

Irish English 40 years on¹

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In 1985 *Teanga* published a landmark collection of papers on Irish English. Most of the papers had been presented at various seminars which had been part of the agenda of IRAAL, the *Irish Association for Applied Linguistics*, or *Cumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmi*. The 1985 volume, ‘Papers on Irish English’, quickly became a seminal publication, and an important reference point for those of us who started working in the field in the years that followed. In the ‘Summary of Contents’ included in the Introduction to that 1985 Special Issue of *Teanga* the editors write: ‘the last paper by Kallen suggests that the English spoken in Ireland should be viewed in a world-wide context and his paper in particular addresses itself to theoretical arguments which have wider implications for the development of linguistic theory’ (Ó Baoill et al., 1985, p. v). I want to start this introduction by reconnecting with those words, in order to revisit Kallen’s (1985a) point that the study of Irish English as a field in its own right deserved attention, a claim that he and others had already articulated at the first IRAAL symposium held in October 1980.

Kirk (2021, p. 3) remarks that prior to the 1980s ‘Irish English had been referred to in book titles, somewhat monolithically and uncritically, simply as ‘English’’. Following from his argument, Kirk refers to titles published by P.W. Joyce (1910), Hogan (1927), and Bliss (1979) where Ireland, as he contends, was in a way seen ‘merely as a territorial expansion of English English, or heteronomous with English English (i.e. lacking autonomy), the norms of which had to be followed’ (Kirk 2021: 3). In reality, a

¹ I am grateful to Jeffrey Kallen, Bettina Migge and Ana M^a Terrazas-Calero for comments on an earlier draft of this introductory paper.

useful starting point for the analysis of Irish English as a variety can begin before the 1980s, with the 1973 Thomas Davis Lectures on RTÉ radio. These lectures gave rise to the popular volume edited by Ó Muirthe (1977), with contributions from major academics such as A. Bliss, P. L. Henry, D. Ó Muirthe, and E. G. Quin. The fact that RTÉ took this project on, treating Irish English as something serious and worthy of study from a variety of angles, was significant in the sense that it was not taken for granted as being too trivial and every-day to be looked at, nor was it marginalised as ‘badly-spoken English’ or stigmatised as an instrument for comical effect. This book was a departure from both the purely scholarly approach (which gave us P.L. Henry’s (1957) still-unrivalled study of North Roscommon and his later survey paper) and the more popular approach of P.W. Joyce several generations earlier. Getting scholars involved in the public arena was a good way to signal that Irish English was a serious subject of study, and for many years this volume was the only book that was readily accessible (Kallen, personal communication)².

The IRAAL 1980 conference was an event that brought different academics together³ and provided the impetus for new work that had surfaced in two earlier *Teanga* issues: *Teanga 2* (1981) and *Teanga 3* (1983), and ultimately in the 1985 special issue titled ‘Papers on Irish English’. This momentum continued with the special issue of the *Irish University Review* published in 1990, which had T. P. Dolan as guest editor, and contains a dedication to Alan Bliss, whose work on what Dolan refers to as *Hiberno-English*, followed from the ‘pioneer study of the dialect published in 1927 by the late

² Another useful resource going back in time was Judith Butler Aldus’s (1976) remarkable bibliography on ‘Anglo-Irish dialects’, which was all that researchers could resort to until then (Markku Filppula, personal communication August 2002), and it helped to spark much of the research of the time.

³ IRAAL’s success with the 1980 conference and subsequent publications could be cited in connection with the ‘First Symposium on Hiberno-English’ which was then held in 1985 at Trinity College Dublin. Peter Trudgill’s keynote paper provided a broad perspective, James and Lesley Milroy and various of their former students all presented papers (Kallen, personal communication).

Professor J. J. Hogan, of University College Dublin, and also from the classic studies of the dialect by Professor P. L. Henry' (Dolan, 1990, p. 7).

This brings me to the question of terminology next. While the term *Irish English* was already used in the 1985 *Teanga* Special Issue, it may seem confusing to researchers coming to the topic for the first time that *Hiberno-English* was also employed five years later to refer, essentially, to 'the English spoken and (sometimes) written in Ireland'. *Irish English* as a term in fact did not materialise as such until after the 1990s, when different scholars (e.g. Hickey, 1990, 1993; Kallen, 1994, 1997) started to use the term more prominently. Prior to this turning point, as is evident from the Irish University Review publication, the term *Hiberno-English*, but also other terms such as *Anglo-Irish*, and the *English Language in Ireland* had been employed with different connotations. Those terms were also used in the *Teanga* Special Issue in different ways, alongside the term *Irish English*, even though, as the Introduction states, in many cases the terms were interchangeable. As Ó Baoill et al. (1985, p. v) point out, those engaged in research on Irish English in Ireland at the time were familiar with these different terms 'but to the outsider they may [have] seem[ed] confusing'. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere (Amador-Moreno, 2010, p. 8), to a non-linguistic audience the term *Anglo-Irish*, which has been traditionally also used in other contexts, is normally associated with the Irish descendants of English colonists (and by extension also with their literature and language). This means that the adjective *Anglo-Irish* is often understood as having political, religious or ethnic connotations (Croghan, 1988, p. 105)⁴.

The term *Hiberno-English* (derived from the Latin name that the Romans gave to the island, i.e. *Hibernia*) has been variously employed to emphasise different aspects of

⁴ Scholars who employed this term include Burke (1986), Henry (1957, 1960–61, 1977), Hogan (1927), van Hamel (1912), Garvin (1977) and Wall (1986). Henry (1964; 1977; 1985), on the other hand, uses the term *Anglo-Irish* in its purely linguistic sense.

this variety. This is a term frequently found in articles and books dealing with the fictional representation of the English spoken in Ireland, and it carries with it the risk of lending itself to the assumption that the English spoken in Ireland is simply a fictional construct, something that authors use in plays, novels or poems for characterisation. Interestingly, as a term, *Hiberno-English* is generally understood in the Irish context and still employed by some in present-day Ireland, with different connotations⁵. Many people in Ireland recognise it as a term that was popularised by T. P. Dolan through regular contributions to programmes on Irish radio and Irish newspapers. Given that many of those contributions were based on the *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* that he compiled between 1998 and 2004, it has the drawback that it is sometimes used as an excluding term, where only etymological elements are taken into consideration, thus leaving out other important components of what constitutes essentially the *English Language in Ireland*, and whose analysis involves the study of pragmatic, discoursal and sociolinguistic values both in spoken and in written discourse.

The more neutral term *Irish English* (IrE) is in general favoured in research conducted since the mid-1990s, and it has come to replace all the other terms used in academic linguistic discourses, as it encapsulates the more ‘global view’ that Kallen’s closing paper in the *Teanga* 1985 Special Issue advocated for. *Irish English* as a term responds to Kallen’s appeal to observe this variety in a ‘world-wide context that includes not only other varieties of English (e.g., the English of India, North America or Australia), but other examples of language in contact [...]’.⁶

⁵ Bettina Migge (personal communication) observes some resurgence of this term at present among younger people in Dublin, ‘maybe through school or literary reference’, which she interprets as a possible result of gentrification.

⁶ Hickey’s (2007, pp. 4-8) evaluation of the usefulness of this term for linguistic studies also provides a good account of the terminological implications of the various labels. His reflections include other labels used in studies on northern Irish English, as well as non-linguistic terms.

Forty years after the publication of ‘Papers on Irish English’ the English of Ireland, *Irish English*, has become a well-established field of research. In many ways, the *Teanga* Special Issue set the agenda for what its contributors identified as avenues worth exploring. The first two contributions, by Kallen (1985a) and Tilling (1985), provided a ‘compact overview’, as the editors put it, of research carried out in the South and the North of Ireland respectively, and they shone a torch into what was a fascinating world. I came across Tilling’s work as a student at the University of Ulster while I was working on a graduate paper on the language of Irish literature; its discovery led me on to the wonderful *Teanga* Special Issue, and I came out of the library thinking I had found exactly what I needed for my paper, without suspecting that learning about the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English, the Dialects of Ulster, or Articlave would have such an enormous influence on my own future. The work of great scholars such as Karen P. Corrigan, Warren Maguire, Kevin McCafferty, and many others who have been investigating Northern Irish English in the last 40 years, has added to the topics identified by Tilling, and also by G. B. Adams (1985), in his equally illuminating contribution to the Special Issue. Two other hugely influential papers were part of the same volume: one by John Harris on ‘the PII construction’ and another one by Markku Filppula on topicalisation. Returning to Harris’s and Filppula’s contributions in 2025 (at the time of writing) brings the reader back to the value of these original approaches to non-standard syntax. The authors’ carefully-crafted discussion of language contact phenomena and first-hand analysis clearly show the importance of scrutinising data and of having a good understanding of the context in which such data is produced.

One point raised by Kallen in the last paper of the original volume, notwithstanding, is the need to move away from the constant comparison between dialect and standard, which, as he points out, had dominated the discussion surrounding

distinctive Irish English syntax, phonology etc. until the publication of the Special Issue in the mid-1980s: ‘any variety of speech’, he states, ‘must be seen not simply in contrast to a ‘standard’ variety or to any other variety, but both a) in its own terms as a set of rules which generate the speech corpus of the native speaker, and b) as one of a set of interrelated rules which may all have an effect on the multidialectal native speaker’ (Kallen, 1985a, p. 65). Forty years on, we can safely state that Irish English is no longer seen *only* in contrast to a ‘standard’ or to other varieties of English, but as a variety (or set of varieties) in its own terms, where a more ‘global view’ has certainly been implemented, not only in terms of its geographical scope, but also in terms of wider methodological and theoretical scopes too, where attention is paid to other realms of Irish written and spoken discourse in English (diachronically and synchronically).

Teanga has consistently continued to contribute to the field. From an IRAAL seminar on bilingualism, Kallen (1985b) approached the role of bilingualism in the development of Irish English, emphasising insights from 17th century census data and the co-occurrence of *do* and *be*. Siegfried Bertz, whose unpublished PhD dissertation (Bertz, 1975) contains a great deal of potentially useful information, also contributed to *Teanga* 7 (Bertz, 1987). Another IRAAL conference on language transfer gave rise to new papers by Filppula (1991) and Kallen (1991) in *Teanga* 11. Rosemary O’Halpin’s (1994) investigation of prosody took *Teanga* readers into a territory that is relatively neglected, even by phonologists. Markku Filppula continued to contribute to *Teanga* with Filppula (1995), and we could also note Maeve Conrick’s (1999) review of Terry Odlin’s paper on Hiberno-English: Pidgin, Creole, or Neither? One aspect that is especially significant about these papers published in the 1990s is that they brought specialists in the Irish language, teachers of modern Continental languages, language policy experts, speech and language therapists, translators, and others together in face-to-face meetings which are

usually reflected in the diversified contents of each volume of *Teanga*. Mixed groups of this kind are increasingly rare in academic life, but for anyone working with Irish English, mixing with Irish-language specialists is an essential part of the experience, and making connections to applications (as in language assessment and teaching) or to other areas beyond Irish English is also very beneficial.

Some years later, *Teanga* 21, guest edited by Fiona Farr and Anne O’Keeffe (which did not appear until 2004, but is editorially dated to 2002) burst forth with corpus-based papers focused on Irish English, including the description of the *Limerick Corpus of Irish English* by Farr, Murphy, and O’Keeffe (2004) and Clancy’s (2004) study of family discourse. By the time of *Teanga* 22 (editorially dated to 2003–04, but published in 2007), new techniques (such as corpus linguistics) and new research questions had arisen, and Irish English was no longer the niche area that it had been in the early days. Thus, papers like Amador Moreno (2007), Palma Fahey (2007), Reffell (2007), and O Malley (2007)⁷ added to the research that had appeared in the journal up to that point. Significant, too, of a change in practice is (a) that *Teanga* 21 did not arise from an IRAAL event but from an IVACS⁸ conference held in 2002, and (b) that some of the papers in *Teanga* 22 were directly submitted to *Teanga*, rather than arising from an IRAAL event. Thus, *Teanga* has adapted to new concepts (going electronic, accepting submissions for presentation, sponsoring special issues arising from events held by other bodies, etc.) but has maintained its focus on applied linguistics in Ireland in its broadest sense. Within that

⁷ In keeping with the *Teanga* tradition, O Malley’s work on discourse in midwifery is not a study of Irish English per se, but since it focuses on authentic discourse by Irish English speakers, it also has potential to expand our understanding of the field.

⁸ The *Inter-Varietal Applied Corpus Studies* network (IVACS) was formally established at Mary Immaculate College in 2002 as both a research centre and an inter-institutional research network. Since its foundation it has held an annual one-day symposium, in one of its network institutions, where representatives from the different network institutions present on their work. IVACS also hosts a prestigious biennial international conference.

concept, Irish English continues to provide a major theme. And the current issue reflects exactly this point.

A recent volume edited by Raymond Hickey (2023), the *Oxford Handbook of Irish English*, also provides a broad picture of how the field has grown over the last forty years. The focus on pragmatics has developed significantly since the publication of another influential volume by Barron and Schneider in 2005; sociolinguistic perspectives (e.g. Hickey, 2016; Hickey & Amador-Moreno, 2020; O'Dwyer, 2020, Schulte, 2024) have gained ground, and new broader approaches to language contact such as second language acquisition among newcomers to Ireland (e.g. Diskin & Regan, 2015, Corrigan, 2020), as well as other nascent research areas applied to IrE such as perceptual dialectology (Lucek, 2023) and linguistic landscape research (Kallen, 2009) have also developed. Any account of the field needs to mention the stream of research using new corpora to answer old questions as part of the 'new perspectives'. One notable difference between *Focus on Ireland* (Kallen, 1997), which also served as a general introduction to the field, with chapters covering a range of topics, both local and global, and the *Handbook* by Hickey is the volume of chapters that rely on corpus linguistic approaches to data at present. The existence of the International Corpus of English-Ireland (Kallen & Kirk, 2008, 2012), the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (Farr et al., 2004), and the Corpus of Irish English Correspondence (McCafferty & Amador-Moreno, 2012; Amador-Moreno, 2022, 2024) illustrate the role that corpora are now playing in the field. The *Handbook* contains thirty chapters offering, as indicated above, a comprehensive overview of the growth of the field in the last forty years, featuring discussions that cover the historical background, structural features, and sociolinguistic issues concerning Irish English at present. Hickey's is the first *Handbook* devoted to a specific variety of English published by the very English publisher Oxford University Press. One might assume (or perhaps even

expect) that the analysis of Irish English might only be of interest to (or even be the responsibility of) Irish linguists. However, a remarkable aspect of the research in the field has traditionally been the fact that research on Irish English has been conducted by Irish and non-Irish academics alike, based both in and outside of Ireland. Like the ‘Papers on Irish English’ Special Issue, the background of the contributors to the new Handbook is varied (as is true of any other academic discipline): among the twenty-seven contributors eight belong to an Irish institution at present, three are based in Australia, one in Canada, one works in a Scottish university, one was based in England, and thirteen work or have worked in different European universities (in Finland, Germany, Norway, Spain and Switzerland). Some are Irish working abroad, some are non-Irish who work or have worked in Ireland, while others are scholars who have just chosen to investigate Irish English.

The closing paper in the *Teanga* Special Issue starts by expressing the hope that events such as the IRAAL conference in 1985 ‘will be only one of many more gatherings devoted to related topics.’ Looking at the number of publications on the field, which includes five introductory volumes (Filppula, 1999; Hickey, 2007; Amador-Moreno, 2010; Corrigan, 2010; Kallen, 1997, 2013) and a large number of other more specialised publications (for which see Hickey’s Irish English resource centre: [http://www.raymondhickey.com/index_\(IERC\).html](http://www.raymondhickey.com/index_(IERC).html)) one can safely admit that the study of Irish English has flourished. As the result of a particularly congenial environment in which this research has continued, the *New Perspectives on Irish English* conference (NPIE) has been taking place biannually since 2010, when Bettina Migge and Máire Ní Chiosáin, both from the linguistics section of University College Dublin, organised the first NPIE. Some 40 scholars from several countries took part in what was a very stimulating and productive gathering from the 11th to 13th of March 2010 in the UCD

campus in Dublin. A book resulting from the conference was edited by the organisers and published by John Benjamins in Amsterdam in 2012 (see Migge & Ní Chiosáin, 2012). The volume includes a selection of the papers that were presented at the NPIE1 conference with the aim to ‘assess the directions of research on varieties of English spoken in the island of Ireland [...] and to highlight how that research has developed in the last fifteen years’ (Migge & Ní Chiosáin, 2012, p. xi). In the Preface to the book, the authors relate to the publication of *Focus on Ireland*, mentioned above, and point to two further differences emerging from the contents of both volumes: one has to do with the topics of investigation, which in line with what can be observed in the study of other varieties of English too, has become wider in scope, moving from the description of the distinctive features of the varieties of English and the discussion of their origins to the investigation of sociolinguistic issues, pragmatics, historical development, etc. The second difference has to do with data and analytical approaches, as noted in relation to the Oxford *Handbook* above. Most of the papers rely on corpora for Irish English (and other varieties), and a number of the studies have a comparative focus. One noteworthy difference that the editors refer to in the Preface is the fact that ‘[a]ll authors, without guiding input from the editors or the conference discussions, make use of the terms [sic] ‘Irish English’, suggesting that it has become accepted and mainstream in academic usage -though possibly not to the same extent in local usage.’ (Migge & Ní Chiosáin, 2012, p. xiv).

The NPIE conference in 2010 continued the spirit of the IRAAL conference in 1980, thanks to the efforts of the colleagues involved in the organisation of both events. If one draws a line from the 1980 IRAAL conference to the 2010 NPIE conference – allowing for the various highways and byways of other productions mentioned – one can see why NPIE could call for new perspectives. Available research methods have changed,

the subject matter has expanded greatly, Irish society has changed with immigration and the loss of traditional dialect speakers, and specialists (people with PhDs in the area or who have used Irish English material in their PhDs and other advanced research) could come together to discuss what they are finding in these new perspectives.

Academic output nowadays tends to be measured almost exclusively by publication. The value of research is placed heavily on published chapters and papers, which are more and more computed by key metrics, impact factor of the publications, and other numeric elements that are meant to quantify the significance of science and how results are extended, but which are not necessarily related to the real impact that ideas may have. Gatherings like the ones that resulted in the *Teanga* Special Issue or the *New Perspectives on Irish English* volume are the solid mesh that holds the field together. The ideas shared by the participants in these kinds of gatherings are what push academic debate forward. Various successful gatherings have taken place since the first *New Perspectives on Irish English* conference, and the event has turned into a series that will reach its 10th edition after the next meeting at Marino Institute in Dublin in May 2026. The efforts of the organisers of the subsequent meetings in Limerick (NPIE3), Bergen (NPIE4), Potsdam (NPIE5), Vienna (NPIE6), Cork (NPIE7), and Cáceres (NPIE8) have provided those of us who investigate Irish English with a wonderful forum for debate, where the spirit of sharing and learning continues to dominate the exchange of ideas. NPIE goes from strength to strength, and with changes in Irish society and technology, there are new topics to explore which the 1980 conference could never have anticipated. Much of what is in the current special issue of *Teanga* reflects these developments.

Solid academic meshes are crucial for the generation and the spread of knowledge. One important result from the impact that academic gatherings surrounding Irish English have had was the creation in 2021 of the Irish English Network (IrEN), at [11](http://irish-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

english.net, an international network of linguistic scholars whose aims, as per the information on their website, are to:

- promote linguistic research on Irish English within Irish Studies, and within the broader field of research on the varieties of English.
- provide a platform for scholars of Irish English to share current research and perspectives and to disseminate information on publications, courses of study, open scholarships, corpora of Irish English and useful resources.
- facilitate scholarly exchange within and across disciplinary borders around the globe.

Intellectual debate refers to the process of discussing and arguing about ideas, theories, and interpretations in a critical manner. The Irish English Network (IrEN), and Irish English, are now both part of the current research agenda of other broader scholarly debates and initiatives, one of which involves discussions and actions related to the *Future of Irish Studies*.

Traditionally the linguistics of Irish English has not played a very important role in Irish Studies. One of the aims of the Irish English Network is to change this and have Irish English research recognised and supported by EFACIS, the European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies. Since late 2021, IrEN has been recognised as an [EFACIS affiliated organisation](#). Irish English scholars are increasingly involved in EFACIS projects, and in 2025 I had the honour to represent the IrEN at the Future of Irish Studies Symposium as the EFACIS Board Member representative of the IrEN. The event, held on June 26th to 28th that year, was jointly organised by the Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame and the Irish College Leuven. Irish English is an interdisciplinary field per se, and one way forward should include an effort to continue to communicate with other disciplines: engage with the social sciences, with

literary scholars, historians, etc. This type of engagement will no doubt be beneficial to scholars working on those disciplines too, but it should also be a fertile conversation for Irish language scholars. Much of what is present nowadays in the Irish-speaking scene in Ireland can be analysed in parallel to what is available through English: sociolinguistic issues, representation of discourse in the media, data collection and data management issues, more interaction with the large area of World Englishes, etc. In that sense, the study of Irish English has still a lot to contribute to knowledge.

Those of us involved in the study of Irish English are lucky to have been able to benefit from the effort and energy of those colleagues behind initiatives such as ‘Papers on Irish English’, the ‘New Perspectives on Irish English’ series, or the Irish English Network. Those are unmeasurable impacts that make a huge difference and are motivated by what sometimes may seem rare but exists: academic generosity.

The papers gathered in the present volume of *Teanga* arise from the last conference in the series, the [New Perspective in Irish English 8](#), which took place in Cáceres from the 16th to the 19th of May 2024. NPIE8 was organised by Nancy E. Ávila-Ledesma and a number of Spanish colleagues, all of whom are members of the Centre of Irish Studies at the University of Extremadura. The conference hosted 30 scholars, who travelled to the UNESCO World Heritage city of Cáceres from Ireland, Italy, France, Germany, Norway and Japan to present their papers and participate in the sessions. A selection of those papers is included in the Special Issue of *Teanga* presented here. The papers investigate a wide range of topics, including the analysis of phonological, discursal, lexical and pragmatic features. The studies reported in the current volume use (historical)sociolinguistic methods, pragmatic approaches and corpus linguistic tools to investigate natural or mediated productions (and also perceptions) of Irish English discourse at present and in the past.

Hickey's contribution presents a catalogue of 'discourse devices' that one is likely to come across in present-day Ireland. One such device is the adverb *only*, which is analysed by Ronan, who looks into its value as a premodifying intensifier as a variety-specific feature in Irish English by comparing its occurrence with data from the GloWbE corpus. Paying attention to fictional or mediated representations of Irish English, Terrazas-Calero analyses the use of intensifier **fucking* in the fiction of the best-selling author Paul Howard, while Vaughan and Clancy also focus on the pragmatic features present in the interactions of the reality TV show *First Dates: Ireland*. The Irish version of the same TV show is also the object of the study conducted by Barron and Wolfers-Pommerenke, who investigate gender co-construction and the interactional co-creation of gender roles in dating, as portrayed in the show.

Tallon and Theveniaut revisit a classic phenomenon of language contact in the Irish context: the use of epenthesis, while investigating the effects of sociolinguistic factors as well as prosodic contours in bilingual communities. An acoustic analysis is conducted in Ostiguy's paper which reports on a study of the intelligibility of Belfast accent for speakers from the USA, Belgium and the Republic of Ireland. O'Sullivan and Shimada also examine perceptions of IrE by non-Irish speakers, focusing on attribution and self-report of language use by these informants.

Focusing on historical data, Ávila-Ledesma and González García take a historical sociolinguistic approach to the correspondence of a Dublin-born slave-trader who emigrated to Cuba, providing an insight into the discourse style, stance taking and identity marking in the private correspondence of this letter writer. Finally, and using 19th century data from the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (McCafferty & Amador-Moreno, 2012; Amador-Moreno, 2022, 2024), Bonness's paper examines the use of the discourse-pragmatic marker *well* among two generations of a Northern Irish family.

We are grateful to the 19 reviewers who generously provided detailed and helpful feedback on the papers we include in this issue. The reviewers were anonymous to the authors, and their detailed reviews have greatly enriched the collection of papers included here. We would like to thank also the current editors of *Teanga*, Anne Marie Devlin, Aisling O'Donnell, T. J. Ó Ceallaigh and Katie Ní Loingsigh for their initial enthusiasm in embracing this Special Issue proposal, and especially to Anne Marie Devlin, for her continuous support along the way.

The conference hosted a commemoration for our distinguished, much respected and valued scholar, colleague and friend, Markku Filppula (University of Eastern Finland) who sadly passed just before the conference in Cáceres, a place I know he would have liked to return to. The tribute included messages from Karen Corrigan, Marina Dossena, John Harris, Raymond Hickey, Jeffrey Kallen, John Kirk, Patricia Ronan, and Devyani Sharma, all of whom highlighted his significant contribution to IrE research. Markku, who as pointed out above, was one of the contributors to the 1985 issue titled 'Papers on Irish English', contributed to shaping the study of Irish English since his early academic years. This Special Issue titled 'More Papers on Irish English: 40 Years On' is dedicated to him.

Cáceres, 28th December 2025.

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