of us’ll ~ example and [h3] the cliticisation of the non-auxiliary verb have. The twouldn’t example [h5] instead, was the most marked item in Listowel. The data shows that Listowel speakers, both younger and older, were likely to use twouldn’t and associated this item with “Irishness”. It is interesting to see that to Cork speakers this item is nothing but a type of rather unmarked diticisation.

The difference of speakers’ judgements between Listowel and Cork was most prominent in the amn’t I ~? example [h4]. The judgements of “use” and “non-use” in the two places are shown in the pie charts. Cork respondents in general are unlikely to use this item, regarding it as comparatively bad grammar, although certain “Irishness” was also recognised. It is clear that this feature was marked in Cork, since a larger number of the Cork respondents reported “non-use” of this item than they did of the missing of third-person singular -s ending. Listowel speakers, in contrast, tended to report their “use” of amn’t I ~? and associated this item more with “Irishness” than with “bad grammar”.

5.8. [main clause] and NP V-ing construction

The conjunction and in HE is productive in speech of HE. The salient characteristics can be seen in the use of the [main clause] and NP V-ing construction. Examples of this and construction in the Keane corpus are given in [33] – [35]:

[33] We hadn’t our dinner yet and the two of us fasting since morning. [FLD 20]

[34] I asked a few of the boys in for a drink and he hiding all the time around in the stairway. [FLD 31]

[35] I’ll tell you about a goose I saw roasted one time an’ I vistin’ a house over in Causeway. [HHM 27]

In the survey, one sentence was included as one of the non-standard usages. This was [33]
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in the followings.

[1.1] She takes three plates from the cupboard.
[1.2] She has been taking them home ever since.
[1.3] I asked for today's special and she was putting plates on the table.

According to the survey results (see Table 6), the [3sg -s missing] and NP V-ing construction, which is one of the major distinctive characteristics of HE, is not much associated with "Irishness". It was rather judged as "bad grammar", although the sentence [1.1] in which the third-person singular ending -s was absent, gained by far the highest "bad grammar" judgement. If the comparatively low points of the "bad grammar" judgement of [1.2] and [1.3] are compared with other syntactic characteristics such as non-canonical constituent order and cleft-like sentences, it may be interesting to note the unmarkedness of this and construction in speakers' awareness of "Irishness".

The survey results, first of all, show that the lexical items as a whole are dominantly associated with "Irishness", but not with "bad grammar", as Table 7 indicates. As to the markedness in terms of "use"/"non-use", it is noted that craic is prominent in the "use" judgment, while amadán and cnamhshealing are less so.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>Speakers' judgements of non-standard usage: numbers of obtained marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3sg -s missing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-use</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bad grammar</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irishness</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.9. Lexical items: craic, amadán, cnamhshealing

Three sentences having "Irish" lexical items were included in the questionnaire.

[1.1] How's the craic?
[1.2] That amadán put eggs in my bag.
[1.3] Don't be cnamhshealing!

The greeting phrase having craic given in [1.1] was employed from my previous survey in 1999. Craic in HE means 'fun'. This phrase has been nominated most often for the expressions which speakers themselves regarded as "Irish English". Amadán in [1.2] is often found in Keane's works and cnamhshealing (cnáimhseáil-ing, knauvshawl-knawvshawling) in [1.3] is sometimes used in natural speech in Listowel, with the familiar expression Don't be cnamhshealing! These words are described in a dictionary:

amadán n., male fool; buffoon, stupid person; simpleton < Ir. Dolan 1999: 8

cnamhsheal v.n., complaining, giving out; fault-finding; grumbling <Ir. Dolan 1999: 16

The spelling "cnamhshealing" is based on the usage by John B. Keane and was used in the questionnaire, e.g. Will you listen to him cnamhshealing again? [SIV 18]. Dolan's 1999: 66 dictionary has cnámhseáil in spelling. Also, it is interesting to note that in SwHE the expression is Don't be cnamhshealing, rather than Don't cnamhshealing Dolan pc.
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The craic example [1] gathered respondents’ reports of “use” in both Listowel and Cork, but there is an overt regional difference of the judgment of “use”/“non-use” as to [2] and [3]. The data suggested that older generation in Listowel are likely to say amadán and cnambahshealing. Respondents knew these words and regarded them as Irish, which was often mentioned in their appended comments. This was the main reason why they chose them for the answer of “Irishness”.

As noted, the word craic in [1] is not Irish-Gaelic origin in a proper sense, while the speakers regarded it as an Irish word. The following three citations, the first from Dolan’s Dictionary of Hiberno-English and the other two from the respondents’ comments in the questionnaire, make this point clear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7</th>
<th>Speakers’ judgements of lexical items: numbers of obtained marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>craic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-use</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad grammar</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irishness</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noteworthy is that the example containing craic is most popular, or favoured, in the listed sentences in the questionnaire. Many of the respondents reported their use of this word; they recognised “Irishness” in the example having craic. A respondent who reported only this item to the question of Irishness gave an important comment:

True Irish saying. [2006, Cork, born in 1920s, male]

It may be that this word, which is free from the image of “stage Irish” [which bears some connotation of mock Irishness], is getting favoured in use. Speakers often testified that craic is “very modern” and guessed correctly that it is not from John B. Keane because of its quite recent use.

6. Grammatical forms and their extra-linguistic meanings

This paper has described grammatical forms in relation to speakers’ socio-linguistic awareness. Awareness of the salient morphosyntactic features and lexical items were discussed in substantial reference to the survey regarding speakers’ attitudes towards HE. The basic finding from the survey and some interview data is that speakers of SwHE have overt awareness of “Irishness” and “Standard”. Speakers have not only their intuitive knowledge of the association between a linguistic
form and its linguistic meaning but also knowledge of the association between the linguistic form and its extra-linguistic meaning.

The examination in this paper provides grounds for maintaining the claim that linguistic forms in HE manifest their links in speakers’ awareness with the significant extra-linguistic icons of “Irishness” and “bad grammar”. A more general conclusion for this could be that linguistic forms can be evaluated in the meta-linguistic dimension, in which they are assumedly placed. It can be thus assumed in the case of HE that grammatical and lexical forms are mapped onto the meta-linguistic dimension by means of speakers’ perception of “Irishness” and “bad grammar”.

In the survey, furthermore, different judgements to different forms are significantly noted. This means that various linguistic forms, including some salient HE-specific patterns, can be characterised by the level of “Irishness” and “Standard” in speakers’ awareness. For example, as the 2006 survey has confirmed, the VP fronted sentence Taking three plates she is is regarded as “bad grammar” while “Irishness” is less marked, whereas the PP fronted sentence From the cupboard she takes three plates is comparatively free from the link with “Irishness” and “bad grammar”. Also remarkably, the HE sentence of “be perfect continuous” They are visiting here many years, with its “use” being reported, is unmarked in terms of the speakers’ socio-linguistic awareness. ‘Twouldn’t be a good thing is also favoured and it is associated with “Irishness”, although not so much as the lexical items, craic, amadán and cnámhshealing, are.

The do be form, the most marked grammatical form in speakers’ awareness, is one of the good examples by which the construction of extra-linguistic meanings can be lucidly explained. This form was, as described, the best by far in the evaluation of “bad grammar” in the survey, having also a certain level of evaluation of “Irishness”. The do be form is generally regarded as a deviation from the “Standard” which has been constructed in speakers’ minds; this induces further negative social connotations such as “not-well educated” or “for poor people”. As well as any other social medium that yields symbolic value, such social connotations are attendant on linguistic features, being shared by members of a given speech community. The connotations thus exert an inevitable force on the unconscious selection and avoidance of particular linguistic forms.

Speakers’ awareness has been illustrated in this paper by their subjective judgements of “use/non-use”, “Irishness” and “bad grammar”, together with comments and findings in the anonymous survey and in interviews and eliciting sessions with informants/consultants. A particular linguistic form, by virtue of the speakers’ awareness, can gain its extra-linguistic meanings, which are interwoven in the grammatical system that functionalises linguistic practices.

The evidence gathered from the 2006 survey suggests that speakers make significant distinctions regarding what are favourable or unfavourable features and regarding in what significant ways linguistic forms are in speakers’ awareness associated with extra-linguistic
icons, namely “Irishness” and “bad grammar”. The survey is likely to underpin the two types of awareness functioning significantly in the use of particular linguistic forms in HE. Awareness of “Standard”, which is constructed from normative school grammar and models of StE, assigns a negative social connotation to the features that deviate from the constructed criteria of “Standard”. Awareness of “Irishness”, on the other hand, being largely due to the knowledge of the Irish language, may provide certain effects on determining extra-linguistic meanings and connotations of a particular feature. The connotations are socially dependent by nature; this is intended to mean that they reflect the values that have been cultivated in a given speech community. Concerning the survey, the evaluation of linguistic items can vary according to the fluctuation of the relative attitude towards “Irishness” and “Standard” in the sociocultural context. Whether a positive or a negative connotation is given to a particular linguistic form relies on the direction in which the community is shifting. For this, a further examination of speakers’ social and linguistic orientation is needed.

References
Shimada, Tamami. 2006b. Awareness of ‘Standard’ and ‘Irishness’: motives for change
in contemporary Hiberno-English, Sociolinguistic Symposium 16, University of Limerick.


Appendix I : Questionnaire 2006, Sheet A

<On the left page>
From the sentences 1 to 26 on the opposite page, please choose the ones that apply to the following five statements.
You may choose as many as you like. If you think there is no relevant number please fill the bracket with "Nothing". Any of your comments are welcome.

**Question 1**
Which sentences do you think you would use yourself?
Your answer:  
Your comment:  

**Question 2**
Which sentences do you think you would not use on any occasion including when you are talking with your family and friends?
Your answer:  
Your comment:  

**Question 3**
Which sentences can you not understand the meaning of?
Your answer:  
Your comment:  

**Question 4**
Which sentences do you think have "bad grammar"?
Your answer:  
Your comment:  

**Question 5**
Which sentences do you think show "Irishness"?
Your answer:  
Your comment:  

<On the right page>
1. She take three plates from the cupboard.
2. She takes three plates from the cupboard.
3. I am after taking three plates from the cupboard.
4. From the cupboard she takes three plates.
5. The two of us'll take three plates from the cupboard.
6. I do be taking three plates from the cupboard.
7. It is from the cupboard that I take three plates.
8. Taking three plates she is.
9. I asked for today's special and she putting plates on the table.
10. How's the craic?
11. You've the name of a good employer.
They are visiting here many years.
There’s no one can deny it.
She does be lovely with her long hair.
’Tis lovely she is.
It is lovely that she is.
Amn’t I like a scarecrow?
We’ll visit here tomorrow.
’Twouldn’t be a good thing.
There was a great housekeeper lost in you.
She been taking them home ever since.
Tom is after his supper.
That amadán put eggs in my bag.
Don’t be cnamhshealing!
My sons have visited there for many years.
I knew there was good news in you.
アイルランド英語話者にとって有標な文法特徴はなにか

意識調査の全容と詳細

嶋田 琢巳

文化システム専攻言語科学領域担当

アイルランド南西部において行った文法および語彙形式にたいする言語意識調査をもとに「文法変化」をとくに言語形式の盛衰に関わっていると考えられる「アイルランドらしさ意識」（Awareness of "Irish-ness"）と「スタンダード意識」（Awareness of "Standard"）を例証する。調査は、語順転倒文、there...文、分裂文に類似した文形式、do be V-ing/Adj形式、be after V-ing/NP形式、完了の意味を表すbe V-ing +time-AdvP文、倚辞化形式（e.g. amn’t I ~？/ ’twouldn’t [main clause] and NP V-ing構文）、語彙形式、Fraic、amadán、chanhshealingを含み、「使用」、「不使用」、「アイルランド的」、「悪い文法」の各項目の回答から話者の主観的評価をみる。本稿においてはとくに基礎的な検討を含めた調査の全容と結果の全体像を示すこと、および文法諸形式の言語的意味の記述に重点をおく。