3 Development and diffusion of Irish English

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1 Introduction

The transportation of English with reference to Ireland involves two separate but related issues. The first is the taking of the language to Ireland at various points in its history, starting in the late twelfth century and continuing steadily since, with a particularly active period in the seventeenth century which involved both the north and the south of the island. The second issue concerns the spread of English from Ireland to various overseas locations between the mid seventeenth and the late nineteenth centuries. This will be treated in the second half of the current chapter. The initial settlement of Ireland from Britain (Wales) is the concern of the first half.

The story of language in Ireland is one of continual contact and shift. Since the coming of the Celts in the last centuries BC each major movement of population has led to movements in language as well. Initially, the Celts supplanted the pre-Celtic population which was possibly of mixed Vasconic and Atlantic origin (Vennemann 1994). This population survived largely undisturbed until the advent of the Vikings in the late eighth century after which considerable influence of Old Norse on Old Irish occurred (Sommerfelt 1975). At the end of the Middle Irish period, towards the close of the twelfth century, the event which was to have the most enduring effect on the later linguistic history of Ireland took place, the Norman invasion, which, as described below, led to the introduction of English and of Norman French to the country. These two languages, together with Irish, interacted for at least the following two centuries (Hickey 1997a). The history of English in Ireland which is part of this development is outlined in the following section.

* I would like to acknowledge the many incisive comments which Michael Montgomery made on an earlier version of this chapter and, as one would expect, the many references to Ulster Scots (see Montgomery (1999) for an assessment) which he urged me to include. Shortcomings as always are my own.
2 The coming of English to Ireland

In 1169 on the request of a local lord in the south-east of Ireland a group of adventurers from Wales landed near Wexford. This historical fact marks the beginning of the political association of England with Ireland. The initial foray to Ireland was nothing like a systematic invasion though there were several military encounters which ended unfavourably for the native Irish. In a way the situation resembled the first Germanic raids on Britain some 700 years earlier: a series of sorties across the sea to a neighbouring country without any noticeable degree of coordination. A single year is said to mark the beginning of what with the compression typical of distant historical hindsight looks like a coherent and planned settlement. It was only a few years later when Henry II came to Ireland, in an attempt to assert his sway over the relatively independent Anglo-Norman lords, that there was a concerted effort to subjugate the east coast of Ireland with the submission of the bishops and local lords to his royal authority.

The first adventurers to arrive on Irish soil appear to have been quite diverse. They came from Pembrokeshire in West Wales (Moody and Martin 1967: 127ff.); we know from historical records that there were at least four languages represented in this early group: Anglo-Norman, a variety of medieval English, and to some degree Welsh and Flemish. Much as the presence of the latter may serve to spice the demographic picture of medieval Ireland, for the further linguistic development of both Irish and English, Flemish is of no relevance. A few loan-words have survived in the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy (more on which below) but that is about all. No traces of a Flemish influence are to be seen in Irish. Welsh was in all probability also among the languages of the first invaders; however, traces of Welsh are not to be seen anywhere. This leaves Anglo-Norman and English which will presently be the topic of comment.

2.1 Development of Irish English

The development of English in Ireland since the twelfth century has not been continuous. This fact is due to the settlement of the island by the English and

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1 The date of 1169 has been agreed upon by an historiographical tradition established by Gerald of Wales (Giraldis Cambrensis 1146–1223) who wrote two works based on two journeys to Ireland in the 1180s, Topography of Ireland and Expugnatio Hibernica (The Conquest of Ireland). Both works are essentially anti-Irish and in favour of Gerald's own Welsh–Norman relatives who had taken part in the settlement of the south-east and east of Ireland (Maurice FitzGerald was among those who landed in Ireland in 1169).

2 The Anglo-Normans were militarily far superior to the native Irish with whom they engaged in combat, taking the city of Wexford immediately after their arrival and Waterford a few months later in a legendary battle involving Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. In collusion with sections of the native Irish the Anglo-Normans took Dublin in 1170.

3 The term used in this chapter, and elsewhere in this volume, for English spoken in Ireland is ‘Irish English’, a term which is parallel to such established terms as Welsh English, Canadian English, etc. Further differentiation, where necessary, is offered. The term ‘Hiberno-English’ is not used as this is an unnecessary Latinate coinage, in the opinion of the present author. ‘Anglo-Irish’ is also unsuitable as it has political and literary connotations which are not intended here and, on a strict morphological analysis, it refers to a specific variety of Irish, not English.
to the political conditions in England itself. First the east and south-east coast of Ireland were settled in the late Middle Ages, above all the cities of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny and Dublin. At this time Dublin had already gained the status of capital of the country. Like other cities in Ireland, Dublin owes its origins to a Viking settlement before the turn of the millennium (Moore 1965: 10). Because of its favourable position in the middle of the east coast and with the central plain as its hinterland, Dublin was able to assert itself over other urban settlements in Ireland on river estuaries. As far as English is concerned, this fact is of some importance. The city was quickly occupied by the English after its conquest. In 1172 Henry II issued the Charter of Dublin (Dolley 1972: 68ff.). From this time onwards English has existed continuously in Dublin, indeed within a roughly semi-circular area around the town and stretching down the east coast. This region has been termed the Pale (from which the expression beyond the pale ‘socially unacceptable’ is derived). Within the boundaries of the Pale the political influence of England has never ceased to exist. This is basically the reason for the continuous existence of English in Dublin: in the history of Ireland the English language has maintained the strongest influence in those areas where the political influence of the English has been mostly keenly felt.

Viewed as a whole, however, only a small part of the country was colonised with English/Anglo-Norman. During the late twelfth century settlements spread to other cities, e.g. in the south (Cork) and in the west (Limerick and Galway) and further up the east coast, at least to Carrickfergus, just north of present-day Belfast. The impact on rural Ireland was slight. This is of central importance when considering the linguistic status of English vis-à-vis Irish in the late Middle Ages. English was not a superstrate at this stage (as it was to become in the early modern period). Indeed English competed with Anglo-Norman in medieval Ireland and both these languages definitely interacted with Irish.

Beyond the Pale in the centuries after the initial settlement on the east coast an ever increasing assimilation of the original English and Anglo-Normans by the native Irish set in. This assimilation had two main reasons. For one the English settlers of this early, pre-Reformation period were of course Catholic and for another the connections with England were in fact quite loose. Those adventurers who sought land and political influence in Ireland evinced only nominal allegiance to the English crown. They had become to a large extent independent in Ireland (Moody and Martin 1967: 133ff.). Indeed one can interpret the visits of English kings in Ireland, such as that of Henry II to Dublin in the twelfth century, as a scarcely concealed attempt to assert the influence of the English crown in a colony which did not lay undue emphasis on crown loyalty. In later centuries other monarchs were to follow suit. Thus John came to Ireland in 1210 and Richard II twice (in 1394 and 1399). Each of these visits was intended to serve

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4 The importance of settlement history for patterns of geographical variation is a given in American dialectology (see the discussion of Kurath’s work in Kretzschmar 1996), although this has not received the same degree of attention in the study of Irish English. See also Montgomery (this volume).
the purpose of constraining the power of the ostensibly English/Anglo-Norman nobility. With the increasing looseness of ties with England the original English and Norman populations (who came to be labelled ‘Old English’, i.e. descendants of the original settlers) naturally drew closer to the native Irish. This development led to the coining of the famous phrase to describe the assimilation of the Old English, *Hiberniores ipsis hibernis*, ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’.

This development explains the decline of English in Ireland in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Especially after the adoption of Protestantism by the English government, initiated by the ‘Reformation Parliament’ (1529–36) of Henry VIII, the English settlers in Ireland felt cut off and naturally identified themselves increasingly with the native Catholic population.

The lowest point in the spread of English is to be found in the first half of the sixteenth century. English really only existed with any resilience in Dublin (more broadly, within the *Pale*) and in the south-east corner of the country. The resurgent Gaelicism of the sixteenth century led by necessity to the recession of English influence (Moody and Martin 1967: 158ff.).

The strength of Irish towards the end of the first period can be recognised from various comments and descriptions of this period. For instance, Irish was allowed in court proceedings according to the municipal archives of Waterford (1492–3) in those cases where one of the litigants was Irish. This would be unthinkable from the seventeenth century onwards when Irish was banned from public life.

Still more indicative of the vitality of Irish is the account from the sixteenth century of the proclamation of a bill in the Dublin parliament (1541) which officially declared the assumption of the title of King of Ireland by Henry VIII (Dolan 1991: 143). The parliament was attended by the representatives of the major families of Ireland stemming from the Normans, but of these only the Earl of Ormond was able to understand English and apparently translated it into Irish for the rest of the attending nobility. Needless to say, the English viewed this situation with deep suspicion and the Lord Chancellor William Gerrard commented unfavourably in 1578 on the use of Irish by the English ‘even in Dublin’ and regarded the habits and the customs of the Irish as detrimental to the character of the English. Furthermore, since the beginning of the Reformation, Irishness was directly linked to Popery. The Irish and the (Catholic) Old English were viewed accordingly with growing concern.

2.2 The linguistic situation in medieval Ireland

The history of English in Ireland is not that of a simple substitution of Irish by English. One must consider in this connection both the linguistic situation and the diachronic distribution of English in the country. At the time of the first English incursions the linguistic situation in Ireland was quite homogeneous. In the ninth century Ireland was set on by Scandinavians as was Britain. The latter, however, settled down in the following three centuries. The decisive battle against the Scandinavians – at Clontarf (now in Dublin) in 1014 – on the
one hand represented the final break with Denmark and Norway and on the other resulted in the complete assimilation of the remaining Scandinavians by the native Irish population much as it did in other countries, such as England and northern France. For the period of the initial invasions one can assume, in contradistinction to various older authors such as Curtis (1919: 234), that the heterogeneity which existed was more demographic than linguistic. Scandinavian had indeed a profound effect on Irish, particularly in the field of lexis (see Sommerfelt 1975), but there can be no assuming that a bilingual situation – with Irish and Old Norse – obtained in the Ireland of the twelfth century.

As the Anglo-Normans were military leaders at the time they built castles, fortifications and keeps for themselves in various parts of Ireland, many of which are visible to this day. Evidence for the status of the Anglo-Normans and their language is offered by such works as the *Entrenchment of New Ross* in Anglo-Norman as well as contemporary references to spoken Anglo-Norman in court proceedings from Kilkenny (Cahill 1938: 160f.). Anglo-Norman seems to have been maintained well into the fourteenth century as the famous *Statutes of Kilkenny* (Lydon 1973: 94ff.) show. These were composed in Anglo-Norman and admonished the native Irish population to speak English. The large number of Anglo-Norman loanwords in Irish (Risk 1971: 586ff.; Hickey 1997a) which entered the language in the period after the invasion testifies to the existence of Anglo-Norman on Irish soil from the mid twelfth century to the fourteenth century.

3 Renewed dominance of English

For the history of English in Ireland, the sixteenth century represents a break in its development. Politically, it was marked by increasingly separatist activities on the part of the Irish of native and/or original English/Anglo-Norman stock. These were particularly intense during the reign of Elizabeth I and were largely curtailed by the victory over the Irish by English forces in the Battle of Kinsale (near Cork) in 1601. The subsequent departure from Ireland by native leaders in 1607 – known somewhat romantically as the *Flight of the Earls* – left a political vacuum which was energetically filled by the English. As of the beginning of the seventeenth century English attained a dominant position in Ireland and has continued to enjoy this status as a superstrate vis-à-vis Irish since.

The (re-)establishment of English in Ireland in the early modern period is due to ‘plantations’ (MacCurtain 1972: 89ff.). These forced settlements were carried out sporadically in the sixteenth century and then with greater consistency in the seventeenth century.5 The first plantations originate in the time from 1549

5 The details of plantations can best be grasped visually, hence the value of the maps and tables contained in Moody, Martin and Byrne (1984); see the Ulster plantation: 1609–13 (1984: 50), King’s County and Queen’s County (1984: 51), the Cromwellian Land Confiscation 1652–7 (1984: 51), population densities by barony (1984: 72) and the population changes (1984: 73). This book also contains illustrative data on rates of illiteracy in Ireland, which as might be expected was over 50 per cent in the west of the country until well into the mid nineteenth century. This fact is important when considering how the Irish acquired English: for the period of language shift, transmission of English through education did not occur for the vast majority of the rural population.
to 1557 (Moody and Martin 1967: 189ff.) when the two counties Laois (read: \[li\]) and Offaly (formerly King’s County and Queen’s County respectively) in the centre of the country were settled during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary (Edwards 1973: 158–60; Duffy et al.1997: 58f.). The English who moved there were, however, quickly assimilated by the native population or abandoned the project. The same is true of the later plantations in the province of Munster in the period from 1586 to 1592 (during the reign of Elizabeth I) in which the poet Edmund Spenser was also involved (Moody and Martin 1967: 190). None of these plantations led to any change in the linguistic composition of the country.

The situation for Ireland changed radically with the accession of James I (James VI of Scotland) to the English throne in 1603. He encouraged his fellow Scots to move across to Ulster and avail themselves of the vacuum resulting from the destruction of the Gaelic powerbase there. Thousands of settlers from the Scottish Lowlands and western Scotland, along with many from northern England, moved to Ulster and it is in this time that the modern cities of Belfast and Derry, along with many smaller towns across the province, were developed. The latter was renamed Londonderry by the English authorities to reflect the engagement of many London-based companies in the expansion of the city. The Scots settlement extended beyond the boundaries of the present state of Northern Ireland and included the Lagan area in Co. Donegal to the south-west of Derry city.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Scots still had all the hallmarks of an independent language (Macafee, this volume). It was distinct from English in its form and in its social functions with its own orthography and literary tradition. The language continued to develop in Ulster and was taken to the United States with the considerable emigration from the province in the eighteenth century (Montgomery and Gregg 1997). The separation from Scotland meant that language-internal developments there and in Ulster were not necessarily shared by the two versions of the language. Ulster Scots came to interact with both the Irish language and with forms of northern English (Adams 1958: 61ff., 1967: 69ff.) which was brought by settlers to central parts of the province and which is the predecessor to what is now termed Mid Ulster English, the Scots settlements being in the main along the coast of Ulster.

In the south of the country there was some delay in settlement by the English. Only from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, after Oliver Cromwell had been militarily victorious over Ireland, did settlements of English mercenaries and others take place on a large scale. An attendant transportation of native Irish from the east to the west of Ireland was undertaken, leading to a higher concentration of Irish speakers in the west and a corresponding dilution of these in the east. The English settlers retained their language and passed it on to following generations. After the victory over the Catholic forces under James II by William III (at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690), Catholics were excluded from political power and from higher positions in society.

The number of English settlers in the south of Ireland was never on the scale of those in the north (English and Scots combined). The pattern in the south...
was often one where landlords owned estates which were administered for them in their absence. In the north, however, the Scots who moved to Ulster stayed there and built up their own communities which were distinct from those of the native Irish who were usually left with poorer tracts of land in the province. The Scots were farmers, artisans and tradesmen who displaced rather than governed the native Irish population as the English did in the south. In addition, the Scots were nonconformist Protestants, i.e. Presbyterians, and this added to their otherness vis-à-vis both the northern English of general Protestant stock and the Catholic Irish. Taken together, these developments laid the foundation for the demographic split of the country (Heslinga 1962) which has continued since.

4 Periods and historical documents

The break in the development of English in Ireland justifies a division into a first and a second period. By this is meant the division of the history of Irish English into an earlier period, from the middle of the twelfth century to the late sixteenth century, and a second later period which has lasted from the seventeenth century to the present day (Hickey 2002a).

4.1 Medieval period

Irish English of the late Middle Ages is recorded in a few sources. The most important of these is the *Kildare Poems*. This label is used as a cover term for sixteen poems which are scattered among Latin and Old French items of poetry in the Harley 913 manuscript housed in the British Library. Their Irish source is evident both from their theme and their language. The term ‘Kildare’ may in fact not be appropriate: there are suggestions that the verse was produced in Waterford. The case for Kildare is based on the explicit mention of one Michael of Kildare as author of a poem. It is also uncertain whether all sixteen poems were written by one or more than one individual. The series was first critically edited by Wilhelm Heuser in 1904 in the *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* (Heuser 1904) and more recently by Angela Lucas (Lucas 1995).

The collection probably dates from the early fourteenth century. The language of these poems is of a general West Midland to Southern Middle English character but contains many features apparently due to Irish influence (Hickey 1993). It is a moot point whether the *Kildare Poems* were written by native speakers of Irish (or at least balanced bilinguals) using English as an H-language, i.e. the language for more formal contexts, in a diglossic situation or whether they were in fact monolingual native speakers of English. Consider in this respect table 3.1, where all the features, with the exception of the penultimate one, are recorded for contact forms of English in the later history of Irish English.

Apart from the *Kildare Poems* medieval Irish English is attested in a number of verse fragments: the *Loscombe Manuscript* contains two poems (‘On blood-letting’ and ‘The virtue of herbs’) which according to the analyses of Heuser
Table 3.1. Linguistically significant features of the Kildare Poems

- The fortition of dental fricatives, /θ, ð/, to stops (dental or alveolar)
- The substitution of [ə] by [ʃ], e.g. fite [ʃi:t] ‘white’
- The substitution of [s] by [], e.g. grasshe (= grass), hashe (= has)
- Deletion of postnasal stops, e.g. stowne ‘stand’, strone ‘strand’
- Alternative devoicing of postnasal stops, e.g. fent ‘fend’, spent ‘spend’

Irish English of the fourteenth century is recorded briefly in two other sources. The first is an account book of the Priory of Holy Trinity Chapel in Dublin, where the poem ‘Pride of life’ was discovered. The manuscript was prepared around 1340 (Heuser 1904: 66). The second source is formed by the ‘Acts and Statutes of the City of Waterford’ from 1365. Although there is no critical edition of these, there are remarks on their language in Henry (1958: 66); see also Kallen (1994: 150–6) and Hickey (2002b). There are a few other manuscripts which are either positively Irish or which can be assumed with reasonable certainty to be so. These are listed in McIntosh and Samuels (1968).

4.2 Early modern period

The paucity of documents from the medieval period is a major handicap in the linguistic analysis of English then. The difficulty with the early modern period, however, is in deciding how to evaluate what. There are basically four types of record involved here.

4.2.1 Literary parody. The first consists of a series of literary documents (mostly plays) in which Irish English is parodied in the form of comical figures in a largely English setting. The validity of using literary dialect for a linguistic analysis is more than questionable, as Sullivan (1980) in his analysis has confirmed. Such texts can only serve as general guidelines for the more salient features of Irish English. They cover several centuries and are available from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In essence the difficulty is that one must rely on eye dialect as used by English authors. The orthography of English is not necessarily suitable for rendering the phonetic idiosyncrasies of Irish English, and indeed one cannot assume that a non-native speaker’s attempt to caricature Irish English will be satisfying and accurate anyway.

At the end of the sixteenth century attestations of Irish English begin to appear which are deliberate representations of the variety of the time, usually in the guise of literary parody. The anonymous play Captain Thomas Stukeley (1596/1605) is the first in a long line of plays in which the Irish are satirised. Later a figure of fun—
the stage Irishman – was to be added, establishing a tradition of literary parody that lasted well into the twentieth century (Bliss 1976, 1979; Sullivan 1980). The value of these written representations of Irish English for reconstructing the language of the time has been much questioned and it is true that little if any detail can be extracted from these sources. In addition, most of the satirical pieces were written by Englishmen so that one is dealing with an external perception of Irish English at the time. Nonetheless, this material can be useful in determining what features at the beginning of the early modern period were salient (Hickey 2000a) and hence picked up by non-Irish writers.

Satirical writings are not the only source of Irish English, however. There are some writers, especially in the nineteenth century, who seriously attempt to indicate the colloquial speech of their time. The first of these is probably Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849) whose novel *Castle Rackrent* (1801) is generally regarded as the first regional novel in English and was much admired by Sir Walter Scott. Other writers one could mention in this context are William Carleton (1794–1869) and John Banim (1798–1842) who were among the first writers to use authentic Irish English in their novels and stories. Much of this material is to be found in electronic form in *A Corpus of Irish English* (contained in Hickey 2003a).

4.2.2 Word lists. The second type of record is the word list. This is very restricted in the type of information it provides but is obviously more accurate than the literary parody. For lexical items and restricted phonological analysis word lists serve a certain purpose. In the early modern period there are word lists available for the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy (Dolan and Ó Muirithe 1996; Hickey 1988), notably that collected by one Captain Charles Vallancey and published in 1788 and that by Jacob Poole which was later published by the Dorset poet and archaiser William Barnes in 1867.

4.2.3 First-hand documents. The most important type of first-hand document is the personal letter. There are many of these which in recent years have been the subject of linguistic scrutiny, both in the context of Irish English (Montgomery 1995; Filppula 1999) and in a general English context (see the studies in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996). For instance, from the mid eighteenth century a number of letters from the southern Irish Mahon family are available which illustrate many features of Irish English at that time.

4.2.4 Incidental remarks. The fourth record consists of incidental remarks on Irish English made by an author involved in another matter. A case in point is the grammar of Thomas Sheridan (Sheridan 1781) in which he notes certain Irish English pronunciations, typical of the Dublin of his time. In the twentieth century James Jeremiah Hogan’s *Outline of English Philology, Chiefly for Irish Students* provides a further example of this type of record (Hogan 1934).
5 The language shift

The various types of records mentioned above do not reveal anything about the spread of English in Ireland and, most importantly, the relationship of Irish to English. For the key period from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth century the central issue in the linguistic development of Ireland is the shift from Irish to English. The shift applied to the entire country. In certain areas of Ulster the shift involved not English and Irish, but Irish and Ulster Scots. For instance, for parts of Co. Antrim and north Co. Derry (in the north-east corner of Ireland) it is known that Irish had a robust presence and continued (in north Co. Antrim) to exist up to the early twentieth century. It is safe to assume that those speakers there who shifted away from Irish approximated to varieties of English which were heavily influenced by, if not identical with, Ulster Scots. In other counties of Ulster there was a clearer segregation of Irish and forms of English. For instance, Irish had a strong foothold in the hilly area of central Co. Tyrone but Ulster Scots was not significantly represented there. In Co. Donegal in west Ulster there was an Ulster Scots presence in the Lagan region to the south-west of Derry. This was geographically separate from coastal and southern Donegal which was, and to a certain limited extent still is, Irish-speaking.

It is difficult to document the language shift with any degree of accuracy as there were no censuses before 1851 with data on speakers of Irish, English or Ulster Scots. After that date one can draw a reasonably accurate picture of the decline of Irish (Adams (1965) is a useful attempt to nonetheless produce a linguistic cartography of Ireland at the beginning of the early modern period). The upshot of this situation is that there are no reliable data on the language shift and it has meant that statements about this shift have been about what one assumes must have happened rather than on what is firmly documented. Nonetheless, the external history of this shift shows what the overall conditions were and allows some general statements in this respect. The first point to note is that in rural areas, both north and south, there was little or no education for the native Irish, the romanticised hedge schools (Dowling 1968 [1935]) notwithstanding. It is clear that the Irish learned English from other Irish who already had some knowledge of the language, perhaps through contact with those urban Irish who were English speakers, especially on the east coast, and through contact with the English planters and their employees. This latter group (outside the north-east) played no recognisable role in the development of Irish English, i.e. there is no separately identifiable planter Irish English, probably because this group was numerically insignificant, despite its importance as a trigger in the language shift process.

As has been indicated above, the Ulster Scots settlers were essentially different from planters who by and large held landed estates through the southern countryside. The Ulster Scots were a mixed urban and rural group representing all sections of society and with a clear conception of their otherness vis-à-vis
the native Irish. Outside the ‘northern crescent’, from east Co. Donegal through north Co. Derry and Co. Antrim down to coastal Co. Down and a few pockets elsewhere in the north, Ulster Scots played no role in the development of Irish English and did not influence the language shift.

What one can assume for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in rural Ireland is a functional bilingualism in which the Irish learned some English as adults from their dealings with English speakers. By the early nineteenth century the importance of English for advancement in social life was being pointed out repeatedly, for instance, by no less a figure than Daniel O’Connell, the most important political leader before Charles Parnell in the later nineteenth century.

The fact that the majority of the Irish acquired English in an unguided manner as adults had consequences for the nature of Irish English. Bliss (1977) pointed out that this fact is responsible for both the common malapropisms and the unconventional word stress found in Irish English. However, the stress pattern in verbs with final long vowels, e.g. *distribute* [distrɪˈbjuːt], *educate* [ɛdjuˈkeɪt], can also be due to English input, particularly as noninitial word stress is only a feature of southern Irish, not of the west and north, and so influence due to contact with Irish could only be posited for the south of Ireland.

Another point concerning the language shift in Ireland is that it was relatively long, spanning at least three centuries from 1600 to 1900 for most of the country. The scenario for language shift is one where lexical transfer into English is unlikely, or at least unlikely to become established in any nascent supraregional variety of English in Ireland. After all, English was the prestige language and the use of Irish words would not have been desirable, given the high awareness of the lexicon as an open-class, i.e. as a class which is capable of continually receiving new elements. This statement refers to Irish lexical elements in present-day English in Ireland. In some written works – for instance in the stories of William Carlton (1794–1869), see his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (5 vols., Dublin, 1830–3) – and historically in varieties close to Irish there were more Irish words and idioms; on the latter, see Odlin (1991a).

In phonology and syntax the matter is quite different. Speakers who learn a language as adults retain the pronunciation of their native language and have difficulty with segments and clusters which are unknown to them. A simple case of this would be the substitution of English dental fricatives by stops (dental or sometimes alveolar, depending on region) in Irish English. A more subtle case would be the lenition of coronal stops in Irish English, e.g. *cat* [kæt] with an apico-alveolar fricative (Hickey 1984), which, while systemically completely different from lenition in Irish, could be the result of a phonological directive applied by the Irish learning English to lenite elements in positions of maximal sonority, i.e. word-medially between two vowels or finally after a vowel and not followed by a consonant.

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6 There have been investigations of the shift in the earlier period of Irish English, for instance in Corrigan (1999) for Co. Armagh in the north of the country.
In syntax there are many features which either have a single source in Irish or at least converged with English regional input to produce stable structures in later Irish English (Odlin 1991b). To begin with one must bear in mind that adult speakers learning a second language, especially in an unguided situation, search for equivalents to the grammatical categories they know from their native language. The less they know and use the second language, the more obvious this search is. A case in point would involve the habitual in Irish. This is a prominent aspectual category in the language and available for all verbs by using a special form of the verb be and a nonfinite form of the lexical verb in question, e.g. B‘íonn si ag léamh (gach maidin) [is she at reading (every morning)]. There is no one-to-one correspondence to this in English, formally and semantically, so what appears to have happened (Hickey 1995, 1997b) is that the Irish availed themselves of the afunctional do of declarative sentences which was still present in English at the time of renewed plantation in the early seventeenth century (especially if one considers that the input was largely from the west Midlands) to produce an equivalent to the habitual in Irish. This usurpation of an English structure in a language contact situation to reach an equivalent to an existing grammatical category in Irish depends crucially on a distinction between the existence of a category and its exponence. The difference in exponence (the actual form used) between the habitual in Irish and Irish English has often led scholars to either dismiss Irish as a source for this in Irish English or to produce unlikely equations to link up the category in both languages formally. But if one separates the presence of a category in a grammar from its exponence then one can recognise more clearly the search for equivalence which the Irish must have undertaken in acquiring English and can understand the process of availing of certain means in English, present but afunctional, i.e. declarative do, to realise an existing category from their native language.

6 Supraregionalisation

It is obvious from English loanwords in Irish that early Irish English had not progressed through the major long vowel shift typical of Southern English, e.g. Irish bac‘ís ‘bakehouse’ shows unshifted /a:/ and /u:/ . The play Captain Thomas Stukeley, referred to above, consistently uses <oo> for words with /au/ from /u:/ in English, e.g. toon for town. Furthermore, comments from Thomas Sheridan in the late eighteenth century (Sheridan 1781: 140–6) show that Middle English /a:/, as in patron, still had not shifted, nor had Middle English /e:/ as in meat. But present-day Irish English shows little or no trace of these unshifted vowels (with the partial exception of Ulster Scots in the north–east of the country). The reason is not that the shift took place in Irish English some time in the nineteenth century but that the unshifted forms were replaced by mainstream English pronunciations due to a process which can be labelled supraregionalisation. The essence of this process is the replacement of salient features of a variety (Hickey 2000a) by more standard ones, frequently from an extranational norm,
as with Southern British English vis-à-vis Irish English. The motivation for this move is to render a variety less locally bound, more acceptable to a nonvernacular community, hence the term ‘supraregionalisation’. It can be assumed that this process has applied not just to Irish English but to other extraterritorial varieties during their histories and that it is this which has in large part led to regional or national standards arising throughout the anglophone world. The process is especially obvious in Irish English because there are records of features before supraregionalisation set in. In Ireland, and probably in other anglophone countries, supraregionalisation is bound up with education and the formation of a widespread middle class and so it is a process which can be largely located in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hickey 2003c). For Irish English this has meant that certain strongly local features disappeared in the course of the nineteenth century. For instance, the lowering of /e/ before /r/ (historically attested in England in words like *dark*, *barn* and in county names like *Hertfordshire*, *Derbyshire*) was very widespread in Ireland and is recorded well into the nineteenth century in pronunciations like *serve* /sәːrv/. This lowering has been lost entirely in Irish English. Significantly, the only instances which remain are those which are part of mainstream English.

Another instance of supraregionalisation is shown by the following situation. The data of *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* (in all, over 1,500 recordings carried out by the present author over the past few years; see Hickey 2004a) reveal that a uvular [ʁ] is still to be found in north Leinster (in the area of Drogheda and Dundalk), e.g. *square* [skweːɾ], *beer* [biːɾ]. This recessive distribution is a remnant of a much wider spread which formerly stretched down to Wexford and Waterford in the south-east. This pronunciation was lost in the process of supraregionalisation where the apical /r/ of more mainstream varieties was adopted at the expense of the much older uvular [ʁ].

7 Traditional vernacular varieties

To conclude the discussion of historical Irish English thus far, a list of the more common features of traditional vernacular varieties of English in the south, and to a large extent in the north, of Ireland is offered now. Two points must be made in advance. The first point concerns many features which are found in other varieties, most frequently in northern England and in Scotland. In the latter area they might be traceable to Gaelic influence on English there. In the case of northern England an Irish influence can only be ascertained with any certainty in Tyneside, which means that the presence of a feature in the north of England suggests it is a conservative feature of English rather than a contact phenomenon stemming from Irish and transported to England. The second point concerns contemporary usage, particularly in cities, and suggests that this is somewhat different from traditional varieties of Irish English (Hickey 1986). For instance, the recordings for *A Sound Atlas of Irish English* show a velarised [ʰ] in word-final
position, something which is spreading rapidly from Dublin to the rest of the Republic of Ireland. Equally, the traditional distinction between [æ] and [w] has been lost in fashionable varieties of present-day southern Irish English (Hickey 2003d).

The nonexistence of features across the entire country can provide negative diagnostics for Irish English. For instance, r-lessness and/or h-dropping are definite signs that a speaker is not Irish as are morphological features like ain’t as a contraction of am + not.

It should furthermore be noted that some of the features listed in table 3.2 are not by any means exclusive to Irish English. For instance, them as a demonstrative is common in nonstandard varieties of English as are seen and done as preterite forms. Epistemic negative must is found in northern England and Scotland (though in Australia it is probably due to Irish influence).

8 Interpreting features of Irish English

In the history of Irish English studies the pendulum of opinion concerning the role of contact versus regional dialect input in the genesis of many of the structures listed in table 3.2 has swung back and forth (Filppula 2003). Initially writers like P. W. Joyce, P. L. Henry and, to a lesser extent, J. J. Hogan assumed that every feature which had a parallel in Irish was of Irish origin. This stance has been labelled the *substratist* position and came under heavy fire in the mid 1980s, most noticeably in John Harris’ influential article (Harris 1984). The *retentionist* standpoint which saw the input varieties of English in early modern Ireland as the source of features, hitherto accounted for by contact, came into vogue and was represented by various scholars, notably Roger Lass, e.g. (Lass 1990). But in the 1990s the pendulum moved more to the centre with the gradual acceptance of contact as a source of specific features in Irish English (Hickey 1995), not for ideological reasons, as often previously, but from a better understanding of the mechanisms of language transfer and language shift, not least due to authors on Irish English, such as Markku Filppula, taking on board the ideas of other linguists examining contact in general, expressed most clearly in the seminal monograph, Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Convergence became the new standard wisdom with contact and retention occupying places of equal standing in the history of Irish English. The consideration of other scenarios in the development of English led to a third force entering the discussion, namely creolisation as a possibility during formative stages of Irish English. Two long articles – Corrigan (1993) and Hickey (1997b) – consider the issue but, while rejecting it because there was no break in linguistic continuity in Ireland, maintain that the uncontrolled adult second language acquisition which characterised the language shift in Ireland in the early modern period was the historical setting closest to the restructuring of English seen in anglophone creoles, e.g. in the Caribbean, this time not due to the creativity of generations without full linguistic antecedents.
Table 3.2. Features of traditional vernacular varieties of Irish English$^a$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonology</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Lenition of alveolar stops in positions of high sonority, e.g.</td>
<td>city [sɪtɪ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Use of clear [l] in all positions in a word</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Retention of syllable-final /r/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Distinction of short vowels before /r/, e.g. term [tɛrm] vs.</td>
<td>turn [tʌrm]$^b$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Retention of the distinction between [w] and [v], e.g. in which</td>
<td>and witch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Epenthesis in heavy coda clusters, e.g. /-lm/ film [fɪlm]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphology</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Distinction between second singular and plural personal pronouns,</td>
<td>realised as ye, youse or yez [jɪz]$^c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Epistemic negative must, e.g. He musn’t be Scottish$^d$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Them as demonstrative, e.g. Them shoes in the hall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Perfective aspect with two subtypes:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Immediate perfective, e.g. She’s after spilling the milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Resultative perfective, e.g. She’s the housework done (OV</td>
<td>word order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>word order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Habitual aspect, expressed by do + be or bees$^e$ or</td>
<td>inflectional -s in the first person singular:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) She does be reading books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) They bees up late at night</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) I gets awful anxious about the kids when they’re away</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Reduced number of verb forms, e.g. seen and done as</td>
<td>preterite, went as past participle, e.g. I seen him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Negative concord, e.g. He’s not interested in no girls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Clefting for topicalisation purposes, e.g. It’s to Glasgow</td>
<td>he’s going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he’s going</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Greater range of the present tense, e.g. I know him for more</td>
<td>than six years now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Lack of do in questions, e.g. Have you had your breakfast</td>
<td>yet?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Be as auxiliary, e.g. They’re finished the work now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Till in the sense of ‘in order that’, e.g. Come here till</td>
<td>I tell you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Singular time reference for never, e.g. She never rang</td>
<td>yesterday evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>For to with infinitives of purpose, e.g. He went to Dublin</td>
<td>for to buy a car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Subordinating and (frequently concessive, in the sense of</td>
<td>although‘), e.g. We went for a walk and it raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Almost exclusive preference for that as relativiser, e.g.</td>
<td>The man that came here yesterday.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

$^a$ This list of features is inclusive and does not seek to emphasise the many genuine differences between English in the north and the south of Ireland. The standpoint taken is a global one for the entire country; see Hickey (1999a) for a fuller discussion.

$^b$ The distinction of short vowels before /r/ may be lost in the north due to a centralisation of vowels before /r/. This also applies in recent Dublin English (a separate development from the north) and is often to be found in words of the square lexical set, e.g. fair [fɑː] (Hickey 1999b).

$^c$ The distinction between second-person singular and plural pronouns can be realised in different ways, chiefly by using yez (< ye + {S}) or youse (< you + {S}) or simply retaining the historical input form ye.

$^d$ For a closer investigation of types of modality in the English of Co. Armagh, see Corrigan (2000).

$^e$ With the habitual aspect there is a preference for using bees over do + be in the north of Ireland.
Table 3.3. Suggestions for sources of key features of Irish English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Possible source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonological features</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental/alveolar stops for fricatives</td>
<td>Transfer of nearest Irish equivalent, coronal stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervocalic and pre-pausal lenition of /t/</td>
<td>Lenition as a phonological directive from Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar /l/ in all positions</td>
<td>Use of nonvelar, nonpalatal [l] from Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention of [ɔ] for &lt;wh&gt;</td>
<td>Convergence of English input with Irish /l/ [φ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention of syllable-final /r/</td>
<td>Convergence of English input and Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distinction of short vowels before /r/</td>
<td>Convergence of English input and Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morphological features</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distinct pronominal forms for 2 p. sg. + pl.</td>
<td>Convergence of English input and Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic negative must</td>
<td>Generalisation made by Irish based on positive use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Them as demonstrative</td>
<td>English input only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syntactic features</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual aspect</td>
<td>Convergence with south-west English input on east coast, possibly with influence from Scots via Ulster. Otherwise transfer of category from Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate perfective aspect with after</td>
<td>Transfer from Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative perfective with O V word order</td>
<td>Possible convergence, primarily from Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinating and</td>
<td>Transfer from Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variant use of suffixal -s in present</td>
<td>South-west input in first period on east coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clefting for topicalisation</td>
<td>Transfer from Irish, some possible convergence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater range of the present tense</td>
<td>Transfer from Irish, some possible convergence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative concord</td>
<td>Convergence of English input and Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For to infinitives indicating purpose</td>
<td>Convergence of English input and Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced number of verb forms</td>
<td>English input only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be as auxiliary</td>
<td>English input only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single time reference for never</td>
<td>Transfer from Irish, English input</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but to unfettered transfer on the syntactic level from the first language of those involved in the language shift.

Apart from the putative source of specifically Irish English features there have been various suggestions concerning the linguistic models to use in interpreting such features. For instance, in the area of aspect there have been attempts to use grammaticalisation models (Kallen 1989, 1990) and prototype theory (Hickey
2000b) to arrive at a satisfactory description of the linguistic facts. Greene (1979) and Ó Sé (1992) are articles, describing the verbal systems of Irish, which have been influential in this context.

9 The Survey of Irish English Usage

In order to offer some objective basis on which to continue the discussion of contact versus retention in the genesis of Irish English, the present author initiated a large-scale Survey of Irish English Usage which included a questionnaire with some 57 sample sentences, containing structures common in some, if not most, vernacular varieties of Irish English. Members of the younger generation (all under 30, most under 25) were presented with the questionnaire and asked whether the sentences it contained represented what they would say themselves in casual colloquial speech, e.g. when talking to friends. The informants had three options when answering: they could classify a sentence by ticking any of the following boxes (1) No problem, (2) A bit strange, (3) Unacceptable. It was also possible to add a short comment, an option which only a minority of informants made use of. Each of the 32 counties of Ireland was represented in the questionnaire, gathered in 16 locations throughout the north and south of Ireland. Over 1,300 questionnaires were returned, but only 1,043 have been accepted as part of the survey. A condition on the acceptance of a questionnaire was that the informant showed at least 10 per cent variation when classifying sentences and used all three classifications. To put it simply, anyone who accepted or rejected everything was either uncritical or too prescriptive in his or her attitude to the task.

At the time of writing, nearly all questionnaires have been evaluated by the present writer using dedicated software which allows one to examine the acceptance of a particular sentence or sentences for a county or counties. For the present chapter a test was done in which two locations were chosen deliberately, (1) Co. Antrim and Co. Down and (2) Co. Donegal. The first two are among the core areas of Ulster Scots settlers stemming from the seventeenth century (with little if no Irish influence, except in south Co. Down); the third county is one of the counties in Ireland which was Irish-speaking the longest, indeed it still has pockets of Irish speakers along the coast. However, because east Co. Donegal (the Lagan area) was settled by Scots speakers, informants for Co. Donegal in the Survey of Irish English Usage were not taken from this area.

The statistics in table 3.4 were gained by examining questionnaires in which the sentences were classified with the label ‘No problem’, i.e. where the acceptance was unreserved. Some of these results are not surprising, for instance, the higher acceptance of the sentences We went for a walk and it raining and She’s after spilling the milk in Co. Donegal is expected as they both embody structures stemming from contact with Irish (the first structure is also present in Hebridean English, probably due to Scottish Gaelic influence, Filppula 1997). The last two sentences above illustrate two means of expressing the habitual in forms of
Table 3.4. Acceptance of structures according to county in Ulster (n = 227)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample sentence</th>
<th>Co. Antrim/Down</th>
<th>Co. Donegal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He went to Dublin for to buy a car.</td>
<td>10.26%</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We went for a walk and it raining.</td>
<td>20.51%</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She’s after spilling the milk.</td>
<td>67.95%</td>
<td>88.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She has the housework done.</td>
<td>92.31%</td>
<td>97.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She does be worrying about the children.</td>
<td>5.13%</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They bees up late at night.</td>
<td>16.46%</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irish English. The first, using *do + be*, is often thought as stemming from Irish through re-functionalisation of *do* in input varieties of English in Ireland (the view propounded in Hickey 1997b, 2000b and mentioned above). This view is borne out by the much greater acceptance among speakers from Co. Donegal, an area with strong influence from Irish. Conversely, the acceptance of inflected *be* for the habitual is much less in Co. Donegal but fairly acceptable in Co. Antrim and Co. Down, which may well point to a survival from Scots input in the seventeenth century.

In the continuing debate of dialect transportation and regional input to overseas varieties, investigations such as the Survey of Irish English Usage may well offer an objective basis, despite all caveats, for tracing the acceptance of key structures of a variety to either language contact or dialect retention.

10 Diffusion of Irish English

For at least the last 1,500 years the Irish have left Ireland to settle abroad more or less permanently. There have been two chief reasons for this. The first applied in the earliest period, between about 500 and 800. This was to establish religious centres on the continent and thus strengthen the fledgling church there. The second type of emigration applies much later, to escape unfavourable circumstances in Ireland. The latter can in turn be broken down into at least four subtypes. The first is where Irish military leaders were defeated and forced to submit to the English crown. The most famous instance of this type of emigration was the so-called *Flight of the Earls* in 1607 from Lough Swilly in the north of the country, after the defeat of the Irish by the English in 1601, and the subsequent subjugation of Gaelic lords in Ulster. This type of exodus peaked at key periods in Irish history, hence there is another rise after 1690 when the Jacobite rebellion was finally quelled in Ireland. Emigration for essentially military reasons was quite common with the Irish frequently earning their living as mercenaries abroad. The military readiness of the Irish was known on the continent at least since the sixteenth century, witness the famous picture of Irish soldiers and peasants (1521) by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528).
The second subtype has to do with deportation by the English authorities. There are two occasions when significant groups of Irish were deported to overseas locations and exercised an influence on a variety during its formative years. The first was in the south-east Caribbean, notably on Barbados but also Montserrat, where Irish were deported in the 1650s by Oliver Cromwell. The second was in Australia where deportations of Irish took place in the early days of the modern country, i.e. in the decades immediately following the initial settlement of 1788 in the Sydney area.

A third subtype of emigration has to do with religious intolerance, whether perceived or actual. During the eighteenth century the tension between Presbyterians of Scottish origin in Ulster and the mainstream Anglican church over the demands of the latter that the former take an oath and sacramental test resulted in an increasing desire to emigrate (along with economic pressure), in this case to North America (see below).

The fourth subtype is that which one might most readily imagine to be the cause of emigration, economic necessity. This kind of emigration is what later came to characterise the movement of very large numbers of Irish to Britain, Canada and above all to the United States in the nineteenth century, but it was also a contributory factor with the Ulster Scots in the eighteenth century.

Emigration from Ireland must have started quite early, long before the beginning of the early modern period around 1600. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was seasonal migration to England during harvest time and Irish vagrants were common (Edwards 1973: 139). Their speech must have been known in rough outline before the second period of English in Ireland. After all, Shakespeare was in a position to characterise some of the more prominent features of Irish English in the figure of Captain Macmorris in the ‘Four Nations Scene’ of Henry V (Blank 1996: 136–9) and Ben Jonson was able to write a short satirical piece, The Irish Masque (1613/1616), replete with salient features of Irish English at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

10.1 The Irish in Britain

There is a long history of Irish emigrants in Britain, reaching back almost as far as that of the English in Ireland (from the late twelfth century onwards). But mass emigration only set in during the nineteenth century. And similar to the pattern of emigration to the United States in the twentieth century (see below), the Irish congregated in areas where labour for industries like mining was wanting (O’Connor 1972, MacRaild 1999). It is estimated that by 1841 nearly 2 per cent of the population of England was born in Ireland (Edwards 1973: 147). In Wales the percentage was much less but there was a concentration in Swansea and Cardiff, cities which have always had connections with counterpart cities on the south coast of Ireland like Cork (O’Leary 2000). In Scotland the figures were much higher: 4.8 per cent of the population there was Irish-born and again these lived
chiefly in the large cities – Glasgow and Edinburgh – which have a tradition of accepting migrant labour from Ulster.

As with the United States, the key period for the rise in the Irish sector of the population is the later 1840s. Between the censuses of 1841 and 1851 there was a jump from 49,000 to 734,000 Irish-born in Britain. This increase led to much friction between the English and Irish, especially as the Irish were frequently starving and diseased and in 1852, for instance, there were anti-Catholic, i.e. anti-Irish, riots in Stockport.

10.1.1 Merseyside. The areas of Britain which absorbed most Irish were Merseyside and its hinterland of Cheshire in the south and Lancashire in the north. The reason for this is obvious: the port of Liverpool is directly opposite Dublin and there was a regular ship service between the two cities.

The local dialect of Liverpool is Scouse and it is characteristic of its speakers to show a degree of fricativisation of /p, t, k/ in weakening environments such as in word-final position (Knowles 1978). Scholars such as Wells (1982) generally ascribe this to an independent development in Scouse. But one could also postulate that this is a relic of a former situation in Irish English. It is agreed that the Scouse fricativisation is typical of that section of the community which is directly derived from Irish immigrants. Furthermore, the Irish immigration into the Merseyside area took place chiefly in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was a period in which Irish in Ireland was relatively strong. Furthermore, the Irish who were forced to emigrate were the economically disadvantaged, which is tantamount to saying that they were Irish speakers or poor bilinguals. The latter group would of course have spoken a variety of English which was strongly affected by their native Irish and would thus have been likely to show lenition as a transfer phenomenon.

If this is the case then why is general lenition of all stops not a characteristic of modern Irish English? Recall that in the supraregional variety of present-day Irish English lenition only applies to alveolars. The explanation could be as follows. In the course of the nineteenth century the position of English strengthened as that of Irish was weakened. With this increased influence the least resistant idiosyncratic features of Irish English – lenition of labials and velars – can be taken to have been replaced by more standard pronunciations. In addition, one can mention that the lenition of labials would have caused homophony, as in word pairs like cup and cuff.

One can now account for t-lenition in Irish English. First note that t-glottalling and t-flapping in different varieties of English would suggest that the alveolar point of articulation represents the favoured site for phonetic weakening, at least for varieties of English. There was generalised lenition of labials, alveolars and velars. Supraregionalisation masked the lenition of labials and velars, leaving that of alveolars, the situation in contemporary Irish English. The generalised lenition in Scouse may well be a remnant of a wider and more regular distribution
of lenition from Irish English which has been maintained, albeit recessively, in
this transported variety of Irish English (see Hickey 1996 for a fuller discussion).

10.1.2 Tyneside. An area of England which falls outside the common pattern
of rural poor immigration from Ireland is Tyneside. Here the Irish belonged
to a higher social class and the influence of their speech has been general in
Newcastle as opposed to Merseyside, where in Liverpool it was largely restricted
notes: ‘In 1851, Newcastle, the most cosmopolitan of the north-eastern towns,
had one person in every ten born in Ireland.’ The possible convergent influence
of Irish English in Tyneside is noticeable in a number of grammatical parallels;
for instance, it is the only variety of English English which shows ye as the
second-person pronoun (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 66f.), an obvious parallel
with Irish English (though conceivably a survival from older forms of English as
it is present in Scotland as well). Other parallels are the use of epistemic must in
the negative (Beal 1993: 197). The use of singular inflection with third-person-
plural verbs: Her sisters is quite near (Beal 1993: 194) is both a feature of northern
English in general and of colloquial Irish English of the east coast, including
Dublin. Failure of negative attraction is also attested for Tyneside English, e.g.
Everyone didn’t want to hear them, for Nobody wanted to hear them as is never as a
negative with singular time reference (Beal 1993: 198).

Some of the features are reminiscent of Northern Irish English, e.g. the use
of double modals (not found in the south of Ireland and only very rarely in the
north nowadays), especially in the negative in urban Tyneside, e.g. they mustn’t
could have made any today (Beal 1993: 195). This is also true of the use of a
past participle after need, e.g. My hair needs washed for My hair needs washing
(Beal 1993: 200). With these features one may be dealing with a geographical
continuum including Tyneside and Scotland north of it. Indeed the use of a past
participle after need would seem to have been taken to northern Ireland by Scots
settlers.

Not all the specific features of Tyneside speech point to possible Irish influence,
e.g. the use of for to + infinitive is a common dialectal feature in the British Isles
as is the use of them as a demonstrative pronoun (I like them books, Beal 1993: 207)
and of course the use of singular nouns after numerals (I lived there for ten year,
Beal 1993: 209). Items from phonology where convergence with Irish English
input may have been operative are the following: (i) retention of word-initial
/h-//, (ii) retention of /hw/ /, [ʍ], e.g. which [ʍɪʧ].

10.2 Ulster Scots in the United States

Where religious circumstances ostensibly made living so difficult that the only
solution was to search for a better way of life abroad, one has emigration from
Ireland. The earliest cases of this stem from the period immediately after the
Reformation and its adoption by the English crown. Two important landmarks
in this context are the Irish Reformation Parliament of 1536 and the declaration of Henry VIII as King of Ireland in 1541. Immediately after this period many native Irish sought sanctuary on the Catholic continent, for instance in France, Spain and Belgium all of which had centres of learning with Irish Catholic scholars, e.g. Santiago de Compostela in Galicia (Spain) and Louvain/Leuven in Belgium.

The situation in Ulster of the early seventeenth century was characterised by a combination of economic and religious factors. The religious motivation was rooted in such demands as the sacramental test which, according to an Address of Protestant Dissenting Ministers to the King (1729), was found by Ulster Presbyterians to be ‘so very grievous that they have in great numbers transported themselves to the American Plantations for the sake of that liberty and ease which they are denied in their native country’ (Bardon 1996: 94). The desire for the Ulster Scots Presbyterians, who left in the eighteenth century, to seek more freedom to practise their variety of Protestantism in America has been underlined frequently; see Miller (1985: 137–68). But there is consensus among historians today (Miller 1985; Foster 1988: 215f.; Bardon 1996: 94) that economic reasons were probably more important, namely the increase in rents and tithes along with the prospect of paying little rent and no tithes or taxes in America. Added to this were food shortages due to failures of crops, resulting in famine in 1728/9 and most severely in 1741. Foster (1988: 216) stresses that the nature of Ulster trade facilitated emigration: the ships which carried flax seed from America were able to carry emigrants on the outward journey. Up to 1720 the prime destination was New England and this then shifted somewhat southwards, to Pennsylvania (from where the Irish frequently pushed further south, Algeo 2001a: 13f.; Montgomery 2001: 126) and later to South Carolina. The rate of emigration depended on the situation in Ireland. In the late 1720s, in the 1760s and in the early 1770s there were peaks of emigration which coincided with economic difficulties triggered by crop failure or destruction in Ireland (Montgomery 2000: 244f.).

The option of emigration in the eighteenth century was open more to Protestants than to Catholics. The latter would equally have had substantial motivation for emigrating, after all the Penal Laws, which discriminated against Catholics in public life, were in force from at least the mid seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century. But emigration did not take place to the same extent with Catholics (the overwhelming majority for the eighteenth century were Protestants). It could be postulated that the Catholics lacked the financial means for a move to the New World. However, the Protestants who left were not necessarily in a financially better position, indeed many were indentured labourers who thus obtained a free passage. Foster (1988: 216) assumes that the Protestants were more ready to move and subdue new land (as their forefathers, who came from Scotland, had done in Ulster to begin with). The Protestant communities were separate from the Catholics and more closely knit. They were furthermore involved in linen production so that the cargo boats used for emigration would have been in Protestant hands.
The Ulster Scots emigration (Wood and Blethen 1997) is not only important because of its early date but because it established a pattern of exodus to America which, apart from Merseyside and to a much lesser extent Tyneside, became the chief destination of Irish emigration in the northern hemisphere (Miller and Wagner 1994). Estimates suggest that throughout the eighteenth century emigration ran at about 4,000 a year and totalled over a quarter of a million in this century alone (Duffy et al. 1997: 90f.). See Montgomery and Robinson (1996) and Montgomery, this volume, for a consideration of features which may stem from this Ulster Scots immigrant population.

10.3 The Catholic dimension to Irish emigration

Although the reasons for Irish people to leave the country became more economic after the seventeenth century, the role of the church in the Irish diaspora should not be underestimated. The Catholic church had a definite stance vis-à-vis emigration and used to send clergy to cater for Irish emigrants; it attempted furthermore to regulate such essential social services as education. This was frequently interpreted as meddling in the internal affairs of the host country: the matter of Catholic education for Catholic emigrants was of central importance for Irish, Italian and Polish emigrants to the United States and the clash of interest which this concern of the church evoked was not resolved until the present century in some instances, for example in New Zealand.

Parallel to economically motivated emigration there was missionary activity overseas. This began in Africa – in Liberia at the behest of the then Pope Gregory XVI – in 1842 along with missionaries from the major European colonising nations in the scramble for Africa: France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. Despite the obvious Irish presence in this phase of African settlement, there is no discernible influence of Irish speech on any form of English in Africa. In South Africa the number of immigrants from Ireland was under 1 per cent (mainly in the area of Grahamstown, north-east of Port Elizabeth) and hence insignificant for the development of English there, although the level of education, and hence the social position, of these immigrants was generally high.

The deportation of Irish convicts to Australia began in 1791 (Edwards 1973: 143) and within a decade there were over 2,000 of them. By 1836 there were over 21,000 Catholics and only half of them were convicts by this stage. In 1835 a Catholic bishop was appointed. During the rest of the century the orientation of the Catholic church in Australia towards a homeland, of which immigrants had no direct experience, diminished.

Catholic emigration begins in earnest after the Napoleonic wars. During this period Ireland had benefited from heightened economic activity (Edwards 1973:

However, Wright (1997: 180) maintains that the use of youse in ‘extreme’ South African English may have been influenced by the presence of Irish English speakers. She also claims that the use of youse in Irish (and Scottish) English is a nineteenth-century innovation which resulted from the increasing split between rural and urban varieties in Ireland and Scotland.
but the agricultural depression which followed struck the country severely. An estimated 20,000 left the country in 1818 alone. Economic factors were significant here. The North Atlantic timber trade meant that ships plying across the ocean could take immigrants on the outward journey of six to eight weeks at a reasonable price (with wood as cargo on the return). Again an estimate gives an approximate picture: between 1831 and 1841 some 200,000 Irish left for America (via Britain), as is known from the figures kept at British ports. By this time – early nineteenth century – the immigration was also taking place to destinations in the southern hemisphere, i.e. to Australia. Figures from the colonial administration from 1861 show that in Australia just under 20 per cent of the population was Irish.

Of all countries which absorbed Irish immigrants it was the United States which bore the lion’s share. The figure for the entire period of emigration to America is likely to be something in the region of 6–7 million (Montgomery 2001: 90) with two peaks, one in the eighteenth century with Ulster Scots settlers (see above) and the second in the mid nineteenth century, the latter continuing at least to the end of that century. The greatest numbers of Irish emigrants went in the years of the Great Famine (at its height in 1848–9) and immediately afterwards, with a reduction towards the end of the century as can be seen from the figures in table 3.5 (from Edwards 1973: 149, rounded up to the nearest thousand – RH). For the years 1847 to 1854 there were more than 100,000 immigrants per year. Comparative figures for immigrants from different European countries are available from 1870 and give the picture shown in table 3.6 for native-born settlers in America. These Irish show a markedly different settlement pattern compared to their northern compatriots who left in the previous century. Whereas the Ulster Scots settled in Pennsylvania and South Carolina, the Catholic Irish, from the mid nineteenth century onwards, stayed in the urban centres of the

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
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<td>4,000</td>
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<td>3,000</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>39,000</td>
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<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
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<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1,856,000</td>
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<td>Germans</td>
<td>1,690,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>551,000</td>
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<td>Scots</td>
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eastern United States accounting for the sizeable Irish populations in cities like New York and Boston (Algeo 2001a: 27; Montgomery 2000: 245). The reason for this switch from a rural way of life in the homeland to an urban one abroad is obvious: the memories of rural poverty and deprivation, the fear of a repetition of famine, were so strong as to deter the Irish from pushing further into the rural Midwest as opposed to, say, the Scandinavian or Ukrainian immigrants of the nineteenth century or the Germans in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.

The desire to break with a background of poverty explains why the Irish abandoned their native language. It was associated with backwardness and distress, and even in Ireland the leaders of the Catholics – such as Daniel O’Connell – were advocating by the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Irish switch to English as only with this language was there any hope of social betterment.

It cannot be overemphasised that there was a major difference between the medium numbers of able-bodied Ulster Protestants in the eighteenth century on the one hand and the enormous numbers of weak, poverty-stricken Catholics fleeing from famine-ridden Ireland in the mid nineteenth century. The Ulster Scots were welcome on the then frontier in order to keep the native Americans in check. In southern states like South Carolina they additionally helped to dilute the high proportion of African Americans in the population (Edwards 1973: 149).

Diminished tolerance and their own desire to assimilate rapidly meant that virtually no trace of nineteenth century Irish English was left in the English spoken in the eastern United States where the later Irish immigrants settled (but see Laferriere 1986 for possible traces in Boston English). In addition this emigration was quite late, and further removed from the formative years of American English than the earlier Ulster Scots movement to the New World. Nonetheless, there may be some lexical elements from Irish in American English, such as dig ‘grasp’ < Irish *tuigim ‘understand’, phoney ‘bogus’ < Irish *fáinne ‘ring’ (putatively traced to the Irish practice of selling false jewellery) or so long ‘goodbye’ < Irish *slán ‘ditto’ where the transition from [s] to a velarised [l] would suggest an extra syllable to English speakers.

10.4 Canada

The Irish emigration to Canada must be divided clearly into two sections. The first concerns those Irish who settled in Newfoundland and the second those who moved to mainland Canada, chiefly to the province of Ontario, the southern part of which was contained in what was then called Upper Canada.

The oldest emigration is that to Newfoundland, which goes back to seasonal migration for fishing with later settlement in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and is a special case (Clarke, this volume). The second layer is that of nineteenth-century immigrants who travelled up the St Lawrence river to reach inland Canada. There was further diffusion from there into the northern United States. The number of these immigrants is much less for Canada than for the United States: they comprise only a fifth (upwards of 300,000 for the
entire nineteenth century) of the numbers which went to the United States. But
seen relatively this is still significant and some scholars maintain that elements
of Irish speech are still discernible in the English of the Ottawa Valley (Pringle

10.4.1 Newfoundland. The Newfoundland settlement of Canada is unique in the
history of extraterritorial English. The initial impetus was the discovery of the
abundant fishing grounds off the shores of Newfoundland, the continental shelf
known as the Grand Banks. Irish and West Country English fishermen began
plying across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century in a pattern of seasonal
migration which took them to Newfoundland to fish in the summer months.
The English ships traditionally put in at southern Irish ports such Waterford,
Dungarvan, Youghal and Cork to collect supplies for the long transatlantic jour-
ney. Knowledge of this movement by the Irish led to their participation in the
seasonal migration. Later in the eighteenth century, and up to the third decade of
the nineteenth century, several thousand Irish, chiefly from the city and county of
Waterford (Mannion 1977), settled permanently in Newfoundland, thus found-
ing the Irish community (Clarke 1997) there which together with the West Coun-
try community forms the two anglophone sections of Newfoundland to this day
(these two groups are still distinguishable linguistically; see Clarke, this volume,
for a detailed discussion). Newfoundland became a largely self-governing colony
in 1855 and as late as 1949 joined Canada as its tenth province.

Newfoundland illustrates best the scenario of seasonal migration for work.
Its fishing grounds were quickly recognised by the English and Irish and in the
eighteenth century an active link between Ireland and Newfoundland developed
whereby Irish men travelled for the summer months to engage in fishing (consider
the Irish name for Newfoundland Talamh an Êisc which literally means ‘Ground
of Fish’). The fact that the work was seasonal meant that a large portion of
these people returned to Ireland for the winter months. In linguistic terms this
resulted in continuous and active exposure of the Newfoundland population to
Irish English. Later in the nineteenth century the links subsided, with many of
the workers remaining in Newfoundland.

Among the features found in the English of this area which can be traced to
Ireland is the use of ye for ‘you’–pl (which could be a case of convergence with
dialectal English), the perfective construction with after and present participle,
as in He’s after spilling the beer, and the use of an habitual with an uninflected form
of do plus be. Although Clarke (1997: 287) notes that the positive use of this is
unusual in general Newfoundland English today – her example is That place do be
really busy – it is found in areas settled by south-eastern Irish. This observation
correlates with usage in conservative vernacular forms of South-Eastern Irish
English today (Hickey 2001: 13) and is clearly suggestive of an historical link.

There are also phonological items from Irish-based Newfoundland English
which parallel features in South-Eastern Irish English such as the use of stops
for dental fricatives, syllable-final /r/, the weakening of word-final, postvocalic
10.4.2 Mainland Canada. Mainland Canada was also settled by Irish. Here the Irish were among the earliest immigrants and so formed a ‘charter group’, hence they enjoyed a relatively privileged status in early Canadian society. By the 1860s the Irish were the largest section of the English-speaking population in Canada and constituted some 40 per cent of the British Isles immigrants in the newly founded Canadian Confederation. In mainland Canada the Irish came from both the north and south of the country, but there was a preponderance of Protestants (some two-thirds in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) as opposed to the situation in Newfoundland where the Irish community was almost entirely Catholic.

The Protestants in Canada had a considerable impact on public life. They bolstered the loyalist tradition which formed the base of anglophone Canada. In the Canadian context, the term ‘loyalist’ refers to that section of the American population which left the Thirteen Colonies after the American Revolution of 1776, moving northwards to Canadian territory outside American influence where they were free to demonstrate their loyalty to the English crown. As these Irish Protestants were of Ulster origin they also maintained their tradition of organisation in the Orange Order which was an important voluntary organisation in Canada.

In Ontario there were sizeable numbers of Catholics and they in turn mounted pressure on the government to grant them separate Catholic schools and funding to support these, much as the Catholics in New Zealand had campaigned for the same goal in their society (see above).

In mainland Canada the Irish dispersed fairly evenly throughout the country, even if there is a preponderance in Ontario and in the Ottawa Valley. But there is nothing like the heavy concentration of Scotch-Irish in Appalachia (Montgomery 1989) or that of later, post-Famine Irish in the urban centres of the north-eastern United States such as New York and Boston.

The drive west through Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta across to British Columbia followed a pattern of internal migration westwards as in the United States in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Canada, like the United States, was continually fed in this newer period of population growth by a continuous stream of English-speaking immigrants via Grosse Île at the entrance to the St Lawrence river estuary, the Ellis Island of Canada so to speak. The influence of this later wave of immigration on Canadian English is not as evident as in Newfoundland. Nonetheless, one should mention one feature which Canadian English has in common with the English in the north of Ireland (Gregg 1973), what is known in linguistic literature as Canadian Raising (Chambers 1973). The
Development and diffusion of Irish English

The essence of this phenomenon is a more central starting point for the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ before a voiceless consonant than before the corresponding voiced one: *house, lout* [həʊs, ləʊt] but *houses, loud* [hauzəz, laud].

10.5 The Caribbean

Although the Caribbean is an area which is not immediately associated with Irish influence, the initial anglophone settlement of the area did involve considerable Irish input. The island of Barbados was the earliest to be settled by the British (Holm 1994), as of 1627, and Cromwell in the early 1650s had a sizeable number of Irish deported as indentured labourers in order to rid Ireland of those he considered politically undesirable. This input to Barbados is important to Caribbean English for two reasons. The first is that it was very early and so there was Irish input during the formative years of English there (before the large-scale importation of slaves from West Africa). The second reason is that the island of Barbados quickly became overpopulated and speakers of Barbadian English moved from there to other locations in the Caribbean and indeed to coastal South Carolina and Georgia, i.e. to the region where Gullah was later spoken (Hancock 1980; Littlefield 1981).

The views of linguists on possible Irish influence on the genesis of English varieties in the Caribbean vary considerably. Wells (1980) is dismissive of Irish influence on the pronunciation of English on Montserrat. In a well-known article, Rickford (1986) postulates that Southern Irish input to the Caribbean had an influence on the expression of habitual aspect in varieties of English there, especially because *do + be* is the preferred mode for the habitual in the south of Ireland. This matter is actually quite complex and Rickford’s view has been challenged recently by Montgomery and Kirk (1996) and a detailed consideration of it is given in the chapter on the Caribbean in the present volume.

10.6 Australia

Demographically Australia today is 75 per cent Anglo-Celtic, by which is meant of English, Scottish or Irish extraction (the remaining 25 per cent consists of more recent immigrant groups and a very small number of aborigines). White settlement in Australia began in 1788 and in the eighty years up to 1868 various individuals were deported there from both Britain and Ireland. The Irish section of the population ranged somewhere between 20 and 30 per cent. Given the sizeable number of Irish among the original settlers of Australia one would expect an influence on the formation of Australian English commensurate with their numbers. However, this is not the case. The features traceable to Irish input are few and tenuous, for instance the use of shwa for a short unstressed vowel in inflectional endings, e.g. *naked* British English: [ˈneɪkkəd], Australian English: [ˈneɪkəd] or the use of epistemic *must* in the negative, e.g. *He mustn’t be in the office today* ‘He can’t be in the office today’ (possibly due to Scottish influence.
as well). Another candidate for Irish influence could be the retention of initial /h/ /, e.g. hat, humour, home all with [h-]. This sound has disappeared in urban vernaculars in Britain and its continuing existence in Australian English could be due to Irish influence.

However, the features just listed do not amount to much so the comparative lack of influence of Irish English on Australian English is something which requires explanation. The low prestige of the Irish sector of the early Australian community is probably the chief reason. A lack of influence presupposes that the Irish community was easily identifiable and so easily avoidable in speech. It can be assumed that the language of rural immigrants from Ireland in the later eighteenth and during the nineteenth century was a clearly identifiable contact variety of Irish English and so its features would have been avoided by the remainder of the English-speaking Australian population. Even those speakers from the Dublin area would have had a distinct accent as the supraregionalisation which mainstreamed Irish English considerably did not set in until the mid to late nineteenth century (Hickey 2003c). The view that salient Irish features were rejected – consciously or unconsciously by other English speakers – is in fact supported when one considers what features may be of Irish origin in Australian English. Consider the use of negative epistemic must again. Prescriptive consciousness of modals in English is slight, most probably because of the irregularity in the system, all of the verbs of which lack an infinitive and are defective in other ways, e.g. in lacking a past form. It would have been easiest for a form from Irish English to enter the speech of those the Irish were in contact with in Australia in an area of English usage which displays little or no paradigmatic regularity. Another fact which may be indicative of the status of early Irish settlers in Australia is that the inflected form of you for the plural, youse, is found in vernacular usage in Australia. This form is definitely of Irish origin (see Hickey 2003b for a detailed discussion) and was probably adopted by the English in Australia through contact with the Irish, but on a level, outside formal usage, which was characteristic of Irish English in the early years of this country.

For a more detailed discussion of Australian English and the question of transported dialects, see the contribution by Kiesling, this volume.

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