

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

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## 1. Introduction<sup>(1)</sup>

There are a series of grammatical features that characterise Hiberno-English (HE), 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;<sup>(2)</sup> 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

(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).

(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,<sup>(3)</sup> 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 works 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 Chastitate* (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".<sup>(4)</sup> Actually, one respondent gave the following sentence (a") in his note of "what we would say":

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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 intuition 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*.

(cited by Milroy and Gordon 2003: 175)

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*.

(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 this 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".<sup>(5)</sup> 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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(5) The previous survey refers to an open-ended questionnaire (N=103), which was undertaken in 1999 in Cork for the purpose of discussing language and identity.

topic, and four pages asking about speakers' socio-linguistic attitudes and social orientations.<sup>(6)</sup> 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, shop keepers, 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 (cliticisation), and

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(6) The whole design of this project is given below. For the present purpose, the second survey (Sheet B) will be only referred to on occasion.

Aim:

(A) To see speakers' linguistic awareness of morphosyntactic features, especially in terms of awareness of "Standard" and "Irishness".

(B) To discuss the assumption that speakers' linguistic awareness accommodates their orientations and can become a motive force for language change.

Method:

To attain the aim (A):

1. Examine in what features speakers find "bad grammar" and "Irishness" (Questionnaire)

2. Examine social connotations of the respective features, which speakers reveal in their comments. (Interview)

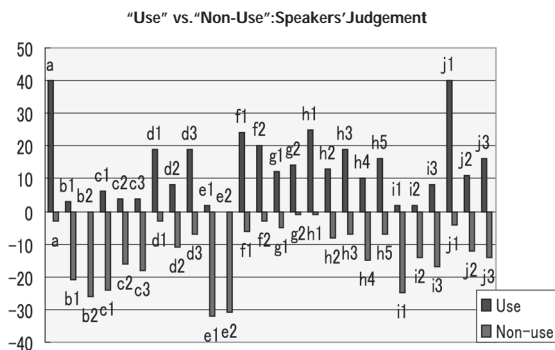
To attain the aim (B):

1. Examine the relationship between the speakers' awareness and subjective judgements about the use (Questionnaire)

2. Examine the speakers' orientations and identity and the relationship between these and their linguistic evaluations. (Interview)

to some extent the J group (lexical items). By contrast, the B group (non-canonical constituent order), the C group (cleft-(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

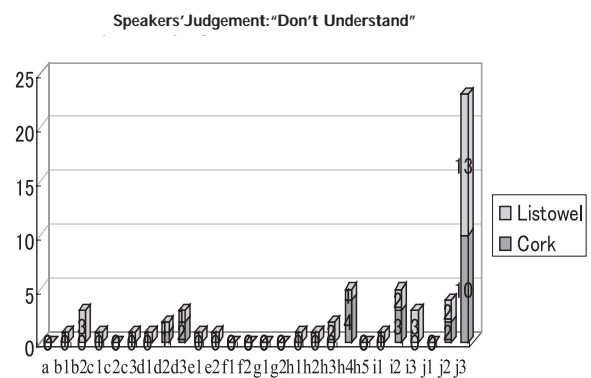
Figure 1.



### 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.

Figure 2.

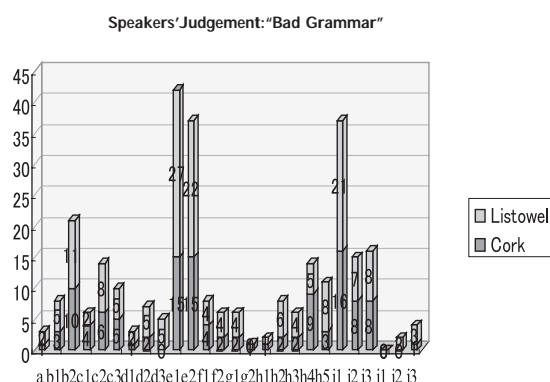


### 3.3. Speakers’ judgement: “Bad Grammar”

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)

Figure 3.



Secondly, it is significant to note that the non-canonical constituent order (b2) *Taking three plates she is*, but not (b1) *From the cupboard she takes three plates*, obtained higher marks in terms of the “bad grammar” than other morphosyntactic features. Lexical items and

[Table 1] Top and last 5 items of the “bad grammar” judgement

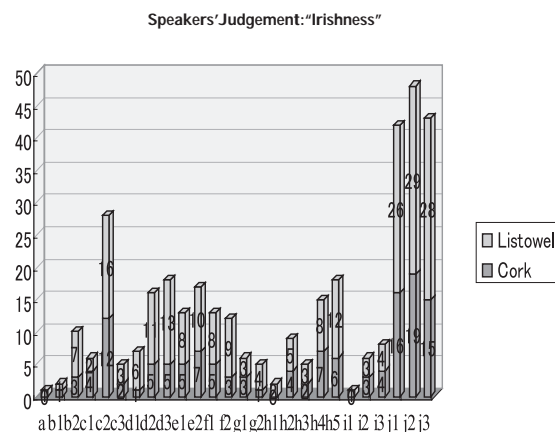
TOP	Judged sentence	number of marks
1	(e1) I <b>do be</b> taking three plates from the cupboard.	42
2	(e2) She <b>does be</b> lovely with her long hair.	37
2	(i1) She <b>take</b> three plates from the cupboard.	37
4	(b2) <b>Taking three plates she is</b> . <VP fronting >	21
5	(i3) I asked for today's special <b>and she</b> putting plates on the table. <Subordinating <i>and</i> >	16
<b>LAST</b>		
5	(a) She takes three plates from the cupboard. <Unmarked present >	3
5	(d1) <b>There's</b> no one can deny it.	3
3	(h1) <b>We'll</b> visit here tomorrow.	2
3	(j2) That <b>amadán</b> put eggs in my bag.	2
2	(g2) My sons <b>have visited</b> there <b>for</b> many years.	1
1	(j1) How's the <b>craic</b> ?	0

“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, (c2) *Tis lovely she is*, was highly marked, which was followed by (h5) having *'wouldn'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.

Figure 4.



It is noteworthy that gradational distribution or containment hierarchy was found in the respondents’ answers as to the judgement of “Irishness”. Most of the answers contained lexical items of the J group. Eighteen respondents chose numbers only from this group; morphosyntactic features, when being included

[Table 2 ] Top and last 5 items of the “Irishness” judgement

TOP	Judged sentence	number of marks
1	(j2) That <b>amadán</b> put eggs in my bag.	48
2	(j3) Don't be <b>cnamhshealing!</b>	44
3	(j1) How's the <b>craic?</b>	43
4	(c2) <b>'Tis</b> lovely she is. < Cleft-like <i>'tis...</i> sentence >	28
5	(d3) <b>There</b> was a great housekeeper lost <b>in you</b> .	18
<b>LAST</b>		
5	(c3) <u>It is lovely that she is.</u> < Dummy cleftic >	5
5	(g2) My sons <b>have visited</b> there <b>for</b> many years.	5
5	(h3) <b>You've</b> the name of a good employer.	5
2	(b1) <u>From the cupboard she takes three plates.</u> < PP fronting >	2
2	(h1) <b>We'll</b> visit here tomorrow.	2
1	(a) She takes three plates <b>from</b> the cupboard. < Unmarked present >	1
1	(i1) She <u>take</u> three plates <b>from</b> the cupboard.	1

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 3 ] Average number of each respondent's report

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
Listowel	5.7	5.0	1.0	4.5	5.9
Cork	4.5	5.4	0.8	4.7	5.1

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. (2006, Kerry, born in 1984, female)

*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 (j1) 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. (J1) tended to be cross-reported in “use” and “Irishness”, that is, most of the respondents who reported their “use” of (j1) 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 every day life. (2006, Cork, born in 1920s, male)

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 (see 5.1 for example). 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.<sup>(7)</sup>

## 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 (1):

(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)-(5).

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

In the questionnaire, two sentences were included.

- (b1) PP From the cupboard she takes three plates.
- (b2) 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) From the cupboard she takes three plates. [= (b1)]

Ok. Ón gcófra a thógann sí  
from the cupboard PRT takes she  
trí phláta. [Irish]  
three plates

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

- (7) Taking three plates she is. [= (b2)]

Ok. Ag tógant trí phláta át sí. [Irish]  
(at) taking three plates bí.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 (7) ranked as fourth in the "bad grammar" judgement, while (6) 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 (b1) and (b2) is caused by the acceptability, which may be formed in reference to StE and respondents' knowledge of the Irish language.

[Table 4] Judgement of non-canonical constituent order: obtained marks

	PP fronting	VP fronting
Use	3	0
Non-use	21	26
Bad grammar	8	21
Irishness	2	10

## 5.2. Cleft(-like) sentence

The survey included the three sentences (c1)-(c3):

(c1) It is from the cupboard that I take three plates. [StE cleft model]

(c2) 'Tis lovely she is. [from Keane]

(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 (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 (c1) sentence is a cleft sentence made on the model of StE, having a PP in focus with the presence of *that*. The sentence (c2) was based on an example from a playscript written by John B. Keane; (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: (c1) StE cleft model, (c2) from Keane, (c3) dummy cleftic.

There were significant regional differences observed in the judgements, especially of (c2). While the Cork results showed that (c2) was the most unlikely to be used among the three in this cleft(-like) group, the Listowel results suggested that (c2) was least unlikely to be used. To the Listowel respondents, the StE cleft type (c1) was the most unlikely to be used and the dummy cleftic (c3) followed this. The *'tis* pattern (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 (c2) has an

extra-linguistic connotation of “Irishness”, which is not admitted in formally similar examples of a cleft and a dummy cleftic sentence.

[Table 5 ] Cleft-like sentences: Cork & Listowel

< Cork > cleft-like sentences			
	c1	c2	c3
Use	2	1	1
Non-use	9	11	8
Don't understand	0	0	0
Bad grammar	4	6	5
Irishness	4	12	2
Sum	19	30	16
< Listowel > cleft-like sentences			
	c1	c2	c3
Use	4	3	3
Non-use	15	5	10
Don't understand	1	0	1
Bad grammar	2	8	5
Irishness	2	16	3
Sum	24	32	22

### 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: (i) *There 's( ~ There is)* [<sub>comp</sub> Subj-NP VP ], with a Subj-NP quantifier or modified with an adjective quantifier, and (ii) *There 's ( ~ There is)* NP in Pron-Obj.

- (i) *There 's( ~ There is)* [<sub>comp</sub> Subj-NP VP ].
- (8) I'm not in the habit of dismissin' faithful servants. They were white an' pearly one time an' there's many a gay soldier could tell you the same. [MYM 39]

The underlined sentence in (8) can be translated as 'Many gay soldiers could tell you the same.' in StE. (9)-(10) 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]
- (ii) *There 's( ~ There is)* NP 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.

(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* [<sub>comp</sub> Subj-NP VP] construction; (d2) is a construction where the experiencer/posseser 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 (b3), 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.

(e1) I *do be* taking three plates from the cupboard.

(e2) She *does 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.<sup>(8)</sup>

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,

(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 (~ V-ing)* 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.

(9) It may be noteworthy, however, that these two perfect forms do not express the identical semantic/pragmatic range. Shimada (2010: 205) illustrates a pragmatic difference underlying the distribution of *be after V-ing* and *have (just) V-ed* in contemporary varieties of SwHE.

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).<sup>(9)</sup>

- (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 (ii) is less frequent than (i).

(i) NP-Subj *be after V-ing*

- (21) I am after having tea.  
‘I have (just) had tea.’

(ii) 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, (f1) *be after V-ing* and (f2) *be after NP*, were included.

(f1) I am after taking three plates from the cupboard.

(f2) Tom is after his supper.

The former (f1) 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* ( /ll), 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 (g1) example represented a HE distinctive type, while (g2) was the StE version.

(g1) They are visiting here many years.

(g2) My sons have visited there for many years.

HE has the *be V-ing* AjdP(durative) pattern, which denotes "perfect" meaning. The term "perfect" is here used according to the tradition of HE studies. Traditionally, it has been said that (g1) in vernaculars of HE means "They have visited here for many years" (Harris 1993, Kallen 1990, Filppula 1997, 1999 etc). However, in my examination, (g1) 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, (25b), a type of the StE *have* perfect, can have different semantic range from (25a), although (25b) is often replaced by (25c) in natural speech of HE.

- (25) 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).'
- c. They visited here {with/ } 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 (g1) and (g2) 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 (g1), but not (g2), those in 1950s reported use of both (g1) and (g2). When younger generations marked either form, it was (g2).

In the Keane corpus, there is a sentence (26), 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).

- (26) They are visiting here with many a year.  
       [SIV 21]

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 a following sentence (27) 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 Filppula (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]



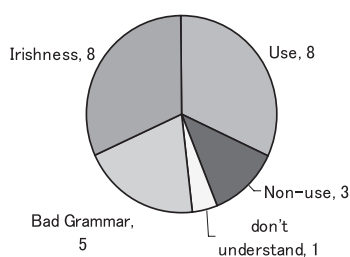
- (32) 'Tis inclined to be a bit showery, but all in all, 'tishn't bad for the time of year.  
[FLD 32]

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

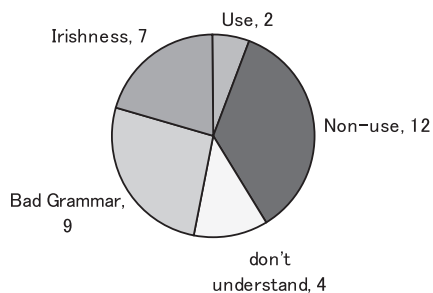
speakers this item is nothing but a type of rather unmarked cliticisation.

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".

Amn't I: LISTOWEL



Amn't I: CORK



### 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 (i3)

in the followings.

- (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.

According to the survey results (see Table 6), the [*main clause*] *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 (i1), 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 (i2) and (i3) 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".

[Table 6] Speakers' judgements of non-standard usage: numbers of obtained marks

	3sg <i>-s</i> missing	( <i>She</i> ) <i>been</i> <i>V-ing</i>	<i>and</i> NP <i>V-ing</i>
<b>Use</b>	2	2	8
<b>Non-use</b>	25	14	17
<b>Bad grammar</b>	37	15	16
<b>Irishness</b>	1	6	8

### 5.9. Lexical items: *craic*, *amadán*, *cnamhshealing*

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

- (j1) How's the *craic*?
- (j2) That *amadán* put eggs in my bag.
- (j3) Don't be *cnamhshealing*!

The greeting phrase having *craic* given in (j1) was employed from my previous survey in 1999. *Craic* in HE means 'fun'. This phrase was nominated most often for the expressions which speakers themselves regarded as "Irish English". *Amadán* in (j2) is often found in Keane's works and *cnamhshealing* [cnáimhseáil -ing, knauvshawl-knawvshawling (Dolan, 1999: 66)] in (j3) is sometimes used in natural speech in Listowel, with the familiar expression *Don't be cnamhshealing!*<sup>(10)</sup> These words are described in a dictionary:

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

*cnaimhseail* v.n., complaining, giving out; fault-finding; grumbling <Ir. (Dolan 1999: 66)

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.

(10) 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 *cnáimhseáil* in spelling. Also, it is interesting to note that in SwHE the expression is *Don't be cnamhshealing*, rather than *Don't cnamhsheal* (Dolan *pc*).

[Table 7] Speakers' judgements of lexical items: numbers of obtained marks

	<i>craic</i>	<i>amadán</i>	<i>Cnamh-shealing</i>
<b>Use</b>	40	11	16
<b>Non-use</b>	4	12	14
<b>Bad grammar</b>	0	2	4
<b>Irishness</b>	43	48	44

The *craic* example (j1) 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 (j2) and (j3). The data suggested that older generation in Listowel are likely to say *amadán* and *cnambhshealing*. 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 (j1) 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.

crack /krak/ n., entertaining conversation. Ir *craic* is the ModE loanword *crack* < ME *crak*, loud conversation, bragging talk; recently reintroduced into HE (usually in its Ir spelling) in the belief that it means high-spirited entertainment. (Dolan 1999: 77)

"Craic" is a uniquely Irish word which we have incorporated into the English language. (2006, Listowel, born in 1980s, female)

*Craic* is originally Irish. *Amadam* is originally Irish. *Cnamhshealing* is originally Irish. (2006, Cork, born in 1920s, male)

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 1970s, 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 morpho-syntactic 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.<sup>(11)</sup> 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. *It wouldn'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 *cnamshealing*, 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 explicated. 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

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(11) See Jaworski and Coupland (2004) for the term 'metalinguage'.

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.

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## 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.

- (12) They are visiting here many years.
- (13) There's no one can deny it.
- (14) She does be lovely with her long hair.
- (15) 'Tis lovely she is.
- (16) It is lovely that she is.
- (17) Amn't I like a scarecrow?
- (18) We'll visit here tomorrow.
- (19) 'Twouldn't be a good thing.
- (20) There was a great housekeeper lost in you.
- (21) She been taking them home ever since.
- (22) Tom is after his supper.
- (23) That amadán put eggs in my bag.
- (24) Don't be cnamhshealing !
- (25) My sons have visited there for many years.
- (26) 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

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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 “Irishness”)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/AdjP*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 (*craic, amadán, cnamhshealing*)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外的意味の記述に重点をおく。