In: Kirkpartick, Andy (ed) 2009. *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes.* London: Routledge.

The Englishes of Ireland

Emergence and Transportation

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1 INTRODUCTION

Any treatment of the English language in Ireland must start from the recognition of a wide range of varieties throughout the country. There are varieties on the east coast which go back to the late twelfth century. In the north of Ireland there was a significant Scots input in the seventeenth century. In the south-west and west of the country there are largely rural varieties which still show the effect of structural transfer from Irish during the period of the main language shift between the seventeenth and nineteenth century. The different forms of English in Ireland can be considered from the point of view of the structural characteristics which they share and through which they form a linguistic area across the island of Ireland (Hickey 1999a, 2004a). They can also be considered in terms of their distinguishing features which derive from their different historical roots and the particular demographic circumstances under which they took root in Ireland. The latter view is what justifies the term 'Englishes' in the title of this chapter. And in the context of the present volume the plural form of English has additional justification. This book is about the different forms of English which are found throughout the world and so the primary standpoint is one of diversity. There is a further reason for stressing differences among the varieties of English in Ireland: these diverse varieties were transported during the colonial period between the early seventeenth and the late nineteenth centuries (Hickey ed., 2004) and so provided specific input to emerging English at a number of overseas locations as far apart as Newfoundland (Hickey 2002) and Australia (Hickey 2007: 414-417).

2 THE COMING OF ENGLISH TO IRELAND

The most cursory glance at the history of Irish English reveals that it is divided into two periods. The first period starts in the late 12th century with the arrival of the first English-speaking settlers and finishes around 1600 when the second period opens. The main event which justifies this periodisation is the renewed and vigorous planting of English in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century. One must understand that during the first period the Old English — as this group is called in the Irish context — came increasingly under the influence of the Irish. The Anglo-Normans who were the military leaders during the initial settlement had been completely absorbed by the Irish by the end of the 15th century. The progressive Gaelicisation led the English to

attempt planting the Irish countryside in order to reinforce the English presence there (Palmer 2000). This was by and large a failure and it was only with James I that successful planting of (Lowland Scottish and English) settlers in the north of the country tipped the linguistic balance in favour of English in the north. The south of the country was subject to further plantations along with the banishment of the native Irish to the west during the Cromwellian period so that by the end of the seventeenth century Irish was in a weak position from which it was never to recover. During the seventeenth century new forms of English were brought to Ireland, Scots in the north and West/North Midland varieties in the south (where there had been a predominantly West Midland and South-West input in the first period). The renewed Anglicisation in the seventeenth century led to the view, held above all by Alan Bliss (see Bliss 1977, 1984), that the forms of English from the first period were completely supplanted by the varieties introduced at the beginning of the modern period. However, this is not true. On the east coast, in Dublin and other locations down to Waterford in the south-east, there is a definite continuation of south-west English features which stem from the imported varieties of the first period (Hickey 2001).

2.1 The medieval period

The documentary record of medieval Irish English is confined for all intents and purposes to the collection of 16 poems of Irish provenance in BM Harley 913 which are known collectively as the *Kildare Poems* (Heuser 1904, Lucas 1995) after one of the poems in which the author identifies himself as from the county of Kildare to the south-west of Dublin. The collection probably dates from the early 14th century. The language of these poems is of a general west midland to southern character. There are many features which can be traced to the influence of Irish phonology (Hickey 1993). It is a moot point whether the *Kildare Poems* were written by native speakers of Irish using English as a H-language in a diglossic situation and whether indeed the set was written by one or more individuals.

2.2 The early modern period

Apart from the *Kildare Poems* and other minor pieces of verse (see McIntosh and Samuels 1968 for a detailed list) there are attestations of English in the first period among the municipal records of various towns in Ireland (Kallen 1994: 150-6), especially along the east coast from Waterford through Dublin and up as far as Carrickfergus, north of present-day Belfast. But such documents are not linguistically revealing. However, at the end of the 16th century attestations of Irish English begin to appear which are deliberate representations of the variety of the time. These are frequently in the guise of literary parody of the Irish by English authors. The anonymous play *Captain Thomas Stukeley* (1596/1605) is the first in a long line of plays in which the Irish are parodied. Later a figure of fun – the stage Irishman – was to be added, establishing a tradition of literary parody that lasted well into the 20th 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 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 19th century, who seriously attempt to indicate colloquial speech of their time. The first of these is probably Maria Edgeworth whose novel *Castle Rackrent* (1801) is generally regarded as the first regional novel in English and much admired by Sir Walter Scott. Other writers one could mention in this context are William Carlton and the Banim brothers (see the collection and discussion in Hickey 2003a).

3 SCOTS INPUT TO NORTHERN IRELAND

The succession of James VI of Scotland (1566-1625) as James I (1603-1625) to the English throne led to the establishment of the Stuart monarchy. After the defeated Irish lords left Ulster in 1607, James I moved quickly and their lands were escheated. The government decided to initiate the plantation of Ulster along the lines of the Munster plantation in the late sixteenth century. This time, however, the land was reserved for Scots settlers, encouraged by their compatriot James I, together with Englishmen, mostly from the north Midlands and north of England (Adams 1958: 61ff.; 1967: 69ff.). Because of the union of the crowns in 1603 the Scottish were allowed to settle in Ireland without difficulty. Settlers were a mixture of private individuals along with royal officials (servitors) and some 'deserving' Irish, i.e. those loyal to the crown during the Nine Years War (1594-1603). The plantation settlements were to form the basis for the demographic split of the country. Due to the Scottish and English background of these immigrants the division of Ireland came to be as much linguistic as political and confessional.

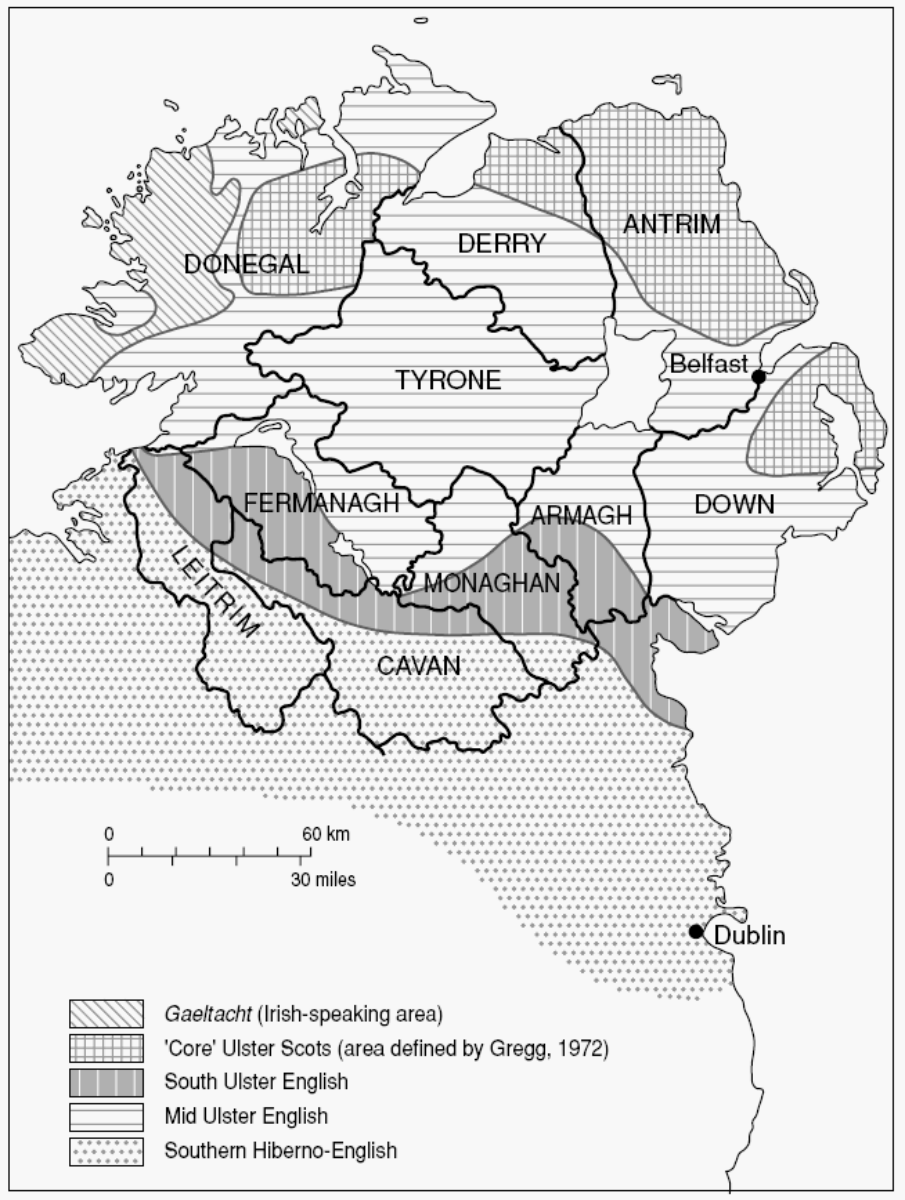
The Scottish undertakers tended to have smaller estates than the English, probably because they were not in as financially a robust a position as the latter (Robinson 1994 [1984]: 79). The settlers from lowland Scotland received the slightly less profitable lands because their average incomes were somewhat below that of the corresponding English undertakers. Furthermore, their estates were scattered across the escheated land. Additional factors for the demographic development of Ulster are important here: in 1610 many landless Irish, who were supposed to move to estates administered by the church or by officials, were given a stay of eviction. Initially, this was because undertakers had not yet arrived in Ulster. But when they did, tenancies were granted to the Irish because these were willing to pay higher rents. Indeed by 1628 this situation was given official recognition by a ruling which allowed undertakers to keep native tenants on maximally a quarter of their portions at double the normal rent. There was much competition between Irish, English and Scottish settlers with the Irish generally having to be content with poorer, more marginal land, such as the Sperrin Mountains of central Tyrone, while others, for whatever reason, remained to work under Scottish/English owners.

The success of the Ulster plantation was relative: the numbers envisaged by the English administration did not always reach the targets set nor did the landlords always have the capital to carry through the agricultural and urban projects which the government had envisaged. Many of the companies retained Irish tenants (against the wishes of the English crown) and there were conspiracies against the English, notably in 1615.

The plantation of Ulster is regarded in works on Irish history, e.g. Canny (2001)

and Foster (1988), as the major event at the beginning of the early modern period. There are differences in the assessment of both its significance and value. The major grievance which it triggered stemmed from the banishment of local Irish to poorer, more marginal lands in Ulster with the fertile lowlands left in English or Scottish hands.

The uneven spread of the Scots across Ulster meant that the regions where Ulster Scots was spoken did not encompass the entire province and nowadays these are no longer contiguous because of a reduction of their size. The remaining areas are, however, regions of historical settlement. Three are located on the northern periphery from the north-west through the north-east to the south-east of Ulster, hence the term 'Coastal Crescent' or 'Northern Crescent'.



The number of speakers of Ulster Scots today is difficult to estimate, especially because there is no clear demarcation between Ulster Scots and English-based varieties. Furthermore, the difference between it and more general forms of English in Ulster has been overlain by the strong antithesis of urban and rural speech in contemporary Ulster. The optimistic figure of 100,000 which is offered, not uncritically, by Montgomery and

Gregg (1997: 213) may serve as a general orientation but nothing more precise is available.

The lexicography of Ulster Scots has been served by a large number of academic articles dealing with specific lexical items or word fields (see relevant section in Hickey 2002). A dictionary in popular style is available in James Fenton's *The Hamely Tongue. A personal record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (2000 [1995]). Loreto Todd's *Words Apart. A Dictionary of Northern Irish English* (1990) is medium in size and coverage. A more academic work – with a broader brief – is the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (1996) edited by Caroline Macafee. Most of the items concern farming and rural life in general, but regional vocabulary for parts of the body, clothing and terms for individuals is also recorded.

4 LANGUAGE SHIFT IN IRELAND

No censuses before 1851 gave data on speakers of Irish and English (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 is no reliable data on the language shift which began in earnest in the early 17th century and which had been all but completed by the late 19th century. This has meant that statements about the shift have been about what one assumes must have happened rather than on the facts revealed in historical documents. 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 about the shift from Irish to English is that in rural areas there was little or no education for the native Irish, the romanticised hedge schools (Dowling 1968 [1935]) notwithstanding. So it is clear that the Irish learned English from other Irish who already knew some, 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 plays no recognisable role in the development of Irish English, i.e. there is no planter Irish English, probably because this group was numerically insignificant, despite their importance as a trigger in the language shift process. What one can assume for the 17th and 18th 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 19th century the importance of English for advancement in social life was being pointed out repeatedly, by no less a figure than Daniel O'Connell, the most important political leader before Charles Parnell.

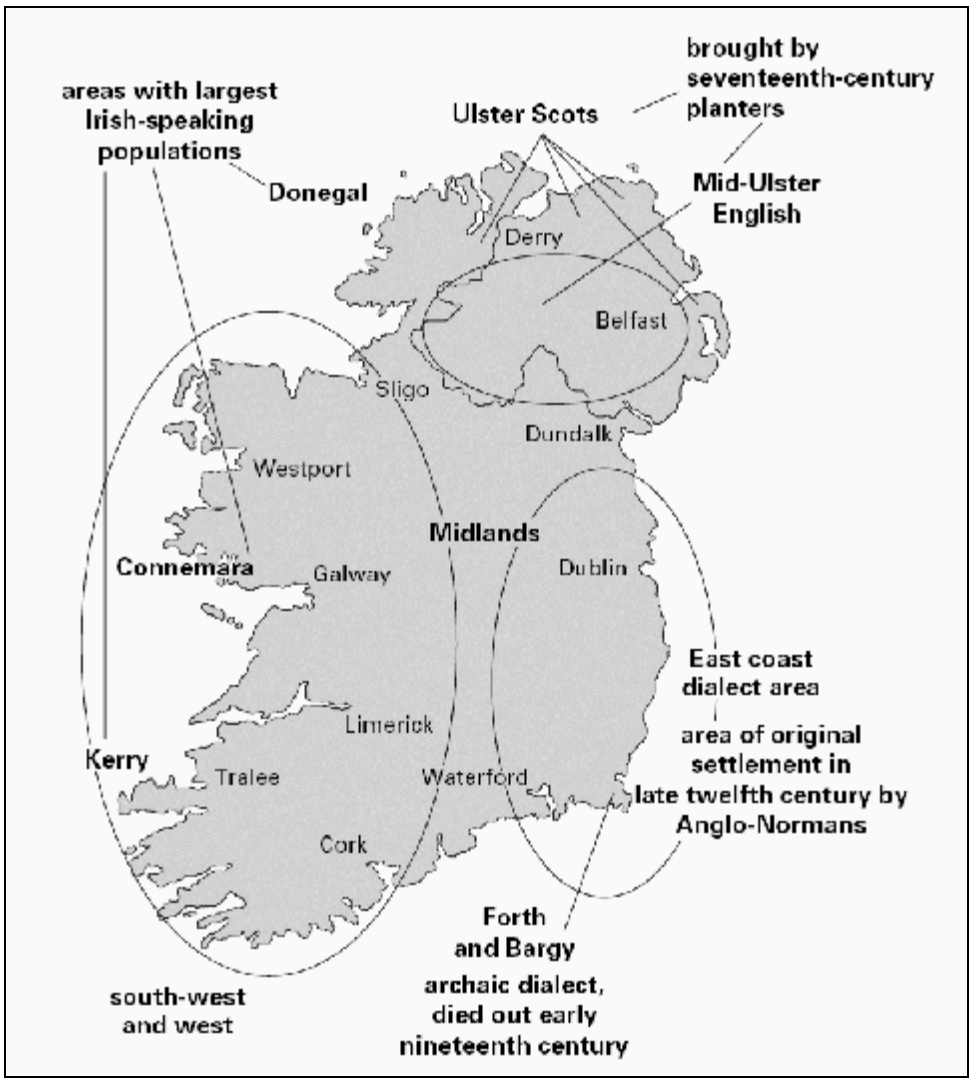
The fact that the majority of the Irish acquired English in an unguided manner as adults had consequences for the nature of Irish English. Bliss (1977) pointed out that this fact is responsible for both the common malapropisms and the unconventional word stress found in Irish English. However, the stress pattern in verbs with final long vowels, e.g. *distribute* [dɪstrɪˈbjuːt], *educate* [ɛdjuˈkeːt], can also be due to English input, particularly as non-initial stress is only a feature of southern Irish 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. This statement refers to Irish lexical elements in present-day English in Ireland. In some written works, and historically in varieties close to Irish, there were more Irish words and idioms, on the latter, see Odlin (1991).

For 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 which are unknown to them. A simple case of this would be the use of stops (dental or sometimes alveolar, depending on region) in the THIN and THIS lexical sets in Irish English. A more subtle case would be the lenition of stops in Irish English, e.g. *cat* [kæt̪], 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.

In syntax there are many features which either have a single source in Irish or at least have converged with English regional input to produce stable structures in later Irish English. 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 generally available by using a special form of the verb 'be' and a non-finite form of the lexical verb in question *Bíonn sí 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, 1997) is that the Irish availed of the afunctional *do* of declarative sentences which was still present in English at the time of renewed plantation in the early 17th century (especially if one considers that the input was largely from the West Midlands) to produce an equivalent to the habitual in Irish. This use 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 means in English, present but afunctional, i.e. declarative *do*, to realise an existing category in their native language. This habitual category in Irish English, usually expressed by *do* + *be* + V-*ing* as in *She does be worrying about the children*, may well have been carried to the anglophone Caribbean by Irish deportees and indentured labourers in the 17th century (see the arguments for and against this in Hickey (2004b, c)).



5 DUBLIN ENGLISH

Present-day Ireland shows a large demographic concentration in the Dublin metropolitan area with over one third of the population of the Republic living there. This is the urban area which was first to experience the economic boom which set in during the early 1990s and it is here that the major instance of language change – the shift in pronunciation – appeared first. To understand the workings of this shift one must realise that in the late 1980s and 1990s the city of Dublin, as the capital of the Republic of Ireland, underwent an unprecedented expansion in population size and in relative prosperity with a great increase in international connections to and from the metropolis. The in-migrants to the city, who arrived there chiefly to avail of the job opportunities resulting from the economic boom formed a group of socially mobile speakers, no longer attached to local communities, and their section of the city's population has been a key locus for language change. The change which arose in the last two decades of the 20th century was reactive in nature: fashionable speakers began to move away in their speech from their perception of popular Dublin English, a classic case of dissociation in an urban setting (Hickey 2000). This dissociation was realised phonetically by a reversal of the unrounding and lowering of vowels typical of Dublin English hitherto. The reversal was systematic in nature with a raising and rounding of

low back vowels and the raising of the /ɒi/ diphthong representing the most salient elements of the change (Hickey 1999b). These vowel changes are displayed in tabular form below. In addition one has a fronting of the onset for the MOUTH vowel, the appearence of a velarised, syllable-final [ɬ] in words like FIELD and a retroflex [ɽ] for the older velarised [ɤ].

Summary of the Dublin Vowel Shift from the 1990s

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a) retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point

time	[taɪm]	→	[tɑɪm]
toy	[tɒɪ]	→	[tɔɪ], [toɪ]

b) raising of low back vowels

cot	[kɒt̪]	→	[kɔt̪]
caught	[kɒːt̪]	→	[kɔːt̪], [koːt̪]

		oɪ		oː
		↑		↑
Raising		ɔɪ	ɔ	ɔː
		↑	↑	↑
		ɒɪ	ɒ	ɒː
Retraction	aɪ	→	ɑɪ	

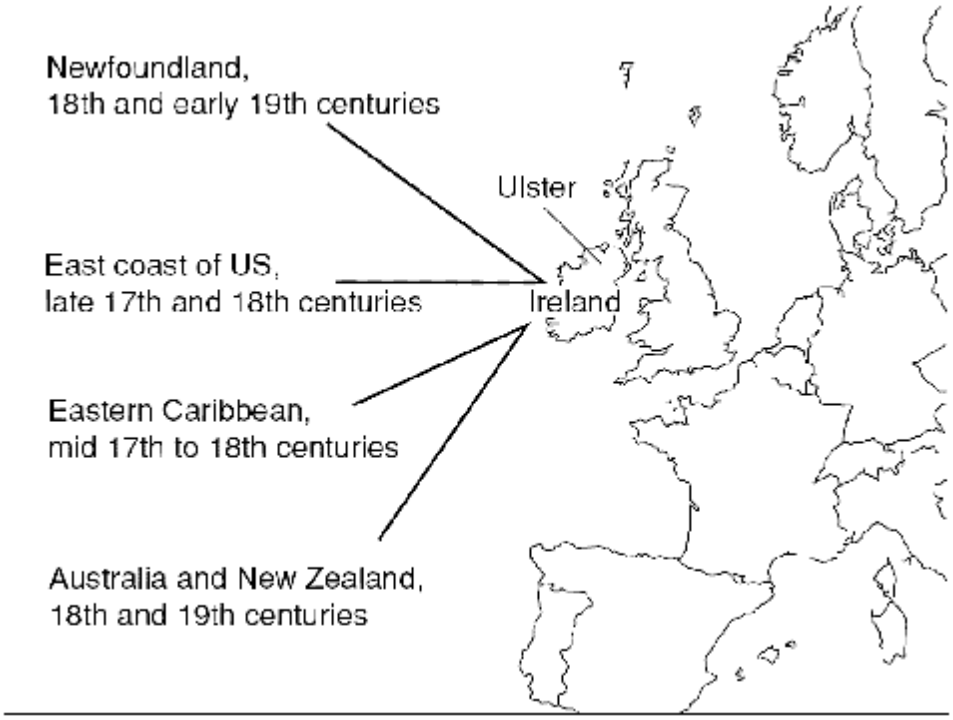
The vowel and consonant changes in Dublin English in the decade before the new millenium spread very quickly throughout the rest of the country, especially with younger females, so that any speakers who do not speak the vernacular of their locality will have the vowel shift and the consonantal changes which emanated from Dublin. This means that a new variety of supraregional Irish English (for the Republic of Ireland) has established itself and will become increasingly dominant as the numbers of speakers with the older supraregional variety, dating from before the shifts of the 1990s, become less and less. For more information on this complex, see the detailed discussions in Hickey (2005).

6 THE TRANSPORTATION OF IRISH ENGLISH

For at least the last 1500 years the Irish have left Ireland to settle abroad more or less permanently. The emigration from the island which took place during the colonial period (1600-1900) was generally motivated by the desire to escape unfavourable circumstances in Ireland or the emigration was orchestrated by the English authorities, the latter was the case with deportation. 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 (and later on Montserrat), where Irish were deported in the 1650s by Oliver Cromwell. The second was in Australia were deportations of Irish took place in the early days of the country, i.e. in the decades immediately following the initial settlement of 1788 in the Sydney area.

Another type of emigration has to do with religious intolerance, whether perceived or actual. During the 18th 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).

A further reason which one might readily imagine to be the cause of emigration is 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 19th century, but it was also a strong contributory factor with the Ulster Scots in the 18th century.



6.1 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 12th century onwards). But mass emigration only set in during the 19th century. And similar to the pattern of emigration to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (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% of the population of England was born in Ireland (Dudley Edwards 2005 [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% 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.

6.1.1 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 constant 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 19th 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? The explanation could be as follows. In the course of the 19th 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*.

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).

6.1.2 Tyneside

An area of England which falls outside the common pattern of poor rural 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 to the Catholic working-class population. House (1954: 47) in Beal (1993: 189) 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 British English which shows *ye* as the second person pronoun in England (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* [ʍɪtʃ].

6.2 Ulster Scots in the United States

Where religious circumstances led to a 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 (early sixteenth century). After this many Catholics saught refuge on the Catholic continent, for instance in France, Spain and the area of later Belgium.

The situation in Ulster of the early 17th 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 grievious 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). But there is consensus among historians today (Miller 1985; Foster 1988: 215f.; Bardon *loc. cit.*) that economic reasons were probably more important, 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 2001: 13f.; Montgomery 2001: 126) and later to South Carolina. The rate of emigration depended on the situation in Ireland. In the late 1720's, in the 1760's and in the early 1770's 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 18th 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 17th to the end of the 18th century. But emigration did not

take place to the same extent with Catholics (the overwhelming majority for the 18th 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 *loc. cit.*) 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 (eds) 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 18th century emigration ran at about 4,000 a year and totalled over a quarter of a million in this century alone (Duffy (ed.) 1997: 90f.).

6.3 The Catholic dimension to Irish emigration

Although the reasons for Irish people to leave the country became more economic after the 17th 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 and attempted furthermore to regulate such essential social services as education.

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 numbers of immigrants from Ireland was under 1% (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.

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 18th century with Ulster Scots settlers (see above) and the second in the mid 19th 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 (from Edwards 1973: 149).

For the years 1847 to 1854 there were more than 100,000 immigrants per year.

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 19th century onwards, stayed in the urban centres of the eastern United Status accounting for the sizeable Irish populations in cities like New York and Boston (Algeo 2001: 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 mid west as opposed to, say, the Scandinavian or Ukrainian immigrants of the 19th century or the Germans in Pennsylvania in the 18th 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 19th century that the Irish switch to English as only with this language was there any hope of social betterment.

Diminished tolerance and their own desire to assimilate rapidly meant that virtually no trace of 19th 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 [ɬ] would suggest an extra syllable to English speakers.

6.4 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 18th and early 19th centuries and is a special case (Hickey 2002). The second layer is that of 19th 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 numbers of these immigrants is much less for Canada, only a fifth (upwards of 300,000 for the entire 19th century) of the numbers which went to the United States. But seen relatively, this is nonetheless significant and some scholars maintain that elements of Irish speech are still discernible in the English of the Ottawa Valley (Pringle and Padolsky 1981, 1983).

6.4.1 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 Great Banks. Irish and West Country English fisherman began plying across the Atlantic in the 17th 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 journey. Knowledge of this movement by the Irish led to their participation in the seasonal migration. Later in the 18th century, and up to the third decade of the 19th century, several thousand Irish, chiefly from the city and county of Waterford (Mannion (ed.) 1997), settled permanently in Newfoundland, thus founded the Irish community there (Clarke 1997) which together with the West Country community forms the two anglophone sections of Newfoundland to this day (these two groups are still distinguishable linguistically). Newfoundland became a largely self-governing colony in 1855 and as late as 1949 joined Canada as its tenth province.

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 southeastern Irish. This observation correlates with usage in conservative vernacular forms of southeastern 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 southeastern Irish English such as the use of stops for dental fricatives, syllable-final /r/, the weakening of word-final, post-vocalic *t*, the low degree of distinctiveness between /ai/ and /ɒi/ (cf. *bile* vs. *boil*), if present at all, and the use of an epenthetic vowel to break a cluster of liquid and nasal as in *film* [fɪləm]. There are also reports of lexical items of putative Irish origin such as *sleeveen* 'rascal', *pishogue* 'superstition', *crubeen* 'cooked pig's foot', etc. (Kirwin 1993: 76f.; 2001). For a detailed discussion of these and similar features of Newfoundland English, see Clarke (2004) and Hickey (2002).

6.4.2 Mainland Canada

Mainland Canada was also settled by Irish. Here the Irish were among the earliest immigrants and so formed a 'charter group' and hence 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% of the British Isles immigrants in the newly founded Canadian Confederation. In mainland Canada the Irish came both from the north and south of the country but there was a preponderance of Protestants (some two thirds in the 19th and 20th 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 mainland Canada the Irish dispersed fairly evenly throughout the country, even if there is a preponderence in Ontario and in the Ottawa Valley. 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 influence of 19th century 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 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* [hauzɪz, laud].

6.5 The Caribbean

Although the Caribbean is an area which is not immediately associated with Irish influence, the initial anglophone settlement of the area, in the so-called 'Homestead Phase', 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. 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 dimissive of Irish influence on the pronunciation of English on Montserrat. Rickford (1986) is a well-known article in which he 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 by Montgomery and Kirk (1996).

6.6 Australia

Anglophone 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%. 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. But 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 Eng: [ˈneikɪd], Australian Eng: [ˈnɛikəd] 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.

The low prestige of the Irish sector of the early Australian community is probably the chief reason for the lack of influence on later Australian English (the same holds for New Zealand as well). This 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 18th and during the 19th 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 (or New Zealand) population. A feature of Australian English like negative epistemic *must* resulted from regularisation across the positive and negative, which the Irish had already carried out, and could have been adopted easily by the Australians they were in contact with.

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.

7 CONCLUSION

The history of English in the south of Ireland has provided material for linguistic discussion, and continues to do so, due to the long-term interaction between Irish and English and due to the different types of regional input. It is a measure of the maturity of the field that recently all subareas have been covered by significant publications and that the arguments for various standpoints, especially the relative weight accorded to contact versus retention (Filppula 1999, 2003) are based on strictly linguistic arguments and show a balanced consideration of both sources. Avenues which remain to be explored do exist, most noticeably contemporary urban Irish English and non-native varieties used by immigrants, the most likely locus of linguistic change in years to come.

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