The Dialect Vocabulary of Ulster

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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 Dictionary, 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 "Ulsterisms", la distribución atendiendo a la categoría del discurso, el uso estilístico de carácter morado o coloquial, las fuentes etimológicas o de procedencia lingüística, así como la cuestión de la regionalidad dentro de la provincia. Se estudian asimismo la variación onomasiológica y la cuestión de los conjuntos heteronímicos tanto de piezas léxicas como de formas exponentiales de específicas piezas. El artículo demuestra que, aunque una gran mayoría de las palabras pasaron a formar parte del dialecto del Ulster a través de los dialectos de los colonizadores ingleses y escoceses del siglo dieciséis 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 en el francés antiguo. (Palabras clave: dialectología, léxico dialectal, inglés en el Ulster, lexicología inglesa).
I. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN PRESENT-DAY ULSTER

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 inextricably bound up with the overall system of present-day English. Map 1 charts the overlapping areas of Ulster Scots and Hiberno-English.

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Map 1: Dialect Areas of Present-Day English in Ulster (Kirk 1998: Map 1)

Scots derived
Accents in Ulster and Conservative Hiberno-English Areas in Ulster (1911 evidence)

Map 1 shows the dialect structure of Ulster with the accents and areas associated with the two marked varieties, i.e., the dialect derived from Scots, and the dialect influenced by Irish Gaelic. It shows areas of overlap as well as areas of difference. In Ulster, there is no overlap with these varieties of English which are derived from seventeenth-century regional dialects of England, which are not mapped but which may be inferred to occur exclusively in south-west Armagh and west Armagh. The map shows that the English dialects in Ulster do not occupy discrete areas, and that speakers of each dialect may occur in close proximity to one another.
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 Germannic, which started on the east coast of Great Britain some 1500 years ago and which is still a vital issue in the Gaeltacht of County Donegal today. The vagueness which usually attends substratum, adstratum and superstratum discussions elsewhere does not apply to the situation in Ulster for we may 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 make up the present-day Northern Irish dialects.

II. THE DIALECT VOCABULARY OF ULSTER

Linguists consider vocabulary 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 vocabulary of the language: how words are formed, how they have developed over time, how they are used now, how they relate in meaning to each other, how they are handled in dictionaries and other word books". According to Girlich (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 groundwork 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 be 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 vocabulary is largely of oral currency, although there has been a strong tradition of literary writing in dialect, notably 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 both the dictionary's database and the larger Ulster dialect database at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. Although the CJD dust jacket claims "over 15,000 entries", the dictionary database calculates the number of entries (excluding cross references, but including all subentries) to be 18,935.
III.3. SUBJECT MATTER


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 Gatley (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 countryside, whose occupants knew their environment, their stock of domesticated animals and the [ils that could befall them. They knew 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 names, thereby encapsulating their knowledge in tangible form and implicitly imposing a degree of order on their surroundings.

[The Scots Thesaurus] is comprehensive in another way too. The categories not only give words relating to inanimate objects. the natural 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 and
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, Emotions and Social Behaviour, neatly broken down for us in pre-digested 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 denominator any attempt 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:

* ♦ bird names: mackerel cock ‘the Manx shearwater’, magpie muffle ‘the whitethroat’, mailie ‘the grey heron’, Mary of the trousers ‘the red breasting of 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’, moltooken ‘the great-crested grebe’, moor ‘the mallard’, moor-fowl ‘the grey partridge’, moss-cheeper ‘the meadow pipit’, mossy grey ‘the twite’, mosh ‘the nightjar’, mountain star ‘the golden plover’, mountain thrush ‘the mistle thrush’, marren ‘the razorbill, or the guillemot’, mussel (also mussel-pecker, mussel-picker), ‘the oystercatcher’, also a pivot.

* ♦ names of animals and insects: maggie-mony-feet ‘a centipede’, Manx (also munk, mink) ‘a strong breed 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’, meallcart ‘type of worm on the body, crab louse’ (< Irish Gaelic miol ceartain), milk beast/cow/heifer ‘a milk cow’. mince ‘an old cow’. minnie-cut ‘female cat’ (< Scots and northern English minnie ‘mother’), moiler (also molly, moilies, mollie, mawly, meet, also moileagha, halfagha) ‘a hornless cow/bullock/bull’ (< Irish Gaelic mAol (ai) ‘hornless’). mollin ‘a hornless cow’ (< Irish Gaelic mAolain < MAOL + diminutive in), mowdy ‘the mole’, which is not found in Ireland (< Scots and northern English < mowdewarp < O.E.), mud runner ‘a crab’. A domestic animal is a metsan ‘small dog’ (< Irish Gaelic meathan ‘a lap dog’).

* ♦ names of fish: mackerel scout ‘the garfish’, mullan rua (also murrain-ro, murrain-ro, murrain-ro, murrain, murrain) ‘the hallan wrasse, or the red sea-bream’ (< East Ulster Irish Gaelic mullan rua = standard Irish hallan), miller’s thumb ‘the sea scorpion’, mollygowan ‘the angler tish’ (local to Co. Antrim and Co. Down).
There are words for farming practice and customs. <m > farming words in CUD include: *mure's tail* 'the last sheaf cut at harvesting, plaited together and brought home' (< Scots *meir*), *mell* 'the last corn sheaf cut at harvesting' (< northern English). *marganore* (also *margynore* 'a large cattle market or cattle fair held before Christmas or Easter' < Irish Gaelic *margadh mor*), *mehell* 'gathering of people for co-operative 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 swapped round annually so as to allow a fair distribution of land' (< Scots and northern English). *blue month, dead month, hungry month* 'period from mid-July to mid-August from the time the old potatoes become scarce until the time the new ones were harvested' and to *muddle* 'to steal potatoes by digging them out of the ground with the hands, surreptitiously, 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: *sopple* 'a swipple or that part of a field that strikes the grain' (< Scots and northern English forms), *weight* 'a hoop with a skin stretched over it, used for *windowing* or carrying corn' (< Scots *wecht* = 'weight of corn'); words for haymaking: *rack* 'a small haystack, made temporarily in the fields' (< Scots and northern English < Old Norse *hrúka* = O.E. *hreac*), *hedgehog* 'a small roll of hay made by hand' (a translation of Irish Gaelic *gráinneog*), *tumblejack* 'type of horse-drawn rake for turning hay' (< Scots and northern English < Low German *tommen*), There are words for farm 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, pilatie, pirte, pirta, purta, purty, piper, porie, praite, pratie, prat, prater, pritta, pritty, pruta, poota, tater, tattie, totie* (Hiberno-English forms are recoded as *pratte, praitie, etc.*: Scots forms as *pilatie, tattle, robbie*): 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 bank of earth or stone, usually separating fields', *sheugh* (also *sheuch, shugh, shough, shook, shaugh*) 'a drainage channel in a field or alongside a road' (< Scots < Flemish *sweeg*), 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, kishaw*) 'a
hanging basket. made of plaited straw rope, for hens to lay in’ (<Irish Gaelic cisean ‘wicker basket’ < cí ‘kesh’ + diminutive –an), and langle ‘to hobble an animal’ (<Scots and northern English).

With Ulster surrounded by the sea, there are words for sea. boats and fishing, as in the following random examples: cot ‘a flat bottomed boat’ (<Irish Gaelic coite), curragh ‘a coracle. a wickerwork boat covered with tarred linen or formerly hide’ (<Irish Gaelic curacht), Dromtheim ‘a type of boat. 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 cocthall ‘a hood’). The eel fishing in Lough Neagh 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 methods of cooking, as the following CUD <m- > words show: maleark/brarrel/bin/kist ‘a meal bin or chest. made of wood. for holding meal’ (<Scots). mail (also male, mail) ‘meal or finely ground grain’ (<Scots and northern English). mealy-creamy, (also mealacreasty, mealyclrushy) ‘fried oatmeal’, mill ‘a pinch of snuff or milled tobacco’, miserable ‘inferior type of cocoa’ cf. the expression: a pound of miserable (<Scots). griddle ‘a gridiron, an implement with bars for cooking over an open fire’, griddle ‘a round flat plate of iron used for baking over an open fire’ (<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 spurtle), bakeboard ‘board on which dough is kneaded’. Traditional foodstuffs include barmbrack (also barnbrack) ‘a large round bun 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 broken 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 outshutbed. recessed hed’. Traditional houses had open hearths with chimney lag ‘one of a pair of supports beneath the brace of a chimney’ and roundle-tree ‘arm across an open fire, in which a crook is hung’.

Ulster creates makes its own contribution to clothing and footwear: duncher ‘a man’s flat cap’ (<Scots and dialectal English). mutch ‘a head-dress, especially a close-fitting cap of white linen or muslin with a border’, barra-coat ‘a long sleeveless flannel garment for a baby’ (<Scots and northern English). Some <m- > words include marfiveens (also marhtins. marteens, marteens, martins, marrines. markins) ‘socks without feet’. or ‘coarse gloves’ (<Irish Gaelic marŕi), muttın dumines ‘blimsoles’. ‘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 niggle ‘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 Roman Catholics. the ugly 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).
Much of Ulster’s history has left its mark on the dialect vocabulary and CUD regularly although not invariably labels such words as ‘historical’: *drumlin* ‘a mound of glacial gravel’ (now a geological term in standard English). *Irish Gaelic druim*; cf. also Scots *drum* < Scottish Gaelic *druim*. Other survivors referring to the landscape aid to ancient customs include: *raths*, CUD ‘an ancient monument roughly circular in form’, ‘an ancient fort’ (< Irish Gaelic *rath*), *moss* (also *pett-moss* ‘a peat bog’, of unknown origin); and *bawn*, ‘a walled enclosure, usually with towers at the angles. used as a castle-court normally, and for defence in an emergency’ (< Irish Gaelic *báthain*). Further ‘historical’ words include: *abooh*, an exclamation, ‘a war cry’ e. g. Butler *abooh* (< Irish Gaelic *ahu* ‘a war cry’; possibly a shortened form of *go buadh* ‘to victory’). *dergahoes* (a plural noun, ‘rows, commotion’ < Irish Gaelic *Lámh Dhearg Agha* ‘Red Hand to Victory’, the O’Neill motto; 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 broadcast entitled ‘Country Matters and Dialect’, quoted by Braidwood (1975: 4), “dialect, or local accent, is the mark 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 *marli*. *marvel*, *marvel* ‘a child’s marble’ < Hiberno-English and dialectal English *marvel*). *mug* (also *muggy hole, mugh hole*), ‘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’. *muggie* ‘a playing card’. *mookey’s apron’ ‘ten of clubs’. *mouds* ‘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 *maler, maloo*) ‘to thrash, beat’. (cf. maluderin: ‘a beating’ < Hiberno English *malavather* ‘to confuse’ or ‘to stun with a blow’). *moolick* ‘to beat up, thrash’ (cf. *moolicking* < Argyll *moolkin* < Scottish Gaelic *mule* ‘to push, to butt’). *mogey* ‘to stumble around foolishly’ (cf. *mugey* ‘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 *miotun*). *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 person’. (cf. *mookey* ‘a fool, or a clumsy person’ local to Co. Antrim). *mookey* ‘a fool, or a clumsy person’. (used in Co. Antrim). *moiley* ‘a mild-mannered person, a slightly effeminate person’ (< Irish Gaelic *maol* ‘bald, hornless’). *mollycoddle* ‘an effeminate boy or man’. *moocher* ‘a sting mean individual; a person always on the lookout for their advantage’. obsolete in standard English). *mopin an movin*, used of a child: ‘cros, crying’. and of an adult ‘in bad humour’ (< Scots *mupo*). *mopy* ‘a listless, vacant person’. *mowy* ‘a
fool, a 'soft' person', and mug 'a sullen person' (cf. its slang use for 'the face'). There are two
figureative uses: moss-cheeper 'someone from a boggy district' (< Scots moss) and moulder 'a
foolish person' (< Middle English mouldewarp < molde + warpan).

There are many derogatory and abusive terms for people. CUD < m-> words include:
mald '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), marnav 'affectionate term of address for a small boy', men-folk 'the male sex'.
market, an adjective, used figuratively of 'a girl ready for marriage'. inim, used of women,
'pert'. missie 'oldest unmaried daughter of a farmer', mudy 'a fat boy or girl' (used
in Co. Donegal). marrrow (also morrow, mortai) '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',
naghamphus 'a clumsy stupid person', manee 'a boy who is aping the mannerisms of a
grown-up, mannie, maikin (also maikin, maikin) 'a fat, lazy, slow-witted person', or 'a
simpleton'. or 'a cowardly person’ (< Scots and northern English, but obsolete in standard
English). melatt 'a person with a sallow complexion', minakin-finikin 'an affected person' (<
dialectal English. but obsolete in standard English). mitteny, milderoy 'a dull stupid person'
or 'a heavy awkward person', mudy 'a fat boy or girl', mumchance 'a dunce, an idiot'.
obsolete in standard English (< MLG mummenschance 'a masked serenade').

CUD has as many as 865 words for which ‘person’ appears in the definition. Many
examples have already been cited. The vocabulary for ‘people’ is so copious that CUD < ga->
alone yields the following words: gabslake 'a person who acts the fool and talks too much',
(country) ghah 'a person from the country', 'a yokel', or 'an awkward, ill-mannered fellow'.
gabbadan 'a talkative person'. gabblesbooter 'a windbag'. gabbrook 'a thoughtless, ill-
mannered person', gaberlloony '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'. gamsh 'an awkward,
inarticulate fellow'. 'a fool, a stupid fellow'. ‘a person who talks too much', 'a loudmouth'.
gape 'a fool, a simpleton'. garlugh 'used of a person. 'mean, contemptible'. gatherer 'a frugal,
thrifty person'. 'a greedy person'. gaum (also gaumy, gomach, gomerly) 'a fool, a simpleton',
'an awkward, ungainly fellow'. gavle-heid 'a stupid person'. gawk 'a fool. a simpleton', 'a
stupid person'. gazebbo 'an idle staring person'. 'a tall awkward person'. Why there are so
many attitudinal and derogatory terms 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. *weechit* 'child' (wee + child cf. wee < O.E. wæt 'a weight'). *davilgore* and *davilgitaf*an 'twilight', *gloaming* 'skink' 'thin gruel' (< Scots and northern English obsolete in standard English), *champ* 'special mashed potatoes', onomatopoeic. *cogelty-curig* 'see-saw', of unknown origin, but possibly onomatopoeic. *gilgovan* 'corn marigold' (< O.E. golde 'the marigold'); in addition, there is *sevenndible* 'thorough, complete, very, great, severe' etc. cf. Scots *solvend* < Latin *solvedo*.

Kallen (1994: 183) repeats *champ, cogelty-curig*, and in addition lists: street 'farmyard' (CUD lists various meanings, including 'a farmyard'). *diomond* 'town square' (CUD) lists various meanings, including 'the open space between roads intersecting at a crossroads, sometimes in the country, but usually forming the market square of a town'). *libboc* 'a small piece of anything' (CUD lists libboc. 'a small loose piece of anything' cf. southern English libbet. 'a ras', 'a fragment' < unknown origin). *bag* vs. *elder* (CUD lists *bag* 'a bag. a sack. especially the udder of a cow'). *cassey* or close vs. street (CUD lists *cassey, 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 *cuiucer* 'an embankment'. 'a dam'. replaced by standard English *causeway*, close' enclosed farmyard' (CUD lists close' an enclosed farmyard'). *sobs* 'footwear, especially old' (CUD lists *sobs* 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 burn well'. of a person, 'quick-tempered'. of unknown origin). *prashlach* 'odds and ends. rhushish. as small sticks and stones' (CUD lists *prashlach* 'odds and ends'. 'ruhishish'. e.g. small sticks and stones. found in Co. Donegal. of unknown origin). *grioger* (CUD lists *griog* 'to tantalise'. 'to make jealous'. 'to annoy'. (CUD lists *griog* 'to annoy'. 'to vex (a person)': 'to tantalise'. 'to tease (a person) by offering something with no intention of giving it'. cf. Irish Gaelic *griogad* 'to tease'. 'to annoy'). *cipiu* (CUD lists *cipiu* 'a piece of stick'. 'a twig' < Irish Gaelic *cipiu*). *raimeisings* (CUD lists *raimeis* also amish, *ramesh* 'nonsense'. 'nonsensical talk'. 'a rigmarole'. 'nonsense'. < northern English and Welsh English < from French *rames* 'a heap'. 'a collection': also Donegal Irish *rameis* > 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, clutty, clee, clee* (< Scots clut, clee, clee). lap 'small heap of hay'.LAS Map 1.54. CUD lists *lap* 'to roll hay into a loose bundle for drying: a small haycock'. (Lat?) *pike* 'haystack'. LAS Map 1.53. CUD lists *pike, pike, peak, peek, pack, peck* 'a usually round. conical haystack built either temporarily in a hayfield or in a stackyard' (< northern English and Scots *pike*. cf. Norwegian *pi!k* 'a mountain peak' - the sense 'haystack' is apparently not recorded in England). *mitch* 'to play truant'. LAS Map 1.29. CUD lists *mitch, midget* ( < dialectal English but obsolete in standard English < O.Fr. *machtier* 'to hide'. 'to skulk'). *cilh* 'colt'. LAS Map 1.61. CUD lists *cilh* 'a colt a one-year old horse' (of unknown origin. cf. *cilhin< cilh + een*). *crew* 'pigsty'. LAS Map 1.64. CUD lists *crew* 'a pen or fold for animals'. also *pip's crew. pig-crew* (< Scots and dialectal English. of Celtic origin. cf. Welsh *crew* 'a pen or hovel'. Irish and Scottish Gaelic *cro*), *goosebag* 'gooseberry'. LAS Map 1.89. CUD *goosebag, goosegah, goosegog* (< Scots gus, gis).

Zwickl (1996. based on LAS lists: *trinket, spoutin(g), yellowyorne, grannygreybeard,*

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hairy Mary, horse worm, granny's needle, Willie weaver, Harry hundred feet, whin fork, crottle, does, gies, handshake, clootie, caldrie, 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: muurt as an auxiliary verb, -sel as a reflexive pronoun, youse and yoursins as personal pronouns, mines as a possessive pronoun, hit as an inanimate pronoun, them as a demonstrative determiner, forbye, forsooth and outwith and over-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, which is generated from 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; Table 1 certainly confirms the consistency with <m- > words are in line with the dictionary as a whole.

VI. COMPOSITION OF ULSTER DIALECT VOCABULARY

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', thal-, as in the following verbs: malfoosker 'to spoil, to make hash of (e.g. a piece of work)' or malivogue (alsomalivogue 'to beat up, thrash' < Cumberland), and mis-, as in the following verbs: misanswer 'to give a rude answer', misbelieve 'to
maggie-monj~;feer
mur-
mtni.\hay-cr-morrobil
respectable-looking'
20
Crit1iolic.-
rtli.rri??ie
mi01
meeting-house
tni.snq
bj.
he11
greeshock/grissog.
.jou.
mymble-rhe-peg
mounrcriny-lookit~
~nr~ir
hoclzmcrgm~
.mi/-in/-een,
c~liignzcrleerie.
follow'. 'to pursue
you right',
fire
study'.
a number of distinctive phrasal verbs. as in:
'to accomplish a journey'.
'misbetuk (only in past tense 'niistook. niisunderstood'). miscall 'to call someone names'. 'to scold someone' (< dialectal English. but obsolete in standard English). misdigest 'to not digest'. misdoubt 'to doubt'. 'to disagree'. misgiggle 'to disguise', 'to spoil', or 'to upset'. 'to put into disorder': 'to bewilder' or 'to confuse someone'. misk'en 'not to know yourself'. 'to assume airs of superiority'. mislearned. literally 'mismatched', 'badly brought up', 'behaving in an underhand or despicable way': mislike 'to dislike'. mishappen 'to neglect (e. g. a child)', 'mismanage'. 'distrust'. or 'niisunderstand'. mismove 'to worry'. 'upset yourself'. mismorrow 'to mismatch two things' e. g. two socks: 'to mistake'. misremember 'to forget'. missetuk (only used in past tense 'niistook', 'niisunderstood' literally mis + uptake), and in certain adjectives: misfortunate 'unfortunate', 'mismeasured' ill-mannered'. 'mismoved' upset'. 'worried': mistime 'mistimed', 'irregular' e. g. of meals.
In addition. there is an -m- infix. as in -mg-, which acts as a syllable added for rhythmie effect in compounds. also as in dishmaclaver, hochmaegandy, whigmaleerie. etc.
There is the widespread suffix -ait/-iu/-eau. which arises from the Irish diminutive ending. as inclibeen. manteen. miloin . 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 kitlock /kitlog and greeshock/grissog, of which there are 27 in CUD.
Compounds evidently created in Ulster include mongwear 'to commit perjury'. 'to swear falsely' (< Scots menswear < O. E. man = 'wickedness' and swear). meelcartin (also meelcartan. mulharten. milkarithein < Irish Gaelic miolcartain) 'crab-house' (< miol 'small creature' + cartan 'a tick'). murreen (also murreen. morrigan < Irish Gaelic murrean = mirr 'sea' + ean 'bird'. minnie-catt 'female cat' (< Scots and northern English minnie 'mother' + cat). maggie-mony-feet 'centipede'. make-up 'a lie'. 'an invented story'. minnie-big used of a boy. 'grown up'. half-a-morrow 'widow'. morringdale 'system of land redistribution'. mantuineker (mantua) 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-boy 'halo round the moon. sign of an approaching storm'. 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. mumble-the-pug 'a boy's game'. whin-mell 'wooden mallet'. CUD has 18 blends. of which an -m- instance is monjiggled 'confused' found in Co. Antrim. a blend of moidereded and jiggled; moider. Shortened forms are rare. but an -m- example is immense (from immense) 'a great amount', 'a large quantity'. A special type of shortening is backformation. as in mirl(s) 'mea(s)'. back-formed from mirled or morly ('hen' < O. Fr. murrelle). from which then mirled and morly are derived forms. CUD has a total of 74 shortened words. Some words are semantically strengthened. as in morross 'clumsy'. 'bulky'. 'unwieldy'. 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 exam. make off 'to accomplish a journey'. make up 'invented story'. made on 'cooking made with e. g. milk'. made up 'pleased'. make after 'to follow'. 'to pursue hastily' (rare in standard English).
The dialect has many idiosyn. 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 to mouth used when

making an agreement. the moon is on her back 'a sign of rain'. In addition, there many other
lacations, 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', murder seevey! 'eternal murder!' (< Irish Gaelic murdar siorraí). Ulster
proverbs are copious but were excluded from CUD.

There are reduplicative forms: hoddie-doddy 'a snail', mimpsey-pimpsey 'fustidious,
affected'. minkin-finkin '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), meather used of a horse: 'to neigh', mewt 'the least noise'. 'a slight sound' (<
Scots), marn '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 'fustidious or affected'. mygan used of a cat: 'to
miaow'. CUD labels 27 words as 'childish'. <m - > words being 'childish'. as in marnmarns
'mother'. marnmin 'smallboy or man' and mousey-pousey 'the mounth'. 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 < Irish Gaelic mo chroi 'my heart'). millie 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), millig (a cry of alarm. < Irish
Gaelic mil murdair, moryah 'indeed!' (< Irish Gaelic mar dhea), masha (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). Afirae-me-come-tae-me 'tormbone' is
labelled 'jocular' - its first recording in McIntyre (1990) may be idiosyncratic.

VIII. SOURCES OF THE VOCABULARY

A distinction is made 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 many words of Anglo-English origin.
Some words which entered via Irish Gaelic are ultimately of Indo-European origin, with
Germanic 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 Elizabethan 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 *mucht* headdress (<Middle Dutch *mutsche*) came to Ulster from both Scotland and the Isle of Man, and that *homologate* ‘to express agreement’ came from Latin (*homologare*) via Scots.

### Table 2: Origins of Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of &lt;m- &gt; headwords</th>
<th>No. of &lt;m- &gt; headwords with origins indicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Scots</em></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Scots</em> and northern or dialectal English*</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Scottish Gaelic</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Irish</em></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Obsolete in Standard</em></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Others</em></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>170</strong></td>
<td><strong>170</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’, ‘borrowings’, ‘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, *pismoo mooq*, ankler, mogguns, bunker, stab, weaver, elib. By comparison, Zwickl has similarly strict criteria for Englishness, of which the following are offered as examples: *beast*. *pissmire* (als *pishmire*). *spadder*. *fairy finger*. *singlet*. *stricklie back*. *Tommie* longlegs. *Harry* longlegs. *ankler*. *bovel*. *scutch*. and *switch*. CUD has many references to words, forms or senses coming to Ulster from different parts of England. From Cumberland there is *malavogue*: from Kent *margoes* as in *sailing roundlike margoes in broth* ‘very happy’. From West Midlands his or her head’s *umort* ‘not thinking straight’, from Cheshire *margrooms* ‘whims, fancy’, from East Anglia the form *mow* ‘the mole’, from Yorkshire *melder* (also *meldler*, *meldder*) ‘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 *middly*, *meeda, meedy*) ‘a meadow’, from the South West *moritally*, from the Midlands *mosey*. Different parts of Scotland are also identified as donors: Argyllshire for *moothlicking* ‘a beating, a thrashing’, Orkney for *niff-naff* and Shetland and Orkney (but also Devon) for the pronoun *me* and *na for my*. Western Scots for *nearder* but Yorkshire and Somerset for *neardest*.

Words from Irish come from different forms of Irish: *faratee* is from Ulster Irish *feur*.
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': m vary 'the great wood-rush', meehers 'an edible seaweed'. middup 'a thing gummy', murgie '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). mudy 'a fat boy or girl', murren 'a hird' (< Irish Gaelic muiir 'sea' + 'hird'). myewla 'a wild flower'. Three are labelled 'Co. Antrim': mogey 'a stumble around foolishly', or 'a fool'. morialy 'seaweed', and moyjiggled 'confused'. and one 'Co. Antrim and Co. Down': muggy 'hand basket made of twisted straw rope'. Other words labelled Co. Antrim are gornial 'an odd-looking. dim-witted person'. hig 'a lift up', 'a helping hand'. and nickopany '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.
One word is localised to Strangford Loch: *pladdy* 'a low, flat island' or 'a sunken rock', probably 'a submersed drumlin' (< O.N. *flates* 'flat' < Ir. *pladai*). Cf. the Co. Down ballad by Savage-Armstrong (quoted in Hughes and Hannan 1992: 97): 'Round many a *pladdie*, nian an island green with the glancing shower. / How fleetly up the Lough we'd speed'.

Using lexical information 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, ganny grey heard, beggers, sark, maggie, switch, dreg, rone, not a dolly on, tartles, yell, strieklie, bunker, kaleworm*. The criterial Co. Down words are: *ladyfinger, quicken, mug, gies, burrey Mary, jog, georrie*. The criterial Co. Donegal words are: *ankler, hundcock, vemnel, trampcock, yelder, spale weefolks, grape, delf, slieg, horseworm, deck, 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 *< *g*< >* 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, slootier, slounge, sowdy, stoeach, trank*. CUD includes many terms for 'a tall, thin person': *randle tree, rackan, rafk, raughtle o bones, ravel, sibe, rickle, ringle, scaldie, scobe, scoll, shaird, skinamalank, skin-him-alive, sipe, stah, streel, swank, stwaangle*, etc. CUD includes many derogatory terms for women, including *skilt, stoury, streeler, tackle, thrugmullan, targer, tartle, tappie, rhind, tiadlie*. *Tani Targer, trokie, troll, trough*, etc.

'Left-handed' is a popular onomasiological concept. Braidwood (1975) reports a collection of 19 words for Ulster: *fuggly, ciotog, clooie, cald/caudly, clithero/clithry, corry-fisted, cowie, cud dy, doulama, fisty, ganny, left-jittered (gitter-fist), lefty, offhanded, one-handed, 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, rant, rut, scoot, scraudeen, scrat, scrut, wee scitter, snig, toorry, 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, ture, three-go, trate*, etc.
Map 2: 'Left-handed' from Zwickl 1996: Map 4.26

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II. 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, daylofallin, daylight fall, dalingfall, daylifell, delli J'a', daylight going, daylit going, dayligoin, daylight gone, dayligone, dallygone, daliygan, dayligone, dayagone, dayligo 'nightfall, twilight, dusk' - there is considerable variation reflecting 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, shuech, shugh, shough, shuck, shough a drainage channel in a field or alongside a road (Scots sheugh, sheuch, shugh, shough, of unknown origin. but cf. Brahant dialect zoeg 'a meadow ditch', also borrowed into Ulster as seech). The third and fourth examples are of Irish Gaelic words borrowed into Ulster dialect: the word for 'a hornless cow': moily, moilya, mootte, marly, mweel. also mouleagh, mulilagh (Irish Gaelic maolín, maol + diminutive -ín), and the word for 'embers': greenshoch, greenshag, greesach, greesav, greeshagh, greeshagh, greeshaw, greeshaw, greesho, greeshy, greesh, grushaw (~ Irish Gaelic griosach), cf. greeshog, greesog, greeshock (Irish Gaelic griosoig), 'small flying embers'.

The form variation between mankeeper and muncreeper '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 the 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 "that 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 dialect 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 scrum, 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 of dialect 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 vocabulary offers a lexicalised view of a former, more stable, peasant society. whose life was shaped by dependence on local environmental conditions, suppressed by leveling of living standards and homogenisation of behaviour 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 vocabulary disappears, just as social habits and occupational activities, to which the dialect refers, change too.

Many research questions remain. 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 borrowed from Irish in terms of Kallen's taxonomy of apports, borrowings, coinages and loans? Is an Ulster Thesaurus (along the lines of The Scots Thesaurus) justified? Given her use of The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, how representative of regional variation in Ulster can Zwickl's atlas be? How far is there a correlation between subject areas and donor languages? How much use and knowledge of use among present-day speakers - whether active, passive or non-existent - is actually there? Quite apart from elicitations whereby people indicate their knowledge much work needs to be 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 basis of the 445 \(<_{S}>\) words represented in The Namely 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 basis of analysis, synthesis, interpretation and, where possible, quantification.

Whereas dictionaries present studies of words, the study of vocabulary presupposes the groundwork of dictionaries before interpretive pattern can be discerned. This article has provided an interpretation of CUD.

NOTES:
1. I am grateful to Anne Smyth (Ulster Folk and Transport Museum) for her assistance in the exploitation of the Ulster Dialect Database; to Francisco González García (University of Almería) for the Spanish translation of my abstract, and to Trevor Meighan (Stranmillis University College, Belfast) for his assistance with the preparation of Map 3 and Appendix 2. I am indebted to Simone Zwickl of the University of Heidelberg and to many MA students at the Queen's University of Belfast for stimulation and discussion about the interpretation of the CUD and, in particular, to the modelfeasment projects by Neil McGleenon (1996), Ann Chang (1997) and Marie-Therese Lizard (1998) for some of the present details. Previous versions of this paper were given at the University of Hannover (March 1998) and the Queen's University of Belfast (February 1999). I am grateful to these audiences for their comments and stimulation.

2. Adams (1978) discusses the following words for people and animals: bat, bagel, crawl, cutty, floater, gilpe, keelhug, lig, wait, pashag, slooter, toppy. Each has 10-12 distinct senses characterising people as 'stupid', 'lazy', 'untidy', 'crazy' or 'untrustworthy', or physically as 'fat', 'awkward', 'ugly', 'stout' or 'underused'. Only 'crown', 'cutty' and 'floater' characterise animals. As far as gender, there appear to be more 'had' words referring to females (but, gilpe and toppy). With the CUD, it is now possible to reconsider some of Adams's claims:
(a) 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 Adams accepted *bal* as dialectal usage in English and Scots, CUD considers it to be pure abusive slang.

(b) *hogal* and *poghal*, whereas Adams gave these two words the same root in Irish: *beo(b)ail* 'boy'. the CUD derives *hogal* through Scots *hogal* and relates it to *beath/taugh* meaning 'ineffective' or 'weak', derived in turn from O.N. *bagr* 'awkward' or 'clumsy', and *poghal* from Scots *paunch* 'a bundle', related to *puck* 'a bundle' as in 'packman', or 'pedlar'.

(c) *croft* when whereas Adams derived it through Scots to O.N. *krávin* 'creep'. CUD derives it through Scots to Middle Dutch *krift'/(dwarf*.

(d) Both Adams and the CUD agree that the origin of *kroth* and *tapp* are unknown. As for *stouter*, CUD considers it to be onomatopoeic. These appear to be none of these derogatory, contemptuous, abusive, but nevertheless highly expressive words derived unambiguously from an Irish source.

3. The following are confirmed by CUD: (a) *fiagg* (also *fewgy*): *fiagg*, *flegh*, *fleug*, *flug*, *flug-handled*, *flog-fisted*, *flog-handled*, of unknown origin; (b) *flage* (of unknown origin); (c) *ciotag* (also *kiotag*, *kiotaghe*, *ciotage*, *kiotage*, *kiotue*, *kiotage*, *kiotage*); (d) *kiotag-fri* and *kiiotag-fisled* (cf. Irish Gaelic *ciotag* (also *ciotaghe*), diminutive-*agi*); (e) *kiotag-handled*, *kiotag-handled* (cf. Irish Gaelic *ciotaghe-handled*); (f) *kiotag-handled*; (g) *kiotag-handled*; (h) *kiotag-handled*, *kiotag-handled*; (i) *kiotag-handled*; (j) *kiotag-handled*; (k) *kiotag-handled*; (l) *kiotag-handled*; *kiotag-handled*; (m) *kiotag-handled*; (n) *kiotag-handled*; (o) *kiotag-handled*; (p) *kiotag-handled*; (q) *kiotag-handled*; (r) *kiotag-handled*.

REFERENCES


Braidwood, J. (1975) *The Ulster Dialect Lexicon*. [Inaugural Lecture, given on 23.4.69], The Queen's University of Belfast.


hrllrn. holiam noun. in a traditional house a JAM-B-WALL. a wall or partition screening the hearth from the doorway. Illustration see JAMB.
[Scots and Northern English halland]. origin unknown.

byre noun a cow-house [also accepted in Standard English.]
○byre-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 thus [based on usage of Irish amach]. 3. no longer friendly, having fallen out
○oouthouse an outhouse; see HOUSE.
○oot wry out and away, by far.
○outblow a friendly, outgoing manner.
○out-by. ootby. out-by adverb 1. outside, out of doors. 2. out in the fields.
○preposition in the direction of, near to.
○adj. 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.
○outfall a falling out, a quarrel.
○out-farm an outlying farm, not lived in by the farmer.
○out field an outlying field.
**Appendix 1b: Two Examples of CUD's 17 FolkLife Subject Areas in Field Ditches**

**dyke, dyke**

- **noun**: a dyke, a bank or wall of earth, stones, etc. also dyke through a dyke. a ditch, also dyke through. a drainage channel in a field or at the roadside.
- **verb**: also dyke build a dyke.
- **dykeside cuttings**: roadside hav. dyke bank, dyke bank the back, or earth side, of a wall with a stone face (either BACK OR BACK).

**Dyke, Dyke Bank**

Sea also illustration of DITCH

[Shetland form: dyke. Argyllshire and Wig-townshire form: dake. Southern English form: dyke; Old Norse dík, corresponding to Old English dīc, which gives ONCH.]

**Correlation: Etymology**

- **mean**: mean a meaning, a land boundary (archaic in Standard English). 2 a portion of land, a district; overadjacent, border.
- **mear**: mean a meaning, a land boundary.

**face**

- **noun**: face (a person) dom: confront (a person). 2 pay court to (a woman).
- **verb**: face card playing cards; court card. faced around like a beetle (two-faced), hypocritical.
- **noun**: face dyke a field boundary wall with a single vertical face of stones or stones; see dyke.

**Faced Dyke**

- **feeling**: feel, feel something you have to face up to.
- **feeling in a flax mill**: scraping blades. Illustration: see triale.
- **have a hundred faces, have short faces than the town clock, etc. be two-faced**: be a hypocrite.
- **have no face**: be modest, self-effacing.
- **have face on it of a rumour, excuse, etc. be unlikely, implausible.**
- **out of the face, out of face, out of face, out of face**: opposite 1 of place upset. disordered e.g. by the wind. 2 back to front.
- **steady, steadily, incessantly, straight off, 2 methodical, in an orderly way**, figuratively, of eating greedily.
- **the face of any living person.**

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*Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa, vol. 8, 1999, pp. 305-334*
bossag 'a stool made of straw'  
(< boss + Irish diminutive suffix -og)

Cree 'a large wicker basket; specifically one made to carry on the back or to sling on either side of a horse or donkey, used for carrying peat, fish, potatoes, etc.'  
(Scots, English and Hiberno-English, origin unknown)

dib or single dibber 'a dibble, a pointed tool for making small holes in the earth'  
(English dialect dab)

cot 'a flat-bottomed boat'  
(< Irish coite 'a small boat')

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

gridle or girdle 'a gridiron, an implement with bars for cooking over an open fire'

- **Flax-ripple** (from *a flax-comb, a comb with large iron teeth used to remove the seeds from flax (southern English *flex*)"

- **Noggin** (from *naggin, neggin* "a noggin, a small wooden vessel made of hopps and staves (Scots and Hiberm-English, origin unknown)"

- **Rullion** (from *ruilyon* "a wheel for winding yarn, usually made from an old spinning wheel"

- **Scobe** (from *a rod of hazel or other tough wood; specifically a rod sharpened at both ends, used for fastening don thatch, a scobl (Scots, cf. Irish scobl))"

- **Slane** (from *a type of spade for cutting peat, with a wing so that two sides of a peat are cut at once (cf. Irish *sleain*)"

- **Weight** (from *weight, wecht, waicht, wight, waught* "a hoop with a skin stretched over it, used for winnowing or carrying corn (Scots wecht)"

*Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, vol. 8, 1999, pp. 305-334
### 96 HANDS, ARMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>fist</td>
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<td>fourth finger, 0.534.52.64f.</td>
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<td>little finger</td>
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#### Finger Terms

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<td>knuckle</td>
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### Notes

- Hand terms often denote handedness or specific body parts.
- Finger terms are specific to individual fingers and their joints.
- Arm terms are general and do not typically denote handedness.

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13.2 ROOFS

bellcast: a recess in the path of a roof in the form of a half cylinder.

batt: a rounded piece of timber running along the edge of a roof, from which a covering of lead or zinc is fastened to make the roof waterproof.

cassiel: a type of roofing made of overlapping courses of materials such as slate, tiles, or metal sheets, with each course overlapping the one below it.

fallow: applied to the upper part of a roof, especially in relation to the coping or parapet.

gray slate: a type of roofing material commonly used in the construction of roofs, consisting of flat or curved pieces of stone.

hood, head: the upper part of a roof, often including the eaves and gutters.

house-pipe: a pipe used to carry rainwater away from a building.

joune: a slang term for a journeyman, especially one who works on roofs.

pout: applied to the lower part of a roof, especially in relation to the coping or parapet.

rake: the part of a roof that extends beyond the projection of the eaves, providing overhang for protection from rain.

screw: a thin strip of wood, such as used for roofing.

strafe: a term used to describe the act of throwing objects or missiles onto a roof, often in a military context.

straw: used as a covering on roofs, especially in traditional construction.

turf: a natural covering of grass or related plants, used as a roofing material.

veneer: a thin layer of wood or similar material applied to the surface of a building.

wattle: a type of post used as a support for thatching.

Appendix B: Two Examples of the 15 Subject Areas in The Nortn Thesaurus: 13.2 Roofs

John Kirk

Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa, vol. 8, 1999, pp. 305-324