New Perspectives on Irish English 3
18-19 June 2015
University of Limerick

Charles Parsons Lecture Theatre
Main Building, C1-063

Organisers

Elaine Vaughan, University of Limerick
Brian Clancy, Mary Immaculate College,
~University of Limerick~
Karen Corrigan, Newcastle University, UK

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CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

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THURSDAY 18th JUNE

8:30-9:00
Registration

9:00-9:30
Welcome   Professor Tom Lodge, Dean, Faculty of Arts, Humanities and
                            Social Sciences, University of Limerick

ENREGISTERMENT AND IRISH ENGLISH

9:30-10:00
Raymond Hickey   Enregisterment in Irish English
University of Duisberg and Essen

10:00-10:30
Helen Kelly-Holmes   Bleedin' Spanner – Flippin' Eejit – marketing discourse as a source
University of Limerick   of data on Irish-English

10:30-11:00 TEA AND COFFEE

11:00-11:30
Elaine Vaughan   "As Irish as…" Culture on display in representations of Irish
Máiréad Moriarty   English in television advertising
University of Limerick

11:30-12:00
Joan O'Sullivan   Audience and referee design in Irish radio advertising
University of Limerick

GRAMMAR AND IRISH ENGLISH

12:00-12:30
Kevin McCafferty   '*I Ø not saying this before yours faces it is far behind your backs*' BE-
University of Bergen   deletion in Irish English, 1731–1840

12:30-13:00
Alison Henry   Complement shift in Northern Irish English
Ulster University

13:00-14:00 LUNCH

14:00-14:30
Marc Richards   Gone but not forgotten: An 'I-retentionist' account of the fall and
Queen's University   rise of medial-object perfects

14:30-15:00
Alexandra Rehn   A new perspective on the use of the definite article in Irish
University of Konstanz   English

SOCIOPHONETICS AND IRISH ENGLISH

15:00-15:30
Marion Schulte   Using an adapted sociolinguistic interview to gather data on the
Bielefeld University   sociophonetics of Dublin English

15:30-16:00 TEA AND COFFEE

16:00-16:30
Arne Peters   '*I think that's kinda changed nowadays*' – Western urban Irish English
University of Potsdam   and the dental fricatives (th) and (dh): A variationist sociolinguistic
                               analysis

16:30-17:00
Warren Maguire   The dialect of southwest Tyrone
University of Edinburgh

18:00 WINE RECEPTION

CORPUS APPROACHES

9:30-10:00
Michael McCarthy   "'Tis mad, yeah": Turn openers in Irish and British English
University of Nottingham and
University of Limerick
Anne O'Keeffe
Mary Immaculate College,
~University of Limerick~

10:00-10:30
Brian Clancy   Every new beginning comes from some other beginning's end
Mary Immaculate College,   (*Seneca*): Turn final items in Irish English
~University of Limerick~

10:30-11:00 TEA AND COFFEE

HISTORICAL DATA

11:00-11:30
Carolina Amador-Moreno   Letters from Argentina: Gender and discourse in 19th century
University of Extremadura   emigrant correspondence

11:30-12:00
Gili Diamant   On collectors and linguists: The Irish National Folklore Collection
Hebrew University of Jerusalem   as a source for Irish English language material
Bettina Migge
University College Dublin

12:00-12:30
Marije van Hattum   The language of threatening notices in nineteenth-century Irish
University of Lausanne   English

12:30-13:00
Patricia Ronan   What else can early loan words tell us about the social relations
University of Lausanne   between the *Gael* and the *Gall*?

13:00-14:00 LUNCH

NEW SPEAKERS OF IRISH ENGLISH

14:00-14:30
Karen Corrigan   "From Here to There": How migration continues transforming
Adam Mearns   the linguistic ecology of Northern Ireland
Jennifer Thorburn
Newcastle University

14:30-15:00
Chloe Diskin   New speakers of Irish English: The case of Polish and Chinese
University College Dublin   migrants in Dublin

15:00-15:30 TEA AND COFFEE

REPRESENTATIONS OF IRISH ENGLISH

16:00-16:30

Irina Pandarova   The Irish English discourse marker *sure*: A view from relevance
Leuphana University   theory

16:30-17:00

Ana María Terrazas-Calero   '*Oh my God*, Ross, he's, like, SO last month': 'New' uses of *so* in
Carolina Amador-Moreno   Dublin English as represented in fiction
University of Extremadura

17:00-17:30

Shane Walshe   Northern versus Southern Irish English: A cinematic corpus-
University of Zurich   based approach

CLOSING REMARKS

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Letters from Argentina: Gender and discourse in 19th century emigrant correspondence

Carolina P. Amador-Moreno, *University of Extremadura*

The story of the Irish diaspora in Argentina has sparked the interest of historians working on Irish emigration. However, very little empirical analysis has been carried out so far from a linguistic perspective in order to reconstruct the discourse habits of those who tried their fortune in the Latin American country. This paper aims to connect both the historical and linguistic views in order to contribute to diachronic studies of Irish English.

During the nineteenth century, between 40,000 and 45,000 Irish emigrants travelled to Argentina (Murray, 2006). Many of these emigrants settled there and kept in touch with family and friends through letters that can nowadays be studied from a historical sociolinguistic perspective. The letters, which are part of the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence,* allow us to explore the social relations between sender and addressee, and they also shed light on possible uses in spoken language in Ireland between 1840 and 1920. By applying the tools and techniques of corpus linguistics, this study will analyze the expression of closeness, spontaneity, solidarity, etc. in the use of a few significant linguistic features such as pronominal forms and pragmatic markers. Some of the questions that will be posed are whether differences in usage between male and female authors exist; whether certain patterns are used more by one author than another; what certain linguistic choices reveal about their author, their sex or their own experiences; or whether usage varies depending on author-recipient relationships. The study will focus on the letters written by members of two families (the Murphy family and the Pettyt family) who emigrated from Ireland to Argentina.

References

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Every new beginning comes from some other beginning's end (Seneca): Turn final items in Irish English

Brian Clancy, *Mary Immaculate College, ~University of Limerick~*

This paper proposes to examine the turn-taking 'fingerprint' (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991) of Irish English using data from intimate settings. Intimate discourse, that between couples, family and friends, lies at the heart of our everyday linguistic experience in that it both creates and sustains our closest relationships (Clancy, forthcoming, 2015). Using a half-million-word sub-corpus of the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE), the patterns that are characteristic of turn-final position will be examined and categorised. Previous corpus research has revealed a high frequency of the pragmatic markers *like* (Kallen, 2006; Schweinberger, 2012) and *now* (Clancy and Vaughan, 2012) in turn final position in Irish English in comparison to British English, for example. This paper seeks to build on this previous research, revealing other, equally prevalent, pragmatic phenomena such as pronouns and humour at turn final position in intimate discourse. The paper will also seek to tentatively explore whether or not there exists a relationship between turn final and turn initial items where one is primed by the other or vice versa.

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Heritage, J. and Greatbatch, D. 1991. On the institutional character of institutional talk: The case of news interviews. In: D. Boden and D.H. Zimmerman (eds.), *Talk and Social Structure: Studies in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 93-137.

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"From Here to There": How migration continues transforming the linguistic ecology of Northern Ireland

Karen Corrigan, *Newcastle University*

Adam Mearns, *Newcastle University*

Jennifer Thorburn, *Newcastle University*

Research on language in Northern Ireland (NI) focuses on those varieties associated with the major ethnic groups. Some studies address aspects of minority ethnic divisions, documenting e.g. the fact that the 2001 NI Census indicated that 'Chinese' was the largest minority (0.25%) (Corrigan, 2010). Since then, NI has experienced significant societal changes. (McDermott, 2011 and NISRA, 2011). Migrants who speak English use new varieties that reflect their ethnic minority heritage alongside recently acquired features.

Research on the acquisition of local variants in Britain (Schleef *et al.*, 2011; Verma *et al.*, 1992), shows that minority speakers have distinctive patterns. This variation depends on factors like their identification with local community values. Similar research is currently underway in the Republic (Migge, 2012; Nestor *et al.*, 2012). This paper presents the findings from the first project to investigate these issues in a NI context.

Ethnographic interviews with migrants to Northern Ireland (5-19 years old) were conducted (2012-2014). They probe migrants' attitudes to local norms as well as their own linguistic repertoires. The findings from these contemporary populations are then contrasted with the linguistic ecologies of Northern Irish migrants captured in *CORIECOR* (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty, 2012). They also experienced what it was like to go from "here" to "there", to echo an 1848 *Punch* cartoon demonstrating the stark contrast between famine norms in Ireland with the experiences of Irish emigrants. There are points of synergy and divergence between both groups of 'new speakers' that make an interesting contribution to debates on *"New Perspectives"*.

References

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On collectors and linguists: The Irish National Folklore Collection as a source for Irish English language material

Gili Diamant, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

Bettina Migge, *University College Dublin*

The impressive amount of recorded material which makes up the Irish National Folklore Collection (NFC) is appealing not only to scholars of folklore. For linguists and those interested in all aspects of Irish English, the NFC contains valuable English-language material recorded from hundreds of speakers on various locations throughout Ireland, spanning a period of several decades. Despite its great potential and the interest this collection has generated among linguists (cf., Filppula, 1999; Corrigan, 2011), the NFC remains mostly under-represented as a source for research on Irish English.

Building on Karen Corrigan's presentation at NPIE 2, this paper will discuss the challenges and technical aspects of processing the NFC material into a corpus geared towards linguistic analysis. Based on a pilot project of digitization of material collected in Co. Clare, this paper will present additional approaches to corpus compilation, and will provide interesting insights regarding the representation of spoken Irish English in the NFC's manuscripts from a phonological, syntactic and discourse-analysis perspective. It will be suggested that 'accurate representation' is, in fact, a relative term, and that scholars from different disciplines may have different views of it in mind.

References

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New speakers of Irish English: The case of Polish and Chinese migrants in Dublin

Chloe Diskin, *University College Dublin*

This paper presents a sociolinguistic study of discourse-pragmatic variation among Polish and Chinese migrants and native Dubliners. The study analysed the distribution, function and syntactic position of three discourse-pragmatic markers (DPMs), *like*, *you know* and *I mean*, as well as the quotative system, among 48 speakers. These DPMs have previously been shown to have idiosyncratic distributions in Irish English (IrEng), particularly in the case of clause- or turn-final *like* (Kallen, 2006; Nestor, 2013; Nestor *et al.*, 2012; Schweinberger, 2012; Siemund *et al.*, 2009).

The findings show that the overall frequency of DPMs is not conditioned by extra-linguistic factors, such as nationality, gender, proficiency, length of residence or education. However, the distribution of specific DPMs was predicted by migratory experience, with culturally-oriented migrants (who migrated primarily to fulfil an interest in travel and learn about other cultures) adhering to more standard forms of English, and economically-oriented migrants (who migrated primarily to seek employment) aligning themselves closer to Irish English (IrEng) patterns. Migrants, as a result of making a major move from one country to another, are presented with new opportunities to renegotiate their identities. This is reflected in the situated variation of their speech.

Interview data also revealed a predominant metalinguistic discourse surrounding standardness and IrEng. Whereas native Dubliners made distinctions based on geographical differences and social class, the migrants tended to compare IrEng with either British or American English. They viewed IrEng as unusual, sub-standard and strongly indexical of Irishness (Eckert, 2008). These language ideologies were found to correlate with the migrants' identities as culturally or economically oriented, or as "target learners" and "target earners" (King-O'Riain, 2008).

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The language of threatening notices in nineteenth-century Irish English

Marije van Hattum, *University of Lausanne*

Throughout the nineteenth century, the rural midlands of Ireland suffered from agrarian violence by "secret societies", whose membership according to contemporary sources consisted solely of the lower ranks of society. One of the aims of these so-called "Ribbon" societies was to control the local labour conditions and settle rent and land disputes. Though there were indeed outbreaks of violence, the Ribbon societies predominantly used fear and intimidation to achieve their goals. One of their means of intimidation was the sending of threatening notices which were 'flying around Westmeath like Christmas cards in the 1860s (Whehelan, 2012). A collection of these threatening notices are kept in the National Archives of Ireland and provide a source of lower-order writing from nineteenth-century Ireland, hitherto unexplored for linguistic purposes. The collection consists of approximately 150 notices written between 1864 and 1870, predominantly in the county of Westmeath.

My paper will provide an exploration of the linguistic constructions used to convey a threat in these notices through means of a keyword analysis. The notices will be contrasted to a reference corpus consisting of personal correspondence sent by the lower-orders of society, such as emigrant letters and poor relief petitions. Thus, it is hoped that my paper will shed light on threatening strategies in nineteenth-century Irish English in particular, and the genre and text type of these notices in general.

References

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Complement shift in Northern Irish English

Alison Henry, *Ulster University*

This paper discusses a structure where a complement of a verb appears before the verb.

      1. It's very blustery got

      2. He's wile tall got

The structure has the following characteristics:

(a) For most speakers it is restricted to the verb *get*, and cannot occur with *become* although the latter has a similar meaning

      3. *It's very blustery become

(b) It can only occur when the auxiliary *be* is present; complement shift alternates with unshifted structures where the auxiliary must be *have*, and it cannot occur if there is no auxiliary.

      4. The twins are wile tall got

      5. *The twins have wile tall got

      6. *The twins are got wile tall

      7. The twins have got wile tall

      8. *The twins wile tall got

      9. The twins are wile tall getting

(c) For most speakers the structure is better where there is an intensifier present

      10. ? The twins are tall got

We will consider the analysis of the structure, suggesting that there are at least two possible grammars. For some speakers, the shifted complement appears to be in a low topic position; for others, *be* in fact appears to be a copula rather than an auxiliary with the form of *get* being not a participle but a change of state marker. Thus, in common with a number of other local dialect features, what appear to be similar structures can in fact derive from more than one possible underlying grammar.

Enregisterment in Irish English

Raymond Hickey, *University of Duisburg and Essen*

Enregisterment is a process in which linguistic features which were hitherto unnoticed or non-salient come to be associated with a place or region or register and to be seen as typical of its dialect/variety through a specific discourse referring to these features, that is the dialect/variety is conceptualised by others as displaying these features (Agha 2003, 2007). For instance, the use of /U/ in the STRUT lexical set and of /a/ in the BATH set came, after the lowering of the STRUT vowel and the lengthening of the BATH vowel in the south of England, to be seen as typical dialect features of the north of England although in historical terms it is the south of England which underwent new developments with the vowels in these lexical sets.

The present contribution intends to examine instances of enregisterment in Ireland, phonetically for Dublin English as with the unlowered /u/ just referred to for the North of England. Evidence of enregisterment in Irish English is forthcoming in popular renderings of putatively Irish/Dublin features such as *roysh* 'right' (for the central starting point of the PRICE vowel and the fricative realisation of the final /t/) in the novels of Ross O'Carroll-Kelly or *Dortspeak* for a posh south Dublin accent. A central consideration for this paper will be the veracity of such features and the extent to which enregisterment had led to their becoming entrenched in popular conceptions of Irish English.

References

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Bleedin' Spanner – Flippin' Eejit – marketing discourse as a source of data on Irish-English

Helen Kelly-Holmes, *School of Modern Languages & Applied Linguistics*/*Centre for Applied Language Studies, University of Limerick*

Advertising and marketing are processes that not only use established and easily recognisable varieties, styles and practices, they also contribute to the establishment and recognisability of varieties and styles. As Johnstone (2009) points out, enregisterment is both a necessary pre-requisite and an outcome of the commodification of linguistic practices. Enregisterment involves both discursive and metadiscursive practices. While it seems clear that advertising and marketing are involved in discursive practices, for example in the choice of linguistic variables, they are also part of metadiscursive practices, which, as Johnstone, Agha (2003) and others point out, are crucial to enregisterment. This paper explores the metadiscursive work that takes place in the marketing of Irish- English t-shirts and how this both relies on and contributes to enregisterment of this variety or style, using the case study of hairybaby.com t-shirts. In particular, I focus on the product descriptions and accompanying narratives as a source of metapragmatic data on Irish-English.

References

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The dialect of southwest Tyrone

Warren Maguire, *University of Edinburgh*

What are the phonological origins of Tyrone English? What did English, Scots and Irish contribute to its phonological development, and are these inputs present to different degrees in the speech of Protestants and Catholics? What was the linguistic patterning of traditional phonological features such as the MEAT-MATE (near-)merger, Pre-R Dentalisation, Velar Palatalisation, and Epenthesis? Dialectologists have always recognised that we can only answer questions like these when we have a detailed record of the most old-fashioned, endogenously developed forms of a dialect. Unfortunately, detailed records of traditional Tyrone English do not exist, meaning that it is difficult to answer these questions. Recent surveys and analyses of Tyrone English do not fill this gap, given that they focus on urban and non-traditional varieties, or do not explore the phonology of traditional dialects in detail.

In order to address this problem, I have been constructing a substantial corpus of traditional southwest Tyrone English. Collected between 2003 and 2015, it consists of 30 hours of audio recordings of 20 older, rural natives (Protestant and Catholic) of the Fintona-Dromore area. These recordings of conversations, questionnaire responses and reading tasks constitute not only an important record of the traditional dialect of the area which will allow us to probe its phonological history but also a substantial documentation of local life, farming practices and superstitions. This paper describes this corpus, the rationale behind its construction, and the research I am conducting on it.

'*I Ø not saying this before yours faces it is far behind your backs*' BE-deletion in Irish English, 1731–1840

Kevin McCafferty, *University of Bergen*

BE-deletion is a salient and heavily-researched feature of New World Englishes, African American English in particular (e.g., Rickford, 1998; Kautszch, 2002; Green, 2002; Weldon, 2003). In the accepted account, BE-deletion is a likely creole or African substrate feature, and there can have been no superstrate input from the Englishes of Britain and Ireland, since these did not have BE-deletion (e.g., Rickford, 1998: 187). However, noting BE-deletion in present-day Waterford, Hickey (2007: 176-177) suggests this view requires revision. The present study adduces historical evidence for widespread BE-deletion in Ireland early enough to have been taken to the Caribbean and North America by Irish exiles and emigrants.

Data from the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (CORIECOR) documents BE-deletion in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish English (IrE), from (London)Derry and Antrim in the north, through Dublin, to Cork and Limerick in the south. BE-deletion occurs in older IrE across the same range of grammatical environments as in AAE and Caribbean creoles, but the IrE constraint hierarchies show little agreement with those of present-day New World Englishes. There is, however, some evidence for greater similarity between older IrE and Earlier AAE as studied by Kautzsch (2002), which adds weight to the argument for historical input from IrE.

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"'Tis mad, yeah": Turn openers in Irish and British English

Michael McCarthy, *University of Nottingham, UK & University of Limerick, Ireland*

Anne O'Keeffe, *Mary Immaculate College, ~University of Limerick~*

The study of pragmatic markers has stressed their function of relating segments of discourse one to the other, including the functions of response to previous talk and the marking of stance. This chapter investigates the turn-opening slot as an important locus for pragmatic marking. Tao's (2003) work on turn-openings concluded that they were primarily lexical and linked with prior talk. McCarthy's (2003) study of single-word lexical response tokens revealed variation in the use of tokens between British and North American English but that work did not cover turn-openers in general. Later work on turn-openers (McCarthy, 2010) suggests that they contribute to the flow of conversation, and give support to an interactive view of fluency. The present paper compares turn-openers in informal Irish and British English, focusing on lexically freestanding pragmatic markers. The paper discusses variety-specific items in their role as turn-initial pragmatic markers.

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Audience and referee design in Irish radio advertising

Joan O'Sullivan, *University of Limerick*

The theory of *audience design* (Bell, 1984) accounts for style shifts in both face-to-face and media communication. The framework 'assumes that…speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk' (Bell, 1984: 159). Bell sees audience design as the 'responsive' dimension of style, used to explain style variation in media language based on the audience of the medium (*ibid*: 147). However, in examining advertisers' motivation for the use of external linguistic codes, Bell (*ibid*: 182) identifies an 'initiative' dimension, *referee design*, in which speakers diverge from the style appropriate to their addressee towards that of a 'referee' or third party, external to the interaction, but nevertheless carrying prestige for the speaker for the purpose of the interaction. According to Bell (1991: 145), the use of external languages or dialects in advertising can be demonstrated through 'linguistic colonialism' where an external referee code is seen as prestigious and the local as inferior. This paper presents a study, based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of a corpus of Irish radio ads broadcast in 1977, 1987, 1997 and 2007. It examines the extent of use of external as opposed to local (Irish English in broad terms) varieties; it explores how external varieties operate with Irish English using the frameworks of audience and referee design, and how this reflects 'the ideological temperature' of society (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985: 121) in the Irish context. The analysis is based on Sussex's (1989) advertisement components of Action and Comment relating to the genre of the discourse.

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The Irish English discourse marker *sure*: A view from relevance theory

Irina Pandarova, *Leuphana University*

Recently, there has been an increased interest in the variety-specific use of the DM *sure* in IrE. The functions of *sure* in BrE and AmE are well known: it is used as a response token and medial emphasizer (e.g. Aijmer, 2009). In contrast, IrE *sure* usually occurs in utterance-initial and -final position; it is phonologically reduced and integrated into the utterance tone unit (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty, 2015; Pandarova, in preparation). Diachronic research shows that it has been present in IrE since the 17th century and its perception as a distinctive 'Irishness' feature is well documented (cf. e.g. Amador-Moreno & McCafferty, 2015; Walshe, 2009). Yet, it appears that *sure*'s meaning is quite difficult to pinpoint. For instance, it has been compared to the modal adverb *surely* (Amador-Moreno 2005, 2006), or described as a marker of shared knowledge/old information (Kallen and Kirk, 2012; Kallen, 2006, 2013), assumed consensus (Amador-Moreno and McCafferty, 2015), and as a hedge (Kallen, 2005; Murphy, 2010). Informed by relevance theory (e.g. Blakemore, 2002; Sperber and Wilson, 1995), this paper proposes that the difficulty of defining the semantic import of *sure* can be attributed to the fact that its meaning is procedural rather than conceptual. Starting from a bottom-up corpus-based approach aimed at extricating stable from context-induced meanings, it is suggested that in adding *sure* to an utterance, the speaker wishes to bring something assumed manifest (previously known, perceptible or inferable) but not currently highly accessible to the hearer's attention. In its speaker-oriented version, *sure* expresses the act of becoming aware of or remembering something manifest.

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'*I think that's kinda changed nowadays*' – Western urban Irish English and the dental fricatives (th) and (dh): a variationist sociolinguistic analysis

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In the traditional discourse on the phonology of Southern Irish English, phonetic [θ, ð] have been regarded as being categorically absent from vernacular speech (see Wells, 1982; Ó hÚrdail, 1997a; Hickey, 2004; Kallen, 2013). Instead, most accounts would argue that vernacular [θ] and [ð] are replaced by either alveolar [t, d] or dental [t̪, d̪], two variants which are highly disputed when it comes to their regional and/or social distributional patterns (see Ó hUrdáil, 1997b; Hickey 2007). Some accounts, however, also consider the possibility of variants of /θ/ and /ð/ being realised regularly with a fricative quality, i.e. as an affricate consisting of a dental plosive and a fricative release as in [t̪θ] (or [t̪ᶿ]) and [d̪ð] (or [d̪ᶞ]), at least in some environments (Wells, 1982; Collins and Mees, 2003; Kallen, 2013).

In my paper, I present a variationist sociolinguistic analysis of the use of stops, fricatives and affricates for the variables (th) and (dh) in urban Irish English as spoken in the city of Galway (cf. Dubois and Horvath, 1999; Zhao, 2010). The analysis is based on some 4,500 tokens of (th) and (dh), coming from thirty generationally and socially stratified native Galwegians. Coded for a number of internal and external factors, the variationist analysis of the data shows a number of linguistic and social constraints that operate on the use of variants of (th, dh) in Galway City English. The paper contributes to the corpus-based study of varieties of Irish English generally as well as to the study of language variation and change within one urban variety of Irish English that has received only small-scale attention so far (Collins, 1997; Sell, 2009, 2012; Peters, 2012).

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A new perspective on the use of the definite article in Irish English

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The use of the definite article (DA) in Irish English (IE) and its connection to the Irish substrate have been in the focus of linguistic research for a while (e.g. Hickey, 2007; Filppula, 1999; Sand, 2004). It is often claimed that the 'overuse' (Hickey, 2007) of the DA in IE has its origin in the Irish language but this is also a topic of debate (e.g. Sand, 2004).

By comparing the various contexts in which the DA occurs in IE to its non-standard use in German dialects (GD), striking similarities can be found. The DA in GD is used e.g. with proper names, diseases, holidays or impersonal reference (Besch and Löffler, 1977). The comparison leads to the conclusion that the use of the DA in IE and other non-standard varieties of English are in fact to be analysed as the default – it is the less frequent use of the DA in the standard varieties of English which needs to be explained.

The IE and German data provide (additional) evidence for the DA as a functionally underspecified element and a uniform, very fine grained, underlying syntactic structure, much in the sense of Borer (2005). The observed variation is due to (a) the realization or non-realization of certain functional projections and (b) 'surface' variation in the phonological content.

The comparison of IE and German also leads to a new perspective on the origin of the use of the DA in IE. The underlying structure is most likely that of Germanic languages but the Irish substrate with its similar distribution of the DA led to the 'preservation' of the overt realisation which is absent in the standard varieties.

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Gone but not forgotten: An 'I-retentionist' account of the fall and rise of medial-object perfects

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This paper argues that a complete understanding of the Hiberno-English medial-object perfect (MOP) – its syntax, semantics, historical origins and development – is attainable only by combining insights from both internal and external, formal and functional approaches to grammar and language change. Taking Pietsch's (2009) comprehensive survey as my starting point, I first demonstrate that the MOP remains a biclausal construction (contra Pietsch), on the basis of some simple syntactic tests; this then leads to a novel division of labour between the formal and the functional: the properties of the main clause are to be explained externally, through contact-induced, functional borrowing (as per Pietsch), whilst the embedded structure, including crucially its noncanonical Object-Verb order, has a purely internal, formal source (and can be explained in terms of recent theoretical developments in so-called *phase theory*). The upshot is a resolution of the tension noted by Filppula (1999) between retentionist accounts of the MOP and the break in transmission and decline in usage of this construction between Late Middle and Early Modern English (a discontinuity also established by Brinton (1994)). On the 'I-retentionist' view put forward here, lack of usage does not imply lack of potential availability: All that is needed to reawaken the entire dormant construction is the re-innovation of a single triggering component – a small-clause-selecting *have*, now modelled functionally on the Irish, but available independently in the grammatical resources of English. The remainder of the MOP construction, including the medial placement of the object, then falls automatically into place, on formal/universalist grounds.

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What else can early loan words tell us about the social relations between the *Gael* and the *Gall*?

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It is traditionally claimed (e.g. Baugh and Cable, 1978; Milroy 2007) that Celtic population groups left few traces in the development of the English language except for some few landscape features (e.g. *esker*) and terms of local flora or fauna (e.g. *brocc*). These are indeed types of loan words that one would expect to find in contact situations where slight linguistic contact between indigenous and settler population groups takes place (e.g. Thomason, 2001).

In Ireland we arguably also find low numbers of early borrowings from Irish into English before the large-scale language shift took place from Irish to English (e.g. Hickey, 2007). However, the paucity of medieval written English-language sources from Ireland presents a problem, not least when trying to trace linguistic evidence of social relations in early English. A possible work-around, which reduces the problematic lack of early attestation, is not to try and determine numbers of loan words as a marker of linguistic and social contact, but to determine the semantic fields in which loan words exist. The presence of loan words in a semantic field can be taken as evidence that the culture represented by the donor language makes a significant contribution to the receiving language.

Thus, we propose to investigate the semantic fields in which we find early borrowings both from Irish into English and, for comparison, from English into Irish. The material for this study is collected from the Dictionary of the Irish language (Toner *et al.,* 1985) and from the Oxford English Dictionary.

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Using an adapted sociolinguistic interview to gather data on the sociophonetics of Dublin English

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This paper introduces the results of a pilot study of the sociophonetics of Dublin English. The data for this study were collected through an adapted version of the sociolinguistic interview, which draws on insights from phonetic studies and anthropological linguistics. The structure of these interviews adheres to the established form, progressing from a more informal, conversational component to a more formal part (e.g. Tagliamonte, 2006). A text that has been used frequently in variationist studies, *Comma gets a cure* (Honoref *et al.*, 2000), is read out in the formal part. Instead of the word and minimal pair lists that would follow in traditional sociolinguistic interviews, sentences that include the target words have been chosen. This is common practice in phonetics, compare for example Plag *et al.* (2011). The final part of the interviews is a map-drawing task similar to the one employed by Leap (2009). This is a very open task, as the interviewees are asked to draw a map of Dublin with regard to English on a blank sheet of paper. It was received well by participants and prompted interesting views on Dublin English. This adapted sociolinguistic interview integrates methods from different branches of linguistics and has an interdisciplinary design.

The pilot study shows that there is immense complexity and variation in Dublin English. The distinction between North- and Southside accents that is often made by Dubliners is not sufficient to account for this variation, and may thus be considered nothing more than a "mythical division along the lines of class" (Nestor, Ní Chasaide & Regan, 2012: 347).

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'*Oh my God*, Ross, he's, like, SO last month': 'New' uses of *so* in Dublin English as represented in fiction

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The recent rise in the use of *so* with an intensifying function in contexts that would otherwise not be available for intensifiers has attracted the attention of researchers working with different varieties of American English and Canadian English (see for example Tagliamonte and Roberts, 2005 and Tagliamonte, 2008). Using the TV series *Friends* as a source, Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) notice a preference for this form, which they take as an indicator of a) the rise of *so* as the new favourite intensifier in North America, and b) that media language actually does reflect real spoken language, at least with respect to the form, frequency, and patterning. Similarly, Quaglio (2009: 12), who also uses the *Friends* corpus in his study of television dialogue vs. natural conversation, notices that this '*so* innovation' illustrates how the medium of television can mirror linguistic trends while at the same time contributing to language change.

The present paper looks at intensifying *so* in the narrative of Ross O'Carroll-Kelly, a fictional character created by Paul Howard that has enjoyed phenomenal success in Ireland due in part to Howard's ability to convey contemporary spoken English in Dublin. In our presentation we will argue that Paul Howard's conscious decision to make this 'innovative so' pervasive in his novels is an indication of the author's deliberate attempt to recreate current spoken Dublin English, and to portray the language of the novels as spontaneous oral discourse. Other uses of *so* characteristic of spoken discourse will also be discussed as indicators of spontaneity in Howard's narrative.

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"As Irish as…" Culture on display in representations of Irish English in television advertising

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The data that this paper considers is taken from three recent advertisements for the German supermarket chain, Aldi. These advertisements, as much of Aldi's recent Irish-based advertising, play on easily recognisable tropes of Irish culture and Irish English, and are interesting for how they put this language and culture "on display" (cf. Johnstone, 2009), by highlighting salient linguistic and pragmatic features of everyday conversational routines (cf. Coulmas, 1981; Laver, 1981). It is these recognisable, represented/reproduced aspects of everyday routinised communication situations of the advertisements that we focus on and analyse; first of all, we examine the construction of the represented routines, and how they might reflect routines as they are enacted in naturally occurring conversation. Then, in a more global sense, we analyse the phenomenon of the "As Irish as…" trope by drawing on Agha's (2003, 2007) notion of *enregisterment*. Enregisterment is both a relatively new and conceptually rich notion, and now quite ubiquitous. Conflated by Johnstone, amongst others, with its intellectual counterpart, Silverstein's (e.g. 2003) *indexical orders*, it can help to explain the metapragmatic associations that particular forms, or, in this case, routines, have with social (or, indeed, national) stereotypes. Essentially, we argue, having interrogated the nature of the conversational and cultural routines put on show, if enregisterment describes "the processes by which particular linguistic forms become linked with social meaning", and those social meanings become linked with ideological schemes, these ideological schemes can, in turn, be invoked and commodified (after Fairclough, 1992).

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Northern versus Southern Irish English: A cinematic corpus-based approach

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The usefulness of literary dialect in linguistic research is widely recognised and, indeed, has already been attested several times in an Irish English context (e.g. Sullivan, 1980; Hickey, 2010). Although the aforementioned scholars focused on the portrayal of Irish English in dramas, others, such as Walshe (2009), have focused on representations of the variety in cinema, arguing that the language on the screen is no different from that on the stage, since both are written to be performed.

In keeping with such an approach, this study will examine a corpus of 80 feature films set in Ireland between the early 1960s and the present (40 films from the North and 40 from the South) and demonstrate that the movies succeed in accurately reflecting Irish English speech on the island and, in particular, in highlighting the differences between Northern and Southern usage. This will be achieved by comparing the frequency rates of a variety of morphosyntactic, lexical and discourse features in the movies with their occurrences in ICE-Ireland, and/or their acceptability ratings in Hickey's "A Survey of Irish English Usage" (2004), which measured the acceptance of numerous IE features nationwide. In addition to confirming expected findings for the most salient features of each variety, the films also uncover trends which have not received any attention in the literature thus far, thereby opening up new avenues for research into comparative approaches to Northern and Southern varieties.

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