1 Introduction

1.1 The aim of the present book

The English language has existed in Ireland since the late Middle Ages and has experienced phases of prosperity and decline during some 800 years. Even a cursory glance reveals that English in Ireland involves many subtypes, traceable to the origin of those settlers who carried English to the country. This is most obvious in the linguistic and political division between the north and south. However, the linguistic diversity within Ireland is much more subtle than this basic split suggests. Ulster shows major differences in varieties, above all that between Ulster Scots and Ulster English (see chapter 3). The south of the country has a long-standing distinction between forms of English spoken on the east coast (the oldest in the country) and those found to the south and west, which show greater evidence of the shift from Irish to English which largely took place in the last 300 years or so.

For the development of English at locations outside Europe, varieties spoken in Ireland are of importance as many of England's former colonies were populated by deportees and settlers from Ireland who provided input to incipient forms of English at overseas locations. This lasted from the early seventeenth century in the Caribbean to the nineteenth century in the United States, Canada and the southern hemisphere. This diffusion of Irish English has been considered by many linguists as relevant to the genesis of overseas varieties (see Rickford 1986 as a typical example) and is given separate treatment in chapter 6.

The synchronic parts of this book attempt to give an overview of English in Ireland at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The various forms of the language are by no means static; all show changes which are linguistically interesting in their own right. In Ulster the vernacular norms, so extensively investigated by James and Lesley Milroy in the 1970s and early 1980s, continue to evolve in Belfast. On a more conscious level, the question of what will happen to Ulster Scots is increasing in political and social relevance. In the south of Ireland, major changes have taken place in Dublin English recently (see

1

2   Introduction

section 5.5.4) and are indicative of the rapid expansion in size and wealth of the capital of the Republic of Ireland (Hickey 2005).

1.1.1 SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

In writing the present book the author has tried to strike a balance between forms of English in the north and south of the island. The political division of Ireland has a linguistic equivalent and many of the subareas, e.g. phonology, are defined by this split within the country. Because of the formal partition of Ireland with the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland have diverged politically and socially, rendering even more distinct the differences between varieties of English in each part of the island. The two groups are independent of each other although there is a transition zone between north and south, and although English in Co. Donegal – a part of the Republic – is of a broadly northern type. There is also no significant tendency for southern Irish English and northern Irish English to become more similar (Barry 1982: 127).

English in Northern Ireland – on various linguistic levels – has been described quite exhaustively (see the bibliographical references in Adams 1964a: 193ff.; Harris 1984a: 133f.; 1985: 352ff.; A. Henry 1997: 107f.; Hickey 2002a: 229–98; Kirk 1997b; Rahilly 1997: 130ff.). With southern Irish English the matter is slightly different. There have always been studies of English in the Republic of Ireland, usually in the form of lists of words and expressions (see the references in Aldus 1976, 1997 and Hickey 2002a), many of which are not of a scholarly nature (e.g. O'Farrell 1993 [1980]). Early linguistic investigations of southern Irish English are less numerous, though there are examples such as Hayden and Hartog (1909) and Hogan (1927). The situation improved quite considerably in the latter half of the twentieth century, initially in a traditional vein with studies by P. L. Henry and Alan Bliss and more recently with the work of Markku Filppula, Jeffrey Kallen and the present author. A significant feature of this work is that it does not claim to investigate southern Irish English, although this is what in effect it does. There is a sense in which southern Irish English is the default case and so studies of Ulster Scots (by Michael Montgomery, Philip Robinson and Rona Kingsmore), Ulster English, English in Belfast (by James and Lesley Milroy), Derry (by Kevin McCafferty) or Armagh (by Karen Corrigan) are labelled as such.

1.1.2 THE OLD AND THE NEW

In terms of time depth and speaker background, there are two types of language described in this book. On the one hand there is that of the elderly rural population and on the other that of the younger urban population.

The speech of older rural inhabitants is of interest because it reflects usage which is closer to forms of Irish English spoken when the Irish shifted from their

previous native language to that which the vast majority of them speak today. Such forms are of interest to linguists concerned with language contact and language shift (see chapter 4) as well as with the transportation of English overseas in the past few centuries (see chapter 6). The role of language contact in the rise of early varieties of Irish English has always been a concern for scholars in the field. P. L. Henry (1957) is an early monograph on English in a region in which Irish used to be spoken and highlights the influence of the latter language on English in this area. Later work, such as that of Harris (1984a), sought to give the input varieties to Ireland their rightful place in the genesis of Irish English. A further facet is that of possible creolisation in the early period of development (Hickey 1997a). While this model does not apply in the same manner as, for example, with established creoles of the Caribbean, nonetheless the consideration of restructuring and universal features of young languages offers new interpretative possibilities for traits of Irish English.

The speech of young urban inhabitants is interesting in that it reflects recent sociolinguistic developments in southern Irish English. The changes which have taken place illustrate a scenario in which non-local speakers dissociate themselves from vernacular varieties spoken around them (see chapter 5) and thus represents a type of language change which is also of relevance to linguists working outside Ireland. In this context the focus is on English in Dublin. Despite the central position of the city, both in history and at present, English in the metropolis has never been investigated fully before. The section on Dublin English, derived from Hickey (2005), represents an attempt to redress this imbalance.

1.2   Questions of terminology

1.2.1 ANGLO-IRISH, HIBERNO-ENGLISH AND IRISH ENGLISH

Any treatment of English in Ireland must begin with a consideration of terminology as there are various labels to be found in the relevant literature, some linguistic, some general and some both. The terminological confusion associated with the linguistic treatment of Irish English stems from the fact that scholars have, as yet, not been able to agree on a single term for the English language in Ireland. The longest established, but also the most problematical, is the label *Anglo-Irish*. It is attested as a term for the English settlers of Ireland as early as 1626 (P. L. Henry 1958: 56) and this use as a term for a section of the Irish population has remained. Linguistically, it is unacceptable for at least two reasons. First of all, the term *Anglo-Irish* literally means an English variety of Irish, as the element 'Anglo–' functions as a modifier to the head 'Irish'. Secondly, this term has many inappropriate connotations in the present context. It is by no means a uniquely linguistic term; on the contrary, it is used in literature, in politics, etc. Given the loaded nature of the term it is scarcely appropriate as a linguistic label. These remarks hold for Ireland. Abroad, the term is seen as less problematical. Hence *Anglo-Irish* is used by Canadian authors, e.g. Kirwin (1993). Related to

4 Introduction

this usage is the label *Anglo-Celtic*, sometimes used in Australia (McArthur 1992: 66) but not in Ireland, to refer to the section of the community which is either of English or Irish descent.

The second term for Irish English is *Hiberno-English* in which the first element derives from Latin *Hibernia* 'Ireland'. T. F. O'Rahilly (1932: 234) is one of the first to have used it when referring to a specifically Irish form of English, though he himself did not think it necessary to comment on the term. Hutson (1947: 23) is another early author with whom the term is found. The label *Hiberno-English* gained currency in the 1970s as an alternative to *Anglo-Irish*; for instance, Bliss (1972a) uses *Anglo-Irish*, but for another article, published in the same year (Bliss 1972b), he switched to *Hiberno-English*.[1] Filppula is a scholar who has clung to the use of *Hiberno-English* (1993: 202 and also 2006) as has Dolan (2004). The label has also been used by non-Irish authors. Rickford (1986: 246, fn) maintains that *Hiberno-English* is a collective term for all varieties of English in Ireland and that *Irish English* is restricted to the language of those for whom Irish is their first language.

Some authors (like P. L. Henry 1977 or Todd 1992, for example) attempt to draw an artificial distinction between *Hiberno-English* and *Anglo-Irish*. Todd maintains that *Anglo-Irish* is a mainly middle-class variety spoken over most of Ireland and deriving from input forms of English in the seventeenth century and that *Hiberno-English* is a mainly working-class variety used by communities whose ancestral language was Irish (Gaelic). There are a number of difficulties here. The first is that there is no smooth dialect continuum across the whole of Ireland. Hence to hold the view that *Anglo-Irish* is spoken over most of the country is erroneous. Although certain features are shared by most varieties throughout Ireland (Hickey 1999b) there is no identifiable common variety between the north and south, irrespective of who is supposed to speak it.

Within present-day Ireland only some varieties can be clearly identified on the basis of source. This really only applies to Ulster Scots and to contact English in the small Gaeltachtaí, the remaining Irish-speaking districts (see section 4.2). It would be a distortion to speak now of 'Gaelic-based English' in a general sense. Nor can one identify anything like 'planter-based English' today. However, although the groups who supplied input to Ireland in the early modern period are difficult to make out, there are features from the earliest forms of English which were taken to Ireland and which can be discerned in vernacular varieties on the east coast.

The distinction between *Hiberno-English* and *Anglo-Irish*, drawn by P. L. Henry (1977), is diametrically opposed to that made by Todd. He explains that *Anglo-Irish* is a label used by the English for the people of Ireland and by extension for their literature and language and pleads for a use of the term to refer to that kind of English which has been most heavily influenced by Irish.

---

[1] This term has also been used for English in the north: 'Northern Hiberno-English' is a label used by Corrigan (1993a).

Leaving aside such attempts to establish a distinction between the two terms, one can evaluate their usefulness for linguistic studies. The first, *Anglo-Irish*, is unsuitable because of its non-linguistic connotations and its imprecise reference. In the opinion of the author, the second, *Hiberno-English*, suffers from two drawbacks. On the one hand, it is too technical: the use of the term demands that it be explained in studies intended for a general readership outside Ireland. On the other hand, the use of the term within Ireland may imply a somewhat popular, if not sentimental, attitude towards English in Ireland which is often not regarded as a topic worthy of academic research.

In the present study, the simpler, more neutral label *Irish English* is used. There is no substantial objection to the term.[2] It refers to varieties of English in Ireland (internal distinctions can be made additionally) and is parallel to labels like *Canadian English* or *Australian English*. Of recent date, many authors, such as Kallen (1997) and the present author, favour the term as do some non-Irish scholars such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

Given that all present-day speakers of Irish also speak English and are in contact with English speakers from outside their immediate community, there exist contact varieties spoken by these people. Sometimes labels are used to refer to these forms in a certain region, e.g. *Contact Ulster English* denoting English spoken within or adjacent to Irish-speaking areas in Co. Donegal and which is assumed to have been influenced by Irish in its development. Such labels can be used to differentiate between specific forms of English within Ireland.

A much wider term which has found favour with many scholars working on language contact and shift with English in the Celtic regions is *Celtic Englishes*. The popularity of this label as a cover term has been boosted by the significant series of volumes, entitled *Celtic Englishes I–IV*, edited by Hildegard Tristram as proceedings of a number of conferences on this topic held in Potsdam between 1995 and 2004.

1.2.2 NORTHERN IRISH ENGLISH

In studies on northern Irish English the question of labels is not any less topical. Some are straightforward as there are not usually any alternatives. For instance, *Ulster Scots* refers to Scots as brought to Ulster primarily during the plantations of the first half of the seventeenth century (Adams 1964b; Montgomery 1997). *Ulster Scotch* is not a common means of labelling the English of Scottish descendants, just as *Scotch* in Scotland is no longer used in a linguistic sense. The label *Scotch-Irish* – or *Scots Irish* – is sometimes found in politics to refer to the Scottish-derived population of Northern Ireland and has been used by Robert Gregg in various articles (see references section). The term is also found in the

---

[2] The objection to 'Irish English' which Harris (1985: 12) raises, namely that it sometimes refers to the English of native speakers of Irish, is based on a potential use of the term which, however, is not encountered in the literature.

6   Introduction

United States to refer to people descending from the eighteenth century emi-
grants from Ulster to the east of North America.

The artificial label *Ullans*[3] is now used by a section of the Protestant popu-
lation in Northern Ireland (Görlach 2000) to refer to Ulster Scots, especially in
written form. Its status is at the centre of much political and linguistic debate (see
section 3.3.2).

Ulster English designates English brought to Ulster from England, particularly
from the north-west Midlands of England (Adams 1958: 61ff.) and is separate
from the Scots element in the province. Because Ulster Scots is found in the
peripheral parts of counties of Ulster (north Down, Antrim, Derry and to a lesser
extent in Donegal) the label *mid Ulster English* (Harris 1984b) is sometimes used
to refer to general forms of English in Northern Ireland which are not derived
from Scots. *Ulster Anglo-Irish* is also found as a term for the language of English
descendants (J. Milroy 1981: 22). James Milroy briefly suggested the use of *Anglo-
English* (1981: xiii) 'English as used in England, as distinct from Irish English
(Hiberno-English), Scots English, etc.'. This usage is echoed by Harris in his
treatment of English in the north of Ireland (Harris 1984b: 115) but has not
established itself.

The label *Urban Vernacular* refers to a group of varieties spoken chiefly by
inhabitants of large urban centres on a lower social level, chiefly Belfast (as exam-
ined by James and Lesley Milroy in many publications). The urban vernacular
of Belfast is distinctive because it reflects a merger of traditional and essentially
rural varieties, as a result of migration into Belfast for employment in industry
during the nineteenth century, but which is now spreading to other urban centres
within Northern Ireland.

Of the three remaining areas in Ireland where Irish is still spoken (see map
A6.3 in appendix 6) Ulster is the most northerly: the variety spoken there is
known as *Ulster Irish*. In terms of geographical distribution this Irish-speaking
region does not extend outside Co. Donegal,[4] hence the alternative designation
Donegal Irish. In some instances *Ulster Irish* is taken to have a historical reference,
in which case it would include Irish spoken in north Antrim, Rathlin Island,
central Tyrone and south Armagh, areas where the language died out early in
the twentieth century.[5] Without this historical dimension, Ulster Irish can still
be taken to include second-language varieties of Irish spoken in urban centres
like Belfast and Derry by members of the nationalist community for reasons of
cultural identification.

---

[3] The name was formed as a parallel to the term *Lallans* for Lowland Scots.

[4] The occasional reference to a 'West Belfast Gaeltacht' is more political than linguistic and reflects
the attempts of nationalist sections of the population to establish an Irish-speaking base in the city.

[5] A few studies have been concerned with the influence of Irish on English within Northern Ireland.
As the subtitle of Todd (1971) suggests – *Tyrone English: the Influence of Gaelic on Tyrone English* –
the author is concerned with tracing those words which she regards as stemming from Irish. After
discussing about twenty instances in some detail, she concludes the article by mentioning syntactic
features (verb forms and the supposed over-use of *would*) and morphology (distinctions among
second-person personal pronouns, singular and plural).

1.2.3 NON-LINGUISTIC TERMS

Apart from the more or less linguistic terms discussed above there are a number of popular labels for Irish English. First and foremost of these is *brogue*. The term was already used in the seventeenth century and became quite established in the eighteenth century (used by Swift, for instance, in his 'On barbarous denominations in Ireland'). The first mention of the term *brogue* would appear to be by John Skelton (?1460–1529) in *Speke, Parrot*, in which a parrot imitates various languages and dialects, including that of Ireland. The text probably dates from 1525 (Hogan 1927: 55f.). The use of *brogue* as a reference to a non-standard accent became common in later centuries among British commentators on the Irish use of English, as the following remarks by B. H. Smart in the early nineteenth century show.

> *Hints for softening a Hibernian Brogue*
> The first point our Western friend must attend to for this purpose is, to avoid hurling out his words with a superfluous quantity of breath. It is not 'broadher' and 'loudher' that he must say, but the 'd' and every other consonant in the language must be neatly delivered by the tongue, with as little riot, cluttering, or breathing as possible. (Smart 1836: xli)

The contemporary use of the label *brogue* is rather vague. It implies a low-status accent of English in Ireland, typically a rural dialect. The term is not used by the Irish to refer to their general form of English because of its negative connotations. *Brogue* is found in non-Irish contexts, for instance, with reference to traditional, non-urban dialects in coastal North Carolina (see remarks on Ocracoke Brogue in Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1997).

The common assumption is that *brogue* stems from Irish *bróg* 'shoe' (this meaning is also found in early modern English, and was known to Shakespeare). Bergin (1943) rightly points out that the word cannot have been originally Irish as the final /-g/ would have been lenited to /-ɣ/ had it been inherited from Old Irish. Old Norse *brók* meaning 'trousers' (a Germanic word related to English *breeches*) may be the source. If this is so, the meaning of the Irish loan *bróg* must have been wider with a later semantic narrowing to an item of footwear. Another investigation, by coincidence from the same year, is Murphy (1943), who comes to the conclusion that the use of *brogue* meaning 'Irish accent' is a purely English development. This is because the nearest equivalent is *barróg* 'grip', which can be used with 'tongue' with the approximate meaning 'to have a lump in one's throat' (Irish *barróg teangan* 'grip tongue-GEN'). In a more positive sense the word *lilt* is occasionally found to refer to an Irish accent, typically by the non-Irish favourably disposed to it.

Blarney is a general term for eloquence which is both flattering and deceptive and which is often associated with the Irish. The origin of the term is well known. In 1602 Queen Elizabeth I demanded of one Cormac McCarthy that he surrender Blarney Castle not far from the city of Cork. McCarthy procrastinated, repeatedly

8   Introduction

promising to do so but not fulfilling his commitment, which led Elizabeth to exclaim in exasperation 'This is all Blarney – he never does what he says, he never does what he promises', establishing the phrase in English.[6]

The figure of the stage Irishman has a long pedigree in English literature. It goes back at least to the end of the sixteenth century, for example to the anonymous play *The Life and Death of Captain Stukeley* (1596/1605), which contains unflattering portrayals of Irish characters. Throughout the following century a tradition arose of using Irish characters as stock figures for parody and ridicule. In essence, this was a typically colonial attitude to the colonised who lacked power and prestige. The image stuck and the figure survived well into the twentieth century, at least to George Bernard Shaw.

In linguistic terms there are no established features which are diagnostic of *Stage Irish*. Rather the salient features of (largely rural) Irish English are emphasised: the fortition of /θ, ð/ to alveolar stops, the use of monophthongs for /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, a mid vowel in the MEAT lexical set and perhaps epenthesis in words like *arm* [ˈaːɹəm] and *form* [ˈfɒːɹəm]. The characteristics depend largely on traditions of representing Irish pronunciations. Hence the spelling *Oirish* is often used by fictional authors for stage Irish characters. This can be taken to indicate [əɪrɪʃ] which is actually the pronunciation typical of local Dublin English and the east coast and not of rural dialects in the west which would tend to have [aɪ] for /ai/.

In connection with translations into Irish English, mention should be made of work done in translation studies. This is of relevance to research into Irish English as it is directly concerned with the features and structures of this form of English which can be employed to achieve equivalents to local flavouring and ambience in the work of source authors. The potential of Irish English for this purpose was recognised in the nineteenth century by creative writers of the Irish Literary Revival and used in many translations, e.g. by Douglas Hyde and Lady Gregory, the latter translating Molière into 'Kiltartanese', as her form of western rural Irish English was somewhat belittlingly called. But for her it was an 'act of cultural self-confidence' which implied that 'Hiberno-English is a fit vehicle for one of the greatest playwrights of the European literary tradition' (Cronin 1996: 140). The issues around translation are still topical in Ireland today; see Cronin (2006) for an analysis of poetry translation and many of the contributions in Cronin and Ó Cuilleanáin (2003).

1.2.4 IRELAND AND BRITAIN

Another area of sensitive terminology is that of geographical references in an Irish/English context. In geographical terms, the British Isles refer to the island

---

[6] The castle of Blarney still stands and a stone on its battlement is reputed to impart the ability to beguile others with *blarney* if kissed. Rickford (1986: 282) notes that there is a parallel between Irish *blarney* – the use of verbal eloquence to outsmart a more powerful opponent – and a speech event known as *coppin' a plea* 'bargaining' though as he rightly points out this may very well be a universal strategy for coping with the more powerful who surround one.

of Britain (comprising England, Wales and Scotland) and that of Ireland. The label *British Isles* is not always welcome in the Republic of Ireland or in nationalist quarters of Northern Ireland. Instead the vague label *these islands* is common to refer to both Britain and Ireland. Analogously, the label *this island* refers to the entire island of Ireland.

Again from a political standpoint, the label *north of Ireland* can be found rather than Northern Ireland, the name given to that part of Ireland which remained within the United Kingdom under the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. It consists of six of the nine counties in the province of Ulster. Despite the fact that Northern Ireland only contains two-thirds of these counties, in the south the term *Ulster* is often used synonymously with the state. Again the vague labels *north* and *south* refer to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland respectively. Two more precise terms are also found currently in Ireland.

The six counties is a reference to the state of Northern Ireland without actually using its name (the counties in question are Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh and Fermanagh). Correspondingly, *the twenty-six counties* is an unofficial reference to the Republic of Ireland deriving from the number of counties it embraces. Both of these terms have, however, fallen out of official use, though their Irish translations are still used in the Donegal Gaeltacht.

According to the 1937 Constitution of Ireland, Irish is the first language of the country, with English – in theory – enjoying a supplementary function. As might be expected, the official designation for Ireland is the Irish form of the country's name *Éire* (this replaced the label *Irish Free State* (Irish: *Saorstát na hÉireann*) which had been used from 1922 to 1937). The label *Republic of Ireland* (Irish: *Poblacht na hÉireann*) is in use since 1949 when the country was declared a republic.

1.2.5 EXTERNAL REFERENCES

Within Ireland there are various means of referring to Britain and its inhabitants. The most neutral term is *England* and the *English*. To refer to the entire island and the people as *Britain* and the *British* can often carry negative connotations of a political establishment unsympathetic to Ireland. In abbreviated form, the term *Brit* is definitely pejorative when used by the Irish. The label *West Brit* is scarcely less negative and is applied to those Irish, frequently Protestant urbanites, who orient themselves towards middle-class Britain and identify themselves less with distinctively Irish culture.

1.2.6 THE TERM *IRISH*

The name of the Celtic language, brought to Ireland in the first centuries BC and still spoken in pockets on the north-western, western and south-western seaboard, is *Irish*. The term *Gaelic* /geːlɪk/ is not frequent in Ireland. The designation *Scottish Gaelic* is used for the Celtic language spoken on parts of the west coast of Scotland (historically derived from northern forms of Irish). The

10   Introduction

Scots themselves refer to their variety of Gaelic by their pronunciation of the word, i.e. /galɪk/, written *Gaidhlig* in Scottish Gaelic and anglicised as *Gallick*. The word for the language is feminine in Irish (and Scottish Gaelic) so that the initial sound changes to a velar fricative on using the article before it: *An Ghaeilge* /ən ɣeːlʲgʲə/ 'the Irish language'.

The term *Erse*, an earlier Scots form of *Irish*, is all but unknown in the Republic of Ireland. It was used in previous centuries as a term for both Irish and Scottish Gaelic but fell into disuse. The term *Scoti* was used at least until the late Middle English period as a label covering both the Irish and Scots and not just in English; cf. the *Schottenklöster* 'Scottish monasteries' founded by Irish monks in southern Germany (Fowkes 1997).

In a wider context one should note that *Celtic* is pronounced [kɛltɪk], and not [sɛltɪk]. The spelling *Keltic* is quite unusual in English and definitely not used by Irish scholars. In literature of a philological nature, Irish and Scottish Gaelic are referred to collectively as *Q-Celtic*; this includes the extinct variety of the Isle of Man, Manx Gaelic, which died out in the twentieth century. The term *Q-Celtic* derives from the fact that Indo-European $*k^w$ remained unchanged in this section of Insular Celtic, having shifted to *p* in Welsh, Cornish and Breton, hence the designation *P-Celtic* for the latter three; cf. Irish *ceann*, Welsh *pen*, both meaning 'head'.

The label *Irish* can equally refer to the native people of Ireland. Throughout history various qualifiers have been added to *Irish*. For instance, the phrase *the wild Irish* was at first derogatory, referring to a supposedly barbarous people; later it became complimentary with the implication of natural, untamed, unspoiled by civilisation. This sense is reflected in the novel *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) by Lady Morgan. This phrase is already recorded from the mid sixteenth century for those who lived 'beyond the Pale': Andrew Boorde's *The Breviary of Healthe* (*c.* 1547, published 1552) contains the following reference: 'Irland is deuyded in ii. partes, one is the Engly[sh] pale, & the other, the wyld Irish' (Crowley 2000: 24). The term was later extended to those descendants of the original English settlers who had adopted Irish habits, spoke Irish and of course were still Roman Catholics and hence not unduly loyal to post-Reformation England (Palmer 2000: 74–107). Another early reference is found in Philemon Holland's *Camden's Britain* (1610): 'They that refuse to be under lawes are termed the Irishry, and commonly the Wilde Irish.'

The adjective *wild* has also been used in Irish history to refer to Irish adventurers, particularly in the phrase *Wild Geese*, used as a label for the Irish mercenaries and soldiers of fortune in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Some older terms have become more or less obsolete and are only properly recorded in history. An instance is *Teigue* or *Tague*, derived from the Irish first name *Tadhg* /taɪg/, which was used as a generic reference for a Catholic Irishman for centuries and is found occasionally in the north of the country.

Another case is *Old English* which was employed as a label for English settlers in pre-Reformation Ireland (Byrne 2004: 211f.). As they were Catholic in religion