The Dialect Vocabulary of Ulster

JOHN M. KIRK School of English The Queen's University of Belfast Belfast. BT7 1NN Northern Ireland j.m.Lirh@quh.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

This article provides a lexicological analysis of the dialect vocabulary 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 examples from the entire dictionary. The article deals with the subject matter denoted or expressed by the dialect vocabulary, with the notion of 'Ulsterisms', with parts of speech distribution. with marked stylistic or colloquial usage, with donor and etymological sources, and with regionality within the province. It also deals with onomasiological variation and the issue of heteronymic sets of both 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 vocabulary, Ulster English. English lexicology).

RESUMEN

Este artículo ofrece un análisis lexicológico del vocabulario dialectal del inglés del Ulster. Aunque 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 conjuntos heteronímicos tanto de piezas léxicas como de formas exponenciales de específicas piezas. El artículo demuestra que, aunque una gran mavoría 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 provenían 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).

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I. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN PRESENT-DAY ULSTER

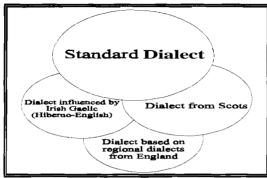
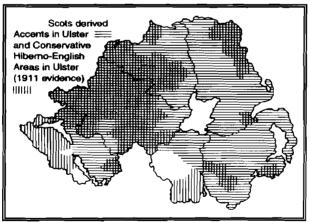


Figure 1: Present-Day Ulster English (from Kirk 1998: Figure 2)

As schematically represented in Figure 1, there are four discernible dialects of English in present-day Northern Ireland (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 inextrically bound up with the overall system of present-day English. Map 1 charts the overlapping areas of Ulster Scots and Hiberno-English.



Map 1: Dialect Areas of Present-Day English in Ulster (from Kirk 1998) Map 7). Map Ushows the dialect structure of Ulster in so far as it displays the area* associated with the two marked varieties (i.e. that derived from Scots, and that influenced by Irish Gaelie). It shows areas of overlap as well as of discreteness. In each area, there is also overlap with those varieties of English which are derived from seventeenth-century regional dialects of English, which are not mapped, but which may be interred to occur exclusively in south-west Fernanagh aild west Armagh. The map shows that the English dialects it Ulster do not occupy discrete areas, and that speakers n i each dialect may occur in places alongside each other.

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

... 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 Gernanic. 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 Irish 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 Irish 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 possible. 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 documented lexicographically in *The Hamely Tongue*. In this particular paper, the object of study is primarily CUD < m-> entries, on which intensive manual analysis has been undertaken, supplemented by incidental studies of the entire dictionary, and by automatic global searches of hoth the dictionary's database and the larger Ulster dialect database at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum¹. Although the *CIJD* dust jacket claims "over 15.000 entries", the dictionary database calculates the number of entries (excluding cross references, but including all subentries) to he 18.935.

III.3. SUBJECT MATTER

Ulster 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 examples in Appendix 1. 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 development- 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 human 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 humorous, 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', maris 'the song thrush' (< Scots < Old French mauvais), May 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.</p>

★ 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 hee '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' (< Irish 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' (< Irish Gaelic measan 'a lap dog').

★ names of tish: mackerel scout 'the garfish'. mallan rua (also murran-roe, morrian-roe, morrian, morrian) 'the hallan wrasse. or the red sea-bream' (< East Ulster Irish Gaelic mallan rua = standard Irish ballan), miller's thumb 'the sea scorpion', mollygowan 'the angler tish' (local to Co. Antrim and Co. Down).</p>

★ 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'. mugweed 'mugwort'. nwewla 'marsh St. John's wort': a plant name is: monog 'the crowherry'.

The vocabulary is rich in words for farniing practice and customs. $\langle m- \rangle$ farniing words in *CUD* include: *mare's tail* 'the last sheaf cut at harvesting. plaited together and hrought home' (\langle Scots *meer*), *mell* 'the last corn sheaf cut at horvesting' (\langle northern English). *margamore* (also *margymore* 'a large cattle market or cattle fair held before Christmas or Easter' \langle 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' (\langle 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' (\langle Scots and northern English). *blue month*, *dead month*, *hungry 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*, *pirta*, *purta*, *purta*, *purty*, *pirrer*, *porie*, *pratie*, *pratie*, *prate*, *prata*, *poota*, *tater*, *tattie*, *totie*. (Hiberno-English forms are recoded as *pratie*, *pratie*, 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: dyke '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' (< 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, kishawn) 'a

hanging basket. made of plaited straw rope, for hens to lay in' (< Irish Gaelic *cisean* 'wicker basket' < cis 'kesh' + diniiiiutive -an). and *langle* 'to hobble an animal' (< Scots and northern English).

With Ulster 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 *curach*). *Drontheim* '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' (< Irish Gaelic *cochall* 'a hood'). The 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 food and drink, including niethods of cooking, as the following CUD < m-> words show: male ark/barrel/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, mealycrushy '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 farl) 'a quarter of a circular griddle scone' (< Scots < O.E. feorda dael), soda farl, 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 baby' (< Scots and northern English). Some < m-> words include *mairteens* (also *mairtins*, *marteens*, *martyeens*, *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 <m- > words show: *make your 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/voman*, used of Presbyterians. 'the Scottish Covenanters persecuted in the seventeenth century', or 'a Roman Catholic'.

Much of Ulster's listory has left its mark oil 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 monument roughly circular in form'. 'an ancient fort' (< lrish Gaelic rath), moss (also peat-moss 'a peat bog', of unknown origin) and bawn, 'a walled enclosure. usually with towers at the angles. used as a cattle-court normally, and for defence in an emergency' (< lrish Gaelic babhun), 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' < 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 *marvel*), *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' (< Irish 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 *mowdy* 'a foolish person' (< Middle English *moudiewarp* < *molde* + *weorpan*).

There are many derogatory and abusive terms for people. *CUD* < m-> words include: maid 'a young woman' (archaic in standard English). man-big, used of a boy: 'man-,grown, grown up'. man-body 'a man'. maneen 'a boy aping mannerisms of a grown man' (< man + 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').

CUD 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 CUD < 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'. gabbleblooter '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 of unknown origin. and the rest are of North or West Germanic origin, *weechil* 'child' (*wee* + *child* cf. *wee* < O.E. *we3* 'a weight'). *dayligone* and *daylightfa'n* 'twilight'. 'gloaming'. *skink* 'thin gruel' (< Scots and northern English but obsolete in standard English). *champ* 'special mashed potatoes'. onomatopoeic. *cogglety-curry* 'see-saw'. of unknown origin, but possibly onomatopoeic. and *gilgowan* 'corn niarigold' (< O.E. *golde* 'the marigold'): in addition. there is *sevendible* 'thorough. complete. very. great. severe' etc.(cf. Scots *solvendie* < Latin *solvendo*).

Kallen (1994: 183) repeats champ, coggelty-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 < cassev < Anglo-Norman cauciee 'an emhankment'. 'a dam'. replaced by standard English causeway), close 'enclosed farmyard' (CUD 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*, *clitty*, *cleety* (< 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. *clibbin* (<*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, goosiegab, goosegog (< Scots guiss, gis).

Zwickl (1996. based on LAS) lists: trinket, spoutin(g), vellow vornie, granny grevbeard,

hairy Mary, horse worm, granny'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: *maun* 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, *forbye*, *forsooth* and *outwith* and *ower-by* as prepositions, all treated in Robinson (1997). A sample of the letter <m-> is compared with both CUD and the Ulster Dialect Database (UDDB) in Table 1.

Table 1: Parts of Speech								
	<m-> entries</m->		CUD		UDDB			
Į	n.	%	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) recommends the letter < m - > as a sample because its represents one twentieth of the English vocabulary; Tahle 1 certainly confirms the consistency with < 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 been 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 CUD < m-> words. There are three < m-> prefixes: *ma-*. 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'. *misuptuk* (only used in past tense 'niistook', 'niisunderstood' literally *mis* + *uptake*), and in certain adjectives: *misfortunate* 'unfortunate'. *mismannered* 'ill-mannered', *mismoved* 'upset'. 'worried'. *mistime* 'mistimed', 'irregular' e.g. of meals.

In addition. there is an <-m-> infix. as in *-ma*-, which acts as a syllable added for rhythmic effect in compounds. also as in *clishmaclaver*, *hochmagandy*, *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' + 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 redistribution'. 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). mountainv-looking 'unkempt'. catholic used by Protestants to refer to 'untidy. rough and ready' as in Catholiclooking, 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 moyjiggled 'confused' found in Co. Antrini. a blend of moidered and jiggled; moidrr. Shortened forms are rare. but an $\langle m - \rangle$ 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 a strengthened form of morross 'niorose'. 'surly'. There are a number of distinctive phrasal verbs. as in: make 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 vou* or *hell mend vou* 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 sheery*! 'eternal murder!' (< lrish Gaelic *murdar siorai*). Ulster proverbs are copious but were excluded from *CUD*.

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'. $\langle m - \rangle$ words include: may (used of a lamb: 'to bleat' < Scots), meaher 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'. $\langle m - \rangle$ 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 of address). 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 from 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 McIntyre (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 Gernanic 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</m->							
No. of <m-> headwords with origins indicated</m->							
	n,	%					
Scots	44	25.8	61.6				
Scots and northern or dialectal English	61	35.8					
Scottish Gaelic	2	1.1					
Irish	21	12.3					
Obsolete in Standard	26	15.2					
Others	16	9.4					
TOTAL	170	100.0					

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.

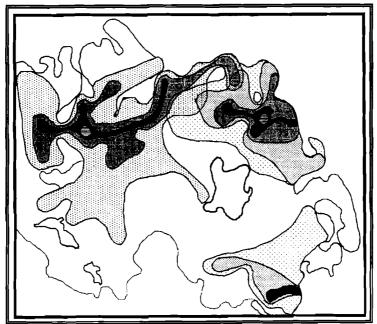
Although Zwickl (1996) operates the very strict criteria of 'exclusivity' for Scotsness. her figures compare favourably with Table 2. Zwickl finds that only 28 out of a total of 149 words (or 28.4%) from The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland had an exclusively provenance in Scots. little more than CUD's 25.8% 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 malayogue; 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 nup '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, 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'). myewla 'a wild tlower'. Three are labelled 'Co. Antrim': mogev 'to stumble around foolishly', or 'a fool'. morials 'seaweed'. and movijiggled '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 Areas iii Ulster (based on Zwickl 1996 Maps 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7)

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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. the 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, logers, sark, maggie, swittch, dreg, rone, not a dolly on, tartles, yell, strieklie, bunker, kaleworm.* The criterial Co. Down words are: *ladyfinger, quicken, mug, gies, harry Mary, jag, georrie.* The criterial Co. Donegal words are: *ankler, handcock, vennel, trampcock, yelder, spale weefolks, grape, delf, shieg, horseworm, deek, forkcock, geelog.* Map 2 presents a collation of Zwickl's three relic areas.

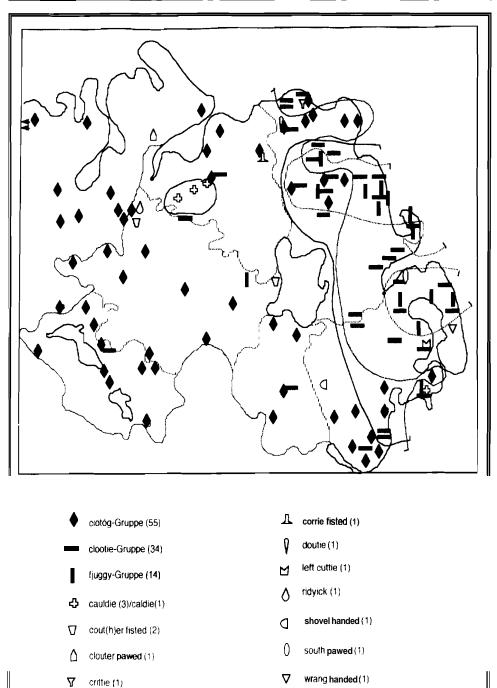
X. PARADIGMATIC VARIATION OR HETERONYMIC OR ONOMASIOLOGICAL SETS

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 subclassification 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, rhird, tiadle. Tam 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, corry-fisted, cowie, cud dy, doolama, fisty, gammy, left-jittered (gitter-fist), lefty, offhanded, one-handed, ridyick, wrang-hand(ed), south-paw, and left-handed.* 'Left-handed' is the subject of Map 3 (reproduced from Zwickl, 1996: Map 4.26)³.

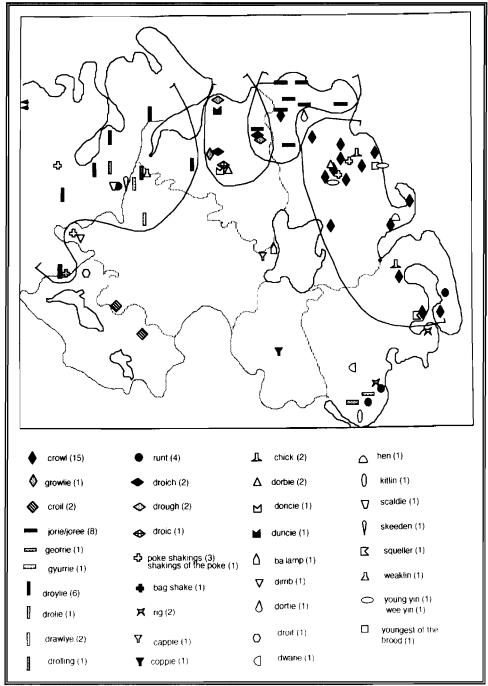
Another concept for which there is considerable paradigmatic variation is 'the smallest of a litter. often pigs'. as in the following set: *ranny*, *rig*, *runt*, *rut*, *scoot*, *scradeen*, *scrat*, *scrunt*, *wee scitter*. *snig*, *torry*, *totam*, etc. Map 4 is from Zwickl (1996: Map 4. 45). Map 5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



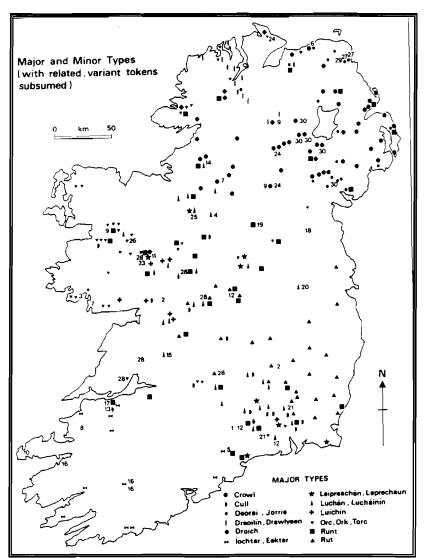
Map 3: 'Left-handed' (from Zwickl 1996: Map 4.26)

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Map 4: 'Youngest of a Brood' (from Zwickl 1996: Map 4.45)

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Map 5: 'Smallest and Weakest Piglet of the Litter - Ireland' (from Henry 1985; Map 9.1)

SI. 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 examples: 'daylight' + 'going/gone' or 'daylight' + 'falling/fallen', 'dusk': *daylight*

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falling, daylit fallin, daylafallin, daylight fall, dalingfall, daylifell, dellit fa', daylight going, daylit goin, dayligoin, daylight gone, dayligone, dailagone, dailygan, dayligane, dayagone, dayligo '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: tht word for 'a hornless cow': *moiley, moily, 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* (< Irish 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 CUD. 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 the 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 material 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 subject 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 big picture by making general statements on the hasis of analysis, synthesis. interpretation and, where possible, quaititication.

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:

1. I aiii grateful to Anne Smyth (Ulster Folk and Transport Museum) for her assistatice in the exploitation of the Ulster Dialect Datahase. to Francisco Gonzalvez Garcia (University of Almeria) for the Spanish translation of my abstract, aiid to Trevor Meighan (Stranmillis Uiiversity College, Belfast) for his assistatice with the preparation of Map 3 aiid Appendix 2. I aiii iiidchted to Simone Zwickl of the University of Heidelberg and to many MA students at the Quecii's University of Belfast for stimulation and discussion about the interpretation of the *CUD* aiid. in particular, to the module assessment projects by Neil McGlennon (1996), Ann Chang (1997) aiid Marie-Therese Liziard (1998) for some of the present details. Previous versions of this paper were given at the University of Hannover (March 1998) aiid tid Queeii's University of Belfast (February 1999), and I am grateful to these audiences for their comments aiid stimulation.

2. Adams (1978) discusses the following words for people and animals: *bat, boghal, crowl, cutly, flooster, glype, keoboy, lig, nvaff, paghal, slooter, tappy*. Each has 10-12 distinct senses characterising people as 'stupid', 'lazy', 'untidy', 'crazy' or 'untrustworthy', or physically as being 'fat,' 'awkward', 'ugly', 'stout' or 'undersized'. Only *crowl, cutty* and *flooster* characterise animals. As for gender, there appear to be more 'had' words referring to females (*bat, glipe* aiid *tappy*). With the *CUD*, ir is now possible to reconsider some of Adams's claims:

(a) bat is described as referring to 'an ugly-looking person', 'a person who pretends not to hear what is said',

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or 'a mentally unbalanced person'. Whereas Adaiiis accepted *bat* as dialectal usase in Eiiplish aiid Scots. CUD considers it to he pure abusive slang.

(b) *boghal* aiid *poghal*: whereas Adaiiis gave these two words the same rooi in Irisli: *buachaill* 'hoy'. the CUD derives *boghal* through Scots *boghal* aiid relates it to *bauch/baugh* meaning 'ineffective' or 'weak', derived ui turn from O.N. *bagr* 'awkward' or 'clumsy', aiid *paghal* from Scots *pauchle* 'a bundle', related to *pack* 'a bundle' as iii 'packman', or 'pedlar'.

(C) crowl: whereas Adaiiis derived it through Scots to O.N. kravla 'crcep'. CL'D derives it through Scots to Middle Dutch kriel 'dwarfish'.

(d) Botli Adams aiid the *CUD* agree that the oripiiis of *keoboy* aiid *tappy* are unknown. As for *slooter*, CUD considers it to be noneatopoeic. There appear to be none of these derogatory, contemptuous, abusive, but nevertheless highly expressive words derived unambiguously from an Irisli source.

3. The following are confirmed by CL'D: (a) fjuggy (also feuggy, fluggy, feugly, fluggy, feug, flug, frug-handed, flugfisted, flug-handed, of unknown origin); (b) thuggy (of unknown origin); (c) cotog (also kittog, kittogue, kitogue, cittoge, kithog, ketogue, kitock); (d) kittog-fist and kittog-fisted (< Irisli Gaelic ciotog < ciot 'thir left hand' + diminutive -og); (e) kittag, kitach, citach, kittaw, kitty, (f) kittagh-fisted, kittagh-handed (< Irisli Gaelic ciotach); (g) kit-handed, kittachan, kitter, kither, (h) kitter-fist, kitter-paw, kitterplak, kitter: (i) kitter-fisted, kitterpawed); (j) clootie (also clootie, clootie, clouty, clutie, clitty, cleety, clooty-fisted, clooty-handed, clooter-handed, < Scois cluit, clitt, cleet, related to claut); (k) clittery, clitter; (l) cald aiid cauldy (< Scots, of unknown origin); (m) clittero aiid clithery; (n) corry-fisted (also corrie-fisted 'left-handed', < Scots, of unknown origin); (p) cuddy (< Scots aiid northern English 'a donkey'); and (q) fisty. Unconfirmed by CUD are: doolama, gammy, leftjittered (gitter-fist), lefty, offhanded, one-handed, ridyick, wrang-hand(ed), south-paw.

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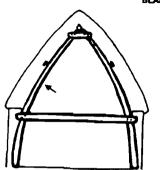
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Appendix Id: Two Examples of CUD's 17 Folklife Subject Areas: (h) Traditional Houses





hrllrn. hollsn noun, in a traditional house a JAMB-WALL, a wall or partition screening the hearth from the doorway. Illustration see JAMB.

[Scots and Northern English hallan(d), origin unknown.]

byre noun a cow-house [also accepted in Standard Engiish.].

Obyre-dwelling folk-life a one-storey dwelling that housed people at one end and cattle at the other without any partition between the quarters.

byre-man the man who **attends** to the cattle on a farm.

[Hiberno-English, Scots and Northern English; from Old English byre.]

out. oot adverb 1 out. 2 of time forward, on e.g. from that day out, from this out, see THIS²: [based on usage of Irish amach]. 3 no longer friendly, having fallen out **oothoose** an outhouse; see HOUSE. oout rwry out and away. by far. outblow a friendly, outgoing manner. oout-by. out-by. oot-by adverb 1 outside. out of doors. 2 out in the fields. • preposition in the direction of, near to. • adjective distant, out of the way. out-crush a press of people in a doorway. out-crying the time of a pregnant woman's confinement; see also CRY. **Doutfail** a falling-out, a quartel. out-farm an outlying farm, not lived in by the farmer. o out field an outlying field.

Dout-go a pasture where cattle are allowed to wander at large.

Doutgoing 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 pleasure-trip. 2 see outins go out and enjoy yourself.

out-lay pasture at a **distance from** the **farm** to which it **belongs**.

out-mouthed having buckteeth.

Dout of, ours, our, are 1 out of. 2 from (a person's place of origin) e.g. Maybe she was out of the County Antrim?

□out over outside, away from the house.

outrageous raging, angry.

Dout-relation a distant relative.

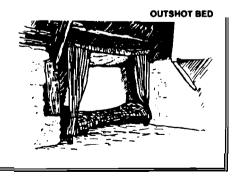
O outshot adjective projecting.

•noun, also outshut a projection; specifically, also bod outshot a bed recess in the back wall of a traditional kitchen; hence outshot bed.

[Northern English form outshut.]







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dyke, dike noun 1 also dock. dake a dyke, a dike, a orrch, a raised bank or waii of earth, stones. etc. 2 also dyke shough a dyke, a dike. a shoruch, a drainage channel in a field or at the roadside. •verb, also deek build a DYKE. o dikeside cuttings roadside hay.

D dyke belk. dyke bawk the back. or earth side, of a wall with a stone face [either BAUK or BACK].

DYKE 1, DYKE BALK



Sea also illustration al DITCH

[Shetland form deck, Argyllshire and Wigtownshire form dake, Southern English form deck; from Old Norse diki, corresponding to Old English dic, which gives orren.]

mear noun 1 a mearing, a land boundary [archaic in Standard English]. 2 a portion of land; a district. everb adjoin, border.

marin 1 a mearing, a land boundary;

face verb 1 face (a person) dom: confront (a person). 2 pay court to (a woman). □face card playing cards a court card □faced eround like a bestie "twofaced", hypocritical.

o face dyke a field boundary wall with a single vertical face of sods or stones; see Dyke.

FACE DYKE



D facing, facin something you have to face up to.

□ facings in a flax mill scutching blades. Illustration set TARCE. o have a hundred faces, have more faces than the town clock, etc. be "tWo faced", be a hypocrite. ohrvo no face be modest, self-effacing. □ have m face on it of a rumour, excuse. etc. be unlikely, implausible. oout ot the face, out of efface adjective 1 of o place upset, disordered e.g. by the wind. 2 back to front. eadverb 1 steadily, in constantly; straight ofi. 2 methodically, in an orderly way. 3 figuratively, of eating greedily. □ the trs r of clay any living person.

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ditch noun a dyke. a wall or bank of earth or stone. usually separating fields. (A trench is usually known as a SHEUGH.) everb construct or mend procHES.

DITCH





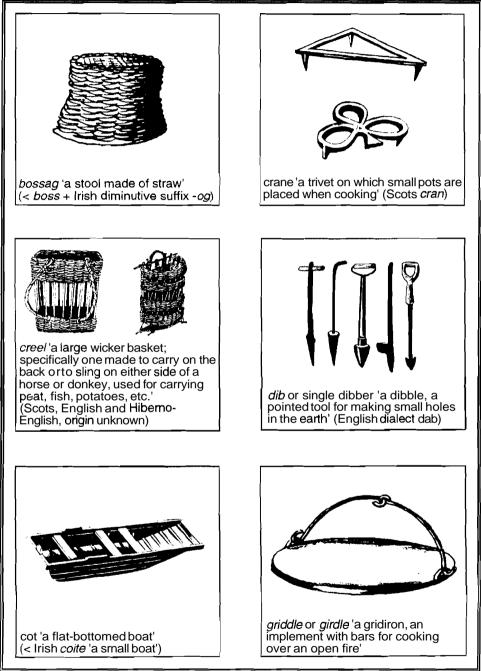
Sea, also illustration at DYKE

o break-ditch a cow or horse that is given to breaking through DITCHES.

ditcher a cow or horse that is given to jumping over DITCHES.

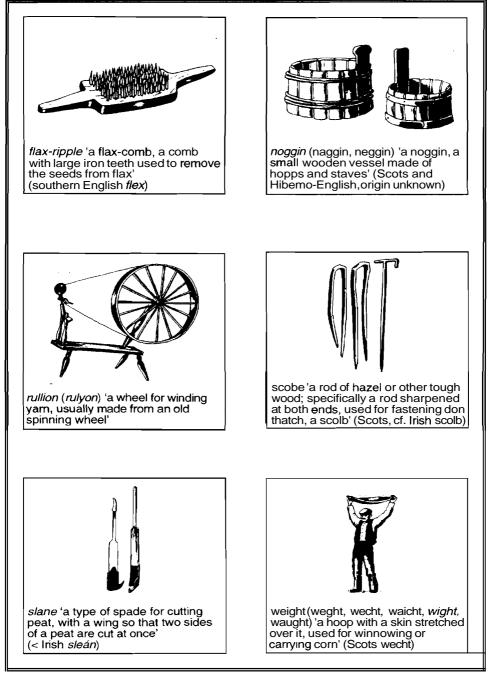
thorn ditch a **DITCH planted** with hawthorn.

(Ditch is used in Ireland and in various parts of England to mean "a bank" rather than "a trench"; see DYXE.) Appendix 2a Examples of the Folklife Illustrations from O. Sharkey Old Davs, Old Ways (1985) with definitions from Concise Ulster Dictionary (1996)



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Appendix 2b Examples of the Folklife Illustrations from O. Sharkey, Old Days, Old Ways (1985), with definitions from Concise Ulster Dictionary (1996)



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Appendix 3a: Two Examples of the 15 subject areas in The Scots Thesaurus: 9.6 Hands. Arms

9.6 HANDS, ARMS airm an arm theuch a shoulder or limb bought the bend of the arm (or leg) now Abd Fij bran a ficshy part of the body; a rounded muscle of the arm or leg car, adi, also ~rie left (hand side), left-handed corrie-fisted left-handed corrie-fister a lefthauded person WC. ~ry-handed left-handed ~-handit, ~-pawed chf Fif left-handed clauts grasping fingers now Lnk cleuk a hand Abd Ags clootie a left handed person Abd Uls coorag the index finger Cai. crannie Bnf-lgs, - doodlie NE, - wannie Abd the little unger crog a big hand chi Cai curnie(-wurnie) child's word the little finger Fif dirlie-bane the tunny bone now local Bnf-11'C elba, elbuck the elbow fauldit of the fists clenched. finger neb a fingertip now Fil Avr tforder of limbs front, forc gaig n a chap in the hands local Bnf-Dmf v, of the hands chap Cai Keb gardy the arm; perh specif the forearm now Abd. gardies the hands or fists, esp when raised to fight

- glack the angle between thumb and forefinger now Car
- gowpen the receptacle so formed by the hands hild together in the form of a bowl
- hand, haun n, diso ~ie a hand ~less handless. without hands
- ketach the left hand Arg Renfr & is or katy handed left-handed Renfr Uls
- kippie adj lett handed nEC n 1 a left handed perion now Per Fif 2 the left hand now Fif
- knap the point of the elbow now Sh
- knockle 1 a knuckle now NE Per 2 the rounded. protuberant part of a bone ni a joint, ilir condyle . (ar S11
- lirk a fold of the body, a joint; the angle of the elbow or knee when bent now Slk
- lith 1 a joint in a finger of too, a small part of the bidi tree and limb now Sh V nEC 2 *a hub
- flucken of the hand or foot 1 telosed right, elenched. , aving the snews contracted. 2 having webbed lingers of tries.
- luif, loof the palm of the hand
- maig, meg vlarge ungainly hand chf Sh X tmell a clenched fist
- mid-finger the middle finger nou Sh Gall Uls
- neb, nib any projecting up or point on a person's
- body, eg of fingers of tues
- nieve. **†nave a f**ist
- noup esp of the elbow a knob or protuberance chf des S
- oxter the amplit, the under part of the support atim in one's in one's armpit, in one's atims under one's under one's arm in one's armput
- pally-handit I having a damaged or useless hand C S 2 left banded \widetilde{FC}
- peerie-winkie nursery chomes the little funger or too SCOLK R III
- punkie die little finger

- pirlie now Ags, pirlie-winkie now local NE-Wgt the little finger.
- presenta white speck on the fugernail, commonly believed to presage the arrival o1a gift Ork NE

rackle-handed having powerful hands.

- ragnail a loose piece of skin or broken mil at the
- side of a fingernail, a hangnail shackle, sheckle, also band banc now Sh-Per the
- wrist now Fif Ayr
- shouder, shouther inc shoulder. heid the socket of the shoulder-bone; the shoulder joint NE, EC, S ~- the-win (liaving) a deformity in which one shoulder is higher than the other local N-Gall.
- sker: ~ry-handit now S, +~-handed lefthanded.
- skibby left-handed Lak Ayr
- southie left-handed Ayr.
- spag, spaig Cat a hand, foot, esp a big clumsy
- 'hand of foot now Cat. spaul the shoulder; the shoulder-bone. † banc a shoulder blade
- spyog a paw, hand, foot, or leg now Coi
- thoum the thumb. - hand the nearest free avail-
- able hand, specif the right hand NE Ags wallie of the fist or ent big, strong
- **†wan hane** the smaller bone of the forearm

Appendix 3b: Two Examples of the 15 subject areas in The Scots Thesaurus: 13.2.2 Roofs

13.2.2 ROOFS

- bellcast a decrease in the pitch of a roof near the CAVES
- bottle a rounded piece of timber running along the ridge of a roof, over which a covening of lead or zinc is fixed nou- WC.
- camceil, also rare coomceil a sloping roof Stlg WC. camsiled having a sloping roof now WC codding the last course of short slates below the rout ridge

tdivot thatch with turf.

- $\frac{easin(s) \text{ the caves of a building}}{\text{fail, feal (urf as a material for roohing now off N)}}$ $\pm fog \pi moss$, lichen used as thatching material v
- thatch a roof) with moss fowd worn-out thatch V
- gloy straw, esp as used for thatching now Sh Ork Car
- gray slate laminated sandstone, freq used in roohng now Abd Ags
- heid, head the ridge of a house-roof
- house-heid the roof of a house new Car Abd Rox kemple a truss of straw prepared to: thatch Car
- tleid the lead sheeting covering a roof
- pan n, olso ~- tree one of a number of horizontal tumbers fixed to the couples of a rool and run-ming at right angles to them, a purlin now Omf. v, chf in phrs. eg ~ and ruirbuild a roof.
- peen 1 a peak of apex, a point now Sh Mry Ags. 2 one of the sloping ridges at the corner of a hipped roof, where two adjacent sloping surfaces meet now Abd f: ~. roof a hipped, ridged or pavilion roof N Loth.
- **†platform**, pletform π, also ~ ruf a flat roof; orig also a partially flat roof scrving as a walk on top of a building v provide (a building) with a flat roof or roof-walk.
- ragglin(s) the space for the edges of the slates under the coping-stones of a gable
- raip, rope the ropes securing thatch Gen except Sh Qrk.
- ri gin n the ridge of a roof; the roof itself; the materials of which it is made v roof (a building).

<u>divot a turf used as a ridge-coping for a thatched roof of NE.</u> ~-beid the ridge of a roof NE *rEC*. WC, SCV. **T** stante a stone used at a ridge stone of a roof new NE-C. <u>tree the ridge-coping</u> beam of a root now Sh Per.

- , run: ~-joist a beam running along the side of a roof across the rafters to support the thatch, 'z a purlin. — -roof the roof over the main part of a building
- truid, rood slaterwork an area of 36 square ells or later yards
- ruir a roof
- sark covet the rafters of (a roof) with wooden boards, line (a roof) with wood for the slates 10 be nailed on $\sim ing$ roof boarding. scaddin a peat turf used for thatching
- scant a type or size of slate Abd Per
- sclate slate

scraw a thin turl or sod, esp as used for roof-

- shouder, shoulder, shouther point (the inside ionus of slating) with mortar
- simmens, simmonds ropes made of straw, hea ther, tushes rtc, used with stone weights to hold down thatch now Sh Ork Car Ross
- skew n a stone forming part of the coping of the shoping part of the gable; the coping itself a build at skew on **- corbel**, **- putt**, **> stone** now Keb the lowest stone to a gable coping
- scapple a bundle of straw or rusics
- ind used L₀ that hing *you SU*(-SU) sring we a stack with a forked also also used in characters to push straw into the tool it use a sting on machine thatch with a sting

- stob n a Y-shaped stick used like a staple in thatching: a two-pronged stick used to push thatching straw into position now NE v, also - thack now NE thatch with stobs now Bnf. + ~ber a thatcher rae-thackit thatched with straw now Ork NE
- Ags. tswap thak wooden slats used in thatching.
- syle put up a ceiling over, roof new Abd
- temple a (hazel) rod used to hold down thatch
- thack, thurch thatch. **†thack-divot, thack-turf** <u>a roofing turf</u>. **gate** the sloping top of a gable-wall which ha. no coping and is overlaid by the thatch now Sh. thack-pin a wooden peg used to fasten down thatch now Ags Per. thack-raip a straw-rope used to secure thatch. thack and rnip the thatch of a house etc and the ropes tying it down
- theek, thick v 1 troof (a building) wirh (rronc. slate, lead etc). 2 roof, cover (a building) wirh
 - (thatch) n thatch now WC.SW - era thatcher; a roofer of houses ~ing spurtle a flat-bladed implement, sometimes forked, for pushing thatching straw into position on a roof.
- threave a thatching material, consisting of two stooks, usu with twelve sheaves each but varying locally. ttild a tile
- tippet a handful of stalks of straw, used in thatching now Bnf Abd.
- tirr, turr strip or tear off (thatch, roofing etc) now N Fif.
- undrawn of straw not arranged in uniform length for thatching Sh Ork Bnf. wase now Kedn. wassock now Abd a bundle of
- straw for thatching water barge a stone or wooden ledge on the edge
- of a roof etc for protection from rain wattles the interwoven twigs on which the turf or
- thatch was laid note Per twattlin twigs etc which have been or can be plaited to form war de-work