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Morphosyntactic Reflexes of Irish in Irish English:

A corpus-based study on their distribution across registers

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Abstract

In Ireland, English and Irish have been in contact for centuries and influenced each other mutually. Nowadays, English is the dominant language on the island, but in a distinctive variation that shows influences of the Irish language: Irish English. The main objective of this thesis is to find systematic correspondence between the frequency of these reflexes of Irish in Irish English and the medium and the degree of formality of the registers these reflexes are contained in. To this end, eleven features of Irish English that originated from contact with Irish were selected and extracted from the Ireland Compartment of the International Corpus of English. The number of these occurrences in each register of the corpus was then put into relation with the medium (spoken or written) and the formality of the register. To determine the formality of a register, a scale of formality based on the situational characteristics of the language production event was created, ranging from 0 for least formal to 12 for most formal. The main findings of this analysis were firstly that the number of Irish English features is higher in spoken than in written registers. Secondly, reflexes of Irish in Irish English are more frequent in informal than in formal registers: the more formal a register is, the fewer Irish influences will be found in it.

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1 Introduction

Irish as the native language of Ireland has been in decline for centuries since the English language first crossed the Irish Sea and took root in Ireland (Hickey 2011: 4). Even though the numbers of native Irish speakers have been constantly decreasing and have nearly fallen to zero by now, the Irish language still lives on. On the one hand, Irish is still an integral part of the cultural life and national identity in Ireland. On the other hand, parts of the Celtic language live on in English as it is spoken in Ireland. Some unique characteristics of Irish have been borrowed into English through intensive contact between the two languages and can still be found in today's Irish English (IE).

Much research has already been done on these characteristics of Irish English. A focus was often placed on their emergence from contact with Irish or on the regional distribution of typically Irish English features across the 32 counties of Ireland. It has also been investigated in which way specific groups of the population, for example in rural areas, use Irish or Irish English, and how the grammar of IE developed over time. However, the focus has rarely been put on the influence of different situations of communication so far and how this might influence the frequency and quality of IE features influenced by Irish. The same speaker might make extensive use of traditional Irish English characteristics in one situation and speak a variety very close to Standard English (StE) in another communicative situation. This thesis aims at finding structures in this distribution of features of IE across different communicative registers.

The thesis is divided into three major parts. First, the theoretical frame is set by presenting the aims and hypotheses of the project, defining key terms and giving an overview of research done so far. The first part also includes the introduction of the Ireland Compartment of the International Corpus of English (ICE Ireland) and the methods used in analysing it. The second major part first sets out the historical background of language contact between Irish and English that made the formation of IE possible and then discusses eleven selected features of IE that came up from contact with Irish and their occurrences in the ICE Ireland corpus. In the final section, two hypotheses will be discussed, dealing with the influence of the spoken or written medium and the formality of a register on the occurrence of IE features in the registers.

1.1 Aims of this thesis

A first aim of the thesis is to give an overview of a selection of features of IE that have in one way or another been influenced by Irish and that can be found in the ICE Ireland corpus. On the basis of a compilation of these instances in the corpus, a possible correspondence of quantity and quality of these features with the medium (spoken or written) of the registers they occur in will be investigated. The second aim is to create a scale of formality containing the registers of the ICE Ireland corpus and to show whether there is any correspondence between the formality of a register and the number of features of IE occurring in it. To illustrate such a correspondence on a narrower

scale, three exemplary features of IE, namely indirect questions with inversion, the medial-object perfect and unbound reflexive pronouns, were selected and their distribution among the registers is investigated. In short, the aim of this thesis is to find answers to the two hypotheses presented in the following section (1.2).

1.2 Hypotheses

The following two hypotheses—both concerning the distribution of Irish English features among different registers—constitute the main interests of the thesis.

1. In spoken language Irish influences on English are more common than in written language.
2. The more formal a register is, the fewer features of Irish influences on English will be found in it.

1.3 Overview of the state of research

Two rather unrelated fields of research are important for this thesis: the study of Irish English and the field of register analysis, which also includes concepts of formality. Scientific interest in IE first emerged at the beginning of the 20th century with scholars like Joyce and Hayden and Hartog, who mainly based their research on subjective knowledge of IE as their mother tongue (Zingg 2013: 21). Systematic research into English as spoken in Ireland only began in the 1950s and 1960s when scholars like Henry or Bliss studied IE, often with a focus on rural dialects of IE as represented in literature (Hickey 2011: 12). Since the 1970s the amount of research in this field has increased a lot, important scholars being Filppula, Kallen, Kirk, Hickey, Harris or Dolan. Monographs about the Irish variation of English like Filppula's *The Grammar of Irish English: Language in Hibernian Style* (1999) or Kallen's *Irish English: Volume 2: The Republic of Ireland* (2013) give a comprehensive account of features of the IE grammar. Dolan's dictionary of Irish English (1999) gives an overview of peculiarities in the lexicon of IE. A variety of essay collections gives further insight into specific features of IE, for example, Kallen's *Focus on Ireland* (1997a) or Tristram's research series *The Celtic Englishes* (2000). Most of these modern studies of IE are based on language corpora, like *The Limerick Corpus of Irish English*, a corpus of spoken IE (Farr et al. 2004: 5), or the Ireland compartment of the *International Corpus of English (ICE)* compiled by Kallen and Kirk (2008: 1), which is also used in this thesis. A detailed overview of the study of IE is offered in Hickey's *A Source Book for Irish English* (2002).

Register analysis is a wide field of research that has gained much attention since the 1990s (Schubert 2016: 5), but only some areas are relevant for this thesis: mainly the properties of different registers in general, their medium of written or spoken language and the determination of the formality of a register. Biber's monograph *Variation Across Speech and Writing* (1988) offers an insight into register variation regarding the medium of a text, focussing on the difference between written and spoken language. Biber also introduced the "Multi-Dimensional approach," an influential

method of register analysis along several dimensions (1995: 18). Formality is a concept that has been discussed by innumerable scholars and has received nearly as many different definitions and approaches to develop a scale. Some notable discussions are to be found in Irvine's article "Formality and Informality in Communicative Events" (1979), an article by Li et al. on the human perception of formality (2016) and Larsson and Kaatari's work on formality in second language writing (2019). Most researchers now see formality as a continuum along which the different registers can be placed according to their degree of formality (among others Larsson and Kaatari 2020: 2; Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 298).

Another area of register analysis in English is the focus on different varieties of English. Registers have been investigated in regional varieties such as Asian Englishes, Indian and Canadian English and English in African countries (Schubert 2016: 7). Several studies of this type are presented in the essay collection *Variational Text Linguistics: Revisiting Register in English* edited by Schubert and Sanchez-Stockhammer (2016). Register analysis in IE, however, has so far not been a popular field of research; only single registers have been examined, for example advertisements in studies by O'Sullivan and Kelly-Holmes (2017) or contents of newspapers in Tristram's research (2007). Against this backdrop, a comprehensive comparison of registers in IE has to my knowledge not been done yet.

1.4 Definition of terms

Many of the core terms needed for describing registers and formality in Irish English are by no means unambiguous and often do not have a uniform definition that is accepted by all scholars. This is why the following terms will be defined in the way they are used in this thesis.

Irish English – Anglo-Irish – Hiberno-English

Irish English and Hiberno-English can be used synonymously as a "[c]over term for English in Ireland" (Hickey 2002: 3). However, Hiberno-English, from Latin *Hibernia* 'Ireland,' was recently abandoned in favour of Irish English, as the latter is more transparent and parallel to terms such as Australian or British English (Hickey 2016: 8). Zingg defines Anglo-Irish as a linguistic contact variety that is used in the rural regions of Ireland (2013: 29), whereas Hickey sees it as a term for literary works by Irish authors written in English (2011: 4). Both do not match the definition of the variety of English in Ireland that is examined here, which is why Irish English is the term used in this thesis.

Irish English – Irish

Irish English is not to be confused with Irish, the Celtic language originally spoken in Ireland that is often also called Gaelic (Hickey 2007: 145). In order to avoid confusion with Scottish Gaelic, the term 'Irish' will be used in the thesis to refer to the original native language of Ireland.

Northern and southern Irish English

Ireland is politically divided into the Republic of Ireland in the south and Northern Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom. Such a division can also be found in IE, but it does not directly correspond to the political boundaries. The northern variety, often called 'Ulster Scots,' that emerged due to contact with Scottish settlers in the 17th century (Hickey 2011: 3) also extends to county Donegal, which is part of the Republic. As the dialect boundaries are not clear cut and variation within IE is not restricted to the north-south-distinction, Irish English will be treated as one language variety. It is by no means homogeneous, but has basic shared features that justify a unifying treatment.

Substratum – superstratum

A contact language, such as IE, is usually influenced by both a substratum and a superstratum language. In the case of IE, the substratum language is Irish, and the superstratum language is English. According to Filppula, the superstratum is the newcomer language that dominates the original language of a region. This original language is the substratum language, of which only some elements are retained in the new contact language (1990: 41).

Text

'Text' is treated as an open-ended concept. This means that not only written language is considered a text, but also spoken forms are seen as texts. Thus, the defining characteristic of 'text' is not its medium but its cohesion, coherence, communicative functionality and informativity (Hess-Lüttich 2007: 131–132).

Register – text type

Biber defines 'register' as "a general cover term for all language varieties associated with different situations and purposes" (1994: 32). This identification of register as dependent on the situational and functional context is also supported by Ferguson (1994: 20), Schubert (2016: 3–4) and Biber and Finegan (1994: 4). In contrast, 'text type' is "defined in linguistic rather than situational terms" (Biber 1995: 7)—a notion that is widely supported by other researchers (for example Görlach 2010: 105). This distinction is also reflected in the German terms 'Textsorte' and 'Texttyp' as used by Grobet and Filliettaz (2007: 79). 'Textsorten' and accordingly registers are thus bound to a specific situation wherein they perform specific functions of communication (Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 16). Heinemann, however, assigns both situational and linguistic definitions to 'Textsorten' when he postulates four concepts of 'Texttypen,' namely grammatical, semantic-content-related, situationally determined and communicative (2007: 12–14). As the categories in the corpus used in this thesis are compiled according to situational and not linguistic characteristics, Biber's definition of 'register' will be applied.

Formality

According to Irvine, there are three principal senses of formality: the communicative code, the social setting in which that code is used and the analyst's description (1979: 774). Just as in the case of 'register,' this thesis will focus on the sense of formality in a situational and thus social setting. Irvine defines 'formality' as "the degree to which a social occasion is systematically organised" (1979: 786). However, the specific definition of '(in)formality' is highly debated and will be dealt with in more detail in section 4.3.1.

2 Methodology and data

The analysed corpus is the Ireland Compartment in the International Corpus of Irish English (ICE Ireland) that was compiled under the guidance of John M. Kirk and Jeffrey Kallen (Kirk et al. 2011). I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Marianne Hundt, Dr. Hans Martin Lehmann and PD Dr. Gerold Schneider from the English Department of the University of Zurich who coordinate the ICE corpora and granted me access to the corpus. The properties of ICE Ireland, the way it was analysed and the methods of interpreting the results will be described in the following two sections.

2.1 International Corpus of English – Ireland Compartment

The ICE Ireland corpus is part of a bigger project: the International Corpus of English (ICE). The ICE consists of a collection of corpora of national Englishes around the world, enabling comparative studies (Greenbaum 2005: 3). In order to guarantee comparability, the corpora are compiled according to a fixed design, in a fixed time period and with the same way of analysis (Greenbaum 2005: 5). The main body of texts in the corpora should originate in the time span from 1990 to 1994 and be produced by educated speakers aged 18 and older in their natural speech (Nelson 2005b: 28). Speakers and authors are seen as appropriate for the corpus if they have been educated in the respective country by the medium of English up to at least secondary school. This means that the texts in the corpora are not chosen because they show a high amount of educated language but because their producers meet the criteria (Greenbaum 2005: 6).

Every sub-corpus of ICE has roughly 1,000,000 words, split into 500 texts of 2,000 words each (Nelson 2005b: 27). These texts can be divided into a spoken section, consisting of 300 texts, and a written one with 200 texts. All texts are assigned to a text category—called register from now on—with a fixed number of texts belonging to each of these registers (Greenbaum 2005: 6). An overview of the prescribed number of texts in each register and of the word count for the register in the case of ICE Ireland is given in table 1 below.

Every text follows a prescribed textual and biblio- or biographic markup system. The biblio- and biographic markup in the header of each text file gives information on the speaker or author of the text (Nelson 2005a: 42–43). The textual markup "encodes features of the original text that are lost when it is converted into a computerized text file" (Nelson 2005a: 36). Especially in spoken texts,

features such as overlapping speech or pauses would be lost if they were transcribed without textual markup. These characteristics are encoded in all the ICE-corpora using a fixed markup system to maintain comparability. In the examples from the corpus given in this thesis, textual markup that is not necessary for understanding is left out to ensure improved readability.

ICE Ireland widely complies with this corpus design. It was compiled by Kallen and Kirk as "a unique empirical source for the understanding of Standard English in Ireland" (2007: 134) from 1990 onwards and was first released in 2006 (Kirk 2017: 240). Most of the material dates from 1990 to 1994, but some spoken texts had to be recorded later in 2002 and 2003. However, Kallen and Kirk see the diachronic variation in this time span as marginal (2007: 128). As a deviation from the ICE-guidelines, the Ireland compartment is additionally divided into a northern and a southern part. Standing individually, these are representative of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland respectively; together they are seen as "representative of IrE [Irish English] as a whole" (Kirk 2017: 251). ICE Ireland has no grammatical tagging and is annotated sparsely (Kallen and Kirk 2008: 11). The registers are encoded in 3-letter-codes at the beginning of each text. The arrangement of texts according to their registers can also be found in the <CAT>-files of the electronic corpus, which were used for the analysis in this thesis (Kallen and Kirk 2008: 8). The registers of texts were chosen in order to represent "as many as possible of the various uses of English" (Nelson 2005b: 28). These registers all contain a fixed number of texts and therefore also a fixed number of words. Due to deviations in the individual length of the texts, however, the number of words can differ slightly. Table 1 shows the intended and actual word counts for each register in ICE Ireland.

Table 1: Number of texts and word counts (Wc) for the registers of ICE and ICE Ireland (ICE Ire); adapted from Kallen and Kirk (2007:130) and Nelson (2005b: 29–30).

Register	**Code**	**Texts**	**Wc (ICE)**	**Wc (ICE Ire)**
Spoken		**300**	**600,000**	**620,358**
Broadcast discussion	BRD	20	40,000	41,319
Broadcast interview	BRI	10	20,000	20,475
Broadcast news	BRN	20	40,000	40,460
Broadcast talks	BRT	20	40,000	40,142
Business transactions	BUT	10	20,000	20,711
Classroom discussion	CLD	20	40,000	42,289
Demonstrations	DEM	10	20,000	21,250
Face-to-face conversation	FTF	90	180,000	189,104
Legal cross-examination	LEC	10	20,000	19,928
Legal presentations	LEP	10	20,000	20,429
Parliamentary debate	PAD	10	20,000	20,971
Scripted speeches	SCS	10	20,000	20,152
Spontaneous commentary	SPC	20	40,000	42,024
Telephone conversation	TEC	10	20,000	20,412
Unscripted speeches	UNS	30	60,000	60,692
Written		**200**	**400,000**	**427,492**
Administrative prose	ADP	10	20,000	21,224
Business letters	BUL	15	30,000	30,398
Creative writing	CRW	20	40,000	44,722
Examination essay	EXM	10	20,000	21,066
Learned humanities	LEH	10	20,000	22,204

Learned natural sciences	LEN	10	20,000	20,847
Learned social sciences	LES	10	20,000	21,393
Learned technology	LET	10	20,000	21,980
Popular humanities	POH	10	20,000	20,816
Popular natural sciences	PON	10	20,000	20,704
Popular social sciences	POS	10	20,000	22,128
Popular technology	POT	10	20,000	20,947
Press editorials	PRE	10	20,000	20,450
Press news	PRN	20	40,000	42,982
Skills and hobbies	SKH	10	20,000	22,803
Social letters	SOL	15	30,000	31,897
Student essays	STE	10	20,000	20,931
Total		**500**	**1,000,000**	**1,047,850**

ICE Ireland aims at providing a corpus that is representative of the speech and writing of educated speakers in Ireland. This educated, often urban, speech is more likely to be assimilated to Standard English (StE) than rural or working-class English (Filppula 1999: 12). This process is often called supraregionalisation and causes salient features of IE to be replaced by the StE norm, which is why dialect features are less frequent in supraregional varieties as represented in ICE Ireland (Hickey 2004: 28–29; Hickey 2011: 5). Thus, ICE Ireland is not ideal for finding vernacular features of IE (Kallen and Kirk 2007: 154), which is one reason why the overall number of features found in the corpus is rather low. However, the fact that vernacular features were found at all shows that Irish English has not been completely standardised.

2.2 Methodology of analysis and comparison

The range of features characteristic of IE is wide. Thus, selecting a number of features was necessary. Phonetic and phonological features were excluded first, as the ICE corpora generally do not provide such information. Morphosyntactic constructions, however, provide a fruitful and accessible field in the context of Irish influence on IE. The features under discussion were selected based on previous work on IE (mainly Filppula 1999 and Kallen 2013) with the main criterion being their development from contact with Irish.

In order to retrieve these features from the corpus, *AntConc 3.5.8* (Anthony 2019) was used: a "freeware, multi-platform, multi-purpose corpus analysis toolkit" (Anthony 2004: 7). Queries using Regular Expressions (Regex) were formulated and applied to the corpus by using the *AntConc* concordance tool that enables simple word-based and more complex Regex searches (Anthony 2020: 3). For the retrieval of some features, the word list tool was used to generate frequency word lists to, for example, identify the most frequent verbs in the corpus. As most queries, like in Schneider's study, produced many hits in the corpus with only little precision, manual inspection of the search results was necessary (2013: 142). Even if a search term showed high precision, the results were still inspected manually to prevent false positives from distorting the results of subsequent analysis.

To analyse the distribution of the found IE features among the ICE registers, first, the number of features per 10,000 words for each register had to be calculated because the registers do not have

the same length. For this and all other calculations done in the course of further analysis, *Microsoft Excel* was used. To find out about the influence of the medium on feature distribution, the corpus was divided into two sub-corpora, one for written and one for spoken language, and the average feature frequency per 10,000 words for these written and spoken corpora was compared. The division was done in two different ways: the first strictly sticking to the spoken-written division done in the ICE-corpora; the second using a finer distinction based on characteristics of speech and writing found in the registers. For investigating the influence of the formality of a register on the frequency of IE characteristics, first, a scale of formality spanning the informal-formal continuum using values from 0 to 12 was created and the ICE-registers were placed along it according to situational characteristics of the production circumstances of a register. The formality of each register was then put into relation with the overall number of all the IE features found in this register to find out about a general relation between formality and the amount of Irish influence. Following the same scheme, the frequency of two selected features of IE along the formality scale was investigated to show that such a tendency does not only exist for the totality of all Irish influences but also for individual grammatical peculiarities.

3 Features of Irish English with influence from contact with Irish

Traditionally, most non-standard features of IE were assigned to influence from the Irish language by scholars such as Joyce or Hayden and Hartog in the early 20th century (Hickey 2016: 7). One of the explanations for this structural borrowing from Irish is seen in the expectation of speakers who switch to another language in their adulthood to find the same grammatical structures as in their native language. If such structures are not found, this can lead to transfer from the native language, here Irish, to the newly acquired language (English) if the language contact is close enough and involves enough speakers to take the transfer from an individual level to an entire community (Hickey 2007: 135). In the Irish context, the acquisition of English was not supported by formal instruction in Standard British English (Filppula et al. 2008: 161), which would have prevented contact features from stabilising in the new variety (Wigger 2000: 160). Instead, the contact effects were even reinforced, as most people acquired English from other Irish speakers who had already some knowledge of the new language, thus stabilising influences from their first language (Bliss 1972: 63). This substratal influence of Irish, however, has often been oversimplified and other contributing factors have been ignored (Odlin 1992: 174). The mere observation that there are crosslinguistic structural correspondences does not suffice to prove transfer, especially if similar constructions occur in earlier forms of English (Odlin 1992: 183; Harris 1995: 208). According to Hickey, there is “no proof in contact linguistics” (2007: 133) at all, only indications.

Due to this lack of definite proof, the discussion between proponents of substratal and superstratal theories is still ongoing. There may be structures such as the much-discussed *after*-perfect

(3.2.2.1) that are unambiguously attributed to Irish influence (among others Filppula 1999: 99). There may also be features that are clearly not derived from contact with Irish. The use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun, for example, has no parallel in Irish at all (Hickey 2004: 123). This feature is seen as a characteristic of colloquial English in general, just like the use of singular existential constructions with a plural noun phrase of the type *there's loads of cafes* (Schneider 2013: 152–153). For most non-standard constructions, however, it makes the most sense to assume double causation (Hickey 2007: 134). The so-called "contact-induced grammaticalization" (Pietsch 2009: 528) is often a plausible explanation for features of IE. If a structure already existed in the superstratum English, often Early Modern English (EModE), and had a close structural equivalent in Irish, this triggered the retention or slight modification of the English features in IE, whereas it was lost in other English varieties where such a reinforcing substratal language did not exist (Pietsch 2009: 528). A third possible source of special features of IE that will not be discussed in further detail is universal constraints occurring in the emergence of a contact vernacular and in second-language acquisition (Filppula 1990: 42).

In the following sections, first, a rough overview of the linguistic situation in Ireland in the past and present is given. Then, eleven features of IE that arose either solely from substratal influence or from contact-induced grammaticalisation and related concepts are discussed. Features attributed to superstratal retention or universals of contact languages alone are excluded.

3.1 Overview of the English language in Ireland

The first contact between Irish and English in Ireland is dated to the year 1169 when the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland, starting the first period of IE, which lasted until 1600. English, however, did not gain dominance over Irish, and the English-speaking invaders assimilated to the Irish community (Hickey 2011: 3), which is why the original IE died out and its influences cannot be found in modern-day IE (Kallen 1997b: 13).

The beginning of the 17th century marks a turning point in the linguistic landscape of Ireland and is seen as the beginning of the second period of IE (Hickey 2011: 3). After the defeat of the Irish by English forces in the Battle of Kinsale in 1601, many English settlers came to Ireland (Filppula et al. 2008: 153). These so-called plantations under James I and Oliver Cromwell (Hickey 2016: 9) began with the Plantation of Ulster in the north in 1607 by mainly Scottish settlers (Kallen 1997b: 14), followed by plantations along the east coast from Dublin to Waterford, slowly making their way further west and thus pushing monolingually Irish communities to the western seaboard (Hickey 2011: 4). These processes set in motion a slow language shift from Irish to English that caused widespread bilingualism and took place over the following two centuries. This often incomplete acquisition of English by Irish native speakers caused structural transfer from Irish to English that is still visible in today's IE (Hickey 1995: 113).

The shift from Irish to English was accelerated in the 19th century when Irish was banned from school education and the Catholic Church decided to use English as its predominant medium of communication. The switch from Irish to English was sealed by the Great Famine in the 1840s, causing two million mostly Irish-speaking people to starve or emigrate to Britain or America (Filppula et al. 2008: 156). By the end of the 19th century nearly everyone in Ireland knew English, and only 15 % of the population were still fluent in Irish (Odlin 1991: 597). This era gave rise to the ambivalent attitudes towards English in Ireland: English is seen as a symbol of the oppression by the English but at the same time also as the key to better employment and access to today's global labour market (Harris 1995: 194).

Today's Irish English is no longer dependent on bilingualism as the interference features retained from 17th-century language contact are fully established and accepted by monolingual English speakers in Ireland (Filppula 1990: 41). Even though IE is the native language of the major part of the population of the Republic of Ireland today, it does neither have a codified standard nor is it the first official language of the state: this place is taken by Irish. According to Kallen, this reflects the association of nationhood with Irish, whereas English is still associated with colonialism (2013: 45). Irish is still present in broadcasting and print (Kirk and Kallen 2006: 92) and a compulsory part of school education in the Republic even though only a small margin still uses Irish as their first language (differing between 1 % (Murphy and Stemle 2011: 23) and 3 % (Kallen 1997b: 18)).

Though the intensive contact situation between Irish and English is long past, effects of the linguistic history of Ireland are still recognisable in today's language situation. There is a clear divide between northern and southern dialects of IE that can be traced back to the plantation of Ulster in the north by Scottish settlers and settlements in the south by speakers of British English (Adams et al. 1985: 76). This diversity of superstrate input caused differences in today's dialects of Ulster and the rest of the island. The dialect boundary, however, does not correspond with the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, as the dialect boundary is a lot older than the political division that has only been in existence for a hundred years (Kallen and Kirk 2007: 123–124).

Another example of linguistic diversity that can be explained by Irish history is the divide between eastern urban and south-western rural dialects and a mixture of the two in the Midlands (Hickey 2004: 24). Odlin calls this an example of the "Regional Stratification Hypothesis" (1991: 597) and claims that IE in the west is much more traditional than in the Midlands or the east, as it stayed in contact with Irish much longer than varieties spoken in the east. Eastern coastal towns such as Dublin or Belfast had most initial contact with English and Irish was quickly lost in these regions, whereas contact with Irish in the west is much more recent and, in some cases, still ongoing (Odlin 1991: 598). Additionally, the English language that reached western and southern rural regions had already been influenced by Irish and was transmitted by native Irish speakers (Harris 1995: 195).

Thus, contact features are much more common in rural dialects than in urban or supraregional ones that are spoken by mostly younger or educated Irish people all around the country, such as represented in the ICE Ireland corpus.

3.2 Morphosyntactic features of Irish English in registers from ICE Ireland

Though the ICE Ireland corpus contains urban, educated, non-traditional IE speech, still several IE dialectal features that can be traced back to contact with Irish are found. A selection of eleven such features will be discussed in the following sections, giving examples found in the corpus and arguing why they should be attributed to substratal influence.

3.2.1 Unbound uses of reflexive pronouns in subject position

The first feature that is examined here is reflexive pronouns used without a reference noun phrase in the same clause or sentence. Due to this lack of co-reference to another constituent, they are called unbound or absolute reflexive pronouns (Filppula 1999: 78). As there is no direct anaphoric reference, hearer and speaker need a certain amount of shared knowledge for successful communication (Forde 2005: 38). Anaphoric reference, however, is possible for unbound reflexive pronouns (UBR) when the referent does not occur in the same sentence but at some point in the previous discourse (Filppula 1997: 149).

The main function of UBRs in IE is "to refer to an individual who has a position of authority in the context of a particular discourse" (Hickey 2007: 243). In the past, this was often referred to socially superior people, which, according to Filppula, is too narrow a view, as UBRs more often refer to a person who is the main topic of a discourse but not necessarily higher in the social hierarchy (1999: 80–81). The UBR is one of the more salient features of IE so that references to it can even be found on souvenirs (Walshe 2009: 87) and it was often used as a stereotypical form to depict an Irish person—often in a negative light—on stage or in literature (Hickey 2007: 243).

Filppula identifies six different types of UBRs (1997: 151), which will be illustrated by examples from ICE Ireland where possible and by Filppula's examples where ICE Ireland did not provide any. The six types are: UBR as a single subject, shown in (1) and (2), conjoined subjects with the UBR as their first constituent (3), conjoined subjects with the UBR as their second constituent (4), UBR as an object (5), UBR as a prepositional complement (6) and other uses (7) (Filppula 1997: 151). My examples for the 'other'-category deviate considerably from Filppula's category as in my examples the UBRs are linked to the main subject by connectors such as *like* or *including*. The subject properties of the UBR in (2) are somewhat dubious, as the sentence is highly elliptical, but by adding *visited me in the pub* as suggested by the previous sentence, it could be seen as the only instance of UBR in single subject position in the corpus. Another type of subject UBRs is the ones found in the focus position in cleft sentences (8). No examples for this type were found in the corpus (Kallen 2013: 121).

(1) And by God, he said, it would […] he'd be the devil, if *himself* wouldn' make him laugh. (Filppula 1997: 149)

(2) He visited me in the pub when I was at work. <#> *Himself*, Edward <*> &</*> Edward's brother Geoff. (SOL W1B-012)[1]

(3) And *myself and Angela* talked for the night and then Ronan and John talked for the night. (FTF S1A-070)

(4) Only *Alex and myself* are big drinkers amongst the crowd banished to Derry, so there's not much drinking done there. (SOL W1B-006)

(5) provided James didn't marry, the farm would sustain *himself* and Letty, he working the fields and seeing to the milking, she attending to the fowls. (CRW W2F-013)

(6) Ehm went down anyway *with herself* and the doxy that comes with her. (FTF S1A-055)

(7) These are the kind of journalists *like ourselves or myself* and a few other people that kind of wouldn't have a huge big machine behind them. (BRD S1B-037)

(8) *'Twas myself* that remarked it. (Kallen 2013: 120, citing from Henry 1957: 120)

Generally, UBRs can also be found in varieties of English outside Ireland and even in the Standard English of Britain (StE), but the syntactic range of uses and their form is significantly restricted if compared to IE usage (Walshe 2009: 88). Biber et al. even list the use of reflexive pronouns without an overt anaphoric antecedent as one of the four main functions of reflexive pronouns (2000: 343) and Kallen sees a general trend in English towards the usage of UBRs (2013: 121). This popularity of unbound reflexives in other dialects but IE, however, is restricted to some types of UBRs. In English outside Ireland, the range of person categories in UBRs is restricted to the 1st person singular (*myself*), whereas IE allows for the whole paradigm of reflexive pronouns (Filppula 1999: 85).

The UBRs regarded in this thesis will be restricted to those that are primarily assigned to IE and influence from Irish. According to Kirk and Kallen, UBRs in subject position are rather unique to IE and have only one occurrence in the ICE corpus for Great Britain (2006: 104–105). These subject UBRs are divided into the categories of single subjects (Filppula 1997: 152), conjoined subjects with the UBR as the first constituent (Filppula et al. 2008: 175) and UBRs in other subject positions. Their frequencies in correspondence to the person category in the ICE Ireland corpus are listed in table 2. To search the corpus for UBRs, a simple query for the surface forms of reflexives in English was used and the results were filtered manually to discriminate the unbound forms from

[1] The three-letter code indicates the text category in ICE Ireland the examples are found in (here: SOL meaning social letter). The following code indicates the individual text of the example. The first letter of the code indicates the medium of the text; S for spoken and W for written.

regularly used reflexive pronouns. Subjects that are part of an elliptical answer to a question are included in the study. UBRs as the second constituent in conjoined subjects are added for reference, but not included into further analysis, as they are not attributed to substratum influence. Similarly, UBRs as prepositional complements are even considered part of StE (Filppula 1997: 152).

Table 2: Number of the five types of unbound reflexives in subject position in ICE Ireland: single subjects, UBR as the first constituent, UBR as the second constituent, other uses and UBR in the focus position of a cleft sentence.

	Single subj.	1st const.	2nd const.	Other	Cleft	Total
myself	0	15	13	2	0	**29**
yourself	0	1	1	0	0	2
himself	1	1	1	0	0	3
herself	0	2	0	0	0	2
itself	0	0	0	0	0	0
ourselves	0	0	0	2	0	2
yourselves	0	0	0	1	0	1
themselves	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	**19**	**15**	5	0	**39**

By far the majority of UBRs are found for the 1st person singular form *myself* with 29 positive hits, whereas only few examples are counted for the other person categories. Interestingly enough, the numbers for conjoined subjects with the UBRs as the first constituent are only slightly higher than for UBRs as the second constituent, contradicting findings by Filppula, who found UBRs as the first constituent in conjoined subjects to be a lot more frequent in IE than the option in second position (1997: 151). This might be the case because Filppula's corpus contained more traditional language than the ICE Ireland corpus. In more traditional language, UBR as the first constituent, which is the variant that is more typically IE, will come up more frequently than in the rather standardised language of ICE Ireland.

Unbound reflexives in IE have often been attributed to substratum influence from Irish, which is partially true, as the structure has parallels both in Irish and in EModE (Filppula 1999: 82). Unbound reflexives must have been in use in EModE, the English used in Shakespeare's time, as some instances are found in his works, but these seem to be a minority option, as only two UBRs were found in total. This makes substratal influence a more plausible explanation for five main reasons. Firstly, the distribution of UBRs across Ireland found by Filppula, with a higher rate in western counties such as Kerry or Clare than in eastern Dublin or Wicklow, fits the general dialect continuum in Ireland that developed due to longer contact with Irish in the west (1999: 83). Secondly, Irish generally allows unbound reflexives to be in the subject position, which can be seen in example (9) provided by Hickey: the reflexive pronoun *sé féin* is the subject of the sentence without having a preceding referent.

(9) Irish (Hickey 2004: 128; my emphasis)

An bhfuil **sé** **féin** isteach inniu?
Q is.PRS.DEP **3SG.M** **self** in today
'Is himself in today?'

Thirdly, the preferred order in conjoined subjects of placing the UBR first corresponds to the Irish word order (Odlin 1997: 43). Example (10) shows this word order in Irish and thus illustrates the Celtic substratal influence on the constituent order in IE conjoined subjects. UBRs in the first position were also possible in EModE, but they constituted only a minority option (Filppula 1997: 153). This makes substratal influence even more plausible, especially as a similar construction exist in Hebridean English, a variety strongly influenced by Scottish Gaelic (Filppula 1999: 85).

(10) Irish (Filppula 1999: 84; my glossing and emphasis)

Tá **mé** **féin** **agus** **Ruairí** sásta.
be.PRS.INDEP **1SG** **self** **and** **Ruairí** content
'Myself and Ruairí are content.'

Fourthly, both in Irish and IE, but not in StE, an unbound reflexive can stand alone in the focus position of a cleft sentence. An IE example is given in (8) and as Irish cleft constructions generally allow for a wide range of elements in focus position (Harris 1995: 197), it is hardly surprising that an UBR can also occupy this position. Fifthly, the Irish stressed reflexive *sé féin* 'himself', consisting of a personal and a reflexive pronoun, has the same prosodic structure as English *himself*: an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed one. The English reflexive pronoun *himself* is used on its own, as the addition of a personal pronoun in correspondence with Irish *sé* would destroy the unstressed-stressed match with Irish (Hickey 2007: 138).

These five reasons make it clear that substratal influence in the case of UBRs is the most likely explanation, but superstratal influence cannot be excluded completely. Thus, contact-induced grammaticalisation is a probable explanation, as input from EModE was present and reinforced or retained due to similar Irish structures. The Irish imprint is especially visible in the constituent order of conjoined subjects, the higher variability of person categories and the overall higher frequency of occurrences (Filppula 1999: 88).

3.2.2 Expression of the perfect aspect

Aspect and tense are part of the grammatical domains of IE that differ most significantly from StE and are thus very popular research topics that have been examined by various scholars. According to Filppula et al., the tense-aspect system is generally "prone to contact effects under conditions of long-term language contact or shift" (2008: 176). As these criteria are met by the contact situation in Ireland and as the Irish substratum—lacking an equivalent of 'have' (Dolan 1999: 3)—does not have an equivalent to the English *have*-perfect (Filppula 1999: 98), it comes as no surprise that the IE

perfect system is particularly affected by Irish influences. Harris distinguishes four different types of perfects, which are all transparent in IE: the *resultative perfect* denoting a "past event with present relevance," the *indefinite anterior perfect* describing an event in an unspecific period of time linked to the present, the *hot-news past* about an "event located at a point that is separated from but temporally close to the present" and the *extended-now perfect*, denoting a "situation initiated in the past and persisting into the present" (1984: 308). The StE present perfect form with *have* is also a wide-spread option for perfective aspect in IE (Kirk 2017: 246). Although all these perfect forms are present in IE, only representatives of the hot-news perfect (*after*-perfect) and the resultative perfect (medial-object perfect and *be*-perfect) and additionally a construction using the preposition *with* to denote perfective time reference will be further discussed in the following sections.

3.2.2.1 *After*-perfect

The *after*-perfect (AFT), also called immediate perfect, is undoubtedly one of the most famous features of IE and is one of the few features of IE that has rather undisputedly been ascribed to Irish substratal influence (Corrigan 2011: 41; Filppula et al. 2008: 186; Kirk and Kallen 2007: 275; Ó Sé 2004: 180). The feature is common in all dialects of IE, only showing quantitative differences in the various regions (Corrigan 2011: 41). As Ó Sé notes, the AFT is more frequent in the east of the country than on the Atlantic coast, which at first might contradict the dialect continuum established earlier. The higher frequencies in the east, however, emerged from contact with an older form of Irish that had more instances of the borrowed structure than today's Irish, which is still in contact with some western dialects of IE. Thus, the lower amount of AFT in western IE stems from the more recent contact with a modern variety of Irish that has only a few instances of the structure parallel to IE *after*-perfect (Ó Sé 2004: 243). Harris calls the *after*-perfect "hot-news perfect" (1984: 308), the name indicating the structure's function: it "refers to an action which has just taken place" (Walshe 2009: 48). This reference to a recent action puts the stress on the past action and not on the resulting present situation (Lucas 1981: 233).

The *after*-perfect in IE is formed with a form of *be* + *after* + the continuous form of the main verb (Hickey 2007: 197). Several examples found in the ICE Ireland corpora are given in (11) to (14). Example (14) displays a special case where a personal pronoun is inserted in between the *after* and the continuous form. It is debatable whether this is an instance of AFT at all, as it could also be interpreted as *after* functioning as a temporal connector, but as Schneider includes it into his analysis (2013: 151), it will be treated as an AFT here as well. Thus, ten instances of the AFT with continuous form were found in the ICE Ireland corpus overall.

(11) And he*'s after coming* back from England you know. (FTF S1A-046)

(12) They thought he *was after going* into a coma with diabetes. (FTF S1A-055)

(13) There*'s* nothing new *after coming* in anyway so. (BUT S1B-077)

(14) This *was after him sending* me a mushy letter to work on Tuesday. (SOL W1B-007)

In addition to these forms with a continuous verb form, it is possible to use the *after*-perfect with a noun phrase instead of the main verb (Kallen 2013: 95–96). Only one instance of this type was found in ICE Ireland (15), bringing the overall number of AFTs to eleven. Examples of this type provide a source for misinterpretation by non-IE speakers. In StE the construction *be after something* refers to the desire to have something and not to a finished action as in IE. The meaning of desire is lacking in IE so that the construction is unambiguously an immediate perfect (Hickey 1983b: 41).

(15) I'*m* not not that long *after my dinner*. (FTF S1A-008)

To retrieve instances of the *after*-perfect from the corpus, search terms used by Schneider were applied (2013: 149) and adapted to find more instances that the original search term was not able to find. Schneider's search term `(am|'m|m|be|was|is|'s|s|are|'re|re) after \w+ing` brought up seven true positives (2013: 149). The query `after \w+ing` found example (13), which had not been found in the previous search (Schneider 2013: 149). By modifying the first search term to allow for a word in between *after* and the participle, resulting in the query term `(am|'m|m|be|was|is|'s|s|are|'re|re|were|n't) \w+ after \w+ing`, example (14) was found. In order to ensure no instances of AFT are missed, a final query using only `after` as a search term was carried out, finding two more examples, including (15).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the origin of the *after*-perfect is uncontroversially ascribed to Irish substratal influence. A first indicator is that the *after*-perfect is only found in IE and dialects either closely related to IE or dialects influenced by IE. AFTs are for example found in Hebridean English, where Celtic parallels also offer the most plausible explanation (Filppula et al. 2008: 186). Aside from that, AFTs exist in the Englishes in Newfoundland, where many Irish people emigrated to, and in Cameroon, where Irish and Scottish missionaries influenced the English used there (Kirk 2011: 35). In all other ICE corpora, Kirk and Kallen were not able to find instances of the *after*-perfect (2006: 96), marking the structure as uniquely Irish.

Secondly, there are striking structural parallels between the IE *after*-perfect and the Irish periphrastic perfect construction PI; the second Irish perfect construction PII is calqued in the IE medial-object perfect, treated in section 3.2.2.2 (Greene 1979: 122–123). The Irish PI construction has the same function as the IE *after*-perfect and they are structurally nearly identical as can be seen in the Irish example (16): form of *bí* 'be' + subject + *tréis* 'after' + object + *a* + verbal noun. This corresponds closely to the IE construction: subject + form of *be* + *after* + participle (+object). The word *tréis* 'after' is the more common contraction of the adverbial phrase *tar éis*, meaning 'after' as well (Ó Sé 2004: 179).

(16) Irish (Greene 1979: 122; my glossing and emphasis)

Tá	sé	**tréis**	leitir	a	scríobh.
be.PRS.INDEP	3SG	**after**	letter	REL	write.VN

'He's after writing a letter.'

Example (16) also reveals a difference between the Irish and the IE *after*-construction, which, however, does not undermine the substratal theory. The word orders are not completely corresponding, as the direct object in Irish precedes the verbal noun, in IE the object follows it. The word order in IE has been altered because the Irish word order would be highly ungrammatical in StE and thus too confusing for speakers (Hickey 1995: 120). For providing the function of the AFT, the Irish word order is not necessary anyway (Hickey 2007: 136). According to Hickey, it is more important for assuming substratal transfer that the function of the PI is retained in the IE *after*-perfect, which is the case (1995: 119–120). Thus, the IE *after*-perfect provides an example of substratal transfer from Irish.

3.2.2.2 Medial-object perfect

The second option of expressing perfect in IE is the medial-object perfect (MOP). It has also been called split-perfect, referring to the form of the structure just like MOP (Forde 2005: 49), resultative perfect, referring to its resultative meaning (Hickey 1995: 115), and pseudo-perfect by Kallen (2013: 103) and Kirk (2017: 243), who doubt that the MOP structure expresses perfective meaning in all cases. Generally, the MOP is assigned a stative, resultative meaning that "focuses on the end-point, result, or resulting state, of the action rather than the action itself" (Filppula 1999: 108). Hickey also sees the MOP as an expression of reaching a "generally known goal" (2004: 124), which is why he calls it "accomplishment perfect" (Hickey 2007: 194). The MOP contrasts with the simple past insofar that the simple past refers to an action completed in the past, whereas the MOP describes the result of an action that started in the past and is now finished (Hickey 2007: 209–210). This temporal connection of a past action to a present state qualifies the MOP as a perfect tense.

As the name medial-object perfect suggests, an object is inserted into a perfect construction. Thus, the standard form of the medial-object perfect is a form of *have* + an object noun phrase + past participle (Kallen 2013: 103; Kirk and Kallen 2007: 278), which is illustrated by (17) and (18). The MOP can only occur with transitive verbs, as a direct object is required (Harris 1985: 38). The main verb usually is dynamic and denotes an activity or accomplishment, which is the case for both *completed* in (17) and *done* in (18). Stative verbs, though rarer, are possible as well (Filppula 1999: 108). The word order is not only a variation of the StE word order of the *have*-perfect but has an underlying more complex clausal structure. The construction consists of two clauses, the matrix clause with the full lexical verb *have* with a possessive meaning and an embedded clause with the participle (Harris 1985: 42).

(17) If you do it on a warm day you*'ll have a floor completed* in a wood wash in no time at all. (DEM S2A-053)

(18) They thought Bobby *would've had all his praying done*. (FTF S1A-043)

The causative, an element that is present in StE and IE, is identical to the MOP in form but not in function and should therefore not be confused with it. Causatives of the type *He had his house painted* indicate that the subject instigates someone else to do something for him (Hickey 2007: 208), which does not correspond to the meaning of MOPs. Similarly, malefactive passives of the type *I had my car stolen* that require a *by*-agent should not be confused with MOPs (Kallen 2013: 103). In the examples from the corpus, MOPs and causatives could not always be distinguished unambiguously.

Kirk and Kallen distinguish two types of MOPs, or what they call pseudo perfect (2007: 278). The first type is MOPs where the subject of the main clause and the agent of the main verb correspond like in (19) and (20). (17) and (18) above would also fall into this category. These examples show no difference in meaning if the direct object is placed after the participle like in a normal perfect construction (Kirk and Kallen 2007: 278). This type is also common outside of Ireland and not as typical for IE as type two, which is rarely found in other English varieties (Kirk and Kallen 2007: 281). This second type has no correspondence between the subject of the main clause and the agent of the action denoted by the main verb. The meaning of such examples as (21) and (22) changes drastically if the word order is altered to the object following the participle (Kirk and Kallen 2007: 280–281). In (22) the difference between *I've two daughters married* in the sense of two of the father's daughters being married, and *I've married two daughters*, making the father the one to marry the daughters, is most obvious. The subject of the main verb (*I*, meaning the father) does not correspond to the agent of the main verb, the daughters' husbands. In ICE Ireland MOPs of type one outweigh instances of type two by far: for type one 46 examples were found whereas type two only brought up ten positive results. This adds up to 56 instances of MOPs in the corpus overall.

(19) Usually, *I'd have a letter mailed* by now, but I've been very sick. (SOL W1B-010)

(20) And what I have actually done is <,> I won't draw it out for you because I *have it already drawn* on a piece of yellow crepe paper this time. (DEM S2A-058)

(21) Yeah like we we would still have a uh names on a share of them like you'd have Cronin's Black and you'd have Polly and there was a horse won the Grand National there a few years ago we *had a cow calved* that day I think it was Grit Arse I would have a cow of that name. (BRD S1B-035)

(22) And my daughters <,> I*'ve two daughters married* today <,> and they are carrying on that tradition still that the sitting-room door is locked until Christmas morning and then in and presents are opened. (BRD S1B-035)

These 56 examples were retrieved from ICE Ireland by formulating Regex search terms and filtering the results of these search terms manually. The general idea was to search for a combination of any form of *have* in combination with a participle with several intervening words. The number of words in between *have* and the participle was set from 1 to 3, as this seemed to be the most frequent number of words judging from examples in Kallen (2013) and Filppula (1999). The regular English participle ends in *-ed* so this case was applied resulting in the first search term `(have|\w+ 've|has|\w+ 's|had|haven't|hasn't|hadn't) ([\w']+ ){1,3}\w+ed`, which brought up 32 true positives. For further searches the range of participles was altered to participles ending in *-en* (`\w+en`), finding two more examples. To include at least some irregular past participles, the 21 most frequent verbs in the corpus were determined, using the word list tool provided by *AntConc*. These were *be, have, know, do, think, go, get, say, see, mean, work, want, come, sign, take, make, put, use, look, point* and *need*, from which intransitive verbs were excluded, as they are no option in the transitive MOP. From these verbs the ones whose participles end either in *-ed* or *-en* were excluded, as they had already been covered in the first two searches. Some participles of verbs that were mentioned by Filppula to be especially frequent, namely *do, make, built, get* and *forget* (1999: 108), and several other participles that frequently appeared in examples in literature (*pay, draw, set, seek* and *hold*) were added, resulting in this query term: `(have|\w+ 've|has|\w+ 's|had|haven't|hasn't|hadn't) ([\w']+ ){1,3} (done|made|built|got|forgot|had|known|thought|said|meant|put|paid|drawn|set|sought|held)`. It brought up 19 true positives. Finally, three results that had not come up in my queries but were mentioned in Schneider's study were added to the results (2013: 158).

Generally, only instances of the MOP that either conform with type one or two mentioned above are used. Non-finite clauses of the type *I hope to have a draft report prepared in time* (BUL W1B-016) are disregarded, as they have no grammatical subject that could correspond to the agent. Furthermore, constructions that use *have got* + object + participle are excluded, as they usually do not have perfective but solely possessive meaning.

The origin of the medial-object perfect is a lot more disputed than the substratal account for *after*-perfects and probably the best explanation is contact-induced grammaticalisation, as it has both substratal and superstratal parallels and can also be found in English varieties outside of Ireland (Harris 1985: 47). Whereas Pietsch sees contact-induced grammaticalisation on the semantic level only (2010: 136), Hickey (2007: 212) and Harris (1985: 50) see reinforcing and preservative influences of Irish on both syntax and semantics. Filppula goes even further by claiming that Irish had not only a reinforcing, but a significant role in the formation of the MOP (1999: 116). I will follow Hickey's and Harris' accounts of contact-inducted grammaticalisation on a syntactic and semantic level and use Pietsch's results to explain the contact effects on the semantic level.

Old English offers a formal equivalent to the MOP when both medial-object and final-object positions in perfective constructions were possible (Filppula 1999: 112). However, the medial-object variant went into a steep decline after the Middle English (ME) period and had gotten nearly extinct when English came in contact with Irish in the EModE period (Filppula 1999: 113–114). But the fact that some relics of the old perfect were still in existence during the contact situation leads Harris to believe that this structure was retained in IE while it was replaced by the new perfect form in other English varieties (1985: 49). The reason for this retention can be found in the wish of Irish speakers who learn English for a structural reflex of the Irish perfect in English (Harris 1985: 50). The Irish form in question is the PII, mentioned in 3.2.2.1, which is illustrated in (23), depicting the Irish standard structure to express possession or a state: the independent form of the substantive verb 'be' *tá* + the syntactic subject *litir* + a participle, here the verbal adjective + a prepositional pronoun (Filppula 1999: 110). The syntactic subject becomes the object in a translation into English; a more literal translation would be: 'The letter is written at me.' In the Irish transitive sentence structure, this object always stands before the verbal adjective (Hickey 2007: 211). It is by no means an exact structural match with the Irish English MOP but would be close enough for learners of English to prefer the MOP over other perfect options.

(23) Irish (Ó Sé 1992: 39; my glossing and emphasis)

Tá	**litir**	**scrío-fa**	ag-am.
be.PRS.INDEP	**letter**	**write-VA**	at-1SG

'I have a letter written.'

In Irish, constructions like (23) usually have a stative or resultative meaning (Ó Sé 1992: 65). This meaning has been taken over into IE (Pietsch 2010: 131) so that the meanings of the MOP and the PII in Irish are parallel. With the syntactic structure originating from English but having been preserved by contact with Irish and the resultative meaning of MOPs stemming from Irish, contact-induced grammaticalisation seems to be the most plausible explanation for the origin of IE medial-object perfects.

3.2.2.3 *Be*-perfect

The *be*-perfect (BEP) is the intransitive counterpart of the medial-object perfect (Harris 1985: 38). It is mainly found in the rather conservative dialects of Munster and Connacht in the west and seems to be in decline (Ó Sé 1992: 65). Just like the MOP, the *be*-perfect has stative and resultative meaning with a focus on the endpoint and result of an activity or event (Filppula 1999: 117; Ó Sé 1992: 65).

The general form of the BEP is a form of the auxiliary *be* + past participle of the main verb (Harris 1995: 202), illustrated in (24) and (25). The main verb must be intransitive and is in most cases mutative so that verbs like *leave, change, die* or *go* are especially frequent (Filppula 1999: 117).

Gone as the past participle of *go* is, according to Kallen, the most frequent choice of participles in the *be*-perfect, while other participles often result in ambiguous structures that could also be interpreted as passives or adjectival complements (2013: 102). BEPs can also occur in more complex verbal structures, like in (26), where the standard form would require *have* instead of *be*. Questions are another structure that is open to *be*-perfects (27). In her study on IE in Ros Goill, Lucas claims that the form *be gone* is often substituted with *be away*, which she still sees as an expression of resultative perfect (1981: 233). An example from ICE Ireland is illustrated in (28), where *away* substitutes *gone* and is thus a BEP construction.

(24) Oh when Bronagh *was gone* away to Australia. (FTF S1A-070)

(25) Ah well we were in the if you if you *'re come* down in a barrel like of course, but after that. (FTF S1A-065)

(26) The mother and father and brothers and sisters *'d be gone* to bed. (FTF S1A-063)

(27) But saying that Lauren, it was the receptionist this, I said to the receptionist, here on the desk, *is he gone* in to visit. (FTF S1A-008)

(28) *Were you away* down the port. (FTF S1A-032)

Retrieving instances of the BEP from the corpus was a challenging task, as the distinction of BEP from passive constructions (29), adjectival use of the participle (30) or perfect constructions using the contracted *'s* for either *is* or *has* is often hardly possible. Thus, hits with the contraction *'s* were generally excluded, except for examples like (31), where an adverbial makes the use of *has* ungrammatical, and in cases when the same speaker uses a clear BEP just before the example, as it is unlikely that they switch from *be*- to *have*-perfect within one speaking turn. Clear uses of the participle as an adjective complement (30) and passive constructions (29) have been excluded from the analysis as well.

(29) Anything that has to get gone into *can be gone into* in the morning. (CRW W2F-018)

(30) Suddenly the day was brighter and the fear *was gone*. (CRW W2F-010)

(31) Oh she'*s gone* about, oh I suppose five or six years, she was with us there like (FTF S1A-083)

The search terms for finding BEPs provided another difficulty. Queries using search terms like `(am|'m|m|be|was|is|'s|s|are|'re|re|were|n't) \w+ed`, searching for any form of *be* with any participle ending in *-ed* produced over 8,000 hits, which are too many to perform a manual inspection. The same case came up with participles ending in *-en*. Thus, queries searching for participles of specific verbs had to be used. According to Filppula, the most frequent verbs with BEP are *leave, change, die, come, vanish* and especially *go* (1999: 117); so these verbs were used in search terms following the pattern of `(am|'m|m|be|was|is|'s|s|are|'re|re|were|n't) gone` and, to allow for intervening words, `(am|'m|m|be|was|is|'s|s|are|'re|re|were|n't)`

`\w+ gone`. With this method 18 examples were found for *gone*; *come* brought up only one example, all the other participles did not have any positive hits. Additionally, the instances with *away* were retrieved with the same type of search term, producing five positive hits. Thus, overall, 24 instances of the BEP were found in ICE Ireland, which are certainly not all occurrences of the BEP in the corpus, as only several verbs were searched for, resulting in an underestimation of its frequency.

The origin of *be*-perfects is usually ascribed to the perfect in earlier English that has been retained by contact with Irish, thus generally following the superstratal model but with a reinforcing influence from Irish (Filppula 1999: 122). Many instances of the BEP are found in EModE, with *be* even being preferred over *have* to form perfects, which was followed by a steep decline of BEPs after the 18th century (Filppula 1999: 118–119). Thus, during the Irish-English contact period, BEPs were still in use in English so that similar Irish constructions had a preservative effect on the English structure. Ó Sé calls this Irish structure the "intransitive perfect" (1992: 41), which consists of *tá* 'is' followed by a verbal adjective, as illustrated in (32). The reason for the use of *tá* in forming a periphrastic perfect is the non-existence of an Irish verb for 'have' (Hickey 2007: 196).

(32) Irish (Ó Sé 1992: 49; my emphasis and glossing)

Tá sé **imi-the** abhaile.

be.PRS.INDEP 3SG **go-VA** home

'He is gone home.'

Irish intransitive perfects like (32) have stative and resultative meaning, which corresponds to the meanings of IE BEP (Ó Sé 1992: 49). A further indicator that Irish influenced the development of BEPs is the higher productivity of these in Ireland than in traditional British dialects where BEPs still exist but are lexically frozen to *go* (Filppula 1999: 119–120). Thus, the former English structure has probably been preserved by Irish learners of English because of a structurally and functionally similar structure in Irish, whereas BEPs were lost elsewhere.

3.2.2.4 Temporal preposition *with* instead of *for* with perfective time reference

The temporal use of the preposition *with* (WIT) is also closely connected to the perfect aspect system of IE, as *with* can be used in the sense of 'for' denoting the "duration of a state or an activity" (Filppula 1999: 232). In IE, *with* as a temporal preposition occurs most often in connection with the so-called 'extended-now-perfect,' the use of a present tense form to express perfective meaning (Filppula 1999: 122). Below, three examples of *with* as temporal preposition are given in (33) to (35), all of them showing the durative characteristic of the prepositional complements. Only one example for this feature was found in ICE Ireland (33). It does not show the reported co-occurrence with the extended-now perfect but is used with a StE present perfect passive form. The same applies to example (34); only (35) shows the usage of temporal *with* after an extended-now perfect.

(33) 'Tis 'tis uh, she's been gone like *with over a week* you know. (BRN S2B-014)

(34) She hasn't been home *with years*. (Dolan 1999: 228; my emphasis)

(35) Hugh Curtin is buried *with years*, but his grandchildren are there now. (Filppula 1999: 123; my emphasis)

This one example (33) was found by creating a search term for *with* followed by common terms denoting time spans that were either found to be common in the IE context of temporal *with* in Filppula (1999) and Kallen (2013) (*year, month, week, day, long, while*) or are further common terms for time spans (*hour, minute, second*). This resulted in the query term `(with|With) ([\w']+ ){0,5}(year|month|week|day|hour|minute|second|while|long)` that brought up example (33). Assuming that there were more temporal uses of *with* in the corpus, all occurrences of *with* were manually inspected, but no further occurrences were found. This result might justify the assumption that temporal *with* is very rare in modern educated Irish English, which might mean that this feature is in decline in general.

Prepositional usage is generally an area where transfer in contact situations is common so that there is extensive non-standard prepositional use in IE (Filppula et al. 2008: 200; Hickey 2007: 246). Thus, *with* does not only have the standard comitative meaning and the already explained temporal meaning in IE, but it also refers to possession and functions as an introductory preposition for *by*-agents (Kallen 2013: 175). These meanings can be traced back to the uses of the Irish preposition *le* 'with' that range from the primary meaning of accompaniment and instrumentality, to resultative connotations and the expression of duration (Zingg 2013: 50). This durative meaning of Irish *le*, as illustrated in (36), was transferred to the IE temporal preposition *with*.

(36) Irish (Filppula 1999: 126; my glossing and emphasis)

Tá-im	anseo	**le**	**bliain**.
be.PRS.INDEP-1SG	here	**with**	**year**

'I have been here for a year.'

The substratal account is additionally supported by the facts that temporal *with* does not occur in any English dialect but IE and that the feature is especially common in the dialects of south-west Ireland, where the contact with Irish is the most recent (Filppula 1999: 233). However, temporal *with* seems to be in decline in modern-day Irish English.

3.2.3 Habitual aspect with *do* and *be*

Another aspectual feature of IE is the use of *do* and *be* to convey habitual meaning. Depending on the scholar, this feature is also called "consuetudinal present" (Bliss 1972: 75) or "[p]eriphrastic *do*" (Filppula 1999: 130). Ronan defines habitual action as "the repetition of individual events within any given period of time" (2011: 105). In StE such an action is not overtly grammatically encoded in the present tense but only in the past, using the phrase *used to* contrasting with the non-habitual *was/were* (Harris 1984: 306). In IE, however, this distinction is also made in the present tense using

six different structures, all involving forms of *do* or *be* in one way or another, to convey habituality. These six types of habitual marking in IE are illustrated in (37) to (43). All but one—example (39) being from Kallen (1986: 135)—were found in ICE Ireland.

(37) That that buck that *does be* on the television on the video. (FTF S1A-087)

(38) You take notes at the lectures and get around to it sometime but still, you certain you *do come* out of most tutorials and lectures interested in actually reading them but […]. (CLD S1B-019)

(39) It *doesn't be* long *coming*. (Kallen 1986: 135; my emphasis)

(40) He just stands there and *bes* Frankenstein. (FTF S1A-032)

(41) No I never *be* down about there's everything you know there's, all that you want to see in fish you'll get it there. (FTF S1A-045)

(42) Doreen *don't be saying* that to her. (FTF S1A-007)

(43) And if you have soup in the house well you*'re* absolutely never *be* stuck. (DEM S2A-057)

Type I (37) consists of a form of *do* and the infinitive of the stative verb *be* (Kallen 2013: 91) and is the standard type used in southern dialects (Hickey 2007: 217). The auxiliary *do* is always unstressed, which is the main distinguishing point from the emphatic *do*, which is always stressed (Filppula 1999: 130). This similarity to emphatic *do* made finding instances of the habitual *do* in the written corpus hard, as phonologic features like stress are not transcribed. Thus, only the context could give indications whether an example was emphatic or habitual. Past uses of the *do be* type are rare but possible (Filppula 1999: 133) and none have been found in ICE Ireland. In (37) the inflexion of *does* corresponds with the number of the subject, but such agreement is not necessary in all cases (Forde 2005: 46). To find instances in the corpus, the search term `(do|does|doesn't|did|didn't) ([\w']+ ){0,5}be` was used, allowing for intervening words between the forms of *do* and the infinitive *be*. This produced (37), the only example for *do be* found in ICE Ireland.

Type II is very similar to type I, but it takes an infinitive of any verb but *be* after the form of *do.* Here, the distinction between emphatic and habitual uses was even more difficult so that only instances that have a context justifying habituality were included in the analysis. Example (38) provides such a habitual context because attending lectures is an action that students do as a daily habit. As the ICE Ireland corpus is not grammatically tagged, searching for *do* + any verbal infinitive was not possible. Thus, the same list of the 20 most frequent verbs in the corpus excluding *be* as used in 3.2.2.2 was included in the search term `(do|does|doesn't|did|didn't) ([\w']+ ){0,5}(have|know|do|think|go|get|say|see|mean|work|want|come|sign|take|make|put|use|look|point|need)`, which produced four true positives. In Filppula's corpus, type II

is the most common type of habitual *do* (1999: 132). For ICE Ireland, no such conclusion can be drawn, as only a small selection of the 20 most frequent verbs was searched for.

Type III, like in (39), is the habitual progressive that has the form *do(es) be* V-*ing* (Ronan 2011: 106). It is seen as a typical feature of IE but is in fact rare in Filppula's traditional dialect corpus (1999: 132) and not found at all in ICE Ireland. This might seem surprising at first but could be explained by speakers avoiding such well-known and stigmatised features of IE in educated speech.

Type IV is called invariant *be* and can have the forms *be, bees, bes* or *be's* (Kallen 2013: 92). The *s*-inflexion is not bound to correspond with the subject, as it is no 3rd person singular *-s*. This type can also occur with present and past participles, having forms like *be* + V-*ing*/V-*ed.* All of these type IV forms are mainly found in northern dialects (Kallen 2013: 93) and both (40) and (41) come from the Northern Ireland section of the corpus. Various search terms were used: a surface search for the different forms of *bes* `( bes | bees | be's )`, these forms in combination with an *ing*-participle `( be | bes | bees | be's )\w+ing`, and the combination of personal pronouns with the *be* forms, with and without allowing for intervening words: `(I|you|he|she|it|we|they|all)( be | bes | bees | be's )` and `(I|you|he|she|it|we|they) (\w+) be`. Overall, five examples were found.

The negative imperative is the fifth type included in the category of habitual *do.* It consists of the negation *don't* + *be* + the participle V-*ing* (Hickey 2007: 223) and is illustrated in (42). Six negative imperatives were found in ICE Ireland by a query with the search term `(don't|Don't) be \w+ing`. Another one came up while searching for instances of type IV.

Type VI was discovered by Ronan in her analysis of ICE Ireland and had not been attested before. She found a construction consisting of an inflected present tense form of *be* and *be* as an infinitive, as illustrated in (43). The two instances found by Ronan (2011: 110–111) were also extracted from the corpus using the search term `( are|\w+ 're) ([\w']+ ){0,2}be`. No additional instances of this feature were found.

Table 3: Number of occurrences of habitual constructions with do *and* be *in ICE Ireland, sorted by sub-type and frequency per 10,000 words (/10,000).*

	do be	*do* + V	*do be* V-*ing*	*be(es)*	*don't be* V-*ing*	*are be*	total	/10,000
ICE	1	4	0	5	7	2	**19**	**0.19**

Table 3 shows the total number of habitual constructions with *do* and *be* that were found in ICE Ireland. With only 19 hits in an over 1,000,000-word corpus (0.19 per 10,000 words), the frequency is a lot lower than in corpora containing more traditional dialects, like in Filppula's where 3.0 instances per 10,000 words were found (1999: 132). Like Ronan notes, this is hardly surprising, as the ICE corpus contains standardised IE that is rather close to the StE as spoken in Britain and is thus not expected to show many non-standard features (2011: 112). The *don't be* v-*ing* construction seems

to be the most prominent one, but the number of examples found for the *do* + V type cannot be final, as only a small number of possible verbs was investigated.

The different types are assigned to different origins, but all are in some way connected to Irish influence. In Irish, there are an iterative—a repeated punctual action—and a habitual present tense form of the substantial verb *bí* 'be': *tá* 'is' as the iterative form and *bíonn* 'does be' as the habitual form (Hickey 1995: 120–121). Thus, Irish speakers who had to learn English would find it necessary to create such a distinction in English, as the simple present only covers the iterative aspect. Hickey calls this necessity seen by Irish learners of English the "prime impetus" to form a habitual in IE (1995: 121). The most direct structural parallel between IE and Irish can be seen for type IV using *bees*. Both Filppula et al. (2008: 190) and Bliss (1972: 75) see *bees* as a direct reflex from the Early Modern Irish consuetudinal, meaning habitual, form *bì(dh)*, which is pronounced phonetically identically to English *be*. In some cases, a 3rd person singular *-s* is added, resulting in the forms present in today's IE.

For the forms using habitual *do*, the explanation of their origin is less straightforward, as no direct parallel exists in Irish and habitual marking with this periphrastic unstressed *do* also exists in British English dialects outside Ireland, which makes this form a probable case of retention from earlier English (Ronan 2011: 107). When English was first introduced to Ireland in the EModE period, according to Bliss, *do* was still a "meaningless tense-forming auxiliary" (1972: 76) and therefore eligible for functional extension by speakers of Irish to form a grammaticalised habitual in IE. According to Hickey, a closer structural parallel exists for the case of negative imperative constructions using *don't be* V-*ing*, which he claims to reflect the syntactic and intonation pattern of a corresponding Irish structure, as illustrated in (44) below (2007: 223). The initial two stressed syllables of *Ná bí* and *Don't be* constitute an intonational parallel while the structural parallel is evident in the use of *bí* in the imperative followed by a continuous form of the lexical verb (Hickey 2007: 223). Such a close parallel might have enhanced the extension of the periphrastic *do* + verb to habitual meaning, as the negative imperative is structurally close to the habitual progressive, which again has close relations to the *do* + verb habitual.

(44) Irish (Hickey 2007: 223; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Ná	**bí**	**ag**	**labhair-t**	mar	sin.
not	**be.IMP**	**at**	**speak-VN**	like	that

'Don't be talking like that.'

In conclusion, the forms of habitual *do* and *be* in IE cannot be traced back to transfer from Irish alone—except for the *bees*-type—but their origin is best described as "multiple causation" (Filppula 1999: 149) with the habitual function being borrowed from Irish and the periphrastic *do* form being retained from earlier English.

3.2.4 Inversion of word order in indirect questions

Usually, English indirect questions have the same subject-verb word order as a declarative sentence. In IE, however, the inverted word order found in direct questions can be retained in indirect ones (Schneider 2013: 154). Even though the word order is the same as in direct questions, the embedded inverted questions can usually be recognized easily as the tenses are shifted and pronouns and deictic adverbials are changed (Henry 1997: 90). Such cases of inversion in embedded questions can be found in informal varieties of English in general (Biber et al. 2000: 920). As will be shown later in detail, this explanation as a general vernacular feature is not sufficient to account for the high frequency of this feature in IE and in Englishes influenced by Celtic languages so that a substratal explanation becomes necessary.

Two types of embedded inversion can be distinguished: simple indirect inverted questions and more complex indirect questions. In StE, the simple type is formed using the complementisers *if* or *whether* followed by the subject and the verb and it can be answered with *yes* or *no*. In IE, however, *if* or *whether* are deleted and the inverted verb-subject order of the direct question is taken over (Walshe 2009: 94). The complex embedded inverted questions use an interrogative pronoun such as *who, what, when, where, which* or *how* in combination with the word order of a direct question (Walshe 2009: 94). Examples from ICE Ireland for the simple type are given in (45) to (47); (48) and (49) illustrate the complex form with interrogatives. (47) is especially interesting, as both an inverted embedded and a non-inverted embedded clause are used in the same sentence. Furthermore, the inverted question is introduced by *if*, which is highly unusual, as either the complementiser or inversion is found in embedded questions of IE, not both (Henry 1997: 91).

(45) She said the person didn't even go up to ring her bell to *see was she there*. (FTF S1A-056)

(46) <unclear> several sylls </unclear> really ask the Taoiseach if he would *tell us is he going to* circulate a speech. (PAD S1B-057)

(47) And the children with dirty faces and bright eyes followed him around asking him if he knew where Clint Eastwood lived, and *if* when he returned *could he hide them away* in his suitcase? (CRW W2F-007)

(48) I *wonder when will he get* his car phone put in. (FTF S1A-060)

(49) Now I *don't know what do you think* about that. (UNS S2A-043)

Both types share a number of typical verbs used in the introducing matrix clause, identified by Filppula as the five verbs *ask, wonder, tell, see* and *know* in its negated form *don't know* (1999: 167); all of them are illustrated in the examples above. Matrix verbs are not restricted to these five, as especially in the northern dialects more variation is possible (Hickey 2007: 274). These five verbs were employed to find instances of embedded inversion of both types in the corpus. Adapting

Schneider's search term, which is restricted to finding simple embedded inversions (2013: 155), for each of the matrix verbs a search term was created that would find all the instances of all possible forms of the respective verb. The results were inspected manually to extract instances of embedded inversion and indirect questions without inversion for reasons of comparison. The search terms were: `\bask\w*` for *ask*, `\bwonder\w*` for *wonder*, `(don't|doesn't|not|didn't|won't) know\w*` for *don't know*, `(\btell\w*|told)` for *tell* and `(see |sees|seen| saw)` for *see*. Just like by Filppula (2000: 442), instances of complex indirect questions that are introduced by an interrogative pronoun in subject position (50) were excluded from further analysis and counted as non-inverted embedded questions, as the word order is automatically fixed to subject before verb.

(50) I must *ask her what happened* about the job in the shop from last year. (SOL W1B-014)

The overall number of instances of embedded inversion in ICE Ireland for the five matrix verbs in comparison to non-inverted indirect questions is given in table 4. The StE indirect questions without inversion (594 hits overall) are used a lot more frequently than the IE variation with inversion (117 hits overall). Looking at the relation of simple and complex indirect questions reveals that inverted embedded questions are predominantly simple, whereas non-inverted questions mostly use an interrogative pronoun. This preference for inverted embedded questions without a pronoun can be explained with closer structural parallels in Irish. For all five investigated matrix verbs simple inversion without an interrogative pronoun is more frequent than the complex option, where generally the non-inverted StE form is preferred. In contrast to Forde, who found *wonder* to be the most frequent matrix verb in the *Limerick Corpus of Irish English* (2005: 55), here *ask* is the most common introducing verb for inverted questions of both types.

Table 4: Total number of inverted indirect questions for the matrix verbs ask, wonder, don't know, tell *and* see *in ICE Ireland. Numbers for non-inverted indirect questions are given for comparison.*

	simple inversion	complex inversion	total inversion	simple non-inversion	complex non-inversion	total no inversion
ask	35	26	61	43	40	83
wonder	27	7	34	22	47	69
don't know	8	2	10	66	145	211
tell	5	1	6	5	64	69
see	5	1	6	53	109	162
total	80	37	**117**	189	405	594

An explanation for the higher frequency of simple embedded questions in IE can be found in the closer Irish parallel to this structure as compared to parallels for complex indirect questions. In Irish, there is no equivalent to English *if* or *whether* (Filppula et al. 2008: 195) so that Irish learners of English would have tended not to use these English connectors in forming embedded questions but rather stick to the Irish means of forming indirect questions: retaining the word order of the direct

question in the indirect structure (Filppula 2000: 448), which can be seen in the Irish examples (51) and (52), where a direct question with its indirect counterpart is given. This Irish structure was directly calqued in the IE embedded question without major structural breaches, which makes it so popular.

(51) Irish (Filppula 2000: 448; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

An	**raibh**	**tú**	sásta?
Q	be.PST.DEP	2SG	content

'Were you content?'

(52) Irish (Filppula 2000: 448; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Chuir	sé	ceist	ort	**an**	**raibh**	**tú**	sásta.
put	3SG	question	on.2SG	Q	be.PST.DEP	2SG	content

'He asked you if you were content.'

For questions with an interrogative pronoun, this Irish-English parallel is less close, as in Irish direct questions with a pronoun are formed using a relative clause structure that is also retained in the indirect question (Filppula 1999: 169–170). A structure like in (53) and (54) cannot easily be modelled in English, where relative clauses are no grammatical option to form questions. A word-by-word translation of (53) would be 'What was the place at which you saw it?'; a structure with a relative clause like is called cleft (Filppula 2000: 448). Due to this more complex Irish structure that cannot easily be modelled in English, the complex embedded questions are less frequent in IE.

(53) Irish (Filppula 2000: 448; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Cé	**an**	**áit**	**a**	**bhfaca**	tú	é?
what	DET	place	REL	see.PST.DEP	2SG	3SG

'Where did you see it?'

(54) Irish (Filppula 2000: 449; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Chuir	sé	ceist	**cé**	**an**	**áit**	**a**	**bhfaca**	tú	é.
put	3SG	question	what	DET	place	REL	see.PST.DEP	2SG	3SG

'He asked where you saw it.'

Superstratal explanations and theories assigning the feature to general vernacular simplification have been proposed but are seen as insufficient to account for all the characteristics of IE embedded inversion. In earlier English, the V2-properties of syntax, meaning putting the verb in the second position, were very robust (Filppula 2000: 444), resulting in embedded questions with inversion. In the EModE period, when IE developed, this feature was marginal in English, not giving enough input to explain the high frequency of embedded inversion in IE. Similarly, embedded inversion may be found in several vernacular varieties around the world and be seen as "occasional slips from indirect speech into direct speech" (Filppula 2000: 445). However, this cannot explain why embedded inversion is particularly common in regions where Celtic languages were or are still spoken and why

in IE it is most common in dialects that had most recent contact with Irish (Filppula 2000: 446–447). Thus, it seems most probable that IE embedded inversion was mainly coined by Irish influence but is to some extent also a general feature of vernacular varieties of English.

3.2.5 Failure of negative attraction

A further feature of IE is the so-called failure of negative attraction (FNA). In StE, indefinite pronouns in subject position and adverbs like *ever* have a negation particle attached to them when the sentence is negated. Thus, a clause like **anyone doesn't go* would be ungrammatical in StE, as *no one goes* must be used (Filppula 1999: 179). In IE, however, structures like the first example are possible, as these elements "are not shifted to their negative counterparts in sentences with verbal negation" (Hickey 2007: 271). The negative attraction usually required by indefinite pronouns and some adverbs is blocked. Even though the feature is rather infrequent in Filppula's more dialectal corpus (1999: 179) and even said not to be part of supraregional varieties at all (Hickey 2007: 271), 14 instances of the feature were found in ICE Ireland; some examples are illustrated in (55) to (59). The feature was probably more widespread in the early 20th century, not only in Ireland but also in Scotland and northern parts of England (Kallen 2013: 107).

(55) The <.> name </.> nuns are always the worst of the lot because the nuns, *any nuns have no sense* of value of money. (FTF S1A-037)

(56) Of course it's not like that at all and I hope that *any aspiring writers amongst you don't have* any notions that it might be. (SCS S2B-047)

(57) It is true that *everyone did not get* everything they wanted but that is the nature of such things. (PAD S1B-054)

(58) I hope *all your teeth don't fall* out. (SOL W1B-002)

(59) *Don't ever not go* out on Saint Patrick's Day. (TEC S1A-092)

According to Filppula, *any* and its compound forms *anybody*, *anyone* and *anything* and the universal quantifier *every* with its compound forms *everybody*, *everyone* and *everything* are the forms that most often trigger a failure of negative attraction (1999: 179–180). He did not find any instances of the universal quantifier *all*, and other indefinite pronouns and adverbs like *either, another* or *ever* (Filppula 1999: 180). While in ICE Ireland forms with *any* with eight examples turned out to be the most frequent type, only one instance with *every* came up (57). Four instances of *all* avoiding negative attraction were found, one of them given in (58). *Ever* also occurs once in an instance of failure of negative attraction (59). The range and frequency of indefinite pronouns and adverbs with FNA found by Filppula is thus only partially reflected in the ICE Ireland corpus.

To retrieve instances of FNA from the corpus, search terms were formulated that search for a form beginning with *any-* or *every-*, having several intervening words and ending in either *not, n't* or *no*. This resulted in the two query terms `any\w* ([\w']+ ){0,8}(not|\w+n't|no)` and

`every\w* ([\w']+ ){0,8}(not|\w+n't|no)`. To find further indefinite elements with FNA, a collective search term was formulated: `(either|ever|another|all|each) ([\w']+ ){0,8}(not|\w+n't|no)`. In this last query, only instances for *ever* and *all* were found.

The origin of FNA is usually attributed to Irish substratal influence (Filppula 1999: 183; Harris 1984: 305; Hickey 2007: 271). In Irish, the negating particles *ní* or *níor* always stand in front of the verb and cannot be moved to the subject as in StE (Harris 1984: 305). Therefore, they cannot be contracted with indefinite determiners in subject position, like *aon* 'any' or *gach aon* 'every' (Filppula 1999: 181). This lack of attachment of a negative particle to the indefinite subject is illustrated in (60) where the negator *ní* stays in front of the verb *raibh* and is not attached to the indefinite subject *aon*.

(60) Irish (Harris 1984: 305; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Ní	raibh	**aon**	duine	sa	bhaile.
NEG	be.PST.DEP	**any**	person	in.the	home

'Anyone wasn't at home.'

Further support for the substratal hypothesis is provided by the absence of FNA in British English dialects (Hickey 2007: 271). Thus, substratal transfer can be seen as the most influential or even sole source for Irish English FNA.

3.2.6 Subordinating *and*

In IE, *and* can have a subordinating function, in addition to the coordinating function it also has in StE. In this non-standard usage, *and* introduces a subordinate clause that does not have a finite verb (Filppula 1991: 618). Today, it is rather infrequent and mainly found in traditional rural dialects (Filppula 1991: 621). Whereas Harris claims that this feature is unique to IE (1984: 305), Kallen sees it as non-unique to Irish English (2013: 81).

The general form of subordinating *and* in IE is *and* + pronoun + non-finite verb form (Harris 1984: 305). The pronoun can either be a subject pronoun, like *I* or *he*, or an object pronoun, such as *me* or *him* (Walshe 2009: 110). Following Odlin's categorisation of possible non-finite verb forms with the subordinating *and* construction, five different verb forms can be identified: the progressive verb (present participle with *-ing*), the perfect verb form (past participle), an adjective with a zero copula, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase (1992: 184). These uses are illustrated by examples from ICE Ireland in (61) to (64); only the form using a prepositional phrase is illustrated by an example (65) from Filppula (1991: 618), as the corpus did not provide any instances. All these examples show a construction where the *and*-clause follows the main clause. However, it is also possible that the subordinating *and*-clause precedes the main clause (Odlin 1991: 608), which is rather rare so that it is not surprising that no such instance was found in ICE Ireland. An example is given in (66).

(61) And there was your man *and he putting* ridge tiles on a roof. (FTF S1A-083)

(62) I came up *and I seen* this haze of smoke like. (FTF S1A-027)

(63) Cos I just saw that, mother you're sure surely never going to play tennis *and you pregnant*. (CLD S1B-006)

(64) How she got her name was, she'd always this <&> sniffs </&> *and her nose in the air*, you know the Bisto kids. (FTF S1A-008)

(65) He said you could hear them [strange noises] yet, inside in his own house late at night *and he in bed*. (Filppula 1991: 618)

(66) *And I going* into the town of Ballygar a car pulled beside me. (Odlin 1991: 608; my emphasis)

The main semantic meaning of subordinating *and*-constructions is temporal, as it expresses the simultaneity of the two actions denoted by the main and the subordinating clause so that a StE equivalent would be 'while' or 'when' (Filppula 1991: 618). Thus, example (63) has the meaning that one would probably not play tennis *while* one is pregnant. The second common meaning is concessive, equitable with the concessive subjunction 'although' (Hickey 2007: 157). Kallen also identified consequence as a possible shade of meaning (2013: 80).

The search terms to find instances of subordinating *and* in the corpus were based on the five syntactic strategies of formation. The first focusses on uses of the present participle, resulting in the search term `and (I|you|he|she|it|we|they|me|him|her|us|them|my|your|his|our|their) \w+ing`, which brought up three examples. The equivalent search term for *-ed* participles did not bring up any true positives so that the irregular participles *gone, been* and *seen* were investigated in the same way; the search term with *seen* brought up one example. To allow for non-pronominal subjects in the *-ing*-type, which turned out to be the most common type, the search term `and the \w+ \w+ing` was created and found two instances of subordinating *and*. Systematically finding instances of noun phrases and adjectives as predicates was not possible because the corpus is not tagged for word classes. The two examples for a noun phrase and an adjective as a predicate given above were found by examining in detail some texts of the corpus that had brought up a large number of instances of IE features. For the type using prepositional phrases, the search term `and (I|you|he|she|it|we|they|him|her|them|me|us) (on|in|out|with|at|by)` was applied, choosing some frequent prepositions for the query. No true positives were found for this type. Overall, nine instances of subordinating *and* were found in the corpus, but it is very probable that further examples were overlooked due to restrictions in the possibilities of retrieving them.

The origin of IE subordinating *and* is probably best explained by a mixture of substratal and superstratal influences. There are close structural parallels between the Irish word *agus* 'and' and *and* in IE: both can be used to coordinate and subordinate clauses (Odlin 1991: 603). The subordinating construction in Irish also uses a predicate without a finite verb, usually the combination of *ag* 'at' and

a verbal noun (Filppula 1991: 619), as illustrated in (67). This sentence could either convey temporal meaning or, even more probable, concessive meaning in the sense of 'He went for a walk although it was raining' (Hickey 1983b: 42). This shows that the semantics of subordinating *agus* and *and* also correspond, giving further support for the substratal theory. Irish *agus* can also appear in a subordinate clause that precedes the main clause, thus constituting another structural parallel (Odlin 1991: 608).

(67) Irish (Hickey 1983b: 42; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Chuaigh	sé	ag	siúl	**agus**	**é**	**ag**	**cur**	**báistí**.
go.PST.INDEP	3SG	at	walk.VN	**and**	**it**	**at**	**put.VN**	**rain.GEN**

'He went for a walk and it raining.'

A pattern of subordinating *and* exists in some other varieties of English as well even though it seems to be even rarer in a British English corpus than in ICE Ireland (Filppula 1991: 623). In EModE, a structure with close parallels with today's IE can be found that also conveys a meaning of simultaneity and has the same surface structure. However, in EModE, an undertone of surprise is usually conveyed in such a construction, which is completely absent from IE. Furthermore, the feature was rather marginal at that time (Filppula 1991: 625–626). This superstratal account cannot explain all the peculiarities connected to subordinating *and* in IE. For example, the geographical distribution of the feature in Ireland—it being a lot more common in regions that had more recent contact with Irish—and the lack of examples for all five possible syntactic structures in dialects outside Ireland are better explained using the substratal theory (Odlin 1992: 189–190). Thus, the most probable origin is the reinforcement and preservation of a structure that already existed in EModE by the close semantic and formal parallel with the Irish construction with *agus* that made the English structure easier to acquire for Irish speakers during the time of the language shift from Irish to English.

3.2.7 Infinitive construction with *for to*

The infinitive construction introduced by *for to* usually denotes a sense of purpose and can thus often be replaced by the StE infinitival introduction *in order to* (Henry 1997: 98). Even though the feature is very rare in today's IE—only three examples were found in ICE Ireland and are given in (68) to (70)—and is even seen as an archaic feature (Walshe 2009: 74), it is still accepted by most speakers of IE (Hickey 2007: 188). In (68), the *for to* could be replaced by *in order to* and still convey the same meaning of purpose. In (69) and (70), substituting with *in order to* would result in a somewhat odd construction so that the synonymous preposition of purpose *to* is more fitting. To find these three instances, an easy surface search using the search term `for to` as suggested by Schneider (2013: 146) was used. This brought up four hits, three of which were the true positives, listed below in (68) to (70).

(68) And of course Stephens's morning then we all waited for Stephens's morning, *for to go out* with the Wren. (BRD S1B-035)

(69) No it's, no it was two hundred no it's two hundred and twenty from Gatwick and then, I haven't paid *for to get* over to London yet but then the rest of it was all insurance. (FTF S1A-014)

(70) That's I suppose passion for the subjects and passion *for to change* things but also a bit of personal you know I could do I can do better than I have been doing you know. (BUT S1B-075)

The infinitive with *for to* is especially common in Belfast English and in Northern Ireland in general (Henry 1997: 89) but can be found all over Ireland. The construction also occurs in other English dialects; for instance, Kallen found one occurrence in the ICE compartment for Great Britain (2013: 84) and Schneider claims that *for to* can be found in various varieties of English as a first language so that it should not be seen as a particularly Irish feature at all (2013: 146). However, there are parallels in the Irish language that should not be disregarded.

The major Irish parallel is based on the preposition *chun/chum* that also has a meaning of purpose (Filppula 1999: 185). It can be translated into English as 'to, in order to' and 'for' (Beattie 2016: 45) and thus forms a connection of meaning between these two English words, making them more or less interchangeable for Irish learners of English. A further structural parallel is that *chun* also heads a non-finite clause (Hickey 2007: 187), as illustrated in example (71), where the preposition *chun* is followed by a verbal noun form. These parallels of IE *for to* with Irish *chun* make it hard to deny that some influence was exercised during the time of language shift.

(71) Irish (Hickey 2007: 187; my emphasis and adapted glossing)

Cheannaigh	sé	adhmad	**chun**	bord	a	**dhéan-amh.**
buy.PST	3SG	wood	**for.to**	table	REL	**make-VN**

'He bought wood to make a table.'

However, there are indicators as well that IE *for to* might be a retention from an earlier form of English. *For to* with the meaning of purpose can be found from Middle English onwards, but it changed its function so that by the end of the 14th century, it served as a general infinitive marker (Dolan 1999: 113). With this meaning *for to* was in use in EModE and only retained its meaning of purpose in some northern English dialects (Hickey 2007: 186). As Hickey argues, IE *for to* should be used in this mere function of marking an infinitive if it was indeed a retention from English (2007: 187). As this is not the case, retention from EModE can only partially be the origin of the IE *for to* infinitive constructions. The more common use of *for to* in northern IE dialects can be explained by the retention of the purpose meaning in northern English dialects that had more influence in the north than in the south of Ireland. This still does not suffice to explain the purpose meaning on the whole island. Therefore, double causation seems to be the best explanation, taking the form and some

impulses of meaning from EModE but transferring the main semantic notion of purpose from the Irish parallel construction with *chun*.

3.2.8 Forms of the 2nd person plural pronoun: *youse* and *ye*

The 2nd person plural personal pronoun constitutes a paradigmatic gap in the English pronominal system that is filled by newly created forms in many English dialects. In order to make the distinction between 2nd person singular and plural clear, southern American English vernacular, for example, uses the form *you all*, often contracted to *y'all*, and northern AmE uses *yous*, just like in Northern Ireland (Biber et al. 2000: 1123). The *yous/youse* form is also found in northern English dialects, like Scots or Tyneside and Liverpool English (Filppula 1999: 55). A second form used in IE to re-establish the singular-plural distinction for 2nd person pronouns is the EModE form *ye*, which is mainly used in IE in the southern part of Ireland (Hickey 2007: 18; Hickey 1983a: 47). Thus, these 2nd person plural forms are obviously not unique to the IE dialect, but they might still originate from the contact with Irish, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

Youse, also found as *yous*, *yez*, *yows* or *yiz* (Kallen 2013: 119), is formed by the extension of the plural allomorph *-s*, which is usually used to form the plural of nouns, to personal pronouns, and the *-s* is thus added to the singular pronoun *you* to fill the paradigm gap in the plural with the form *youse* (Howe 1996: 174). Two examples from ICE Ireland showing the plural use of *youse* are given in (72) and (73). These were retrieved from the corpus using a simple surface query with the search term `(youse|Youse)`, which is the standard transcription of the form in ICE Ireland. It found 69 examples mainly from spoken language. (72) illustrates how grammaticalised *youse* is, as it is found both together with a contracted form (*'ll* from *will*) and in a tag question. Example (73) illustrates the combination of *youse* and *all*, showing a double marking of the plural, which turned out to be quite common in the corpus.

(72) Well *youse*'ll hardly be staying there overnight will *youse*. (FTF S1A-027)

(73) And then is it like, are all the rooms ensuite or do *youse all* share a bathroom as well. (TEC S1A-100)

The formation of this pronoun is mainly attributed to contact with Irish during the language shift period when speakers of Irish gradually acquired the English language. As there is a morphologically distinct form of singular and plural 2nd person pronouns in Irish, namely *tú* 'you.SG' and *sibh* 'you.PL,' Irish speakers saw the need to find a replacement for the structure found in their native language (Hickey 2007: 135 and 154). Even though it is hardly possible to date the emergence of *youse* in Ireland exactly, Hickey claims that it had not been created before the beginning of the 19th century but was commonly in use before the big waves of Irish emigration in the 1840s and 50s. These emigrants brought the IE plural form *youse* to English speaking countries all over the world

where they were adopted (Hickey 2007: 242). Thus, *youse* should be seen as an originally IE form that uses English language material to create a form parallel to Irish *sibh*.

The origin of the second main IE 2nd person plural pronoun *ye*, however, is usually attributed to retention from earlier forms of English (Hickey 1983a: 47). Irish influence can only be seen in the urge of Irish speakers to have an English form parallel to Irish *sibh* 'you.PL.' To this end they retained the English form *ye* (Hickey 1983a: 47). Historically, *ye* was the nominative plural form, while *you* was the accusative and dative form in Middle English (ME) and the singular forms were *thou* for nominative and *thee* for accusative (Howe 1996: 138). According to Wales, *you* and *ye* also first appeared with singular reference for polite address in the ME period (1983: 108) and over time singular *thou* degraded into an address to socially inferior people (1983: 109) until *you* completely replaced *thou* as a 2nd person singular pronoun (1983: 119). In a simultaneous development, the grammatical use of *ye* shifted from subject to object form—for *you* vice versa—from the 15th century onwards until *you* became the dominant nominative form. During the 17th century, the time of major influx of English to Ireland, the morphological distinction between object *ye* and subject *you* had been decreasing for a while and is completely lost in today's English (Howe 1996: 166). In IE, this object form was probably reused to mark the singular-plural distinction that is present in Irish, as it was an available form that was about to lose its original function. Even though *ye* is formally retained, this retention in IE was caused by contact with Irish.

Several instances of *ye* were found in ICE Ireland, using the surface search term `( ye |Ye )`. Two examples are given in (74) and (75); the second example illustrates a double plural marking with *ye all*, similar to the one with *youse all* above. With 88 positive hits, *ye* outnumbers the instances of *youse*. This tendency of *ye* being a popular pronoun is supported by Hickey's findings that *ye* is also used in supraregional varieties and has high acceptance rates among the population mainly of southern Ireland (2007: 238).

(74) Will *ye* come down for it will *ye*. (CRW S1A-072)

(75) It's like the teacher comes in and gives you this picture of all friends playing in the yard and *ye all*'ve to talk about what it is and it's giving you. (CLD S1B-017)

A further non-standard 2nd person pronoun form can be found in the grammatical category of possessive pronouns. The IE possessive pronoun *yeer* is "formed from YE by analogy with *your*" (Dolan 1999: 290), attaching an *-r* as possessive marker to the plural pronoun *ye*. Three instances of *yeer* were found in ICE Ireland, being significantly less popular than its nominative counterpart *ye*; one of them is given in (76).

(76) And have ye won all *yeer* games. (FTF S1A-087)

Even though all the 2nd person plural pronoun forms are formally related to StE forms, they only were retained and made frequent in IE due to contact with Irish and thus all three forms discussed

above are included into further analysis of the distribution of IE features among different textual registers.

4 Analysis of the distribution of Irish English features in different registers of ICE Ireland

The following sections are dedicated to the analysis of the distribution of Irish English features collected from ICE Ireland. A complete list of all the features including the name of their text files, the register they were found in and an abbreviation of the name of the phenomenon is given in the appendix in table A I. First, an overview of the number of examples for each text type will be given. Then influences other than the medium and formality of a register will be taken into account, followed by an in-depth analysis of the impact of medium (spoken or written) and formality on the frequency of IE features.

Table 5: Absolute numbers of features in the registers of ICE Ireland and their number per 10,000 words in each register. The features are listed in the columns, the registers in the rows, both in the alphabetical order of their three-letter codes. The full meaning of these is given in the list of abbreviations in section 6. Numbers per 10,000 words are rounded to four decimal places. Numbers per 10,000 words above the average of 4.1895 ("total") are printed in bold.

	AFT	AND	BEP	FNA	FOT	HDO	IQU	MOP	UBR	WIT	YOU	total	/10000
ADP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
BRD	-	-	-	-	1	-	9	4	2	-	1	17	4.1143
BRI	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	1.4652
BRN	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	4	0.9886
BRT	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	2	1	-	2	10	2.4912
BUL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
BUT	1	-	-	-	1	1	9	1	2	-	1	16	**7.7254**
CLD	1	2	1	-	-	1	5	2	1	-	3	16	3.7835
CRW	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	38	41	**9.1677**
DEM	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	1	7	3.2941
EXM	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	0.9494
FTF	5	5	19	4	1	9	37	31	13	-	101	225	**11.8982**
LEC	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	9	**4.5163**
LEH	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	0.9007
LEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
LEP	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.4895
LES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
LET	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
PAD	-	-	-	3	-	-	10	2	-	-	-	15	**7.1527**
POH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
PON	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.4830
POS	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4519
POT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.4774
PRE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
PRN	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	0.4653
SCS	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	4	1.9849
SKH	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	4	1.7542
SOL	1	-	1	1	-	1	4	3	3	-	4	18	**5.6432**
SPC	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	1.1898
STE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.4778
TEC	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	-	4	11	**5.3890**
UNS	1	-	-	1	-	1	15	4	-	-	1	23	3.7896
total	11	9	24	14	3	19	117	56	25	1	160	439	4.1895

Table 5 above shows the distribution of the eleven features discussed above among the 32 different registers found in ICE Ireland. The registers are indicated by the three-letter codes used in

all the ICE corpora whose full meaning is given in the list of abbreviations in section 6. As the different registers consist of different numbers of 2,000-word texts and thus are of different length, it is necessary to calculate the number of IE features found per 10,000 words. Comparing only the absolute numbers of hits would produce biased results, as a register like face-to-face conversation, consisting of many more words than scripted speeches, would naturally contain more features in absolute numbers. Therefore, the last column gives the number of features per 10,000 words, which is used in the further analysis. The exact word counts for each register are taken from Kallen and Kirk (2007: 130) and shown in table A II in the appendix.

Seven registers of the corpus showed a number of features higher than the average of 4.1895 hits per 10,000 words. By far the most IE features, both in absolute numbers and in the hits/10,000 words measurement, were found in face-to-face conversations (FTF) with over eleven hits per 10,000 words. All features but the temporal preposition *with* occurred in this register. Texts of creative writing (CRW) produced the second most examples with slightly above nine hits per 10,000 words. Ranging between seven and eight hits are business transactions (BUT) and parliamentary debates (PAD), followed by social letters (SOL) and telephone conversations (TEC) with five to six IE characteristics in 10,000 words. The last register that ranks above the average level is legal cross-examination (LEC) with roughly 4.5 hits, whereas broadcast discussions (BRD) rank narrowly below the corpus-wide average.

The remainder of registers could be divided into four categories: the first producing between two and the average amount of hits, namely—from most to least hits—broadcast discussions (BRD), unscripted speeches (UNS), classroom discussions (CLD), demonstrations (DEM) and broadcast talks (BRT); the second having between one and two hits per 10,000 words, namely scripted speeches (SCS), texts on skills and hobbies (SKH), broadcast interviews (BRI) and spontaneous commentary (SPC); the third having less than one hit per 10,000 words, including broadcast news (BRN), examination essays (EXM), learned humanities (LEH), legal presentations (LEP), student essays (STE), press news (PRN) and popular writings in natural sciences (PON), social sciences (POS) and technology (POT). The registers of the final category did not contain any of the examined IE features: administrative prose (ADP), business letters (BUL), press editorials (PRE), popular humanities (POH) and learned writing in natural sciences (LEN), social sciences (LES) and technology (LET). Reasons for this specific distribution of IE features among the registers will be discussed in the following sections.

4.1 Influence of parameters other than formality and medium

Before turning to the main concerns of this thesis—the influence of the medium and formality of a register on the frequency of IE features—further parameters that could influence the distribution and amount of these features in the different text registers will be regarded. The parameters of age,

gender and education of speakers, regionality and time of collection will be shortly discussed. The personal data of the speakers and writers whose language is collected in the corpus is also given in a section on speaker biodata in Kallen and Kirk (2008: 35–64). However, analysing the biodata of producers of IE examples found would go beyond the scope of this analysis. The only concern here is how the speakers' personal data could distort the results of the following analysis. Firstly, gender will probably not affect the results, as the distribution of male and female speakers is rather even among the different registers. Only for some registers, like telephone conversations or social letters a slight dominance of female speakers can be found (Kallen and Kirk 2007: 129). However, no indications were found in literature that gender would strongly influence the amount of IE features used. Secondly, the level of education is more or less equal among speakers in all registers, as one of the criteria to be included in the corpus was to have completed at least secondary education in English (Nelson 2005b: 28). Slightly more troubling is the parameter of age, as older speakers typically use a higher range of IE features than younger speakers. For example, Filppula's corpus of elderly speakers (1999: 37) brought up more typically IE examples than the ICE Ireland corpus did. In registers like student essays or examination essays that are typically produced by younger people, this age variable might have a stronger influence on using IE features than medium or formality. In most other text registers, however, age groups are distributed more evenly so that overall, the age of speakers should not distort the distribution of IE features too much.

Even though the ICE Ireland corpus is divided into a section of northern and southern dialects and their extent does not correspond to the actual number of speakers of these dialects so that northern IE is overrepresented in the corpus (Kallen and Kirk 2007: 125), this does not pose a threat to the validity of findings on the influence of formality and medium on the distribution of IE features among text registers. There is probably no correlation between a speaker using northern or southern dialects and them using the analysed IE features in different registers. The difference between northern and southern dialects lies more in the amount and quality of Irish influences and not in the usage of these features in different text categories. Similarly, the time of collection of the language samples, according to Kallen and Kirk, does not influence the distribution of IE features. Even though the time of collection stretches from 1990 to 2003 with additional spoken data being collected in the later years of this time span, only 14 years of time difference in linguistic terms are not long enough to account for the significant differences found between registers collected at earlier and at later stages (Kallen and Kirk 2007: 128). Additionally, mainly texts for the category of face-to-face conversations were collected several years after the other registers and would thus be expected to provide fewer IE features due to advancing standardisation. This, however, is not the case. Therefore, usually influential parameters on language variation like age, gender, education, regional variation and the

time of production, in this case, should not be seen as a threat to the reliability of the following analyses of the influence of medium and formality on IE features in different registers.

4.2 Influence of the medium

A major distinction among text registers is the medium, which is the distinction between an utterance being spoken or written (Fandrych and Thurmair 2011: 17). Biber, in his multidimensional analysis, also regards the spoken-written distinction as one of the most important parameters in register analysis and defines spoken language as being "interactive, affective, and involved" and written texts as "informational" (1988: 107). He thus goes beyond the mere formal distinction between written and spoken form and involves functional characteristics of the two forms of medium. Comparison and distinction between spoken and written texts have been traditionally done by quantitative comparison of the distribution of a selected range of linguistic features (Atkinson and Biber 1994: 360), which is also done in the following analysis. This analysis attempts to provide validation for the first hypothesis given in 1.2, namely "In spoken language Irish influences on English are more common than in written language."

This distinction between spoken and written texts is also one of the major distinctions applied in ICE Ireland, as the corpus consists of texts from 15 spoken discourse situations and 17 written domains (Kirk and Kallen 2011: 269). Therefore, the first analysis regarding the distribution of IE features influenced by the Irish language is executed strictly along the lines of the spoken and written registers as categorised in the ICE corpora. Table 6 shows the 32 registers ordered according to this categorisation and gives both absolute numbers and hits per 10,000 words for the individual registers and the average of all written and all spoken registers. The 366 instances of Irish-influenced examples in spoken texts by far exceed the 73 examples from written texts. This, however, is not very meaningful, as there are 300 spoken texts and only 200 written ones. However, the 5.8998 hits per 10,000 words in spoken discourse also by far exceed the 1.7076 hits in written texts. By comparing these two figures to the corpus-wide average of 4.1895 hits, it becomes clear that spoken texts contain more IE features than the average, whereas written texts stay below this number. It is also striking that in all spoken registers at least one example

Table 6: Absolute numbers and hits per 10,000 words for written and spoken registers as defined in the ICE corpora; list of abbreviations in chapter 6.

written	absolute	/10,000	**spoken**	absolute	/10,000
ADP	0	0	BRD	17	4.1143
BUL	0	0	BRI	3	1.4652
CRW	41	9.1677	BRN	4	0.9886
EXM	2	0.9494	BRT	10	2.4912
LEH	2	0.9007	BUT	16	7.7254
LEN	0	0	CLD	16	3.7835
LES	0	0	DEM	7	3.2941
LET	0	0	FTF	225	11.8982
POH	0	0	LEC	9	4.5163
PON	1	0.4830	LEP	1	0.4895
POS	1	0.4519	PAD	15	7.1527
POT	1	0.4774	SCS	4	1.9849
PRE	0	0	SPC	5	1.1898
PRN	2	0.4653	TEC	11	5.3890
SKH	4	1.7542	UNS	23	3.7896
SOL	18	5.6432			
STE	1	0.4778			
total	**73**	**1.7076**	**total**	**366**	**5.8998**

for an IE feature was detected while several of the written registers—mainly from academic writing—did not provide any IE features. A larger number of examples was found in only two written registers: social letters and creative writing. This suggests a strong tendency of features influenced by Irish to have a stronger stance in spoken than in written language.

This impression is only reinforced by a finer distinction of the registers into spoken and written, which takes the actual circumstances of language production into account. Both by Ädel (2008: 35) and Fandrych and Thurmair (2011: 17) suggest that a division into the two poles of spoken and written only according to their medial form does not suffice to depict the distinction between spoken and written texts. They suggest a continuum with sub-divisions along the lines of characteristics like involvement versus detachment (Ädel 2008: 35). Even though placing the ICE registers along this involvement-detachment-continuum would go beyond the scope of this paper, a somewhat finer classification than suggested in the ICE corpora will be attempted. Scripted speeches, as the name suggests, are prepared in written form before being delivered orally. Therefore, they should not be categorised as spoken but as written texts. According to Nelson, broadcast news and broadcast talks fall under the category of scripted spoken language as well and are thus also counted as written texts in the following analysis. Legal presentations, demonstrations and lectures, which fall under the register of unscripted speeches, are usually prepared to some degree as well but are unlike scripted speeches not merely pieces of writing read out loud (2005b: 29–31). Thus, they remain in the spoken category. Creative writing, which in the ICE includes novels and short stories, uses narrative and dialogical passages (Nelson 2005b: 33) and should thus be seen neither as completely written nor spoken. As most of the examples in creative writing were found in dialogues and not in narrative sections, this register will be counted as spoken in the following analysis. Table 7 depicts the figures for the adapted allocation of registers to the spoken and written medium, the newly classified registers being highlighted. The average hits per 10,000 words for spoken and written texts are diverging even more with this more accurate allocation: written texts with only slightly over one hit and spoken texts

Table 7: Absolute numbers and hits per 10,000 words for written and spoken registers distinguished by their functional assignment to a medium; list of abbreviations in chapter 6.

written	absolute	/10,000	**spoken**	absolute	/10,000
ADP	0	0	BRD	17	4.1143
BUL	0	0	BRI	3	1.4652
EXM	2	0.9494	BUT	16	7.7254
LEH	2	0.9007	CLD	16	3.7835
LEN	0	0	DEM	7	3.2941
LES	0	0	FTF	225	11.898
LET	0	0	LEC	9	4.5163
POH	0	0	LEP	1	0.4895
PON	1	0.4830	PAD	15	7.1527
POS	1	0.4519	SPC	5	1.1898
POT	1	0.4774	TEC	11	5.3890
PRE	0	0	UNS	23	3.7896
PRN	2	0.4653	CRW	41	9.1677
SKH	4	1.7542			
SOL	18	5.6432			
STE	1	0.4778			
BRN	4	0.9886			
BRT	10	2.4912			
SCS	4	1.9849			
total	**50**	**1.0341**	**total**	**389**	**6.8932**

with 6.8932 hits per 10,000 words. This shows that hypothesis one is even more clearly fulfilled if registers are assigned to their medium due to their actual character and not only due to their surface appearance as spoken or written.

One might argue that the selection of IE features favours their usage in spoken texts, as the 2nd person plural pronouns, for example, are prone to be used in conversation rather than written texts, as they refer to people usually present at the time of speaking. Even though this might influence the very strong quantitative difference of Irish influences between spoken and written registers, it cannot account for the distribution that is also found for most other investigated features. For example, the medial-object perfect is found 47 times in spoken and only nine times in written texts and even for inversion in indirect questions, which as a reporting device could be expected to be equally frequent in spoken and written language, only 15 instances in the written registers are found, while spoken registers show 102 examples.

Reasons for this uneven distribution might be found in the process of standardisation. Ronan argues that written language is more subjected to standardisation than spoken language so that features influenced by Irish, which are usually currently undergoing a standardisation process, are found less in written texts as compared to spoken ones (2011: 112). Bex furthermore argues "that written texts have a normative effect on language use" (1996: 15). Therefore, it is not surprising that IE written texts are more closely aligned with StE texts of a similar domain, as the writers try to follow the notion of written language being the norm and thus use StE. Additionally, written texts are in most cases addressed to a wider, maybe even international audience that might not be familiar with constructions of IE. In order to avoid confusion, Irish writers of academic prose or novels might avoid constructions such as the *after*-perfect that has a different meaning to people not acquainted with the IE dialects. The aspect of speakers being aware that a feature might not be standard also contributes to the uneven distribution. Murphy and Stemle argue that speakers do not see non-standard variants as appropriate for the written register and therefore avoid them (2011: 24). Even if speakers are aware of a feature being non-standard, spoken language usually does not allow for the time-consuming revision of an utterance so that these non-standard features will not be deleted subsequently as it might be the case for heavily edited pieces of writing.

Due to the evidence above, the first hypothesis that features influenced by Irish are more common in spoken than in written registers can be confirmed. Both in the formal distinction between spoken and written used in the ICE corpora and the finer distinction according to characteristics of production, the instances found in spoken language by far exceed the examples from written texts.

4.3 Influence of the formality of a register

Apart from the medium of a register, its formality can have an influence on how many features of IE will be found in it. Formality in general has a huge effect on the characteristics of a register or,

as Heylighen and Dewaele put it, formality is "the most fundamental and most universal dimension of stylistic variation" (2002: 335). In order to be able to analyse the distribution of features of IE influenced by Irish in registers of different degrees of formality and thereby to confirm or reject hypothesis two, namely "The more formal a register is, the fewer features of Irish influences on English will be found in it," first a clear definition of what formality is becomes necessary. This definition will be followed by the creation of a scale of formality along which the ICE registers will be placed according to characteristics of the situation of language production. Finally, the registers' degree of formality will be put into relation with the amount of IE features found in them to determine a possible correlation between these two factors.

4.3.1 Definition of formality

The concept and definition of formality and its counterpart informality are highly debated among scholars and no universal definition has been agreed on yet. Therefore, an overview of different views on these concepts, whose relation Hudson calls diglossia—the "apparently universal opposition between formal and informal language use" (1994: 294) —will be given. Generally, formal language use is ascribed to informational, intellectual, objective and precise expression, whereas informal language is more likely to be found in interactive, personal and subjective ways of speaking (Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 302 and 334).

Irvine sees three main senses of formality, also given in the definition in 1.4, referring to the communicative code, the social setting where this code is used and the analyst's description of it (1979: 774). If formality is seen in relation to linguistic code, Irvine defines it as "an increased structuring and predictability of discourse" (1979: 774). When seen as a description of the social setting, "the prevailing affective tone" is of importance so that "a formal situation requires a display of seriousness, politeness, and respect" (Irvine 1979: 774). The focus of the following analysis will lie on the situational and thus extralinguistic characteristics to determine the degree of formality of a register. Language-internal grammatical or lexical features are not used because this would bear the danger of circularity. A formality scale that is developed only according to language-internal features cannot be used to accurately judge the relation between the also language-internal features influenced by Irish and the formality determined by this scale.

Formal and informal language were given various names by different researchers. Kay, for example, distinguished between "autonomous and nonautonomous speech" (Hudson 1994: 298), the first denoting a precise and educated way of speaking that is rather independent of the context of production and uses syntactically more complex language than nonautonomous speech (Hudson 1994: 298). Labov calls very similar concepts "careful," meaning formal, and "casual," meaning informal speech, defined by how much attention is paid to speech production (1972: 79). Heylighen and Dewaele name formal language "low-context" and informal language "high-context" and they

see this context as everything outside the expression itself that is necessary to interpret an utterance correctly (2002: 293). Therefore, the more formal an utterance is, the lower is the chance for the utterance "*to be misinterpreted* by others who do not share the same context as the sender" (Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 301). They base their scale of formality on the frequency of certain word classes that are low-context (nouns, adjectives, articles, prepositions) or high-context (pronouns, adverbs, verbs, interjections) and thus use the linguistic code to define formality (2002: 293). Similarly, Li et al. base their formality scale on the frequency of word categories (2016: 209) but put an additional focus on the concept of formality as humans perceive and understand it (2019: 205). Larsson and Kaatari also apply a language-internal approach, as they see a correlation between the syntactic complexity of an utterance and its formality (2020: 1).

One aspect most scholars today agree on is that formality should not be seen as a dichotomy between only a formal and an informal pole but as a continuum stretching between these two poles and having intermediate degrees of formality (Görlach 2010: 19; Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 298; Larsson 2019: 244; Li et al. 2016: 227). Such a continuum of formality will be formalised in the next chapter, using various situational characteristics that define the formality of a register and the registers from ICE Ireland will be placed along this continuum.

4.3.2 Scale of formality for the ICE registers

To be able to determine the degree of formality of the registers of ICE Ireland systematically, a formality scale spanning from least to most formal between the values of 0 and 12 based on situational characteristics of the registers will be designed. First, the individual characteristics will be described and their importance for the formality degree will be discussed; then these characteristics will be evaluated and for each characteristic the values of 0, 0.5 or 1 will be assigned to each ICE register, and subsequently summed up, thus placing the registers along the formal-informal continuum as illustrated in table 8. A similar approach is suggested by Larsson (2019: 245) as he orders five registers along the formal-informal continuum according to situational characteristics but does not develop a generally valid catalogue of criteria to determine the formality of these registers. Twelve situational characteristics will be used as criteria of formality. They can be divided into four groups: the influence of the targeted audience, the degree of the shared context of the addressor and addressee, the influence of the medium and the contents and functions of the register. The assignment of criteria-values (0, 0.5 or 1) is by no means absolute, as it only refers to the information given on the ICE registers while gaps in documentation had to be filled by general knowledge and assumptions about the situations in which the registers are produced and sometimes the judgement is a choice between ambiguous possibilities of rating. Some of these ambiguous cases are discussed later in this section.

Firstly, criteria referring to the targeted audience are discussed. The *audience size*, which also includes the distinction between public and private registers, influences the formality of a register. If a conversation takes place in private and only includes one or few members of an 'audience,' usually conversation partners, the language used will be less formal than when addressing a large crowd. Heylighen and Dewaele state that with an increasing audience size the shared context among the participants decreases and thus more accurate and formal expression becomes necessary to avoid misunderstanding (2002: 326). Adding a larger audience as is the case in conversation in the media, for example, affects language use and makes it more formal (Carter et al. 2008: 212). When the audience only contains a low and restricted number of people, 0 is assigned on the scale, for a rather large but still limited number of people like in classroom or court situations and in writing directed at a specific audience, 0.5 is given; registers with an unlimited public audience are assigned 1.

The second audience-related criterion is the *type of audience*. According to Ghadessy, "[t]he level of formality and technicality of one's language depends on the intended audience" (1988: 3). For example, children in elementary school will usually be addressed with a lower level of formality than university students in a lecture hall. Therefore, three types of audience are distinguished: low brow, including people known well to the speaker (assigned 0), the general public that is addressed, for example, in the broadcast registers (assigned 0.5) and high-brow audience, a group of usually highly educated people, for example, addressed in learned sciences, parliament discussions or business transactions (assigned 1). In ICE Ireland this criterion makes an important distinction between learned sciences, which are rated 1, and popular scientific texts, which are written for the interested public (Nelson 2005b: 32) and thus assigned 0.5. This distinction is adopted from Halliday (1988: 162).

The next four criteria run under the umbrella term of shared context among the addressor and the addressee. The *spatial proximity* of the participants in a conversation influences the amount of shared context. If both addressor and addressee are in the same place, they share the context of their surroundings and therefore can be more contextual, meaning informal, than when they do not share the spatial context (Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 326). This is why spatially removed conversations, namely all written registers, some registers from the media and telephone conversations, are rated 1, whereas registers where addressor and addressee are in the same place are rated 0. Similarly, *temporal proximity* influences the formality of a register, as the shared context and with it the possibility for informality decreases with an increasing time span between production and reception of an utterance because less of the original context remains (Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 326). Therefore, registers with temporally distant production and reception, like written texts and pre-recorded forms of media, like demonstrations and most broadcast texts, are rated 1, whereas on-line communication is rated 0.

The third and fourth criteria of shared context have to do with relations among the participants. The more similar the *personal background* of addressor and addressee is, the more context they share and the less formal the conversation needs to be to ensure correct interpretation. Similar background knowledge or interests make less explicit and more informal communication possible (Heylighen and Dewaele 2002: 324–325). Age, gender or cultural background also fall into this category but had to be disregarded because the interlocutors in each text are too diverse to make a judgement that would do justice to a whole register. Therefore, shared background knowledge is the main point of distinction. Interactions where participants have extensive shared background knowledge, such as face-to-face conversations or social letters among friends, are rated 0. Classroom discussions are also included in the 0-category, as some personal background knowledge and extensive knowledge about subject and institution are shared. Texts on skills and hobbies are also rated 0, as the readership can be assumed to already have experience in a specific subject. Intermediate registers, rated 0.5, are for example parliamentary discussions or unscripted speeches where some background knowledge like parliamentary proceedings are shared. The eight scientific registers are also rated 0.5 because readers and writers are expected to already have knowledge about the subject they read articles on. Most of the other registers were rated 1, as no outstanding amount of shared knowledge could be assumed.

Closely connected to the personal background of the interlocutors is the criterion of *power relations* among them. The scale either uses the value 0 for socially equal participants and 1 when addressor and addressee are in a hierarchy of power. Schubert (2016: 8), as well as Biber (1994: 40), see the importance of power relationships among interlocuters for register analysis. If the social status of addressor and addressee is not approximately even, the language is expected to be rather formal. Therefore, classroom discussions, student essays or legal cross-examinations are rated 1 because one of the participants has more power than the others. Similarly, most monologues, like speeches and news reading, are also rated 1 because the speaker in the given situation has the power to speak, whereas the audience can only listen. This is also the case for most written texts—except social letters—where the author is more powerful, for example, in spreading their opinion, than the readership. Registers where addressor and addressee have roughly the same social status and rights in conversation are rated 0.

The third group of categories revolves around the influence of the medium and connected processes of the production of a register. The first distinction is made according to the *medium* between written registers, given the value 1, and spoken registers, given the value 0. The distinction is made along the lines of the spoken-written distinction as suggested in the ICE corpora, see table 6, using the actual medium and not the medium determined due to characteristics as in table 7. This makes the distinction rather clear-cut. According to Heylighen and Dewaele, written language generally tends to be more formal as addressor and addressee share less context than in spoken

language (2002: 301). A second distinction connected to the medium can be made according to the *degree of planning*, namely whether the language used in a register is not planned beforehand (value 0), involved some planning (value 0.5) or was entirely planned before the utterance (value 1). This criterion does not only include beforehand planning but also editing of a text after the actual production. Biber, for example, distinguishes between "revised or edited/scripted/planned/on-line" ways of language production (1994: 40). These different degrees of planning are accompanied by different degrees of formality. Generally, the more planned and edited a text is, the more formal the language it contains tends to be. An exception might be creative writing, which is usually highly planned and edited but often to the ends of depicting informal conversation. The third medium-related criterion considers whether texts of a register are usually *published or unpublished*. This does not only include the publication of written material but also the broadcasting of spoken language. In the written domain this distinction corresponds to the distinction made in the ICE corpora between printed and nonprinted text registers as outlined by Leitner (1992: 42). Printed/published material is rated 1 and nonprinted/unpublished registers are rated 0, as the process of publication usually involves heavy editing of the texts to meet the standards required by the publisher. Additionally, the audience size significantly increases with publication. Unscripted and scripted speeches, just like parliamentary debates might sometimes be recorded and made available to a wider public. This, however, does not justify their categorisation as "published," as this is usually not the main concern of the speakers. Additionally, subsequent editing cannot take place in the case of spoken texts.

The final group of categories is concerned with the influence that the content and functions of a register have on its formality. Firstly, it is of importance whether a text in a register usually has a *predetermined topic* known to all participants in the language exchange. According to Irvine, a social gathering that has a predetermined topic of conversation that is known to all the interlocutors is more formal than a situation that lacks such a main topic (1979: 779). If a topic is given and focussed upon, this puts some structural constraints on conversations and written texts so that they are more formal than their counterparts where the topic develops and shifts during the conversation. This is one of the reasons why business letters are much more formal than social letters; they have the specific purpose and therefore topic "to evoke some material and immediate response or action" (Ghadessy and Webster 1988: 112). Additionally, business letters are only written if there is a nameable reason for it, unlike social letters that may often be written just to 'check in' on someone. Therefore, registers where texts usually have a predetermined topic are rated 1, whereas the lack of such a topic results in a rating of 0.

The second criterion is how important it is that the addressee understands the content of an utterance correctly without misunderstanding on the first try. This *importance of correct understanding* is especially high if the informational content of a text is extensive or complicated.

According to Heylighen and Dewaele, contextuality and thus also informality is low if accuracy and unambiguity are important in the transmission of information, while it is higher when misunderstanding would have few negative effects (2002: 302). Therefore, in interactive personal communication, formality can be lower, as the addressee can signal that they were not able to interpret a part of an utterance (2002: 323). Registers that have high informational density and where correct understanding is especially important are rated 1, like is the case for the academic registers or news broadcasts; medium importance is rated 0.5 and where misinterpretation does not cause major problems, the value 0 is assigned. Only face-to-face conversation is rated 0, as this is the only situation that does not have high informational density and does allow for direct enquiries and explanations. Even in a personal telephone conversation, this low degree of importance of understanding is not given, as signalling misunderstanding is harder.

The last criterion is the *emotional involvement* of the discourse participants. If the speaker is emotionally involved during the production of an utterance, this utterance tends to be less formal than an emotionally removed counterpart. Görlach associates informal with intimate and thus often emotional use of language (2010: 211). This is why in the final criterion, emotionally involved registers are assigned the value 0, whereas less emotional registers are given the value 1, and somewhat emotional registers are rated 0.5.

Table 8: Scale of formality for the ICE Ireland registers (full names given in the list of abbreviations in section 6) according to twelve situational parameters: audience size, audience type, spatial proximity, temporal proximity, personal background, power relations, medium, degree of planning, published/unpublished, predetermined topic, importance of correct understanding, and emotional involvement. The higher the scores are, the more formal a register is.

	aud. size	aud. type	space	time	back-gr.	power rel.	medi-um	plan-ning	pu-blish	topic	under stand	emo-tion	**total**
FTF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
TEC	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	**1.5**
PAD	0.5	1	0	0	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	1	0.5	0	**4**
SOL	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	**4**
CLD	0.5	0.5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.5	1	**4.5**
LEC	0.5	0.5	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0.5	0	**4.5**
BUT	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.5	1	**4.5**
UNS	0.5	0.5	0	0	0.5	1	0	0.5	0	1	1	0.5	**5.5**
BRD	1	0.5	0	0	1	0	0	0.5	1	1	0.5	0.5	**6**
SCS	0.5	0.5	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0.5	**6.5**
BRI	1	0.5	0	0	1	1	0	0.5	1	1	0.5	0.5	**7**
LEP	0.5	1	0	0	1	1	0	0.5	0	1	1	1	**7**
SPC	1	0.5	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0.5	0.5	**7.5**
BRT	1	0.5	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0.5	0.5	**8.5**
SKH	0.5	0.5	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	**8.5**
CRW	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0.5	0	**9**
BRN	1	0.5	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	**9.5**
EXM	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	0	1	1	1	**9.5**
STE	0	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	**9.5**
DEM	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	0	0.5	1	1	1	1	**10**
BUL	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	**10**
POH	0.5	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**10.5**

PON	0.5	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**10.5**
POS	0.5	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**10.5**
POT	0.5	0.5	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**10.5**
LEH	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**11**
LEN	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**11**
LES	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**11**
LET	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**11**
PRE	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	**11**
ADP	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**11.5**
PRN	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**11.5**

The least formal register in the corpus is unsurprisingly face-to-face conversation, as it scores 0 in all the categories. This is also in accordance with the statement by Biber et al. that conversation is "the most basic form of human communication" (2000: 16). The order of registers on the formality continuum that emerges from this criterion catalogue is also largely consistent with results from other studies. For example, Heylighen and Dewaele's order from least to most formal is the following: phone conversations, conversations, spontaneous speeches, interviews, imaginative writing, prepared speeches, broadcasts, writing, informational writing (2002: 316). Even though the registers are not entirely the same and there are some deviations, the general trend is parallel. The difference of the phone conversations seemingly being more informal than face-to-face conversations, is only narrow in value and is also inexplicable to Heylighen and Dewaele (2002: 317). The order of written registers also closely corresponds to the above scale with creative writing being less formal than general writing (maybe corresponding to ICE's business letters) and informational writing (the academic registers). The similarities in the spoken registers are less close, as scripted speeches rank higher in my analysis than in Heylighen and Dewaele's study. Still, wide parallels can be noted.

Biber's first dimension of his multidimensional analysis, namely "Involved versus Informational Production" (1988: 122), which Heylighen and Dewaele see as compatible with their definition of formality/contextuality (2002: 319) also shows significant parallels with my scale of formality. Ordering the registers according to the values given in Biber (1988: 122–125) from most involved to most informational, we get the following order (leaving out registers that have no corresponding type in the ICE): telephone conversation, face-to-face conversation, personal letter, spontaneous speeches, interviews, prepared speeches, various types of fiction, professional letters, broadcasts, press editorials, hobbies, academic prose, press reportage, official documents. The general trend is the same, with smaller deviations, like broadcasting registers being less formal in my rating and slightly different ordering in the highly formal types. This rather close accordance with findings from other studies gives validation to the developed formality scale that provides enough support to make it a valid reference point for investigating a possible correlation between the formality of a register and the amount of IE features contained in it, which will be investigated in the following section.

4.3.3 Relation of the formality of a text and the number of contained Irish English features

To find out whether characteristics of IE are more frequent in informal registers, the relationship of the formality values determined above and the number of IE features found in 10,000 words of a register is investigated. Figure 1 is the result of this analysis and it provides confirmation for the second hypothesis from 1.2, namely "The more formal a register is, the fewer features of Irish influences on English will be found in it." The horizontal axis of the diagram (figure 1) displays the formality of the individual registers, ranging from 0 for least formal to 12 for most formal. The vertical dimension shows the number of IE features found in 10,000 words of the texts of one register. Each of the registers is placed as a dot in these continua according to their formality and frequency of IE features in them. The overall distribution of these dots shows the clear trend of informal texts containing far more characteristics of IE than registers of a higher degree of formality. This tendency is also illustrated by the red trend line showing clearly that the frequency of IE features decreases with increasing formality of the register. This indicates that IE deviates less from StE in these more formal registers. These observations confirm the second hypothesis that formal registers display less Irish influence than informal ones.

A reason for this decline of Irish influence with higher formality scores can be found in the rejection of speakers to use dialectal expressions in the context of formal situations. StE is seen as the appropriate form of communication in these situations so that the studied features are very rare in texts with a high degree of formality. This is in accordance with Hickey's assumption that in IE there is an "increasing acceptability of non-standard forms with an increase in colloquial register" (1983b: 39). In face-to-face conversations—the least formal register in the corpus—the use of non-standard forms influenced by Irish is widely accepted and not deemed inappropriate for the situation, as this non-public conversation is not subjected to "the traditions of prestige and correctness often associated with publicly available written texts" (Biber et al. 2000: 1050). According to Biber et al., this allows for dialectal forms to appear (2000: 1050). In the case of IE, even though few, regional forms can also be found in rather formal texts. Even registers with high formality values like broadcast talks (8.5) do still contain a certain, non-negligible amount of IE features (2.5 per 10,000 words). This shows how stable the IE dialect still is in Ireland, even in formal text registers.

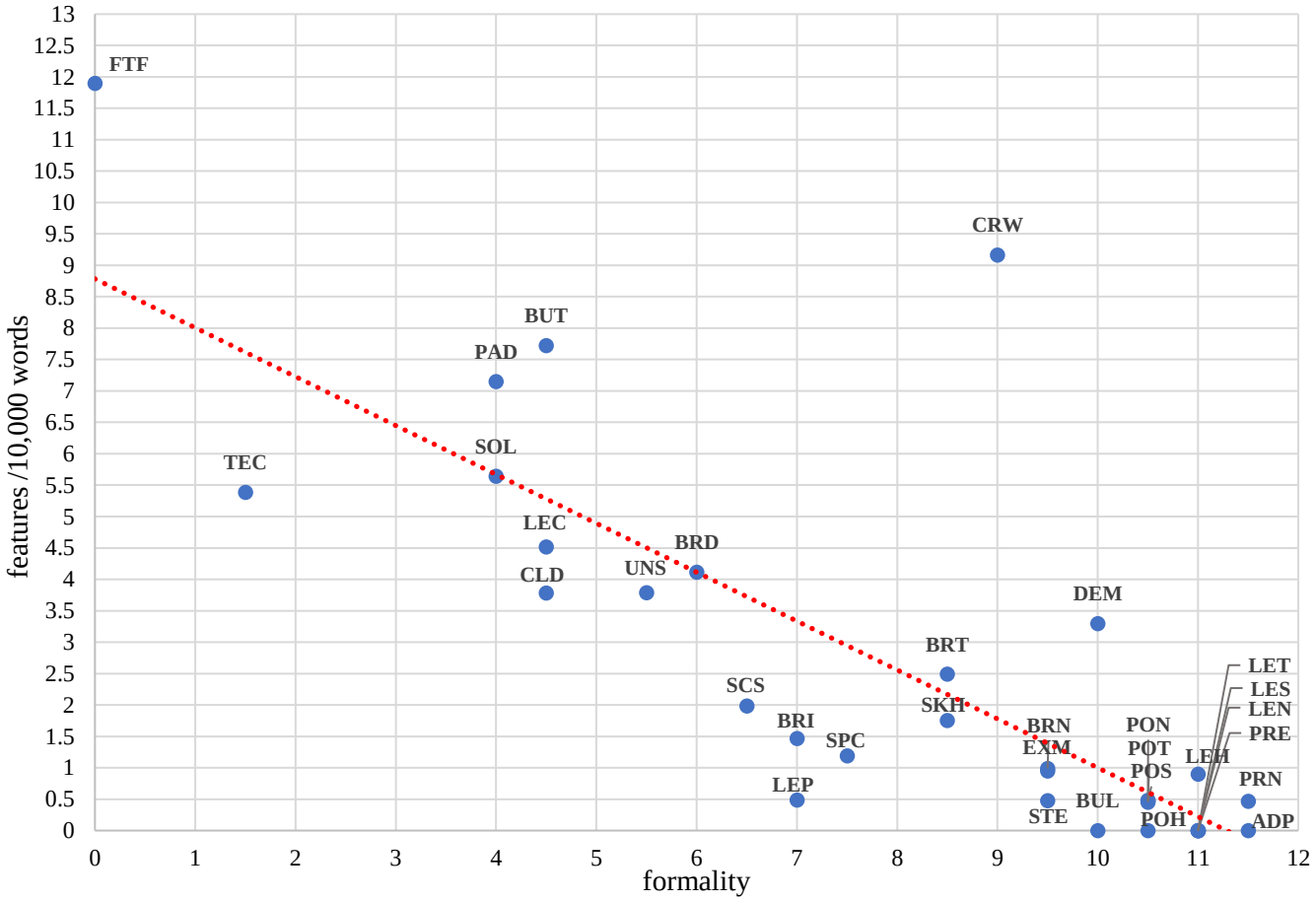

Figure 1: Formality of the ICE registers (full names in the list of abbreviations in chapter 6) in relation to the sum of all IE features per 10,000 words found in them. The trend line is highlighted in red. The exact figures used for the diagram can be found in table A 3 in the appendix.

The only major deviation from the trend of more formal registers lacking IE features is creative writing. This is mainly due to the criteria of the formality scale, which judge creative writing mainly as a written text. However, novels and short stories contain a vast amount of constructed speech that should be rated lower on the formality continuum, especially as the speech in fiction is often deliberately crafted to reflect informal conversation, depending on the character using it and in what situation it is used. This difficulty of placing imaginative writing containing direct speech caused Görlach to apply a three-fold formality distinction between formal, informal and literary, placing creative writing outside the classic formal-informal continuum (2010: 205). He claims that literary texts are highly different from other forms of language, as they can disregard general rules of language use, like "easy intelligibility," and allow extensive "linguistic experiments" (Görlach 2010: 216). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the attributed degree of formality might be unfitting and does not correlate with the amount of IE features contained in it. This effect is heightened by the fact that most IE features in the creative writing sub-corpus were found in sections of direct speech that in Irish novels are often deliberately constructed to contain specifically IE features.

All the other registers fit the pattern rather well, with smaller deviations for telephone conversations (TEC), which contain fewer IE examples than would be expected due to their low degree of formality, or demonstrations, which provided more IE features than justified by its high formality degree. However, these fluctuations are minor and therefore do not invalidate the general trend found in figure 1. Academic writing, both the learned and the popular types, are highly formal. This is nicely reflected in the low numbers of IE features found in them. Three of the four learned registers did not contain any IE features, the fourth showed one example; the popular academic registers, being slightly less formal, overall contained three examples. Therefore, academic writing should be seen as a register that is largely independent of influences from Irish. Schaub also sees academic writing as a register that is "largely homogeneous across [regional] varieties" (2016: 261). This makes sense, as this form of writing is intended for an international readership that is not familiar with constructions unique to Irish English.

The results from this analysis of IE features in formal and informal registers are also reflected in the previous investigation of written versus spoken texts. Written texts, which tend to be more formal, display fewer IE features than their more informal spoken counterparts. The fact that written texts are more formal can also be seen as an explanation why highly educated people tend to use more formal language and therefore fewer IE features as is the case in ICE Ireland. In higher education, people are frequently confronted with highly formal texts and formal situations of conversation. According to Kirk, this causes people to take this habit of communication over into less formal situations as well (2011: 33). Contrarily to this opinion, the situationally informal registers of ICE Ireland still contain a large range of features influenced by Irish. This finding receives support from Heylighen and Dewaele who found a wider range of degrees of formality in different situations for more educated people. They assume a common degree of language formality for informal situations, like face-to-face conversations, independent from a person's level of education but also assume that a person with higher education is then able to shift to more formal language if this is required by a situation (2002: 333). This might explain why in ICE Ireland in everyday conversation, still many Irish-influenced features can be found, even though the speakers in other situations produce speech much closer to StE. ICE Ireland as a corpus of educated English in Ireland matches the distribution of characteristics of IE features among registers of different degrees of formality as suggested in the second hypothesis, which can therefore be confirmed.

4.3.4 Relation of the formality of a text and the occurrence of selected features of IE

To evaluate hypothesis two not only on the level of overall occurrences of IE features in the corpus but also for individual features influenced by Irish, three of the features discussed above were selected and put into relation with the formality of the registers they occur in: indirect questions with inversion (IQU), the medial-object prefect (MOP) and unbound reflexive pronouns (UBR). These

three features were selected as they provided a high enough number of examples in the corpus to analyse their distribution across registers. Only the 2nd person plural pronouns (YOU) brought up even more examples, but this feature was excluded, as its distribution is too biased towards personal communication because these pronouns only occur in direct addresses. Because its distribution across registers is mainly influenced by this factor, it did not promise meaningful results in relation to formality. For each of the three selected features, a diagram is given below that analogous to figure 1 maps the registers according to their formality and the number of occurrences of the respective feature (figures 2–4). The trendline in red again indicates the general trend of IE features occurring less frequently in more formal texts. This trend is less obvious for the three individual features than it is for the entirety of all data, which is mainly due to the smaller amount of data available for an individual feature so that fluctuations have a bigger impact on the result. There are also more deviations from the expected pattern than in the analysis of the entirety of features, which will be addressed for each feature below.

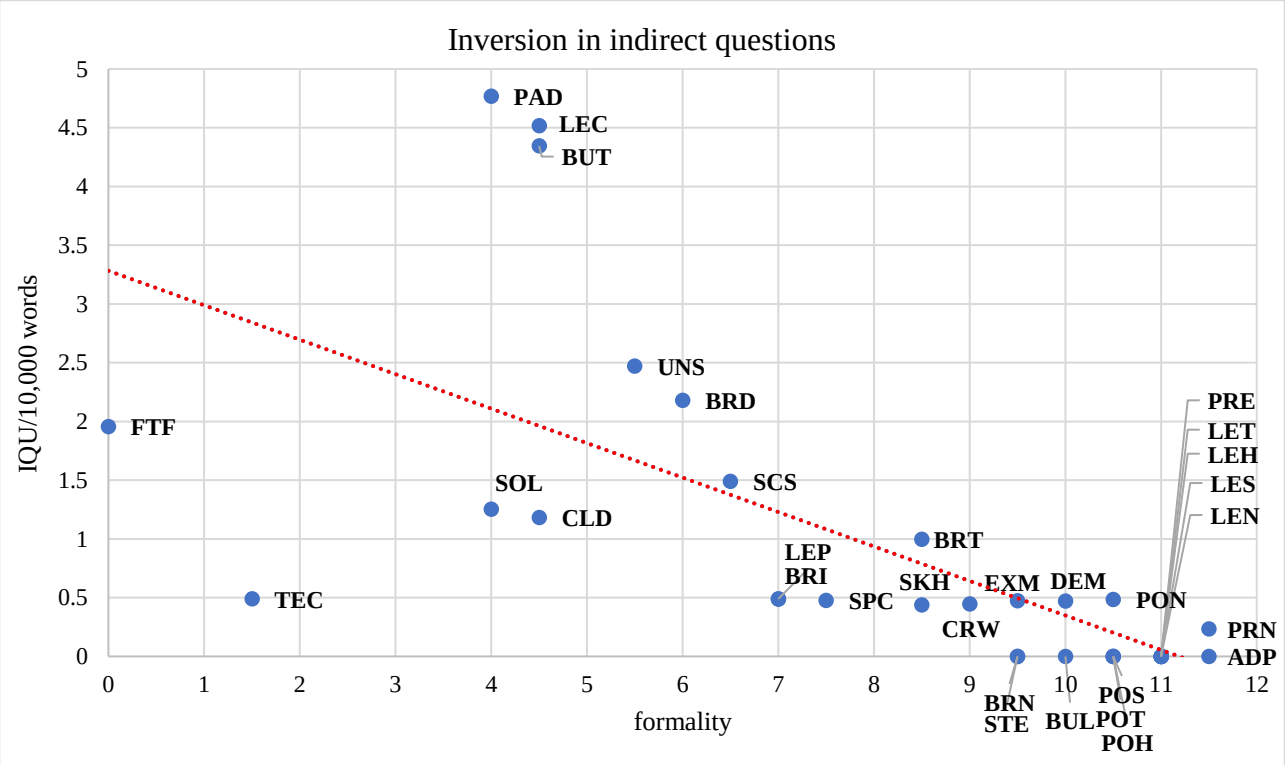

Figure 2: Formality of the ICE registers in relation to the occurrences of IQUs per 10,000 words in them. The exact figures used for the diagram can be found in table A 4 in the appendix.

The overall number of indirect questions with inversion found in the corpus is 117 and therefore high enough to make a meaningful statement about their distribution across the formality continuum (figure 2). It is striking that in face-to-face conversations relatively few indirect questions with inversion were found even though it is the register with the lowest formality score. This might arise from the property of indirect questions being used to relate what someone has said. In FTF, however, this narration of the speech of others does often not take place at all or uses an alternative to mark

indirect speech: a construction of the form *She was like* to denote what a person said. Therefore, FTF simply does not provide the ideal situation for indirect speech in general so that inversion in indirect questions also cannot occur especially often. The same applies to telephone conversations and might explain the low numbers in this case. The high occurrence rate in parliamentary discussions, legal cross-examinations and business transactions fits well with their rather low degree of formality. Additionally, these registers generally contain much indirect speech, which also results in higher numbers of indirect questions with inversion. Registers of higher formality all match the distribution of inversion in indirect questions that is expected due to the formality of the registers, showing few or no occurrences.

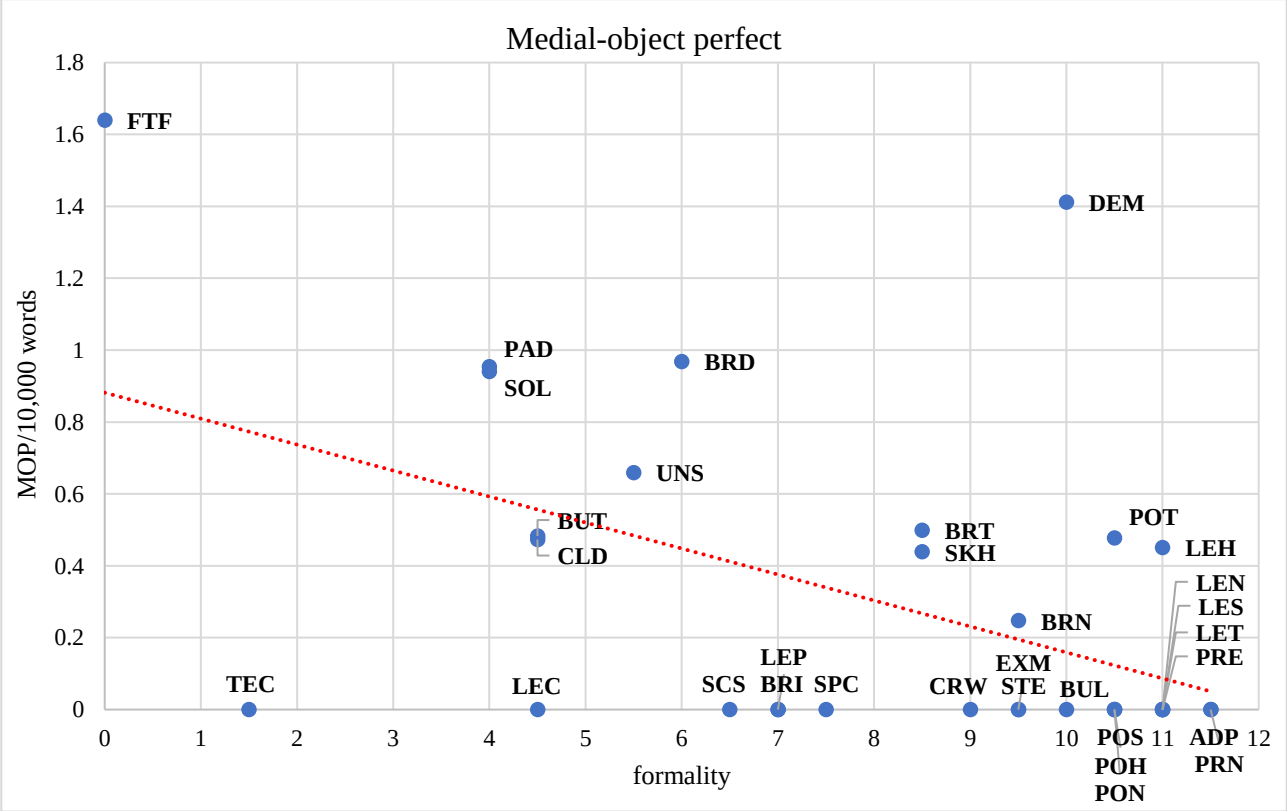

Figure 3: Formality of the ICE registers in relation to the occurrences of MOPs per 10,000 words in them. The exact figures used for the diagram can be found in table A 4 in the appendix.

Only 56 occurrences of the medial-object perfect were found in the entire corpus, which makes statements on the distribution according to the formality of the registers somewhat less reliable, but still, the same trend that was found above can be seen here (figure 3). FTFs with roughly 1.6 hits per 10,000 words show the highest frequency corresponding to the lowest degree of formality. Registers of medium formality like classroom discussions, unscripted speeches or social letters also show a medium number of MOPs in them. Several registers that could be expected according to the formality scale to contain MOPs did not bring up any hits. This, however, can be explained by the generally low number of MOPs found in the corpus so that the number of MOPs in one register rarely exceeds the mark of one hit per 10,000 words. This might explain why no MOPs were, for example, contained

in telephone conversations. Additionally, TECs are not the ideal situational context for MOPs because these denote a "state that results from some anterior actions" (Harris 1985: 42). Such an immediately preceding action is often not possible in the course of a phone call because the person speaking is currently concerned with this call and thus cannot just have implemented a previously made plan, which would result in the use of a MOP. This function of the medial-object perfect might also explain its unexpectedly high frequency in demonstrations. In such a situation of presenting products or giving instructions, planned actions are being executed and the result is described to the addressee. This is an ideal situation for the use of the MOP, which might explain the high score of roughly 1.4 hits per 10,000 words. Generally, the distribution of MOPs, like it was the case for IQUs as well, reflects the degree of formality of the register the structure is found in.

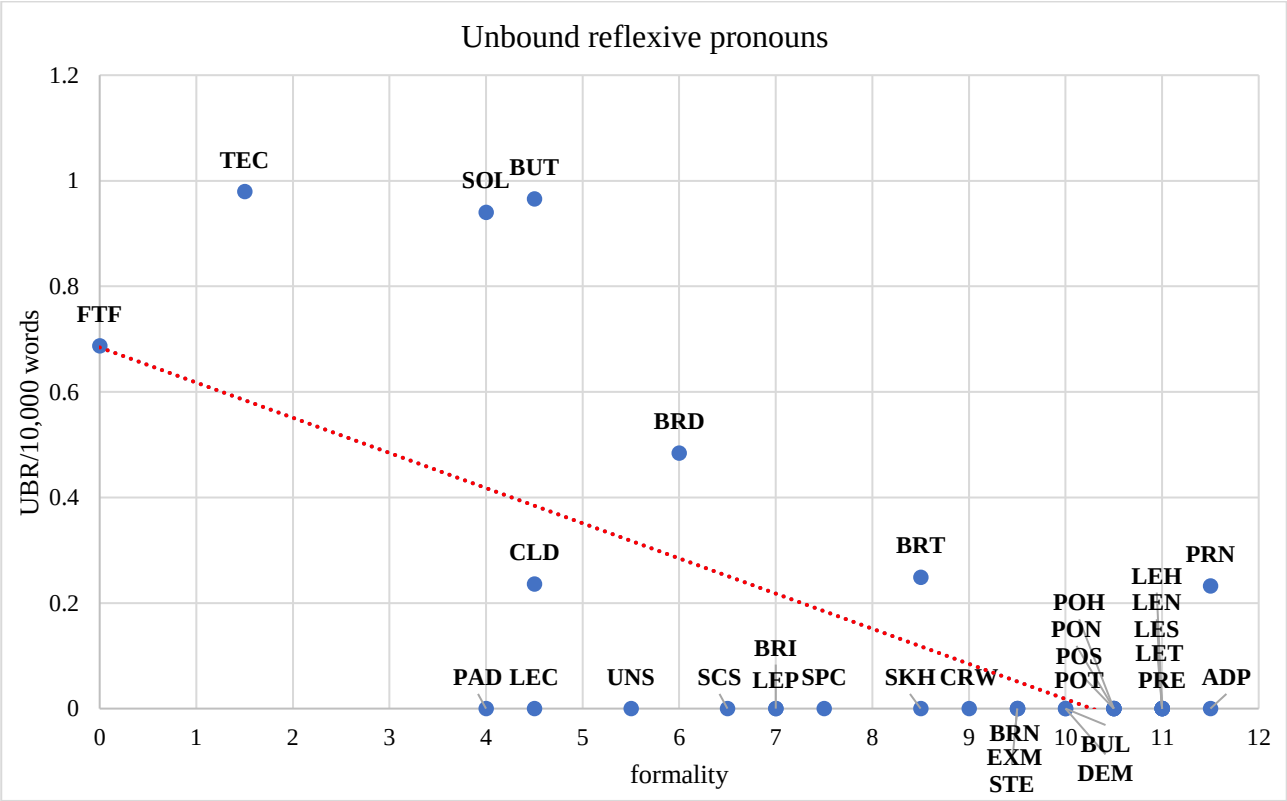

Figure 4: Formality of the ICE registers in relation to the occurrences of UBRs per 10,000 words in them. The exact figures used for the diagram can be found in table A 4 in the appendix.

The distribution of unbound reflexive pronouns across the ICE registers also aligns with the trend of fewer occurrences in more formal texts (figure 4). However, the overall number of UBRs found in the corpus being quite low with only 25 hits in total makes the results less meaningful. The numbers are still rather high for low-formality registers like FTF, TEC, social letters and business transactions, but at the same time, no examples were found in parliamentary discussions or legal cross-examinations that have a similar degree of formality. With only 25 examples overall, however, it is also obvious that many registers do not contain any examples at all so that the lack of UBRs in registers of medium formality does not invalidate the overall results because registers without any

hits accumulate in the more formal part of the continuum. Thus, the distribution of UBRs also provides evidence for the preference of features of IE in informal registers. Therefore, it can be said that the distribution of both all the examined features together and the three individual features among the registers of ICE Ireland reflects the degree of formality of the registers they occur in. Confirming the second hypothesis, they are more frequent in registers lower on the formality continuum than in registers with a high degree of formality.

5 Conclusion

This thesis aimed at finding correlations between the occurrence of morphosyntactic reflexes of Irish in IE and the registers they occur in. To achieve this, in the first step the theoretical background, including the definition of key terms and outlining the historical background of IE, was set. Then eleven features of IE that in some way are connected to the Irish substratum were presented and systematically extracted from the Ireland compartment of the International Corpus of English. The distribution of these features across the 32 registers of the corpus was then analysed in order to find connections between the occurrence of these reflexes from Irish and the medium or formality of the registers.

Two main conclusions can be drawn from this thesis. Firstly, spoken Irish English contains significantly more features that originated from contact with Irish than written language. This tendency is observable in the strict division of registers only according to the actual medium of speaking and writing and even more clearly visible when the registers are divided according to characteristics of speech and writing as they are found in language production. Reasons for this pattern include the process of standardisation being more present in writing and written texts being intended for an international audience unfamiliar with the peculiarities of IE. Secondly, the more formal a register is, the fewer examples of Irish influence will be found in it. This trend was confirmed by relating the number of IE features found in each of the 32 registers to their formality. This revealed that Irish influences are more commonly found in informal registers than in registers of a higher degree of formality. These findings were also confirmed by regarding the three IE characteristics of unbound reflexives, medial-object perfect and inversion in indirect questions individually, even though the evidence there was slightly weaker. Overall, both hypotheses formulated in 1.2 were confirmed by this study: 1. In spoken language Irish influences on English are more common than in written language. 2. The more formal a register is, the fewer features of Irish influences on English will be found in it.

This contemplation of individual features of IE in relation to their distribution across registers of different degrees of formality as done in 4.3.4 offers an interesting approach for further research. The three examples investigated above can only offer a tendency of decreasing frequency with increasing formality that needs to be confirmed by a more systematic investigation of a greater

number of features. A second approach that had to be excluded from this paper but offers an interesting research desideratum, is to what extent the degree of a feature being known to be typically IE to the speakers influences its occurrence in registers of different formality levels. Ronan, for example, sees an "avoidance of stereotyped linguistic features" (2011: 112) of the IE dialect in public situations of communication, whereas features that are less well-known to be typically IE might not fall victim to standardisation, as speakers do not even know they are using a non-standard expression (Ronan 2011: 112). Systematically investigating such a connection might present an interesting viewpoint on the interrelation of the frequency of dialectal language and the speakers' attitude towards it.

Even though the Irish variety of English is being put under the pressure of standardisation through education, StE written texts and sometimes even prescriptive tendencies (Kirk and Kallen 2007: 293), the Irish variation of English is still preserved in the everyday speech of the majority of English speakers in Ireland. Even in educated and rather formal language reflexes of Irish can still be found in Irish English, and this will preserve some characteristics of Irish in English even if the Celtic language one day might, unfortunately, be completely replaced by Irish English.

6 List of abbreviations

General abbreviations

EModE	Early Modern English
ICE	International Corpus of English
ICE Ireland	International Corpus of English – Ireland Compartment
IE	Irish English
ME	Middle English
StE	Standard English

Registers of the ICE

ADP	Administrative prose
BRD	Broadcast discussion
BRI	Broadcast interview
BRN	Broadcast news
BRT	Broadcast talks
BUL	Business letters
BUT	Business transactions
CLD	Classroom discussion
CRW	Creative writing
DEM	Demonstrations
EXM	Examination essay
FTF	Face-to-face conversation
LEC	Legal cross-examination
LEH	Learned humanities
LEN	Learned natural sciences
LEP	Legal presentations
LES	Learned social sciences
LET	Learned technology
PAD	Parliamentary debate
POH	Popular humanities
PON	Popular natural sciences
POS	Popular social sciences
POT	Popular technology
PRE	Press editorials
PRN	Press news
SCS	Scripted speeches
SKH	Skills and hobbies
SOL	Social letters
SPC	Spontaneous commentary
STE	Student essays
TEC	Telephone conversation
UNS	Unscripted speeches

Glosses

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
DEP	dependent verb form (after some verbal particles or conjunctions)
DET	determiner
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INDEP	independent verb form
M	masculine
NEG	negator
PL	plural
PRS	present
PST	past
Q	question particle
REL	relative particle
SG	singular
VA	verbal adjective
VN	verbal noun

Features of IE

AFT	*After*-perfect
AND	Subordinating *and*
BEP	*Be*-perfect
FNA	Failure of negative attraction
FOT	Infinitive construction with *for to*
HDO	Habitual aspect with *do* and *be*
IQU	Inversion of word order in indirect questions
MOP	Medial-object perfect
UBR	Unbound uses of reflexive pronouns in subject position
WIT	Temporal preposition *with* instead of *for* with perfective time reference
YOU	Forms of the 2nd person plural pronoun: *youse* and *ye*

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8 Appendix

Table A 1: List of all the IE features found in ICE Ireland ordered alphabetically according to the three-letter code of the feature and giving the register and the text file. Unlike in the examples given in the thesis, textual markup is not edited out in this table. The examples are printed in the exact way as found in the corpus. Abbreviations: feat.: feature; reg.: register; file: file name as used in the corpus.

	example	**feat.**	**reg.**	**file**
1	I 'm after booking one	AFT	CLD	S1B-017
2	And he 's after coming back from England you <{> <[> know </[>	AFT	FTF	S1A-046
3	They thought he was after going into a coma with diabetes	AFT	FTF	S1A-055
4	The wife and children are after going off there the other day	AFT	FTF	S1A-067
5	Okay and here it 's after listing the command that it 's executed	AFT	UNS	S2A-047
6	In the opening round I thought for a while that Walsh was going to win inside the distance but he 's after running into a couple of hard ones here from Barrett	AFT	SPC	S2A-012
7	A new fella is after taking over uhm one of the pubs at home	AFT	FTF	S1A-046
8	There 's nothing new after coming in anyway so	AFT	BUT	S1B-077
9	This was after him sending me a mushy letter to work on Tuesday.	AFT	SOL	W1B-007
10	And we 've had no word or phonecall or anything <,> you know we we 've we 're after we 're after <,> being trying in Waterford city <,> all <,> with a pile of guest houses <unclear> 2 sylls </unclear> down there <#>	AFT	BRN	S2B-014
11	I 'm not not that long after my dinner	AFT	FTF	S1A-008
12	And there was your man and he putting ridge tiles on a roof	AND	FTF	S1A-083
13	Are you going out and it raining	AND	CLD	S1B-006
14	Cos I just saw that <,> mother you 're sure surely never going to play tennis and you pregnant	AND	CLD	S1B-006
15	She was saying about uh Jamie and her being	AND	TEC	S1A-095
16	How she got her name was <,> she 'd always this <&> sniffs </&> and her nose in the air <,> you know the Bisto kids	AND	FTF	S1A-008
17	I came up and I seen this haze of smoke like	AND	FTF	S1A-027
18	Very testing and nervy moment and the teams coming out	AND	SPC	S2A-014
19	There there 's something in Paul that feels that he has got to save the world and the world being this whole political process	AND	FTF	S1A-043
20	They have both places open and the bar packed	AND	FTF	S1A-087
21	I think they 're gone a bit out	BEP	FTF	S1A-082
22	Oh she 's gone about <,> oh I suppose five or six years <,> she was with us there like	BEP	FTF	S1A-083
23	Bronagh was gone about two days	BEP	FTF	S1A-070
24	For God 's sake 'twas gone an hour ago	BEP	FTF	S1A-050
25	Seriously <,> he 's gone away again	BEP	FTF	S1A-087
26	Oh when Bronagh was gone <{> <[> away to Australia	BEP	FTF	S1A-070
27	<S1A-008$A> <#> I wondered where the Superdrug was gone now <S1A-008$C> <#> There 's one in Anne Street I think isn't there	BEP	FTF	S1A-008
28	He 's gone out to Rwanda	BEP	FTF	S1A-087
29	That ripple icecream 'll be gone soft	BEP	FTF	S1A-078
30	The mother and father and brothers and sisters 'd be gone to bed	BEP	FTF	S1A-063
31	And if he rings today we 're gone	BEP	FTF	S1A-081

32	In his famous dialogue in Hybernian Stile Swift noted the use of many Gaelic phrases carried over into English <,> <mention> I wonder what is gone with them	BEP	BRT	S2B-033
33	But they but they if they </[> </{> bring the divorce in before they amend that it 'll fail again <,> and then it 'll be gone for a whole <{> <[> generation </[> not just ten or five years the next time	BEP	FTF	S1A-073
34	They 'll be gone for about 10 days altogether so we 've got some time off.	BEP	SOL	W1B-009
35	Ah well we were in the if you if you 're come down in a barrel like of course <,> but after that	BEP	FTF	S1A-065
36	But saying that Lauren <,> it was the receptionist this <,> I said to the receptionist <,> here on the desk <,> is he gone in to visit	BEP	FTF	S1A-008
37	Laoise where is it where is it gone	BEP	FTF	S1A-077
38	Amaretto Bay is uh gone up uh alongside	BEP	SPC	S2A-019
39	Is Ron gone away	BEP	FTF	S1A-087
40	No no they 're actually away	BEP	FTF	S1A-007
41	Never </[> </{> satisfied til it 's all away	BEP	FTF	S1A-022
42	And even if I 'm not away I 'm just going to take off because I haven't had a holiday yet and I deserve it	BEP	CLD	S1B-002
43	There is a story told of Garrett Barry, a famous piper, that he was left to mind a one-year-old child while the child 's parents were away.	BEP	LEH	W2A-008
44	Were you away down </[> </{> the port	BEP	FTF	S1A-032
45	Of course it 's not like that at all and I hope that any aspiring writers amongst you don't have any notions that it might be	FNA	SCS	S2B-047
46	I salute the young people of Northern Ireland who want to enter into farming and I think that they should be supported but how can they enter into this uh particular uh type of employment when the doors are closed and any door that 's open is not a fruitful door to them	FNA	PAD	S1B-052
47	Obviously any of these occurring by itself does not confirm that the premises are unoccupied.	FNA	SKH	W2D-018
48	Whatever that talent <,> whatever that ability <,> refusing to believe that any child has got no ability <,> but developing <,> coaxing <,> training <,> stimulating <,> exciting <,> disciplining <,> so that they develop their full potential as men and women	FNA	UNS	S2A-025
49	The <.> name </.> nuns are always the worst of the lot because the nuns <,> <{> <[> any nuns have no sense of value <,> of money	FNA	FTF	S1A-037
50	Please note that any statements or opinions expressed in this Newsletter do not necessarily reflect the views of the Officers and/or the Committee of the Club.	FNA	SKH	W2D-016
51	Even anybody didn't like his style of acting could but should still say that he 's a good actor like	FNA	FTF	S1A-032
52	And if if anybody doesn't want you they	FNA	FTF	S1A-005
53	It is true that everyone did not get everything they wanted but that is the nature of such things	FNA	PAD	S1B-054
54	Don't ever not go out on Saint Patrick 's <{> <[> Day	FNA	TEC	S1A-092
55	And if you went upstairs in Bloomingdale 's they 'd a whole floor full <,> of sheets and towels above <,> all not up on shelves but on the ground <{2> <[2> you know </[2>	FNA	FTF	S1A-089
56	So <.> there </.> therefore all of the facts will not presumably be available as you can locate them	FNA	PAD	S1B-058
57	It must be accepted, therefore, that all of the people will not be able to have their treatment funded all of the time.	FNA	EXM	W1A-014
58	I hope all your teeth don't fall out.	FNA	SOL	W1B-002
59	That 's I suppose passion for the subjects and passion for to change <{1> <[1> things </[1> but also a bit of personal you know I could do I can do better <{2> <[2> than </[2> I have been doing you know	FOT	BUT	S1B-075
60	No it 's <,> no it <{1> <[1> was two </[1> hundred no it 's two hundred and twenty from Gatwick and then <,> I haven't paid for to get over to London yet but then the rest of it was all insurance	FOT	FTF	S1A-014
61	And of course Stephens 's morning then we all waited for Stephens 's morning <,> for to go out with the Wren	FOT	BRD	S1B-035
62	That <.> m </.> that buck that does be on the television on the video	HDO	FTF	S1A-087
63	He just stands there and <{> <[> bes Frankenstein </[> <,> <#> He 's Frankenstein	HDO	FTF	S1A-032

64	You 'd better come in so and don't be bringing any of your oul cameras with you.'	HDO	CRW	W2F-012
65	I 'm really glad that you 're having such a wonderful time in Belgium \xD0 but don't be enjoying yourself too much, because we all can't wait to see you at Christmas.	HDO	SOL	W1B-007
66	Doreen don't be saying that to her	HDO	FTF	S1A-007
67	I <.> sa </.> and Ben said look don't be taking what she says	HDO	TEC	S1A-096
68	Don't be going wandering onto them <,> you know	HDO	FTF	S1A-043
69	Don't be worrying	HDO	TEC	S1A-095
70	And I want to be down near the city centre <,> where I can walk out my front door go visiting <,> <{2> <[2> you know </[2> not be paying a tenner return in a taxi <,> anywhere any night	HDO	FTF	S1A-038
71	Oh no don't you be saying nothing <{> <[> Seanie </[>	HDO	FTF	S1A-023
72	Cos most of the time it be <,> either families you know young children to see the dinosaurs or sort of you know uhm older people who want to come and see the uhm art <{2> <[2> exhibitions and that	HDO	BUT	S1B-073
73	Do you ever be down about the harbour Jenny	HDO	FTF	S1A-045
74	No I never be down about there 's everything you know there 's <,> all that you want to see in fish you 'll get it there	HDO	FTF	S1A-045
75	And if you have soup in the house well you 're absolutely never be stuck	HDO	DEM	S2A-057
76	And remember whenever we were making scones I sort of said if you ever <,> if you 're ever wanting to impress give give your visitors the scones you make in the first cut-out because they 're always <,> be <,> the re-rolls have that different look about them and it 's the same with pastry	HDO	DEM	S2A-055
77	It is valuable too <{> <[> You take notes at the lectures </[> and <,> get around to it sometime but still <,> you <.> certain </.> you do come out of most tutorials and lectures interested in actually reading them but <,> and really intending to but <,> you just never get the time because then you 're into your next one and you say <,> I 'd better leave that	HDO	CLD	S1B-019
78	But they did have rent and rates eighty pounds a month	HDO	UNS	S2A-032
79	The Aruppe Society - who do work with homeless young people - estimates these addicts are responsible for over two-thirds of Ireland 's crime.	HDO	POS	W2B-017
80	We used to be Herriot Coffey Garman Solicitors and now we 're Herriot Coffey Garman Commercial Lawyers <{> <[> because </[> we do work with people in America and they 're all like yo ho	HDO	FTF	S1A-003
81	I have been asked about aggression shown on the green \xD0 was it intimidation or natural <}> <-> exhuberance </-> <+> exuberance	IQU	SKH	W2D-014
82	You were asking about wine <,> and I said you asked me what <,> did I want wine or something like that	IQU	FTF	S1A-006
83	And I was <.> on a </.> once asked by somebody was I insulted at this	IQU	BRI	S1B-049
84	After that they asked could they do a photo shoot on it	IQU	FTF	S1A-016
85	Yeah no I <.> w </.> what I asked for was when you were struck <,> was what I asked you <,> in the moment of impact where were you	IQU	LEC	S1B-061
86	So she asked her would she have any food that she could give her some and <,> feed the baby	IQU	BRT	S2B-021
87	And then I asked her would she let him <,> and she said no	IQU	FTF	S1A-035
88	ut uhm I just uh chanced me arm and uhm <,> asked him could I go <,> to be off tomorrow	IQU	TEC	S1A-095
89	But I found him anyway and I found the flat <,> and asked him could I stay the night	IQU	UNS	S2A-022
90	He asked him had he any identification	IQU	FTF	S1A-081
91	And the children with dirty faces and bright eyes followed him around asking him if he knew where Clint Eastwood lived, and if when he returned could he hide them away in his suitcase?	IQU	CRW	W2F-007
92	May I ask him in relation to page twenty of his speech <,> in which he says <,> my view of good government is that it must be decisive <,> is he contrasting this with the Labour Party 's insistence on accountability as indecision and isn't he isn't he in effect getting in his retaliation first so to speak	IQU	PAD	S1B-056

93	But first I asked him <,> was he without bias	IQU	BRD	S1B-023
94	The women made him cups of tea and sandwiches and asked him what he thought of this place, and wouldn't he rather have stayed in New York?	IQU	CRW	W2F-007
95	And I was asking him what 's the story like	IQU	FTF	S1A-076
96	Dummett refutes this by asking if this principle extends to young children and if so, at what age does a child become incapable of making a mistake?	IQU	EXM	W1A-015
97	Can I just ask <,> is uhm can you be a secondary victim uh just with onlooking <,> without actually having any emotional ties to the people	IQU	CLD	S1B-007
98	So I Lara rang today and I asked Lara would she do it	IQU	FTF	S1A-088
99	He was asking me did I know anybody that was and he can't remember	IQU	FTF	S1A-040
100	Mr Wheatley went to the car <,> asked me did we want to move the cars into the side of the road	IQU	LEC	S1B-061
101	he shuffled amongst his papers <,> produced a green paper and asked me had I read it	IQU	SCS	S2B-043
102	I said you asked me I mean all of the speculation here is centring on Mr Whelehan being uh removing himself or being removed as President of the High Court and you asked me how could this be done	IQU	BRD	S1B-031
103	Everybody except that beached whale asked me was I alright.	IQU	SOL	W1B-014
104	She asked me when were you coming and when I told her she said Oh! that's great, can't wait to see her again.	IQU	SOL	W1B-010
105	Medbh asked me would I come over and would <{2> <[2> I bring Jane with </[2> me <,> right	IQU	FTF	S1A-088
106	and secondly could I ask the <.> Attor </.> the Taoiseach will there be any resignations from his government	IQU	PAD	S1B-058
107	The main point of my debate is to ask the question <,> does the Government wish to have all of these extra university students taught by expert academics in the fashion of the older established universities so the quality of a university degree obtained at either the University of X or at Cambridge University is reasonably comparable	IQU	SCS	S2B-044
108	We have simply asked the question <,> were the people asked	IQU	PAD	S1B-058
109	surely the day has to come when we have to ask the question <,> what is the point attempting to work out complex constitutional issues at Stormont with these people	IQU	SCS	S2B-045
110	and then ask the questions of exactly how far can we push <,> the sources and what sort of questions can we ask them	IQU	CLD	S1B-005
111	Could I ask the Taoiseach has he asked for the resignation of any member of the government	IQU	PAD	S1B-058
112	I just want to ask the Taoiseach is he going to start	IQU	PAD	S1B-057
113	And finally may I ask the Taoiseach <,> why is it that none of the seventeen or so existing High Court judges from whom every President of the High Court since nineteen twenty-four was chosen was not suitable for the job on this occasion	IQU	PAD	S1B-056
114	He says I have asked them is it going to cure me	IQU	UNS	S2A-021
115	Like Dermot 's going to ask this printer at work does he have any	IQU	FTF	S1A-085
116	And I want to ask <,> what are the properties of this data set	IQU	UNS	S2A-046
117	And now I want to ask <,> what are the properties of this data set <,> and of course each reading has originally come from <,> has been derived from <,> one of the readings over here	IQU	UNS	S2A-046
118	Now <,> we are asking <,> what are the properties of this data set	IQU	UNS	S2A-046
119	He asked what do y'all do	IQU	FTF	S1A-020
120	You might well ask what do you mean by folklore and indeed we are often asked exactly that question	IQU	BRT	S2B-032
121	The questions are asked <,> what is achieved	IQU	LEP	S2A-069
122	we have to ask where does that leave writing in the Irish language	IQU	BRT	S2B-033
123	Ms Harney said she had repeatedly asked who was the Minister who had written it.	IQU	PRN	W2C-012
124	You may ask why did Pope Damasus feel that this revision was necessary	IQU	UNS	S2A-041

125	Now you might well ask <,> why do they bother doing equilibrium change experiments when they 're not really that realistic	IQU	UNS	S2A-038
126	And then I was asked would I chair it	IQU	BUT	S1B-075
127	uhm was chair in within that then there was sub-committees and there was different programmes so there was a victim 's programme and because of my interest in Women 's Aid I was asked would I sit on that	IQU	BUT	S1B-075
128	Uhm Jan came to me and asked would it be okay if she were to do a recording	IQU	UNS	S2A-049
129	Could I ask you <,> are you acquainted with Kilnacrott uh Abbey	IQU	LEC	S1B-067
130	As regards to the rush to the Park uh Taoiseach <,> uhm can I ask you at what stage did you discover that the Labour ministers were absenting themselves	IQU	PAD	S1B-056
131	I meant to ask you by the way Sally-Anne cos I haven't asked you <,> how did you how did you get on at the cinema	IQU	FTF	S1A-019
132	Now if I could start by asking you can you briefly describe <,> your committee involvement to date	IQU	BUT	S1B-075
133	Packie can I ask you does anyone have the right to enforce their opinions on others	IQU	BRD	S1B-025
134	Frances can I ask you <,> has everyone got the right to their own opinion	IQU	BRD	S1B-025
135	Willie Ross if I asked you <,> in terms of nationality what are you	IQU	BRD	S1B-028
136	Can I ask you Peter in all the literature that 's been written <,> do they talk about normal sex ever	IQU	CLD	S1B-005
137	But I mean <,> can I ask you the question like I mean who was it <,> you 're <,> you 're the former chairman	IQU	LEC	S1B-068
138	Can I ask you then to just for the record <,> were you prepared to to leave your position in the Attorney General 's office as a result of the message that had come from the Taoiseach	IQU	LEC	S1B-067
139	And then when they <.> s </.> ask you what are you up to	IQU	FTF	S1A-020
140	in a sense that I asked you what 're the nodes and then what 're the edges	IQU	UNS	S2A-036
141	You then ask yourself why were those guns ever used in the first place how do we avoid it now and you bring about a political solution	IQU	BRD	S1B-039
142	Because if you 've travelled abroad and you go into a situation where you 're the only English speaker <,> when people start to laugh it can make you incredibly lonely <,> because you 're wondering <,> are they laughing at me	IQU	UNS	S2A-023
143	And so this discussion about IRA arms is a great way of deferring the evil moment for another few months while John Major wonders can he go for another election can he what can he what	IQU	BRD	S1B-034
144	Uh Ceann Comhairle uh <,> I wonder could we clarify firstly <,> could we clarify firstly the point made by uh Deputy Kenny	IQU	PAD	S1B-057
145	I wonder did Luke go to the uhm dry cleaners this morning at six o'clock	IQU	FTF	S1A-052
146	So <,> by God he says I wonder has Fred much	IQU	FTF	S1A-083
147	Well I wonder has he given <,> he wouldn't have given the uh <,> penalty for <,> he hasn't for a late tackle	IQU	SPC	S2A-003
148	I was wondering I collected her were you driving	IQU	FTF	S1A-049
149	I am just sitting here wondering is it better to be working in a foreign country and be a bit homesick or sitting here on a miserable day like this with possibly no work, no money and sick of home	IQU	SOL	W1B-002
150	And I was wondering is it Bill Fitzgerald who I had a case against uhm but it wasn't	IQU	FTF	S1A-020
151	But is she <,> I wonder is she still in the same room	IQU	FTF	S1A-004
152	Mm <,> I wonder is that okay	IQU	FTF	S1A-052
153	I wonder is there many going up to it	IQU	FTF	S1A-072
154	Knowing this, one wonders is this rush at the end partly due to laziness or do we tend to keep putting things off until we ourselves are victims of the fuss we claim to dislike.	IQU	PON	W2B-025
155	But but uh we 're sort of wondering like will he will he give in	IQU	CLD	S1B-016
156	I 'm not lying <.> a </.> awake at night and wondering now what the phone 's going to ring and who 's going to be demanding money	IQU	UNS	S2A-022
157	How is Croke Park doing I wonder	IQU	FTF	S1A-081

158	Do they remove some teeth for it as well I wonder	IQU	BUT	S1B-079
159	Well the reason the reason I ask you is that uh apparently he was he 's chaplain to a to a to to a uh an organisation in Dublin and I was wondering uhm could you have met him in that context	IQU	LEC	S1B-067
160	I wonder were they ever able to	IQU	FTF	S1A-021
161	I was wondering were you driving	IQU	FTF	S1A-049
162	People were saying like wonder what 'd be like to walk into downtown without being searched	IQU	BRT	S2B-024
163	I wonder what have I should <.> re </.> really ring them	IQU	FTF	S1A-062
164	I wonder when will he get his car phone put in	IQU	FTF	S1A-060
165	And I 've never seen the guy in my life <{2> <[2> before </[2> and I saw him in there and I was wondering who the hell is he you know	IQU	FTF	S1A-075
166	I wonder who was that	IQU	FTF	S1A-087
167	I wonder will Eithne feel she has to go out	IQU	FTF	S1A-060
168	Now one wonders will he be able to carry through the power that he had at lightweight up here to the light middleweight division	IQU	SPC	S2A-005
169	I wonder will it all be worth it	IQU	FTF	S1A-071
170	I wonder will Sea/n ring	IQU	FTF	S1A-087
171	I wonder will she continue to improve or is it just <,> short-term effects	IQU	BUT	S1B-079
172	I wonder will they have a court case	IQU	FTF	S1A-087
173	I 'm just wondering would it be generalisable to the entire population	IQU	BUT	S1B-079
174	but I just wonder would it be generalisable to	IQU	BUT	S1B-079
175	I wonder would they be flattered to be called bunny girls <{> <[> or insulted	IQU	BRD	S1B-023
176	They 're bringing in all these <,> I don't know are they getting the lads from the town to do the band	IQU	FTF	S1A-072
177	See <,> if you go to the website of Blind Date <,> I don't know <,> are any of you Blind Date fans	IQU	UNS	S2A-023
178	I don't know did you go to speak to her but she said that some of the Physios and some of the OTs <,> or some of the social workers had been coming to her personally	IQU	BUT	S1B-078
179	Uh and then the other thing actually just <,> I don't know did anyone find in their groups today that they were maybe one uh participant who was more dominant than another	IQU	CLD	S1B-017
180	Right <,> I don't know do you think it it works extremely well	IQU	UNS	S2A-043
181	Is it uh I don't know is it dodgy or is it <,> <{> <[> legit	IQU	FTF	S1A-086
182	And <,> I don't know now would you I think I wouldn't 've been able to cope with the mixed school then	IQU	FTF	S1A-090
183	Do you remember that time </[> </{> we were <,> I don't know were you there in the Borsch and Tears with the stripogram	IQU	FTF	S1A-082
184	Now I don't know what do you think about that	IQU	UNS	S2A-043
185	I just don't know what 's the best thing to do.	IQU	SOL	W1B-004
186	And can you tell me now did you measure the length width and depth of that depression	IQU	LEC	S1B-063
187	And can you tell My Lord <,> did you go alone or did anyone go with you	IQU	LEC	S1B-063
188	Can you tell My Lord <,> uh did you uh locate the uh depression shown in the uh first of the black and white photographs	IQU	LEC	S1B-063
189	And I think it 's time sir that both you and the Ta/naiste got off the fence and told this House <,> is the partnership government still in being or is part of the partnership semi-detached and heading off to the country	IQU	PAD	S1B-057
190	<unclear> several sylls </unclear> really ask the Taoiseach if he would tell us is he going to circulate a speech	IQU	PAD	S1B-057
191	Can you tell us what are the key factors that really make up a city 's complex life	IQU	BRD	S1B-029
192	Oh I wouldn't have seen </[> </{> did he did he come to <{1> <[1> the thing	IQU	FTF	S1A-084

193	Now you could try by experiment to try and allocate <,> working with two registers <,> to allocate them to different variables at different times and see does it work out	IQU	UNS	S2A-036
194	She said the person didn't even go up <,> to ring her bell to see was she there	IQU	FTF	S1A-056
195	There was no action sheet for the last day so I just went down through the minutes to see was there anything uhm that needed to be followed up	IQU	BUT	S1B-078
196	And let 's see <,> what else do I want	IQU	DEM	S2A-053
197	Well some of the family his dad and friends of his were going down to Searson 's and see would I go down	IQU	FTF	S1A-049
198	Yeah like we we would still have a <.> sh </.> uh names on a share of them like you 'd have Cronin 's Black and you 'd have Polly and there was a horse won the Grand National there a few years ago we had a cow calved that day I think it was Grit Arse I would have a cow of that name	MOP	BRD	S1B-035
199	If you do it on a warm day you 'll have a floor completed <.> w </.> in a wood wash in no time at all	MOP	DEM	S2A-053
200	As we progress <,> we are more likely to be <,> not so much have a job posted and be recruited <,> but we are likely to be maintained <,> in other words that we are likely to be in an organisation	MOP	UNS	S2A-040
201	Usually, I 'd have a letter mailed by now, but I 've been very sick.	MOP	SOL	W1B-010
202	So she has her schoolbag packed with her pencil case and that and her <,> bits and pieces that she 'll never have out for the first six months you know	MOP	FTF	S1A-001
203	They probably have him chained <,> so he won't get out	MOP	FTF	S1A-087
204	Well it 's doubtful now if anybody 'd have it burned	MOP	FTF	S1A-072
205	I had it decked but I <,> yeah	MOP	FTF	S1A-049
206	I never had it insured you see	MOP	FTF	S1A-032
207	He has Jeanette 's house painted inside <*> ampersand </*> out, he goes on day-release to the Tech. starting next week.	MOP	FTF	W1B-001
208	I have Luke tortured trying to get it cleaned.	MOP	SOL	W1B-004
209	I think she had people lined up for the four posts but because it was so delayed they 've all since got other jobs	MOP	BUT	S1B-078
210	She 's her bag packed and <,> washed out and <,> her pencil case filled and so on	MOP	FTF	S1A-001
211	Uhm I outlined <.> t </.> two options to two of the Whips and I 'm not sure if Deputy Rabbitte was in at the time uh that that we would start almost immediately when we got the mechanics of this out of the way <,> that we would start almost immediately but because the Taoiseach hadn't the full information requested in the House earlier this morning that the Minister for Finance would lead on <,> and that the Taoiseach would come into the House when he had that information available but no later than ten o'clock tomorrow or half ten tomorrow morning to explain to the House whether or not he had the information sought	MOP	PAD	S1B-058
212	O'Reilly </[> </{> has that all organised <#> <{> <[> Mr </[> Frederick O'Gorman	MOP	FTF	S1A-072
213	Sure she has that bucked out the back of the chapel and everybody 's turning round looking to see	MOP	FTF	S1A-037
214	Now Ciaran has the place locked up when he is not at home.	MOP	SOL	W1B-002
215	And I think that if the Loyalists and the IRA ultimately had their arms decommissioned and if those arms weren't going to be used for either political violence or to drift back into the hands of ordinary criminals the RUC may very well consider it unnecessary uh to carry firearms then	MOP	BRD	S1B-034
216	With them, a history-piece is properly a portrait of themselves; whether they describe the inside or outside of their houses, we have their own people engaged in their own peculiar occupations; working, or drinking, playing, or fighting.	MOP	LEH	W2A-010
217	But there 's a driving school in uhm Dublin who they <,> they have their own town marked out	MOP	FTF	S1A-064
218	Also note that if either tax or insurance disc is faded or illegible, you must have them replaced prior to the test.	MOP	SKH	W2D-017
219	Well there shouldn't like she wants <,> what they do is they they keep some of their their pension and <.> un </.> until they have twelve hundred built up like for <,> burial <,> and a person has that much built up <,> and a lot of them have good lot of money	MOP	FTF	S1A-055
220	Uh they have twenty p splashed all over them and you go into the shops and you get fifty-five p for a can	MOP	FTF	S1A-085

221	Personally we 're not in winter milk <,> I still have a few cows milking but obviously you 've a lot of people who 've cows calved already at this time of the year	MOP	BRD	S1B-035
222	We 've had no post delivered this morning	MOP	BRN	S2B-015
223	Them windows I 've them all opened	MOP	FTF	S1A-026
224	They 've double rooms and single rooms and that 's the way they 've them quoted	MOP	FTF	S1A-081
225	And my daughters <,> I 've two daughters married today <,> and they are carrying on that tradition still that the sitting-room door is locked until Christmas morning and then in and presents are opened	MOP	BRD	S1B-035
226	I had it decked but I <,> yeah	MOP	FTF	S1A-049
227	Once you have your information encoded on CD-ROM, you can simply take your mastercopy CD to a company which will replicate it for about <*> pound sign </*> 1 per copy for large print-runs.	MOP	POT	W2B-032
228	But he cos I cos when he said last night then I was saying I was thinking och no maybe he has something organised cos he was saying aw you know	MOP	FTF	S1A-006
229	My sister has that framed at home and <{> <[> it 's lovely and	MOP	FTF	S1A-047
230	I think he was American <,> but he had a rucksack specially made with a magnetic strip in the back so that when he had it the magnet was directly on his spine	MOP	FTF	S1A-058
231	So for instance in Gulliver 's Travels <,> you have a tremendous contrast set up between the massive Brobdingnagians on the one hand and the pygmy-like Lilliputians on the other <,> giving us a sense of how tremendously precarious really is anybody 's hold on a culture	MOP	BRT	S2B-033
232	They thought Bobby would 've had all his praying done	MOP	FTF	S1A-043
233	There have been more experiments done since then and it has narrowed the gap somewhat but it is still very variable	MOP	UNS	S2A-038
234	And what I have actually done is <,> I won't draw it out for you because I have it already drawn on a piece of yellow crepe paper this time	MOP	DEM	S2A-058
235	And she has it done in a modern style	MOP	FTF	S1A-045
236	Now we have some garlic mayonnaise made up in a in a piping bag here	MOP	DEM	S2A-056
237	Well there shouldn't like she wants <,> what they do is they they keep some of their their pension and <.> un </.> until they have twelve hundred built up like for <,> burial <,> and a person has that much built up <,> and a lot of them have good lot of money	MOP	FTF	S1A-055
238	Uhm I outlined <.> t </.> two options to two of the Whips and I 'm not sure if Deputy Rabbitte was in at the time uh that that we would start almost immediately when we got the mechanics of this out of the way <,> that we would start almost immediately but because the Taoiseach hadn't the full information requested in the House earlier this morning that the Minister for Finance would lead on <,> and that the Taoiseach would come into the House when he had that information available but no later than ten o'clock tomorrow or half ten tomorrow morning to explain to the House whether or not he had the information sought	MOP	PAD	S1B-058
239	So <,> if a company are using a spreadsheet to uh budget <,> we 'll say for the coming six months <,> and they think that they they have their spreadsheet done <,> then they hear that the price of petrol is going to go up	MOP	UNS	S2A-042
240	Well I suppose if you can have them done by this afternoon yeah great	MOP	CLD	S1B-017
241	Once you have them done then do you sort of do you need to always like you 'll probably have those for like ten years or something will you	MOP	FTF	S1A-007
242	And of course when I went into the shop to get some sweets <,> and handed in the coupons I thought I had them paid for	MOP	FTF	S1A-029
243	Well there shouldn't like she wants <,> what they do is they they keep some of their their pension and <.> un </.> until they have twelve hundred built up like for <,> burial <,> and a person has that much built up <,> and a lot of them have good lot of money	MOP	FTF	S1A-055
244	And there 've been various experiments done over the years which suggest this and I think you may well have heard of some of these already	MOP	UNS	S2A-035
245	And well they 've everything thought of really	MOP	FTF	S1A-055
246	I have one of them gone to Dublin with me	MOP	FTF	S1A-067
247	And he had a gun held to his neck with the hammer cocked <,> running full pace up this street	MOP	BRT	S2B-027

248	Uhm that was <,> that 's somebody who has had the actual harm done to them <,> no in fact was actually at the accident or the incident personally there	MOP	CLD	S1B-007
249	Sure they had all those <{1> <[1> sure they have </[1> all those obituaries done	MOP	FTF	S1A-002
250	Oh sure I need uh <{> <[> I have it wrote down </[> so I do	MOP	FTF	S1A-067
251	I have it wrote down	MOP	FTF	S1A-067
252	You see I have Benjamin 's number written on his card	MOP	FTF	S1A-003
253	I have his home number written on it which I 'd taken and that was the only phone number in the wallet	MOP	FTF	S1A-003
254	I mean even last Saturday I knew like when I came in cos I 'd <,> when we <.> a </.> went out actually on what was it on Friday night <,> myself and and Elaine <,> went on to to uhm <,> I collected her in <.> th </.> a taxi <{> <[> and we went on </[>	UBR	FTF	S1A-049
255	And myself and Angela talked for the night and then Ronan and John talked for the night	UBR	FTF	S1A-070
256	Uhm <,> just that myself and Cheryl want to get back going <,> on that	UBR	BUT	S1B-078
257	But the party I 'm really sorry I didn't go cos I think myself and Ciaran had a big huge row that night again	UBR	FTF	S1A-076
258	Uh myself and Daphne 've actually made five copies of each <,> so uh we 're we 're catering for demand	UBR	CLD	S1B-015
259	<S1A-069$A> <#> <{> <[> Who 's we </[> <S1A-069$C> <#> <[> It got a bit packed after a while </[> </{><S1A-069$C> <#> Uhm <,> myself and Finola Deering <,> Maureen Murphy	UBR	FTF	S1A-069
260	So but now I would cos we were supposed to go to New York this weekend <,> myself and Jim	UBR	FTF	S1A-076
261	So I think </[> </{> we 're going into that myself and Seanie like	UBR	TEC	S1A-098
262	Yeah so then myself and Sharon started rubbing it in and Sharon said <,> yeah I learnt to drive actually on a tractor	UBR	FTF	S1A-064
263	Daddy, myself and the McDermots are going to the Dowling 's on Sat. night.	UBR	SOL	W1B-005
264	When people like myself came out and said the Anglo-Irish Agreement was not a fair thing the way it came about and and it wasn't a good agreement but it is not going to be even suspended	UBR	BRD	S1B-027
265	Sceptics \xD0 myself included \xD0 questioned Bingham 's wisdom of picking the 33-year old Reading striker ahead of one of our more mobile midfielders such as O'Neill or Black.	UBR	PRN	W2C-001
266	And then we all went out one night myself John Ronan and Angela	UBR	FTF	S1A-070
267	The bitch would not let me sit on her lap so myself Kate <*> agus sign </*> Benedict asked Se&/an, the production manager who is brain dead by the way! to give us a lift up in his car.	UBR	SOL	W1B-014
268	<S1A-069$C> <#> Who 's selling them <S1A-069$A> <#> Myself and Jimmy	UBR	FTF	S1A-069
269	Myself and John were locked anyway	UBR	FTF	S1A-070
270	Myself <{1> <[1> and </[1> my friend with a load of fellas	UBR	FTF	S1A-046
271	So anyhow what are you doing tonight <,> yourself and Nora <,> Ciara	UBR	FTF	S1A-089
272	<S1A-072$C> <#> Who wrote it <#> Cowan <S1A-072$B> <#> Uhm <,> himself and uhm <,> that buck that 's up the North now you know that released the new film Frankenstein now	UBR	FTF	S1A-072
273	He visited me in the pub when I was at work. <#> Himself, Edward <*> ampersand </*> Edward 's brother Geoff.	UBR	SOL	W1B-012
274	Herself and her husband <,> three children and she 's six months pregnant	UBR	FTF	S1A-004
275	She met him through this friend of hers <,> this girl Petra <,> who 's herself and her husband run a foundry	UBR	TEC	S1A-096
276	The general public including ourselves knew nothing about atomic weapons at that stage <,> so it came like a bolt from the blue	UBR	BRT	S2B-030
277	These are the kind of journalists like ourselves or myself and a few other people that kind of wouldn't have a huge big machine behind them <,> but that would go <{1> <[1> out	UBR	BRD	S1B-037
278	I think <.> wha </.> what 's imperative for us to bear in mind here whether <,> we 're sort of right on top of the site like yourselves or sort of being affected by a lot of others here with children and increased community safety aspects	UBR	BUT	S1B-074

279	Tis 'tis uh <,> she 's been gone like with over a week you know	WIT	BRN	S2B-014
280	Ye don't say Jim	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
281	Ye have it too	YOU	FTF	S1A-050
282	Ye might have mentioned somethin' in the pep talk that was legal ...	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
283	Ye were just drinking when ye went to the pub like wasn't it	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
284	To give ye a break	YOU	FTF	S1A-066
285	Does he come out with ye all </[> </{> the time now Louise	YOU	FTF	S1A-081
286	It 's like <,> the teacher comes in and gives you this picture of all friends playing in the yard and <,> ye all 've to talk about what it is and it 's giving you <,> oh what 's the name of the course	YOU	CLD	S1B-017
287	Christ .. is that the time .. have to go, Jim ... got to chase the pork through the cabbage ... me belly thinks me throat is cut .. good luck te ye an all hard cases like ye ... though if Brady is right ..	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
288	Looking forward to seeing ye at Christmas.	YOU	SOL	W1B-006
289	. ye can't hit a man who won't let ye put ye'r hand in ye'r pocket can ye ..	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
290	maybe ye better play someone else up front	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
291	That was the stumbler .. ye boy ye .. thought ye could buy him for a pint in his paw ... well .. ye thought wrong	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
292	It won't be long now, Jim .. ye boy ye ...	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
293	can't take it away from ye	YOU	CRW	W2F-011
294	Did ye </[2> </{2> know about it before ye came in	YOU	FTF	S1A-065
295	Well I 'm </[> </{> a good distance away from ye <,> ye just in case ye can't hear	YOU	FTF	S1A-084
296	ye can't hit a man who won't let ye put ye'r hand in ye'r pocket can ye	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
297	Will ye come down for it will ye	YOU	CRW	S1A-072
298	Will ye come down for it will ye	YOU	CRW	S1A-073
299	thought ye could buy him for a pint in his paw	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
300	in my day trainin' was somethin' ye did for a job	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
301	Brady hasn't forgiven of forgotten the sousin' ye dished out to him in Longfield last year	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
302	Will ye do a surprise for me	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
303	Oh do ye do that	YOU	FTF	S1A-053
304	ye don't say	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
305	ye don't want that	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
306	Were ye drunk	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
307	Where did ye eat?	YOU	SOL	W1B-014
308	Did ye get anywhere else like	YOU	FTF	S1A-065
309	Now how did ye get so drunk	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
310	Did ye go anywhere else	YOU	FTF	S1A-065
311	Well now where ye go like pubwise we go to The Loft <,> Bonna/n Bui/ <,> Cooks <,> Gorman 's	YOU	FTF	S1A-090
312	Are ye going to it	YOU	FTF	S1A-082
313	don't get me wrong .. fair play to ye .	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
314	Oh I thought ye had mice or something	YOU	FTF	S1A-053
315	I thought ye had one <{> <[> between ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
316	That dinner ye had sounds divine.	YOU	SOL	W1B-014

317	What <,> but like ye hadn't	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
318	let 's see if ye have the cheek to criticise the wallpaper	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
319	can ye hear me	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
320	By the way <.> ha </.> have ye heard Christy Moore 's The Rose of Tralee song	YOU	FTF	S1A-064
321	Sound as a bell ... I made it hard for ye ..	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
322	Poses a problem for ye if ye turf me out doesn't it	YOU	FTF	S1A-066
323	What division are ye in	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
324	Well I 'm </[> </{> a good distance away from ye <,> ye just in case ye can't hear	YOU	FTF	S1A-084
325	Did ye </[2> </{2> know about it before ye came in	YOU	FTF	S1A-065
326	I had a strong weakness for him once .. as ye know .. meant to give him the sign	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
327	Yeah you see ye know the crowd from there	YOU	FTF	S1A-090
328	How drunk were ye last night	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
329	I 'll tell ye later on	YOU	FTF	S1A-081
330	Oh I 've a really good joke to tell ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-081
331	Will ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
332	What time did ye leave the Lantern last night	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
333	Well .. ye might be right at that ... that 's one whingein' skitter ... and a false whore	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
334	My mother says no way <.> y </.> either one of ye move out of the house <,> or you stop teaching <.> t </.> her how to drive because it was just causing such	YOU	FTF	S1A-079
335	Trainin' .. I ask ye .. new fangled ideas, Jim	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
336	manes te straighten ye on the sabbath	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
337	How many games have ye played	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
338	Proud is the word .. proud .. ye played ye'r part	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
339	Take ye'r paws away .. ye pup ye	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
340	ye can't hit a man who won't let ye put ye'r hand in ye'r pocket can ye	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
341	It won't be long now, Jim .. ye boy ye ...	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
342	Take ye'r paws away .. ye pup ye …	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
343	it wasn't a goal I tell ye	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
344	Did she go out with ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-046
345	Just two of ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-062
346	Who else </[> </{> was there with ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-065
347	I thought ye had one <{> <[> between ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
348	Will ye come down for it will ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-072
349	Who 's in goals for ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
350	Did ye see the </[> </{> <,> coloured fellas in uhm Cormac 's	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
351	ye should have no problem with 'don shower of pansies	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
352	I suppose you 'll be home again before me (27th August), so see ye then.	YOU	SOL	W1B-006
353	good luck te ye an all hard cases like ye ...	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
354	well .. ye thought wrong	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
355	That was the stumbler .. ye boy ye .. thought ye could buy him for a pint in his paw	YOU	CRW	W2F-010

356	Did ye travel around after or	YOU	FTF	S1A-065
357	Poses a problem for ye if ye turf me out doesn't it	YOU	FTF	S1A-066
358	Do you know who I saw <.> ye </.> uhm <,> on Good Friday at Mass	YOU	FTF	S1A-002
359	still if ye'r sorry .. if ye want me te warn him off	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
360	Ye were just drinking when ye went to the pub like wasn't it	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
361	glad ye were plaised	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
362	I suppose ye were waiting outside for ages to get in with her taking in the money	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
363	But ye weren't too </[> </{> bad when you got there	YOU	FTF	S1A-068
364	And have ye won all yeer games	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
365	don't get me wrong .. ye won well	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
366	ye wouldn't hear his word at a dummies convention when times are normal	YOU	CRW	W2F-010
367	Well I 'm </[> </{> a good distance away from ye	YOU	FTF	S1A-084
368	Youse actually don't look	YOU	FTF	S1A-010
369	Fuck youse all	YOU	FTF	S1A-044
370	And then is it like <,> are all the rooms ensuite or do youse all share a bathroom as well	YOU	TEC	S1A-100
371	Did youse </[> </{> all try to be Leroy	YOU	FTF	S1A-011
372	I really really appreciate it and youse are all brilliant and fair play to youse	YOU	BRT	S2B-034
373	Youse are all coming out as well on the Tuesday	YOU	FTF	S1A-017
374	You don't say you know something like that look you youse are calling just Amy	YOU	FTF	S1A-032
375	Youse are </[> </{> so many people	YOU	FTF	S1A-030
376	Youse are terrible	YOU	FTF	S1A-080
377	Youse <{> <[> are wrong	YOU	BRD	S1B-034
378	Aren't youse awful good	YOU	FTF	S1A-004
379	Have youse been beat already	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
380	I was delighted </[> to do that for youse by the way help youse out in some way	YOU	BRI	S1B-047
381	Talking of the cinema now <,> what did I go and see last <,> <.> th </.> that youse could go and see	YOU	FTF	S1A-080
382	So don't youse dare whenever it comes up to it go <,> <{> <[> I have exams	YOU	FTF	S1A-017
383	Ah youse didn't </[> </{> have to buy me anything you know	YOU	FTF	S1A-075
384	You know and uh make sure it was like me and Jules and Leonard or you and me and <,> you know what I mean you and Anthony and <,> when youse didn't know they were being taken you <{2> <[2> know	YOU	TEC	S1A-095
385	For those that obviously don't know what the Simon Community does hopefully youse do or	YOU	UNS	S2A-031
386	Youse don't play cos youse never win	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
387	Were youse drunk at the time	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
388	Forgot to pay youse for it on Sunday	YOU	FTF	S1A-037
389	What about that wee one <,> youse had already	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
390	What about uhm what about this the big <,> uh dinosaur collection youse had on there	YOU	BUT	S1B-073
391	Youse have all tried to hush up that document but it exists	YOU	FTF	S1A-034
392	I still beat youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
393	When the word 'youse' is used the basic rules are applied; there is reference to the plural form.	YOU	STE	W1A-001
394	Youse just met him <,> <{> <[> one time	YOU	FTF	S1A-080

395	And <.> d </.> how do youse know him then	YOU	FTF	S1A-080
396	And it was just like first the Thai girl and then Korean and I was just like mm right <,> <{6> <[6> fuck the lot of youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-044
397	He 's he 's he 's he was in Methody with youse like	YOU	FTF	S1A-015
398	It does youse like	YOU	FTF	S1A-039
399	Well youse 'll hardly </[2> </{2> be staying there overnight will youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
400	Youse 'll listen to </[> </{> me and Natalie now	YOU	FTF	S1A-023
401	I owe youse money for that too	YOU	FTF	S1A-037
402	Youse don't play cos youse never win	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
403	Nice to see youse to see youse nice	YOU	FTF	S1A-011
404	Were they not walking up the road with youse or behind youse then	YOU	FTF	S1A-031
405	I was delighted </[> to do that for youse by the way help youse out in some way	YOU	BRI	S1B-047
406	Were youse over at the funeral	YOU	FTF	S1A-009
407	Youse 're all being really healthy	YOU	FTF	S1A-010
408	No but I 'll tell <{> <[> youse </[>	YOU	FTF	S1A-025
409	Well youse 'll hardly </[2> </{2> be staying there overnight will youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
410	Would somebody 've helped youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-001
411	But why did youse <,> why did youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-075
412	We mature faster than youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-025
413	Go to the cinema and we 'll <{> <[> all go </[> with youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-031
414	So uh thanks a lot and see youse	YOU	BRT	S2B-034
415	Yeah did youse </[> </{> any of youse see Superman last weekend no	YOU	FTF	S1A-032
416	Aye we 're more mature than youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-025
417	Were they not walking up the road with youse or behind youse then	YOU	FTF	S1A-031
418	I 'm giving youse three months ' notice	YOU	FTF	S1A-017
419	From here <,> I want youse to bring your feet together	YOU	DEM	S2A-054
420	Well listen I 'm not going to force youse to go	YOU	FTF	S1A-075
421	Nice to see youse to see youse nice	YOU	FTF	S1A-011
422	What 're youse up to	YOU	TEC	S1A-098
423	Would you <,> would youse use <mention> aye </mention> instead of <mention> always </mention>	YOU	CLD	S1B-006
424	Would youse use that	YOU	CLD	S1B-006
425	Aye there 's different things every <,> like Lesley Garrett 's on at five past <{> <[> eight if youse want to hear it	YOU	FTF	S1A-033
426	I wasn't there the night that youse went was I	YOU	FTF	S1A-018
427	I was in the toilet and we were all youse were all shouting fire fire	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
428	hat was that there the other day when Tony youse were burning stuff in the hearth	YOU	FTF	S1A-027
429	If youse were doing a collection I 'd give you something	YOU	FTF	S1A-037
430	Youse were going to get a Don Bosco <{> <[> chair	YOU	FTF	S1A-037
431	She 's just very fine <#> <{1> <[1> but youse </[1> were like that as well	YOU	TEC	S1A-094
432	What are youse whispering about over there	YOU	FTF	S1A-051
433	But why did youse <,> why did youse	YOU	FTF	S1A-075
434	I mean God forbid youse would ever say this to him unless he mentions it to you	YOU	FTF	S1A-018

435	I 'd passed out onto the floor <,> and youse <,> you bumped into me I was lying <{2> <[2> on the floor	YOU	FTF	S1A-018
436	And of course it has been a tremendous uh season for youse you see I 've actually seen you winning your uh Munster Cup recently and you won the double	YOU	BRN	S2B-014
437	And is Summerhill in yeer division	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
438	C <,> and who else is in yeer division	YOU	FTF	S1A-087
439	And have ye won all yeer games	YOU	FTF	S1A-087

*Table A 2: Calculation of features per 10,000 words divided into register sub-corpora. Column 1 gives the textual register; column 2 shows whether the register is written (w) or spoken (s); column 3 gives the absolute number of features found in ICE Ireland for each register; column 4 gives the number of texts per register as prescribed by the ICE guidelines; column 5 gives the actual number of words for each register in ICE Ireland, taken from Kallen and Kirk (2007: 130). No numbers were given for press editorials (PRE); so the number of words in PRE was calculated by subtracting the number of words of all other text registers from the total number of words given; column 6 gives the number of features per 10,000 words, which was calculated by (absolute number of hits/words) * 10,000.*

register	w/s	absolute	texts	words	hits /10,000 words
ADP	w	0	10	21,224	0
BRD	s	17	20	41,319	4.11432997
BRI	s	3	10	20,475	1.46520147
BRN	s	4	20	40,460	0.98863075
BRT	s	10	20	40,142	2.49115639
BUL	w	0	15	30,398	0
BUT	s	16	10	20,711	7.72536333
CLD	s	16	20	42,289	3.7834898
CRW	w	41	20	44,722	9.16774742
DEM	s	7	10	21,250	3.29411765
EXM	w	2	10	21,066	0.94939713
FTF	s	225	90	189,104	11.8982147
LEC	s	9	10	19,928	4.51625853
LEH	w	2	10	22,204	0.90073861
LEN	w	0	10	20,847	0
LEP	s	1	10	20,429	0.48950022
LES	w	0	10	21,393	0
LET	w	0	10	21,980	0
PAD	s	15	10	20,971	7.15273473
POH	w	0	10	20,816	0
PON	w	1	10	20,704	0.48299845
POS	w	1	10	22,128	0.45191612
POT	w	1	10	20,947	0.47739533
PRE	w	0	10	20,450	0
PRN	w	2	20	42,982	0.46531106
SCS	s	4	10	20,152	1.98491465
SKH	w	4	10	22,803	1.75415516
SOL	w	18	15	31,897	5.64316393
SPC	s	5	20	42,024	1.18979631
STE	w	1	10	20,931	0.47776026
TEC	s	11	10	20,412	5.38898687
UNS	s	23	30	60,692	3.78962631
total		439	500	1,047,850	4.18953094

Table A 3: Data for figure 1: the 32 registers of ICE Ireland with their formality score and the features found per 10,000 words.

register	formality	hits /10,000
ADP	11.5	0
BRD	6	4.11432997
BRI	7	1.46520147
BRN	9.5	0.98863075
BRT	8.5	2.49115639
BUL	10	0
BUT	4.5	7.72536333
CLD	4.5	3.7834898
CRW	9	9.16774742
DEM	10	3.29411765
EXM	9.5	0.94939713
FTF	0	11.8982147
LEC	4.5	4.51625853
LEH	11	0.90073861
LEN	11	0
LEP	7	0.48950022
LES	11	0
LET	11	0
PAD	4	7.15273473
POH	10.5	0
PON	10.5	0.48299845
POS	10.5	0.45191612
POT	10.5	0.47739533
PRE	11	0
PRN	11.5	0.46531106
SCS	6.5	1.98491465
SKH	8.5	1.75415516
SOL	4	5.64316393
SPC	7.5	1.18979631
STE	9.5	0.47776026
TEC	1.5	5.38898687
UNS	5.5	3.78962631

Table A 4: Data used for the compilation of figures 2, 3 and 4. The absolute numbers of the features indirect question with inversion (IQU), medial-object perfect (MOP) and unbound reflexive pronoun (UBR) and the frequency per 10,000 words were put into relation with the degrees of formality for the registers they occur in. Colum 1 names the register; column 2 gives the formality score of this register; column 3 shows the number of words the register contains; the columns labelled IQU, MOP and UBR give the absolute numbers of these features found in each register; the columns labelled IQU /10,000, MOP /10,000 and UBR /10,000 give the frequency of the feature in 10,000 words of each register.

register	**formality**	**words**	**IQU**	**IQU /10,000**	**MOP**	**MOP /10,000**	**UBR**	**UBR /10,000**
ADP	11.5	21,224	0	0	0	0	0	0
BRD	6	41,319	9	2.17817469	4	0.96807764	2	0.48403882
BRI	7	20,475	1	0.48840049	0	0	0	0
BRN	9.5	40,460	0	0	1	0.24715769	0	0
BRT	8.5	40,142	4	0.99646256	2	0.49823128	1	0.24911564
BUL	10	30,398	0	0	0	0	0	0
BUT	4.5	20,711	9	4.34551688	1	0.48283521	2	0.96567042
CLD	4.5	42,289	5	1.18234056	2	0.47293622	1	0.23646811
CRW	9	44,722	2	0.44720719	0	0	0	0
DEM	10	21,250	1	0.47058824	3	1.41176471	0	0
EXM	9.5	21,066	1	0.47469857	0	0	0	0
FTF	0	189,104	37	1.95659531	31	1.63930959	13	0.68745241
LEC	4.5	19,928	9	4.51625853	0	0	0	0
LEH	11	22,204	0	0	1	0.4503693	0	0
LEN	11	20,847	0	0	0	0	0	0
LEP	7	20,429	1	0.48950022	0	0	0	0
LES	11	21,393	0	0	0	0	0	0
LET	11	21,980	0	0	0	0	0	0
PAD	4	20,971	10	4.76848982	2	0.95369796	0	0
POH	10.5	20,816	0	0	0	0	0	0
PON	10.5	20,704	1	0.48299845	0	0	0	0
POS	10.5	22,128	0	0	0	0	0	0
POT	10.5	20,947	0	0	1	0.47739533	0	0
PRE	11	20,450	0	0	0	0	0	0
PRN	11.5	42,982	1	0.23265553	0	0	1	0.23265553
SCS	6.5	20,152	3	1.48868599	0	0	0	0
SKH	8.5	22,803	1	0.43853879	1	0.43853879	0	0
SOL	4	31,897	4	1.25403643	3	0.94052732	3	0.94052732
SPC	7.5	42,024	2	0.47591852	0	0	0	0
STE	9.5	20,931	0	0	0	0	0	0
TEC	1.5	20,412	1	0.4899079	0	0	2	0.97981579
UNS	5.5	60,692	15	2.47149542	4	0.65906545	0	0