

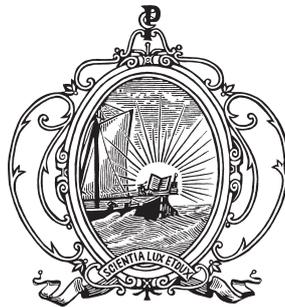
ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
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LABOR OMNIA UICIT IMPROBUS

Miscellanea in honorem Ariel Shisha-Halevy

édités par

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PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT
2017

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THE IRISH ENGLISH ADNEXAL *AND* CONSTRUCTION

GILI DIAMANT

Abstract

Constructions of the type “He had only his breeches held up with his hand *and he running*” are not an uncommon feature of present-day Irish English, often referred to as “subordinating *and*” constructions. These constructions have most likely been transferred from Irish into English during the intensive centuries-long contact between the two languages. This corpus-based study re-examines them in light of Ariel Shisha-Halevy’s analysis of the parallel Celtic construction, thus providing a significantly different interpretation of their syntax as adnexal, converted clauses rather than subordinate.

Abbreviations

IrE = Irish English; **JCoB** = “Junior Crehan of Bonavilla”; **NP** = noun phrase; **PRON** = pronoun; **SG** = singular; **VN** = verbal noun

1. INTRODUCTION¹

Many features of contemporary Irish English (IrE) draw the attention of phonologists, syntacticians, and linguists in general for their striking “non-standard” qualities: compared with other prestigious (and perhaps more socially acceptable) varieties of English, they display peculiar characteristics that stem from the development process of the language.² The result of a mass language shift in Ireland from Irish to English, which

¹ This paper is based on work carried out as part of my M.A. Thesis, supervised by Prof. Ariel Shisha-Halevy. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude for his invaluable help and guidance. I also wish to thank Dr. Eitan Grossman of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for his meticulous review and much-welcome criticism of my earlier work. Nevertheless, any shortcomings of this paper are, of course, my own.

² Throughout this paper, the term IrE refers to the Southern variety of the language. There are many structural differences between Northern and Southern IrE (as pointed out by HICKEY, in *A Sound Atlas*, pp. 23ff.); one such difference, pertinent to the topic of this paper, is discussed in 3.2.1 below.

spanned several centuries and was mediated by a stage of bilingualism, IrE has by now developed its own unique fingerprint: its features can either be described as retentions (preserved elements from older stages of English, dialectal forms and archaisms), borrowings (or transferals) from the Irish substrate language, or independent developments altogether. In addition, one must bear in mind that the context in which English was acquired by the original shifters from Irish (mainly adults acquiring the language in an unguided environment) has also played a role in the shaping of IrE as we know it today.³

This paper focuses on one such feature of IrE, here termed the adnexal *and* construction. A not uncommon feature of IrE, this construction is easily recognized as a clause introduced by the element *and*, which furthermore consists of a subject and a predicate and is intimately linked to a preceding clause. From a Standard English (StE) perspective, the syntax of this construction appears to be inconsistent with StE grammar; but when considering the possibility of transfer from the Irish substrate language, the presence of the construction in IrE is not at all surprising, especially in light of its geographic distribution and frequency (discussed in section 3.1 below).

This study is part of a larger project undertaken by the present author of creating a descriptive grammar of the language of traditional Irish storytellers. The data for this particular study is taken from recordings made by the late folklore collector Tom Munnely. One of Munnely's informants, Martin "Junior" Crehan (1908–1998), a storyteller and tradition-bearer, had been recorded for a period of over twenty-five years; a selection of Crehan's stories, memorates and anecdotes was published by Munnely as "Junior Crehan of Bonavilla" (JCoB) in the *Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society (Béaloidéas)*. It turned out to be an excellent source of examples for this study. It is an homogenous corpus produced by a single informant, whereas many of the previous studies that deal with the adnexal *and* construction are based on several different sources, often varying in the type of corpus (represented speech in prose versus original recorded speech of informants), geographic location (Northern versus Southern IrE), date and period—mostly without addressing these differences. In relying on a uniform corpus of a single informant, which is further characterized as twentieth century traditional storyteller's IrE, it is possible to make more fine-tuned observations, *ceteris paribus*:

³ HICKEY, *Irish English*, p. 128.

considerations of variation due to age differences, location or knowledge of Irish of the informants do not interfere.

This paper is organized as follows: Section Two reviews the literature on the *and* construction in English, IrE, and Celtic (Irish and Welsh). Section Three provides an account and analysis of the data found in the JCoB corpus, and section Four re-evaluates the classification of the construction as subordinate and argues for its analysis as adnexal with an overt converter. Finally, the conclusions drawn from this study are summarized in section Five.

2. PREVIOUS ANALYSES

2.1. *Subordination and conversion*

From a Celtic point of view, we learn that a structurally parallel construction has been present in Irish and Welsh from an early stage. Hartman provides a diachronic survey of the evolution of the Irish construction from the early to modern period.⁴ Boyle discusses the subordinating vs. coordinating properties of the Irish conjunction *agus*.⁵ Hamp provides a typological survey of *ymadrodd annibynnol* constructions (our adnexal *and*) in Welsh, Irish and Breton, but mostly stands out as challenging the traditional approach to subordination.⁶

The construction is well documented in English as well. Many examples are cited by Jespersen, who refers to the construction as a “popular idiomatic construction” and analyzes it as resembling a nexus-tertiary.⁷ Although he does not use the term subordination it is implied by the rank “tertiary” assigned to this particular type of nexus, following his “three ranks” analysis.⁸

Most studies, however, refer to the construction by the term “subordinating *and*.” In the context of IrE, Filppula explains that this term is used “because this construction typically involves the use of *and* to introduce a subordinate (rather than the usual coordinate) clause.”⁹ It

⁴ HARTMAN, “*Der Typus ocus é.*”

⁵ BOYLE, “*Ach and agus.*”

⁶ HAMP, “*Inordinate Clauses.*”

⁷ JESPERSEN, *Modern English (III)*, pp. 373ff.; JESPERSEN, *Modern English (V)*, pp. 45ff.

⁸ JESPERSEN, *Philosophy of Grammar*, pp. 96–107. The term *nexus*, which will be used throughout this paper, should also be clarified here. It refers to the relationship between the subject of a sentence and the predicate (to which I will refer as *theme* and *rheme* respectively; see below) which renders the sentence grammatical.

⁹ FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, p. 196.

appears to be a consensus among researchers that this construction is in fact a subordinate clause, marked as such by *and*, which functions as a subordinating conjunction (as opposed to a coordinating conjunction, which is perceived as its more typical role).

Häcker discusses the reasons for classifying *and* as a subordinator based on the definitions of Quirk *et al.* for subordination in StE.¹⁰ She claims that the sentence classified in Quirk *et al.* as irregular meets these criteria for subordination, viz. “initial element” (*and*), and “verblessness,” leaving a gap where presumably a verb should be:¹¹

(1) How could you be so spiteful *and her* __ *your best friend*?¹²

Other accounts do not elaborate on the choice of terminology, but mostly justify the term by contrasting cases of subordinating *and* with coordinating *and*:

“*And* as means of linking clauses in standard usage is associated exclusively with co-ordinate structures... In some types of Irish English (particularly southern and western), however, it can be used with a subject pronoun to introduce a non-finite subordinate clause.”¹³

Similarly, Corrigan describes *and* as “subordinating rather than coordinating.”¹⁴ Filppula remarks that “[...] *and* is used to introduce a subordinate instead of the usual coordinate clause.”¹⁵ These observations imply that *coordination* and *subordination* is a binary couple, in complimentary distribution to each other: if *and* is not a coordinator, it must be a subordinator.

The case for subordination is argued for not only because of the function of *and* as a presumed subordinator, but also due to the observed “verblessness” of the clause it introduces. Harris refers to the construction as “one which lacks a verb marked for tense.”¹⁶ Like Harris, Pietsch observes that the construction is “marked by the lack of a finite verb as being dependent.”¹⁷ Hickey’s interpretation is more specific, claiming that “in such clauses the verb *be*, either as auxiliary or main verb, is not

¹⁰ HÄCKER, “Subordinating AND-Construction,” p. 39; QUIRK *et al.*, *Grammar of English*, p. 997.

¹¹ QUIRK *et al.*, *Grammar of English*, p. 844.

¹² HÄCKER, “Subordinating AND-Construction,” p. 39.

¹³ HARRIS, “The Grammar of Irish English,” p. 165.

¹⁴ CORRIGAN, “Small Clauses,” p. 77.

¹⁵ FILPPULA, “Irish English: Morphology and Syntax,” p. 343.

¹⁶ HARRIS, “The Grammar of Irish English,” p. 166.

¹⁷ PIETSCH, “Nominative Subjects,” p. 171.

realized.”¹⁸ He illustrates this point by providing glosses for the following example:

- (2) A young girl now ... can get ten pounds no bother and her only sixteen.
(glossed by Hickey “even if she were only sixteen”)¹⁹

These interpretations of the construction echo the criteria for StE subordination established by Quirk *et al.* This line of thought is continued by Ó Siadhail’s comparative study, treating the parallel Irish construction also as subordinate and claiming that it is a representation of an underlying coordinate clause whose subordination is marked by the deletion of the Irish substantive verb *tá*.²⁰ He then moves on to IrE examples of what he refers to as the “nominative absolute” type, but does not provide an analysis of the syntax of the construction.

The fact that most of the studies cited here identify *and* as a conjunction, which furthermore precedes a non-finite clause, leads to the conclusion that the entire construction is subordinate to the clause preceding it; this seems to be the consensus among most researchers.

A strikingly different analysis is provided by Shisha-Halevy, who applies H.J. Polotsky’s notion of conversion to Celtic.²¹ Shisha-Halevy rejects the idea that clauses (or constituents) are combined to form a hierarchy, though they do display inter-dependency; indeed nothing in the text is absolute, but rather linked or referring to the co-textual environment.²² The status of a given constituent is marked in relation to its co-constituents not in hierarchical terms but in terms of information structure; the formal signal of a constituent’s status is the converter.

This concept may be applied to many languages (it is applied by Shisha-Halevy mostly to Modern Irish, Welsh (Modern and Middle), Egyptian, and Coptic), but cases of Modern Irish are more relevant to this discussion. The Irish converter *go-* illustrates this concept neatly: *maith* can appear alongside a substantive, modifying it as an adjective (*buachaill maith* “a good boy”); *maith* can also appear, however, as a modifier of verbs when preceded by *go*, as with the substantive verb *tá*: *tá go maith* (“(that’s) fine”). Clearly the status of *maith* changes with its environment, and *go* signals the change of status from adjective to adverb. This

¹⁸ HICKEY, *Irish English*, p. 262.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

²⁰ Ó SIADHAIL, “*Agus (is) / and.*”

²¹ SHISHA-HALEVY, “Middle Welsh Syntax (I),” p. 139; SHISHA-HALEVY, “Celtic Syntax, Egyptian-Coptic Syntax,” pp. 256ff.

²² SHISHA-HALEVY, “Middle Welsh Syntax (I),” p. 140.

analysis also does away with the supposedly neat categorization of word classes and parts of speech, whose linguistic identity derives from their syntagmatic-paradigmatic slot and not from an entry in the dictionary (as the above demonstration shows).

In the Modern Irish construction corresponding to the IrE one, Shisha-Halevy analyzes the element *agus* as a circumstantial converter:

- (3) *Cha rabh a fhios agamsa agus mé i mo thachrán ...*
 not was knowledge at-me and PRON- in my small child
 1SG.

“I had no notion, (being) a small kid ...”²³

The clause *mé i mo thachrán* is analyzed as having a zeroed *tá*. Theoretically, the example in (3) is in structural opposition with a nexus pattern like *tá mé i mo thachrán* (literally, “I am a small child”).²⁴ When introduced by *agus* (as opposed to *tá*) the clause is converted into adnexal status. By way of structural opposition, the identity of *agus* as a converter is derived from its paradigmatic interchangeability with *tá*, and its appearance (or lack thereof, as this paradigm also contains a meaningful \emptyset) defines the status of the converted constituent.

It appears that subordination and conversion do not go hand in hand. While subordination has been amply discussed in connection with the adnexal *and* construction, conversion has not been applied to IrE (though amply discussed in regards to Irish and Welsh). Both approaches are re-examined below.

2.2. *Origin of the construction*

2.2.1. Evidence from other varieties of English

The origin of the construction has also been discussed extensively. The fact that the construction is rare in other varieties of English points to the possibility that the construction was borrowed from the substratal Irish language.²⁵ The strongest arguments in support of this Celtic substrate hypothesis are provided by Filppula: aside from the fact that there are obvious structural similarities between the Irish and the IrE constructions, he rules out English as the source of the construction.

²³ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Modern Welsh Syntax*, p. 203.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

²⁵ The construction is also found in Scottish English, which is unsurprising from the Celtic-substrate hypothesis approach; see the discussion in FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, pp. 205–207.

First, he claims that in comparison to non-Celtic British English dialects the construction appears to be “non-existent or at best extremely rare.”²⁶ He reports that within a corpus of 120,000 words of informal dialectal BrE speech from Devon, Somerset, Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire, only one (debatable) token displaying the *and* construction was found.²⁷ But although there are examples from Middle and Early Modern English of an absolute construction introduced by *and*, Filppula claims that there are “important functional differences” between those and the IrE ones, and that “the Hiberno-English construction is characteristically non-exclamatory and ‘constative’” while in Early Modern English such constructions “often have an exclamatory function.”²⁸ In order to better understand the claim for a Celtic input, the Irish construction is examined next.

2.2.2. The Irish adnexal *agus* construction

Shisha-Halevy describes the parallel Irish construction as adnexal.²⁹ Its status is marked by the converter *agus/is* (or by a meaningful absence, i.e. Ø), and like the IrE construction has the information structure of theme-rheme: the theme slot is occupied by a substantive, and the rheme is non-finite. A sub-type of this construction, which always requires a subject, is referred to as “nominative absolute” by Ó Siadhail:³⁰

- (4) *Ní raibh mé ach aon bhliain déag d’aois nuair*
 not was PRON-1SG but 11 years old when
a mharbhuigh a chapall fein m’athair, agus é
 kill-VN his own horse my father and PRON-3SG. DISJUNCTIVE
ag tigheacht ó Bhainis ...
 at come-VN from wedding
 “I was only eleven years of age when his own horse killed my father when he was coming from a wedding ...”³¹

- (5) *Chonaic sé an t-asal is an cairrín*
 saw PRON-3SG.CONJUNCTIVE the donkey and the cart

²⁶ FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, p. 203.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 208.

²⁹ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Modern Welsh Syntax*, p. 203; SHISHA-HALEVY, “Converbs,” p. 276.

³⁰ As Filppula notes, the nominative absolute is most relevant to this discussion since the other constructions surveyed by Ó Siadhail do not necessarily express a subject overtly. See FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, p. 199.

³¹ Ó SIADHAIL, “*Agus (is) / and*,” p. 125.

ar an mbruac agus mo dhuine agus é
 on the edge and my man and PRON-3SG. DISJUNCTIVE
tuitte i n-a chodladh sa gcairrín.
 fallen-PARTICIPLE in his sleep in the cart
 “I [*sic*] saw the donkey and the cart on the edge with your man [*sic*]
 who had fallen asleep in the cart.”³²

There are quite a few interesting things to note about this construction. First, similarly to the IrE case, the element *agus/is* is also used in other contexts as a coordinating conjunction. Second, the type of pronoun used: Irish has two sets of pronouns, referred to as *conjunctive* and *disjunctive*.³³ What sets them apart is their compatibility: the set of *sé, sí* and *siad* is found in subject positions of verbal constructions, while the set of *é, í* and *iad* is found in object positions of verbal constructions. The latter, however, is also found in subject positions of nominal sentences with the copula *is*—and also in adnexal *agus* constructions. Third, the predications in examples (4) and (5) are such that may also take part in a periphrastic construction with the substantive verb *tá* (or other realizations of it). What we have here is essentially a nominal sentence with an adverbial predication; this combination, additionally marked by *agus/is*, functions as an attribute with an adnexal status, elaborating on its preceding clause.

Returning to the question of origin, it has been suggested by Ó Siadhail that since there is evidence of the construction being used in English as well as in Irish it was “‘picked up’ and reinforced by speakers changing from Irish to English.”³⁴ This scenario is likely, though one cannot ignore the fact that it is a feature of more than one “Celtic English” (also found in Hebridean (Scottish) English).³⁵ In addition, Hickey reports that the occurrence of the construction in a corpus by Dublin authors is not very frequent, and attributes this to the “slight influence of language shift varieties on the speech of the capital in recent centuries,” meaning that the Irish language has affected the Dublin area to a small degree (the area being a long-time stronghold of the English language).³⁶

In light of this discussion, the matter of the thematic pronoun of the construction must also be considered. It seems more than coincidental

³² *Loc. cit.*

³³ *Conjunctive* and *disjunctive* are but one set of terms used in this respect; see Pietsch, “Nominative subjects,” p. 168.

³⁴ Ó SIADHAIL, “*Agus (is) / and*,” p. 135.

³⁵ As pointed out in FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, pp. 205–206.

³⁶ HICKEY, *Irish English*, p. 265.

that the tendency in southern IrE is towards using pronouns in the nominative case (as discussed in 3.2.1 below), where otherwise, as Häcker observes, “all non-Hiberno-English varieties in which the construction occurs use the objective case.”³⁷ Her observation is perhaps not entirely accurate, but I believe that it is highly likely that when transfer first took place speakers of Irish rendered the set of pronouns *é, í, iad* of the Irish construction as nominatives in English, in accordance with their syntactic role in the Irish clause. The tendency towards the use of the accusative case remains a characteristic of non-IrE varieties (such as northern IrE and Ulster-Scots), most likely as part of an overall trend in English.³⁸

Finally, Hickey finds a correlation between the prosody of the Irish construction and that of the IrE one. In both the Irish and the IrE constructions there is a correlation between the stressed syllables, producing a similar intonation pattern (regardless of the number of unstressed syllables, which is greater in the following Irish example):

- (6) a. He went out 'and 'it 'raining.
 b. *Chuaigh sé amach 'agus 'é ag cur 'báisti.*
 (literally, “he went out and it raining”)³⁹

These are very strong arguments in support of the assumption that the Irish construction gave rise to the IrE one. It is highly likely that the entire construction was transferred into IrE in a manner described by Matras as *pattern replication*: the element *agus* (rendered in IrE *and*), the non-finite clause, and the construction’s various functions, forming a single cohesive unit in IrE, quite independent of the rules of StE syntax.⁴⁰

2.3. Syntactic patterns of the IrE construction

Before turning to review the findings in the JCoB corpus I shall briefly summarize the findings reported by previous researchers, focusing on the construction’s syntactic patterns.

The basic pattern of the construction is described by Hickey as [*and* + NP + X], in which NP is analyzed as “subject” and X as a non-finite

³⁷ HÄCKER, “Subordinating AND-Construction,” p. 41.

³⁸ The general tendency in English towards the accusative is also discussed in PIETSCH, “Nominative subjects,” p. 172; and in JESPERSEN, *Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 48.

³⁹ HICKEY, “Syntax and Prosody,” p. 238.

⁴⁰ MATRAS, *Language Contact*, pp. 234–235. In fact, this is a case where the construction is replicated as a whole linguistic sign, in the Saussurean sense: the syntax interpreted as the sign’s *signifiant*, and the function of the construction as the sign’s *signifié*.

verb phrase, noun phrase, adjectival phrase or prepositional phrase; these are also described as “any element which can occur after a finite form of *be* which is implicit but not realized in *there* constructions.”⁴¹ Both Häcker and Filppula include pronouns in the nominative and the accusative (or oblique) case as subjects; they also specify the non-finite verb forms as being present and past participle.⁴² Corrigan also cites examples with the infinitive as the predicate of the construction.⁴³

Not every form listed above was found in the corpus, nor did I expect to; the corpora used for the studies cited above are diverse and varied. The oblique-case pronoun, for example, does not occur in JCoB at all, and neither does the infinitive as part of the predication of the construction. A complete survey of the construction in JCoB is presented next.

3. DATA AND FINDINGS

3.1. *Frequency and general pattern of the construction*

Let us first examine the data found in the corpus. When collecting the data, I began by noting all cases where *and* was followed by a non-finite clause.⁴⁴ This examination yielded 39 examples, which I consider a rather high rate of frequency, especially when compared with Filppula’s findings (summarized in table 3.1 below).⁴⁵ Filppula finds the construction to be relatively infrequent in his Hiberno-English corpus: in a survey of the occurrences of the construction in corpora from various counties, Co. Clare turned out to be a notable exception, with 18 occurrences of the *and* construction in a 30,000-word corpus (a rate of 6 tokens per 10,000 words)—the highest rate among the other counties sampled. Our JCoB corpus, roughly of the same size (36,000 words), showed an even higher rate, with 10.8 tokens per 10,000 words.

⁴¹ HICKEY, *Irish English*, p. 262.

⁴² HÄCKER, “Subordinating AND-Construction,” p. 38; FILPPULA, “The Making of Hiberno-English,” p. 343.

⁴³ CORRIGAN, “Small Clauses.”

⁴⁴ In this connection, I should mention that *and* is not limited only to coordination and to the construction under discussion here, but is found in the JCoB corpus fulfilling at least two other functions:

Immediately before reported speech:

“And she bade me godspeed and—‘I hope you’ll be lucky and you’ll get a good price for your cow’.”

In the beginning of interrogatives in dialog:

“And how is it you didn’t teach it this time?”—‘I didn’t bother,’ said he.”

⁴⁵ FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, p. 202.

(3.1)	Corpus	No. of words	No. of tokens per 10,000 words
	JCoB	36,000	10.8
	HE corpus (Co. Clare)	30,000	6.0
	HE corpus (total) ⁴⁶	158,000	3.0

Out of the total 39, three examples have an ambiguous interpretation, but are still included in the total count; another two examples may be considered as a variation of the basic pattern, and are therefore discussed separately (section 3.3). Altogether I was able to observe a general structural syntactic pattern common to all, shown in 3.2.

(3.2) [(NON-)FINITE CLAUSE] [*and* +NON-FINITE CLAUSE]

The pattern shows that the construction is made up of two main constituents: a preceding clause and a non-finite clause introduced by the element *and* (to which I shall refer to as the *and*-clause). All 39 occurrences of the *and*-clause were in conjunction with a finite or non-finite preceding clause, and in the same order of appearance; in other words, the *and*-introduced clause appears to be non-initial. As for the preceding clause, in most cases this was a finite clause, though there were examples of the *and*-clause following non-finite clauses as well (as in 7 and 8). Another case showed the *and*-clause following an indefinite noun (9), and another showed the *and*-clause following another *and*-clause (10):

- (7) So I left and I went to the first hawker and he was selling like the dickens, shouting! He standing on his stall *and he selling away*.
- (8) ... you would hear the sound of the pipes and it was something lovely; Johnny playing with his left leg left up on his pipes case *and he playing away*.
- (9) There was some dressed in green and more dressed in red. Small little men *and they having people on the sideline ...*
- (10) ... and they having people on the sideline *and they having terrible cheering ...*⁴⁷

Having examined the syntagmatics of the construction, I shall now focus on the clause introduced by *and*.

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ It could be argued in this case that *and* is coordinating between two non-finite clauses. I cannot decide based on a single example, and so would have to leave this one open to interpretation.

3.2. *The and-clause: paradigmatics*(3.3) **[and +|THEME|+|RHEME|]**

The clause introduced by the element *and* has the basic information structure of THEME-RHEME. This analysis, based on the discourse-oriented interpretation of the roles of the basic clausal units, follows Shisha-Halevy's use of this distinction rather than the traditional *subject-predicate* distinction.⁴⁸ The THEME paradigm includes substantives; the RHEME paradigm contains various members, which can all be characterized as adverbial.

3.2.1. The THEME paradigm

The THEME paradigm is found to contain only substantive elements, as shown in table (3.4):

(3.4)		I (2 tokens)
	Pronouns	He (12 tokens)
	(26 total)	They (11 tokens)
		We
	Definite NPs	The candles
	(2 total)	The blood
		Pipers
		A ring of ivy
	Indefinite NPs	A candle
	(6 total)	Four men
		A gate
		A little man
	Other	Everybody
	(3 total)	All (2 tokens)
	Zero article	∅
	(none)	
	Total: 37 ⁴⁹	

⁴⁸ "Rheme: one of the two prime constituents of the basic information structure of the nexal clause: the constituent that conveys the message (typically, new information) about the Theme... Theme: one of the two main constituents of the basic information structure of the clause: the information basis segment (given, presupposed or taken for granted) in the clause extent for the point (message) made in it. The constituent that least advances the communication made by the clause." SHISHA-HALEVY, "Middle Welsh Syntax(II)," p. 236.

⁴⁹ This count excludes the two examples discussed separately in section 3.3 below.

In 72% of the examples the theme turned out to be a pronoun, namely *I*, *we*, *he*, and *they*. The fact that the pronoun *you* was not found in this context should be noted, as this indicates that the construction does not take part in dialogs and is in fact restricted to the de-locutive, narrative domain.

- (11) He had only his breeches held up with his hand and he running.
- (12) So he did. And the whole place was surrounded with spirits and they trying to grab him.
- (13) And it is often that I had two horses tackled and I ploughing above there in the garden and he would come down ...
- (14) And we'd be abroad at the end of the house and we listening to know would we hear a few men coming.

The main point to be emphasized regarding the use of pronouns in the corpus is that they all appear in the nominative case (*I* as opposed to *me*, *we* as opposed to *us*, etc.) This is consistent with the findings reported by Pietsch, who considers the use of nominative-case pronouns to be a feature of Southern IrE;⁵⁰ cases of oblique case pronouns are documented in other studies.⁵¹

The second largest group of substantives is that of the indefinite NP, accounting for 14% of the examples:

- (15) There would be a platform maybe in Lahinch for dancing and pipers playing there and people walking up and down and going out to sea, drinking porter and so on.⁵²
- (16) She came out of the bushes, like, and a ring of ivy tied around her neck.
- (17) People used to go up to the altar and the priest would put the yoke to their neck and a candle lighting at each side of it.
- (18) But there is a graveyard at the turn of the road and a gate going into this graveyard.
- (19) The priest would have the Blessed Sacrament under the canopy and four men holding the props of the canopy.

The third group of substantives (labeled *other*) consists of the pro-forms *everybody* and the *all*:

⁵⁰ PIETSCH discusses the general tendency towards using the nominative case in non-finite clauses in Southern IrE (see PIETSCH, "Nominative Subjects"). This is also evident in JCoB, where the following token is found: "I remember *he* playing it."

⁵¹ See Ó SIADHAIL, "*Agus (is) / and*"; HÄCKER, "Subordinating *AND*-Construction"; CORRIGAN, "Small Clauses."

⁵² It could be argued that this example contains another adnexal *and* construction ("and people walking..."); however I interpret it as a case of coordination between two non-finite clauses, where the second *and* is a coordinating conjunction.

- (20) So we were around the fire this night and everybody grumbling—“we’ll have no cabbage! ...”
- (21) They fought. There was a partition in the room and there was a man driven up through the timber and all with a fist!
- (22) I was sitting by the fire thinking of the days gone by when there was fifteen of us under this roof, and all gone, except myself.

Finally, two examples of definite nouns (modified by the definite article) were also found:⁵³

- (23) So they went in the church and at midnight the priest appeared on the altar again *and the candles lighting and all*.
- (24) He shot the gun and wounded her. He went in to her house and she was sitting in the chair *and the blood flowing out of her leg*.

3.2.2. The RHEME paradigm

Following Shisha-Halevy’s analysis of the same paradigm in the corresponding Irish and Welsh constructions, it can be generally characterized as *adverbial*.⁵⁴ The overwhelming representation of converbial forms in the RHEME paradigm (93 per cent of the cases) indicates the adverbial nature of the paradigm: converbs are, by definition, non-finite forms of verbs with an adverbial function.⁵⁵

The following forms were found to occupy the RHEME slot in the corpus:

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (3.5) | begging | grumbling | picking | selling |
| | drinking | having (4 tokens) | pitching in | sitting |
| | eating | holding | playing (2 tokens) | standing |
| | flaming | lighting (2 tokens) | ploughing | trying (2 tokens) |
| | flowing | listening | roaring | wanting |
| | going (4 tokens) | looking | running | |

Two other non-finite verb forms (of a slightly different nature) were the two past participle forms *tied* and *gone* (ex. 16 and 22 above), and the purely adverbial *asleep* (25 below). In addition, there were two prepo-

⁵³ I thank Dr. Eitan Grossman for drawing my attention to the fact that both NPs in this group have an inherent quality about them: indeed, one expects blood from a wound and candles in a church. However it should be noted that the IrE use of the definite article may be different from that of other English varieties; cf. the IrE “overuse of definite article” in HICKEY, *Irish English*, p. 251. See also HARRIS “The Grammar of Irish English,” p. 144; and FILPPULA “Irish English: Morphology and Syntax,” pp. 346–348.

⁵⁴ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Modern Welsh Syntax*; “Middle Welsh Syntax (II).”

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the converb in general, see HASPELMATH, “The Converb.”

sitional phrases (*with a fist* and *under the blankets*, ex 21 above and 26 below). Essentially, these members of the RHEME paradigm expand on the statal-existential meaning of the adnexal *and* construction.

(25) And didn't he see Gatach *and he half asleep under a tree*.

(26) You would see Pat *and he under the blankets* and his eyes opened when I went in.

It should be noted that no examples of nominal or adjectival predicates were found. Such examples are numerous in Jespersen's lists (for example, "*and him a grand minister!*," *and I sae weary fu' o' care!*"); these are clearly of a different type, most probably of different origins.⁵⁶

3.3. *Non-existence introduced by and*

Another type of an *and*-introduced non-finite clause was found in the corpus, which has one major difference compared with the construction discussed above, viz. the nature of its non-finite clause:

(27) I knew a man, he was after spending the night there, and he came home and cut an acre of hay with his scythe. *And no bed!*

(28) But, yerra! Years ago maybe a lot of them were killed and buried and shot in the Troubled Times *and no word about them at all*.

These examples are very atypical compared with what has been shown so far, and are unfortunately few. The *and*-clause in this case does not fit comfortably into the pattern provided in figure 3.2. Nevertheless, we are dealing with a non-finite (even non-verbal) clause introduced by *and*. It should therefore be considered here, especially in view of the following Irish examples that are included in Ó Siadhail's discussion of the Irish *agus* construction:

(29) *Tá sé cinn leitreacha pósta tugtha agam uaim cheanna, agus gan an t-aon lánúin pósta agam féin fós.*

"... while as yet I haven't married a single couple" (lit. "and without a single couple married by me yet")

(30) *Bhíodar go léir agus gan focal astu.*

"They were all speechless" (lit. "and without a word out of them")⁵⁷

Shisha-Halevy discusses this construction in Irish under the title "converbs negated."⁵⁸ He attributes a "'non-existence' semantic component" to

⁵⁶ JESPERSEN, *Modern English Grammar (III)*, §17.8.5.

⁵⁷ Ó SIADHAIL, *Modern Irish*, pp. 284–286.

⁵⁸ SHISHA-HALEVY, "Converbs," p. 275.

the Irish *gan* (translated into English as “without”), but observes that it is not alone that this converb is a negativer, but rather in conjunction with *agus*.

The IrE examples feature an indefinite noun (*bed*, *word*), and essentially express non-existence. It is important to note that examples such as *[*and bed*] do not occur in the corpus, so it is difficult to judge their linguistic identity. A bigger corpus is needed in order to determine the nature of this specific construction.

4. ANALYSIS

Despite what has been argued by the majority of the studies surveyed in section 2, I do not consider the adnexal *and* construction a case of subordination. As this observation goes against what has mostly been a consensus up until now, I begin in section 4.1 by explaining why I do not consider *and* a subordinator, nor the construction subordinate. This brings me to discuss the adnexal status of the *and*-clause in section 4.2, and finally I discuss the identity of *and* as a converter in 4.3.

4.1. *Subordination re-evaluated*

4.1.1. *And* as a subordinating conjunction

The lexeme *and* has several different functions in the corpus: it is used as a coordinating conjunction (coordinating between two NPs (“*cows and cattle*”), two nexuses (“*she invited him in and gave him the drink*”) and other constituents of the same rank); as introducing converbial constructions (“[...] *and coming out to the end of one*, I’d ask him to jig such-and-such a hornpipe”); as introducing our adnexal construction; and at least two other functions, as mentioned in footnote 44. In structural, Saussurean terms we may say that *and* as a linguistic sign may have several different *signifiés*; and that its identity as such is derived solely from its co-textual environment (syntagmatics and paradigmatics). Having defined the adnexal *and* construction as the syntagm, the value of *and* may be determined by examining the elements that are interchangeable with it in the paradigm. Here I must look again into what I perceive as the misclassification of *and* as a subordinator, as advocated by the majority of researchers.

Though many of the researchers mentioned in this paper use the term *subordinating and*, most do not really justify the classification of *and* as

a subordinator. An exception is Häcker; as mentioned in section 2.1 above, she defines subordination based on the criteria set forth by Quirk *et al.*⁵⁹ She finds that the sentence *with the baby ill, I could not take the older children to school* displays two properties, viz. “initial element” and “verblessness,” and furthermore “corresponds exactly” to her test-case *and* construction (quoted in (1) above).⁶⁰

Taking a structural approach to determining the identity of *and* in this context, in order to claim that *and* is a subordinating conjunction I should expect to find other subordinating conjunctions occupying the same paradigmatic slot. Ó Siadhail suggests conjunctions such as *while* and *when*;⁶¹ Harris adds *although*;⁶² and Häcker provides a list of “alternatives” to *and*, including *though*, *even though*, *because* and *since*, among others.⁶³ None of these conjunctions, however, are found in the position of *and* in the corpus. Furthermore, unlike subordinating conjunctions, *and* is not found fulfilling the same function in other contexts as it does within the adnexal construction, nor is it productive as such outside of the construction. In fact, the only element that is arguably interchangeable with *and* within the pattern shown in illustration 3.3 is \emptyset , as can be seen in example (31):

- (31) So I left and I went to the first hawker and he was selling like the dickens, shouting! *He standing on his stall* and he selling away.

And, therefore, is not a subordinating conjunction; this dismisses the first argument for “subordinating *and*,” as described in section 2.1.

4.1.2. Verblessness and non-finiteness

The other criterion for subordination specified by Häcker, i.e. verblessness, needs to be addressed as well. This criterion is argued in her paper for example (1) above, and may be applicable also to some of the cases found in the JCoB corpus, namely examples (21) and (26). But the majority of the cases in the corpus do contain a verb, albeit non-finite (as shown in table 3.5 above). Several studies make a more fine-tuned observation about the verb in the clause, largely claiming for the *lack* of a finite verb in the *and*-clause.⁶⁴ This suggests that a finite verb should

⁵⁹ QUIRK *et al.*, *Grammar of English*, p. 844.

⁶⁰ HÄCKER, “Subordinating AND-Construction,” p. 39.

⁶¹ Ó SIADHAIL, “*Agus (is) / and*,” p. 131.

⁶² HARRIS, “The Grammar of Irish English,” p. 166.

⁶³ HÄCKER, “Subordinating AND-Construction,” p. 44.

⁶⁴ “[...] this construction typically involves the use of *and* to introduce a subordinate (instead of the usual coordinate) clause, which furthermore lacks a finite verb.” FILPPULA,

be there in the first place. But consider the following example from the corpus:

(32) So he played it. ^(a)And I was in the porch ^(b)and I picking up the notes.

Clause (a) in example (32) is preceded by a finite clause, headed by *and*, and has a pronoun as its theme and a finite, verbal rheme. Nevertheless, this does not support the argument for a lack of a finite verb or altogether verblessness; the pattern in (a), in which *and* is some sort of a coordinator or connector, is a completely different pattern than our *and* construction in clause (b). Another claim for an underlying finite verb in the construction is made by Hickey, who determines that the verb *be* is “implicit but not realized” in the *and*-clause.⁶⁵ Again, this cannot be proven because then the pattern would be a different one altogether, in which *and* is a coordinator. My conclusion, therefore, is that when the clause has an adnexal status the feature [+ FINITE] is incompatible with it. This also means that in this context, I do not identify the elements in table 3.5 above as *verbs* (or verb forms) either, but rather define them according to their syntactic role and given status.

Continuing along the same line of thought, claiming that both the non-verbal and the verbal cases occupy the same paradigmatic slot (the RHEME slot) would mean that they all have the same linguistic value; yet verblessness cannot characterize both types of rhemes. The question, then, is the following: what characterizes this paradigm? What common property do the two types of rheme share?

4.2. *The adnexal status of the and-clause*

I will now return to Shish-Halevy’s analysis of the parallel Celtic (namely Irish and Welsh) structure: “the relation, and indeed the macro-syntactic patterning of *one predicative nexus adjoining another*, that is neither subordination nor coordination” is, in fact, “the adnexal expansion of one nexus by another.”⁶⁶ As mentioned in sections 2.1 and 2.2.2 above, Shisha-Halevy analyzes the Irish or Welsh *and* clauses (the IrE element *and* being the equivalent of Irish *agus / is* and Welsh *a / ac*) as a satellite, functioning as an expansion form of a nucleus (either a nexus type or a NP type); together the nexus and the adnex form a co-

Language in Hibernian Style, p. 196. See also HARRIS, “The Grammar of Irish English,” pp. 165–166: “A non-finite subordinate clause [...] which lacks a verb marked for tense.”

⁶⁵ HICKEY, *Irish English*, pp. 262 and 265.

⁶⁶ SHISHA-HALEVY, “Convernbs,” p. 271.

predication.⁶⁷ Applied to the IrE construction, this relationship is illustrated in 4.1.

(4.1.)	<i>Nucleus</i> (<i>nexus</i>)	<i>Satellite</i> (<i>adnex</i>)
	And I was in the porch	and I picking up the notes

The analysis of the *and*-clause as a subordinate constituent differs significantly from Shisha-Halevy's analysis of an adnexal, satellite-type expansion, though both notions revolve around a relationship of dependency between two constituents. I will attempt to demonstrate this difference by looking at another case of subordination in the corpus, viz. the relationship between a verb and its complement.

According to Cristofaro, *say* is a "complement-taking predicate,"⁶⁸ which takes part in a relationship of subordination.⁶⁹ One possible argument structure for this lexeme requires a complement, which is often realized by either actual speech (direct speech) or a content clause (as in reported speech). These are demonstrated by (33) and (34), respectively:

(33) He said, three times—"Is there any living clerk here?"

(34) So we said that *t'was a pity that we couldn't put a band together.*

The relationship in (33) between the complement *is there any living clerk here* to the main clause *he said* is considered subordinate by the conceptual definition of subordination put forth by Cristofaro,⁷⁰ as well as by Harris's simplistic definition of subordination as "the linking of two clauses such that one is dependent on the other."⁷¹ It is also considered subordinate by Quirk *et al.*⁷²

Next, in example (35), *saying* is complemented by *some prayers*.

(35) The priest would be saying some prayers *and he going around.*

In addition to the complement *some prayers* in (35), the entire nexus is expanded by the co-predication of the adnexal *and* construction. In this case it is describing the manner in which the priest is saying the prayers. While both the adnexal *and* construction and the complements of *say* display a dependency on something outside the clause, I believe that this

⁶⁷ SHISHA-HALEVY ("Converbs," p. 272) suggests *predication-sharing* and other terms, along with Haspelmath's *copredication* (HASPELMATH, "The Converb," p. 17).

⁶⁸ CRISTOFARO, *Subordination*, p. 99.

⁶⁹ CRISTOFARO defines three cross-linguistic types of subordination relationships: complement, adverbial and relative relations. Cristofaro, *Subordination*, pp. 38–39.

⁷⁰ CRISTOFARO, *Subordination*, pp. 25ff.

⁷¹ HARRIS, "the Grammar of Irish English," p. 164.

⁷² QUIRK *et al.*, *Grammar of English*, pp. 987–991; 1022.

dependency is of a different nature. In the case of [*say* + complement], the paradigmatic slot of the complement is licensed by the lexeme's argument structure. An adnexal *and*-clause, on the other hand, is not licensed as such by anything, and is free to appear or not; the slot which it occupies is *optional*. Although *dependency* is a characteristic of both subordinate and adnexal constructions, its realization differentiates the two. One cannot be defined in terms of the other; adnexal constructions cannot be defined in terms of other subordinate clauses.

The dependency which underlies the relationship between the adnexal *and* construction and its syntactic environment is illustrated by the fact that the construction does not occur alone: being adnexal (or in some cases adnominal), it always follows another clause. The connection is even more obvious when the theme of the *and*-clause is a pronoun, which is always anaphoric and relates to a noun in the preceding clause.⁷³ Anaphora may be expressed somewhere else within the clause as well:

- (36) *The souls* would be outside the church and *they* begging for mercy.
- (37) *Some people* would come in and *they* flaming you with the smell of drink a mile away.
- (38) *She* came out of the bushes, like, and a ring of ivy tied around *her neck*.
- (39) People used to go up to *the altar* and the priest would put the yoke to their neck and a candle lighting at *each side of it*.

4.2.1. Adnominal and constructions

There was only one example in the JCoB corpus of an adnominal *and* construction:

- (40) There was some dressed in green and more dressed in red. Small little men *and they having people on the sideline and they having terrible cheering*.

In this case the *and* construction is satellite to a nominal nucleus, as opposed to verbal nuclei. Still, the relationship in (40) is the same as between a verbal clause and an *and*-clause: it functions as an expansion. Remarkably similar cases of adnominal constructions are described in

⁷³ Cases of a reverse order, in which the *and*-clause precedes the main clause are very rare and do not occur at all in JCoB. Filppula, however, does report one such example: *And I going into the town of Ballygar a car pulled up beside me*" (FILPPULA, *Language in Hibernian Style*, p. 196).

Irish and Welsh by Shisha-Halevy.⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that Shisha-Halevy finds only examples of non-specific nominal nuclei—just like example (40) above (though their occurrence is not as rare as in JCoB).

4.3. *The identity of and as a converter*

Having rejected the idea that the *and* construction is subordinate and that the element *and* is a subordinator, I would like to return to the concept of conversion introduced in section 2.1 above. I have already described the manner in which the status of the corresponding Irish construction is converted to adnexal by *agus*, while it is in opposition with the “un-marked” statal verbal construction with *tá* (see example (3) above).

Could the same analysis be applied to the IrE construction? Theoretically, if we assume that the construction was transferred from Irish into IrE it is plausible that the properties of *agus* as a converter were transferred along with it.

In the same manner that the structural value of *agus* is derived from its opposition with *tá*, I should be able to determine the identity of *and* by its paradigmatic counterparts. I have therefore searched the corpus for the pattern [X + THEME^{substantive} + RHEME^{adverbial}], where X is any element other than *and*.⁷⁵ This search did not yield any results, apart from the following:

- (41) ... you would hear the sound of the pipes and it was something lovely;
Johnny playing with his left leg left up on his pipes case and he playing away.
- (42) So I left and I went to the first hawker and he was selling like the dickens, Shouting! *He standing on his stall and he selling away.*

Essentially the only element that *and* is in opposition with in this pattern is \emptyset ; examples (41) and (42) show a non-initial construction as well, which still maintains the same adnexal status of co-predication (incidentally the corresponding Irish construction may also be introduced by \emptyset). Perhaps this is the wrong strategy; after all, not much can appear in this position in StE anyway, and I might expect the same for IrE. Still, logically I would expect the same process of conversion in Irish to apply

⁷⁴ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Modern Welsh Syntax*, p. 203; SHISHA-HALEVY, “Middle Welsh Syntax (II),” p. 225; SHISHA-HALEVY, “Converbs,” p. 276.

⁷⁵ In order to make the search more efficient I specifically focused on the most common type of rhematic element (non-finite verb forms), as determined by the data in section 3.2.2.

in IrE. Here I go back to a description of conversion made by Shisha-Halevy *vis à vis* his survey of Polotsky's 1960 *Conjugation System*, where *sentence converters* are described as "prefixed elements that turn basic tenses into satellites."⁷⁶ Although this is in reference to Coptic, this is exactly the case for the IrE adnexal construction. While the Irish construction [*tá* + adverbial] constitutes a periphrastic tense (or even an aspect), so does the English [copula + participle] constitutes a tense (or, again, an aspect). The status of the construction is converted by *and* to adnexal, a satellite of the preceding nexus. By analogy this is extended to other rhematic constituents that do not take part in periphrastic constructions, but display similar adverbial features (see examples (21), (25) and (26) above). So just like the Irish *tá* is incompatible with the *agus* construction when adnexal, so is the copula *be* with the *and* construction. Moreover, when *be* does appear in the syntagm, *and* is not a converter, but a coordinator. Compare again the two *and*-introduced clauses in (32):

(32) So he played it. ^(a)And I was in the porch ^(b)and I picking up the notes.

My conclusion, therefore, is that when it appears in conjunction with a non-verbal clause in a non-initial position, *and* is a converter (viz. 32b); when appearing with a verbal clause, *and* is a coordinator or a connector (viz. example 32a), or any of the other identities described in section 4.1.1.

4.4. *Ambiguous cases*

Three examples in the corpus presented an ambiguous reading. In light of the discussion on complementation in section 4.2 and the identity of *and* in 4.3, they should also be considered:

- (43) Didn't I see two goal posts *and a little man standing in between the goal posts?*
- (44) But there is a graveyard at the turn of the road *and a gate going into this graveyard.*
- (45) The priest would have the Blessed Sacrament under the canopy *and four men holding the props of the canopy.*

The ambiguity is between a reading of *and* as a converter or as a coordinator. Both readings are possible due to the argument structure of the verb in the main clause. *See*, [*there*] *is* and *have* all take an object; the non-finite *and*-clause can be understood as being an object as well,

⁷⁶ SHISHA-HALEVY, *Conversion*, p. 94.

coordinated with the NP preceding it. Incidentally, the fact that all three examples are of an indefinite NP adds to the sense of ambiguity: an indefinite NP implies new information being introduced as opposed to elaboration, which is the case for definite NPs (and pronouns in particular).

5. CONCLUSIONS

My aim in this study was to examine the adnexal *and* construction in the JCoB corpus. Contrary to the widely accepted analysis of this construction as being subordinate, I have found the construction to be a case of co-predication in which the *and*-introduced nexal clause is an expansion of another nexal (or nominal) clause. Similarly, I do not analyze the element *and* as a subordinating conjunction but rather as a converter which signals the adnexal status of the *and*-clause.

More specifically, I have been able to outline the defining features of the adnexal *and* construction in the corpus. First, the basic pattern of the constructions has been established as [*and* +|THEME|+|RHEME|], in which the THEME paradigm consists of a substantive (a pronoun in most cases), and the RHEME paradigm is adverbial. Second, the thematic pronoun is realized consistently in the nominative case in the corpus, as expected of a typical Southern IrE corpus. Third, the most common realization of the RHEME paradigm in the corpus is the converbial “-ing” form. Fourth, the construction itself does not take part in dialogs, and is restricted to the narrative domain. It is also non-initial, always following another constituent, and referring back (using anaphoric pronouns). These observations are also consistent with the findings of previous research. These conclusions are also based on the data provided by Shisha-Halevy in his analysis of the parallel Irish and Welsh constructions. This comparison is especially relevant when considering the highly likely possibility that the Irish construction was transferred into IrE or otherwise has greatly influenced the rise of the construction in IrE.

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