# The Dialect Vocabulary of Ulster 

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#### Abstract

This article provides a lexicological analysis of the dialect vocabulan of the English of Ulster. Although primarily based on a comprehensive analysis of the <m-> entries in the Concise Ulster Dictionary. it provides quantitative findings as well as other illustrative examplesfrom the entire dictionary. The article deals with the subject matter denoted or expressed by the dialect vocabulan', with the notion of 'Ulsterisms', with parts of speech distribution. with marked stryistic or colloquial usage, with donor and etymological sources, and with regionalitrwithin the province. It also deals with onomasiological variation and the issue of heteronymic sets of hoth lexical items and exponential forms of particular items. The article shows that although many words came into Ulster dialect through the English and Scots dialects of seventeenth-century settlers or under influence from Irish Gaelic, many words were derived from earlier words in Old English, Old Norse or Old French. (Keywords: dialectology. dialect vocahulary. Ulster English. English lexicology).


## RESUMEN

Este artículo ofrece un análisis lexicológico del vocabulario dialectal del inglés del Ulster. Aurnque el presente artículo se centra fundamentalmente en un análisis exhaustivo de las entradas que empiezan por <m-> en el Concise Ulster Dictinnary, se incluyen no obstante ejemplos. $y$ resultados cuantitativos del diccionario en su totalidad. El artículo aborda el área temática denotada o convenida por el vocabulario de dicho dialecto, la noción de "Ulsterismos", la distribución atendiendo a la categoría del discurso, el uso estilístico de carácter mor-cado o coloquial, las fuentes etimológicas o de procedencia lingüística, así como la cuestión de la regionalidad dentro de la provincia. Se estudian asímismo la variación onomasiológica y la cuestión de los comiuntos heteronímicos tanto de pięas léxicas como de formas exponenciales de especificas pieaas. El articulo demuestra que, aunque una gran mayoría de las palabras pasaron a formar parte del dialecto del Uster a través de los dialectos de los colonizadores ingleses y escoceses del .siglo diecisiete o debido a la influencia del irlandés gaélico, muchas de ellas provenian de palabras ya existentes en el inglés antiguo, en el nórdico antiguo o el francés antiguo. (Palabras clave: dialectología. léxico dialectal. inglés en el Ulster. lexicología inglesa).

## I. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN PRESENT-DAY ULSTER



Fidue 1: Presem-Dat Ulster Enalish (from Kirk 1908: Figure ?

As schematically represented in Figure 1. there are four discernible dialects of English in present-day Northern lreland (here referred to as "Ulster": the dialect known as 'standard English`). dialect derived from the former Scots language (here referred to as 'Ulster Scots'). dialect from the regions of England (here referred to as 'Ulster Anglo-English'). and dialect influenced by Irish Gaelic (here referred to as 'Ulster Hiberno-English'). All four have historical foundations: all four converge heteronomously or are inextricahly bound up with rhe overall system of present-day English. Map 1 charts the overlapping areas of Ulster Scots and Hiberno-English.


Map 1: Dialect Areas of Preaent-Day Firglivi m I her \&trom Kirk 199k Map 71. Map I shows the dialect siructure of I Siser m wo far an It displays the arca* abociated with the Iwo marked vartetes It.e. that derived from Scots. and that influenced by Irist Gaelici. It show, arcas of overtap as well as of discreteness. In eatharea. there is alon overlap with thone varietice of English which are derived trom sevencenth-cenming regional dialece of English. which are mot mapped. but which may be interred touctur exclasively msouth-west Fermathag aiid west Armagh. The map show that the Englinh diakers it lister do not oceupy diserele areas. and that spethers nieach dialect mas oceur in places alongside each other.

This situation was descrihed by Gregg (1959: 1):


#### Abstract

... the Ulster dialects have features of interest to general linguistics. especially those which arise from the creative interaction of two widely divergent language types. viz. Celtic and Gerrnanic. which started on the east coast of Great Britain some 1500 years ago andwhich is still a vital issue in the Gaeltacht of County Donegal today. The vagueness which usually attends substratuni. adstratum and superstratuni discussions elsewhere does not apply to the situation in Ulster for we inay still refer to the source dialects in England or Scotland to the east. and to the living Gaelic dialects of the west in our attempts to disentangle the constituent strands -phonological. lexical. syntactical- which niake up the present-day Northern lrish dialects.


## II. THE DIALECT VOCABULARY OF ULSTER

Linguists consider vocahulary to be the 'wordstock'. 'lexis'. 'lexicon'. or 'words used or available for use in a particular area". According to Crystal (1996) "to study the lexicon of English. accordingly. is the study of all aspects of the vocahulary of the language: how words are fornied. how they have developed over time. how they are used now. how they relate in nieaning to each other. how they are handled in dictionaries and other word hooks". According to Görlach (1997; 107). "the lexis of a language is collected in dictionaries: these can be comprehensive or selective. according to specific users or intended functions".

The dialect vocabulary of Ulster. the overall subject of this article. is that part of the vocabulary which is not part of standard English. and which has its immediate origins in the English. Scottish or lrish Gaelic dialects spoken by earlier generations. The present focus is on traditional dialect which is still spoken and which has historicity: it excludes neologisms and revivalist inventions of the 1990s. Traditional dialect is possibly best exemplified in the Concise Ulster Dictionary, without the lexical ground work of which this article would not have been possihle. As Macafee (1997: 182) claims. "the study of vocabulary is the domain of lexicography. Any generalisations that can he made about the wordstock depend on this prior work. Only with individual lexical items identified. catalogued and given an etymological pedigree can we begin to search for regularities and trends in the lexicon".

Where it has survived. the vocahulary is largely of oral currency. although there has been a strong tradition of literary writing in dialect. notahly in the Ulster Scots dialect. in which there has been a revival of interest during the 1990s. The surviving Scots dialect in Co. Antrim is well docurnented lexicographically in The Hamely Tongue. In this particular paper. the ohject of study is primarily $C U D<\mathrm{m}->$ entries. on which intensive manual analysis has been undertaken. supplemented by incidental studies of the entire dictionary. and by autornatic global searches of hoth the dictionary's database and the larger Ulster dialect database at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum ${ }^{1}$. Although the CIJD dust jacket claims "over 15.000 entries". the dictionary database calculates the nurnher of entries (excluding cross references. but including all subentries) to he 18.935 .

## III.3. SUBJECT MATTER

UIster dialect is rich in references to folklife. CUD draws attention to 17 folklife subject areas 'Ploughing`. 'Harvesting'. 'Haymaking'. 'Carts and Slipes'. 'Winning the Peat'. 'The Open Hearth'. Cookery'. 'Traditional Houses’. 'Field Ditches'. 'Clothing'. 'Boats'. 'Fishing’. 'The Evil Eye'. 'Traditional Medicine'. 'Animal Husbandry'. 'The Famine`. 'The Potato' where illustrations accompany the entries. as illustrated in two exaniples in Appendix I. In Sharkey (1985), all the illustrations of the material culture in 12 folklife categories 'The Thatched House'. 'By the Light of the Fire'. 'Furniture aiid Fittings'. 'Farnihouse Fare". 'Homecrafts'. 'Dairy and Lauiidry, 'The Land'. 'Springtinie on the Land'. 'The Harvest'. 'Honieniade Things'. 'The Farmyard'. 'The Animals' can be substantiated by entries in CUD. as exemplified in two examples in Appendix 3. Some <ni-> words of folklore include adole 'nanie traditionally given to anyone horn on the night of a great storni'. cf. Alex Madole. associated with the MacDowell faniily. measuring 'a traditional cure for heart fever - by tying string around a patient's hody as if taking measurements' < Scots mizure. mankeeper (also mancreeper, man-eater. 'a newt'. which rnay bring good or bad luck).

Any random searching of the entries in the 15 niain subject areas in The Scots Thesaurus 'Birds. Wild Animals. Invertebrates'. 'Domestic Animals'. 'Water Life". 'Plants'. 'Environment'. 'Water. Sea. Ships'. ‘Farming'. 'Life Cycle. Family’. 'Physical States'. 'Food and Drinh', 'Law'. 'War, Fighting. Violence`. 'Architecture. Building. Trades’. 'Religion. Superstition. Education. Festivals'. 'Emotions. Character. Social Behaviour' find entries annotated for currency in Ulster and which are also found in CUD. as illustrated for two concepts in Appendix 3. in which Ulster entries are underlined.

The dialect vocabulary of traditional subject areas are reflected in specialist monographs. such as that of farming by Bell and Watson (1986) and that of domestic architecture by Gailey (1984) with their copious illustrations and. respectively. their in-text glossing and glossary. Pride's (1996) Dictionary of Scottish Building could well apply to Ulster. These subject areas are also reflected in the content of recent folk-linguistic representations of the dialect such as Watson (1993) for the North East of Scotland and McBride (1993, 1996) and McConnell (1989. 1990, 1996) for Ulster.

What Fenton (1990) claims of The Scots Thesaurus holds true of the dialect vocabulary of Ulster as well:

Essentially, we are seeing a picture of a non-industrialised countrgside. whose occupants knew their environment. their stock of domesticated animals and the ills that could befall thern. They kriew wild creatures that impinged on their lives as good to eat. or as pests, or simply as starlings that build nests in their chimneys. Somehow -and this is one of the great philosophical matters of outstanding interest in man's developnient- they gave everything nanies. thereby encapsulating their knowledge in tangible form and implicitly imposing a degree of order on their surrouindings.
[The Scots Thesaurus] is comprehensive in another way too. The categories not only give words relating to inanimate objects. the niatrrial aspects of culture with which man surrounds himself in his daily life in his striving for the basic essentials of existence like food. shelter. warmth aiid
clothing. but also cover the animate world. Man and his interactions with the natural world are strongly in evidence in these sections: and just as in earlier centuries when there was a universal belief that the animal world was a mirror image of human society and political forms of organisation. so also is the Thesaurus full of terms for such correspondences. The massive section on Character. Eniotions and Social Behaviour. neatly broken down for us in predigested analysis. is a bottomless well of information on huinan attitudes to the environment and to each other. It is like a map of man's mind. in which fragmentary pieces of the lore of the past jostle with perceptions of the present. There is evidence. in the list of "high class" words denoting social status, of the humborous. sarcastic and sometimes downright cruel tendency that Scots have to level differences. reduce to the lowest common denon-iinator any atten-ipt to climb the social ladder.

Let us consider particular subject areas. The vocabulary is rich in names for the natural world. From the letter < m->. consider the following:

- hird names: mackerel cock 'the Manx shearwater'. maggie muffie 'the whitethroat'. mallie 'the grey heron'. Mary of the trousers the reed bunting: or the stonechat . manis 'the song thrush' ( < Scots < Old French maurais). Mory jack and May whaup 'the wimbrel'. merle "blackbird" (<Scots < French merle). midden cock 'a dunghill cock or farmyard cockerel'. mire drum 'the bittern'. miresnipe 'the common snipe". molrooken 'the great-crested grehe' . moor 'the mallard'. moor-fowl 'the grey partridge'. moss-cheeper 'the meadow pipit'. mossy grey 'the twite', moth 'the nightjar", mountain star 'the golden plover", mountain thrush 'the mistle thrush". murren 'the razorbill. or 'the guillemot'. mussel (also mussel-pecker, mussel-picker). 'the oystercatcher'. also a pyot.
- names of animals and insects: maggie-mony-feet 'a centipede', Manx (also mank, mink) 'a strong hreed of horse'. marly hen (Scots < Old French merelle). master eel 'enormous eel. inhabiting larger loughs. capable of devouring cattle and humans'. May bee 'type of beetle", mayfly "dragonfly". meelcartin "type of worm on the body. crab louse' ( < Irish Gaelic miol ceartain), milk beast/cow'heifer 'a milk cow'. mince 'an old cow'. minnie-cat 'female cat' (< Scots and northern English minnie 'mother'), moiley (also moily: moilya, moolie, mawly, mweel, also mouleagh, mulliagh) 'a hornless cow/bullock/bull' (< Irish Gaelic maol(ai) 'hornless'). moilin 'a hornless cow ( $<$ lrish Gaelic maoilin < maol + diminutive in). mowdy 'the mole'. which is not found in Ireland ( $<$ Scots and northern English < mowdiewarp < O.E.). mud runner 'a crab'. A domestic animal is a messan 'small dog' (< lrish Gaelic measan 'a lap dog ${ }^{\circ}$ ).
\& names of tish: mackerel scout 'the qarfish". mallan rua (also murran-roe, morrianroe. merrin-roe. morran. morrian) 'the hallan wrasse. or the red sea-bream' ( < East Ulster lrish Gaelic mallan rua $=$ standard lrish ballan). miller's thumb 'the sea scorpion', mollygowan 'the angler tish' (local to Co. Antrim and Co. Down).
- nanies of wild tlowers: mayflower 'the marsh marigold or the prinirose'. milds 'a species of goosefoot'. milk gowan 'the dandelion'. milk maid 'the cuckoo tlower'. money plant 'honesty'. morning star 'the common star of Bethlehem'. moss coach 'cottongrass'. mouse-pea 'various wild tlowers'. muggart 'mugwort'. mugueed 'mugwort'. nnewla 'marsh St. John's wort': a plant name is: monog the crowherry'.

The vocahulary is rich in words for farniing practice and customs. < m-> farniing words in CUD include: mare's tail 'the last sheaf cut at harvesting. plaited together and hrought home" ( < Scots meer). mell 'the last corn sheaf cut at horvesting' ( < northern English). marganore (also margymore 'a large cattle market or cattle fair held hefore Christmas or Easter` < Irish Gaelic margadh mor). mehell 'gathering of people for cooperative farmwork such as planting potatoes. harvesting crops. cutting peat, or to help a needy neighbour. or the team doing co-operative work' (< Irish Gaelic meitheal), morrowingdale 'a system of annual redistribution of land. type of rundale. the joint holding of land. with each field divided into small portions which were swopped round annually so as to allow a fair distribution of land' (< Scots and northern English). blue month, dead month, hungr' month 'period from mid-July to mid-August froni the time the old potatoes hecoine scarce until the time the new ones were harvested'. and to muddle 'to steal potatoes hy digging them out of the ground with the hands. surreptiously, especially during the Famine".

There are many words referring to farming activities. for instance. words for ploughing: double reested plough 'plough with two mouldhoards. which push up the loose earth when making drills' (< Scots and dialectal English < O.E.). and double tree 'part of the plough' ( < Scots ciooble): words for harvesting: soople 'a swipple or that part of a flail that strikes the grain' (< Scots and nortliern English forms), weight 'a hoop with a skin stretched over it. used for winnowing or carrying corn' (< Scots wecht = 'weight of corn`): words for haymaking: ruck 'a small haystack. made temporarily in the fields' (< Scots and northern English < Old Norse hruka = O.E. hreac', hedgehog 'a small roll of hay made by hand' (a translation of Irish Gaelic grainneog). tumblejack 'type of horse-drawn rake for turning hay' ( < Scots and northern English < Low Grrnian tummeln). There are words for farni implements. such as carts and slipes: hogie 'a low vehicle for moving hay' (as in English dialects), slipe 'a sledge used for transport. mainly across soft or steep places' ( < Scots < Low German slipe 'sledge'), whum 'a type of cart with high, removable sides. used for transporting peat'. car 'a horse drawn passenger vehicle. of various types'. For cutting peat there is a flaughter 'type of spade used in paring the ground' ( < Scots < O.E. flean).

As the national crop in all parts of Ireland. there are many words and forms of words for 'potato': potato, pitatie, pirtie, pirta, purta, purty, pirrer, porie, pratie, praitie, prae. prata, prater, pritta, pritty, pruta, poota, tater, tattie, totie. (Hiberno-English forms are recoded as pratie, praitie. etc.: Scots forms as pitatie, tattie, rorrie: and a southern English form as tater) There is also a bing 'heap of potatoes or gain. a potato pit' (< northern English. cf. Danish hingr. 'a heap').

There are words for field ditches: $d$ We 'a raised bank or wall of earth' ( $<$ Scots and dialectal English < Old Norse diki $=$ O.E. dic. > ditch). ditch 'a wall or hank of earth or stone. usually separating fields'. sheugh (also sheuch. shugh. shough. shuck, shaugh) 'a drainage channel in a field or alongside a road ${ }^{\prime}$ ( < Scots < Flemish zoeg), the distribution of which is mapped by Braidwood (1975: Figures 1-6) and Zwickl (1996: Map 4.11).

There are words for animal husbandry: cushen (also keshan. kishan, kishawn) 'a
hanging basket. made of plaited straw rope, for hens to lay in' (< Irish Gaelic cisean 'wicker basket' < cis 'kesh' + diniiiiutive $-a \mathrm{an}$ ) . and langle 'to hobble an animal' ( $<$ Scots and northern English).

With Uister surrounded by the sea. there are words for the sea. boats and fishing. as in the following randoni examples : cot 'a flat hottomed boat' (< Irish Gaelic coite). curragh 'a coracle. a wickerwork boat covered with tarred linen or formerly hide' (< Irish Gaelic ( (urach). Dronthein 'a type of hoat. a double-ended clinker-built yawl' ( $<$ Norwegian Trondheim). coghel 'a long hag-like fishing net. narrowing to a point. and fixed on a hoop' (< lrish Gaelic cochall 'a hood'). Tlie eel fishing in Lough Neagli provides its own vocabulary. as in: slug 'part of the coghel or eel-catching net immediately before the tail'.

Every culture appears to generate its words for foocl and drink. including niethods of cooking, as the following $C U D<\mathrm{m}->$ words show: male ark/harrel/bin/kist 'a meal bin or cliest. made of wood. for holding meal' ( $<$ Scots). mail (also male, mail) 'meal or finely ground grain ( $<$ Scots and nortliern English). mealy-creashy. (also) mealacreashy, mealy crush' 'fried oatmeal'. mill 'a pinch of snuffor milled tobacco'. miserable 'inferior type of cocoa' cf. the expression: a pound of miserable ( $<$ Scots). griddle 'a gridiron. an implenient with hars for cookiny over an open tire'. griddle 'a round flat plate of iron used for baking over an open tire' ( < Scots and northern English. but also South-West English < Old French gredil > grill). spurtle 'a pot stick. a wooden stick for stirring' e.g. porridge (cf. spatula < Scots and northern English < Latin spatula via Old Norse. cf. Danish spartle). bakeboard 'board on which dough is kneaded'. Traditional foodstuffs include barnbrack (also barmbrack) 'a large round hun with dried fruit in it' (< Irish Gaelic bairin breac . literally 'little speckled loaf'). champ 'mashed boiled potato. mixed with milk. hutter. spring onion and parsley'. fardle (also forl) 'a quarter of a circular griddle scone' (< Scots < O.E. feorda dael). soda fart, wheaten farl, potato farl. fadge'a thick loaf of wheaten bread baked on a griddle or with potato: or a piece of oatcake hroken off'.

Ulster has its own types of dwelling house and architectural styles. as shown in the following examples: blade 'one of the side members of a roof truss' ( < Scots and northern English). and outshot 'projecting' cf. outshut, 'a projection'. as in outshot bed. 'recessed hed'. Traditional houses had open hearths with chimney lug 'one of a pair of supports beneath the hrace of a chimney and randle-tree "arm across an open fire. in which a crook is hung'.

Ulster creates makes its owii contribution to clothing and footwear: duncher 'a man's tlat cap' (< Scors and dialectal English). mutch 'a head-dress. especially a close-fitting cap of white linen or niuslin with a border'. barra-coat 'a long sleeveless tlannel garment for a haby ${ }^{\circ}$ ( < Scots and northern English). Some < m-> words include mairteens (also mairtins, marteens. martveens, martins, nmrchins. markins) 'socks without feet'. or 'coarse gloves' (<Irish Gaelic mairtini). mutton dummies 'plimsoles'. 'early types of trainers'. a midge's knee-buckle 'anything worn that's extremely small` - knee buckles being worn with knee breechers in the eighteenth century, or a miggle 'a cap resembling a beret', used in Co. Donegal.

With religion the main factor or cause of social division. Ulster is rich in its religious vocabulary. as the following < $\mathrm{m}->$ words show: make vour soul 'go to confession'. used by Rornan Catholics. the auld man 'the devil'. the good man 'God'. mass man 'a Roman Catholic man'. presumably used by Protestants. mass rock 'a large rock used as an altar for secret. open-air masses during the time of the penal laws’. meenister 'Protestant clergyman’. meeting 'a church service. or a Presbyterian church' (cf. meeting-house. used by presbyterians).
methody 'Methodist' (< Scots and dialectal English). Mickey, a derogatory term for a Roman Catholic. missioner 'a Ronian Catholic priest from outside the parish. engaged in a preaching campaign'. or 'a member of an Independent church' ( $<$ Scots missionar). moderate 'to supervise in the appointment of a new minister to a vacant charge*. used in the Presbyterian Church). month's mind. used by Roman Catholics, 'a mass in memory of a deceased person a nionth after the funeral' (cf. mind $=$ 'to remember'). mountain man/woman. used of Presbyterians. 'the Scottish Covenanters persecuted in the seventeenth century'. or 'a Roman Catholic'.

Much of Ulster`s liistory has left its mark oii the dialect vocabulary and CUD regularly although not invariably labels such words as 'historical': drumlins 'a mound of glacial gravel* (now a geological term in standard English. < Irish Gaelic droim: cf. also Scots drum < Scottisli Gaelic druim). Other survivors referring to the landscape aiid to ancient custoins include: raths, CUD 'an ancient monurnent roughly circular in form'. 'an ancient fort' (< lrish Gaelic rath), moss (also peat-moss 'a peat bog'. of unknown origin) and $b(m h$, 'a walled enclosure. usually with towers at the angles. used as a cattle-court normally, and for defence in an emergency' ( $<$ lrish Gaelic babhum). Further 'historical' words include: aboo. an exclamation, 'a war cry' e.g. Butler aboo (< Irish Gaelic abu'a war cry' possibly a shorteiied form of go buaidh 'to victory'). dergaboes (a plural noun. 'rows, commotion ${ }^{\circ}$ < Irish Gaelic Lamh Dhearg Ahu, 'Red Hand to Victory', the O'Neill niotto: cf. nhoo). and the notion of 'month' in blue month, dead month, hungry month. and madder 'a four sided vessel formed from a single block of wood and having one. two or four handles* (< Irish Gaelic meader. also in South-West Scots). According to Rossiter. in a 1953 radio hroadcast entitled 'Country Matters and Dialect', quoted by Braidwood (1975: 4). "dialect. or local accent. is the niark of our history upon our tongue".

Ulster has its own children's games. marble marble 'child's marble actually made of marble'. marlie, marley 'a child's marble'. marbles, in the plural. refers to the game $<$ West Midlands dialect marl. "marvel', marvel, mervel'a child's marble" < Hiberno-English and dialectal English marel). tnug (also muggy hole. mughole) 'a hole in marbles'. mugs (also muggies) 'a game with marbles or large stones' (< Scots). moul cannie 'a mould candle'. as distinct from 'a home-made candle'. maggie 'a playing card', mooney's apron 'ten of clubs'. mowls 'pitch and toss with buttons' (used in Co. Donegal). and mugs 'game played with marbles' (< Scots).

Ulster has its own ways of physical or violent behaviour: malavogue (also malivogue) 'to beat up. to thrash' (cf. malavogin < Cumberland) and the many other words prefixed by mal- e.g. malfooster. maluder (also maller, maloo) 'to thrash. beat'. (cf. maludering 'a beating' < Hiberno-English malvather 'to confuse' or 'to stun with a blow'). moolick 'to beat up. thrash' (cf. moolicking < Argyll moolkin < Scottish Gaelic mulc' to push. to butt"). mogey 'to stumble around foolishly' (cf. mogey 'a fool. or a clumsy person' local to Co. Antrim < dialectal English).

There are words for different types of people: mitten 'an usually large hand or a deformed hand' (cf. Donegal Irish Gaelic miotan). mitteny 'a person with a deformed hand'. mogey 'a fool. a clumsy person'. (used in Co. Antrim). moiley 'a mild-mannered person, a slightly effeminate inan' (< lrish Gaelic maol 'bald, hornless'). mollycoddle 'an effeminate boy or man'. moocher 'sly mean individual; a person always on the lookout for their advantage'. obsolete in standard English). mopin an mowin. used of a child: 'croos. crying'. and of an adult 'in bad humour' ( $<$ Scots moupo). mopy' 'a listless. vacant person'. mosey' 'a
fool. a 'soft' person'. and mug 'a sulky person' (cf. its slang use for 'the face'). There are two figurative uses: moss-cheeper 'someone from a boggy district' (<Scots moss) and mow'dy 'a foolish person' ( < Middle English moudiewarp < molde + weorpan).

There are many derogatory and abusive terms for people. $C U D<\mathrm{m}->$ words include: maid 'a young woman' (archaic in standard English). man-hig. used of a boy: 'man-,grown. grown up'. man-body 'a man'. maneen 'a boy aping mannerisms of a grown man' (< man $\dagger$ diminutive-in). mannie 'affectionate term of address for a small boy'. men-folk 'the male sex'. market. an adjective. used tiguratively of 'a girl ready for marriage'. inim. used of women. 'pert'. 'saucy'. missie 'oldest unniarried daughter of a farmer'. muldy' 'a fat boy or girl' (used in Co. Donegal). marrow' (also morrow. morra) 'husband or wife. a spouse' (obsolete in standard English but widespread in dialect). master (also mester, maister) 'a master. or a woman's husband' ( $<$ Scots and northern English). maggot 'an annoying person'. maglamphus 'a clumsy stupid person'. maneen 'a boy who is aping the mannerisms of a grown-up'. mannie. maukin (also mawkin, mulkin) 'a fat, lazy. slow-witted person'. or 'a simpleton'. or 'a cowardly person' ( $<$ Scots and northern English, but obsolete in standard English). melatty 'a person with a sallow complexion', minikin-finikin'an affected person' (< dialectal Enghlish. but obsolete in standard English). mitteny . mulderoy 'a dull stupid person' or 'a heavy awkward person'. muldy 'a fat boy or girl'. mumchance 'a dununy. an idiot'. obsolete in standard English ( < MLG mummenschanze 'a masked serenade').
$C U D$ has as many as 865 words for which 'person' appears in the definition. Many examples have already been cited. The vocahulary for 'people' is so copious that $C U D<\mathrm{ga}->$ alone yields the following words: gabslake 'a person who acts the fool and talks too niuch'. (country) gnh 'a person from the country'. 'a yokel'. or 'an awkward. ill-mannered fellow'. gabbadan 'a talkative person'. gabblehlooter 'a windbag'. gabbrock 'a thoughtless, illniannered person', gaberloonie 'a stupid. awkward fellow'. 'a gullible person'. 'a person who acts the fool'. gadderman 'an argumentative person'. although also used affectionately as 'a rascal'. gah 'a silly person', gaishen 'a thin. emaciated person'. gamph 'a stupid person'. gamfril 'a fool. a clownish person'. gamshal 'a useless. lazy person'. gansh 'an awkward. inarticulate fellow'. 'a fool. a stupid fellow'. 'a person who talks too much'. 'a loudmouth'. gape 'a fool, a simpleton'. garlagh used of a person. 'mean. contemptible'. gatherer'a frugal. thrifty person'. 'a greedy person'. gaum (also gaumy; gomach, gomeril) 'a fool, a simpleton’. 'an awkward. ungainly fellow'. gavle-heid 'a stupid person'. gawk 'a fool. a simpleton'. 'a stupid person'. gazebo 'an idle staring person'. 'a tall awkward person'. Why there are so many attitudinal and derorgatory ternis for 'people' can. perhaps, be explained by reference to the strict influences of the Presbyterian Church, with its stranglehold on people's lives. the verbal finger being wagged at the non-conformist.

These many subcategories show that the range of subject matter and reference found in the dialect vocabulary of Ulster covers a full spectrum of traditional life both socially and personally. both in material and non-material terms.

## IV. ULSTERISMS

An Ulsterism is defined as a word found in Ulster. or which was created elsewhere but now survives only in Ulster. Such words are unmarked in CUD. Several scholars have compiled short lists.

Henry (1958) suggests the following: some are of an evidently onomatopoeic origin. some ofunknown origin. and the rest are of North or West Germanic origin, weechil 'child ${ }^{-}$ (wee + child cf . wee $<$ O.E. we 3 'a weight'). davligone and davlightfa'n 'twilight". 'gloaming'. skink 'thin gruel' ( < Scots and northern English but obsolete in standard English). champ 'special mashed potatoes'. onomatopoeic. cogglent-cury 'see-saw'. of unknown origin. but possibly onomatopoeic. and gilgowan 'corn niarigold' (< O.E. golde 'the marigold'): in addition. there is sel'endihle 'thorough. complete. very. great. severe' etc. (cf. Scots solvendie < Latin solvendo).

Kallen (1994: 183) repeats champ, coggelri-curry, and in addition lists: street 'farmyard" (CUD lists various rneanings. including 'a farmyard'). diamond 'town square' (CUD lists various nieanings. including 'the open space between roads intersecting at a crossroads, sometimes in the country. hut usually forniing the market square of a town'). lihhock 'a small piece of anything' (CUD lists libbock. 'a small loose piece of anything' cf. southern English libbet. 'a ras', 'a fragment" < unknown origin). bag vs. elder (CUD lists bag 'a hag. a sack. especially the udder of a cow'). cassey or close vs. street (CUD lists causey, cossy, cassey 'a causeway'. 'a lane'. 'the paved or hard-beaten yard in front of a cottage or farmhouse. the farmyard. any similar paved place' < Scots. also South-West English < cassey < Anglo-Norman cauciee 'an emhankment'. 'a dam'. replaced by standard English culsewav), close 'enclosed farmyard' ( $C U D$ lists close 'an enclosed farmyard'), subs 'footwear. especially old" (CUD lists subs especially old footwear. found in Co. Donegal. of unknown origin). pook 'the grain in wood'. or 'temper in a person'. cf. short in the pook (CUD lists pook as an adjective, of wood. 'crackly and likely to hurn well', of a person. 'quick-tempered'. ofunknown origin). prashlach 'odds and ends. ruhhish. as small sticks and stones" (CUD lists prashlach 'odds and ends'. 'ruhhish'. e.g. small sticks and stones. found in Co. Donegal, of unknown origin). grig, greg 'to tantalise'. 'to make jealous'. 'to annoy'. (CUD lists greg 'to annoy'. 'to vex (a person)': 'to tantalise'. 'to tease (a person) by offering something with no intention of giving it'. cf. Irish Gaelic griogadh 'to tease'. 'to annoy'). cipinn (CUD lists cipin 'a piece of stick'. 'a twig' < Irish Gaelic cipin). raimeising. (CUD lists ramas, also amish, ramesh 'noncense', 'nonsensical talk', 'a rigmarole' < northern English and Welsh English < from French ramas 'a heap'. 'a collection': also Donegal Irish raimeis $>$ forms ramish, ramesh).

Montgomery and Gregg (1997: 606-607) discuss certain words as shown to he restricted to Ulster in the maps of The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland: clootie 'left-handed'. LAS Map 1.6. CUD lists clootie, clouty, clutie, clity, cleet ( < Scots cluit, clitt, cleet), lap 'sniall heap of hay'. LAS Map 1.54, CUD lists lap 'to roll hay into a loose bundle for drying: a small haycock'. (Iza?) pike 'haystack'. LAS Map 1.53. CUD lists pike, pake, peak, peek, pack, peck 'a usually round. conical haystack huilt either temporarily in a hayfield or in a stackyard' (< northern English and Scots pike. cf. Norwegian pik 'a mountain peak' - the sense 'haystack' is apparently not recorded in England), mitch 'to play truant'. LAS Map 1.29. CUD lists mitch, midge ( < dialectal English hut obsolete in standard English < O.Fr. muchier 'to hide'. 'to skulk'), clih 'colt'. LAS Map 1.61. CUD lists clih 'a colt a one-year old horse` (of unknown origin. cf. clibhin (<clib + een), crew' 'pigsty', LAS Map 1.64). CUD lists crue 'a pen or fold for animals". also pig's crew, pig-crew' (< Scots and dialectal English. of Celtic origin. cf. Welsh creu 'a pen or hovel'. Irish and Scottish Gaelic cro.), goosebag 'gooseberry'. LAS Map 1.89. CUD goosebag, goosiegah, goosegog ( $<$ Scots guiss, gis).

Zwickl (1996. based on LAS) lists: Irinket, spoutin(g), vellow'yornie, granny grevheard,
hairy Mary, horse worm, grann's needle, Willie weaver, Harry hundred feet, whin fork, crottle, does, gies, handshake, clootie, caldie, jorrie, and not a dolly on.

That there are sizable lists of candidates for consideration as Ulsterisms reinforces the notion of the distinctiveness of Ulster society and culture. whereby the dialect has been developed and shaped to express the people's referential needs.

## V. PARTS OF SPEECH

Most vocabulary items belong to the main lexifying categories: nouns. verbs. adjectives and adverbs. There are few others: maln as an auxiliary verb. -sel as a reflexive pronoun. youse and yousins as personal pronouns. mines as a possessive pronoun. hit as an inanimate pronoun. them as a demonstrative determiner, forbve, forsooth and outwith and ower-by as prepositions. all treated in Robinson (1997). A sample of the letter < $\mathrm{m}->$ is compared with both CUD and the Ulster Dialect Database (UDDB) in Table 1 .

| Table 1: Parts of Speech |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | <m-> entries |  | CUD |  | UDDB |  |
|  | 1. | \% | n. | \% | n. | \% |
| Nouns | 179 | 62.8 | 4168 | 57.9 | 5645 | 60.7 |
| Verbs | 72 | 25.2 | 1953 | 27.1 | 9294 | 24.5 |
| Adjectives | 23 | 8.1 | 752 | 10.4 | 973 | 10.5 |
| Adverbs | 5 | 1.8 | 225 | 3.1 | 256 | 2.8 |

Table 1. which is generated froni headwords and excludes subentries, shows that. in the dialect vocabulary, 3 out of every 5 words are nouns. and that 1 out of every 4 words is a verb. Adjectives are rare and adverbs very rare. Landau (1984) recornrnends the letter <mı-> as a sample because its represents one twentieth of the English vocabulary; Tahle 1 certainly confirms the consistency with $<\mathrm{m}->$ words are in line with the dictionary as a whole.

## VI. COMPOSITION OF ULSTER DIALECT VOCABLJLARY

In line with vocabularies elsewhere. Ulster dialect vocabulary comprises words which are original survivors from O.E.. words which have heen borrowed from other languages, words which have been derived from original or borrowed roots. In addition. words form phrases. idioms. proverbs and other locutions.

Originals include words retained from O.E. such as thole $<$ tholian 'to bear or endure". hit < hit (third person inanimate pronoun), and the many examples already listed above.

Derivation includes different types of affixation. where the affixation was formed in Ulster. change of word class. or other processes. The present section is largely restricted to $C U D<\mathrm{m}->$ words. There are three < m-> prefixes: $m a$-. as in the verb: magowk 'to make an April fool of someone". mal-, as in the following verbs: malfooster 'to spoil. to make hash of (e.g. a piece of work)' or malavogue (also malivogue 'to beat up. thrash' < Cumberland). and mis-. as in the following verbs: misanswer 'to give a rude answer', misbelieve 'to
disbelieve'. misbetuk (only in past tense 'niistook. niisunderstood'). miscall 'to call someone names'. 'to scold someone' (< dialectal English. hut obsolete in standard English). misdigest 'to not digest'. misdoubt 'to douht', 'to disbelieve'. misgiggle 'to disfigure'. 'to spoil'. or 'to upset'. 'to put into disorder": 'to bewilder' or 'to confuse someone'. misken 'not to know yourself'. 'to assume airs of superiority'. misleared. literally 'mistaught'. 'hadly brought up'. 'behaving in an underhand or despicable way'. mislike 'to dislike'. mislippen 'to neglect (e.g. a child)". 'niismanage'. 'distrust'. or 'niisunderstand'. mismay 'to worry'. 'upset yourself'. mismorrow' 'to mismatch two things' e.g. two socks: 'to mistake'. misremember 'to forget'. misuptuk (only used in past tense 'niistook', 'niisunderstood' literally mis + uptake). and in certain adjectives: misfortunate 'unforrunate`. mismamered 'ill-mannered'. mismoved 'upset'. 'worried'. mistime 'mistimed'. 'irregular' e.g. of meals.

In addition. there is an $<-\mathrm{m}->$ infix. as in -ma-. which acts as a syllable added for rhythmic effect in compounds. also as in clishmaclaver. hochmagand!. whigmaleerie, etc. There is the widespread suffix-an/-in/-een, which arises from the Irish diminutive ending. as in clibeen. maneen, moilin. and the other examples cited above. CUD has a total of 181 words for which this suffix is given as the etymology. Another suffix is -ock/-og as in kittock/kittog and greeshock/grissog, of which there are 27 in CUD.

Compounds evidently created in Ulster include manswear 'to commit perjury'. 'to swear falsely' (< Scots menswear < O.E. man = 'wickedness' and swear), meelcartin (also meelcartan, mulharten, milkartherin < Irish Gaelic miol ceartain) 'crab-louse" ( < miol'small creature' + ceartan 'a tick'). murren (also murryan, morryan < Irish Gaelic muirean $=$ muir 'sea' + ean 'bird', minnie-cat 'female cat' (<Scots and northern English minnie 'mother' $\boldsymbol{+}$ cat). maggie-mony-feet 'centipede'. make-up 'a lie'. 'an invented story'. man-big used of a boy, 'grown up', half-a-morrow' 'widow', morringdale 'system of land redistrihution'. mantumaker (mantuas are loose garments worn by women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). master-man 'ruler. governor'. meeting-house 'church'. mid-ridge 'open furrow between two ridges', milesmen 'railway track maintenance men'. milk-woman 'wet nurse'. minnie-cat 'female cat'. moon-boiv 'halo round the moon. sign of an approaching storni'. moor-ill (type of dysentery in cattle). moul' board (part of a plough). mountainy-looking 'unkempt'. catholic used by Protestants to refer to 'untidy. rough and ready' as in Catholic'looking, but by Catholics to mean 'clean. respectable-looking' (in conscious contrast to Protestant-looking), mouth-poke 'horse's nose-bag'. mud-turf, mymble-the-peg 'a hoy's game', whin-mell 'wooden mallet'. CUD has 18 blends. of which an <m-> instance is moyijggled 'confused' found in Co. Antrini. a blend of moidered and jiggled: moidrr. Shortened forms are rare. but an <m-> example is mense (from immense) 'a great amount', 'a large quantity'. A special type of shortening is backforniation, as in mirl(s) 'measle(s)', back-formed from marled or marly ('hen' < O.Fr. mrrellr). from which then mirled and mirly are derived fornis. CUD has a total of 74 shortened words. Some words are semantically strengthened. as in monross 'clumsy". 'bulky'. 'unwieldy ${ }^{\circ}$. a strengthened form of morross 'niorose'. 'surly'. There are a number of distinctive phrasal verbs. as in: makr by 'to go past'. make up 'thoroughly to study'. e.g. a book in preparation for an exani, make off 'to accomplish a journey'. make up 'invented story'. made on 'cooking made with e.g. milk'. mude up 'pleased'. make after 'to follow'. 'to pursue hastily" (rare in standard English).

The dialect has many idionis. as in the following: dril mend you or hell mend you or fire mend you, 'may the devil or hell cure you of your wickedness': in other words. "serves you right', go to the moon (used when someone flies into a rage). mouth ro mouth used when
making an agreement. the moon is on her back 'a sign of rain'. In addition. there many other locutions. such as have your meat and your mense 'have your food and your reputation for good manners'. said when a guest is offered food but declines. more betoken or more by the same token or more by token 'more by (this) token'. also mair for token 'moreover'. 'besides'. 'more especially'. murdher sheer!! 'eternal murder!' ( < lrish Gaelic murdar siorai). Ulster proverbs are copious but were excluded frorn $C U D$.

There are reduplicative forms: hoddy-doddy 'a snail'. mimpsey-pimpsey 'fastidious. affected'. minikin-finikin 'an affected person'. mousey-pousey 'mouth'.

## VII. USAGE LABELS

The stylistic or colloquial use of some words qualifies them for special usage labels. CUD labels 229 words as 'onomatopoeic'. <m-> words include: may (used of a lamb: 'to bleat < Scots), meahter used of a horse: 'to neigh', mewt 'the least noise'. 'a slight sound' (< Scots). mim 'prudish'. 'deinure'. 'prim', onomatopoeically imitating the sound of someone speaking through pursed lips). mimp 'to behave in an affected way'. onomatopoeically used of a pursing of the lips, mimpsey-pimpsey 'fastidious or affected'. myam used of a cat: 'to miaow'. CUD labels 27 words as 'childish'. <m-> words being 'childish'. as in mammans 'mother'. mannins 'srnallboy or rnan' and mousey-pousey 'the rnouth'. CUD labels 21 words as "euphemisms". <m-> words include: had manners to you (a curse) and man above (an oath). Many words or expressions are labelled 'exclamations'. as in machree (a term of endearment < lrish Gaelic mo chroi 'rny heart'), maillie maillie (call to a pet sheep). man (an expression of delight or surprise, or a term ofaddress). man a man. or man oh (an expression of surprise. < Scots and dialectal English < Old Norse forms), man dear (also man-a-dear, dear man, the dear man, oh man! further variants of man). millia (a cry of alarm. < lrish Gaelic mile murdar). moryah 'indeed!' (< lrish Gaelic mar dhea), musha (also myshie) ‘well!'. 'indeed!'. CUD labels 20 words as "slang': <m-> words include: melt 'the tongue’, as in keep in your melt - derived frorn the tongue's similarity in shape to the spleen. or murphy 'a potato' (< surname Murphy, common in Ireland). Afrae-me-come-tae-me 'trombone' is labelled 'jocular’ - its first recording in Mclntyre (1990) may be idiosyncratic.

## VIII. SOURCES OF THE VOCABULARY

A distinction is rnade between the donor source of an item and its ultimate origin. Many words which came into Ulster dialect through Scots did not originate there but elsewhere. e.g. in Old Norse. Old French. Middle Dutch. or Latin. as did rnany words of Anglo-English origin. Sorne words which entered via Irish Gaelic are ultimately of Indo-European origin. with Gerrnanic equivalents. CUD is careful about the distinction between donor and source origins. Many Scots words were shared with late medieval northern English or with late medieval English more widely, so that 'Scots' only labels are relatively rare in comparison with 'Scots and Northern English' or 'Scots and dialectal English'. From late medieval English words which are labeled variously as 'northern English', 'dialectal English' (which is more widespread). a specific English region or county, or else words are labeled 'now obsolete in standard English'. CUD defines Hiberno-English as English in the South of Ireland which
includes retentions (possible obsolete items) from Elizahethan English as well as words borrowed from Irish Gaelic. (CUD 'Hiberno-English' covers what here is separated as 'Ulster Anglo-English' and 'Ulster Hiberno-English'.) Three types of Gaelic origin are recognised: Irish. Scottish and Manx, although garrabrack 'oyster-catcher' is the only CUD word which appears to have a Manx Gaelic origin. CUD suggests, for instance. that the mutch headdress ( < Middle Dutch mutsche) came to Ulster from hoth Scotland and the Isle of Man. and that homologate 'to express agreement' came from Latin (homologare) via Scots.

| Table 2: Origins of Words |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No. of <m-> headwords | $\mathbf{2 l}$ |  |  |
| No. of <m-> headwords with origins indicated | 287 |  |  |
|  | 44 | 25.8 | 61.6 |
| Scots | 61 | 35.8 |  |
| Scots and northerin or dialectal English | 2 | 1.1 |  |
| Scottish Gaelic | 21 | 12.3 |  |
| Irish | 26 | 15.2 |  |
| Obsolete in Standard | 16 | 9.4 |  |
| Others | 170 | 100.0 |  |
| TOTAL |  |  |  |

Table 2 shows that words from Scots amount to a staggering $61.6 \%$ - more than three out of five. CUD labels 349 (or $1.8 \%$ ) as 'obsolete'. so that. in this respect. <m-> words must be rather exceptional. There are no CUD words labelled 'obsolescent'. An analysis of words from Irish Gaelic in terms of Kallen's (1996: 109) subcategories of 'apports'. 'horrowings'. 'coinages' and 'loanwords' would likely prove instructive.

Although Zwickl (1996) operates the very strict criteria of "exclusivity' for Scotsness. her figures compare favourably with Table 2. Zwickl finds that only 28 out of a total of 149 words (or $28.4 \%$ ) from The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland had an exclusively provenance in Scots. little more than CUD's $25.8 \%$ in Table 2. Examples of Zwickl's 28 Scots words are tartels, pishmool, ankler, moggans, bunker, stab, weaver, clib. By comparison, Zwickl has similarly strict criteria for Englishness, of which the following are offered as examples: beast. pissmire (als piushmire), spadger, fairy finger, singlet, stricklie back, Tommie longlegs, Harry longlegs, anklet, hovel, scutch, and switch. CUD has many references to words. forms or senses coming to Ulster from different parts of England. From Cumherland there is malavogue: from Kent marygoes as in sailing round like marygoes in broth 'very happy'. from West Midlands his or her head's u marlie 'not thinking straight', from Cheshire maygrums 'whims. fancy', from East Anglia. the form mowl 'the mole'. from Yorkshire melder (also meldher, malder) 'amount of grain or corn sent to a mill at one time' and nap 'expert'. 'clever', napper 'anything large or good of its kind' and neckit. from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire medda (also middy, meeda, meedy) 'a meadow', from the South West mortially. from the Midlands mosey. Different parts of Scotland are also identified as donors: Argyllshire for moolicking 'a beating. a thrashing', Orkney for niff-naff, and Shetland and Orkney (hut also Devon) for the pronoun forms me and ma for my, Western Scots for nearder but Yorkshire and Someserset for neardest.

Words from Irish come from different forms of Irish: faratee is from Ulster Irish fear
an toighe (cf. Standard Irish fear an ti). mallan rua (with variants murran-roe. morrian-roe, merrin-roe, morran, morrian) is from East Ulster Irish mallan rua.

## IX. REGIONALITY WITHIN ULSTER

As CUD is a work of editorial collation and undertook no fresh fieldwork. it leaves open the question whether items are found throughout Ulster or are regionally restricted within it. CUD does include some regional labels. no doubt influenced by some of its collated sources: Traynor (1953) for Co. Donegal. Patterson (1880) for Co. Antrim and Co. Down. and Lutton (1923) for Co. Armagh. Among <m-> words. the following are labelled 'Co. Donegal': madverall 'the great wood-rush'. meehers 'an edible seaweed'. middhup 'a thing gummy", miggie 'a cap resembling a berer'. or 'a wollen night cap'. mooragh 'broken bait thrown on the water to attract fish'. mowl'the mole', (not found in Ireland). muldy 'a fat boy or girl'. murren 'a hird' (< lrish Gaelic muirean 'sea' + 'hird'). mvewla 'a wild tlower'. Three are labelled 'Co. Antrim': mogey 'to stumble around foolishly'. or 'a fool'. morials 'seaweed'. and moyiggled 'confused'. and one 'Co. Antrim and Co. Down': muggy 'hand basket made of twisted straw rope. Other words labelled Co. Antrim are gornical an odd-looking, dim-witted person'. hig 'a lift up'. 'a helping hand'. and nickopanty 'cantankerous old man'. An Armagh word is conacre 'a plot land'. which is said to held in conacre. A Mid-Ulster word is maglamphus 'a clumsy stupid person'. In the UDDB. county labels are found with the following frequencies: Antrim 50. Down 37. Armagh 38. Fermanagh 59. Londonderry 19. Tyrone. 32.


Map 2: Relic Areary iii ['Iste) (based on /wichl 1996 Maps 5.5.5.6 and 5.71

One word is localised to Strangford Loch: pladdy 'a low. flat island' or 'a sunken rock', probably 'a subnierged drumlin' (< O.N. flatey 'tlat' < Ir. *pladai). Cf. tlie Co. Down ballad by Savage-Armstrong (quoted in Hughes and Hannan 1992: 97): 'Round many a pladdie. niang an island green with the glancing shower. / How fleetly up the Lough we'd speed".

Using lexical inforniation from The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland. Zwickl (1996) establishes relic areas in Co. Antrim. Co. Down, and Co. Donegal. Her criterial Co. Anti-im words are: cole, clib, granny grey heard, liogers, sark, maggie, swittch. dreg, rone, not a dolly on, tartles, yell, strieklie, bunker, kaleworm. The criterial Co. Down words are: ladyinger, quicken, mug, gies, harry Mary. jag, georrie. The criterial Co. Donegal words are: ankler, handcock. vennel. trampcock, velder, spale weefolks, grape, delf, shieg, horseworm. deek. forkcock, geelog. Map 2 presents a collation of Zwickl's three relic areas.

## X. PARADIGMATIC VARIATION OR HETERONYMIC OR ONOMASIOLOGICAL SETS

The copiousness of the dialect vocabulary as illustrated above has created sets of words in heteronymic or onomasiological variation. as often found in a lexical atlas. although not all words necessarily vary geographically. Words for 'stupid people' are very frequent. as the list of <ga-> words above showed. The abundance of this onomasiological set provides scope for subclassitication and ranking. A subset from CUD for 'lazy person' includes: rake, sconce, skite, skybal, slochter, sloomy, slooter, slounge, sowdy, stocach, traik. CUD includes many terms for 'a tall. thin person': randle tree, rackan, raft, raughle o bones, ravel, rihe, rickle, ringle, scaldie, scobe, scolb, shaird, skinamalink. skin-him-alive, slipe, stab, streel, swank, twangle, etc. CUD includes many derogatory terms for wonien. including skilt, stoury, streeler. tackle, thrugmullion, targer, tartle, tawpie, rhir-d, tiadle. Tan Targer, trokie, troll, trough, etc.
'Left-handed' is a popular onomasiological concept. Braidwood (1975) reports a collection of 19 words for Ulster: fjuggy, ciotog, clootie, cald/cauldy, clithero/clithery, corryfisted, cowie, cud dy, doolama, fisty, gammy, left-jittered (gitter-fist), lefty, offhanded, onehanded, ridvick, wrang-hand(ed), south-paw, and left-handed. 'Left-handed' is the subject of Map 3 (reproduced from Zwickl, 1996: Map 4.26$)^{3}$.

Another concept for which there is considerable paradigmatic variation is 'the smallest of a litter. often pigs'. as in the following set: ranny, rig, runt, rut, scoot, scradeen, scrat, scrunt, wee scitter. snig, torry, totam, etc. Map 4 is from Zwickl (1996: Map 4. 45). Map 5 from Henry (1985: Map 9.1).

CUD has many words for 'drinking alcohol or having drunk it', including: slug, smell, sprung, stocious, stoving, sweep it off, swiz, tore, three-go, trate, etc.


Map 3: 'Lefi-handed' from Z.wick! 199(1: Map 4.26)
Cuademos de Filología Inglesa, vol. 8. 1999. pp. 305-334


Map 4: 'Youngest of a Brond ifrom 7wichl 1996: Map 4.4.5
Cuadernos de Filologia Inglesa. vol. 8. 1999. pp. 305-334


Map 5: 'Smalles and Weakest Pigle of the limet - Iretadd trom Henry 1985: Map 9.1

## ST. WORD FORMS

As the dialect has survived orally, it has always been a problem to write it down. Speech readily tolerates variant forms, but they are shunned in writing. CUD is generous in its inclusion of form variants, reflecting both differences of incidence and pronunciation. as in the following exarnples: 'daylight' + 'going/gone' or 'daylight' + 'falling/fallen'. 'dusk': daylight
falling, davlit fallin, davlafallin, davlight fall, dalingfall, davlifell, dellit fa', davilight going, davlit goin, dayligoin, daylight gone, dayligone, dailagone, dailygan, dayligane, davagone, davtigo 'nightfall. twilight. dusk' - there is considerable variation retlecting both form and phonetic realisation even although the elements are quintessentially English. The second example is the popular Ulster dialect word for any kind of 'ditch': sheugh, sheuch, shugh, shough, shuck, shaugh a drainage channel in a field or alongside a road (Scots sheugh, sheuch. shugh, shough. of unknown origin. but cf. Brabant dialect zoeg 'a meadow ditch'. also borrowed into Ulster as seoch). The third and fourth examples are of Irish Gaelic words borrowed into Ulster dialtct: thtt word for 'a hornless cow' : moiley, moils, moilya, moolie, mawly, mweel. also mouleagh, mulliagh (Irish Gaelic maoilin . maol + diminutive -in), and the word for 'embers': greeshoch, greesagh, greesach, greesay, greeshagh, greeshaugh, greeshaw, greesha, greshia, greeshy, greesh, grushaw (< lrish Gaelic griosach), cf. greeshog, greesog, greeshock (Irish Gaelic griosog). 'small flying embers'.

The form variation hetween mankeeper and mancreeper 'newt' is explained by reference to 'folklore': whether man 'keeps' (i.e. preserves) the newt (and so looks after the newt. like the robin redbreast. to whom man will bring no harm). or whether thtt newt 'creeps' in the man (which occurs if someone has fallen asleep by running water. whereupon the newt jumps out. into and down the person's throat).

## XII. ISSUES

Knowledge of vocabulary continues to be widespread. Zwickl (1996) shows that the best known words came in from Scots and are known throughout the province except for south Fermanagh. Knowledge may not be class-stratified - as in Scotland it could be the middle classes. with their increased reading. education and interest. who know more words than the working classes. Much knowledge may only be passive. Whereas passive knowledge reduces the amount of loss. it is not sufficient to maintain survival. According to Macafee (1992: 71) currency is "thtt most intractable and frustrating problem in the study of traditional dialects".

The different origins of Ulster dialect vocabulary have come to be blended together as a unique lexical resource, as set out in CUD. For those who use dialtct vocabulary. it extends the vocabulary of standard English. providing a greater range of referential and stylistic variants and all markers of local identity and culture. Many speakers feel that only dialect words (such as bad scran. dander, ecker, sheugh. etc.) can express the intended meaning. Whatever their origins. the dialect vocabulary extends the range of standard English and creates an indivisible whole.

The study of Ulster dialect vocabulary greatly benefits from the groundwork of $C U D$. Yet fuller searches can be made of the UDDB. As Humphreys (1994) points out: "the grammar is about linguistic generalities: the lexicon is about linguistic singularities". The strongest general conclusion that can be drawn is that the vocabulary is heavily nominal (58-62\%). heavily Scottish in flavour ( $62 \%$ ), related to an older way of life, which is remembered through continuing knowledge ofdialect words. Much is still current. but use varies by subject areas. The Ulster dialect of English comprises a unique merger of colonialism - the colonial Scots dialect and the colonial dialects from the regions of England. which arrived in large numbers as a consequence of the seventeenth century plantations. on the one hand, and the indigenous dialect of English which gradually emerged from its growing replacement of Irish
during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. to become that contact dialect known as Hiberno-English. Ulster dialect vocahulary offers a lexicalised view of a former. more stahle. peasant society. whose life was shaped by dependence on local environmental conditions. suppressed by leveling of living standards and homogenisation of hehaviour and custom. no doubt through tlie forces of change inherent in growing literacy. increased education. and industrialisation. It is a study of loss and survival. of continuous and on-going change. The marerial culture represented in the vocahulary disappears. just as social hahits aiid occupational activities. to which the dialect refers. change too.

Many research questions reniain. How uniquely Scottish is the Scots element?. How far is the French element which is so predominant in Older Scots vocabulary discernible in the present-day Scots dialect in Ulster? What would he learned from categorising words horrowed from Irish in terms of Kallen's taxonomy of apports. borrowings. coinages and loans'? Is an Ulster Thesaurus (along the lines of The Scors Thesaurus) justified? Given her use of The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland. how representative of regional variation in Ulster can Zwickl's atlas he? How far is there a correlation beteen suhject areas and donor languages? How much use and knowledge of use among present-day speakers - whether active. passive or non-existenr - is actually there? Quite apart from elicitations whereby people indicate their knowledge much work needs to he done to document present-day currency, present-day pronunciations. and regional variation. In line with Zwickl's findings of widespread knowledge of Scots words. McGleenon (1996: 4). for instance, finds that. on the sample hasis of the 445 <s-> words represented in Thc Hamely Tongue (Fenton 1995) as the Scots dialect in Co. Antrim. 55.1\% is known and recognised as being used in Co. Armagh.

However true the claim that individual words each have their own story. this article has attempted to present the hig picture by making general statements on the hasis of analysis. synthesis. interpretation and. where possible. quaiititication.

Whereas dictionaries present studies of words, the study of vocahulary presupposes the groundwork of dictionaries hefore interpretive pattern can he discerned. This article has provided an interpretation of CUD.

## NOTES:

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2. Adams (1978) discusses the following words for people and animals: bal. boghal, crowl, cutty, fooster, glype, heobov, lig, maff, paghal, slooter. tappr. Each has $10-12$ distinet senses charaeterising people as stupid', "lazy'. "untid '. 'crazy or 'untrustworthy', or physically as being ‘fat." "awkward'. 'ugly", "stout or "undersized'. Only crow, curn and flooster characterise animals. As for gender, there appear to be more 'had' words referring to females (bat, glipe aiid tappy). With tlie CUD. ir is now possible to reconsider some of Adams's claims:
(a) bar is described as referring to 'an ugly-looking person'. 'a person who pretends not to hear what is said'.
or 'a mentally unbalanced person'. Whereas Adaiiis accepred bar as dialectal usase in Eiiplish aiid Scors. CUD considers it to he pure abusive slang.
(b) boghal aiid poghal: whercas Adaiiis gave these two words the same rooi in Irisli: buachaill 'hoy'. the CUD derives boghal through Scots boghal aiid relates it to bauchlough meaning 'ineffective' or 'weak'. derived ui turn from O.N. bagr 'awkward" or "clumsy' , aiid paghal from Scots panchle 'a bundle', related to pack 'a bundle" as iii "packman", or "pedlar".
(c) crowl: whereas Adaiiis derived it through Scots a O.N. krark 'crecp'. CL'D derives it through Scots to Middle Dutch kriel "dwarfish".
(d) Botli Adams aiid the CUD agree that the oripiiis of keobor aiid tappy are unknown. As for slooter. CUD considers it to be onomatopoeic. Tliere appear to be none of these derogatory, contemptuous. abusive, but nevertheless highly expressive words derived unambiguously from an Irisli source.
3. The following arc confirmed by CL'D: (a) finggy (alsofengg!, fluggy, feugh, fuggy, feng, flug, fyg-handed, flugfisted, flug-handed, of unknown origin): (b) huggy (of unkinown origin); (c) cootog (also kittog. kittogue, kitogue, (ittoge, kithog, ketogue, kitoch): (d) kittog-fist and kitog-fisted ( < Irisli Gaelic ciorog < cior 'tlir left hand" + diminutive-og): (e) kilag, kitach, culach, kithols: kitn, (f) kimagh-fisted. kittagh-handed ( < Irish Gaelic ciotach): (g) kit-hunded, kithothom, kitter, kither. (h) kither-fiss, kiner-pas, kitterplah, kitler: (i) kiner-fisted. kiner-handed, kitterpaved): ( j ) clootie dalso cloot , clootie, cloms, clutie, clitn', cleen - clooty-fisted, cloon-handed. clooter-handed. < Scois cluit clith. cleet, related to clatt): (k) clitern, clithero: (1) cald aiid cauld (< Scots. of unknown origin); (m) clithero aiid clithen: (n) com'fisted (also corrie-fisted left-handed'. < Scots. of unknown origiii. cf. car. carr 'awkward" < Scottish Gaelic cearr"left-handed'): (o)cowie (cf. northern English cow-pawed of unknowii origin): (p) cudd ' ( < Scots aiid northern English 'a donkey'): and (q) fisty. Unconfirmed by CUD are: doolama, gamm', leftjittered (gitter-fist), leffy, offhanded, one-handed. ridyick, wrang-handred), souh-pan.

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hrlirn. holisn noun. in a traditional house a JAMB. HALL, a wall or partition screening the hearth from the doorway. Illustration see Jamb.
[Scots and Northern English hallar(d). origin unknown.]
byre noun a cow-house lalso accepted in Standard Engiish.].
obyre-dwalling folk-life a one-storey dwelling that housed people at one end and cattle at the other without any partition between the quarters.
abye-man the man who attends to the cattle on a farm.
[Hiberno-English, Scots and Northern Engiish; from Old English berre.]
out. oot advert 1 out. 2 of time forward. on e.g. from that day out, from this out, see THIS: [based on usage of Irish amach]. 3 no longer friendly, having fallen out
doothoose an outhouse; see house.
o out rwry out and away. by far.
ooutblow a friendly, outgoing manner.
oout-by. outby- oot-by advert 1 outslde. out of doors. 2 out in the fields. - preposition in the direction of, near to.
-adjective distant, out of the way.
oout-crush a press of people in a doorway.
a out-crying the time of a pregnant woman's confinement: see also CRY. ooutfall a falling-out, a quarrel.
oout-farm an outlying farm. not lived in by the farmer.

Dout-go a pasture where cattle are allowed to wander at large.
Doutgolng Sundry. outgoIng Monday the Sunday and Monday following a wedding. when the wedding party went to church and to market together.
oouting. outin 1 a pleasuretrip. 2 st outins go out and enjoy yourself.
oout-lay pasture at a distance from the farm to which it belongs.
oout-mouthed having buckteeth.
Dout of. oura. our, are 1 out of. 2 from (a person's place of origin) e.g. Maybe she was out of the County Antrim?
Dout over outside, a way from the house.
ooutragcous raging, angry.
oout-relafion a distant relative.
ooutshot adjective projecting.

- noun. also outshut a projection; specific. ally, also bod outshot a bed recess in the back wall of a traditional kitchen; herace outahot bed.
[Northern English form outshut.]

o out fleld an outlying field.

Appendix 7 : Two Example, of ('UD', 17 Folklile Subject Areas: (1) Ficld Ditches
dyke. dike noun 1 also dock. dake a dyke. a dike, a Drrch, a raised bank or waii of earth. stones. etc. $2 \boldsymbol{a}$ lso dyke sheugh a dyke. a dike. a shevgh, a drainage channel in a field or at the roadside.

- verb, also deek build a DYKE.
odikeside cuttings roadside hav.
odyke belk. dyke bawk the back. or earth side. of a wall with a stone face leither bauk or backl.

DYKE 1, DYKE BNLK


Sea also illustration a1 DIJCH
IShetland form deck. Argyllshire and Wigtownshire form dake. Southern English form diek; from Old Norse diki, corresponding to Old English dic, which gives ofrch.
mear noun 1 a mearing, a land boundary [archaic in Standard Endishl. 2 a portion of iand; a district.

- vert adjoin. border.
nmarin 1 a mearing, a land boundary;
face vert 1 face (a person) dom: confront (a person). 2 pay court to (a woman).
nface card playing cards a court card
offeced eround like a beetio "twofaced'. hypocritical.
offace dyke a field boundary wall with a single vertical face of sods or stones; see DKKE.


Dfacling, facin something you have to face up to.
atecimes in a flax mill scutching blades. Illustration see targe.
o have a hurndred faces. have more faces than the town clock, etc, be 'two-faced", be a hypocrite.
ohrvo mo face be modest. self-effacing.口have $m$ face on it of a rumour. excuse. eLE. be unlikely. implausible.
oout ot the face, out of ofsce. out offace adjective 1 of o place upset, disordered e.g. by the wind. 2 back to front.

- advert 1 steadily. incessantly; straight oíi.

2 methodically, in an orderly way. 3 fig. uratively, of eating greedily.
othe trsr of clay any living person.
diteh noun a dyke. a wall or bank of earth or stone. usually separsting felds. (A troch is usually known as a Shevgh.)
everb construct or mend Drrches.
DITCH


Sea also ithustration at OTKE
o break-alich a cow or horse that is given to breaking through DTTCHEs
aditcher a cow or horse that is given to jumping over Drtches.
口thorn ditch a drreh planted with hawthorn.
(Ditch is used in Ireland and in various parts of England to mean "a bank" rather than "a trench"; see ofre.!

Appendin 2a Examples of the Folklife Illustration trom O. Sharkes Oid Dars, Ohd Wars (1985) with detinition from Com ise Uliter Ditionol) (19901

crane 'a trivet on which small pots are placed when cooking' (Scots cran)

creel 'a large wicker basket; specifically one made to carry on the back orto sling on either side of a horse or donkey, used for carrying peat, fish, potatoes, etc.'
(Scots, English and Hibemo-
English, origin unknown)
cot 'a flat-bottomed boat'
(< Irish coite 'a srnall boat')


Appendi. 2b Examples of the Folklife Illustrations trom O. Sharkey. Ohd Dass. Old Wors (IO8s) with definitions from Concise Uhate Dictionu! 119961

noggin (naggin, neggin) 'a noggin, a small wooden vessel made of hopps and staves' (Scots and Hibemo-English,origin unknown)

scobe 'a rod of hazel or other tough wood; specifically a rod sharpened at both ends, used for fastening don thatch, a scolb' (Scots, cf. Irish scolb)
yarn, usually made from an old spinning wheel'


### 9.6 HANDS, ARMS

airman arm
†beuch a shoulder or limb
bought the bead of the arm (or leg) now Abd Fif.
bran a ficshy part of the body: a rounded muscle of the arminelcg
car adi ohn ~rie Irfi thand sidel Iefl-handed corrie-fisted left-handed corrie-fister a leffhatuded persun hic: ~ry-handed lefi-handed ~-handit, ~nawed chf Fifleft-handed
clauts grasping tingers nou lak
cleuk a hand AbdAgs
clootie a left handed person Abd Uls
coorag the index finger $C_{a l}$.
crannie Bnf- Ig $\varsigma_{1}{ }^{-}$doodlie VE. ${ }^{-}$wannie tbd the liutcetager
orog a bie hand ch) Ca
curnie(-wurnie) chtd's aeord the Iitule finger $+i j$
dirlie-bane the funny bonc now docal $\mathrm{B}_{\mathrm{n}} / \mathrm{l} \mathrm{I}^{\circ} \mathrm{C}$.
clba, elbuck the clbow
trauldit of the fists clenched
finger neb a fingertip now Kb . Art
$\dagger$ forder of limbs front, forc
gaign a chap in the liands foral Enf-Dmf $v$, of the hands chap Cai Kcb
gerdy the arm, perh speci/ the forcarm now Abd. gardies the hands or hists, esp when raised to fiehi
glack the angle between thumb and forefinger now Cat
gowpen the receptacle so formed by ihe hands hrld :ogether in the form of a bow
hand, haun $n$, $d / 50$ ~ie a hand vess handless. withou hands
ketach the Iofi hand Arg Rentr fis - or katy handed lent-handed Renjr $\ell l_{3}$
kippie adj tele handed nEC $\cap$ Ia left handed per. ion notiler $F!f 2$ the left hand now Fiy
knap itie pount of the elbow now Sh
knockle 1 a knuckte nois WE. Per 2 the rouncled. procuberant partol a bone ni a joms, ilir condule (a,sll
lirk a fold of the boxdy, a puost; the angle of the elbon ar knee when bent now $S / k$
lith 1.1 joinu in d finger or toe a small pari of the bod fecs and limb now ith $V$ nEC' $2^{2}$ a l:anl

 thereseal laes
luif, loot the palm of the hand
maig, meg : larer unganls hand ah/ $S / . Y$
tmell ablonderd fist
mid-finger the maddk fineser no: Sh Ciall C/s
neb, nib am projectung tip on porme ulia persons bods, re offingers of tues
nieve. tnave $a$ fist
noup if of the plow a kamb or promberance chf . d
oxter the armpie, itis under part of the + ungus allin in one's 117 onc's armpu, III ines anminder one's ${ }^{-}$under oncsarm menes arnylut
pally-handit I having a damated or useless hand
Y, 1 lat hameded $F C$



pirlie noul dgs, pirlie-winkie now local NE-ISt the litule finger.
present a white speck on the fingernail, commundy believed to presage the arrival ola gift Ork NE beli
$C$
cackle-handed having oowerfulhandis.
ragnail a loose picce of skin or broken mil at thr side ol a fingernail, a liangnail
shackle, sheckle, also ${ }^{-}$banc now Sh-Per the wrisi now $F_{1}$ / Ay,
shouder, shouther ihc shoulder. - heid the socket of the shoulder-bonc; the shoulder formt $N^{\prime} E, E C, S$-the-win (liaving) a deformicy in which one shoulder ir higher than the other local N.Gall.
sker: ~ry-handit nott $S,+\sim$-handed lefehanded.
skibby lefi-handed tak dy
southie lefi-handed Ayr
spare spaig Car a hand, foot, etp a big clumsy 'hand of foul nout Cat.
spaul the shoulder; the shoulder-bone. $4^{-}$banc a shoulder blade
spyog a puw, hand, Coot, or leg now Coi
thoum the thumb. - -hand the nearest frec dwail.
able hand, specy the right hand $N E$ Ags
wallie of the fist or grip big, strong
twan base the smaller bonc of the foream


### 13.2.2 ROOFS

belleasi a derrease in the piteh of a romf netar the caves
bottle a rounded plece of timber rumnitig along the ridge of a rosf, over which a coverng of lead or zine is fixed mot tVC
camceil, also rare coomceil a sloping rool $\mathrm{S} A \mathrm{~g}$ W'C. camsiled having a sloping rool now whC.
codding the last courst of short slates below the roul rider
tdivot ihatch with terrf
easin(s) the eaves of a building
fail, feal urf as a material for roohng now ohf $N$
+fog $n$ rniss, lichen used as chatchine material $t$ thalih a roon with moss
fowd worn-ous thateh y
gloy straw, esp as uscel for thatching nome Sh Oik C.AI
gray slate laminated simbtome. freq used ith rooltme noze thd ts
heid, head the ridec al a house-roof
house-heid the moi at a homse nou Cat Ibat Rox
kemple a truas aistraw preparied withamh Cia
tleid the le wd sheeting roverng a rool
pan $n$, obe ~-tree onc of a number of horizontal minbers fixed to the couples of a rool and runthat at right angles moticm, a purtirinow 1 mm f: Shf in phrs.e $\rightarrow$ and ruirbuild arool
peen 1 apeak $n 1$ apcx, a pormi now Sh hery Ags. 2 onc of the sloping ridgesat the corner of a hipped roof, where two adjacent sloping surfaces mite now thd f: ~rroaf a hipped, ridged or pavilion rool til.odh
†platform, pletform $\pi$, also $\sim$ nif a flat roof: ortg also a partially flat rosil servirtg as a walk on op of a buidding $u$ provide (a building) with fat rimaf or roop-walk
ragglin(s) the space for the edges of the slates under the coping-sennes of a gable
Eaip, rope the rowes scruring thatch Gen except Sh Qrk.
ri win $n$ the ridec of a rooff che rowf itself; the niancuials of whichit is made $e$ roof (ia building).

- divot a turf used as a ridge-coping for a hatched roof chf $N E$, -heid che ridge ora roof NE nEC. W'C. SCV. - starie a stone used at a ridge stone of a riof now NE-C - cree theridge beam of a rool now Sh l'er.
trin, run: $\rightarrow-j o i s t$ a beam running along the side af a roof across the rafters to support the thatch, purlin. - -roof the roof over the main part of a building
traid, rood staterneark an area of 36 square ells or later yards
uira roof
sark covet the rafters of (a ruot) wirh womete teoards, lime (a roon with wood for the slates is foe wailed on ~ing roor boarcling.
scaddink a peat turf usrd for thatching
sceni : type or size of slate Abd Per
sclate slate
scraw a thin turi or soxt, esp as used firs mof
shonder, shoulder, shouther pomint (the: aside pondifs at slating) with nortiar
simmens, simmonds ropees made of straw, hea


skew :2 some lormme pari at elar copmone of the






 ing. it two pronged stick ased wo pust thatching straw into position now $N E$, alro thack now VE haich with stabs now $B n+t$ wber a thalcher
strae-thackit thatched with straw now Orh NF Ags.
swap thak wooden slats used in thathing
syle pui up a ceiling over, roof now Abd
ttemple a (hazel) rod used to hold down thatch.
thack. thnrch thatch. tthack-divot, thack-turf a roofingturf. gate the sloping top of a gablewall which ha. macoping and is overlaid by the thateh now Sh. thack-pin a wooden per used to asten down thatch now Ags Per thack-raip straw-rope used to secure thatch. thack arid rnip the thateh of a house ene and the ropes tying it down
theek, chick o 1 troof (a building) wirh (rronc slate, lead etc), 2 ruof, cover (a building) wirh
(thatch) nthatch now W'C,SW - era thatcher a roofer of houses -ing spurtle a tlat-bladed implement, sometimes forked, for pushing fatching straw into position on a rouf
threave a measure of cul straw, reeds or othe thatching material, consisting of wo stooks ${ }_{2}$ ust with twelve sheaves cach but varyink locady
tild a til
ippet a handful of stalks of straw, used in thatch ing now $B n f$ Abd.
irr, turr sinf or tear off (thatch, roufingetc) now $N$ Fif.
undrawn of straw not arranged in uniform length for thatching Sh Ork Bnf.
wase now Kcdn. wassock now Abd a burndle of straw for thatching
waterbarge a stonc or wooden ledge on the cinge of a roolecs for protection frumbin
wattles the interwoven twigs on which the turf or thiseh was lajet rate ler twattin twigs et whth hate bern ol call phathed tolerm wat ale-work

