The Atlantic edge

The relationship between Irish English and Newfoundland English*

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1. Introduction

The purpose of the present article is to consider possible parallels between south-east Irish English (henceforth: SEireEng) and Irish-based Newfoundland English[1] (henceforth: IbNfldEng) and to see whether there is sufficient evidence to substantiate a linguistic connection today between the two sets of varieties which derive from populations which are known from history to be directly related. A particular aim of the present study is to offer information on the nature of the Irish input to Newfoundland. Despite the welcome body of recent literature on English in Newfoundland (see the works by Clarke, Kirwin, Paddock and Shorrocks in the references), data on the English of settlers from Ireland has not been forthcoming. This is a deficiency which recent studies by the present author have sought to remedy (see Hickey 2001 and Hickey fc., a).[2] It is hoped that the present study will not only be of relevance to the narrower domains of Irish English and Newfoundland English but also offer insights into the more general consideration of dialect transportation in the past few centuries (Hickey ed. 2002). In the constellation of overseas varieties, forms of English in Newfoundland represent a unique situation. The Anglophone varieties there derive from two clear historical sources, English in the south-east of Ireland and in the south-west of England (the latter leading to English-based Newfoundland English, henceforth: EbNfldEng). These varieties have until well into the 20th century been largely isolated from other forms of English in North America. Furthermore, during their genesis both varieties in Newfoundland were reinforced due to repeated contact between the Old and New World populations as a consequence of seasonal migration for fishing. However, this contact now lies nearly two centuries in the past and there is a serious methodological issue which any linguist investigating two such connected sets of varieties from a contemporary point of view must address: how justified is one in extrapolating backwards from observations of varieties of English today to forms spoken upwards of two centuries ago, even though these may have been relatively free from dialect mixture? There is no simple answer to this question but it should be borne in mind when considering parallels
between present-day IbNfldEng and SEIreEng. Parallels may be the result of independent developments on both sides of the Atlantic and equally parallels, which existed in the past, may no longer be observable due to loss after the direct connection between Ireland and Newfoundland ceased to exist.

There is an additional difficulty when looking at IbNfldEng. This is that, historically, varieties of English in south-east Ireland derive from those spoken by settlers from south-west England. The parallels between the two regions of the British Isles are not very obvious today but it cannot be ruled out that two centuries ago, when settlement of Newfoundland from these regions was occurring, the similarities between the speech of south-east Ireland and south-west England were greater. This issue will be discussed in detail in section 4.1 below.

On a more general note, one should observe that linguistic features vary greatly in their value for establishing possible historical connections between varieties. Essentially, features which are frequent in unconnected varieties — such as negative concord — are of low diagnostic value because an historical demographical connection need not be the only source of such features.

2. Historical background

The island of Newfoundland, the most easterly province of present-day Canada has a long history of settlement from European countries. It lies on the northern flank of the broad mouth of the St Lawrence river to the south of Quebec and Labrador in the south east of the large peninsula which forms eastern mainland Canada (the province consists of mainland Labrador and the island of Newfoundland and was named Newfoundland and Labrador in 1965). The island was discovered in 1497 by John Cabot, seeking like Columbus before him, a short route to Asia. What he found was a barren island far out in the Atlantic but with very abundant fishing grounds. The island was claimed by the British and in 1583 Sir Humfrey Gilbert became the first English governor of the island; after him in the early part of the 17th century George Calvert undertook attempts to form settlements there but these did not become established until some considerable time later (Kirwin 2001: 441).

Although a few Irish are known to have come as servants with the first English settlers in Newfoundland in the early 17th century, it was not until after 1675 that West Country boats took Irishmen with them on summer fishing expeditions to Newfoundland, people they picked up in service ports such as Waterford, Youghal, Cork on the southern Irish coast where they collected supplies before crossing the Atlantic. Permanent Irish settlers in Newfoundland initially resulted from people not having the resources to return home for the winter. Full-scale immigration to Newfoundland began to increase significantly in the last two decades of the 18th century and was considerable for the first decades of the 19th century, finally tapering off in the 1840’s. The absolute numbers are not appreciable, compared to the soaring population of Ireland which was to peak at nearly 8 million at the outbreak of the Great Famine in the late 1840’s. [3] The number of winter settlers is estimated at about 3,500 in 1700, over 15,000 by 1800,
exceeding 100,000 by the 1850’s (Kirwin 2001: 442). Mannion estimates that there were about 4,000 migratory fishermen working in Newfoundland. By the 1830’s the number of Irish permanently settled on the island was approximately 38,000 (Mannion 1974 and 1977 (ed.); Doody 1988). But the relative figures are important and English commentators mention that by the mid-18th century all the settlements on the Avalon peninsula — in the bottom right-hand corner of Newfoundland — had Irish majorities (Shorrocks 1997: 325-7).

Of the Irish settlers an estimated 85% came from the counties of Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary in the south-east corner of Ireland (Mannion 1974: 6), the remainder stemming from the deeper hinterland of Carlow or from further west, i.e. from the counties Cork or even Kerry. This fact is assumed to be supported by the co-occurrence of many lexical items in the English of Kilkenny — as investigated by Moylan (see Moylan 1996) — and that of Newfoundland (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 1990: xv).

In the initial phase of European involvement with Newfoundland there was little if any wintering on the island. Rather the Europeans came for the summer months to avail of the favourable weather for fishing (such people were later termed transients). It is only in the 18th century that settlers from the British Isles begin to remain on the island for the entire year (yielding residents).

There are two distinct sources for the visitors to and later settlers in Newfoundland: 1) the south-west of England and 2) the south-east of Ireland. Both sources are of relevance to the later varieties which arose on the island. In addition to these there were small numbers of settlers from the Channel Islands which are at least onomastically separate, i.e. recognisable by distinctive surnames of Northern French provenance. Among the early visitors to the island were also French and Basque fishermen who exploited the fishing grounds but did not leave any linguistic impression on the island. Neither did the smaller numbers of indigenous Beothuks (who spoke an Algonkian language) have any impact on the emergent forms of NfldEng (Clarke 1998; Kirwin 2001).
Newfoundland is the oldest English colony in Canada: English was established there long before any speakers moved to mainland Canada. It was settled at least two centuries before the United Province of Canada was set up in 1841 with the Dominion of Canada following in 1867. The province was independent until it decided by a narrow majority to join the Canadian Federation in 1949, after having experienced considerable economic difficulties (with technical bankruptcy in 1934) and direct administration by Britain until shortly after the Second World War (Kirwin 2001: 444f.). The influence of mainland Canadian English on the speech of the island since then is difficult to quantify but it would seem that more general and standard varieties of English have indeed spread with increased communications and with the cultural dominance of both central Canada and the United States. It should also be mentioned that there have been appreciable movements of speakers from Newfoundland down the east coast of Canada and the United States, for instance as construction workers in areas like Boston.

From the early decades of the 18th century seasonal migration for fishing from the south-east of Ireland (and from a very few other points) was common (Duffy (ed.) 1997: 90f.). The name for Newfoundland in Irish — *Talamh an Éisc* ‘Ground of Fish’ — refers strictly speaking not to the island but to the banks off its shore and reflects the reason for the Irish to concern themselves with this region. The number of people involved was always relatively small and does not bear any comparison with the hundreds of thousands of immigrants to the eastern United States both in the 18th century (largely Ulster Scots who settled in Appalachia, Montgomery 1989) and the latter half of the 19th centuries (mostly southern Irish who settled in the large urban centres of the north-eastern United States, typically New York and Boston). These immigrational situations are different in kind to that in Newfoundland. There were differences in time scale, motivation for emigration
from Ireland, sociolinguistic status at the new location, contact with other immigrant groups and of course the numbers were greater. Even today, Newfoundland has a population only somewhat in excess of half a million.

At the period of initial involvement the Irish had to accommodate themselves to the more prosperous and socially superior English settlers — even if this status was only relative. The main settlement was St John’s, the capital of the island, along with Placentia and the Avalon peninsula (Kirwin 2001: 446). In smaller settlements there was a clearer division according to origin in the British Isles. A clear example of an Irish settlement is Tilting (on Fogo Island, see map below) in the north-central coast (Clarke 1997a: 212) along with the many coves and inlets — so-called outports, the people from such localities being outporters.

While certain areas are relatively mixed, such as the Burin peninsula immediately to the west of the Avalon peninsula on Placentia Bay, by and large there was a relatively clear segregation of Irish and English, something which received additional impetus by the divide on the island according to religious affiliation, i.e. as Catholic or Protestant. For instance, large stretches of the southern shore (south-east of the Avalon peninsula) and parts of Conception Bay (to the immediate west of St John’s on the north of the Avalon peninsula) are distinctly Irish in their derivation. The geographical isolation of Newfoundland and the divergent social backgrounds of the south-east Irish and the south-west English settlers meant that the speech communities are still both distinct and conservative in the features of their English. Needless to say, the distinctiveness of Newfoundland speech, from whatever community, is likely to diminish with the spread of more mainstream varieties of Canadian English (Chambers 1998: 256).

2.1. Divisions within Newfoundland

Although the island of Newfoundland is of considerable size (nearly that of Ireland), the Avalon peninsula in the south-east of the island is of major relevance to its linguistic history despite representing only a fraction of the island’s total size. The large central section of the island is largely uninhabited and was not the subject of settlement interest in the formative period between the late 17th and early 19th centuries, although the dialects of south-west England were quite widespread outside of Avalon (on the northern coast of Newfoundland) and on coastal Labrador. Four main areas need to be distinguished when dealing with Irish-based English on Newfoundland.
(1) St John's is the capital of the island and vertical social structure is the determining factor here. Sociolinguistic investigations like that of Clarke (1986) show an increasing influence of mainland Canadian English which co-exists with vernacular forms of IbNfldEng in the capital.

(2) The Southern Shore is a term for the entire stretch of coast from Petty Harbour just south of St John’s to at least St Shott’s on the south-east edge of St Mary’s Bay. This long shoreline is nothing like as thickly populated as that of Conception Bay which has several towns which are large by Newfoundland standards. Even in the late 1960’s scholars like Dillon felt that the smaller communities of the southern shore offered a unique opportunity to investigate IreEng outside of Ireland (Dillon 1972).

(3) Conception Bay is a large bay which lies immediately to the west of St John’s and which, since the earliest times, has been settled on the inside of the bay, roughly from Portugal Cove, just a few miles from St John’s to the middle of the opposite side. Kirwin (1968) regards the western side of Conception Bay and the east of Trinity Bay (the adjoining bay to the west) as a distinct dialect area, in particular the relatively densely populated section from South River up to Carbonear (an area also investigated by Paddock, see Paddock 1981).

(4) Placentia Bay; Burin Peninsula The Avalon peninsula is connected with the rest of Newfoundland by a narrow land bridge (see map above). To the south of this, i.e. to the west of Avalon, is the large Placentia Bay. Its western flank is formed by the long narrow Burin Peninsula which has been settled by both English and Irish. This area is naturally of linguistic interest, but the only study of it so far is a much-quoted but unpublished master’s thesis (Lanari 1994).
2.2. Matters of terminology

When referring to the forms of English derived from the Irish settlers on Newfoundland, scholars in the field (Kirwin 1993 for example) use the term Anglo-Irish. Nowadays this label is generally deemed inappropriate by scholars dealing with IreEng because of its use in politics and literature and because there have been many conflicting interpretations of the term in the history of IreEng studies. Furthermore, if taken literally, it would mean an English form of Irish (‘Anglo-’ as a modifier to the head ‘Irish’). In the last two decades or so the term Hiberno-English (derived from Latin Hibernia ‘Ireland’ and English) has enjoyed a certain vogue. It would seem to have replaced the older term Anglo-Irish. The simple term Irish English seems to be the most neutral and least in need of explanation and has the additional advantage of being parallel to other terms for varieties of English such as Welsh English, Canadian English, etc. It will be used for the remainder of this paper and in the context of the present treatment the varieties of the south-east of the country are meant. This is a group of eastern dialects, deriving ultimately from the period of initial settlement from the late 12th century, and is quite distinct from other forms of English found in the rest of the country.

2.3. The position of the Irish language

Any influence of the Celtic language Irish on the English of Newfoundland must be divided into two types. The first is that which took place before English was transported to Newfoundland, i.e. that which led to an Irish-influenced form of English being taken across the Atlantic. The second refers to a possible influence of Irish on English at the new location. There are references to the use of Irish on Newfoundland from a variety of documents from personal and public life (see Foster 1982, Shorrocks 1997). Furthermore, there are loans from Irish in NfldEng (Kirwin 2001: 452f.), such as hangashore ‘useless individual’ (≡ Irish ainniseoir ‘mean person’ with unetymological /h-/ along with a portion of folk etymology in a fishing community where those unwilling to go to sea would be derided), sleeveen ‘rascal’, pishogue ‘superstition’, crubeen ‘cooked pig’s foot’, etc. (Kirwin, 1993: 76f.). Spalpeen (from Irish spailpin) ‘migrant labourer’ is a word formerly found in Irish and NfldEng. These loans may well have existed in the English of the Irish who went to Newfoundland, rather than stemming from Irish speakers there.

A direct influence from Irish in Newfoundland is unlikely for a number of reasons. Firstly, the quantity of Irish speakers does not appear to have been very high: the references are to relatively rare occasions when English speakers were confronted with or noticed speakers of Irish, though it is impossible to determine absolute numbers (Clarke 1998: 330). Secondly, the sociolinguistic position of Irish would have been as low as in Ireland and it is improbable that English-speaking Irish were ready or willing to adopt features of the speech of
speakers even lower than themselves on the social scale. Recall that the area from which Irish emigrants came to Newfoundland is that of Waterford and its immediate hinterland. This area was Irish-speaking well into the 19th century, but the ports of the area, Waterford itself, New Ross, Wexford had been (partly) English-speaking for centuries before the immigration to Newfoundland started. The conclusion is that while Irish did play a role in the genesis of south-east IreEng, the language did not seem to make a significant contribution to the formation of specifically Irish varieties of NfldEng. This fact can of course be traced back to the social status of Irish speakers: irrespective of how many there were their role in the formation of NfldEng would definitely have been small and unlikely to have led to any noticeable linguistic influence.

2.4. Significant external factors

Before moving to a linguistic investigation of SEIreEng and IBNfldEng, three elements should be singled out as important external factors in this context.

(1) Within the two main ethnic communities there was considerable consolidation of linguistic features from one generation to the next by virtue of the fact that the island was quite isolated — seasonal outmigration to the east coast of America in the construction industry (Kirwin 1993: 67) notwithstanding — and that the young of each generation were in close contact with their preceding generation through early integration into the work environment (traditionally fishing).

(2) There was continual contact with speakers from the Old World source of English (both the south-east of Ireland and the south-west of England) through the so-called transients, those workers in the fishing industry who came for the summer months and returned to their European base for the winter. Their linguistic influence on nascent forms of NfldEng is, however, difficult to determine. What one can state is that in the 17th century, the settlers were mainly English (the documents occasionally mention Irish individuals). The contact with transients came to a close before 1800 when seasonal fishery ceased (Kirwin 2001: 442). Ultimately any influence of the transients on emerging NfldEng would have depended on the social status of transients and whether their speech enjoyed anything like prestige in the communities of which they were part during the summer months.

(3) Especially in the Irish community, schools were serviced by members of religious orders who were educated in Ireland and sent to Newfoundland as teachers Kirwin (1993: 69f.), reinforcing the originally Irish characteristics of English speech in the Irish community, at least in the capital St. John’s, but not in the outlying areas where education was minimal.

Because the Irish fishermen were initially, and for some time afterwards, illiterate they did not write home. This means that evidence for early NfldEng, such as the immigrant letters uncovered for Scots-Irish in the United States (Montgomery 1995), is completely lacking.
3. South-East Irish English

Before proceeding it is necessary to give a brief outline of English in the south-east of Ireland as background linguistic information for any consideration of the Irish element in NfldEng. Recall that according to scholars like Mannion — whose opinion on the matter is generally accepted — the source of Irish migrants to Newfoundland was the city of Waterford and an area within a thirty-mile radius of the city. This is a clearly defined part of Ireland and, as is pointed out below, one which has retained forms of English since the first settlement of Ireland from Britain in the later Middle Ages.

The long tradition of English on the east coast of Ireland means that varieties of IreEng there show more retained features of earlier English input than do forms in the south-west and west, and naturally in the north, which was under strong Scots influence from the early 17th century. The characteristics which we find here are a mixture of archaic features and probable transfer from Irish due to the prolonged contact with Irish which was the native language of the population surrounding cities like Waterford until well into the 19th century.

3.1. Phonology

For the following checklist the English spoken in the south-east of Ireland is taken as a starting point (see Hickey 2001 for a more detailed discussion). In view of the fact that Waterford was the major port of departure for migrants to Newfoundland (see above) it would seem appropriate to take the language of this area for the comparison with IbNfldEng.

Historically, there was an enclave of particularly archaic English in the south-east corner of Ireland — in the baronies of Forth and Bargy (Hickey 1988). The English spoken here was a survival of medieval IreEng but was already moribund and isolated by the late 18th century when it was first recorded by Vallancey (1788) so that it is very unlikely that it played any part in the Irish input to NfldEng.

The discussion below follows an established practice (Hickey 1999) of using lexical sets to discuss different realisations in varieties of English. The lexical sets used are based on the standard sets of Wells (1982) but have been adapted to handle specific sounds found in IreEng. The underlining refers to the sound or sounds of interest in each set; in brackets the phenomenon or realisation which is supposed to occur is indicated.

It should be stated here that some of the features of SEIreEng do not exist in NfldEng and are hence not discussed in the relevant literature. Even in those cases where there is such discussion, the present author sought confirmation of assumptions from the main authorities in the field. This explains the many references to ‘personal communication’ to be found below. The authors in question, specifically Sandra Clarke and William Kirwin, are not to be associated with any misrepresentations or inaccuracies, if these should exist.
3.1.1. **Consonants**

**THINK** and **THIS** (fortition of ambidental fricatives)

*SEIreEng* The ambidental fricatives of English do not exist in SEIreEng. Instead the key sounds of these lexical sets have alveolar stops in strongly vernacular forms of SEIreEng, i.e. *think* [tŋk]; *this* [dIs] (there is a distinction between alveolar and dental articulations in supra-regional forms of IreEng but for vernacular speech in the south-east this does not hold).

*IbNfldEng* In general alveolar stops are found in these lexical sets. Kirwin (1993), Shorrocks (1997) and Clarke (in her unpublished sociolinguistic data from St. John’s) mention that dental stops are found, but none of them claim for IbNfldEng the type of definite phonemic contrast which exists in supra-regional IreEng. This is hardly surprising as the dental # alveolar contrast is ultimately a west Irish feature which was adopted in the east during the 19th century, above all in Dublin, and from there became a contrast which is no longer regionally bound in Ireland. This development did not seem to have had an effect on the input to NfldEng.

**GET** and **SAID** (lenition of alveolar stops)

*SEIreEng* Lenition of /t, d/ in weak position, i.e. intervocally and finally before a pause, is common. The result of the lenition is usually an apico-alveolar fricative, [t, d],\(^5\) as in *city* [sItI], *mad* [ma:d] but the process can continue further and yield a glottal stop which then replaces /t/, especially word-finally: *what* [ma?] , *why is that?* [maI iz da?].

*IbNfldEng* T-lenition is an established feature of the Irish-derived community and is particularly obvious in word-final position (Kirwin 1993: 74). According to Clarke (1997a: 214, quoting the investigation by Lanari 1994), T lenition, along with alveolar /l/, is a feature which tends not to occur outside strictly Irish-derived settlements.

**WATER** lexical set (dentalisation of alveolar stops before /r/)

*SEIreEng* Dentalisation of /t, d/ before /r/ as in *babysitter* [be:bistər], *brother* [brədə] is recessive but common in strongly localised forms of English throughout Ireland.

*IbNfldEng* Not recorded in the literature.

**SORE** (syllable-final /r/)

*SEIreEng* Like all varieties of IreEng, except some conservative forms of popular
Dublin English, SEIreEng is rhotic. Phonetically, a velarised [ʌ] is found, e.g. bore [bo:ʌ]. But the r-lessness of older popular Dublin English may well be an indication of a general phenomenon in eastern IreEng before the present.

IbNfldEng It has often been commented on by scholars working on NfldEng that certain parts of the Avalon peninsula, notably the Bay Roberts area and the bottom arc of Conception Bay (Kirwin 2001: 447) are notable in not having /r/ in post-vocalic position. Furthermore, the settlement in the south of Conception Bay is among the oldest on the island.

The disappearance of syllable-final /r/ can be attributed to a general weakening of the coda of a syllable, contrariwise its retention in syllable-initial position (or in ambi-syllabic position such as in berry /beri/) may well be due to the relative consonantal strength of syllable onsets. Thus a language-internal explanation may be sufficient. However, given the historical context in which NfldEng arose, one may ask if there are any historical antecedents of this lack of rhoticity. It may be that the lack of rhoticity of conservative popular Dublin English was formerly more widespread and has shrunk geographically to the capital by this century. Indeed there is a small but undeniable body of evidence for the deletion of syllable-final /r/ reaching back to at least the beginning of the early modern period on mainland England. It is known from some words like ass ↔ arse, palsy ↔ paralysis, worsted (cloth) [wʊstɪd] that r-lessness must have been a feature of English for longer than is commonly thought.

A further peculiarity of /r/ in the south-east of Ireland is that a uvular realisation of the phoneme, [k], occurs recessively in a small area in the (north-)west of Waterford and the south of Tipperary. In the present context this anomalous feature is worth mentioning as there have been reports (see Byrne 1988: 173) of a uvular /r/ occurring in the more outlying Irish settlements in Conception Bay and of Branch on the southern Avalon peninsula (Clarke p.c.). This could well be a retention of the rural Waterford pronunciation transported to Newfoundland, especially as the distribution in Co. Waterford was certainly greater then than now and given that the catchment area for immigrants to Newfoundland from the port of Waterford also includes the west of the county and the south of Tipperary (Mannion 1977 ed.). The suspicion that uvular /r/ in Newfoundland is a retention is backed up by contemporary data contained in A Sound Atlas of Irish English, a collection consisting of over 1,200 recordings made by the present author over the past few years. The northern part of the east coast of Ireland still shows uvular /r/ for traditional dialect speakers. This would seem to suggest that uvularisation was a widespread feature of the east coast in general including the south-east, the source of Irish emigrants to Newfoundland.

WET and WHICH (voice contrast with labio-velar glides)

SEIreEng The distinction between [w] and [ʍ] is maintained: wail [weɪl] and whale [ʍeɪl] are not homophones.
IbNfldEng This distinction is not available in either Irish or English derived communities. This is somewhat surprising, given that the distinction is found almost ubiquitously in Ireland. The neglect of the distinction was either induced by contact with West Country speakers or simply an independent development in the Irish-derived community. There is a further possibility: again in conservative popular Dublin English the [w] ≠ [w] contrast is not maintained. Once more there may have been a wide distribution of this merger over the entire east coast, the distinction having been reintroduced from the speech of those who shifted from Irish to English (the majority of the population), especially as there is a similar phonemic distinction in Irish between [β] and [ð]. The latter sound is commonly rendered by [w] as names like Ó Faoláin → Wheelan testify.

TALKING (alveolarisation of final velar nasal)

SELreEng There is a general alveolarisation of velar nasals as in How are you gettin’ on? This is found not only with verb forms: meetin’, buildin’, heatin’.

IbNfldEng The very general nature of this shift makes it unsuitable as a diagnostic of Irish influence on NfldEng. It is found here as in so many locations in the Anglophone world.

RAIL (syllable-final /l/)

SELreEng The realisation of /l/ in all positions is alveolar.

IbNfldEng In general /l/ is alveolar in IbNfldEng, otherwise it is velarised in syllable-final position. In her study of St. John’s speech, Clarke (1991) found that older conservative males made significantly greater use of clear /l/. Paddock (1982) examined the wide geographical distribution of postvocalic /l/ in NfldEng.

3.1.2. Vowels

CLEAN (vowel-overlength or disyllabification)

SELreEng There is some vowel overlength in local Waterford English (though not with the full disyllabification typical of popular Dublin English). This is an acoustically prominent feature of the city dialect, e.g. I know [ae no:] (Dublin: [ae noː]), clean [kli:ʃn] (Dublin: [klijɔn]), school [skʊːl] (Dublin: [skuːəl]).

IbNfldEng The kind of disyllabification which is nowadays only typical of Dublin has been remarked on in Clarke (2002) for IbNfldEng where it may well be a remnant of high vowel realisations carried to Newfoundland by Irish migrants.

START (pre-/r/ realisation of /aː/)

SELreEng Conservative forms of English in both the city and county of Waterford
show a raising of /æ/ as in father [fæ:d@], [fæ:d@]. Before /t/ this raising is quite common: harm [he:m(ə)m], car [kæ:1].

IbNfldEng A front vowel, approaching that in cat, is found before /r/ (Kirwin 2001: 447, 1993: 76). However, the front vowel is characteristic of both communities and so does not have any diagnostic value. Clarke (p.c.) doubts whether there is also raising in Newfoundland from /æ/ to /ɛ/.

TRAP and BATH (realisation of low vowels)

SEIreEng The contrast between short and long low vowels is slight if non-existent in the south-east of Ireland and in southern IreEng in general so that cam and calm are virtually homophones.

IbNfldEng Kirwin remarks that there is little if any distinction in length among low vowels, i.e. the vowels in palm and cat are similar if not identical (1993: 74).

NORTH and FORCE (mid back vowel distinction before /r/)

SEIreEng The distinction between /ɔ:/ ( [ɔ:] in Waterford English) and /o:/ as in horse [hau:1s] and hoarse [hɔ:1s] is found here as in IreEng in general (apart from some forms of fashionable Dublin English).

IbNfldEng This distinction in not found, indeed a degree of unrounding of /o/ before /r/ is found (Clarke 1997a: 213). This unrounding applies in general to mid back vowels, also when they are part of a diphthong as in the CHOICE lexical set. Here IbNfldEng concords with SEIreEng.

TERM and NURSE (short vowel constrast before /r/)

SEIreEng A two-way distinction between /ɛ/ and /ʌ/ before /r/, as in term [tɛm(ə)m] and worm [wʌm(ə)m], is maintained whereas in supra-regional varieties this has been merged to a central rhotacised vowel [ə].

IbNfldEng This distinction can be taken not to exist and is not remarked on in the literature.

PEN and PIN (short front vowel constrast before nasals)

SEIreEng The distinction between /ɛ/ and /i/ is to be found in all environments, i.e. pen and pin are pronounced differently. The lack of this merger is an important delimiting feature vis à vis forms of English in the south-west of Ireland (as confirmed by the recordings for A Sound Atlas of Irish English).

IbNfldEng This merger is not recorded in the literature, but Clarke (p.c.) maintains that there is a definite tendency for it to occur before /n/ and oral stops in
the Irish communities. Observations like this might well offer support for the claim that the /e, i/ merger was much more widespread in southern IreEng and that the conditioned merger before nasals is a remnant of a formerly much wider distribution (see Hickey 2000a: 66f. for further discussion).

**BATH** (early modern lengthening before voiceless fricatives)

**SEIreEng** In conservative forms of Waterford English there is no lengthening of /a/ before voiceless fricatives: bath, staff, pass but varieties in the rural hinterland all have /a:/.

**IbNfldEng** This feature is not remarked on in the literature; these instances of /a/ appear to have undergone lengthening, either already in rural speech taken to Newfoundland or at the new location.

**MEET and MEAT** (merger of Middle English long mid vowels)

**SEIreEng** In conservative forms of English in Waterford city and county there is a lack of raising of ME /e/ to /i:/ as in beat [bet], leave [le:v].

**IbNfldEng** Kirwin (1993: 75) and Clarke (1997a: 213) confirm that the mid vowel was formerly typical of both ethnic communities. It has been generally replaced by the high vowel but it is still found in some forms like beak [be:k] ‘nose, face’.

**STRU** (reflex of early modern /u/)

**SEIreEng** Waterford, and the south-east in general, have the lowered reflex of Early Modern English /u/, phonetically a centralised version of cardinal vowel [ʌ], often with some rounding, i.e. [ə] or [ɔ].

**IbNfldEng** This type of realisation features prominently here as pointed out by Kirwin and Clarke (loc. cit.). They and other authors regard the vowel as retracted and rounded. The rounding is insignificant in supra-regional forms of IreEng but increases in strongly localised forms of English, including that of Waterford city.

**NAKED** (unstressed high front short vowel)

**SEIreEng** Unstressed short vowels from this lexical set are realised in IreEng as schwa, i.e. one has [ne:kæd] rather than [ne:kɪd] for naked.

**IbNfldEng** [ə] is found for the short unstressed vowel in all such cases (Shorrocks and Clarke, p.c.).
3.1.3. Phonological processes

**FILM** (epenthesis in sonorant clusters)

*SEIreEng* There is a prohibition in south-east IreEng on two sonorants occurring in a syllable coda. A low-level rule inserts an epenthetic vowel between these segments thus triggering re-syllabification so that the first sonorant is ambi-syllabic (coda of first and onset of second syllable) while the second remains in the original coda. This can be seen in words like *girls* [ɡəlʊlz], *harm* [hərm]. In IreEng in general the rule of epenthesis also applies but with somewhat restricted scope, i.e. it is found for clusters of /l/ + sonorant, but not for /r/ + sonorant: *film* [filəm], *kiln* [kɪln] but *farm* [fərm].

*IbNfldEng* Here it is found for /lm/ clusters in words like *film, elm* but does not seem to apply to /rm/ clusters. It appears to occur in both speech communities (Clarke, p.c.)

**DUKE** (yod deletion after alveolars)

*SEIreEng* This is found after /n/ and /l/ in stressed syllables (*news, lute*) but not after alveolar stops (*stew, duke*) after labials and velars (*beauty, cute*) and not in unstressed positions after alveolar nasals (*numerical*). The sequence /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ is phonetically an affricate, e.g. *tune* [tuːn], *duke* [dʒuːk].

*IbNfldEng* Clarke (1993: 90) confirms that Irish-derived pronunciations tend to still have post-coronal glides but that there is a significant tendency to adopt mainstream North American speech patterns, of which glide-deletion is a prominent element.

**BEYOND** (post-sonorant devoicing)

*SEIreEng* This feature leads to the realisation of /d/ as /t/ after both /n/ and /l/, e.g. *beyond* [biːˈyant], *killed* [kɪlt]. Homophony then arises in word pairs like *build ~ built* both [bɪlt]. The devoicing does not occur after /r/.

*IbNfldEng* Instances of devoicing are recorded in the as yet unpublished study of St. John’s speech (Clarke, p.c.).

**WEEKEND** (post-sonorant deletion)

*SEIreEng* It is more unusual in Waterford English (though very common in Dublin English) to find that a stop after a nasal is deleted. A few instances are found, e.g. *week-end* ['wiːken], but the rule is variable for local speakers and the option of devoicing rather than deleting the stop would seem to be preferred.

*IbNfldEng* This is found in both south-west English and Irish derived forms
of English in Newfoundland and, given its general nature, has little value for substantiating the Irish-Newfoundland linguistic connection.

ISN’T (sibilant assimilation)

SEIreEng A feature commented on by various authors (see Kirwin 2001: 448) is the assimilation of a sibilant to a following nasal as in wasn’t [wɔznɔ] → [wɔdɔnt] and isn’t [ɪznɔ] → [ɪdɔnt]. This is found in Waterford and in some other varieties of English (such as that of Outer Banks in North Carolina, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 46f.; Troike 1986: 177 mentions that this is a typical feature of the southern United States with a wide lexical occurrence). It has also been reported for NfldEng without any reference to an Irish input, probably because the feature was not described before (but see Hickey 2001: 11). This assimilation also only occurs with auxiliary verbs in south-east IreEng and not with full lexical items, i.e. a word like business does not show any assimilation.

Wright (1905: 227) mentions this as a feature of south-west England (Dorset, Somerset, Cornwall). It is almost certainly a retention from early settlement speech in the east coast of Ireland. This feature is also a clear delimiter of rural and urban SEIrEng as the former does not show it.

IbNfldEng This assimilation is attested in Newfoundland for varieties deriving from south-west England. Its non-occurrence in IbNfldEng may be due to settlers from the rural south-east of Ireland originally outnumbering urban settlers, the latter abandoning this feature if they had indeed taken with them to Newfoundland.

3.2. Morphology

SEIreEng Waterford, and the south of Ireland in general, is characterised by the retention of an inherited form of the second person plural pronoun ye (supported by the distinction between singular and plural in the second person in Irish, cf. tú ‘you’-sg versus sibh ‘you’-pl). This is phonetically distinct from the singular form, the contrast being realised as you [ju] (singular) versus ye [ji] (plural). The latter form occurs as a possessive pronoun, i.e. one has [jir] and [jirz], usually represented orthographically as yeer and yeers. The third person plural pronoun is found as a demonstrative, e.g. Them cars on the street. Frequently there is no diphthongisation of /u/ in the possessive pronoun my: Mi [mi:] little thing in the front is gone completely. Nouns with numerals do not normally have plural marking: Six year, three car, etc.

IbNfldEng The diagnostic value of these four morphological features is very limited given their widespread nature among dialects of English, not just those of south-west English and south-east Irish origin in Newfoundland. Kirwin mentions that the first feature (ye ≠ you) is typical of the Irish-derived community (Kirwin 1993: 73).
3.3. Syntax

The number of non-standard syntactic structures in NfldEng is quite considerable. Furthermore, there are clear differences between the two speech communities in this respect. For reasons of space a full discussion is not possible but hopefully sufficient information is given to demonstrate whether historical connectivity with IreEng is likely or not. In the following discussion Irish examples are given from attestations of Waterford English collected by the present author over several years. The reference “WER” in parentheses after a sample sentence indicates that it stems from these Waterford English recordings. The informants in all cases were speakers of the local vernacular who have shown little regional mobility and so no cross-influences from other varieties of IreEng.

3.3.1. Immediate perfective

One of the salient features of both NfldEng and IreEng is the existence of a type of perfective realised by using the adverb after followed by an -ing verb form (on NfldEng: Clarke 1997a: 216; on IreEng: Kallen 1989, Hickey 1995, 2000b) : She’s after breaking the bowl. (WER); Michael was after crashing the car. (WER). This is used to express that something has just happened — hence the label ‘immediate perfective’ — and has high informational value.

There is no doubt that this structure in Ireland represents a transfer phenomenon from Irish. And there is equally no doubt that its appearance in NfldEng is due to the varieties of IreEng transplanted to the island. The after-perfective in Newfoundland is worthy of comment. Clarke (1997b: 280) notes that while most features of the Irish- and English-based communities in Newfoundland are kept distinct and do not spread across community boundaries, the use of after + V-ing in a perfective sense is found in the entire province. The reason for this can probably be found in the semantic transparency of the structure which in the Irish source — tar éis ‘after’ + non-finite verb form (Greene 1979) — represented a metaphorical extension of meaning from locative adverb to temporal adverb to perfective aspectual marker (Hickey 2000b).

Paddock (1991: 76) offers an explanation which is similar in part to that just given. He notes that the south-west English speakers in Newfoundland would already have had after in a prospective sense (He is after his dinner ‘He wants to eat his dinner’) so that given this formal parallel the semantic extension would have been an easy step, albeit a reversal of the temporal implication of after from future to past.

3.3.2. Resultative perfective

The kind of perfective being referred to here is one which stresses the result of an action as in I have the door painted and is termed here and elsewhere (see Hickey 1995) the ‘resultative perfective’. It occurs both in Newfoundland IreEng and in
forms derived from the English-based community (Clarke 1997a: 215). As this
perfective refers specifically to the result of an action it is found with transitive
verbs. In Newfoundland it would seem to be restricted to those verbs which take
inanimate objects (going on the examples quoted in the literature). But in colloquial
Waterford English the resultative perfective is also found with animate objects.
Here it looks like a causative but is in fact a particular type of perfective aspect:
All the women in our street have their children reared. (WER). The occurrence
restrictions, in SEIreEng and IbNfldEng, are in fact quite complex in this case and
have to do with the semantics of the verbs in question and not just with the status of
the object. For instance, with verbs of perception, a resultative perfective would
seem to be unacceptable Clarke (1997a: 215). The crucial point here is that only
verbs which are telic in nature can take the resultative perfective, i.e. those for
which the semantics contains the notion of goal as with rear, build, write, etc.

3.3.3. The habitual aspect

Any discussion of the habitual in extraterritorial varieties of English must take the
situation in the input dialects into account. At both source locations of
Newfoundland settlers in Britain an habitual is found with do + be or with an
inflectional -s on be: He does be tired after work. (WER); They bees out fishin’
of a Saturday. (WER)

Both these options also hold for present-day NfldEng. However, Clarke
(1997b: 290) notes that in English-based speech the habitual with do is
considerably less common than that with generalised -s, though with the Irish
communities of the Avalon peninsula it seems to be more common than inflected be.
In NfldEng, an habitual with do and verbs other than be seems not to occur. But this
is not found in south-east Ireland either (though reported for south-west England) so
that for IbNfldEng this fact is unremarkable. In SEIreEng the habitual for verbs
other than be is frequently expressed by -s marking: They plays the record player
real loud in their rooms. (WER); I looks after the little one. (WER).

3.3.4. Present-tense marking

Variation in the marking of present tense verb forms is considerable in
non-standard varieties of English. NfldEng and SEIreEng are no exceptions in this
respect and the manifestations of this marking has been studied in detail recently in
Clarke (1997c). For reasons of space a discussion of the ramifications of this issue
is not possible (see Hickey 2001 for more information). Instead a brief summary of
the situation in SEIreEng and a contrast with IbNfldEng is offered.

To begin with, however, one can note that the three verbs be, do and have
do not show any inflection in the present when they function as auxiliaries. As
lexical verbs the first two (be, do) take inflections but have does not. This situation
is similar to that in Newfoundland English, except that Clarke (1997a: 218) reports
that the lexical use of have demands inflection.
(1) Habitual *do + be* [dɔ'bi] *I do be worrying about Máire some times.* (WER)

(2) *Do* as lexical verb *So what he does is he stays with me over the weekend.* (WER)

(3) Uninflected auxiliary *be:* *She be finished her job now.* (WER)

(4) Non-auxiliary use of *be:* *He’s up to no good now, I can tell you that.* (WER)

(5) Uninflected *have* as auxiliary: *She’ve done all the work on her own.* (WER)

(6) Uninflected *have* as lexical verb: *Anthony have every intention of buying one of them.* (WER)

(7) Habitual inflected verb: *When I gets my self-pity mood.* (WER)

(8) Non-habitual uninflected form: *If this pilot light go out, the heater is off then.* (WER)

The habitual use of the inflected verb form means that in non-habitual contexts the -s inflection is avoided, for instance with stative verbs (here in the third person singular): *I’d say he know his job real well.* (WER). This usage and that in (3) above does not appear to apply to lbNfldEng.

3.3.5. *Subordinating ‘and’*

A paratactic clause construction where *and* is used to link two clauses, the second of which is concessive in nature (Filppula 1991, Klemola and Filppula 1992) is common in vernacular Irish English and has been noted for lbNfldEng as in *She went out for a walk and it raining* (Clarke 1997a). There is little doubt that this construction has its roots in Irish syntax and was transported to Newfoundland by Irish immigrants who had the structure as a transfer phenomenon from Irish in their speech.

3.3.5. *Topicalisation by clefting*

A salient feature of all vernacular forms of Irish English (and probably supported by its frequency in Irish) is clefting for topicalisation purposes as in *It’s to Galway he’s gone today*. This device is also found in lbNfldEng as noted by Clarke (1997a: 214).

4. *South-West English*

4.1 *Direct importation from South-west English*

The ships carrying fishermen for summer work off the coast of Newfoundland frequently called at Waterford and other ports on the south coast for supplies and to
take workers on board. A possible consequence of this is that there was a mixture of English and Irish dialects on the ships which plied across the Atlantic in the summer months. While this scenario is interesting and might perhaps have led to a levelling of features there is no historical evidence to document it.\cite{7}

The features of south-west English which are relevant for a consideration of NfldEng are those which are still recorded for the region in England — if only recessively. The following three prominent features are commented on by Wakelin (1984: 74-8) and found on Newfoundland.

1. Initial voicing as in *vish*, *vin*, *ven*; *zen(d)*. Ambi-dental fricatives have been found voiced and strengthened to stops in words like *drash* ‘rain shower’, *drashel* ‘threshold’, Kirwin (2001: 446). This may have been the result of fortition of fricatives already in England (see Hickey 1989 for a discussion of this in the history of English).

2. Fronting of /u/ to /y/, as in *soon* [s\textyn], is a south-west feature of English (Wakelin *loc. cit.*) and not found in south-east Ireland. However, in Newfoundland it would seem to only occur in mixed communities of the Burin peninsula (Clarke p.c.). One possible explanation is that this salient feature of south-west English was removed from the communities in Newfoundland with the exception of those where mixture with the Irish communities would not have led to this feature gaining such a salient status. Clarke (1997a: 222) seems to disagree with this, stating that the [\textys] in Newfoundland seems to be of Irish origin. However, this feature is attested for south-west England and not for south-east Ireland, although there is a breaking of long high vowels on the east coast of Ireland, especially in Dublin e.g. *school* [sku\textyl] (Hickey 1999: 270f.).

3. Both communities on Newfoundland have syllable-final /r/. The actual phonetic character differs in Britain with the south-east Irish /\textx/ a velarised [\textx] and the south-west English /\textx/ a retroflex [\textl] (Wells 1982: 342). The uvular [\textl], found highly recessively in rural areas of west Waterford (see above), has not had any mentionable impact on English in Newfoundland. There the supra-regional retroflex [\textl] of mainland Canadian English would seem to be the most common realisation.

4.2 *South-west English influence via Early Irish English*

Any discussion of south-west English and south-east IreEng must take the historical settlement of Ireland (see above) into account because the initial wave of newcomers from England stemmed from west Wales and the south-west of England. Medieval IreEng showed a considerable influence of forms of English from this part of Britain. Evidence for this is not so much available in the literary documents from the early period (see Hickey 1993) but in the glossaries for the dialect of Forth and Bargy, spoken in the extreme south-east corner of Ireland until the early 19th century when it was gradually absorbed by surrounding forms of IreEng (Hickey 1988). The two main glossaries for this antiquated form of IreEng were published in 1788 (by Charles Vallancey) and 1867 (collected by Jacob Poole in
the first years of the 19th century and then published by the Dorset poet William Barnes, see Barnes 1967; Dolan and Ó Muirithe (eds) 1996 provide a recent edition. Remarks on the antiquity of the dialect are already found in the late 16th century.

Typical south-west features found in Forth and Bargy are (1) Initial voicing, (2) the shift of /ð/ before /r/ to /d/ (Hickey 1989) and (3) the lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/, e.g. serpent [zæ1:ping]. All of these features are typical of conservative West Country NfldEng, e.g. var ‘fir (tree)’ (Kirwin 2001: 446f.) but not recorded for IbNfldEng. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the salient features of Forth and Bargy did not occur in surrounding forms of English in the rest of south-east Ireland and that emigrants to Newfoundland did not have features (1 - 3) in their speech.

In the area of grammar the zero marking on third person singular do and have, when used as auxiliaries, is probably a legacy of the early south-west English settlement of Ireland as is the sibilant assimilation before nasals in auxiliaries (see above).

5. The interpretation of Newfoundland features

From the previous remarks it is obvious that many of the features of NfldEng can have a double or combined source in Britain. At the present time it is not possible to unravel all the historical strands in the linguistic input to NfldEng as the above examples have shown. Nonetheless, there are some features which clearly point to one source rather than another and these are the object of comment in the following paragraphs.

5.1. Initial /h/

For the English-derived population of Newfoundland the status of word-initial /h-/ is indefinite (Kirwin 2001: 447). Authors dealing with this variety of English record many instances in which the fricative is sounded and equally many in which it is not. Furthermore, /h/-insertion in etymologically unjustified cases is also attested (Kirwin and Hollett 1986; Kirwin loc. cit., have instances such as hanchor for anchor, hice for ice).

For the Irish-derived population the status of word-initial /h-/ is clear: it is always pronounced. IreEng is, and always has been, a dialect in which /h-/ is pronounced. This is due to two facts, (1) /h/ existed in the initial varieties of English taken to Ireland as of the late 12th century and (2) /h/ is an established phoneme in Irish and morphologically functional so that contact with Irish would not have weakened the status of /h/ in English.
5.2. *Ambi-dental fricatives*

Among the features of NfldEng, especially of the Irish-based community, is the lack of ambidental fricatives in the TH\_INK and TH\_IS lexical sets (Clarke 1997a: 213). Significantly, the sounds do not generally turn up as dental stops in NfldEng although they do in general southern IreEng. In Ireland the standard view is that those speakers of Irish who were acquiring English as adults in a situation of imperfect bilingualism during the overall transition to English substituted the realisations of Irish /t, d/ — dental stops [t, d] — for the fricatives of English. The view that the east originally had alveolar stops is supported by the fact that the realisations in the TH\_INK and TH\_IS lexical sets are still [t, d] in colloquial Dublin English (a highly conservative variety of eastern IreEng).

In Newfoundland Dillon (1972) notes both dental and alveolar stops for the Irish-based Southern Shore. Kirwin (1968: 67) considers alveolar stops as characteristic for the Bay Roberts area on west Conception Bay which in his opinion contrast with the dental stops of the Southern Shore. However, in Kirwin (1993) he is not so adamant about this, stating that dental realisations of alveolars (in the TH\_INK and TH\_IS lexical sets) are also found. Clarke (p.c.) maintains that the stops were phonologically conditioned in south-west England and that the generalised stop realisation may have been due to, or at least reinforced by, contact with the Irish communities.

5.3. *Canadian raising*

The consideration here is whether NfldEng shows the phenomenon known, since its definitive description by Jack Chambers in 1973, as ‘Canadian Raising’. In essence this refers to the use of a raised starting point — [ə] — for a diphthong before a voiceless obstruent and applies to /ai/ and /au/ in Canadian English and some forms of American English adjacent to the border with Canada. Typical realisations would be: tight [təɪt], ride [təɪd]; house [haus], houses [hausiz].

This distribution has a phonetic explanation: before voiceless obstruents the tongue and jaw muscles are more tensed and the duration of a segment is less than before voiced obstruents. With the latter segments there is less muscular tension and more time to lower the tongue for the diphthong onset and so one has [ai/au] rather than [əi/əu]. In effect this means that Canadian Raising is really a lack of lowering before voiceless segments.

In IbNfldEng the situation is somewhat different. Various authors, e.g. (Kirwin 1993 and Shorrocks 1997), maintain that the /au/ diphthong has a retracted starting point — suggesting to outsiders a realisation [ɔt] — and, significantly, this is independent of whether the following segment is voiced or not.

The /ai/ diphthong is a different case. Kirwin (1993: 75 and 2001) maintains that there is a raised onset before voiceless segments and a low onset
before voiced consonants. Comparing mainland Canadian English, NfldEng and contemporary south-east IreEng one arrives at the following picture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mainland Canada</th>
<th>Newfoundland (Irish)</th>
<th>South-East Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tight</td>
<td>[t̠提起]</td>
<td>[t̠提起]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tide</td>
<td>[t̠起德]</td>
<td>[t̠起德]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>[h̠起斯]</td>
<td>[h̠起斯]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houses</td>
<td>[h̠起狮子]</td>
<td>[h̠起狮子]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The upshot of this is that the conditioning only occurs for the /ai/ diphthong in IbNfldEng and not at all in South-East Ireland. The /au/ diphthong shows no appreciable variation before voiced and voiceless segments in Irish-based NfldEng, nor does it in South-East Ireland where the onset is a fronted low vowel in the area /æ/ (a general feature of east coast IreEng).

It might appear that what happened in this variety of Canadian English is that the raising, typical of the rest of the country, came only to affect the /ai/ diphthong. In the view of Kirwin and of Shorrocks, in his supportive quotes from the former, such a statement would be unfounded given the historical input to Newfoundland. The south-east dialects of IreEng did not have [ai] and [au] (but rather [æi] and [æu]) so that the former vowels are not to be expected in Irish-based speech in Newfoundland. At most what happened historically is a re-alignment of the input spectrum of realisations to produce conditioning for the /ai/ diphthong, given that its starting point was higher than that of /au/. A strict interpretation in terms of Canadian Raising would ignore the essential fact that the realisations of both /ai/ and /au/ in the south-east of Ireland is not dependent on the nature of the following segment. Furthermore, Kirwin (1993: 75) maintains that the distribution for the /ai/ realisations ‘was part of the diphthong system of the inhabitants before Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949’. Paddock (1982) supports this view. It must be stressed here that while the conditioning of /ai/ in NfldEng, and Canadian raising in general are considered separate phenomena by the authorities in the field, it does not seem justified to regard the conditional realisation of /ai/ as an imported feature from South-East IreEng.[8]

5.4. Stress patterns

A prominent prosodical feature of NfldEng is the final stress in a series of words. These are all proper names and can be seen in local pronunciations like Newfound'land, Labrad'or and Carbo'near. Within a general Anglophone context this final stress is unexpected and hence in need of explanation. For south-east Ireland one can note that the Irish spoken there and the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy both had stress towards the end of a word. There may well have been a tendency to non-initial stress in the varieties of English transported to Newfoundland, particularly in words which had a heavy syllable in final position.
which would have attracted stress. This is the case in the names just quoted. For such place-names, the final stress pattern may well go back to their non-English origin, cf. the many names of French, Spanish or Portuguese origin in Newfoundland (Clarke p.c.).

The phenomenon of late word stress might have had a greater distribution in the initial settlement phase and have been replaced in the course of time by supra-regional pronunciations. A number of these are still, however, to be found, e.g. verbs with a long final vowel often have the stress on this element as in *educate, distribute* (these stress patterns are also attested in *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* for the many parts of Ireland, including the south-east. But final stress of long vowels with verbs was a very widespread phenomenon in the early modern period (Gąsiorowski 1997: 163-7), so that the phenomenon cannot be attributed an exclusively Irish provenance, unlike such features as *t*-lenition.

5.5. *Non-Irish elements in Newfoundland English*

There are several elements of NfldEng which can not only be traced to the West Country input but which are definitely not found in the speech of the Irish-derived community. Various phonological features have already been mentioned, such as initial voicing, deletion of initial */h-/, the use of a velarised */l/ in syllable-final position, with vocalisation in some cases, cf. *gayoo* ‘gale’ (Paddock 1982, Kirwin 2001: 447).

Morphological features can also be listed which are exclusively south-west English in origin. The weak form *un*, ‘*n* [on] for *he* is definitely non-Irish as is the use of *he* and *she* for inanimate referents (Kirwin 2001: 448). There are also syntactic constructions which occur in Newfoundland and which can definitely be said not to come from Ireland. One such is the construction *away to go*, examined by Shorrocks (1991) for possible Celtic analogues and which is clearly south-west English in origin.

6. **Conclusions**

The main concern throughout the present article has been to point out commonalities between SEIrEng and IbNfldEng with a view to putting the historical relationship between the two on a firm linguistic basis. For every feature examined there have been two essential caveats: (1) the feature could stem from EbNfldEng (see section on morphology above) and (2) the feature could represent an independent development, such as a merger determined by the dialect contact situation in Newfoundland. The loss of a vowel contrast between the members of the TERM and NURSE lexical sets, which are distinguished in SEIrEng and all other vernacular varieties of Irish English to this day, might represent just such a contact-induced merger.
IbNfldEng. Paradoxically, a closer investigation of SEIreEng, as in Hickey (2001), shows that there is an historical continuity with south-west English because this provided the initial input to the south-east of Ireland many centuries ago. The survival of linguistic features, such as zero marking on auxiliary verbs, from this early input makes it more difficult to distinguish the two main strands of input to English in Newfoundland.

The concern here has been with attestations in conservative IbNfldEng. Any sociolinguistically oriented investigation of IbNfldEng would of course question the currency of such structures. In addition it should be mentioned that the study has not been concerned with the statistical frequency of structures, although this is indeed relevant. For instance, Clarke (1997a: 217), reporting on Lanari’s unpublished material, suggests that, for the mixed Burin area, there was a correlation between Irish ethnicity and a preponderance of after X-ing perfective constructions.

When reviewing the different linguistic levels one can recognise certain features which point clearly to SEIreEng. The level of morphology is curiously unreliable in this respect as all non-standard features of IbNfldEng could have another source. In the areas of sounds and sentence structures in IbNfldEng one can highlight the following as indicative of its Irish provenance. Phonology: (1) Clear /l/, (2) Fricative /v/, (3) Alveolar stops in the THINK and THIS lexical sets (though partially shared with EbNfldEng). Syntax: (1) Immediate perfective (after V-ing), (2) Resultative perfective (OV word order), partially shared with EbNfldEng, (3) Clefting for topicalisation, (4) Subordinating and, (5) Greater range of present tense.

Over and above the discussion of features, the comparison of IbNfldEng and SEIreEng offers evidence for relative chronology in the transportation of English to this New World location. The fact that the settlement of Newfoundland was concluded by the 1840’s means that some features of IbNfldEng can perhaps offer insights into English on the east coast of Ireland, surviving from the earliest period of settlement, and before shift-induced varieties of former Irish speakers spread from the west. The lack of a [w] # [ʍ] contrast and the occurrence of non-rhotic speech in IbNfldEng are possible candidates for features of late modern SEIreEng which no longer exist.

The comparison of IreEng and NfldEng shows furthermore that one must not be too quick in drawing conclusions concerning historical continuity. The presence of conditional realisations of /ai/ before voiceless and voiced consonants suggests something like Canadian raising, at least for /ai/, although separate from the phenomenon in mainland Canada. This cannot be easily linked to SEIreEng. However, this may be due to the lack of any data on English in this part of Ireland in the 19th, let alone the 18th century.

Finally one can remark that NfldEng shows how structurally transparent features — such as the metaphorical extension of locative adverb to perfective aspect as with the after + V-ing perfective — travel well, even across the boundaries of speech communities which are traditionally separate.
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**[Footnotes]**

~1 As a scholar based in Irish English studies, my experience of NfldEng does not have anything like the depth of those scholars who have made it their life study, so I have relied heavily on their opinions, hence the many references to comments by them. Specifically, I mention the work of Sandra Clarke, William Kirwin and Harold Paddock which is a source of valuable information on NfldEng.

~2 The published material on IreEng, for instance the many articles by John Harris, often has a northern bias and conclusions cannot be derived from this concerning the source of IreEng on Newfoundland, i.e. south-east IreEng. For instance, the palatalisation of /k, g/ before /æ/, which Clarke (1997a: 222) thinks might have appeared in Newfoundland, is not be expected as it is a purely northern phenomenon.

~3 Indeed the emigration following on the Great Famine has overshadowed virtually all other migrations to overseas locations and caused many authoritative historians to neglect the shift of population to Newfoundland entirely. Thus in such well-known introductions as Foster (ed. 1992) and Moody and Martin (eds 1994) there is no mention of Newfoundland whatsoever.

~4 Clarke (1997a: 209) specifies this area as the counties of Dorset and Devon — their ports and immediate hinterland — along with input from south Somerset and west Hampshire. The term ‘West Country’ is frequently used in the literature on Newfoundland to refer to speakers who stem from this area of England and consequently denotes English there as well. Here the term ‘south-west English’ is generally used for reasons of slightly greater geographical accuracy. No distinction is made — here or elsewhere in the relevant literature — between West Country (capitalised because it is an established term) and south-west English. The reference ‘south-west’ would also include Cornwall although input from this country does not appear to have been very significant for Newfoundland.

~5 The current method for representing an apico-alveolar fricative was devised many years ago by the present author (and has been used since) as the IPA does not provide an appropriate symbol. It is hoped that the articulation represented by the
subscript caret, namely a lack of closure by the tongue apex, is obvious from this representation.

~6 This is quite unusual in the context of varieties of English, the other area where uvular /r/ is recorded consistently is in the north-east of England in the county of Durham (often referred to as the Northumberland burr) and there, as in Ireland, it is definitely on the wane.

~7 There are of course investigations such as that by Matthews (1935) which attempt to characterise the pronunciation of English used on ships which sailed between Britain and the colonies. Matthews has references to the use of stops for ambi-dental fricatives (1935: 244f.) and if the kind of levelling he described also applied to the travel between Newfoundland and Britain then one could assume that a certain approximation of features between sailors from south-east Ireland and south-west England on the ships occurred. This possibility should not be accorded too much weight because many features still found in Newfoundland belong exclusively to one community and not the other and would seem to contradict the notion of dialect levelling on the ships. This standpoint also applies to the investigation by Bailey and Ross (1988).

~8 In addition one should mention that for West Country-based varieties on Newfoundland a raised onset for /au/ is found with possible conditioning by the following segment, as noted by one of the anonymous reviewers.

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