Contact, Shift and Language Change
Irish English and South African Indian English[1]

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In order to determine the likelihood of sources, the salient features of Irish English and South African English are compared with each other. Both varieties owe their existence to a shift from an original indigenous language to English. The relevant populations in both countries initially acquired English in manners which were largely similar, i.e. in a process of imperfect second language learning in adulthood. For these reasons the structures in both kinds of English are considered with a view to whether they might have their source in the background languages (substratum interference) or in the nature of the sociolinguistic situation in which the shift took place. The latter would have favoured the foregrounding of features typical of grammatically simplified registers. As always, multiple causation must be considered. In the case of Irish English, archaic and/or regional input from Britain must also be allowed for as a possible source.

1. Introduction

The examination of features of Irish English has generally been accompanied by considerations of Irish as the substrate language and of regional input from England during the formative period inasmuch as this can be ascertained. If comparisons with other contact varieties have been made then these have been within the arena of Celtic Englishes, see Filppula (1997), who compares features of Irish and Hebridean English, as a typical example. However, varieties of English world-wide show similarities in the social situations in which they arose and in the features which came to characterise them (Hickey, ed., 2004) and so it might well be beneficial to compare Irish English with varieties which show cer-

[1] I am indebted to Rajend Mesthrie, the foremost authority on South African Indian English, for his help with many of the statements and examples included here. Needless to say, he is not to be associated with any shortcomings in this contribution.

tain similarities in their genesis. To begin with, one can list the four main scenarios for the development of English overseas which occurred during the colonial period of the language, roughly from the early 17th to the late 19th century.

Scenarios for English overseas

(1) *Language maintenance*: typical of those who take English abroad and continue to speak it, passing the language on regularly to future generations (Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the British-based community in South Africa).

(2) *Language shift*: a section of the overseas community abandons its own language and adopts English as their new native language (Ireland, Natal in South Africa and at other locations in this country, very small groups such as native Americans, Aborigines in Australia and Maori in New Zealand).

(3) *Language creation*: because of deficient linguistic input from the previous generation children begin to create their own form of English on the basis of the makeshift variety they hear around them (creolisation). This applies historically to those parts of the Caribbean and of Melanesia (Papua New Guinea) where English was introduced.

(4) *Functional bilingualism*: common in countries like India, Malaysia, many parts of Africa, where English functions as a *lingua franca* and is used for communication with the outside world. This situation is different from (1) – (3) because English is only used sporadically and in the public domain. It is not a native variety, as speakers always have a different first language.

In the arena of Englishes throughout the world, there are not that many which have their origin in a shift from a non-Germanic indigenous language to English (Scenario 2 above). Or if there are, then records are missing because this shift took place without the attention of European writers and scholars. For instance, the Native American peoples – inasmuch as they have shifted from their ancestral language to English – have done so without any documentation for the shift period. Furthermore, because they were absorbed into contemporary American society, they did not maintain forms of English with unique profiles. Hence there is no such thing as Sioux English or Iroquoian English or whatever. Even groups of Native Americans of considerable size, like the Navajo in the southwest of the United States (over a quarter of a million), do not appear to speak forms of English distinct from their other American neighbours in this region (Leap 1993). The other major anglophone area with a considerable indigenous population is Australia. The variety of native languages is, if anything, greater than in the United States or Canada but more attention has been paid to the English spoken by these groups (Arthur 1996; Kaldor and Malcolm 1982; Malcolm 2001; on possible Maori English in New Zealand, see Benton 1991). The time depth is slighter than in north America (Australia was mainly settled in the first half of the 19th century), so that the period of shift is more recent and hence the influence of the native languages is deemed still to be felt (see Kiesling, in: Hickey, ed., 2004 – the English of Australian aborigines will be discussed briefly towards the end of this chapter).

Reviewing anglophone locations overseas, one can turn one's attention to South Africa (Branford 1994; Lanham 1996). In the main it is a country with in-

put from two European languages, Dutch for Afrikaans and British English for South African English. And of course there is a large number of indigenous languages of the Bantu phylum. But South Africa is interesting for the present discussion in one other respect: there is a form of English spoken there which resulted from language shift: the English of the Indian population in the country. To understand more about the rise and nature of this form of English, a brief historical sketch of the Indian section of South African society is offered.

2. English in South Africa

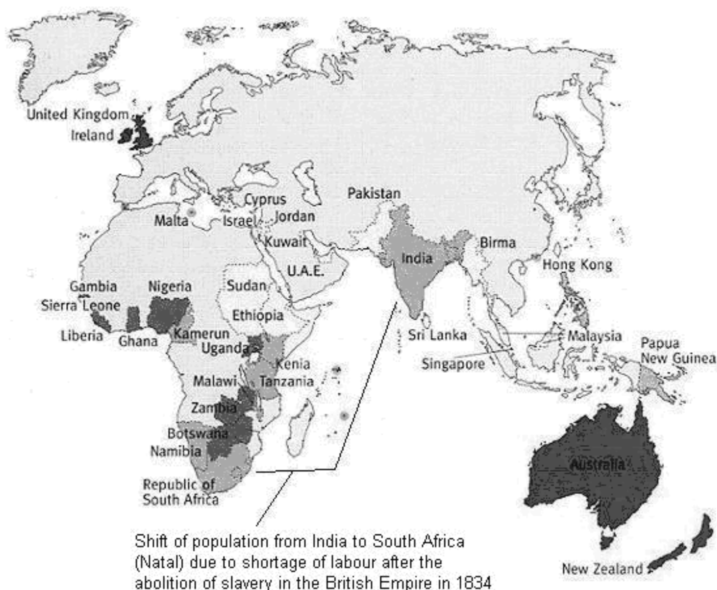
In 1652 the Cape of Good Hope was colonialised by Dutch navigators, thus establishing the Dutch claim to this part of Africa. For about 150 years the English did not disturb the colony. However, in 1806 they invaded the region and brought the English language, thus initiating the dual European language tradition which exists to the present day. After the Napoleonic wars the number of permanent English settlers increased, forming the group known as the '1820s settlers,' who represented the backbone of English settlement in South Africa. Many of these settled in the Eastern Cape region (approximately that around Port Elizabeth and East London). Throughout the 19th century new settlements in South Africa continued. In Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal), a wave of settlement occurred in the years 1848-1862.

With the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, a shortage of labour arose in various parts of the world then under British rule. A solution adopted by the British government was to move inhabitants of India, then the most populous part of the Empire, to those regions in need of labour. Many small islands were affected by the movement of Indians overseas, notable Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, Fiji in the South Pacific and parts of the Caribbean such as British Guyana (mainland South America), Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

South Africa was also affected by this movement. Due to labour needs on the estates and plantations of Natal, assisted immigration from India set in during the latter half of the 19th century which was to have a lasting effect on the demographic composition of South Africa. From 1860 to 1911 Indians arrived in South Africa, firstly as indentured labourers in Natal, later on in the rest of the country (there are other varieties in Transvaal (Gauteng) and the Cape region, but these have not been investigated (Mesthrie 1996: 79)). Smaller numbers of other Indians, notably speakers of Gujarati, Konkani (Marathi) and Meman (Sindhi) arrived after 1875. Nearly all Indian immigrants had little or no knowledge of English when they settled in South Africa, although there were some teachers of English among these immigrants (Mesthrie, pc.).

To begin with, the Indians would appear to have learned the pidgin Fanagalo which derived from English with much Zulu and Afrikaans lexis and which was common among black workers, using the Indian language of their background for community-internal communication (it was also spoken by whites and by Indians across the Indic-Dravidian divide, frequently by speakers of Tamil and Bhojpuri respectively). For their part, the Bantu population of Natal, the Zulus, were largely confined to reserves by the British who favoured the Indians for work on the sugar, tea and coffee plantations (Bhana and Brain 1990). Because of the nature of their work, the Indian population was segregated in housing and education and they shared the common experience of indentured labour and/or minor trade at the new location.

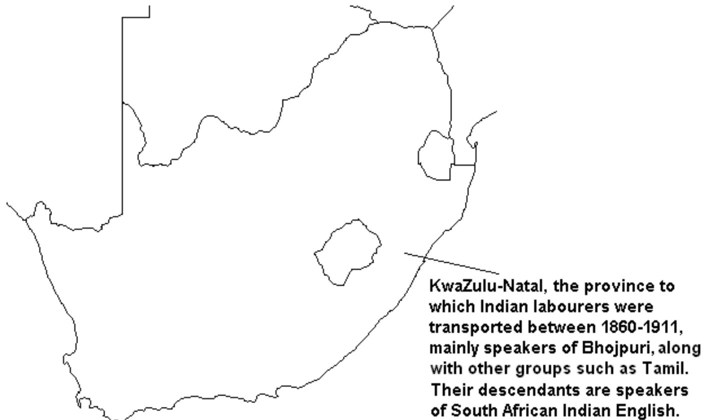
Knowledge and use of English in the 19th century Indian population was more the exception than the rule (Mesthrie 1996: 80). Fanagalo does not seem to have been the input to South African Indian English (SAIE) according to Mesthrie (1992: 186-204), as it only shares two features with later SAIE. Nor did existing basilectal Indian English, like Butler English (Hickey 2004 c), provide any significant input to SAIE. However, Mesthrie does show that there are structural parallels between pidgins/creoles and early forms of shift-induced varieties given the similar situation of imperfect second language learning in adulthood found with both types of language. In his consideration of early SAIE, he puts forward arguments similar to those found in Corrigan (1993) and Hickey (1997) for Irish English. Indeed he concludes his 1996 article by explicitly stating that "language shift varieties may well "provide a missing link in the chain of possible contact varieties" (Siegel 1994: 89), especially between creole and non-creole" (Mesthrie 1996: 95).



A number of facts should be borne in mind here. Perhaps the most important for the present discussion is that the Indians were largely speakers of Tamil, a Dravidian language of southern India and Sri Lanka (there were also speakers of Telegu (Mesthrie 1996: 80) and Bhojpuri (an Indic language spoken by about 30m people in north-eastern India and Nepal)). Although the input was from two language families, these showed (and still show) considerable typological similarities due to prolonged contact in South Asia. Another fact to remember is that the Indians in South Africa were, well into the 20th century, a fairly homogenous community located racially between the black and the whites. Yet a further fact of relevance here is that South African Indian English is an established variety (Bughwan 1988). Of course there is a continuum, just as with the English language in Ireland, but the native Indian languages are no longer spoken to any significant extent so that code-mixing or nonce grammatical features, typical of a pre-shift stage of a variety, need not be considered here.

The continuum of SAIE ranges from basilectal forms typical of older speakers with little education to acrolectal forms found among younger speakers with considerably more education. The acrolect merges imperceptibly into general South African English (Branford 1994). Mesolectal usage, that of the majority of Indians in KwaZulu-Natal, is the object of focus for the present discussion. It is a focussed variety in the sense of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (Mesthrie 1996: 79). However, as Mesthrie readily admits, a certain degree of diffusion of general South African English into SAIE has occurred and will continue to do so

given the nature of post-apartheid South African society. New non-vernacular norms are arising which are increasingly removed from traditional SAIE, especially among the middle classes.



2.1. Transmission of English

The transmission of English to the Indian population shows remarkable similarities to the situation in 18th and 19th century Ireland. Certainly, before the establishment of primary schools for the Catholic population in Ireland in the 1830s, the main exposure to English for the Irish would have been through contact with other Irish people who would somehow have known some English (Hickey 1995). These in turn would have picked it up from others, from mainly urban dwellers or from people from the east of Ireland where knowledge of English had a stronger hold and a longer history. Mesthrie states (1996: 80f.) that many Indians learned their English from other members of their communities and in schools where not all the teachers were necessarily native speakers of English, as missionaries in 19th century Natal (and other parts of Africa) were often from continental Europe. Mesthrie also concedes there may have been an influence from the Indian English of teachers operative in Natal in the late 19th century, as can be seen from certain lexical compounds typical of Indian English (Hickey 2004 c), e.g. *cousin-brother* ‘male first cousin,’ *further-studies* ‘higher education,’ *butter-bread* ‘bread and butter.’

2.2. The Language Shift

The time scale for shift of SAIE is very different from that for Irish English. By the early 20th century, the pattern of language learning had not changed. The

1904 census returned 5% of Indians (5,211 out of 100,918, Mesthrie 1996: 85) as literate in English, though the number with some knowledge of English was probably higher. It was not until the 1950s that English began to be introduced to the Indian community in their homes (though it was of course present externally, in missionary-led schools). The children – and most often the youngest – were responsible for this as they acquired English in school and then transmitted it back to the older members of their community, chiefly their parents and older members of their families, much as second-generation children of Turks have done vis à vis their parents in the past few decades in Germany. Like the latter group of immigrants, Mesthrie (1996: 86) states that many of the Indians may had a reduced motivation to learn English in South Africa because they expected to return to India, irrespective of how unrealistic this expectation was.

The upshot of this setting for SAIE is that in principle the same type of language shift scenario seems to have obtained as in Ireland. A community shifted to the dominant language of their country (for Indians, their host country); a variety became established through the transfer of structures from the background language (substratum influence) on a community-wide scale. Features which resulted from imperfect group learning became iconic for the community's variety of English (Hickey 2003 b) and may well have been imposed (Guy 1990) on later generations who would have been exposed to more standard varieties of English but nonetheless intuitively recognised the covert prestige of the language-shift variety. This gave the variety a fairly distinctive profile, particularly in phonology and syntax as one would expect in a shift-induced variety, going on the models for describing the genesis of such varieties which have been the subject of renewed interest since Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Lastly it should be pointed out that the introduction of apartheid in South Africa in 1948 reduced significantly the contact between the Indian community and that of native speakers of English in Natal.

Comparative external history of Irish English and South African Indian English

Irish English	**South African Indian English**
Outset a single language (Irish), native language maintained for community-internal purposes during learning of English. A substantial period of overlapping bilingualism is attested.	Outset more or less one language (Bhojpuri and closely related varieties of Hindi-Urdu). Also Dravidians (Tamil and Telegu) from south India. Native language(s) maintained for community-internal purposes during learning of English. A substantial period of overlapping bilingualism is attested.
Phonological and grammatical features of the shift-induced variety maintained beyond knowledge of the outset language (Irish).	Phonological and grammatical features of the shift-induced variety maintained beyond knowledge of the outset Indian languages.

Irish English	**South African Indian English**
Community remains at source (Ireland). Initial community was rural.	Community moved from source (North-East, South India). Community was initially rural.
Main language shift over three centuries (early 17c to early 20c) and earlier (Corrigan 1999). English largely learned by uncontrolled adult bilingualism, later through schooling.	Language shift over one century (mid 19c to mid 20c). English largely learned by uncontrolled adult bilingualism, later through schooling.
Population several million, largely rural at time of shift (western half of Ireland).	Population approx. one million in Natal, in increasingly urban settings which date back to around the 1930s.

3. Features of South African Indian English

The purpose of this section is to compare features of Irish English and SAIE. Before beginning it is necessary to state that SAIE shows considerable variation depending on the quality of English acquisition by individuals, exposure to native speaker English, role and function in the community, etc. Mesthrie (1992, 1996) uses the threefold distinction 'basilect,' 'mesolect' and 'acrolect' which is common in creole studies. In works on Irish English this division is not normally found. Instead authors make distinctions like rural versus urban (Filppula 1991) or mainstream versus local/supraregional versus vernacular (Hickey 1999 a, 2003 c), quite apart from the distinctions needed to separate varieties in the north from those in the south. But by and large, the discussion of Irish English refers to a broad, majority variety which embodies a set of features easily recognisable by speakers as indicative of Irish English. It is true that some structures are stigmatised, such as the use of the habitual with *do* + *be* + V-*ing* in the south of Ireland, but rather than assigning such structures to a separate variety labelled 'basilect,' authors tend just to point out that certain patterns are not part of the supraregional variety. Mesthrie sees the mesolect as mediating between the forms above and below it on a scale of vernacularity and specifies that the mesolect is the language of the majority of South African Indians. This use corresponds to that of 'Irish English' to refer to a set of varieties which are used widely across the island of Ireland (see discussion of Ireland as a linguistic area in Hickey 1999 b and 2005) and which are clearly distinguished from forms of English outside Ireland.

Any discussion of features should entail an assessment of their value for linguistic analysis. For instance, if one looks at non-standard features in overseas forms of English one finds many parallels which might suggest a common source. An example of this would be 'diphthong flattening' (Wells 1982: 614), a term used to refer to the lack of an upward glide with the /ai/ and /au/ diph-

thongs in particular, i.e. *wife* when realised as [waːf, wɑːf]. Such 'flattening' is found today in areas as far apart as the southern United States and South Africa (Lass 1987: 305f.), but because it is a common phonetic development its value as an indicator of common ancestry is relatively slight.

Another aspect to bear in mind in the present discussion is that a shift-induced variety may show features reminiscent of grammatically simplified registers, typical of rudimentary L2 which can, but need not, represent an early stage in the formation of a pidgin. With reference to the English language, several features of such registers can be registered as shown below.

Features of grammatically simplified registers of English

(1) Omission of the definite article

(2) Omission of finite *be* (at least in equative sentences)

(3) Reduction and/or generalisation of verbal inflections

(4) Reduction of tense distinctions, e.g. use of present for present perfect

(5) Avoidance of subordinating conjunctions (parataxis favoured over hypotaxis)

(6) Various topicalisation strategies such as fronting

Some of these features can be found in SAIE, for instance the omission of finite *be*, the reduction of verbal inflections and the preferred use of parataxis and fronting for topicalisation or an extended use of the present, e.g. *I'm staying this house seven years* (Mesthrie 2004: 975). Such features can become typical of a later established variety, e.g. the omission of finite *be* in African American English. Furthermore, a typical feature of simplified registers may also be one which is present in the original language from which a community shifts, e.g. the preference for parataxis in concessive clauses in Irish which led to structures like *He went out walking and it raining* (cf. Irish *Chuaigh sé amach agus é ag cur báistí*) in Irish English (see the discussion in Filppula 1991; Tristram 1999, esp. 262-273).

On the opposite side of this spectrum, there are features which are strong candidates for substratum influence. A feature of a background language may be diametrically opposed to a tendency of simplified registers. If this is the case, then it is a strong indication of substrate influence, if this surfaces in a shift-induced variety. An example would be the embedding of relative clauses in front of a head noun in SAIE (see below) similar to German *Sie mag diese im Ursprungsland sonnengereiften Tomaten*, lit. 'She likes these in the country of origin sun-ripened tomatoes.'

A common feature in the dialects of the British Isles and which may well have had a contact source there (see Klemola 2000) is the so-called 'northern subject rule' which – variably or categorically – determines the use of verbal *-s* according to a variety of syntactic factors such as subject proximity to the governed verb, subject form (pronoun versus noun) or subject weight (noun or noun phrase). Both the case for contact and for the reanalysis of moribund inflections in later Middle English are among the explanations which have been put forward for the

syntactic behaviour of present tense inflections among dialects. While Irish English (especially the older varieties on the east coast) has verbal *-s* on plural verb forms, especially the third person plural, e.g. *They gets caught by the gardai very often*, SAIE does not show this feature which would suggest that it was not present in the input forms of English to Natal nor was it triggered by any similar syntactic patterning in the substrate languages of the Indian community there (it occurs as a minor variant in Cape Flats English among 'coloured' people, Mesthrie, pc.). This is not to say that the English input for Indians was free of traits from dialects of British English. Non-standard morphological forms such as *seen* and *done*, as preterite forms of *see* and *do* respectively, must have been present as these surfaced in SAIE (Mesthrie 2004: 974).

Features of South African Indian English

Phonology

(1) Syllable timing in informal speech.

(2) Retroflexion of alveolars /t, d/ particularly in syllable-final, open position, e.g. *but* [bʌʈ], *bud* [bʌɖ].

(3) Use of dental stops /t̪/ and /d̪/ in the THIN and THIS lexical sets, i.e. one has [t̪ɪn] and [d̪ɪs] respectively.

Grammar

(1) Second person plural pronoun formed by eliding *you* and *all*: *Are y'all coming?* A possessive form also exists with genitive *'s*: *Is that y'all's dog?*

(2) Copula/auxiliary deletion is common: *Harry not there.*

(3) Fronting: in SAIE this can take place without clefting, simply by moving the topicalised element to the front: *Banana you want*; *Near to Margate that is*.

(4) Zero subject relative pronoun: *We talking about my friend Ø lives down there. I'm a man Ø I don't go church at all.*

(5) Preference of parataxis over hypotaxis: *I went to Derek – Derek filled that form in – he sent it.*

(6) Relative clauses precede the head noun of the main clause: *You can't beat that (= those) Vijay's- planted tomatoes.*

(7) Non-inversion of subject and auxiliary in main clause *wh*-questions: *I don't know when is the plane going to land.*

(8) Recasting of passives into an active form in basilectal SAIE: *In TV that sees.* 'That can be seen on TV.' Other examples could be cases of *be*-deletion: *I born La Mercy.* 'I was born in La Mercy.' *I donno where he educated.* 'I don't know where he was educated.' *We brought up here.* 'We were brought up here.'

(9) Possessive for existential: *Small broom haven' got?* 'Don't you have a small broom?' → *Got one big dog there.* 'There's a big dog there.'

(10) Word order of Indian languages can be maintained with titles, e.g. *Johnny Uncle*.

(11) Reduplication of *wh*-words: *who-who* 'who of several people,' *where-where* 'where of several places,' *what-what* 'what of several things.' *Who-who's coming today? Where-where they sent you? What-what she told me I listened nicely.* 'I listened carefully to whatever she told me.'

(12) Extended partitive genitive: *She put too much of nuts in the cake. There's too much of nonsense at work.*

(13) Presupposed versus specific usage: whereas standard English generally determines article usage along the parameter definite/indefinite, SAIE uses the criterion presupposed / asserted, combined with a notion of specificity.

(*The* → ø) *Food is lovely.*	Presupposed + specific
At the stall I bought one *soda water.*	Asserted + specific
If they give us (*a* → ø) *chance...*	Non-specific

(14) Aspectual structures (i): Habitual. This can be formed in one of three ways, either with the verb *stay*, with invariant *be* or with *should* in the past.

They used to fight and stay. 'They used to be continually quarelling'
Every time I go he be there. 'Whenever I go, he's there'
Whole day she be alone, it's so dangerous. 'She's usually alone for the whole day...'
That time we shouldn't listen radio, nothing. 'We never used to listen to the radio then.'
That time she should drink normal tea. 'She used to drink tea with sugar then.'

(15) Aspectual structures (ii): Perfective. This category can be expressed by one of two means, either via the verb *leave* or the verb *finish*.

She filled the bottle an' left it. 'She filled the bottle up.'
We finish play. 'We've played.'

3.1. Discussion of Features

When viewing the features above one can recognise that some are obviously the result of transfer from background Indian languages. This is true of phonological features like the retroflexion of alveolars /t, d/ or the occurrence of the dental stops /t̪/ and /d̪/ in the THIN and THIS lexical sets. In this respect SAIE is like Irish English in that it has transferred the nearest equivalent to the interdental fricatives of standard English from the substratum language. In the case of Irish the equivalents were the dental stops of Irish, hence the use of /t̪, d̪/ for THIN and THIS respectively in Irish English (see the many attestations in Hickey 2004 a; see Lass 1990 for a retentionist view of Irish English phonology).

The grammatical features are not quite so easy to assess. Some are clearly the result of substratum influence, e.g. feature (6) above, the embedding of relative clauses before nominal heads. Mesthrie assures us that there are clear structural parallels in Indian languages which have given rise to this patterning in SAIE. But even if there were not, one would be right in suspecting that substratum languages were responsible for this feature. The reason is that prenominal embedding of this kind is unknown in both pidgins/creoles and in grammatically simplified registers. Instead of *You can't beat that Vijay's-planted tomatoes*, one would expect something like *Vijay planted them tomatoes and you can't beat them* with parataxis rather than hypotaxis. Even if one had hypotaxis then the relative clause would definitely follow the nominal head as it does in standard English. Other features are a little more difficult to assess. In the following, a selection of features is examined in the hope of throwing light on the question of substratum influence versus independent developments.

Y'all *as plural pronoun.* The creation of a special form for the second person plural pronoun – see (1) above – can be regarded as filling an obvious gap in the morphological paradigms of standard English, something which so many non-standard varieties of English have done in their own ways (see the detailed discussion in Hickey 2003 c). In the case of SAIE (Mesthrie 2004: 986), it is remarkable that it shares the *y'all* form with English in the southern United States (Butters 2001; Montgomery 2000, 2001: 151). SAIE did not, however, opt to use the forms from the substratum languages directly, as did many Caribbean varieties (and Gullah) which show *unu*, or a related form, from West African languages.

Irish English has two counterparts to *y'all* and a hybrid form as well. The two equivalents are *youse* (on this in South Africa, see Wright 1997) and *ye*, the former created by simply adding the productive {S} plural morpheme to the singular *you*, and the latter a second person plural form which has been retained in Irish English. The hybrid form *ye* + {S}, phonetically /ji(:)z/ is also attested. Because standard English is typologically very unusual in having an empty slot for the second person plural, the appearance of a form to fill this should not be accorded undue weight in any variety.

Non-inversion of subject and auxiliary in main clause wh-*questions.* Although this feature – see (7) above – does not occur in Irish English the latter is well known for showing the order of questions in sentential complements as seen in *I don't know will she come* 'I don't know if she will come.' This is usually traced back to Irish usage, but both this order and that of SAIE with *wh*-questions shows a simplification vis à vis standard English which has inversion in such instances. The lack of inversion would then be viewed as in keeping with simplification tendencies in the syntax of pidgins and grammatically simplified registers.

Reduplication of wh-*words.* This does not seem to be a widespread feature of substratum languages (though it does occur in Bhojpuri, Mesthrie, pc.) and hence might be an indication of a pidgin phase for SAIE – see (11) above – where reduplication is quite common, either for intensification or for the partitive use found in SAIE, e.g. *who-who* 'who of several people.' Such reduplication does not seem to have ever been typical of Irish English.

Passives. There is no doubt that passive structures – see (8) above – are not typical of grammatically simplified registers. Passives require additional processing of sentences, as the object and subject roles are reversed. Of all the cases cited by Mesthrie only *In TV that sees* 'On TV that can be seen' would seem to be a genuine case of passive recasting, that is, where an active form is used without a pronoun and is hence interpreted passively. In this context, it is interesting to note that Irish has precisely such a form, the autonomous verb form as in *Briseadh an gloine*, lit. 'Broke the glass,' i.e. 'The glass was broken.' There does not seem to be any evidence for a direct equivalent to this structure being used in Irish English, not even among the earliest attestations such as those of the 17th century (see the collection in Bliss 1979 and the texts in *A Corpus of Irish English* in Hickey 2003 a).

Copula/auxiliary deletion. Copula deletion – see (2) above – is found in many simplified registers of English and is an established feature not only of African American English, but also occurs in south-east Irish English where instances can be found (Hickey 2001). It may apply to the verb *be* in different functions: *She a farmer's daughter* (copula), *He gone home* (auxiliary). In SAIE, this deletion may be the result of phonological reduction, but it also exists as a special construction, e.g. *My brother that* 'That's my brother' (Mesthrie 1996: 92f. and pc.).

Zero subject relative pronoun. This is a well-known feature of many varieties of English such as local forms of London English. Its occurrence in SAIE – see (4) above – might just be an influence from earlier vernacular varieties of South African English in Natal or it might represent an extension of the deletion of the relative pronoun already present with the object relative.

Possessive for existential. Metaphorical extension would seem to be the source of this feature – see (9) above. Such instances are known from many languages, such as German where existence and location are linked, cf. *Dasein* 'existence' ~ *da sein* 'be there, at a given location.' What may be the case is that in the language shift situation the type of extension embodied in sentences like <u>Got</u> *one big dog there* 'There's a big dog there' was particularly favoured.

Front (left dislocation). Topicalisation by fronting – see (3) above – is a widespread feature in languages and is particularly well attested in Irish English where its great range is often attributed to a similarly broad range in Irish, e.g. *It's to Galway she went yesterday*, Irish: *Is go Gaillimhe a chuaigh sí inné*. In both Irish and Irish English, clefting is the preferred syntactic device for fronting but in SAIE left dislocation is found (with the same aim of topicalisation), often with a resumptive pronoun: *Change I haven't got. Hilda, I can't stand her*. (Mesthrie 1992: 110f.) Object and prepositional objects may also be left dislocated: *Banana I want. For Blind Society we collect.* This kind of fronting did not develop in Irish English, but that may be simply because clefting was already widely available.

3.1.1. Aspectual Structures

The features of SAIE grammar discussed so far represent simplifications or at best extensions of usages already present in superstrate English. However, it is when one comes to look at aspectual structures that one finds more substantial evidence for grammatical reanalysis and restructuring of the kind known to have occurred in pidgins and creoles.

First of all, one should note that SAIE shows the range of aspectual distinctions which are typical of pidgins, that is of varieties of language which arose in situations of uncontrolled adult learning of the superstrate language. In such situations scholars – most notably Derek Bickerton, but also John Holm, Suz-

anne Romaine, John Rickford, Donald Winford, to mention only some of these – have noted that prototypical aspectual distinctions are at a premium and the categories of habitual (with or without a formally distinguished progressive) and of perfective (possibly with subtypes) tend to be present and have explicit morphosyntactic exponence. Above all, Derek Bickerton interprets 'prototypical' in this sense as characteristic of human language at a pristine stage – embodied in 'new' languages like creoles – before all the additions and deletions occur, which arise throughout history and which are responsible for differences among languages. Although different in many details, such assumptions are also made in models of universal grammar, where unmarked values for certain parameters like word order are also assumed to be characteristic of creoles (arising from pidgins).

There is an essential difference between the external situation under which creolisation took place, e.g. scenarios like the 17th/18th century anglophone Caribbean, and that of the language shift in Ireland or Natal with the Indian population. In the former there was a break in linguistic continuity, whereas in the latter speakers still had access to the substrate language from which they where shifting to English. The language shift situation out of which both Irish English and SAIE arose is the closest one finds among anglophone scenarios in recent centuries to the specific historical situation of creolisation in the early colonial period in areas such as the Caribbean. The similarity in the situation of language learning – specifically the non-restrictive surroundings in which adults would have acquired their rudimentary knowledge of superstrate English – accounts for the structural similarities between shift-induced varieties and pidgins/later creoles (see the discussions in Winford 1997-8). On the other hand, the break in linguistic continuity in the creolisation scenario accounts for the differences between varieties here and those of a language-shift situation.

Aspectual structures in SAIE

Category	**Exponence**
Habitual	(i) with verb *stay* (ii) with invariant *be* (iii) with *should* in the past
Perfective	(i) with verb *leave* (ii) with verb *finish*

SAIE shows similarities with many established creoles in the exponence of aspectual categories. The use of *stay* for the habitual, as in *They used to fight and stay* 'They used to be continually quarrelling,' is similar to that recorded for Hawaiian creole. The use of invariant *be*, as in *Every time I go he be there* 'Whenever I go, he's there,' is of course well attested in Caribbean creoles and African American English. The use of *finish* to indicate the perfective is parallel to cases like the use of *finir* 'to finish' in the French-based creole of Haiti.

The other kinds of exponence show a reanalysis of elements already present in English. *Leave* can be interpreted as implying completion – '(depart when) something is finished' – and hence was co-opted in SAIE for the perfective. The other case of reanalysis attested here is that of *should* for the perfective where its semantic element of 'obligation' was interpreted as indicating 'repetition,' hence the habitual use as in *That time she should drink normal tea* 'She used to drink tea with sugar then.'

The occurrence of these structures shows a certain distribution among forms of SAIE: the use of aspectual *stay* and *leave* (Mesthrie 2004: 976) are characteristic of basilectal varieties, whereas the remaining structures are very common throughout other forms of SAIE (Mesthrie, pc.).

Aspectual structures in Irish English

Category	**Exponence**
Habitual	(i) *do* + *be* + V-*ing* (southern) (ii) invariant *bees* (northern) (iii) -*s* on lexical verb
Perfective (i), immediate Perfective (ii), resultative	*after* + V-*ing* OV word order

Irish English aspectual structures are similar to those in SAIE in the categories they embody – habitual and perfective – but quite different in their exponence. The perfective furthermore shows two subtypes in Irish English, the first, as in *He is after breaking the glass*, is clearly a gloss on an Irish source structure (Hickey 2001 a), while the second, as in *She has the work done*, could also have resulted from the similar OV word order of Irish with some possible support from archaic word-order patterns in English (Harris 1991), though this is somewhat doubtful given the demise of OV word order already in the Middle English period in Britain (for a detailed discussion of the situation in Irish, see the contribution by Ailbhe Ó Corráin in this volume and the relevant chapter in Hickey 2006).

Aspectual structures of Irish English not shared in their exponence by SAIE

Feature	**Possible source**
Immediate perfective aspect with *after*	Transfer from Irish
Resultative perfective with OV word order	Possible convergence with archaic patterns in English, primarily due to Irish influence
Habitual aspect expressed by *do* + *be* or *bees* or inflectional *-s* on a lexical verb	Divergent views on sources: (i) refunctionalisation of unstressed *do*, (ii) reanalysis of verbal *-s* as aspectual marker

Lastly one should note that SAIE partakes in features found in the English of other groups in South Africa, particularly among the Afrikaans speakers (Lass and Wright 1986), many of which do not occur in standard English. Notable among these are the use of the present progressive with stative and 'psych'-verbs, e.g. as in *Who's that car outside belonging to? He's not knowing much French* (Watermeyer 1996: 110). One could also mention the confusion of verbs with complementary meanings, e.g. *bring* and *take*, *rent* and *let*, *lend* and *borrow* (Watermeyer 1996: 120). In some cases one is dealing with a greater range for one of the verbs in a pair rather than true complementarity, e.g. *learn* which is often found for *teach*, e.g. *He learned him his language*. Such usage is also typical of vernacular Irish English as it is for other varieties of English including earlier forms of the language. Another feature would be the lack of reverse concord with tags (McArthur 2002: 291), e.g. *He's gone now*, *is it?* found in South African English and in other varieties of English, e.g. Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 202) Finally, one could mention the extension in range of *busy* (Mesthrie 2002) which has become a clear indicator for South African English in general.

4. Further Shift-induced Varieties

4.1. Aboriginal English

At the outset of this article mention was made of Aboriginal English in Australia as a shift-induced variety of English. When comparing it to both Irish English and SAIE one must bear in mind that Aboriginal English is not a single, focussed variety. It is really only spoken – in a rather diffuse form – by speakers with little contact with non-aborigines as in various community settlements. In all these areas, the aboriginal languages are in various stages of decline.

Features of Aboriginal English

1) Finite *be* in equative sentences optional
2) Reduction and/or generalisation of verbal inflections
3) Verbal *-s* in present tense may be dropped (Malcolm 1996: 151f.)
4) Avoidance of subordinating conjunctions (parataxis favoured over hypotaxis)
5) Nouns not always formally marked for plural
6) Questions often formed by intonation rather than inversion or via *wh*-forms
7) Distinctions found between singular and plural personal pronouns

In the realm of personal pronouns – see the last feature above – a distinction between a dual and a plural may be found, as can one between inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural similar to that in Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea: *yumi* 'inclusive *we*' and *mipela* 'exclusive *we*.' Australian creoles, and perhaps Aboriginal English, may indeed have been affected by Melanesian pidgins brought by workers on sugar plantations to Queensland in the late 19th century (Dixon 1980: 73). The distinctions just mentioned suggest a substrate influence from Australian languages which show such categories. Only two or three languages do not have a dual and approximately half have the inclusive/exclusive distinction (Dixon 1980: 275-277). Another substrate feature, sometimes carried over into English, is the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession where possessive pronouns are not necessarily used when an object is part of the body (Dixon 1980: 74f.), compare German which also has this distinction, e.g. *Er hat sich das Bein gebrochen*, lit. 'He broke himself the leg,' but *Sie hat ihr Auto verkauft*, 'She sold her car.'

The remaining features of Aboriginal English – (1) to (6) above – are all typical of grammatically simplified registers, which occur in imperfect adult second language learning. There would appear to have been no restructuring of input English among the aborigines, in contrast to what happened in Melanesia and with the various creoles attested historically in Australia such as Torres Strait Creole (Shnukal 1991), Cape York Creole and Kriol (Arthur 1996; Sandefur 1991) or even the assumed, but non-attested earlier New South Wales pidgin of the early 19th century (Malcolm 2001: 210). Some authors, such as Troy (1990, 1993), assume that New South Wales (NSW) jargon – a phase preceding the formation of a stabilised pidgin – would have been used among aboriginal groups, especially after displacement to areas where languages were spoken which they did not understand. Irrespective of the probability of this scenario, there is no way that present-day Aboriginal English can be classified as a pidgin, or even a pre-pidgin jargon. In order to use such a label with conviction, Aboriginal English would have to be a much more focussed variety with specifiable features occurring on a community-wide scale.

4.2. Hebridean English

The label 'Hebridean English' is used as a cover term for varieties of English which arose in the Hebrides in western Scotland as a result of language shift from Scottish Gaelic to English. There have been various investigations of these varieties, notably in Sabban (1982, 1984, 1985), Shuken (1984, 1985) and Filppula (1991, 1997). Odlin (1992, 1997) are based on Irish and Hebridean data respectively and should thus be mentioned here.

All authors stress the close relatedness of Hebridean English to Irish English, e.g. Sabban (1982) has a whole chapter dedicated to this (see 'Anglo-Irische Parallelen' in which she looks at the use of the progressive and at the *after*-perfective). With the above authors, the similarities between Irish English and Hebridean English are attributed to the syntactic sameness of the background languages Irish and Scottish Gaelic respectively. It is understandable that key substrate or substrate-enhanced features of Irish English are mirrored in Hebridean English as can be seen in the following table.

Common features of Irish English and Hebridean English

(1) The use of clefts as in *It's to Dublin he's gone today* (Odlin 1997)

(2) The use of unbound reflexives as in *Himself and his wife were buried...*

(3) Preposition *on* used to express relevance as in *Don't get lost on me.*

(4) Paratactic *and* as in *But when the house is quiet and us alone...*

(5) The use of the *after* + V-*ing* construction to express the immediate perfective as in *He's after going away*.

(6) The use of OV word order to express the resultative perfective as in *That's the way he had him deceived...* (Filppula 1997: 947).

Frequency of occurrence. In his investigation of cross-dialectal parallels, Filppula explicitly points out that frequency of occurrence among shared constructions can vary considerably, for instance the *after* + V-*ing* construction only occurred once in his Hebridean English database (Filppula 1997: 946), a fact which cannot simply be attributed to the type of interview situation for the data in his collection. Various proposals could be made to account for this, but what is important in trying to explain the much higher Irish frequency is the fact that the *after* + V-*ing* construction became established very early on in Irish English, albeit initially with future reference as McCafferty (2003) has shown conclusively (see also the detailed treatment of this issue by Ailbhe Ó Corráin in the current volume and the relevant chapter in Hickey 2006). Thus this construction had a considerable length of time (from the 17th century onwards) during which it became iconic (either consciously or unconsciously) for the emerging focussed variety of Irish English.

Habitual aspect. One feature is conspicuously absent from the above list, namely the use of *do* + V-*ing*, as in *She does be worrying about the children*, to express habitual aspect (Filppula 1997: 952). Indeed one might expect the typical northern Irish English means of indicating the habitual – inflected *be* (Montgomery and Kirk 1996) as in *She bees worrying about the children* – to be found in Hebridean English, given its closer geographical proximity to Ulster than to the south of Ireland. But this is also absent. This clear lack of attestation may in fact support the attestational situation in Irish English (see the text collection in Hickey 2003 a), where the habitual with either *do* + V-*ing* or inflected *be* does not occur until the mid-19th century (see the detailed discussion in Hickey 2005). It may just be that the late attestation of the habitual in Irish English and its non-occurrence in Hebridean English are both indicative of its independence of any substratal source and its status as a recent phenomenon. There are, however, two facts which nonetheless point to an earlier rise of the habitual in Irish English. The first is its existence in the anglophone Caribbean where unstressed, declarative *do* was also co-opted for its expression (as in Irish English), seemingly from the initial settlement in the early 17th century onwards (see the detailed discussion in Hickey 2004 b; see Rickford 1986 for a conventional view of the rise of the habitual in the Caribbean). The second fact is that the habitual with *do* + V-*ing* is attested in Newfoundland English which would point to an origin before the mid 19th century (as the main Irish emigration to Newfoundland took place in the 18th century and had petered out by the 1830s, see Hickey 2002; Kirwin 1993, 2001). It would also point to a geographical source in the south of Ireland.

5. Conclusion

The consideration of a shift-induced variety like SAIE shows that the genesis of such varieties involves quite a number of features which are characteristic of grammatically simplified registers found primarily in uncontrolled adult second language learning. This does not by any means exclude features which are of substrate origin (see comparative tables and discussions above). Of the various features of grammatically simplified registers which point further towards pidginisation, one should mention aspectual structures which appear to be given preference in shift-induced varieties and which survive into later more focussed forms of these varieties. The preference for aspectual distinctions – at least the perfective and the habitual – would go a long way to explaining why unstressed, declarative *do* came to be reanalysed and refunctionalised in Irish English given the non-restrictive nature of the original shift scenario. It would also account for the rise of inflected *be* in those varieties where this occurs. There are, however, still difficulties in trying to synchronise the late textual attestations (mid 19th century onwards) of the habitual – expressed by either *do* + *be* + V-*ing* or inflected *be* – and the known period of language shift which was earlier.

Finally one can mention that the range of features discussed here and the various explanations offered do not appeal to the retention of archaic input features, either for Irish English or for SAIE. With the latter one would not expect such features, as the anglophone settlement of South Africa is largely a 19th century phenomenon, though there are some lexical archaisms (Mesthrie, pc.). But with Irish English, which has a much longer history, one might expect archaic features to be present. Here it is useful to differentiate language levels. Certainly, in lexis there are many archaisms (and/or dialectisms) in Irish English (see the many examples in Dolan 2005 (1998)), and the varieties on the east coast of Ireland (the original settlement area) show many older phonological features along with the archaic morphological form *ye* for the plural. But in syntax it would seem that the non-standard constructions which have been investigated so thoroughly over the past thirty years or so can be traced in the main to substrate transfer into emergent forms of Irish English and/or to a scenario with grammatically simplified registers which was the external setting in which this shift-induced variety of English arose.

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